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*July
March*

Philadelphia - Early 1789
Near Independence Hall
(in a small tavern)

General Washington:

Gentlemen, I've called this meeting to discuss frankly the campaign. You know I didn't want to be President. When I accepted Chairmanship of the Constitutional Convention, I felt after it ended I could return to Mt. Vernon. Now I hear we're in trouble, let's have the bad news from my Advisor.

Advisor:

General, we've got two problems. I know its hard for you to understand sir, but some of the former colonies, particularly in the South, are saying you're not strong on Defense. I know you were Commander-in-Chief during the War, but the opponents are saying except for Yorktown you didn't win any of the battles. And to show you how mean the campaign has become they are saying you lost Canada. That is the 14th Colony issue.

General Washington:

But we won the war.

Advisor:

General, I know we won the war, and the people



know we won the war, but you see, the British had more troops than we did, and they had four times as many guns. But in spite of that, you kept riding up and down the country saying we were number one and we could win. You see the people perceived the British were stronger. It's perceptions, Sir, that count in politics.

General Washington: H'mm, I see. I'm not sure I agree; but go on to the second issue.

Advisor: General, I hate to bring this up, but the people are saying you've spent too much time in Philadelphia. Being Chairman of the Constitutional Convention hasn't worked just like we thought. Let's face up to it, you were also a Member of the First Continental Congress.

General Washington: Gentlemen. He has hit on a real problem. There's an anti-Philadelphia mood in the country. I felt it as we tried to ratify the Constitution.



Advisor:

General, if I could be so bold, the Philadelphia issue is much broader than you think. It touches a lot of people. It cuts a wide swath among your supporters. Jefferson is out because he wrote the Declaration and Madison we all know drafted the Constitution. Adams who's mentioned for Vice President is part of the Philadelphia crowd and you may have to drop him. They have just spent too much time in Philadelphia. The people want to throw the Philadelphia crowd out. It's bound to cost us Hamilton and Monroe sooner or later. Thank heavens Franklin lives here or he'd be gone too. There's no doubt about it, General, serving in the Congress is a real liability for a man seeking to be President.

General Washington:

Gentlemen, this is a dilemma. How do we ever explain to the country what we've been doing here in Philadelphia for the last 15 years?

Jefferson:

General, we can't explain it. We're all going



to be tagged with the same stick. We can't shake the Philadelphia image, but I have a plan - Let's move the Capitol.

Hamilton:

By jove, Tom, you've got it, but where do we put it?

Jefferson:

Near Virginia, of course. But we will need a name.

Hamilton:

Washington, Tom, what else?

Advisor:

With a name like that, we're bound to win in November.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*discuss w/
March*

(File)

Attached is a memorandum entitled "Opportunities." It discusses possible forums and events for Presidential participation wherein he is afforded the opportunity to address defense and foreign policy matters over a two-month period.

It suggests a basic thematic approach in which each event is a building block in the general theme. This thematic approach is more fully developed in Tab A.

CAVEAT: It is essential in its consideration that the President's endeavors in the attached must be non-partisan and undertaken in his Presidential role rather than in a partisan campaign role. His participation in defense and foreign policy matters is based on the traditional premise that these areas are not politicized. Likewise, his Bicentennial participation must follow the rule established some time ago that his association with it would be removed from the political arena.



OPPORTUNITIES

1. President's Forum on the Third Century --- This is a White House Conference Bicentennial oriented that has as its principal emphasis foreign affairs and the United States role in international relations. The audience could be drawn from former United States diplomats, major industries engaged in world trade, academics or others. The subjects to be discussed would be: diplomacy, foreign policy of defense and economic interests.
2. Series of Presidential speeches on the United States Role in a Changing World (See Tab A.)

This concept envisions a speech on foreign affairs at least once every three weeks. The speeches will be in the nature of building blocks and will fit into a general theme setting forth the Ford Doctrine. For example, the following themes could be developed:

1. NATO and the Western Alliance.
2. United States economic relationships.
3. Western Hemisphere policy.
4. Leadership in a multi-polar world.

