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BILDERBERG
Izmir, Turkey
April 27, 1975

DR

Your Royal Highness --

I'd like to say that the sessions have been most interesting. My silence thus far is a result of the fact that there have been so many thoughtful interventions and possibly the quieting effect of the pleasant surroundings offered by our Turkish host.

As you know, President Ford attended a Bilderberg Conference some years ago and, while my remarks are my own, I do wish to convey his best wishes to you.

Now, Theo Soamer is a friend and close observer of Henry's. I must say to you that, in the position he is in and the times we are in, were it not what you have said, some observer would be lamenting the reverse. Let me say that Secretary Kissinger is doing exceedingly well in a not-so-calm world. Further, I might underline what Mr. Heinz has pointed out as to his relationship with the President. Having worked closely with both men previously, I have been interested to watch their relationship evolve into one of close cooperation, both personally and professionally.

A word about our new President. First, at a time when the economy and the Federal budget are of great importance in our country, he brings to his post 22 years of experience in the Congress on the Appropriations Committee. Further, he comes to foreign policy questions and issues from a long background as a member of the Defense Appropriations Sub-Committee, and with a full understanding of national security issues. At a time when America is suffering a contraction spasm and that is, in my view, what it is, with the reservoir of public trust low and cynicism high he brings to the office of the Presidency those qualities of basic human decency and honesty which some of the more sophisticated may scorn but which are the glue of a free system that is governed by consent not command.

As to our discussion on Friday, I will say only this -- As one who directed Phase II of our wage-price control experience (and that 3.2% inflation rate we held it to during that period looks good today). My conclusion, at least for the United States, is that despite good intentions, we lack the ability to intelligently make for others the literally millions of decisions on wages and prices in a trillion dollar economy, and by trying we inevitably

and inadvertently inhibit and cripple the incentive and creativity that are the heart of the system which has produced so much for so many -- food, technology and beyond -- and that the Communist system would dearly love to duplicate but cannot. One speaker asked the rhetorical question as to whether anything could be worse than inflation and unemployment. And the answer is, of course, yes. Something could be -- the alternative is suffocation and a loss of creativity. I agree with what I took to be Mr. Griffin's perceptive reminder that the system is there to balance interests, not to expect them to disappear.

As to the Middle East, I will not add to Mr. Arthur Hartman's comprehensive statement except to say that in my view Baron Rothchild may come closer to what may have all been some others who have spoken and sense there were no Israelis or Arabs here to contribute, I would underline the simple fact that they might have in frustration emphasized, namely, that that which will succeed must, by definition, be something that they -- the Arabs and the Israelis themselves -- feel they can live with.

As to NATO. We have heard, authoritatively, from the Secretary-General, Joseph Lums. Yes, there is more we can do on the security side -- on standardization, rationalization, for example and I commend Theo Soamer on his observation that

higher level of effort in Europe does indeed favored by the fact the strength of the U.S. commitment. As to the future, Secretary Kissinger has, on several occasions dating back to 1973, urged closer consultation and cooperation on a broader range of issues. It has not been U.S. reluctance as you will recall that has slowed that inevitable step.

I agree with Mr. Fitzgerald -- that to avoid future friction, we must sort out our expectations of each other now before a new crisis in the Middle East as seemingly almost predicted by Mr. Ball. But we have still not really tried, let alone succeeded in doing this.

As has been stated here, there was some surprise expressed that the Alliance system operated so badly in the last crisis. That it was not that the system operated badly, but rather that the expectation was misplaced. The Alliance seemingly handles well those things the nations have agreed to do together, plan for, and persuaded their publics on. But that agenda is narrow and it did not include the Middle East. But the world has changed. The agenda can and must be broadened to consider problems and relationships with nations outside the Alliance. And given the problems of the U.S. that so many have emphasized fully these past two days and the obvious difficulties posed by the absence of the A Europe

and Mr. Breznski's concerns about our democracies generally -- minority government, coalition government, the effect of prosparity, it will take time to lead or persuade our publics. Mrs. Thatcher has properly advised that while it may not be an easy period for our free systems or for leadership, it is for us to get on with it.

