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APR 27 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RAY WALDMANN *Ray W.*

SUBJECT:

A COMPREHENSIVE DEFENSE AND
FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT

As you described the project to me, the President could 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.



MAY 4 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RETURN DIRECT TO MARSH
OR CHENEY.

PC1

ORIGINAL RETAINED FOR PRESERVATION



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P. file

What about

Queen's visit

Jul 4th July also -

Why not? -

(Added to memo)

GENERAL (UNDATED) EVENTS

- ① ✓ President respond to First Concurrence Budget Resolution (expected to be adopted May 15). Expand into major review of Congressional inaction on economic and domestic SOTU initiatives (Lynn/Seidman)
- ② ✓ Submit comprehensive regulatory reform legislation (announce Thursday, May 13?) (Seidman)
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- ⑩ • State of the World Address or Message to Congress (Baroody)
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- ⑫ • Meet with public interest groups concerning legislation (Seidman)
- ⑬ • Meet with the newly established Cabinet Committee on Drugs (Seidman)
- ⑭ • Send the Welfare Reform Message to Congress -- from Detroit (Seidman)
- ⑮ • Message to Congress on solutions for long-range Social Security financing (Seidman)
- ⑯ • Meet with governors and local officials on general revenue sharing (Seidman)

17 Signing ceremony for new legislation on National Guard and Reserve (Baroody)

18 White House Conference on the widening earning gap between men and women (Baroody)

Report Monday

~~SECRET~~

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

MAY

- 10 Park Service ceremony at Lincoln Memorial concerning handicapped (Baroody)
- 10-14 Credentials ceremony for the Ambassadors of Bolivia, Czechoslovakia and Yemen (NSC) ✓
- 11 President and Mrs. Ford host luncheon for Danish Queen Margrethe II (NSC) ✓
- 11 Family Theatre meeting on higher education (Baroody)
- 14-15 Business and Professional Womens Club Convention in Michigan, Ohio and New Jersey (Baroody)
- 15 Budget event in Congress (Lynn/Seidman)
- 17-20 State visit of French President Giscard d'Estaing (NSC) ✓
- 17-29 Proposed farewell call for Liberian Ambassador Peal (10 minutes) (NSC) ✓
- 18 Ethnicity and Education Conference - Rose Garden (Baroody)
- 20 Proposed meeting for former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir (30-45 minutes) (NSC)
- 21 Family Theatre education event (Baroody)
- 21-24 Business and Professional Womens Club California State Convention (Baroody)
- 24 Family Theatre Juvenile Diabetes event (Baroody)
- 25 San Francisco Chamber of Commerce event (Baroody)
- Possible office meeting with Sierra Leone President Stevens (NSC)

DECLASSIFIED
By 142 DATE 3/9/14

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
FROM: JACK MARSH

Attached is a list of general undated events numbered 1 through 18.

Actions were recommended on the following. The names of the individuals responsible for the action are also indicated.

- Item 3 - Reduction of waste and inefficiency. Jim Cannon has the action with a paper and recommendations due by the end of the coming week.
- Item 5 - Task Force on Federal Energy Organization. Jim Lynn is to develop points on this matter. Bill Seidman to coordinate.
- Item 6 - Statements on Clean Air Act Amendments. This is given a high priority. Seidman has the principal action for a proposal cob Monday.
- Item 7 - This matter should be developed in the last half of May.
- Item 8 - Foreign Source Taxation Bill. This matter is being brought on stream for possible action in the latter part of May.
- Item 9 - Themes for Domestic Policy. It was felt this was one the group should defer.

- Item 10 - The recommendation of NSC is to drop both but concentrate on a major foreign policy speech. NSC has the action.
- Item 12 - This matter involving revenue sharing is to be developed by Jim Cannon and Max Friedersdorf for later in the month.
- Item 13 - Cabinet Committee on Drugs. Jim Cannon has the action on this.
- Item 14 - Welfare reform Message. A two-step program was suggested with a Presidential announcement this coming week, and a formal message to the Congress later in the month. Cannon has the action.
- Item 15 - Social Security Financing. This is being developed by Jim Cannon.
- Item 16 - This is folded into 15 and will come forth in a joint proposal.
- Item 17 - National Guard and Reserve bill. Participation this week, but no firm proposal made.
- Item 18 - "Earning Gap". Due on Monday.

