

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 12, 1969

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

Thanks very much for your ringing endorsements of Messrs. Dave Dennison and Marty Hoffman. Your letter of January 9, 1969 is an impressive salute, and it will be very influential in all considerations.

I warmly appreciate your letting me know of your strong backing of Messrs. Dennison and Hoffman. Your salute to them means a great deal.

Cordially,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb

CC-Flanigan

DONALD RUMSFELD
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE
AND ASTRONAUTICS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

December 28, 1968

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 506, CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
CODE 202, 225-3711

13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS
TOWNSHIPS OF:
ELK GROVE NORTHFIELD
EVANSTON PALATINE
NEW TRIER SCHAUMBURG
NILES WHEELING

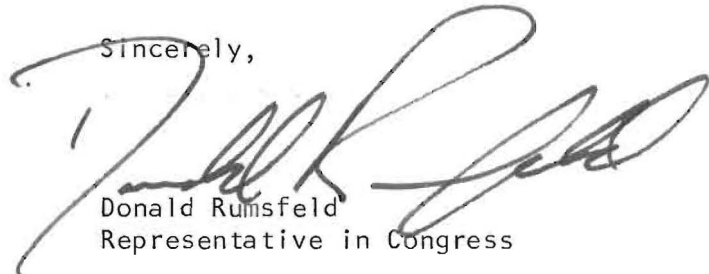
Mr. Bryce Harlow
The Office of President-elect Richard Nixon
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Bryce:

The Republican Representatives-elect will be gathering in Washington, D.C. soon for the January 2nd Republican Conference. Because of the nature of the recent nation-wide publicity concerning the Research and Planning Committee, I feel it might be useful if you would supply me with a letter indicating the attitude of the new Administration.

You will recall that at least one column has suggested that President-elect Nixon and his aides have worked behind the scenes to encourage the discontinuance of the Committee. Because of extensive conversations with you, I know this is not the case. However, in that others may have seen the article and may raise questions about it, I would like to be prepared to respond precisely.

Sincerely,


Donald Rumsfeld
Representative in Congress

DR/mf

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

RICHARD M. NIXON

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1968

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

I have now set up shop in the Transition headquarters, Federal Building #7, corner of 17th and H Streets, N. W., Washington, D.C. While it will be necessary for me to divide my time between the Capital and New York until January 20, my associates -- Ken BeLieu and Bill Timmons, both "Deputy Assistants for Congressional Relations" -- will operate from the temporary Washington office. Ken will be concentrating on Senate matters, and Bill on House matters. Please call on them if they can be helpful in any way during this governmental hiatus.

The D. C. office switchboard is 395-2000 and the New York number is (212) 421-3100.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kb

House of Representatives, U.S.

MEMORANDUM

File

The attached refers to a subject in which you are interested, and is, therefore, referred for your information.

Yours very truly

*Bryce -
Here are some
thoughts - I have to talk to
you on Thursday about it.
after you have read it.*

*Don
R. [Signature]*

Rough DRAFT - Confidential

December 18, 1968

THOUGHTS ON THE 91st CONGRESS AND THE HOUSE MINORITY

202-
333-7529
285-3711
→ Don ←

BACKGROUND

In the 1964 elections House Republicans suffered defeats which reduced their number to 140 seats of the 435--the 2nd lowest number in the 20th century.

In 1968, the GOP won the Presidency, a majority of Governors (30 of 50), but had a net gain of only four seats in the House--winning 192 seats of 435.

Since the 1928 elections--the past forty years--the GOP has won a majority of House seats only twice (1946 and 1952).

Obviously, something is wrong - It can't all be blamed on someone else--GOP Presidential candidates, philosophical splits in the party, the press, the Governors, etc. Part of the responsibility has to be with House Republicans.

EXISTING HOUSE STRUCTURE

As presently constituted the House GOP includes:

1. The Conference - All GOP House Members
2. Minority Leader, Whip Org., and minority employees
3. Committee on Committees - recommends assignments of GOP Members on Committees
4. Policy Committee - an advisory group for GOP Members on pending legislation
5. National Republican Congressional Committee - raises funds and provides campaign and public relations services to GOP incumbents and GOP candidates
6. Research and Planning Committee - established in 1964 in recognition of the need for additional activities if the House GOP was to again become the majority party. During the past four years--with both a Democrat President and Democrat control of the House--it has coordinated the functions of various Special Task Forces and had the assignment of engaging in long-term planning.

THE 91st CONGRESS - A NEW SITUATION

During the 91st Congress the tactical situation has changed:

1. There will be a GOP Administration for the first time in 8 years, with all the research resources of the Executive Branch now available to the House GOP and GOP legislative initiatives emanating from the Executive Branch. The greatest care in coordinating between the Administration and House Republicans will be necessary.

December 18, 1968

-2-

2. The House will be controlled by the Democrats as before. They will be hostile to many GOP proposals. The Administration will be attempting to work with Democrat leaders to pass Administration proposals.
3. The Administration and GOP in Congress will be facing the 1970 elections and the historic fact that in every off-election after the election of a new Administration in this century, the Administration's party has lost seats in the Congress. Also, the State Legislatures elected in 1970 will reapportion all legislative districts--State and U. S. House.

Therefore, each House Republican organization and each House Republican individually will be less involved in:

- Opposing and attacking Administration proposals, and
- Developing constructive alternatives to Administration proposals.

And more involved in:

- Defending Administration proposals;
- Attempting to move Republican proposals through the legislative process; and
- Attacking Democrat opposition to Administration proposals and/or Democrat alternative approaches.

IN SHORT:

1. We lost the House again--even though the President won.
2. There is a need for greater Republican activity if we are to avoid the traditional off-year election defeat.
3. The tactical situation for House Republicans has changed. House GOP leaders, individual GOP Members, and GOP organizations must function somewhat differently in the new tactical situation.

December 18, 1968

-3-

THE RESEARCH AND PLANNING COMMITTEE:

1. In the broadest sense the reason for establishing the R & P Committee was to perform various functions not then being performed by existing House GOP mechanisms, with the goal of improving the GOP prospect for success in future elections.
2. That goal is still valid: Obviously there remains a need for a mechanism to perform functions not being performed by other GOP organizations.
3. The task is to define the various types of activities needed in the new situation and to establish priorities.

BASIC OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH & PLANNING COMMITTEE:

Perform activities, under the guidance of the House GOP leadership, which are not performed by the Policy Committee (pending legislation) or the Congressional Committee (campaign activities) and which will assist the House GOP in becoming a majority party in 1970.

POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES FOR THE RESEARCH & PLANNING COMMITTEE IN THE NEW SITUATION:

1. Assist the Leadership in seeing that the GOP Administration and their proposals are supported aggressively in the House and publicly;
2. Assist the Leadership in seeing that Democrat attacks on Administration proposals and/or House GOP actions are countered in the House and publicly;
3. Develop and execute a plan to dramatize and communicate nationally the effects of Democratic control of the House and the potential benefits of GOP control of the House. Voters must be given reasons to vote against an able, honest Democrat. Simply financing and assisting selected GOP candidates is obviously not enough.
4. Pull together into usable form, coordinate and communicate research and information from various sources (the Administration, Library of Congress, Minority views, other Members) for the benefit of all GOP Members--more synthesis and crossfertilization than research. The goal is to better equip GOP Members to discuss various broad problem areas and relate them to GOP plans and programs. There is a need to assist House Republicans in their understanding of longer range and broader problem areas, and in knowing what other Republicans are doing in specific problem areas.

December 18, 1968

-4-

5. After coordination with the House Leadership, ranking Members, the Administration, and, where necessary, with the Senate and/or GOP Governors, coordinate seminars or task forces to promote GOP positions, air trial-balloon ideas, establish contact and a dialogue with non-Republicans. There would be somewhat less need for this than was the case during the past four years.
6. Coordinate for the leadership such purely House activities as Congressional Reform, etc., which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the minority members of any one Committee.
7. Coordinate GOP effort to place non-partisan GOP ideas, columns, and activities in the hundreds of trade magazines and company publications.... They have excellent readership and a high level of credibility.
8. Coordinate liaison for House GOP leadership with the many national organizations (religious, labor, civic, academic, business), to make them aware of GOP activities and encourage GOP Members as speakers at such non-partisan gatherings as their national meetings, conventions, etc.

APPROACH:

1. Structure of new R & P Committee would depend on agreement on a new charter, the priorities established, and the funding available.
2. Maximum coordination with the Administration and House GOP leadership is essential.
3. Periodic reports to the Conference.
4. Maximum use would be made of the less senior Members who are not burdened with major committee responsibility. This also achieves Minority Leader Ford's stated desire to achieve fuller participation by all House Republicans.
5. An additional advantage is that these activities would provide the less senior Members who would be involved a voice in the leadership.

December 18, 1968

-5-

CONCLUSION:

It would be a monumental mistake to abolish the Research and Planning Committee:

1. The press is interested in GOP activists and the concept. It has been sold to them and appeals to them. Their conclusion would be that the GOP is no longer interested.
2. Younger and newer Members hunger for information, for coordination, and for activities they feel are useful. They will be active, and, if not coordinated by such a Committee, they will proceed alone--uncoordinated, undisciplined, and potentially in an erratic way harmful to the GOP. There will be additional Wednesday Clubs, etc., to fill the promotional and intellectual needs.
3. The GOP must excite and interest the American people. Partisan politics and day-to-day tactical positions are not enough. A segment of society is interested in the broader, longer range problems, in their tomorrows, and we can interest them only by contact with them, communicating with them and involving them. The freshness and enthusiasm of the newer Members are a great asset to be used not stifled.
4. Younger Members want a voice in the leadership. Their numbers merit it. The leadership group and, therefore, House Republicans as a whole would benefit by it in terms of avoiding a lack of communication, misunderstanding of decisions lacking representative, balanced input.

