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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1976

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy/Defense --
Preliminary Thoughts

As of this moment, I think the President's essential objectives should be these:

-- Posture himself as sufficiently hard-line that no major candidate can run to the right of him on defense and foreign policy;

-- With this position clearly staked out, he can move more easily to negotiate with the Soviets and others; the campaign should not be allowed to interfere with whatever prospects there are for a good SALT agreement;

-- The President should also establish himself more clearly as the leader of the Free World alliances; we have to concentrate on substance as well as media events such as New Orleans;

-- It is urgent that we develop and articulate more clearly our policies for dealing with foreign problems now brewing in many parts of the world (e.g., Southern Africa). These policies should be explained out of the White House for a change, not out of State.

-- We must come up with an effective way to reconcile our commitment to free trade with the import restrictions that are being pressed on us.

-- Finally, I think it is important that the President become a world leader in cleaning up the mess with multi-national corporations. Many of those corporations are American based, and we are the only ones with real leverage.



Based on these objectives (all of which are probably obvious), let me offer a few wildcard suggestions on ways to approach them.

1. Appointments by the President -- Appointments remain one of the most creative areas for any President, and there are several available now within the defense and foreign policy establishment.

a. Foreign Policy Advisory Board -- The President already has PFIAB which brings in luminaries on the intelligence side. Why not have an all-star cast of outsiders who could meet with the President periodically to talk about the full range of defense and foreign policy issues? Could be an ideal avenue for introducing greater bipartisanship, tapping various segments of our society who now have a keen interest in foreign policy, bringing the President into more regular contact with leading Americans.

b. Roving Ambassador -- My government organization manual shows U. Alexis Johnson and Ellsworth Bunker as "Ambassadors at large". What do they do? Can't we have a more active, visible roving ambassador who would report directly to the President and could be sent to some of these trouble spots? The Secretary of State, as superhuman as he is, cannot possibly cover everything.

c. Openings at State -- The Ingersoll and Sisco departures are a blow but they are also very much of an opportunity; I understand that more departures may be coming (e.g., the grapevine has Sonnefeldt and McCloskey on the list). At least one of these openings should be filled with a well-known hardliner and from outside the current Administration. All of them have to be classy. (Duval has an interesting idea on this.)

d. Cabinet Level Committee on the Multinationals -- We should either move to a cabinet level committee headed by Richardson (I'm told that Simon has no objections, but this would have to be checked) or the President should appoint a distinguished outsider to head up an ongoing effort. The purpose should not be to punish what has already happened but to work with the international community to develop higher, more enforcible standards. Richardson would be an ideal chairman. I would strongly recommend against a sub-cabinet committee; this only tries to buy a problem that may easily unseat at least one major government in the world.



2. Presidential Events

a. Military Review with Congress -- The President's interest in a bigger defense budget would be graphically illustrated if he took a passel of Congressional leaders on AF 1 down to Ft. Bragg or elsewhere where they could be shown new military hardware ideas and could be briefed on our defense needs. Might have one day of this for the Army/Air Force needs and a separate day down in Norfolk to cover the Navy. Don Rumsfeld could put on a fantastic show that would bring home to the whole country what our needs are.

b. Personal Presidential Review -- Other Presidents have gone to watch moon launches and aircraft maneuvers. What about this President going up in an aircraft to watch one of those cruise missiles being fired?

c. Academy Graduation -- The President ought to speak at either Annapolis or West Point graduation exercises.

d. Volunteer Army Event -- All of us are keenly interested in the success of the volunteer army. The President could visit a base, review some of the new methods of training, and spend an evening in a mess hall both eating and meeting with the troops. It's time to establish his identity more clearly as commander in chief.

e. Armed Services Day -- Should be used creatively.