The events where these speeches might be given are as follows:

1. Truman Monument -- where the subject might be United States in a nuclear age.
2. Armed Forces Day -- where the subject might be defense and foreign policy.
3. The visit of the French President -- where the subject might be the Western Alliance.

6. Foreign Diplomats reception -- Special attention should be given to the forthcoming Bicentennial ceremonies marking foreign affairs which will involve the senior representatives of Embassys represented in Washington. This is a rather elaborate two-day event and steps should be taken to make the President the focal point of these events.
7. The United States Voice Overseas is the USIA. It is suggested there be a conference immediately with Jim Keogh to get from Jim his ideas about what might be done in the foreign arena through USIA to depict the role of the Presidency in the conduct of foreign affairs particularly in reference to the Bicentennial year.
8. Dedication of the National Defense University -- This is a merger of the National War College established by Teddy Roosevelt and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces dedicated by Eisenhower, into a national university. This can be done anytime in the next two months.
9. Summary -- Special attention should be given to building the President's foreign affairs role around a Bicentennial theme.

4. A Commencement Address -- where the subject could be Free World Leadership.
3. The President might wish to come up with what might be a Ford original in the field of foreign policy event. For example, he might proposed an inter-Departmentalsymposium which would be held in the East Room of the White House. Its objective would be developing the United States interenatinal outlook. The participants would be members of the Sub Cabinet of the Departments having a primary interest in foreign affairs with representatives of the independent agencies who have a similar interest.

The program might be:

1. Defense considerations.
2. Modern diplomacy.
3. Economic opportunities.
4. A shaping of national policy. in world affairs.



The purpose of the symposium would be to indicate a strong emphasis by the Ford Administration on United States overseas commitments and the opportunities for economic growth and individual opportunities.

This theme could also be tied into the Bicentennial.

4. International Bicentennial recognition -- This theme builds on the programs that are occurring in over a hundred nations of the world to honor the American Bicentennial. It would consists of surveying what is occurring overseas, developing a policy for the President to recognize certain events. Relating the events he is recognizing to the National interest and having a White House event that involves this aspect.
5. It is essential to compile a summary of the President's speeches and statements since he become a Member of Congress and in his other campaigns that relate to his position on interenational affairs.

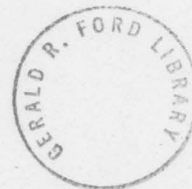
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM ON POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL
STATEMENTS ON DEFENSE AND FOREIGN
POLICY MATTERS

The President might give a series of related speeches on various aspects of defense and foreign policy which, taken together, would form a comprehensive statement of his beliefs and positions. Each speech would be independent but would also pick up themes and concepts from others. To insure consistency and sufficient advance notice, the speeches should be worked on as a package; after delivery they could be published together as the President's foreign policy statement.

The President could have an initial speech setting forth the subject of defense and foreign policy and touching all of the issues to be covered individually in speeches to follow. One way this might break down is the following:

- (1) The Basis of U. S. Defense and Foreign Policy - an overview of the history, legitimacy, and basis for foreign policy, and the tools to carry it out (diplomacy, assistance, covert and overt actions, etc.).
- (2) U. S. Role as Leader of Alliances - the role of alliances and allies in U.S. policy, and the recent history (since World War II) of NATO, SEATO, Korea, Vietnam, etc.
- (3) Relations with Neutrals - the changing U. S. view of neutrality; the role of the U. S. as mediator, peacekeeper and broker between factions and interests.



(4) Free World Versus Communist - a history of relations and review of the current situation between the U. S. , USSR and China since World War II, emphasizing diplomatic initiatives from strength.

(5) Role of Military Power - the need for and use of military power (including covert action) in an imperfect world; current evaluation of bloc forces, U. S. defense posture, etc.

(6) Role of Natural Resources in the International Economic System - the trends which will require greater interdependence in the world, especially U. S. reliance on other countries; U. S. initiatives to deal with its needs.