The second paper entitled "Calendar of Events", there are just a couple. The group considered events up through May 20th and recommended Presidential participation in the following:

1. May 11, Family Theater meeting on higher education.
2. May 18, Ethnicity and Education Conference, Rose Garden.
3. Meeting with Golda Meir.

In addition to the foregoing, special Presidential attention should be directed to the following:

1. Business Professional Women's Convention in the states of Michigan, Ohio and New Jersey. Bill Seidman has the action in coordination with Bill Baroody. It was suggested a video tape be considered for Presidential remarks in addition to surrogates.
2. The Budget Resolution can be expected around May 14 or 15. We have two basic themes:
 1. Uncontrolled spending by the Congress.
 2. The President's proposal for a tax cut.

Coordination for this is Jim Lynn, Bill Seidman and Doug Smith.

3. Forthcoming visit of the French President.

The following are matters of immediate consideration.

1. Some Mother's Day activity, preferably family oriented event.
2. The Defense statement for the Washington Monument exercises this Monday. Doug Smith has the action in coordination with NSC.
3. The Roudebush meeting should be scheduled late Tuesday. Cannon has the action.
4. Ambassador Meloy, Lebanon, could be a high priority event Monday.
5. The Mary Louise Smith visit on Monday should be followed by a meeting with Bob Strauss late Tuesday afternoon. No actions were assigned on both of these.

6. The President should call Carl Albert in lieu of a drop by for his birthday party.
7. A press conference on Monday should be deferred.

TUESDAY

Special attention should be given to the following:

1. A science bill. Cannon has the action.
2. Heritage leaders meeting. Baroody has the action.
3. The NSC meeting should be held to this date.
4. It is recommended that Rog Morton have dinner with the President unless the President goes to the ballet.

THURSDAY

1. The Peaceful Nuclear Agreement can be signed this Thursday, but the group recommended its deferral.
2. Major event this date is the speech on Deregulation. Schmults and Smith have the action.
3. The Jewish Dinner drop by requires additional thought and guidance. There is a difference of opinion as to whether these are drop by remarks or a platform speech.

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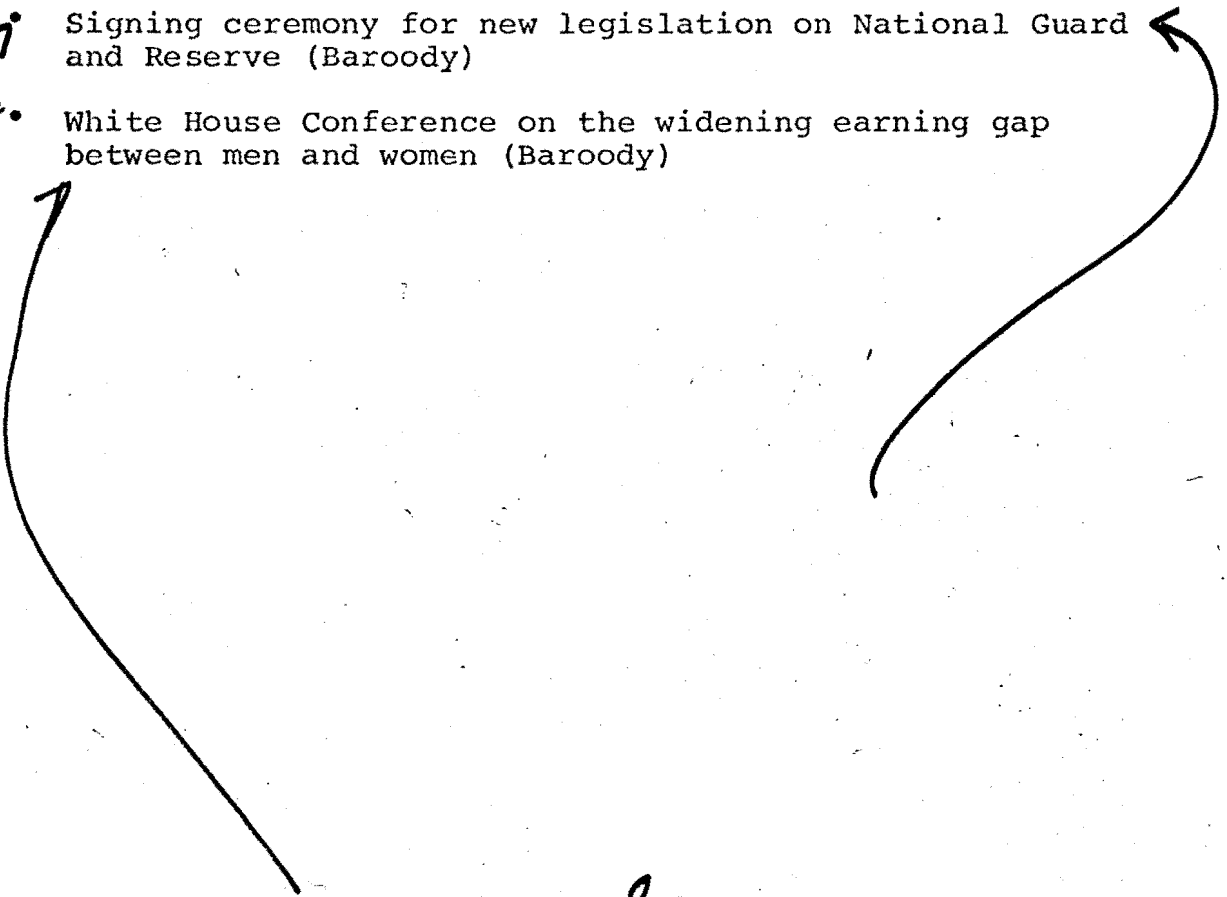
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EO 1.1
NSC 4.1
By NR 3/4/14