3. Presidential Speeches

a. U.S. Relations with the Soviet Union -- The President needs a full-blown speech on this subject in which he lays down a fairly hard line but also makes clear his commitment to negotiations, peace, etc. The sooner the better.

b. Defense Needs of the U.S. -- I would suggest this as a separate speech; some of it can be woven into the speech above, but we really need a single, isolated speech just on this topic.

c. The U.S. and Europe -- Having given a Pacific speech last year, we should be looking for an opportunity to talk now about U.S. relations with Europe. One of the Atlantic Community groups (perhaps in NYC) would provide a good forum.

d. United Nations -- He should speak at the opening session of the U.N. this fall.



e. The International Economy -- This will not awaken the country, but it is important to an influential segment and should be addressed in a serious way. Would also help to burnish his credentials as a serious President.

f. The World's Future -- Many young people are interested now in the ideas of the futurists and studies by the Club of Rome, etc. If we could ever put it together, this would provide an ideal topic for an appearance at a topflight university.

All of these are in addition to the State of the World message. I would suggest that NSC and DOD be tasked with preparing drafts on subjects (a) and (b) right now so that we'll have them ready for early use.

* * *

Let me emphasize these are preliminary thoughts. I will be happy to follow them up in any way that would be helpful.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1976

MIKE DUVAL --

F.Y.I.

Dave Gergen

H-
Stunt

Dave Gergen
file

Thanks -
M

File Copy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 11, 1976

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: 4th of July Celebration

You asked that I provide you with a brief memo outlining my idea for the 4th of July.

In tentative planning for the 4th of July weekend, all of the President's appearances are outside the White House and many of them are outside Washington. In my view, there should be at least one major, celebratory event here and it should be something very, very special -- something that only a President can do.

May I recommend consideration of a dinner the night of the 4th here in the White House (a Sunday evening) at which the President presents Medals of Freedom to about a dozen of the most outstanding men and women in the country and to which are invited past winners of the medal as well as other luminaries. It could be a very colorful event because about half-way through it the guests could go outside (on the balconies or on the grounds) where they could watch one of the most spectacular fireworks displays in Washington's history -- and they would have the best seats in town. I understand that several hundred thousand people may be on or around the Monument to watch the show and that the networks may carry portions of it. (If the networks are roaming free that night to celebrate the 4th, they would almost surely pick up on White House festivities.)

The most important point is that the President would be showing to the entire country what wonderfully accomplished people there are in the United States. It would be a unifying, uplifting experience for millions of people to see a President honoring the very best our country has to offer and to mix that with the patriotism and pageantry of the 4th.



We might even consider a picnic on the South Grounds for the occasion. The drawback there is that it may appear to be too elitist for those who are outside the gates.

Incidentally, you may remember that JFK once had a very memorable night at the White House when he honored all of the Americans who had won the Nobel Prize. As I recall, his comment to the guests that night was to this effect: "There hasn't been as much genius collected in this room in the White House since Thomas Jefferson used to dine here alone."

bcc: Mike Duval

5/10

Henry Group

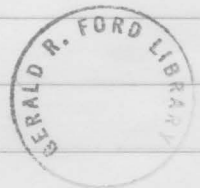
✓ I handle May leave mtg.
She should hold to brief
on driveway afterwards.

Press briefing (Nesson) likely
to be going until 1:15

✓ STRAUS - invite (Nicholsen doing)



✓ Announce Announce FEC decision
Thursday ~~night~~ late afternoon



I brief Jerry Jones

Bill Seidman

→ Reagan in Michigan

Thurs
+
Fri

action [get surrogates in]

of cost
Simon
Harley

First Family: Susan + Jack

→ Michigan Group running
Coordinator will ask for
surrogates: James DeFrancis
(517) 487-5413

* they will also control Congressman
like surrogates of Congressman

→ must make TRAIN decision quickly
+ then pursue aggressively.

→ Must get Press (Michigan)
bring them here ??



**

No new ~~to~~ initiatives

Give "The Speech" in
Detro. + follow up
at each stop.

Use Michigan stats.

Frank
of Oregon

Issues:

- welfare
- budget / tax cut
- clean air
- regulatory reform

(all have "Big Govt." spin)



Morgan -
Africa
& P shall explain;
the head-on.





(JiT. Rm)

Conner - Marsh, Jones, Foster, Nicholson, Cavanaugh, McFarland, Conner

Jones: overexposed

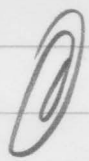
Daryl: overexposed and serious lack of decisiveness
+ in control.