(7) U. S. Strengths in the International Economic System - the key U. S. strengths in economic policy (food, exports, technology, etc.) which must be capitalized upon to insure a place in the world and further its peaceful development.

(8) The U. S. Role in Humanitarian and Development Assistance - a review of U. S. efforts in civil and natural disasters, war relief, aid to less developed countries and the continued justification for the open-handed U. S. policy; need to balance industrialization with environmental concern world-wide.

(9) Challenge of the Future - recaps the themes and discussion of the previous 8 speeches with guidance for future U. S. policy.

From a quick review of the schedule for the next four months, the following events could be used as vehicles:

- May 8 - Truman Statute Unveiling, Independence, Mo.
- May 17 - Giscard d'Estaing Arrival
- May 27 - Image Convention, Dallas
- June 2 - Service Academy Graduation
- June 13 - Rotary International Convention, New Orleans
- June 16 - Future Business Leaders of America, D. C.
- June 17 - National Newspaper Association, Philadelphia
- June 20 - Kiwanis International, San Diego
- June 28 - U. S. Conference of Mayors, Milwaukee
- July 1 - Air and Space Museum Dedication, D. C.
- * July 4 - Independence Hall, Philadelphia; Q. Elizabeth Visit, D. C.
- July 5 - National Governors Conference, Philadelphia
- July 15 - Chancellor Schmidt Arrival
- July 20 - White House Reception for Diplomatic Corps in Honor of Bicentennial

Outlines for each of the nine proposed speeches follow.

* Queen Elizabeth will be in the United States for nearly one week beginning July 7.

(1) The Basis of U.S. Defense and Foreign Policy

Theme: the description of, and the basis for, the responsibilities of the American people towards the world.

The historical sweep should be very broad, including at least the history of the United States and how the events of our two centuries have affected and been affected by events in the rest of the world:

- Colonization of America as a part of European "fallout".
- American Revolution as a part of European struggles.
- The War of 1812.
- Civil War (especially the struggle for recognition by the South).
- Studied neutrality until 1917.
- League of Nations and its success or the United Nations.
- Asian and European politics of the thirties.
- World War II and the Cold War.

More important than U.S. participation has been U.S. moral force and ideas.

- The influence of the United States on French Revolution, on revolutions throughout Latin America during the 19th Century, and Asia and elsewhere in the 20th.
- The legitimacy of U.S. foreign policy making, stemming from the Constitution and the world's greatest functioning democracy.
- The changing world in which we live and the changes in governments, nations, aspirations and resources of those around us.

Finally, the necessity for our continued U.S. involvement and leadership, the only acceptable road for U.S. foreign policy as a positive force for good.



(2) U. S. Role as Leader of Alliances

Theme: the development of Alliances in the Post-World War II Era to recognize increased U. S. involvement in international affairs.

- Recognition after World War II in '47 of the inadequacy of the United Nations as peacekeeper.
- Realization of the Iron Curtain; the Communist countries, in spite of alliances of convenience to defeat common enemies, are fundamentally opposed to the Free World.
 - Creation of NATO, SEATO and CENTO to bolster the defenses of those countries with the U. S. nuclear guarantee.
 - The military alliances coupled with AID (Marshall Plan) and developing U. S. multi-national business and trade, having the effect of tying many close countries closely to the U. S. system (interpreted by revolutionaries as U. S. intent toward "neocolonialism").

The state of the alliances today - Western Europe and Japan strong; Australia and New Zealand, Canada feeling the necessity for independence, the Latin Mediterranean countries in doubt, Southeast Asia edging toward accommodation between the powers, etc.

The role of the United States in the domestic policies of allies

- the positive role for good; and the necessity for accepting policies we would not accept at home;
- the unacceptable alternative of non-involvement in foreign countries (South Vietnam, Dominican Republic, Korea, Greece, etc.).

The need for continued strength and commitment in alliances as a fundamental tool of U. S. foreign policy in spite of changing circumstances.