ATTACHMENT: Composition of House Republicans
91st Congress

Number of Republicans -- 192

Service in the House Since	Terms	Number of GOP Members
January 1969 -----	1 -----	19
January 1967 -----	2 -----	47
January 1965 -----	3 -----	23
January 1963 -----	4 -----	24
January 1961 -----	5 -----	20
January 1959 -----	6 -----	13
Before 1959 -----	7 to 18 terms -----	45

Present Leadership (in order of seniority):

Arends	17 terms	since January 1935
Ford	10 terms	since January 1949
Rhodes	8 terms	since January 1953
Wilson	8 terms	since January 1953
Poff	8 terms	since January 1953
Cramer	7 terms	since January 1955
Smith	6 terms	since January 1957

- 66 GOP Members took office Jan. 1967 or later (1 term or less) - 34%
- 113 GOP Members took office Jan. 1963 or later (3 terms or less) - 59%
- 146 GOP Members took office Jan. 1959 or later (5 terms or less) - 76%
- 45 GOP Members took office Jan. 1957 or before (6 to 17 terms) - 23%

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 20, 1968

Respectfully referred to

Bryce Harlow
Office of President-elect
Richard Nixon

Bryce:

I will be calling you
concerning the attached
either Sunday or Monday
and hope you will have
had an opportunity to
give this some thought.

Regards,



Very respectfully,

DONALD RUMSFELD, M. C.

M. C., _____ District.

16-78350-1

Draft - Confidential - -

HOUSE REPUBLICAN RESEARCH AND PLANNING COMMITTEE - December 20, 1968

THE 91st CONGRESS - A NEW SITUATION - During the 91st Congress:

1. There will be a GOP Administration for the first time in 8 years, with all the resources of the Executive Branch available to the House GOP. GOP legislative initiatives will be emanating from a Republican Executive Branch.
2. The House will be controlled by the Democrats ~~will be~~ hostile to many GOP proposals. The Administration will be attempting to work with a Democrat-controlled Congress to pass Administration proposals.
3. The Administration and Republicans in Congress will be facing the 1970 elections and the historic fact that in every off-election after the election of a new Administration in this century, the Administration's Party has lost seats in the Congress. Further, since 1928--the past 40 years--the GOP has controlled the House only twice (1946 and 1952 elections). In 1968, although winning the Presidency and 30 of the 50 Governorships, we had a net gain of only 4 seats. Obviously more needs to be done.
4. Rather than opposing Administration proposals, or being the only Republicans developing alternatives to Administration proposals, House Republican organizations as well as individual Members will be more involved in defending Administration proposals, attempting to move Republican proposals through the Congress, and in attacking Democrat opposition to Administration proposals and/or Democrat alternative approaches. This is as true of the Policy Committee with respect to pending legislation and the Campaign Committee as it is of the R & P Committee.
5. Maximum coordination between the Administration and the House GOP leadership and ranking Members will be essential.

December 20, 1968

BASIC OBJECTIVE OF THE R & P COMMITTEE: In the broadest sense, the reason for establishing the R & P Committee was to perform various functions, under the guidance of the House GOP leadership, not being performed by existing House GOP mechanisms. The goal was to improve GOP prospects for success in future elections. Although we won the Presidency, we are still a minority in the House. That goal is still valid.

1. Assist the Leadership in seeing that the GOP Administration and their proposals are supported aggressively and that Democrat attacks on Administration proposals and/or House GOP actions are countered in the House and publicly. The Committee would coordinate the effort and seek the assistance of all House Republicans to undertake those activities.
2. Develop and execute a plan to dramatize and communicate nationally the undesirable effects of Democratic control of the House and the potential benefits of GOP control of the House. Voters must be given reasons to vote against an able, honest Democrat. Financing and assisting selected GOP candidates, while necessary and helpful, has obviously not been enough.
3. Pull together into usable form, coordinate, and communicate to all GOP Members research and information from various sources (the Administration, Minority views, other Members)--more synthesis and crossfertilization than research. This would assist House Republicans in knowing what Republicans are doing in specific problem areas and be better equipped to promote GOP policies.
4. After coordination with the House Leadership, ranking Members, and the Administration, coordinate seminars or task forces to promote GOP positions, air trial-balloon ideas, establish contact and a dialogue with non-Republicans. There would be less need for this than was the case during the past four years, however such purely House activities as Congressional Reform, etc., which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the minority members of any one Committee would be possibilities.
5. Coordinate for the House GOP leadership liaison with the many national organizations (religious, civic, labor, academic, business), to make them aware of GOP activities and encourage GOP Members as speakers at such non-partisan gatherings as their national meetings, conventions, etc.
6. Coordinate a GOP effort to place materials authored by Republican Members in columns, and articles in the hundreds of non-partisan trade magazines and company publications. While not now effectively used by the GOP, they have excellent readership and a high level of credibility.
7. Maximum use would be made of all GOP Members of the House and particularly those not burdened with major committee responsibility, thereby achieving fuller participation and promotion of House Republicans. Newer Members hunger for information, for coordination, and for activities they feel are useful. They will be active, and if not coordinated by such a Committee, they will proceed independently and uncoordinated, or through independent organizations and activities. 113 of our 192 GOP Members ^{have taken} took office ^{Since} in 1963, or subsequently. This represents 60% of our membership compared with 45 members (23%) elected prior to 1957 and who constitute the senior Committee members.

8. While it is obvious that the R & P Committee will have to function differently now that there is a Republican Administration, it would be a serious error to abolish the Research and Planning Committee. The press is interested in GOP activists and the concept. It has been sold to them and appeals to them. Their conclusion would be that the GOP is no longer interested. Further, the GOP must excite and interest the American people. Partisan politics and day-to-day tactical positions are not enough. A segment of society is interested in the broader, long range problems, ~~the~~ ~~the~~ and we can interest them in supporting Republicans for the House only by contact with them, communicating with and involving them. The freshness and enthusiasm of the newer Members are a great asset for our Party.

December 15, 1968

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

The trouble is, referring to your December 6 letter, I am sure I regard Sue Reincke far better than you do -- so if I were to discuss her with you and Mrs. Ludden, it could not possibly serve a useful purpose.

Sue is to come into my activity in the White House as a researcher: she knows this, and I have the fond notion that she thinks well of this arrangement.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

P.S.: A gratitude also to you for your blessing of Tom Curtis -- one of the favoritist people in Harlow's catalogue of Congress greats! Tom is under very active consideration right now.

DONALD RUMSFELD
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE
AND ASTRONAUTICS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

December 6, 1968

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 506, CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
CODE 202, 225-3711

13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS
TOWNSHIPS OF:
ELK GROVE NORTHFIELD
EVANSTON PALATINE
NEW TRIER SCHAUMBURG
NILES WHEELING

Mr. Bryce Harlow
The Office of President-elect
Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Bryce:

I understand that you have talked with Sue Reincke, and while I am sure that you and the others involved in the campaign have come to know her over the past few months, I do want you to know that I have the highest regard for her.

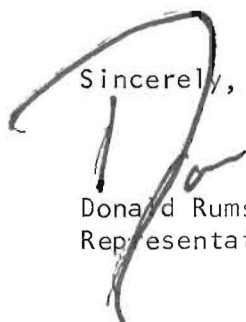
I've worked closely with her for the last five years. She's talented, intelligent, responsible, efficient, and has a range of skills and abilities. In addition, she's a very attractive young lady who is poised and handles herself very well with people.

She's a joy to have in an office, and we all miss her, but I know that she will be given a unique opportunity if she is offered a position on your staff and that she would make a meaningful contribution to the new Administration.

Either my Administrative Assistant, Barbara Ludden, or I would be delighted to visit with you about her if you have any questions.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


Donald Rumsfeld
Representative in Congress

DR/mf

DONALD RUMSFELD
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND
ASTRONAUTICS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

December 9, 1968

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 506, CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
CODE 202, 225-3711

13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS
TOWNSHIPS OF:
ELK GROVE NORTHFIELD
EVANSTON PALATINE
NEW TRIER SCHAUMBURG
NILES WHEELING

Mr. Bryce Harlow
The Office of the President-elect
Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Bryce:

Attached is the "Legislative Biography"
of Tom Curtis along with a copy of my
memo of November 29th to John Mitchell
recommending that Tom be considered for
a position in the new Administration.

You know him as well as I do--I think he
is spectacular and particularly well suited
for the position of Special Representative
for Trade Negotiations.

Sincerely,



Donald Rumsfeld
Representative in Congress

DR/mf
Enclosures

DONALD RUMSFELD
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
15TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE
AND ASTRONAUTICS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
Room 505, Cannon Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
CODE 202, 205-5711

TELETYPE UNIT, TELETYPE
COMMUNICATIONS

CLERK ROOM
EXAMINER
NEW YORK
MILES
RECEIVED
FALATINI
SCHAEFER
WELLS

November 29, 1968

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Mitchell
FROM: Don Rumsfeld
RE: CONGRESSMAN TOM CURTIS

You will recall that we discussed Congressman Tom Curtis when I visited with you in New York two weeks ago. I have given a good deal of thought to the matter and would like to add the following comments.

(1) I feel it would be a serious loss if a man with Tom Curtis' knowledge of government, intelligence, integrity, courage and understanding of the country were not involved in the new Administration. I am convinced that he can make a substantial contribution.

(2) I appreciate the problem of appointing a person who has lost a race for public office to a Cabinet position, and for that reason am not suggesting it. However, the following positions seem to me to offer possibilities:

1. Special Representative for Trade Negotiations,
2. Director of the Internal Revenue Service
3. Director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics
4. Director of the Census Bureau
5. Assistant Secretary of Commerce in charge of the area that was advocated during the campaign of attempting to bring the private sector into a closer working relationship with government in solving the problems of the gettos.
6. President of one of the various development banks.

Other possibilities would include: Under Secretary for Monetary Affairs in the Department of Treasury, Assistant Attorney General in the Anti-Trust Division or in the Civil Rights Division, or Assistant Secretary for Health, Education and Welfare for Administration.