And, I would caution against our being delayed or deterred by hand or anguish over "credibility of U.S. commitments." Theo Soamer is absolutely right that no Harris Poll can record the view that would exist were there to be a visable threat to Europe. There is no doubt the numbers would swing dramatically. The U.S. has no real choice -- nor does Europe. The alternative is to believe that detente is peace and it is not. I wish Mr. Buckley and others would write and rewrite what he said so that our busy free people would know the precise limits and they are there, lest the euphoria from the absence of war lull yet another generation into pricing too low the value we place on our freedoms of thinking that because they are God given rights they are necessarily self-perpetuating. It is far more demanding to have to recognize that what peace there is has been and is a result of, not in spite of, our vigilance.

Now with respect to what Theo Soamer described as the shift of foreign policy responsibility from the Executive to the Congress, I have a few thoughts. A manifestation, if not the penacle thus far, of that exercise by the Congress, of that new-found power (the negative power) has been the ban on Turkish aid. That action has been as the President has suggested harmful to NATO, harmful to the United States potentially, helpful to the Soviet Union and has been clearly counterproductive to the very goal its proponents alleged it was directed towards -- namely, resolution of the Cyprus problem. Not a terribly auspicious beginning.

On the broader question. It is clear that the role of Congress in foreign policy and national security decision making was not an issue ten years ago. Of 250 witnesses before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress in 1965, there was only one who raised the subject. As a member of Congress 10 years ago, I did not know exactly where the balance should be. I did sense it was a bit out of kilter in our increasingly interdependent world and that because of that growing interdependence, the American people would soon be voicing through their Representatives a greater interest. I do not know today precisely where the balance should be. However, as Senator Mathias has suggested, it will be that greater public interest that will determine any real adjustment. But I do not believe that what you see today is what will be. What you see today is not simply the correction of which I

speak. But it is temporarily compounded by a post-Watergate, post-Vietnam reaction. This is to say nothing of the fact that the new Congress is new and despite good intentions still reflects the anti-everything syndrome of the moment. There is no rib cage of leadership that has as yet formed in the Congress. It will and when it does, things will get done. I say it will because at some point the disarray or counterproductive acts such as the Turkish aid ban will make the American people restless with the status quo. Congress will not long stay unresponsive to their dissatisfaction. The United States of course cannot participate in the world if it has 535 separate foreign policies just as Europe cannot contribute greatly if it has nine and that will become increasingly clear. To Zig Breznski who suggested it will take a generation, I suggest you may be right on the historical time table but I believe in this era of future shock that, like other timetables this one will be compressed to a small fraction of that given any good sense by both sides. Any conclusion of the contrary in the world in which we live and the problems we face must be based on the conviction that free people are stupid and thus our free systems can't work -- which they have and can.

I close your Royal Highness, after hearing Mr. Stone's list of courses at the Free University of Berlin to race home to see if my immediate relief that my daughter attends Connecticut College and not the Free University of Berlin is in fact well founded.

And knowing that one of the greatest shortcomings of such meetings can be a lack of practicality I am reminded of the well known story of the advisor who told the President of the United States that the solution to the German Submarine problem was to boil the Atlantic Ocean so that the submarines would float to the surface. And, when asked how he would do so, he said "I only make policy -- it is for others to implement it."

I must say, your Royal Highness, that you have skillfully avoided that tendency in these discussions to a maximum degree. I congratulate you and thank you.

[ca 5/75]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Don Rumsfeld

FROM: Robert A. Goldwin

COMMENTS:

My only suggestion is that you nominate Pat Moynihan for this award. He is in "mid-career," being still under 50, he has made a distinguished effort in diplomacy and in education, his recent article in Commentary has stirred great interest and is an outstanding contribution toward the peaceful resolution of international problems, and, finally, although he probably couldn't keep the $10,000 prize, think of how much he would enjoy giving it away to some bizarre cause.

May 27, 1975

Dear Mrs. Gowen:

I appreciate your letting me know of the plans for the first annual Joseph C. Wilson Award.

The material you sent is being shared with other members of the staff here. We thank you for advising of the opportunity to submit nominations for the award. I trust your first year's efforts will successfully launch the program.

Sincerely,

Donald Rumsfeld
Assistant to the President

Mrs. Joseph C. Wilson
Joseph C. Wilson Award
P. O. Box G
Midtown Plaza
Rochester, New York 14604

lg
bcc: Bob Goldwin with incoming for appropriate action

JOSEPH C. WILSON AWARD

Post Office Box G, Midtown Plaza, Rochester, New York 14604

May 12, 1975

Mr. Donald H. Rumsfield
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Rumsfield:

This letter announces the first annual Joseph C. Wilson Award of $10,000 in cash to be made annually to a person who has made an outstanding contribution toward the peaceful resolution of international problems. The problem may be in such fields as agriculture, communications, diplomacy, economics, education, environment, health, human rights, law or science.