(3) Relations with Neutrals

Theme: The Era of U.S. as policeman of the world and moral instructor is past.

Need to distinguish fundamentally between acts which are contrary to the interests of the U.S., and ideologies which may or may not be.

- In the '50s and early '60s, emphasis was on ideological differences. We tended to divide the world into free and communist, with all others (including neutrals) in the other camp.
- Today, more realistic view accepts (given the racial, cultural, economic and historical differences between countries) the inevitability of different social, economic and political systems.

A more realistic U.S. policy is to set standards, both moral (which we live up to) and political (judging acts of others).

- The neutral is not necessarily a bad boy, merely a country which has cut a different deal. It can not expect our support or defense; its acts will be judged by their affect on us; it has chosen as a non-ally, to live up to that standard.

Brief review of history with major non-ally countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Recognition of the need for critical U.S. examination of the policies of these countries for their pro or anti-American basis and bias (i. e., steps taken in U.N. to tie aid to U.N. votes).



(4) Free World Versus Communist

Theme: The need for continued opposition to the expansionist policies of the U.S.S.R. and the Third World leadership of China.

There are fundamental differences between the U.S. position with respect to the two poles of the Communist world.

- U.S. -Soviet Union relationships are colored by immediate experience after the October revolution, a period of isolation and opposition in the Twenties and Thirties, of the wartime alliance and the history of subjugation of Eastern European countries, many of whom sent waves of immigration to this country.
- U.S. -China followed different path, only recently beginning a dialogue.

Today Soviet power is growing rapidly and has not relaxed; the country is on a war footing, and its economy dominated by military needs and priorities.

- No illusions in Eastern Europe about the necessity, after Czechoslovakia, to adhere to Soviet line.

Detente a limited policy with steps toward normalization - (SALT Agreements, problems with the Trade Bill, the grain deal, acquisition of technology, etc.).

- Time now to draw conclusions, no matter our initial policy pre-dilections or expectations.

With China substantial progress from the mutual ignorance and non-communication of '50s and '60s, (Presidential visits) and the door has been reopened.

- Nevertheless, China's role as leader of the Third World, as well as most populous country, demands attention and our concern.
- China seen as ideological leader of many emerging and revolutionary-minded countries, whose lead is followed in world organizations and forums - the New Mecca.

With U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia and no foreign military engagements, U.S. now has opportunity to further normalize relations while maintaining position of strength: but needs more concrete objectives - what is it we want to achieve?

(5) Role of Military Power

Theme: It's impossible for the United States to deal with its allies or other countries without position of unquestioned military strength.

In the realistic world of international diplomacy and power politics, moral force is not sufficient.

- Much as we would like to eliminate wars, etc., the world does not seem bent on doing so - over two hundred wars and revolutions (?) since 1945, when United Nations formed to eliminate them.

U.S. would never again, given nature of modern arms and adversaries, have opportunity to mount a retaliatory force while others fought.

- This has meant world-wide base systems and warning devices, sophisticated intelligence and observation vehicles (U-2) and a strategic force which could withstand attack.
- The President is Commander-in-Chief of the military forces and as the highest civilian authority, he must understand their roles and missions.
 - Define the missions envisioned for Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines with specifics on strategic roles, tactical missions, capabilities, integration with standby, Reserve and National Guard units, types of weapon systems and maneuvers required, etc.
 - Degree of integration of U.S. forces with those allies discussed as a key variable in U.S. military planning - i. e., dependability of certain NATO forces, communication systems, etc.
 - Overwhelming importance of continued research and development, and budgetary commitment, real indicators of Congress' and the American people's desire to maintain strength.



(6) Role of Natural Resources in the International Economic System

Theme: The world must continue to supply resources for the United States to maintain its standard of living and to provide the higher valued goods and services which we produce.

As key element of our foreign policy, economics has emerged not only as tool but as potential battleground.

- U.S. no longer independent of foreign countries for certain key resources - energy, certain metals, etc.