DR/mf

CONGRESSMAN THOMAS B. CURTIS
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
SECOND DISTRICT, MISSOURI

A Legislative Biography
(September 1963)

Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS	3
LEADERSHIP NATIONALLY	4
LEADERSHIP IN MISSOURI	5
AS A LEGISLATOR	5
GUARANTEEING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY	6
EDUCATION	8
URBAN PROBLEMS	9
SOECIAL SECURITY, WELFARE, REHABILITATION AND THE NEEDY	11
LABOR POLICY	12
AGRICULTURE	13
NATIONAL DEFENSE	
Manpower Policy	14
Materiel Procurement Policy	15
Federal Expenditure Policy	15
VIETNAM	16
TAX EQUALIZATION	17
THE REVENUE ACT OF 1964	17
TRADE	18
ECONOMIC POLICY	20
Federal Debt	21
Balance of Payments	22
PROCEDURES	22
MORE CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS AND CONGRESSIONAL REFORM BATTLES	24
LOCAL	26

INTRODUCTION

Congressman Curtis was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1950 and has been re-elected in every biennial election since. In 1966, his winning margin was 52,000 votes. A consistently popular campaigner, his victory efforts have been marked by an insistence on discussing the issues in open debate.

In Congress, Tom Curtis is the second ranking Republican on the very important House Committee on Ways and Means. He is the senior Republican on the prestigious Senate-House Joint Economic Committee. As a member, also, of the Senate-House Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, he is the only Congressman to hold a seat on all three major economic committees.

Curtis was the senior Republican member on the bipartisan Joint Senate-House Committee on the Organization of the Congress, and since 1964, he has served as a Congressional Delegate for Trade Negotiations.

Curtis has been recognized as one of the leading economic spokesmen in America and has been awarded many citations and honors. In 1963, the American Political Science Association singled out Tom Curtis for its Congressional Distinguished Service Award as the most outstanding Republican Congressman for the 1961-1962 session of Congress.

In 1958, he received the Ellis Forshee Award from the Missouri Federation of the Blind for outstanding contributions in behalf of the blind, and, in 1961, the Newel Perry Award from the National Federation of the Blind.

He is the holder of the Alumni Citation from Washington University for his outstanding career and public service and for his record of public service to the St. Louis area, the Citizens Committee for the Enactment of the Hoover Commission Recommendations Citation for his untiring efforts to bring reforms and cut down waste in federal government, the American Nursing Home Association Citation for his work in behalf of the true welfare of our elderly citizens, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat Man of the Year Award, the Boy Scouts of America Silver Beaver Medal, the Mississippi Valley Junior Achievement Free Enterprise Award, and the Missouri University Honorary Fraternity Alpha Kappa Psi Citizen of the Year Award.

Born in Webster Groves, Missouri, Congressman Curtis, 56, is married to the former Susan Ross Chivvis. They are the parents of five children, four sons and a daughter. Leland, married, is a senior at Washington University Law School. Alan is currently serving in the U.S. Army. Charles is a student at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, Jonathan is a freshman at Hixon Junior High School in Webster Groves. Liz, now married to lawyer Thomas Allen, has taught school in Albert Lea, Minnesota.

more

Congressman Curtis is a member of a family long active in Missouri civic affairs. His grandfather was the first Dean of the Washington University Law School. His four brothers include an Episcopalian minister, a medical doctor, a certified public accountant, and a career officer with the American Foreign Service.

A graduate of Webster Groves public schools, Congressman Curtis studied at Dartmouth College, from which he received his A.B. degree with honors and an honorary M.A. degree. His law degree was earned at Washington University. In addition, he holds the honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Westminster College in Fulton, Mo. He is a life trustee of Dartmouth College and a member of the board of directors of William Woods College at Fulton.

As a practicing attorney, Congressman Curtis has been active in the St. Louis, St. Louis County, and Missouri Bar Associations. He was a member of the State Board of Law Examiners from 1948 to 1950.

His military service includes enlistment in the Navy in April, 1942, and service in the Atlantic and Pacific Theatres until December, 1945. He was commissioned Lieutenant (j.g.) and received service citations for his achievements which also earned him the commissions of Lieutenant and Lieutenant Commander. He is a member of the National Distinguished Guest Committee of the American Legion.

Curtis' community service before and after his election to Congress includes work with the Big Brother Organization, the Community Chest Fund, the St. Louis Social Planning Council, the Visiting Nurses Association, as Chairman of Boy Scout Camps at Irondale, Mo., the Eagle Scout Association, the Red Cross, as Lecturer in Law at the Y.M.C.A., and activities at Jefferson College and with the American Legion, Webster Groves Memorial Post 172. He has been active in the past in the Lions, Kiwanis and Moose organizations. For more than 27 years he taught the Adult Bible Class at the Faith Congregational Church in Webster Groves.

A Congressional student and widely-respected authority on government procedure and economics, Congressman Curtis is the author of the book, "37 Million Jobs: A Dynamic Solution to End Unemployment."

Congressman Curtis, who is a member of the Republican Task Force on Job Opportunities and Welfare, played a key role in development and enactment of the Manpower Development and Retraining Law. As spokesman for Congress in the economic sphere, he was a leader in writing laws extending Social Security to cover disability and in producing major tax reform legislation of recent years. He was a participating author of the Tax Code of 1954 and the 1962 Revenue Act and is a key advocate of Congressional reform. He was one of the first Congressmen to propose a permanent Ethics Committee to oversee the standards and ethical codes of Members of

Congress.

LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS

In Congress, Tom Curtis is recognized as a leading expert in the field of economics (Bus. Wk. 1-13-62, Monthly Labor Review 1-64, General Electric Forum, Jan.-Mar. '64, remarks by Sen. Javits) and his ranking position on two powerful committees--the House Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee--gives him the seniority necessary to make his opinions and proposals effective. He is senior Republican on the Joint Economic Committee, whose report on the President's annual economic message sets the economic lines of battle in Congress. This Committee considers important economic policy issues such as military procurement, agriculture, trade, Latin American policy, and its relation to the state of the economy. As second-ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, Curtis is active in the fields of taxation, social security, unemployment, compensation, trade and tariffs, and other important legislative areas within jurisdiction of the committee. He is also a member of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, the House Committee on Reduction of Non-essential Expenditures, the G.O.P. Policy Committee and the G.O.P. Task Force on NATO Unity.

Tom Curtis is highly respected by both Republican and Democratic colleagues in Congress. A survey of congressional opinion conducted by Redbook Magazine (Feb. '62) revealed Curtis as the second most admired Republican in the House. Former President Eisenhower has said that he considers Curtis "an exceptional member of Congress". In an article in Fortune Magazine (Dec. 1963) Curtis was discussed as one of the top ten conservatives in Congress and considered one of a group of four representatives who make expertly informed fiscal conservatism their hallmark. When endorsing Curtis for election in '62 the National Committee for an Effective Congress stated: ". . . he is the one member to whom congressional colleagues in both parties most often turn when they are seeking to assure bipartisan support for measures of national significance." Their endorsement emphasized the respect he has gained.

Tom Curtis was recognized as the outstanding Republican member of the House of Representatives by the American Political Science Association in 1963. The Association presented to him their "Distinguished Service Award for Congressional Service" which bi-annually honors one Republican and one Democrat in both Houses of Congress. The award, one of the Nation's highest honors in the field of government service, states:

"With selfless tenacity, with a love of hearty debate, and with an honesty and sincerity that have won him the respect of his colleagues, Thomas B. Curtis seeks to maintain the vitality of Congress and of his

more

party.

"By articulating and advancing policy alternatives, he has elevated the discussion of economic issues in the Congress and elsewhere. Joining in a bipartisan effort, he worked energetically for enactment of trade legislation consistent with his nation's role in international affairs. He speaks with a compelling voice in the development of his party's approach to the problem of full employment in a rapidly automating economy. A student of Congress, he is in the forefront among his colleagues in working for alteration of rules and procedures to meet the needs of a changing society in a changing world.

"The American Political Science Association takes great pleasure in presenting this Congressional Distinguished Service Award to Thomas B. Curtis, Republican of Missouri--respected advocate, courageous individualist, and diligent legislator whose service is in the finest tradition of constructive conservatism."

LEADERSHIP NATIONALLY

Tom Curtis was widely mentioned in 1960 as a possible Republican Vice Presidential candidate (Cong. Quarterly, Fact Sheet 7-15-60; Newsweek 4-18-60), and again in 1964 his name was prominently mentioned for this high position.

His opinions and ideas on national issues have been widely heard and read across the country. He has been called upon to participate in discussions and debates on a number of nation-wide radio and television programs. Among them have been: CBS-TV's special program on the tax cut (7-13-63) and Curtis' nationally televised speech on NBC-TV in rebuttal to President Kennedy on the tax cut (9-21-63); Mutual Broadcasting's "What's The Issue", a discussion of the Social Security Advisory Council (9-22-63) and the newly passed Social Security Act Amendments of 1964 (8-16-64). After the death of President Kennedy, he participated in a broadcast over Radio Liberty (December 1963) assuring millions of listeners in the captive nations and in Russia of the stability of our government in the face of national tragedy, and the Educational Broadcasting Corporation's "Court of Reason" discussing the subject of presidential succession and stability (1-22-64). He also appeared on the very popular Metro-media program "Under Discussion" with leaders in the foreign policy field on the subject of "Foreign Policy: Myths or Realities" which considered Senator Fulbright's criticism of America as disillusioned by the "master-myth" of the cold war. His opinions on the Medicare issue were heard in a debate with Senator Neuberger (D.-Ore.) over the CBS radio program "Leading Question" (Aug. 1964).

His views have been given coverage in many nationally circulated magazines, (Life, editorial 2-7-64; Reader's Digest, June 1963 on Medicare; Nation's Business, May 1963, and the Washington World). He has published articles in many special interest magazines, including the American Legion magazine (Jan. 1964), the G. E. Forum (Jan.-Mar. 1964, "Protecting the Integrity of the Dollar"), the Yale Political Journal, "Taxation and Economic Progress" (Jan. 1963), Medical World

more

News (Jan. 1964), Vital Speeches (10-15-63), the Tax Foundation's Monthly Tax Features (Dec. 1963) Advance magazine "Youth and the Military" (summer 1963), the National Association of Secondary School Principals' Bulletin "Automation" (Nov. 1964), the Missouri Bar Journal, "The Lawyer in Congress" (Sept. 1964), Play Boy "Conscription and Commitment," (Feb. 1966).