↳ Busing - conscience get over ASAP.

↳ O'Neill on Tax Cut

↳ July ~~4~~th Bill Cavanaugh

Nelson



I call re 4/12



② I work w/ Bud on plans for Summit



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RBC HAS SEEN
AUG 3 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1976

(Handwritten circled number 7)

Feb

Duval
see me
Dick

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *dx*

SUBJECT:

Strike Force on Government Waste

As you know, we have talked a good deal about ways to cut back on government's excesses and we have actually made some important breakthroughs (eg; father-son regulations), but we have not yet set up a coordinated effort that achieves continuing results.

The attached article on Jerry Thomas shows that we have the solution right beneath our noses: I recommend that the President call Jerry in (along with Secretary Simon), tell him how pleased he was by the article, ask him for ideas on how to proceed in other areas of the government, and then walk Jerry and Bill out before the press where the President would express his pleasure at Jerry's performance and then appoint him as Head of the Federal Strike Force to cut out government waste, inefficiency and excessive bureaucracy.

The mandate for the new job could be roughly this:

- Thomas would pull together a sub-cabinet group from across the government (including the McAvoy effort plus any other pieces floating around).
- The group would not conduct still another study but would ferret out the most obvious excesses first and take swift action to correct them.

- Thomas would establish and maintain a direct relationship with the President, seeing him periodically and receiving his personnel clearance on some of the changes he would want to make.

There are many different reasons why we should go forward with this:

- We need a dynamic, take-charge person to get this project fully off the ground. Thomas is perfect.
- We desperately need fresh faces on the national scene. Jerry is well-known in much of the South, but he has not yet fully blossomed nationally.
- Jerry has more political sense in his little finger than many of our friends have in their entire bodies.
- Once installed in a more visible position, Jerry may become even more effective as a Presidential spokesman.

The only ~~negatives~~ I can see are that this comes very late in the day and some observers might regard him as too much of a right wing ideologue. The first problem is one that will only worsen the longer we seem to be lacking an effective, overall strike force. The second one can be handled by Jerry himself in the way that he handles the job. Let me also note that I see no reason why he could not remain at Treasury and do this job, so that we would not be undercutting Secretary Simon. In fact, I think he might appreciate this effort, so that we could possibly strengthen our ties in that direction.



Perhaps you would want Cannon, Greenspan, etc. to review, but if we could reach agreement soon, I would love to see the President pop this out this week. I have discussed this with Jones, Cavanaugh, Duval, Chanock, etc. and they are on board.

cc: Jerry Jones
Mike Duval
Foster Chanock
James Cavanaugh





Thomas Puts Knife to Government Fat

By CHARLES OSOLIN

Cox Newspapers Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — While the presidential candidates wear out their voices complaining about the bloated, wasteful and unresponsive federal government, Jerry Thomas is quietly trying to do something about it.

The conservative banker-politician from Jupiter, has been under secretary of the Treasury for only three months. But in the time it takes many new officials to learn the way to the executive washroom, Thomas already has shaken up the bureaucracy by:

• Refusing to use the government limousine assigned to him, and sending his chauffeur home to retirement in North Carolina.

• Offering to give up half of his office — already modest by federal standards — when another Treasury official complained that he needed more office space (the shocked official hasn't taken him up on the offer).

• Reducing overtime and overlapping in the use of Treasury Department vehicles, at an estimated saving of \$40,000 a year.

• Drafting an order that will restrict first-class air travel by Treasury Department employes, and require every employe to explain in writing why he had to fly first-class if an economy seat was available.

• Blowing the whistle on nine top officers of the government-financed U.S. Railway Association, who had been billing the taxpayers for thousands of dollars in membership fees and dues at private Washington clubs — with-

out the knowledge or approval of the association's board of directors.

Thomas admits that such attacks on the cherished fringe benefits of government service do little to improve his job security.

"Regardless of what happens in the (November) election, I won't be here very long," Thomas said in a leisurely, two-hour interview this week. "You don't make many friends doing what I'm doing."