JUNE

- 2 Dedicate geothermal plant near San Diego (Seidman)
- 2-4 State visit of Spanish King Juan Carlos (NSC)
- 9 Private visit of Botswana President Khama at 11 a.m.
(30 minutes) (NSC)
- 9-12 Proposed US-Canadian Border meeting with Prime Minister
Trudeau (NSC)
- 10-11 Proposed office meeting for Sudanese President Nimeiri
(30-45 minutes) (NSC)
- 15-16 Official visit of Greek Prime Minister Caramanlis (NSC)
- 26 Possible courtesy call by Mayor of Linz, Germany (NSC)
- 29-30 Proposed office meeting for Presidential Advisor Naim
of Afghanistan (30 minutes) (NSC)
- Possible Rambouillet II Conference in the U.S. with
Heads of State of France, Germany, Japan, Canada and UK

JULY

- 2 Courtesy call for Norwegian Crown Prince and Princess
at 11 a.m. (10 minutes) (NSC)
- 4 Tape for Southern Baptist radio program (Baroody)
- 7-10 State visit of Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain (NSC)
- 15-16 Official visit of German Chancellor Schmidt (NSC)
- 20 President and Mrs. Ford host white tie reception for
the Diplomatic Corps (NSC)
- 27-28 or 28-29 Proposed official visit to Washington of Australian
Prime Minister Fraser (NSC)

JULY (cont'd)

- Possible office call for Turkish Opposition leader Ecevit (NSC)
- Possible office call for Saudi Prince Abdallah bin Abd al Aziz al Saud (NSC)
- Possible visit of Dutch Prime Minister (NSC)
- Possible call for Monaco Rainier III and Princess Grace (NSC)
- Possible call by IADB Delegation (NSC)

AUGUST

Early Proposed State visit for Finland President Kekkonen (NSC)

SEPTEMBER

- 14 State visit of Brazilian President Geisel (NSC)
- State visit approved for Liberian President Tolbert, possibly September or October (NSC)
- Official visit approved for Sir Lanka Prime Minister Bandaranaike, possibly late September (NSC)
- Possible call by NATO Permanent Representatives (NSC)

OCTOBER

- 5 State visit of Venezuelan President Perez (NSC)
- Possible call by Lesotho Prime Minister Jonathan (NSC)
- Fall Possible courtesy call by Edvard Kardelj, Member of the Yugoslav Collective Presidency (NSC)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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.

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-Departmental symposium 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.

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.

TAB A

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.

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(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.

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 inter-/national 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

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.

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-Departmental symposium which would be held in the East Room of the White House. Its objective would be developing the United States interenational 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.

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.

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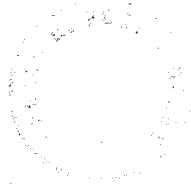
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RETURN DIRECT TO
MARSH OR CHENEY.

MR 7



ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

PROJECTING THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE
IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Administration has had success in portraying the President's leadership on an issue-basis as evidenced in a coordinated effort on agriculture, energy, budget and intelligence reform. By in large with the exception of intelligence, these are oriented on the domestic side of Presidential duties.