LEADERSHIP IN MISSOURI

Curtis has worked to build the strength and unity of the Republican Party in his home State as well as on the national level. In recognition of his efforts and abilities, the Missouri Republican Convention in 1960 passed a resolution calling for consideration of Curtis for the Vice Presidency (Kansas City Star (6-5-60), and he was again endorsed for the 2nd place on the Republican National ticket by the St. Louis Young Republicans, a group of more than 3400 members. His important role as GOP spokesman and the strength he would add to the 1964 ticket were stressed in a feature article by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat (May 1963). Named as a delegate to the 1964 Republican National Convention from the Second District, he was considered a possible favorite son candidate by other members of the Missouri delegation.

In 1960, Curtis was named "Man of the Year" by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat through a committee of prominent civic leaders who made the selection on the basis of distinguished public service. A gathering of 1300 Republican leaders and other St. Louisans honored Curtis at a testimonial dinner in November of 1963, expressing their appreciation for the work he has done for St. Louis and the Nation.

Curtis was honored by Westminster College in Fulton, Mo., in June of 1962, when he was awarded an honorary LL.D. degree and by William Woods College in Fulton in September of 1963 when he was appointed to the Board of Directors.

AS A LEGISLATOR

Curtis has long been one of the prime Congressional movers for civil rights and equal opportunities with law and order. Early in 1963, before the Administration introduced any civil rights bill, Curtis had organized a group of 30 Republican Congressmen for consideration of possible legislative action. This Curtis-led group sponsored measures which would eliminate segregation in public accommodations (housing) and vest authority in the U.S. Attorney General to act in civil rights cases after state and local authorities had failed. (Cong. Rec. pages 1495-1499, January 31, 1963). These same provisions became the cornerstone of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed by Congress.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 also received Curtis' enthusiastic support, and the Civil Rights Act of 1966, which passed the House but failed in the Senate,

more

contained an entire title which originated in Curtis' office. Realizing that one of the basic problems was not to give the Chief Executive more power but rather to make the President account for the exercise of the power he already had, Curtis authored a Title which compelled the U.S. Attorney General to report regularly to the Senate and House on the progress of civil rights compliance.

In 1965 Curtis was a leader in the struggle to have Congress consider the challenge of Mississippi Freedom Party for the seats of the regular Democrat party members from Mississippi. (Cong. Rec. Sept. 16, 1968, p. 23186) (Cong. Rec. Sept. 17, 1965, p. 23392-3). Curtis was singularly praised for his stand by the leader of the Mississippi Freedom Party (statement by Mr. Lawrence Guyot, Chairman, MFDP, September 17, 1965), and for his civil rights efforts in general was cited by the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership which included the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, James Farmer, and James Forman among others, (Feb. 1965).

Civil Liberties, and procedures which insure their growth and development, have been a constant concern to Curtis. Getting to the core of the controversy surrounding the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), Curtis proposed a bill (H. R. 8491, Cong. Rec. April 11, 1967, p. 3912-3913) which would allow a select committee of the Congress to evaluate contempt citations rather than the committee (HUAC) which made them. He would thus prevent the same group of legislators from acting both as prosecutor and judge of the activities of a witness. Removing these procedural excesses, Curtis believes, would also remove much of the vocal opposition to the Committee's interesting and valuable work of investigating and informing the Congress for the purpose of legislating on subversive elements within our society.

Curtis is also the author of a bill (H.R. 5579) Cong. Rec. February 16, 1967, H-1446, which would protect the rights of mentally incompetent persons in judicial proceedings. This bill has the backing of both members of the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association as an effective way to deal with a growing problem.

GUARANTEEING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

The unskilled. The fundamental idea behind Curtis' efforts in the area of constructive welfare and fighting poverty is that Federal programs must be directed toward getting the individual to be able to earn his own living, and get on his "economic feet". This means to Curtis a clearing away of obstacles, economic or social, which block full equality of economic opportunity. The primary barrier is lack of education and training for modern jobs.

more

On July 11, 1968, Congressman Curtis and three Republican colleagues (Goodell, Widnall, Taft) introduced H.R. 18715 (see Cong. Rec. H7017-19 July 18, 1968) one of the most imaginative bills in recent years to fulfill the promise of economic opportunity to people of the ghetto and other low income, high unemployment areas. The Community Self-Development Act, as the bill is called, authorizes the establishment of Community Development Corporations, stock business corporations formed by residents of an area below norms in income and employment. The CDC owns and manages subsidiary businesses in the community and conducts a broad range of social service programs as desired by its stockholders. A community resident can become a stockholder by buying a \$5 share or by earning it through contributed labor.

The Community Self-Determination Act has received the strong endorsement of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and many other groups promoting the concept that "black people should have an opportunity to own their own businesses" and to "have a piece of the action." Following the lead of Curtis, Goodell, Widnall and Taft, 36 other House Republicans and 26 Senators--13 from each party--have introduced the bill. Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon issued a statement supporting the concept and the Party Platform endorsed it.

Tom Curtis is one of the most highly respected experts in the Congress on job training and retraining. In the 87th Congress, Curtis was Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee's successful study "Operation Employment" (final report, Cong. Rec. August 14, 1961, p. 14701). This study laid the groundwork for the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, which contained most of its key provisions. The Curtis conception of the need continually to upgrade the entire "skill ladder" to reduce unemployment and fill the vacant jobs created by technology received fuller amplification in his book "87 Million Jobs, a Dynamic Solution To End Unemployment. (Oct. 1962, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York).

The less than satisfactory results due to ineffective administration of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, spurred Curtis to further efforts in the essential area of manpower training and retraining. In the 89th Congress Curtis introduced the Human Investment Act (H.R. 10934, Cong. Rec. Sept. 9, 1965, p. 22400-22417), a bill which would give industry a tax credit for training and retraining program expenses. It is based on the theory that job training needs to be continually undertaken at every level and that business and labor working together, and not the government, know better than government what jobs are in demand and how most efficiently to train people for them. Cosponsoring the Human Investment Act behind Curtis in the 89th Congress were 108 of his Republican

colleagues including all twelve members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership. In the 90th Congress (H.R. 4524, Cong. Rec. H926-448, Feb. 2, 1962) this number swelled to over 159 Republican Senators and Congressmen.

Curtis has introduced many other bills designed to open up employment opportunities for the unskilled and those dislocated by the advancing effects of technology. Among them is The Employment Incentives Act of 1967, (H.R. 13777, Cong. Rec. H14264, Oct. 31, 1967), a bill designed to deal with the excesses of the federal minimum wage laws which often prevent an employer from hiring an unskilled employee if his expected productivity would be less than the minimum wage required to be paid. Under the Curtis proposal, the government would be required to give an employer 40% of the minimum wage, for a period of either six months or one year of an employee certified to be unskilled by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Another Curtis proposal is to increase mobility of labor to take advantage of new jobs opening up, by liberalizing the deductions for reimbursed moving expenses. (H.R. 3947, Cong. Rec. January 26, 1967, H690-699), or in the particular case of disabled individuals, for expenses for transportation to and from work (H.R. 3949 Cong. Rec. January 26, 1967, H699).

EDUCATION

In the closing days of the 90th Congress, Congressman Curtis introduced an education bill which reflected the underlying theoretical basis of his work in the area over a period of many years and which represents a modern approach for financing educational expenses. The Curtis bill introduced on Oct. 3, 1968, is based upon the theory that expenses for education is a capital expenditure, one which yields rich returns to the individual and to the society. Consequently, the bill provides that the person who makes this investment shall be allowed to write it off as a capital expenditure on his income tax up to a maximum of \$10,000 for a period of ten years. (See Cong. Rec. Oct. 3, 1968).

Since the late 1950's, Congressman Curtis has reintroduced legislation which would improve the Higher Educational opportunities for millions of Americans by allowing a tax credit against income tax for tuition and fees paid by individuals to institutions of higher education and to allow a tax credit for contributions from individuals and corporations to such educational institutions (H.R. 1681) (Cong. Rec. January 6, 1965, pp. 130-131). Curtis supplemented this higher education bill with a proposal which would strengthen the opportunities of educationally deprived children by allowing tax credits and payments to individuals who must meet the cost of such education (H.R. 6357, Cong. Rec. March 16, 1965, p. 4922-3). These proposals, with modifications, were endorsed by the Republican House leadership and

presented as the Educational Tax Adjustment Act of 1965. This bill was considered as the alternative to direct federal aid to education and preferred by those who wished to remove impediments to greater local, state, and private contributions to education. Curtis has pointed out that while federal expenditures to education have increased enormously, the growth in expenditures for education from all sources in our society combined has decreased in recent years. This effect, says Curtis, is the operation of the "Curtis corollary" to Gresham's Law--federal money drives out state, local, and private funds.

Curtis' involvement with education has been long standing. Since his graduation from Dartmouth College with a B.A. degree with honors, he has received an honorary M.A. degree from the same institution, earned his law degree from Washington University in St. Louis, and received an honorary Doctor of Law degree from Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of William Woods College in Fulton, Missouri, and a life Trustee of his alma mater, Dartmouth College.

URBAN PROBLEMS

In 1967, when the Subcommittee on Urban Affairs of the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee undertook to study in depth the economic and related problems of the nation's urban areas, they requested that papers be presented to divergent aspects of urban problems as background. Included among the twenty-one papers requested, nineteen were by academicians, one was prepared by an institution, and one was prepared by a Congressman--Tom Curtis. (Joint Committee Print, "Urban America: Goals and Problems", August 1967).