But Thomas said his goal in coming to Washington was to win respect, not popularity, and he claimed the full backing of Treasury Secretary William Simon and President Ford in his drive to save taxpayers' money.

Since he arrived in March, Thomas said, he has witnessed "some of the most colossal

waste I've seen in my life." Using his Treasury Department post as a springboard, he hopes to develop and perfect proposals for cutting the size and cost of government.

If his measures work in Treasury, he said, he will submit them to Ford with a recommendation that they be implemented throughout the government by executive order — thus assuring that the bureaucrats won't revert to their old tricks as soon as Thomas leaves town.

Thomas' tightfisted approach to government is a holdover from his days as president of the Florida Senate, where he cut his office staff to two, banned eating and newspaper

Turn to THOMAS, A5



Jerry Thomas
... 'colossal waste'

WEATHER

Partly cloudy through Saturday. High in the mid to upper 80s. Low tonight in the mid-70s. Rain probability 60 per cent today and 40 per cent tonight.

Data, A2

The Palm Beach Post



Pyle Kennedy Pulitzer

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE GERGEN
FROM: MIKE DUVAL *MD*
SUBJECT: NEWS SUMMARY

Dave, I have a couple gratuitous suggestions for the news summary:

1. I think it should give the reader a quick understanding of how the major news outlets played stories in terms of which events receive coverage, in what priority, and the spin put on them. I recognize this will require some editorializing, but I think that's necessary in order to convey quickly the impact which the average listener/reader receives.

This might require reducing the dissemination of the summary, or having a supplement which goes to a very small group. In any case, I think it's worth it. Only the key policy makers, particularly those who have broad responsibilities, need get the thing anyway. I'd start with the flat rule that no one outside the immediate White House staff receive one, with the exception of Morton.

2. One way to accomplish this would be to start with the networks showing the evening news coverage for each network in the order presented, with one or two lines describing each story.

That could then be followed by a one-pager for five or six representative newspapers, again with the reader getting an impression of how the news was presented and a very brief feeling for the substantive content and the bias written into the story.



3. On key events, such as the Convention, major political address, and the like, I think it would be very useful to have an extremely brief analysis along the lines of the attached. (This is taken from that memo I talked to you about yesterday.)

Obviously, the distribution of this should be quite limited.

4. I think editorial endorsements/comments should be treated separately, and either broken out by region of the country, news medium used, or media markets.

I have one or two additional thoughts which I'd like to discuss with you personally.



fib
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: THE THIRD DEBATE



There appears to be a widespread assumption within the staff that in order to prepare for the third debate, the President does not need to spend much time with briefing materials or practice sessions, but only needs to modify a few stylistic points and work on some one-liners. I disagree with that assumption; to win decisively -- as we must -- far more is needed.

The perceived winners in the first two debates shared several characteristics:

-- In each case, the winner appeared to be more self confident and more relaxed;

-- In each case, the winner went on the offensive at the opening bell and kept his opponent backpedaling most of the time;

-- In each case, the winner had at least two or three major points or themes set in his mind before the debate started and kept pushing on them throughout, adorning the central ideas with a blizzard of facts and statistics. Carter was especially effective at this in the second debate, opening and closing with the same thematic points so that that the viewer came away thinking that he had a clearer concept of than the President of what he wanted to achieve. By contrast, the President was much, much better at responding to the questions asked, but his answers did not fit within a sharply defined framework. His answers were very factual but they weren't hung on any pegs or central ideas.

If these conclusions are correct, then it is clear that we ought to be aiming for a Presidential demeanor that is more confident, relaxed, occasionally humorous, and forceful. Very early in the debate, he needs to set forth the major reasons why he, not Carter, should be President. In order to keep Carter on the defensive, he

must surprise Carter with points not made in the first two debates. And it is essential -- a point I want to emphasize -- that in the opening moments he lay out the themes he will not only pursue for the rest of the debate, but on which he will rely for the next two weeks to win the election.