The purpose of this award is to honor a person who has made a distinguished effort in one or more international program areas, and to assist in attracting the best efforts of the most capable Americans to work on problems which have international implications. Through this recognition it is hoped, but not required, that the person honored will share knowledge and ideas with others through lectures, seminars or writing related to the area of experience for which the person is honored, and that the award will assist the person to carry on or strengthen his or her interests and skills in international matters with renewed dedication and enthusiasm. For these reasons the recipient will be a person near the midway point in his or her career.

You, your organization and others whom you know because of their work or interests are urged to make known this recognition program and to participate in nominating superior candidates whom you consider worthy of this award and honor. The following eligibility guidelines should be considered in making nominations:

An American civilian who is near the midpoint within the person's career field and has potential for further development and distinguished contribution;

A person who has had a sustained record of interest in and contribution to the improvement of the life of mankind and the betterment of international understanding among peoples, countries or international institutions;

A person whose recent achievement (s) is of an unusually significant nature which will contribute in a major way to the person's field of career and especially to the beneficial furtherance of international interests or the resolution of international problems.

Each nomination should be accompanied by:

1. A biography of the nominee which is somewhat more complete than those found in such publication as Who's Who in America.

2. A narrative statement from two to five pages in length outlining the nature and significance of the contribution (s) and achievement (s) which you believe justify making the award to your nominee. Even though your candidate is an acknowledged leader or a person with a well known name in the field, do not assume the members of the selection committee will know of the person's contributions or their significance in an international setting. Comments should also be included on the person's future potential. You must make a clear case for your nominee.

3. A list of four other persons who know the candidate and the candidate's work and who are competent to comment on the person's qualifications and to provide pertinent evidence for this award upon inquiry by the selection committee.

The nominee need not know of the nomination prior to the selection committee's notification. Nominators may request that their names be withheld from the nominees. In the event that you have more than one candidate, you may wish to suggest an order of preference.

Nominations for the 1975 awards should be made prior to July 31, 1975. Please address all nominations to Joseph C. Wilson Awards, Box G, Midtown Plaza, Rochester, New York 14604.

A selection committee composed of prominent citizens will review the nominations and documentation of all candidates for the award. In recognition of the international contribution for which this award is made, the announcement of the award will be made in October during United Nation's week by the Rochester Association for the United Nations.

This award is a memorial to Joseph C. Wilson who was the chief executive officer and Chairman of the Board of the Xerox Corporation. Mr. Wilson, an industrialist, humanitarian, civic and educational leader, and a person with a profound interest in the betterment of international relations, was especially active in the Rochester Association for the United Nations, the United Nations Association of the United States of America, and the University of Rochester.

The Xerox Corporation is underwriting the award and its administration. The Rochester Association for the United Nations is responsible for the administration of the award program and setting the eligibility and qualification standards for the award. The University of Rochester will work with the recipient of the award in arranging for anticipated lectures, research, seminars or writing at the University or elsewhere in the Rochester area about the recipient's experience for a few days sometime during the Spring following the announcement of the award.

The institutions responsible for this award will appreciate your assistance in this recognition of a person who has made an outstanding contribution to, and has a high future potential for further, international contributions benefiting people or institutions throughout the world.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Charles R. Gowen

President
Rochester Association
for the United Nations

ROCHESTER ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

Announcing the first

Joseph C. Wilson Award

for Achievement and Promise in International Affairs

The Rochester Association for the United Nations, Xerox Corporation, and the University of Rochester have established the Joseph C. Wilson Award in international affairs. The Award honors the late Mr. Wilson, who was a founder of the RAUN, chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox, and longtime chairman of the University's Board of Trustees. The Award will recognize an individual for high achievement and potential in activities contributing to the peaceful resolution of international problems. The recipient will be chosen annually, after a nationwide canvass, by a panel of prominent citizens.

The winner will receive $10,000, contributed by Xerox Corporation, to provide some form of enriching experience, training, or study that might not otherwise be available or to assist in the completion of a special project of international significance.

The winner will be announced each United Nations Day beginning October 24, 1975. The University of Rochester will arrange with the recipient for discussions, lectures, and seminars to be given in the Rochester area for several days during the spring following the announcement.