The Curtis paper entitled "Toward a Better Understanding of Urban America" (Joint Committee Print, p. 213) presents an historical appraisal of the development of the high rise city, reaching the conclusion that the factors which contributed to the growth of concentrated urban living--the proximity of **water as a source** of industrial power, and the close aggregation of the labor force to run the plants--no longer exist. They have been replaced instead by electricity and a more mobile labor force, thus allowing plants to be located almost anywhere, with the continuation of a high rise core region no longer necessary. Curtis points out that those who advocate great sums of federal money for the restoration of the core city are opposing progress and are creatures of the vested interests of the property owners of the core area. The long range solution, says Curtis, lies in breaking down barriers for the core city dweller--be they economic or social--so that he can follow his preference out of the concentrated areas into more dispersed living conditions. This means job training, labor mobility and not massive
more

federal renewal projects which merely perpetuate the concentrated conditions.

Immediate conditions demand attention, and Curtis solutions for the economic needs of the urban areas include an updated real estate property tax, based upon fairer assessment of property values, better zoning, and enforced building codes. Curtis is also a sponsor of the National Home Ownership Foundation Act (H.R. 8846, Cong. Rec. H4443, April 20, 1967), authored by Senator Percy (R.-Ill.) which stresses ownership and the pride that goes with it rather than rental. The NHOFF would assist the low income families in financing the home with funds obtained from debentures sold by that institution as well as the home owner with advisement and other subsidiary services.

Curtis' interest in urban problems has extended to fully acquainting the next generation of America's leaders with those problems first hand. Congressman Curtis was the first Congressional sponsor of the Cornerstone Project, a program originated and operated by students which provides a series of two week seminar sessions each summer for Washington's student interns in a ghetto of one of several large metropolitan areas. The project has grown from one city in 1966 to five cities in 1968, and from Curtis as the original Congressional sponsor to twenty Senators and Congressmen of both parties.

There is no one in the House of Representatives who has worked more diligently to obtain fair Congressional hearings on the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) than Congressman Tom Curtis. While expressing deep reservations about some of the scholarship underlying the report, Congressman Curtis took the floor of the House on March 4, three days after the Kerner Report was released, and stated: "This is something that the appropriate Congressional Committee should immediately proceed to find out. Then if some real studying has been done, it can serve as the basis for moving forward to do the comprehensive job that is so badly needed." (See Cong. Rec. March 4, 1968, p. 1599-60).

On April 9, 1968, more than a month after the publication of the report of the National Advisory Commission, when it was apparent that the Democratic leadership in the Congress and the White House intended to ignore the report, Congressman Curtis again took the floor and introduced legislation (H. Con. Res. 758) which would provide for a Joint Senate-House Committee on Central City Affairs, "to immediately take up the report of the National Advisory Commission together with its working papers and background material, to hold public hearings on the report, calling before it members of the Commission and others who helped in its studies as well as knowledgeable people in government and the private sector--all under

cross examination and to report back to the Congress within six months recommendations for action." (See Cong. Rec. April 9, 1968, p. E2825-26). The Curtis resolution has never received consideration by the House and has been pending before the House Committee on Rules since its introduction six months ago.

However, as senior Republican on the Joint Economic Committee, Congressman Curtis was instrumental in bringing about the hearings that were held by the JEC on May 28, 29, and June 4, 5 and 6 of 1968. It was also his initiative and that of other Republican members of the Committee to extend an invitation to the Rev. Ralph Abernathy who was in Washington at that time directing the "Poor People's Campaign". Although the Committee rescheduled Dr. Abernathy's appearance several times at his request, he never did ultimately appear.

SOCIAL SECURITY, WELFARE, REHABILITATION AND THE NEEDY

Tom Curtis has spent sixteen years as an active member of the House Ways and Means Committee which is responsible for all social security and most welfare legislation. He has consistently approached his tasks on the committee positively, recognizing that nearly everyone can contribute something to society, and that it is in society's interest--and most of all the individual's--to help them do it.

Curtis has seen many of his proposals enacted into law. In the area of health care for the aged, Curtis successfully sponsored bills to provide federal guarantees for loans to qualified nursing homes through the F.H.A. and to provide federal assistance for the training of practical nurses. Curtis has been honored for such work through receipt of the American Nursing Home citation. He has also sponsored a bill, which is now law, which cuts the cost of medicines bought through the mail by lowering postage rates on such prescriptions. In addition, a Curtis proposal now enables retirement pension plans to pay health benefits thus enabling 15 million persons under such plans to provide for retirement and health care costs. The Social Security Amendments of 1965 contained Curtis proposals including provision of monthly insurance benefits for certain dependent parents of individuals; entitled to either old age or disability insurance benefits. The 1965 amendments also contained substantially the provisions of Curtis' bill H. R. 3360 (Cong. Rec. 1095, Jan. 25, 1965) which made individuals suffering from Tuberculosis or mental illness eligible for public assistance payments on the same basis as individuals suffering from other types of illness.

Curtis was instrumental in the historic extension of the Social Security System to cover the disabled. Certain legislation he has sponsored in this area would liberalize benefits to the blind. (H.R. 11214, Cong. Rec. H8226, June 28, 1967).

more

Curtis has been recognized for his work on behalf of the blind, receiving in 1958, the Ellis Forshee Award from the Missouri Federation of the Blind, and in 1961 the Newel Perry Award from the National Federation of the Blind.

Curtis has expressed concern over the future of the Social Security System if continued on its present course of providing a full retirement program for everyone in the society. In his opinion, Social Security should not be allowed to invade forcibly the field of retirement plans or pension plans or other ways in which citizens may have provided for their retirement in their own way. Several years ago, Curtis proposed a bill that would allow any citizen to take out his own retirement program in lieu of Social Security if that program was at least equivalent in benefits to the Social Security System (H.R. 6697, March 7, 1967, Cong. Rec. H2237-H2239). Correspondingly, Curtis also sponsored a bill which would allow certain employees who are not covered under certain programs to elect in. The Curtis bill permits states to provide for coverage of hospital insurance benefits of the aged for state and local employees (including most school teachers) who are not otherwise covered. (H.R. 13463, Cong. Rec. 26725, October 19, 1966)

LABOR POLICY

National strikes in important industries directly affecting the public, and planned so as to turn the public's discomfort into political pressure as an additional weapon to economic pressure on management, have been prevalent in recent years, and unless some governmental action is taken the number of such strikes may well increase. The Johnson Administration has promised since January 1965 to present proposals to deal with the problems of increasing national strikes. It has not had the courage or resourcefulness to do so.

Tom Curtis has reintroduced since 1963 legislation that would set up the necessary procedures in the Congress to find a solution. H.J. Res. 352, Cong. Rec. H1682-3, February 23, 1967, established a Joint Congressional Committee to study and report on industry collective bargaining and strikes and lockouts. To the procedural machinery Curtis has offered a substantive proposal for consideration. Labor's right to strike against a management with whom it has a grievance should always be protected, as well as its right to use a strike and threat of a strike to acquire better wages, hours and working conditions from a particular management. However, this clash of economic power, fundamental to the concept of collective bargaining is perverted when bargaining is allowed to be conducted industrywide through the assimilation of power of either the union or the management. At the point when the entire industry is involved the public is deeply involved and its interests are often overlooked or deliberately abused. Curtis has proposed that
more

the simultaneous expiration of contracts within any one industry be prohibited. Labor should retain the right to strike against the particular company for whom it is employed but whole industries could not be shut down, and the public interest and strategic needs of the country would not be compromised.

Curtis has also shown concern for the development of independent labor organizations and favors the creation of a Congressional Committee on small independent unions, similar to that presently existing for the benefit of small business, (See Cong. Rec. H4212-3, April 17, 1967 on H. Res. 435).

Recognizing the great role that labor organizations can play in improving employment practices and alleviating employee grievances, Congressman Curtis has introduced legislation to improve employee-management relations in the Federal Civil Service. The Curtis bill, H. R. 10774, would implement Executive Order No. 10988 by making recognition of properly constituted Federal employee organizations mandatory and providing for grievance procedures. (See Cong. Rec. H7133-4; June 13, 1967). Of this legislation Curtis has said "governmental agencies should not be excepted from generally recognized standards, procedures, and methods of sound employment relations. Indeed practices which have insured fair and impartial consideration of employees views on working conditions, and provided effective methods of adjusting grievances, may be even more necessary in Federal agencies than in private firms."

AGRICULTURE

In an age where the greater danger is over-population, rather than over-production of food stuffs, Tom Curtis introduced a bill (H.R. 7326, Cong. Rec. H2849, Mar. 3, 1967) to reorient American agriculture toward satisfying growing world needs through increasing production, repealing cumbersome federal agricultural farm restrictions, and directing the American farmer to growing world markets. In introducing this bill to repeal federal farm subsidies and controls in wheat and feed grains, Curtis pointed to the decline of farm income in the face of increasing federal controls, and to his studies connected with the potential increase in world trade through reduction of national economic barriers sought for by the Kennedy Round of General Agreement on Tariff and Trade negotiations, at which he is one of the four Congressional Delegates.

The Curtis bill has received full support from the American Farm Bureau Federation, and 19 other members of the House of Representatives.

The Curtis bill is limited in that it only applies to wheat and feed grains. Instead of government supports it proposes government insured recourse loans standing behind the farmer should they be needed. It then allows the farmer to compete for the expanding markets that should be his. There is an opportunity for

more

expanding American agriculture trade with foreign nations, and the Curtis bill is intimately connected with this. World trade in most important agriculture products is impeded and confused by our present domestic policies which have created artificial markets domestically for our products, Curtis contends. U.S. action to re-establish conditions in the market place in wheat and feed grains would prepare the way to far more successful world trade.

The current administration policy has been regressive in international agricultural policy. Congressman Curtis warned against the enactment of the Administration's International Grains Agreement before it was signed on the program called "What's the Issue" on March 21, 1968. Nonetheless the Administration signed the Agreement and on July 26 Congressman Curtis pointed out the negative effects the Agreement had on the U.S. wheat farmers (Cong. Rec. July 26, 1968, p. E7004-5), explaining that the Agreement in effect was an export tax on U.S. wheat and that prices were down and parity had not been so low since the 1930's. Again on September 20, 1968, Congressman Curtis warned of the effects of the regressive policy, (Cong. Rec. E8141).