Personally, I think that to accomplish all of this will require not only a great deal of staff time, but also a large chunk of concentration by him -- matching the first debate. As long as he will be staying off the campaign trail for five days (a mistake, in my view), there is nothing more important for him than to find the best way to knock Carter out of the ring on Friday night. The election may be won or lost by the way in which his time is constructively and imaginatively used between now and Friday.



What Must Be Done

1. Thematic Materials. We need to settle now upon 3-4 major themes and then develop the following:

-- An opening and closing statement that builds on these themes.

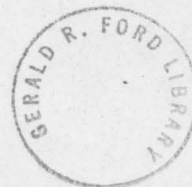
-- Factual and statistical papers that back up these central ideas.

-- The most devastating possible attack points on Carter within each of these areas.

-- Memorable one-liners that highlight the themes.

What themes should be pursued? Clearly, Teeter, Spencer and others need to be consulted, but let me put forth some ideas. In my view, we must make Carter the issue for the next two weeks. We cannot change the perception of Mr. Ford, but we can change the perception of Mr. Carter. Here are the key issues, in my view:

A. At home, we are at a fork in the road. For the past 15 years, we have gone down the road toward bigger and bigger government, more and more spending, more and more taxes, and the result has been raging inflation, more unemployment and ultimately less freedom. Carter speaks of compassion, but his sort of compassion is precisely what has caused so much distress for people. Ford represents a turning away from that road -- and



his record proves that it will work. But Carter represents the same old road, a road that leads ultimately to social chaos. Within this general theme, we can work the arguments about taxes, inflation, etc. We should also run hard against the chaos of the 1960s -- much harder. The Democrats ran against Hoover for years, and we should do the same about the '60s. Also, we need to have a focus for the social frustrations that exist today, and that focus should be the excesses that started in the 1960s, not the policies of GRF.

B. Abroad, the peace that we have today is possible only because we are strong and ably represented at the bargaining table. We have to demand that Carter tell us exactly how he intends to cut the defense budget and highlight the contradiction between trying to be tougher with the Soviets while also being weaker in our defenses. Also, Dole very effectively brought out the peace themes in his debate; the President needs to push that point.

C. As to a vision of the future, I think we ought to abandon attempts to enunciate some clear sense of the future that is sharply different from Carter's. Both candidates stand for essentially the same thing: less inflation, more jobs, more housing, better transportation, etc. The real difference lies in the methods and in the underlying commitment to personal freedom represented by the President. We ought to sketch out a vision of the future, but let's back that up with a hard-hitting argument about experience and reliability in the Oval Office. One of the best ways that point can be made is to talk very precisely about the major decisions that the President, whoever he is, must make in the next four years: the SALT treaty runs out in 1977, negotiations in South Africa and in the Middle East are both in a delicate stage, a decision must be made on the B-1, major decisions must be made about energy, etc. Do you want those decisions made by someone with 25 years of experience in domestic and foreign affairs, or by a man that you never heard of a year ago?

2. Focus of Preparation: An excessive amount of attention has been given in the last two debates to the mechanical aspects -- how to look into the camera, taking

notes, etc. This time we should minimize those concerns and concentrate far more on practicing ways to present themes, one-liners, and cross-jabs at Carter.

3. Putting Carter on the Defensive: Each time we have talked about ways of using the days before the debate to put Carter on the defensive during the debate. Each time, in my view, we have failed to do that. We need to succeed this time. An idea that I am pushing is to have Reagan, Connally and Rockefeller here together this week and put them on for half an hour at 7:30 p.m. -- time bought by us -- for either a press conference or a three-way presentation that attacks the opposition and presents the case for the President. Your assistance on such a project would, of course, be very helpful.

4. Immediate Staff Projects: There are several projects which, in my view, should be parceled out to the staff as soon as possible:

-- Each member of the speechwriting staff should be tasked to come up with 2-3 pages apiece of one-liners and short zingers that might be considered for the debate and/or subsequent campaigning.

-- Substantive people should be tasked with reviewing Carter's arguments in the first two debates and the points that the President made in response; then they should figure out ways that our responses can be sharpened up. It is likely that Carter will make many of the same points again and we could be better prepared for him.