Nominations for the 1975 Award are to be made before July 31, 1975 and should be addressed to:

Joseph C. Wilson Award
Box G
Midtown Plaza
Rochester, New York 14604

ELIGIBILITY GUIDELINES: *A nominee must be a U.S. civilian near mid-career. Each nomination should be accompanied by a biography of the nominee, a supporting statement of two to five pages, and the names of four other persons competent to appraise the nominee's qualifications. Additional details may be obtained by writing to the above address.*

May 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

If the President goes to Brussels, do you agree with my strongly held opinion that I could be useful as a member of the Presidential party?

May 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

The President of Northern Illinois University at DeKalb, Richard Nelson, sends warm personal regards to you. He was with Inland Steel for more than 20 years before becoming a university president. It is his recollection that he offered you a job when you were leaving the Navy, but you took a job with a congressman instead. He is a Democrat who was on Adlai Stevenson's gubernatorial staff, but he spoke warmly and approvingly of you.

I swore to him that I would convey his personal greetings to you.

I was there to give a speech on "the role of the academic adviser to the President."

May 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

SUBJECT: Harvard Visiting Committee

I have been invited by the Board of Overseers of Harvard College to spend one or two days as a member of the Visiting Committee for the Department of Government sometime in the fall of 1975. As the attached memorandum indicates, the Counsel's office sees no difficulties in my accepting this invitation, but has advised me to seek your approval before accepting.

Encl.

May 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

I have given only one speech on my own in six months but the attachments show how much mileage can be obtained from one carefully prepared speech.

In addition to these printings, we have received close to a hundred requests by mail for copies.

Attachments

Utah Speeches
Changes

April 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR: JIM CONNOR
BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

You've never gotten back to me on the subject of the constituency. What happened?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RG

In the New York Times of May 19 there was an advertisement headed "President Ford Must Go" by an organization called "American Jews Against Ford (AJAF)." It gives a New York city address and the name Alan Cornet, Associate Director.

Jewish organizational spokesmen have told me today that they have no idea who placed the ad and that they know of no such organization. They are making an effort to find out who is behind it, but in the meantime they want the White House to be informed that it in no way expresses the views of what is usually called "the Jewish community."

Attachment

Further Information: Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee just phoned to tell me that there are indications that this group may be an offshoot of the extremist Jewish Defense League. The office was just opened and it is in the same building as the JDL. None of the names of the officers and spokesmen of AJAF are known to knowledgeable people, like Bookbinder, who otherwise knows just about everyone active in Jewish organizational activities. Bookbinder offered to provide additional information as it becomes available.

PRESIDENT FORD MUST GO

With respect and honor for the office of the Presidency but with a terrible sense of fear for the future of the United States and the free world, we call for a change in administration in 1976.

PRESIDENT FORD MUST GO

1) Because he is the enthusiastic supporter and promoter of the disastrous policy of false détente which threatens the entire free world as it strengthens the Soviet Union by giving it the technology, trade and credits it so badly needs.

2) Because that false détente has created the illusion of a Soviet Union willing to coexist and this in turn has led to the belief that military arms should be cut and that our "order of priorities" should be changed. It has weakened both NATO and American military might and threatened the security of all small states as the American resolve to stand up for the freedom of little nations is weakened.

3) Because he is strangling Israel with pressure that can only be called political blackmail, attempting to force it into insane concessions that would threaten its very existence.
Remember President Gerald Ford who said: "If they (Israel) had been a bit more flexible, you can say a greater risk, I think in the longer run it would have been the best insurance for peace."

4) Because he has sold out the nationalities behind the Iron Curtain, including the Jews of the Soviet Union, attacking the Jackson amendment that is the great hope of free emigration from the USSR—again in the name of détente.

Gerald Ford must be defeated and the next President must understand that the American people want a change from the present drift to madness. How can this be done?

1) A national non-partisan organization devoted to the defeat of Ford is being built with branches in every major area of the country.

2) A minimum of one million petitions are being gathered which state simply that the undersigned pledge to vote and to work against the re-election of Mr. Ford as well as to contribute heavily to his defeat.

3) Volunteers to knock on doors, to stuff mailboxes and to distribute literature will be organized immediately.

4) A serious effort to reach the Christian fundamentalist Bible community will be made to impress upon them the Biblical axioms that make the final redemption conditioned upon the prior return of all the Jewish people to Israel, and the resurrection of the Jewish state from the hands of its illegal conquerors.