Congressman Curtis has also introduced a bill, H. R. 19182, which would alleviate the competition to the legitimate family farmer which is created by the increasing number of "hobby farmers" and corporate farming operations whose principal interest in farming is to obtain a tax deduction for business losses. Congressman Curtis' bill closes this loophole, and in so doing would provide a benefit to the farmer who must make a living for himself and his family from his land. (See Cong. Rec. August 1, 1968, E7233-35).

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Manpower Policy

Tom Curtis has been the leading Congressional advocate of the concept of a voluntary career military, obtainable through a system of increased pay, greater benefits, improved utilization of civilian skills in the military, and cutbacks in extraneous military personnel doing non-military functions. Again Curtis was the organizer of a task force of his Republican colleagues in the House to study the potentialities of this proposal, and that task force presented the House with a lengthy study in April 1964. (Cong. Rec. 8310-8324, April 21, 1964).

Ingrown attitudes, military bureaucratic resistance, and Johnson Administration political pressure combined to submerge any study of the proposal. Yet Curtis never halted in his efforts to develop a public dialogue. Since the 1950's he has testified several times before each of the standing Armed Services Committees of the Congress and was instrumental in obtaining hearings by the Senate-House

Joint Economic Subcommittee in April 1967, on the economic aspects of a voluntary system as opposed to the present conscriptive system. He has challenged the Defense Department personally repeatedly, (see Cong. Rec. H748-755, Jan. 30, 1967), as well as the shallow study of the Marshall and Clark Commissions (Cong. Rec. H2148-9, Mar. 6, 1967). Curtis has also written extensively on this subject for such widely diverse publications as Advance magazine (1963), Playboy magazine (February 1968) and the Forensic Quarterly (1968).

Curtis presented his suggested improvements of the draft to the Republican Platform Committee of the 1964 Republican National Convention and his proposal that the Republican Party adopt a plank urging the establishment of efforts toward a voluntary military system offering real career incentives. The plank was adopted. Since then Curtis' position has been adopted by Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, Conservatives, usually opposing forces that can agree on these needed draft reforms.

Materiel Procurement Policy

Curtis is the sponsor of legislation which is directly responsible for much of the recent success in reorganizing the Department of Defense supply policies. In 1958, together with the now Speaker of the House, John McCormack, he offered an amendment to the 1958 Defense Reorganization Act to provide the Secretary of Defense the power to unify the services and supply functions of the Department. (Cong. Rec. May 12, 1959, A4002). The study for this legislation was undertaken primarily by the Subcommittee on Defense Procurement Policy of the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee on which Curtis is now ranking minority member.

His interest in the field stems from his days on the Bonner Subcommittee on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments in his first term in Congress, 1950.

Federal Expenditure Policy

By virtue of his experience and position as senior Republican member of the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee, Tom Curtis is one of the members of the Congress most often looked to for guidance on matters of fiscal and monetary policy.

Curtis took the lead in the struggle which culminated in 1967-68 to urge the Johnson Administration to accept some expenditure discipline in the face of the severe economic crisis and the vast, expensive Vietnam expenditures, before conceding to the Administration's demands for a surcharge tax increase. The Curtis effort resulted in an unusual unanimous report by the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee in early 1967 urging the Administration to cut back their proposed budget by some 5 billions of dollars. From his place on the Ways and Means Committee

and the Joint Economic Committee, Curtis' interrogation of Administration claims of expenditure restraint were significantly responsible for the Committee's conclusion that Federal spending increases rather than reductions to benefit the taxpayers were being planned and carried out by the Administration. In a letter to his constituents, July 16, 1968, inserted in the Cong. Rec. E6529-32, Curtis pointed out how the Administration could cut back at least 15 billions of dollars without touching funds for the Vietnam war servicemen or the poverty programs if the Administration actually believed the gravity of its own slogans and statements.

The Ways and Means Committee and the House of Representatives, however, voted in favor of the Administration's request for a tax increase without tying the Administration to any specific reductions in federal expenditures. As a result, Congressman Curtis voted against the tax increase. His foresight has proved to be correct, as the Administration--lacking specific restrictions--resorted to gimmickry and dilatory actions to avoid any real expenditure reduction measures. Congressman Curtis took a special order to explain this to the House and the public on May 14, 1968, (Cong. Rec. 3748-54) during the debate on the Conference Report on the tax bill on June 20, 1968 (Cong. Rec. H5232-34, 41, 46, 47, 48) and in remarks on September 17, 1968, (Cong. Rec. E8003-4). Because of his efforts, Congressman Curtis has received the National Associated Businessman's "Watchdog of the Treasury" award on several occasions.

VIETNAM

Since February 1966 in a newsletter to his constituents a few months after the initial drastic escalation of the conflict in Vietnam, Congressman Curtis has been vigorously objecting to the chosen means of the Administration in pursuing the war.

In a speech while stumping in southwest Missouri on September 14, 1968, the Congressman said:

"I argue that there are better ways of fighting this war than the present method of fighting fire with fire, military might with military might.

"Indeed, I feel that using our economic power wisely initially would have forestalled any need to use military force in Vietnam.

"There could be no escalation of the war such as we are now witnessing in Vietnam without the flow, in great quantities, of oil and gasoline into North Vietnam through the port of Haiphong. In the event of an embargo on gasoline oil, and other war materials were unsuccessful, a blockade of the port would close down the war in a matter of months.

"The tragedy is that the Johnson Administration used military power or escalated military power, the lives of our young men, but still does not use or even discuss the use of economic power."

In these remarks, Curtis reiterated the theme he developed in early 1966, and which led him to co-sponsor a House Resolution offered by Congressman Paul Findley

more

(R.-Ill.) on October 30, 1967, (Cong. Rec. H14173-82) at which time 27 different alternatives to the Administration's Vietnam policy were offered and Congressional study demanded.

TAX EQUALIZATION

The equalization of tax burdens on both individuals and competing enterprises and businesses is basic to our Nation's economy and Curtis has introduced legislation to that effect. He joined with Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, in writing the basic tax legislation for life insurance companies based upon the idea of equalization. (Cong. Rec. 2-14-63, p. 2149). With regard to co-operatives, Curtis has introduced legislation which would make these earnings of co-operative corporations taxable as corporate income for business done for the U.S. (Cong. Rec. 7-11-63, p. 11793.) Another proposal would equalize taxation of certain redemptions of preferred stock. (Cong. Rec. 2-5-63, p. 1756.)

The problems of small business are of great concern to Curtis. He served on the Small Business Committee during his first years as a Congressman and has never lost his interest in the problems of small business. In 1960 he introduced a bill which would help small business accumulate capital for growth and expansion through retained earnings. In addition, this proposal would have offered special aid to the service and distributive industries, often neglected in tax laws which focus on manufacturing. Portions of his ideas in this regard were incorporated in the investment tax credit plan adopted in the Revenue Act of 1962.

Recognizing the unequal burden placed on individuals with fluctuating annual income, such as artists and authors, he wrote the legislation which became law in the Revenue Act of 1964 which allows a person to average his income over a five year period.

Curtis has often introduced legislation to head off rulings by the Internal Revenue Service which would be in conflict with the intent of Congress in passing a tax law. He introduced such a bill which would have the effect of guaranteeing tax exempt status of income derived from advertising in the publications of tax exempt organizations. (Cong. Rec. 9 -1-64, p. 20550). As he stated in his remarks at the time, such a regulation would affect all agricultural, labor, trade, educational and professional associations as well as such organizations as the Boy Scouts.

THE REVENUE ACT OF 1964

Curtis was the leading Republican spokesman in the debate over the tax cut bill of 1963-64. He had long maintained that the Nation needed a reduction in taxes as they were stifling individual and corporate initiative but he argued that we needed a reduction in federal expenditures at the same time in order to

more

eliminate the huge deficit spending of the Administration. (The Missing Pre-requisite for Tax Reduction, Monitor 9-'63). Curtis argued that planned deficit spending was unwise because it would be "making greater debt by paying less taxes for bigger government". He appeared on CBS-TV News Report on the tax cut in July 1963 to discuss the issue with leading economists, and in his speech on NBC-TV in September 1963 he clearly outlined the Republican position on this matter. "An earned tax cut is best," he maintained, "and government spending levels should be held to that of the 1963 rate in order that a cut in taxes would have a positive value for the Nation's economy". With other members of the Joint Economic Committee, he introduced legislation to set up a Commission of Federal Expenditure Policy which would take a broad and long range view of government spending. (Cong. Rec. 10-2163, p. 18976).

TRADE

Curtis sees trade as a key to international peace and an important battleground in the Cold War. During the debate in the House in 1955 on the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Tom Curtis introduced a "tariff differential" proposal as an amendment to that act. This proposal, though not adopted at that time, has received much interest by many Congressmen at this time, due to the GATT trade negotiations and because of the worsening situation in the U.S. balance of payments picture. The tariff differential proposal that Curtis introduced in 1955 would make U.S. concessions in tariffs contingent upon a foreign producer's willingness to pay the prescribed percentage of the legal minimum wage which American manufacturers must pay under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In his speech at that time, he said: "Foreign producers who want to reap the lush benefits of the United States markets must qualify by passing on part of those benefits by wages pegged to the legal minimum wage scale on American workers--the worker with whom they are competing.

In 1958, Curtis worked for the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and in 1962 he led efforts for the forming of better trade negotiations, calling for "a concert of free nations" within which the United States and other countries could work with harmony to counter the Communist trade challenge.