-- Someone should be assigned to look through the first two debates, the Dole-Mondale debate, and the news stories since the first debate to see what additional points have arisen since the original debate books were prepared. For instance, Mondale on three occasions now has criticized the fact that Ford Motor Company earned enormous profits but paid no taxes; I'll bet that's a phoney, but I don't the facts nor do most other viewers. We should check it out along with several other fresh issues.

5. Working with the President: In preparing for first debate, many different people had personal access to the President and had an ability to work on improving his answers, both politically and substantively. In the second debate, access was extraordinary restrictive. A wall was placed around the President. We won the first debate; we lost the second. In my view, there is no more convincing evidence of the insanity of preparing for the third debate in the same way we prepared for the second. This time, let's put a team together and stick with it and not get hung up in cloak and dagger games.

cc: Bill Carruthers
Dick Cheney

~~Greenspan~~ ✓ Gergen Duval

October 25, 1976

STATEMENT ON TAXES



Throughout this campaign, we have been told by the experts that there are no real issues this year, but as I have traveled in the West over the past weekend, I have discovered that one issue does weigh very heavily upon the minds of our people.

It is the issue of taxation.

For many, many Americans, the burdens of taxation far overshadow the benefits at every level of government. Taxes have become the fastest growing item in the family budget -- growing even more rapidly than inflation. And too much of the money paid into government coffers seems to be siphoned off not by those who are supposed to receive the benefits of government but by those who work for the government.

The American people deserve relief from the crushing burden of taxation.

This Administration has been in the forefront of the fight to hold down government spending and lower the tax burden. In the past two years, under prodding from the White House, we have enacted the biggest tax cuts in our history.

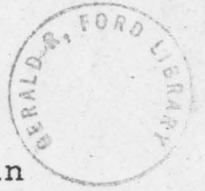
But more action is clearly needed.

I propose today that the first order of business in Washington in January should be an additional tax cut of \$10 billion. As soon as the new Congress is organized, I intend to meet with its leadership so that we can put

taxes at the top of the agenda for 1977

such
I will sign a tax cut
legislation if it
comes to
my desk
but
Congress
must
first
pass
it —
which was
for it was
failed to do

In the meantime, I believe that every candidate for high office in Washington in 1977 has an obligation in the closing days of this campaign to say precisely where he stands on tax cuts.



(for the Congress)

Specially, I call upon all candidates to tell

tell their prospective constituents -- before the

election, not after the election -- whether they will

support ^(the additional) tax cuts I have proposed, ~~as the parity~~ ~~in the new year~~ ~~within the next year.~~

I pledge to the American people that I will seek tax cuts as the first order of business, and I ask for the help of the voters in electing a Congress that will work with me toward that end.

~~I have directed my campaign organization to publicize these Congressional~~



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CAVANAUGH
FROM JIM REICHLEY
SUBJECT TAX STATEMENT

The Gergen tax statement seems to be a good one, and I would include it as part of a speech, probably on Wednesday in Chicago.

I would, however, use it as a one-shot, and not make it the single focus of the campaign for the rest of the week. I think it would be most unwise to try to turn the campaign at this point into a referendum on taxes, Yugoslavia, or any other single issue. First, because any issue cuts both ways, and the exact fallout is simply too difficult to calculate at this stage. Second, leaning on a single issue tends to become strident, which puts many voters off. Third, leaning exclusively on a single issue is not credible -- particularly an issue like lowering taxes, on which most voters are extremely skeptical. Nothing could be worse than for the voters to get the impression at this point that the President is simply one more deceiving politician. Our strategy has been to present the choice to the voters as a decision between the President and his opponent on the basis of a general impression of strength, honor, credibility, common sense and compassion. There are risks to this strategy, but the risks in switching to making the election a choice on a particular issue seem to me much more grave. Foreign policy, taxes, jobs, and inflation should now be given emphasis -- but as means to promoting the overall impression that we are convinced the voters in the end will prefer in the voting booth.

cc:

Dave Gergen
Foster Chanock
Jim Connor
~~Mike Duval~~
Jerry Jones
Jim Lynn
Paul O'Neill