Alternatives facing the U.S. are to reduce growth rate, reduce demand for resources and fall behind; or maintain growth, expand our resource demands and continue to deal realistically for them.

- Need for realistic agreements and bargaining to insure resources, supplies. (For example, long-term contracts of Japan with iron/ore producers to insure Japanese needs.)
- This policy requires greater, not lesser, cooperation between U.S. industry and government. New ways of structuring agreements of dealing with multinational and multigovernmental arrangements must be found.

Particular challenge in the energy field of minimizing dependence on foreign controlled sources.

- Combined with programs at home, conservation and developed U.S. resources, we must have a policy of insuring access to low-cost sources outside the United States, if we are to remain competitive in the goods produced by energy.
- Recognition of the finite sources of fossil fuel and the need to develop alternatives, not just for the United States but if the world is to continue to run smoothly.
- Review of U.S. energy program and the Administration's proposal for international energy sharing organizations, etc.

The problems of economic cartels and agreements in oil and other products, particularly their impact on the least developed countries of the world.

(7) U.S. Strengths in the International Economic System

Theme: U.S. strengths (i. e. food, technology, manufacturing) the card we have to play in international economic affairs.

When U.S. was predominately rural country, it was isolationist, and the strongest adherents were farmers; in contrast, the Eastern Seaboard ship-owners, cotton growers and merchants looked across the Atlantic.

- As country grew and the dominant markets became domestic ones, U.S. interest in exports diminished in relation to total production.
- Trend has been reversing in recent years with exporting and importing increasing share of GNP.

Today, agriculture is leading export sector, contributes to balance of payments, and has involved U.S. production in markets throughout the world.

- Food policy is therefore an increasingly important instrument of foreign policy. It is a diplomatic resource to strength old alliances and build new ones.
- U.S. food policy has to date been handled in fragmented fashion, commercial, crop storage, aid and humanitarian policies.
- With increasing U.S. abundance relative to scarcity in the world, the natural result is a greater awareness of "food power".
- U.S. government is gearing up to pay more attention to coordinated food policy as instrument of foreign policy.

This is consistent with traditional U.S. humanitarian themes of assisting others in need, such as Belgium after World War I, earthquake and famine victims for over a century and a half (the first case was in 1829).

- Other important trade and service sectors (aerospace, machinery, technology, transportation, investment of assisted by monetary agreements, stabilizing marketing agreements, etc., designed to create conditions for expression and development world-wide.



(8) U.S. Role in Humanitarian and Development Assistance

Theme: United States has always and should continue to play a major role in delivering humanitarian assistance and in encouraging social and economic development, especially under new environmental constraints.

There is a solid basis in U.S. national interest for humanitarian assistance.

- Some other countries have higher percentage of GNP devoted to foreign aid, their impact is not as massive nor as even-handed (i. e. , we do not concentrate on ex-colonies).
- There will continue to be wars and disasters. America has the only "surplus" of magnitude to deal with them, and this is the thing for which America is longest and best remembered.

Humanitarian assistance is not a substitute for economic or social development, however.

- Countries should not become dependent on aid as a way of life, nor should we think that economic aid is given for humanitarian reasons.
- The Third World developed world gap is not closing and will continue to rancor in the Third World.

We need a new approach and feasible practical solution (an alternative to revolution) which will close the gap and minimize the potentially disastrous effects.

- This must include population control, resource development, and economic assistance.

The other side of development and industrialization is pollution. We can help others to balance man's progress and the forces of nature.

- Pollution is now a global rather than a regional problem, and international environmental concern has been formalized in the U.N. Specific solutions and prevention (oil spills, oil emissions, etc.) should and are being developed.
- This is another area of potential and actual U.S. leadership since we not only reached the problems of environment first, but have dealt with them most forcefully.



(9) Challenge of the Future

Theme: The American people must carry on the responsibilities assumed for the United States by the signers of the American Declaration to insure freedom and independence in our third century. (The speech would review the previous eight speeches and the key themes developed in each.)