Curtis, as one of the four U.S. negotiators at the GATT trade negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland, in May 1964, has worked to reach a peaceful settlement of international differences by "talking in terms of economics instead of diplomacy". (S. L. G-D 5-2-64). This important conference on international trade relations brings together 75 countries who adhere to the general principles laid down by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and who seek to establish a more

more

free flowing balance of trade among nations. Curtis has often pointed out that there are many harmful non-tariff trade barriers which place American exporters at a competitive disadvantage such as direct and indirect subsidies, quotas, and other restrictive measures such as a lack of foreign antitrust laws. The problems of equitable sharing of defense costs with Europe, agreements by Europeans to reduce agricultural protectionism, and the greater European absorption of the industrial output of Japan are more immediately important than cutting tariffs.

Curtis was the first person to lecture under a series of lectures at Tufts University called the Christian Herter lecture series. (Speech, Cong. Rec. 1-23-63, p. A221), and has since delivered many speeches on the subject of U. S. Foreign Economic Policy. (Speech, Synthetic Organic Chemical Manufacturers Association, Sept. 9, 1964; speech, Washington Export Council, Sept. 3, 1964).

To aid in turning back Communism in underdeveloped countries, Curtis has proposed an International Home Loan Bank System to operate like a Savings and Loan Association in the United States. Such a bank system would encourage the development of institutions by making capital available. He has also introduced a bill to set up a United States Trading Corporation to help American companies challenge unfair competitive methods employed by the Communists.

Thomas B. Curtis served as a Congressional Delegate to GATT for four years. His leadership in the international trade field has been acknowledged both here and abroad. He participated actively in both Washington and Geneva, as the negotiations progressed and was the only member of Congress who regularly reported to the members of Congress, the press, interested industries, unions, scholars and others on the state of the negotiations and the problems that were arising.

His reports are currently being compiled in a book on American International Trade Policy for the 1970's. Congressman Curtis and his office devoted a sizeable amount of time and effort to assisting American business and government representatives in finding out what was really going on during the Kennedy Round trade negotiations and in making sure that the private sector of the American economy would be represented by the U. S. governmental officials and in turn that the U.S. government negotiators were given maximum cooperation to obtain the best possible arrangements for the U.S.

Congressman Curtis and Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills developed together the concept that members of Congress, 2 from the Senate, 2 from the House, one of each to be alternates, each party should be members of the actual U.S. delegation instead of just being advisers.

Congressman Curtis had found in previous negotiations that he was prevented

more

from adequately representing the U. S. Congress and American economic interest by not being able to see the working papers which the State Department claimed were classified for congressional advisers. By being members of the U. S. delegation the Senators and Congressmen were able to see and understand economic data which previously had not been made available to the U. S. Congress. This is regarded as a pioneering step in allowing Senators and Congressmen to participate more actively and meaningfully in international negotiations rather than having to depend upon what the Executive branch decides to make available to members of Congress or advisers.

Congressman Curtis also worked very closely with the newly appointed Special Trade Representatives and their staff in order to build up the concept that American trade policy had to be coordinated and strengthened instead of being spread out all over various government agencies, many of which did not have items of information or policy which were necessary for adequate bargaining by the USA. Newspapers such as the New York Times, Washington Post and others have pointed out that Congressman Curtis' role as the House delegate was one of the most pioneering constructive efforts made by any member of Congress in international relations for many years.

ECONOMIC POLICY

Curtis is one of the leading Republican voices in the field of economics and his opinions are highly regarded as foremost in constructive criticism of the Administration's proposals. He has participated in conferences and discussions before nationwide audiences on economic issues. (The tax cut, NBC 9-21-63, CBS's Leading Question "Will Congress Enact the President's Program?" 1-19-64) (Conference on Federal Tax Reform in 1963 held by Tax Foundation, Inc., Guest Lecturer at Tufts University 1-7-63).

Curtis works for fiscal responsibility and a solid national economy. In the matter of government spending he advocates self-control--spending what we can afford--and he would remind those who speak for spending increases and deficit financing that it is the citizen's duty to support the country, not the country's duty to support its citizens. (N.Y. Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, in January 1963). In January of 1964, Curtis warned against the obvious dangers of inflation and serious "overheating" of the economy if the Johnson Administration continued to urge continued heavy Federal spending as further stimulation for an already expanding economy. Curtis stated along with other Republican members of the Joint Economic Committee, that the Johnson budget for fiscal 1965 was an illusory budget, pointing out that several of the special budget techniques, which were used to

more

give the appearance of reduced spending, could be used only for a short time. The Budget also calls for many new Government programs which require a small outlay in 1965, but which will require considerably larger expenditures in future years. (1964 Joint Economic Report on the Economic Report of the President--Minority Views, p. 40).

Federal Debt

Tom Curtis is not only a leading spokesman for the Republican party on the subject of the many facets of federal debt but is one of the closest students of debt policies in the Congress. Curtis in a speech before the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Independent Bankers Association (4-10-64 Cong. Rec. 4-22-64, p. 8545) stated that the officials of the present administration responsible for our fiscal policies finally recognized that our federal tax structure was impeding this country's economic growth, but they were still unconcerned about the economic impact of the federal debt. In that speech, he pointed out that debt is simply deferred taxation and that federal debt is inextricably woven into our monetary policy, and that unless tax policy was developed with these things in mind, serious economic consequences could result. Curtis believes that debt policy should be as neutral as possible. It should be used as an adjunct to tax policy. Its main purpose is to spread the payment for capital assets over their useful life so that those who benefit from the assets may more equally bear the cost of them. Debt can also be used for current expenditures in times of emergency, such as war, so that too great a burden will not be placed on the tax structure.

Likewise, Curtis believes that monetary policy should be as neutral as possible. Its purpose should be to establish and maintain money as a stable unit of purchasing power--a dollar undiminished by inflation. It should provide an equitable medium of exchange between goods, services, labor and savings. In pursuit of this objective, Curtis feels that the amount of money in circulation should relate to the nature and amount of the economic activity within the society at a given time.

Tom Curtis believes that even in pursuing neutral monetary, tax and debt policies, an economic impact will still result, but the objective of the policy should be to minimize the economic impact rather than maximize it. Curtis feels that the dominant school of economic thought in the Administration today is one which seeks to use tax, monetary, and debt policies affirmatively to deliberately bring about certain economic and social results, not to minimize them.

Curtis was also one of the most vocal speakers during the debates on the debt ceiling increases in the past several years. He is an advocate of using the

more

debt ceiling as a mechanism whereby Congress can exercise its judgment on the rate of federal expenditures for any given year, even though he recognizes this is a cumbersome method. He has also been a close student of the economic consequences of deferred taxation--which is debt. He is particularly concerned with possible inflationary pressures which can come from financing the debt, and its effect on our balance of payments position.

One of Tom Curtis' major interests has been in the field of federal budgetary and accounting procedures and at the present time he is a member of the Joint Economic Committee's Subcommittee on Economic Statistics.

Balance of Payments

Curtis has emphasized the urgent need in our economy to eliminate the balance of payments deficit by coming to grips with the underlying causes. He proposed that the U.S. establish a stable price level, eliminate chronic budget deficits, and seek to equalize competitive conditions between U.S. exporters and those of other industrial nations. He criticized the Kennedy administration proposal for an "Interest Equalization Tax" as a weak solution to stem the outflow of private capital from the country. He considered the tax thoroughly discriminatory and full of loopholes. More important is the establishment of a favorable investment climate in this country and putting our own Federal fiscal house in order. As steps in this direction, Curtis suggests an improvement in the return on stockholder's equity, and a revision of depreciation schedules to make them more realistic in relation to the facts of modern technology. Achieving a balance of payment equilibrium Curtis urges, should be given top priority in the Nation's economic policy and the U.S. should work to strengthen international monetary and credit mechanism if we are to prevent serious crippling or collapse of world financial structures.

PROCEDURES

Curtis believes in safeguarding individual rights and in the promotion of progress by the establishment and adherence to sound rules of procedure. To him, rules, carefully prepared and honestly followed, are one of the surest guarantees of our freedom.

Curtis is always alert for measures that will allow Congress to act more swiftly and efficiently on legislative proposals. He is a close student of the procedures of the House of Representatives and attempts to inform Congress of any improvements possible for moving its considerations forward while still providing adequate rules for honest and meaningful debate. Columnist Roscoe Drummond wrote that Curtis was an important champion of modernizing the creaky machinery of
more

Congress. (Look magazine, "Speaking Out". 2-9-63). In his participation in the non-partisan Brookings Institution Studies on Congressional Reform as well as the Orville Dryfoos Conference at Dartmouth College in March 1964, Curtis has urged revision of the House rules of procedure to insure that Congress becomes a truly deliberative body rather than one which is a mere channel for measures sponsored by the Executive Branch.

Curtis has urged that Congress seek to meet the adjournment date of July 31 each year, as prescribed by law, instead of wasting time at the beginning of the session and extending business into late autumn. With an earlier adjournment, Congressmen could get home early and maintain an active role in the community of the district they represent.

Within committees, Curtis is just as strong for sound procedure. Finding none in the Joint Economic Committee when he joined it, he cooperated with its new Chairman, Senator Douglas (D.-Ill.) in drafting rules for the Committee. Where he has found rules violated in his committee, Curtis has been quick to insist that there either be compliance or, if justified, a revision of the rules. Similarly, when the membership of the Advisory Council on Social Security Financing appeared "stacked" with men who had publicly endorsed medicare before appointment, Curtis fought for a more fair representation on the issue. An objective report should represent the interests of those who oppose medicare as well, Curtis maintained. (Cong. Rec. 9-17-63, p. 16420).

He has taken a leading role in the fight for adequate committee staffing for congressional committees. He has made a firm stand of objection to the imbalance of committee staffing which greatly handicaps the Republican minority and has appealed to Democratic members of Congress to recognize this injustice. Curtis points out that the important work of the minority in Congress is essential to a sound political structure in America, but that work cannot be carried on unless Republicans as well as Democrats are allowed adequate working staffs. He called for and led the fight for an increase in Republican staff representation on all committees from the existing 10% of total to a more just percentage of 40% so the committee will be able to operate more efficiently.