His role and responsibility in foreign affairs is a vast dimension of duties which are of great concern to the public. Even though they do not fully understand this dimension, they recognize it is predominantly and historically a role of the President.

This aspect of the President's leadership, although exercised, has not been discerned by the American voter. Constitutional duties that are exclusive appear to be a joint responsibility. This image is a result of a combination of factors that have occurred by circumstance rather than by design.

Correcting the Perception

It is submitted that this is a perception that can be corrected and that those having responsibility share a mutual interest in that effort. However, it is necessary to address the matter and develop a joint strategy by all participants. The following steps are recommended:

Step One -- It is vital there be a mutual understanding of the problem and the task. Therefore, this must be gradually developed and the first steps have been taken by sharing information on the Texas poll.

Step Two -- There should be formed a small strategy group of only a handful of participants who will address the foreign affairs aspects of the campaign and relate international issues to national interests and particularly to the political realities of both the pre-convention and the post-convention stages of the campaign. It is

envisioned this group would be in the nature of co-equals in a campaign sense and would freely share information and solicit views and suggestions for planned activity. A free give-and-take atmosphere is essential.

Such a group might include the following:

- Cheney
- Kissinger
- Eagleberger
- Stu Spencer

Step Three -- There must be a planned buildup of the President in his foreign affairs role wherein he is incorporated by reference in foreign policy activities that are the subjects of public discussion. This must principally come from the Secretary of State. There must be a conscious effort by Henry to be an advocate of the Chief Executive.

The focus must be shifted to the President as being the individual responsible for undertaking United States foreign policy initiatives.

This incorporation must occur in the following forums:

- Formal press conferences.
- Impromptu statements to the press.
- Platform speeches by all State Department officials.
- All formal and informal announcements made by the Department of State.
- There must be collateral backup in the field by the Department of Defense and other agencies with a foreign policy relationship.

Step Four -- It is necessary to portray into foreign affairs

certain aspects of the President's character that have been perceived on domestic issues. The following qualities are suggested. They need to be cited by example:

- Well-informed about world affairs.
- A student and hard-worker who knows the problems.
- A calm approach under pressure.
- A patient manner.
- Firmness/determination.
- A decisive manner.
- Works with people well.
- Respected by foreign leaders.
- Courageous.
- In charge.

Step Five -- The manner and means in bringing out these traits

needs further discussion, but as a starting point, it is suggested that they can be laced into responses to press questions; they can be a part of conversation in interviews with press or other opinion makers and they lend themselves to platform remarks. In short, they are the ingredients for advocacy of a candidate.

However, they can be made more meaningful by the citing of examples that demonstrate these traits and thereby prove to the American people the President does run foreign affairs and secondly, that he is highly qualified by natural ability and by training to do so. A list of examples should be pulled together and might include the following:

- A. The manner in which he handled the Mayaguez.
- B. The difficult evacuation of Cambodia and Vietnam.
- C. The Vladivostok meeting.

- D. His approach to the Middle East problems.
- E. Sinai Accords.
- F. Other

Step Six -- Thought might be given to the creation of a very prestigious Ford Blue Ribbon Panel of foreign affairs experts. This group would be selected by the President and possibly others, including the Secretary of State. This group would seek to make the points discussed in this memo with their principle orientation being the endorsement for the President's foreign policy and advocates of his skills.

Step Seven -- The Blue Ribbon group could put together a white paper setting forth the President's achievements in foreign affairs. It would cast him as the chief architect of American foreign policy since August of 1974 and would prove its thesis by

example of his accomplishments. It would recognize the achievements of all of those who work under him in bringing about this result. In no way would it be a criticism of any member of his Administration.

Step Eight -- At some point in the near timeframe, consideration should be given to a major speech by the Secretary of State where he discusses the President's role in foreign affairs. A caveat. In this field there is a continuing concern about avoiding embroiling the Secretary of State in the political process. This caveat may raise the need for further discussion on this suggestion.

Step Nine -- The forthcoming visits of certain heads of State for Bicentennial observances gives opportunity for the President to be preceived in the press in a foreign policy role. Special attention should be given to the French visit and the British visit in May and July.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the success of the foregoing suggestions lies in the first steps which incorporate as an active contributing member the resources and talents of the Secretary of State in the formulation of campaign strategy in the field of foreign affairs, and then ^{his} becoming an advocate of the President, not only as Head of State, but as the leader of the free world.