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are established goals and ideals which are relevant today. Furthermore, they established obligations for the American people.

We cannot meet those obligations by becoming isolationists or by dropping out of the race.

- We must continue to assume the leadership of the Free World and of alliances.
- We must recognize the growing interdependence of the world, including our own economy with those of others.
- We must deal with the very real problems of energy, resources and food in responsible fashion.
- We must continue and even expand our humanitarian assistance programs as a means of improving and increasing U.S. influence in the world.
- Realistic and sound economic development policies are a similar necessity.
- The new challenges such as environment, alternative energy sources and the Law of the Sea should be dealt with consistent with our philosophy.

We must not relax our military guard because our focus has been broadened to include other international challenges.

- We still face implacable military foes, and we still have a role as peacemaker throughout the world.
- This requires research and technological excellence, as well as budgetary commitment.

Most important is the commitment of the will of the American people to exercise these roles.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1976

Sib

MEMORANDUM FOR:

✓ MIKE DUVAL
DAVE GERGEN

FROM:

JACK MARSH *Jack*

The writer is a former constituent who has always been active in local political affairs and follows national politics rather closely. He touches on a number of ideas in the attached letter, some of which I think have special merit.



Edward Kenneth Miller

May 2, 1976

Dear Jack:

Thought you'd be interested in just one grass-root thought and opinion, for what's it worth from a registered independent, whose waiting for the Democratic-Republican Party to be re-formed.

1976 ELECTION:

1. FORD:

- a. Needs more TV and publicity showing the "Boss" in Shirt sleeves in the Oval Office working as the Chief Executive, similiar to the one shown in the Wash. Post Sunday, May 2nd. Let him be himself. Forget style.
- b. Put David Kennerly and Susan out in the field supporting "Dad", the young voters need a beard and a pretty face, both come across "sharp".
- c. Callaway gone is a good step; it handled itself. I had two personal reasons for wariness of his administrating the campaign. Nesson, Next. Maybe someone like Jack Kilpatrick.
- d. Rog Morton, though a great fellow, comes across publicly as a man not physically well -- on TV. Beware of the Williams episode on Eastern Shore. He MUMBLES on TV.
- e. John Connelly: Both Democrats and Republicans I have talked to in private, said that he could have been President in 1976, if he had never changed parties.--??? He conveys born leadership. He's himself before camera as well as off, he doesn't posture or pose. I feel he's a good man, but he'd up-stage others less charismatic.
- f. Reagan: much support, but very shallow -- comes across still as an after-dinner speaker or as "Brother Rat", the actor, but what would the republicians have to keep the pot boilin'?
- g. Mrs. Ford: We all love her. She's herself with no pretentions, posturing or poses. Her children reflect that.
- h. The Ford Family: Comes across as Middle-America - so, show the family, playing together, working together, going to church together.
- i. Carter: Whew!!!! He follows all the rules of what the public wants, at this time. Anyone who is shown in Penna., coming down from a hotel, after the primary, carrying his own clothes, opening the trunk of the car, and placing them in himself, just has to be "one of us". It's the little things that count, ala Harry Truman.
- j. ~~St. Senate~~ Ed Thomas - Western Md. - Good man; Virginia educated. Running for Ford Delegate - will work with him.



GENERAL ISSUES:

1. Kissinger: Tell "Big Daddy" to hang in there - gold is tested by fire. His humor is a great asset. He doesn't listen to Kraemer.
2. Don Rumsfeld: Although he has the "grey-flannel" appearance of the original Nixon Staff, he is improving. The last TV appearance was great. His natural "self" has great appeal.
3. Dick Chaney: Lets see more of him publicly - he's a "sleeper". Comes across damn well and gives the impression of a deep thinker, may even be a philosopher. Like to take him fishing and canoeing on the Potomac River sometime.
4. Jack Marsh and Bob Hartmann: The two self-effacing "sphinxes", keep it that way - from silence comes wisdom. Old friends are the best.
5. Panama: Use care!!! The little American's don't want any wrong decisions on that one. Remember Stras-Hupe's thoughts you often quoted from the War College? Panama is behind on the Communist Time-table.
6. Rhodësia: The man in the street -- thinks we're meddlin'. The type of arrangements that "Big Daddy" is publicizing, doesn't set well, nor his personality just doesn't convey this type of negotiations. The Golden Rule applies in foreign affairs just as much as with an individual-- we'll reap as we sow.
7. Russia: It will take a Slavic mind to disturb the Russian imperialism. Only they know that and are fearful.. Question? Who is the advisor to Carter on foreign affairs? Carter for some unknown reason has found that out.
8. Big Business and Big Government: There is a great undercurrent for business and bureaucrats to shed the hypocrisy of position of leaders in both fields and revert to self-honesty. Bigness is like money, it is not evil, but the use must be in humility. Too many staff-functionaries controlling the decision making process and the public can see it. (See Donald Kendall's article in the Nation's Business, March issue. He see's it.
9. Next Ten Years: Will be an era of change in the mind's of men. The Nation's psyche will under-go a general trend of altered self-consciousness. The rights of man will once again consider commonsense as virtue and not power structures. A true democratic-republic. Irrespective of what Dick Scammon says, the qualifactions of the Presidency is as the wise and divinely guided founding fathers stated. Only - to be 35 years old and a natural born citizen.. No credentials required, no titles or wealth required. The best had none of these ~~viz~~; Lincoln, Truman, and particularly the Man from the Hill Country of Galilee..... who stated, "To be the Greatest, you must be the least".

Personal regards,

Eddie

Discuss the above with Bob Hartmann; I'd be interested in his thoughts.



5/8 11 A.M.

Marsh mtg

- Morton, Greenspan, Cavanaugh,
Chanack, Carlson, Friederichy,
Nicholson, Baroody, Schmitz,
Gergen, Smith, Hughes, Seidman, Cannon,
Buchen, Duval, Jones, Scowcroft.

Sunday

HAK.

Sunday p.m.

No photo; no briefing
report on specific arrangements.

Support HAK policies.

Mother's day - P take B.F. + kids
out to dinner.

Skip Radebush (V.A.) to ~~Wednesday~~
Tuesday afternoon.

STRAUS on FCC Tuesday

Announce decision ~~Monday~~ Wednesday

Monday Press Conf - No
(Morton - no)

Michigan - Jones has schedule w/ps
Seidman " theme, etc
get substance for
release + speech materials

Budget Resolution Action by Congress

- ① immediate blast
- ② follow up - msg to Cong
 - speech / clip
 - fact sheet
 -

* Jim Bohan - delegates to invite
to State Arrivals.



5/14 9am.

MARSH / GERGEN mtg.

Foreign

- Major State of the World Address
June 2nd at Service Academy (Navy)
w/ message to Congress.
- next week: 5/20 - Sign PNE
5/22-23 - Oregon Foreign Policy
Speech (Africa)

=

Domestic

Major East Room Mtg. on Big Govt.
Bonavoss, Moyers, etc

R/S

Block Grants

Regulatory Reform

etc



=

Major Press Conference

26, 27, 28 → see memo

→

Economic Event 5/21
Outside Economists.



(*) I do outline of "The Big Govt Speech" - plug all in.

① STRUBO FORCE - tie to S'Neil
last East Rm

My
Responsibility

② Energy Organization (FEA) ???
Can we do major energy speech

OPREC DECISION CK. w/ ZARB

③ get Clean Air Act
decision made. [Announce 5/25?]

④ major TAX cut speech?
current extension runs out
6/30.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS
(from California on 25th ??)

⑤ Quality of Education references in
Speech. / meeting
do crime mtg on AP-1

*** I get ISSUES from Leggit

⑥ D Welfare Reform Message

June 3 + 4

Message to Congress
+ Other Speech

⑦ Long-range Social
Security - Speech in Calif
- way. to Congress



May 13

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

File

John

 For Direct Reply
 For Draft Response
 XX For Your Information
 Please Advise

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1976

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your letter and I doubly appreciate the fact that you gave me your views in a clear and frank way.