Curtis has consistently opposed gag rules and other unrealistic restrictions on debate, such as the use of the suspension of the rules procedure on major legislation (Cong. Rec. 9-7-61, p. 17481), which prevents thorough consideration of measures. He has also publicly castigated committees which fail to provide their records and reports for adequate study before the bills which they have reported come to the floor for debate, and the failure of committees to give adequate

more

study to items brought to the floor. (Cong. Rec. 6-21-62, p. 10538)

He believes that there is a definite role for committees to play as an arm of the parent body, to study and report but not to decide issues which must be left, with the proper information, for the House to work its will. He also holds that the committee structure should be used for working the committees' area of special interest rather than having ad hoc investigation by individual members or unofficial groups. (Cong. Rec. 9-7-62, p. 17482)

Curtis sees the importance of keeping the Congressional Record an accurate, non-partisan report of the happenings of Congress. When he found political slanting in tables introduced in the Record's daily digest by Democratic congressional leaders, Curtis brought this to the attention of Congress which brought an end to it. To prevent abuse of the Record by Congressmen under the permission to revise and extend remarks, he co-sponsored legislation which would require the printed Record to differentiate words spoken in the House from those extensions and revisions made later, thus assuring a more dependable official report.

Curtis sees the weakness of congressional procedures which cite individuals for contempt, and has introduced legislation to increase the speed and skill with which Congress can deal with such situations. In 1960, he opposed the citation of Bernard Goldfine for contempt on procedural grounds and defended Port of New York authority officials cited for contempt when division of time for floor debate on this question was controlled entirely by those favoring the citation. His proposal would establish screening committees in both Houses to study requests for contempt citations, and would give Congress authority to resort to an optional declaratory judgment procedure when a witness refuses to testify or to produce papers before congressional committees.

In the wake of charges that Congressmen were careless in spending government funds for their own benefit while on congressional expense accounts, Curtis joined in introducing legislation to tighten accounting procedures for House members. (Cong. Rec. 6-15-60, p. 11831).

MORE CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS AND CONGRESSIONAL REFORM BATTLES

While many were content with branding the 89th Congress as merely a rubber stamp for the Executive, Curtis was actively studying ways to improve congressional procedures and organization to deal effectively with the issues of a modern technical age. Tom Curtis served as the senior House Republican member of the joint Senate-House Committee on the Organization of the Congress. For two years that committee held hearings and conducted studies on Congressional reform, and unanimously reported in 1967 the Legislative Reorganization Act (S. 355).

more

The Legislative Reorganization Act contains over one hundred recommendations including more open committee hearings, restrictions on proxy voting in committee, radio and TV broadcast of committee hearings, additional minority staffing, rights of minority to call witnesses, removal of postmasters from the patronage system, and restrictions on lobbying.

One of the provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act which did get separately passed is one which bears Curtis' strong imprint--a standing Ethics Committee for the House. Congressional ethics has long been a matter of great concern to Curtis, often pointing out that the Congress was one of the few large institutions or professions that did not make significant efforts to police the conduct of its own members. It was concern for maintaining the integrity of Congress as an institution, and setting the necessary precedents for the House to follow in ethics cases, that promoted him to introduce the resolution which called for a vote of the Congress on the exclusion of former Congressman Adam Clayton Powell on March 1, 1966.

After the establishment of the House Ethics Committee--the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, Curtis appeared before them on April 13, 1967, (Cong. Rec. H4213-5) and testified on his suggestions for a workable code of Congressional conduct which contained as the fundamental provision full disclosure of all uses of official funds by Congressmen or Committee staffs, and disclosure of all sources of campaign revenue and contributions. (The Committee reported back to the House late in 1968).

Curtis has also proposed many bills designed to expand the ability of the Congress to investigate other areas of governmental activity, and to enable it to collect and assimilate information so that it can improve its function as a study and deliberative legislative body. Among these are a bill to create a select committee to conduct a study of the fiscal organization and procedures of the Congress, a bill to modernize Congressional control over the federal budgetary process by requiring that the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate, to establish a subcommittee of the Senate-House Joint Economic Committee on the Federal Budget and Fiscal Policy, and to increase the auditing functions of the General Accounting Office. Another important Curtis bill would provide for the establishment of a Minority Economic Council responsible to the party not in control of the White House which would serve significantly to improve economic study and action in the federal government, with better economic policy an almost certain consequence.

Among the honors he has received for his work to bring about governmental reform is the Citizens Committee for the Enactment of the Hoover Commission Recommendations Citation, the endorsement of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, the Ripon Society, and Republicans for Progress.

LOCAL

While Curtis is one of the most active Congressmen nationally, he has maintained an active, working concern for the welfare of his district and state as well. His interest in local projects and individual cases in the St. Louis area has brought favorable legislative action on a considerable number of issues. Curtis seeks to help resolve the inevitable differences that arise between federal government and the individuals, businesses, and governmental units in the area he represents.

Through Curtis' single-handed efforts, a restudy of plans for the flood protection of the Meramec River Basin was initiated with the Corps of Engineers cooperating with interested local groups to come up with a sound plan for action. (Cong. Rec. 3-29-60, p. 6402). He sees great potential for this underdeveloped resource near the St. Louis area, and has urged that state and local authorities give it high priority.

To preserve the natural beauty of Ozark scenes, Curtis has worked with other Congressmen in drafting a new plan for the creation of the Ozark National Rivers Project. The plan establishes land near the Jacks Fork and Current Rivers in southern Missouri as a national recreation area and would allow the Park Service to acquire scenic easements from land owners, allowing them to remain on their property. The bill which was finally enacted into law contained his proposals for scenic easements for recreation purposes rather than an outright purchase of the land.

He aided the famed St. Louis Municipal Opera by having the Internal Revenue Code amended to extend exemption from admission tax to "musical performances" such as those of the Muni Opera. He appeared before the Civil Aeronautics Board supporting the position of the St. Louis based Ozark Airlines in a route application case, calling attention to the improper activities of a Board member. Recently he has urged creation by the Civil Aeronautics Board to investigate possibility of licensing more flights between St. Louis and Denver and other western points. He has cooperated in the strengthening of the Bi-State Commission working for the development of the area centered on St. Louis.

For the financial benefit of both St. Louis and the federal government, Curtis recommended that the land site of the Old Customhouse at Eighth and Olive Streets

more

be sold to private interests and the Post Office be rebuilt on another location more suitable to government needs, closer to existing federal buildings. Curtis' belief in and study of this project has led him to the belief that it would be cheaper not to demolish the old building and rebuild on the same site, but rather to sell it and put this valuable property back on the tax rolls. Curtis appeared before a subcommittee of the Public Works Appropriation Committee in opposition to an appropriation of federal funds for this project before a more complete economic and feasible study was made. He placed this correspondence with the GSA in the Congressional Record (Aug. 13, p. 13674).

He has also been instrumental in obtaining relief for individuals through private legislation, when all other remedies have failed.

December 10, 1968

Mayo

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

Thank you for your good letter of November 29 and enclosed copy of the letter from your friend in the Bureau of the Budget.

I fully appreciate the problem presented by this communication and hope appropriate action can be promptly taken to reassure these governmentalsists that the new Administration will be far more "evaluative" than the one just displaced.

I appreciate your calling this matter to my attention, Don, and look forward to seeing you soon.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

file

450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 661-6400

December 3, 1968

The Hon. Donald Rumsfeld
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 25th with the enclosed report from the White House Fellows Association to the President. I share your belief that it will be necessary for the Nixon Administration to establish good channels of communication with the younger generation.

I enjoyed reading the report and I have requested that certain members of my staff contact various members of the White House Fellows Association who were instrumental in preparing the report. I shall keep you informed of any decisions which we reach in this area.

Again, many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending the report.

Sincerely,



H. R. Haldeman
Assistant to the
President Elect

HRH:eg

cc: Mr. Bryce N. Harlow ✓

December 3, 1968

The Hon. Donald Rumsfeld
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 25th with the enclosed report from the White House Fellows Association to the President. I share your belief that it will be necessary for the Nixon Administration to establish good channels of communication with the younger generation.

I enjoyed reading the report and I have requested that certain members of my staff contact various members of the White House Fellows Association who were instrumental in preparing the report. I shall keep you informed of any decisions which we reach in this area.

Again, many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending the report.

Sincerely,

R. H. Haldeman
Assistant to the
President Elect

RHH:eg

✓ cc: Mr. Bryce Harlow

DONALD RUMSFELD
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT
OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE
AND ASTRONAUTICS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
ROOM 506, CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
CODE 202, 225-3711

13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS
TOWNSHIPS OF:

ELK GROVE	NORTHFIELD
EVANSTON	PALATINE
NEW TRIER	SCHAUMBURG
NILES	WHEELING

November 25, 1968

Mr. Robert Haldeman
Assistant to the President-Elect
The Pierre Hotel
5th Avenue and 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

Attached is a report to the President of the United States which was prepared by the members of the White House Fellows Association, dated October 1968. I have read it and found it to be a most interesting presentation on the subject of the Federal Government and the Student Community. In that this promises to be a problem area for the new administration, I wanted to personally call it to your attention.

It seems to me that some of the recommendations are sound and might well offer some possible ways for the new administration to assure that the coming four years is a period of participation rather than a period of confrontation. You will note that some of the suggestions offer ways to identify, select and involve some of the top student leaders in the country. Certainly, there is no way to satisfy everyone, but it seems to me that involvement is the best way to avoid some of the problems which could occur.

Sincerely,

Donald Rumsfeld
Representative in Congress

DR/mf
Enclosure

Office of the President-Elect
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021
November 21, 1968

Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Don:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 11 offering the services of your Special Assistant, Mr. Bruce Ladd.

I will refer your letter and Mr. Ladd's resume to the appropriate individuals in the transition organization in the hope they may be able to utilize the talents Mr. Ladd has demonstrated.

Thanks again for all you continue to do. Your own personal recommendations are, of course, greatly appreciated and highly valued.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to
The President-Elect

BNH:ph

*Your Sue did a
gorgeous job in the
campaign. What a
doll*

Ziegler 11/21