I have taken the liberty of showing your letter to a few very key people, and I hope you do not mind.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

Mr. William J. Gill
Investment Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222



MAY 10 1976

William J. Gill

SUITE 1200

815 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

Investment Building
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

May 6, 1976

Mr. John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jack:

Last night I heard a news broadcast that claimed the President is being urged to brand Ronald Reagan as a reckless man who, if elected, might lead us into war. Previously, there has been a strong attempt to cast Governor Reagan as an alarmist who just doesn't know what he is talking about on the defense issue.

As you may recall, I was the father of the study, The Changing Strategic Military Balance, issued by the House Armed Services Committee in July 1967. This was the first "balance sheet" that ever publicly compared U.S. and Soviet strategic strength. At that time, nine years ago, the Soviets were already beginning to surge ahead of us in some important strategic areas and, as the study warned, if the trends then clearly established were permitted to continue, the USSR would achieve strategic superiority over the United States within a few years.

Anyone who has been close to this subject in the intervening years knows that the dangerous trends revealed by the House study have never been corrected. In fact, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's excellent posture statement to the Congress early this year makes this abundantly clear.

Therefore, every knowledgeable citizen realizes Mr. Reagan is on perfectly firm ground in his defense stand and the President can only damage his credibility if he persists in tangling with the Governor on this, the most critical of all issues facing our Nation.

Indeed, the President's defeats in Texas, Indiana, Georgia and Alabama are directly attributable to the plain fact that the people in those states obviously did not believe Mr. Ford's position was credible on defense and related issues.



Let me make my own position clear: I am not a member of Mr. Reagan's team or of any other candidate's team. I happen to believe President Ford has done a fine job of restoring public confidence in the government and in slowing inflation. For this, we must all be grateful to him.

But if the President tries to discredit Mr. Reagan on the defense issue he will destroy the public confidence he has worked so hard to build and the voters will be out to replace him in November, if not before that in the remaining primaries leading to the convention.

I address this letter to you because it was our mutual interest in the relative decline of America's defenses that brought us together during your first term in the Congress. Unfortunately, that relative decline has continued through all these years and I well understand the terrible position this places any President in as he attempts to deal with the increasingly volatile world around us.

Moreover, I hope that I am right in perceiving an attempt on the part of the President to halt our relative decline. He is to be complimented on the manner in which he has managed the progress of the defense budget through the Congress, although I confess I must remain skeptical about the efficacy of granting any further concessions in the SALT negotiations.

The President's statements on national defense lead me to believe he is being misled by our Intelligence community. He would not be the first President so misled, as you well know. And, if this is the case now, the President should act quickly to make certain some real intelligence is injected into the national Intelligence estimates of the strategic balance.

There is a way he can do this and restore his credibility, but it cannot be done by further attacks on Mr. Reagan's defense position. In that direction lies only additional diminution of Mr. Ford's credibility, a deepening division within his party, and, quite possibly, irreparable harm to the President's own attempts to shore up our defense.

I know, Jack, that you will do your best to prevent the President from making a mistake that could be fatal to his candidacy and, ultimately, to the Nation.

Respectfully,

Bill

William J. Gill



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: MIKE DUVAL *Mike*
SUBJECT: LOOSE ENDS

1. Terrorism. Dick asked me to discuss with you the memo I sent him sometime ago on terrorism, which I think he passed to you. I see that Secretary Kissinger endorsed some anti-terrorism moves by the West Germans yesterday. I continue to think we're far from being on top of this, and would very much like to discuss this with you before the opportunity is completely lost.
2. Ethnics, et al. We've had several discussions of late concerning our ability (or lack thereof) to deal with special interest groups. I'd also like to discuss this with you as soon as you have a moment.

Thanks very much.