5) Political efforts to persuade a strong rival within the Republican party to run against Mr. Ford will be begun and should this fail, encouragement of a conservative third party to draw votes away from the President initiated.

The opportunity to begin the drive against Mr. Ford is now. The time to defeat the man and the policies that threaten the United States, Israel and the Free World is at hand.

I would like to contribute to your efforts. Enclosed is $_____

I would like to organize an AJAF group in my area

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

AMERICAN JEWS AGAINST FORD (AJAF)
1133 BROADWAY, ROOM 916, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

June 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

On the return trip from Rome to Washington, I shared the lounge of the backup plane with six or seven of the advance men, my first chance to talk to any of them and their first chance to talk to me. They were full, of course, of the wildest sort of anecdotes about their many adventures in the previous few days and in fact the previous few weeks setting up the President's trip. After a while, however, the conversation got around to the fact that they knew very little about the purposes of the trip, the content of the talks and negotiations, and the work of the other people on the trip. They knew that what others were doing was at least as important as their own work, but they didn't know what it was and how the different parts fit together.

We then began to talk about how beneficial it would be if there were a better understanding, communication, and coordination of scheduling, advance work, and speechwriting. For example, Frank Ursomarso did have a chance to coordinate with the speechwriters for the Notre Dame visit and so in his advance work was able to tie in the St. Patrick's Day theme, something about football, and other elements that made the trip a well coordinated success. He agreed, however, that any hoopla in connection with the Yale Law School speech would have been inappropriate.

From all of this conversation the suggestion arose that it would be very beneficial to have an internal White House seminar whose main function would be for each of the major groups within the White House to talk about their functions and how they might relate

to the work of others, all with the aim of maximum possible coordination and intensified impact of the President's activities.

The persons who ought to participate should be from Scheduling, Advance, Speechwriting, Press Secretary's office, Domestic Council's staff, Office of Public Liaison, Office of Management and Budget, Presidential Personnel, and Bob Hartmann's political group.

At least the following people should participate: Rumsfeld (presiding), Hartmann, Marsh, Jones, Connor, Cheney, Nessen, Baroody, Theis, Friedersdorf, Caveney, Kissinger or Scowcroft, Lynn or O'Neill, Cannon, Bennett and Rustand.

Depending on how big an event you want to make of this, you could schedule it for a day at Camp David with the President participating for some of the time, or, at the other end of the scale you could run it as a two-hour session at any time of the week with the possibility of holding more such sessions if that seemed desirable.

June 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

I watched the T. V. showing of the President's news conference attentively last night, trying to concentrate on the President's gestures. That convinced me that the President's own natural gestures are good enough for every visual purpose and that he should not be coached in gestures that give any indication of having been rehearsed.

I repeat my strong opinion that the best characteristics the President has going for him are honesty, candor, straightforwardness, openness, lack of deceit or artifice. The trouble with any staged presentation, using gestures not natural to him and using props that must be activated on cue inevitably seem artificial and therefore diminish the value of the characteristics that are his most appealing and attractive attributes.

If one watches closely the way the President answered the question about the credibility of the CIA, he will see that nothing artificial has to be added to the President's presentation when he is speaking forcefully from deep conviction. That was my only point about the use of gestures and props in our conversation in your office the other day.

June 10, 1975

EYES ONLY

SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

For your information I provide below the name and title of the professor friend who spoke to me in Madrid. For his protection I request that you keep this memorandum separate from the other in case you share the memorandum with anyone. He spoke to me in complete confidence that I would do nothing to jeopardize his position. He has studied in the United States for many years, is probably Spain's leading authority on international law, has an American wife, is well-known to the American Embassy in Spain, and is a very fine guy.

Manuel Medina. He is the Dean of the Faculty (Department) of Political Sciences, Universidad Complutense, Madrid.

June 10, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY SENSITIVE

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

I had a conversation with Eric Bal, the Belgian DCM at NATO. He showed me a copy of the communique, which I read quickly and commented on the fact that there were no brackets. He said yes, but there had been a tremendous struggle because the Americans had wanted to talk about Spain and the Allies were opposed to that. He told me that the Dean had written the basic draft of the communique, that at first the Americans had refused to accept it as the basis of discussion, but when they were isolated they finally agreed and it was basically accepted.

(Steve Ledogar told me a very different account. According to him, the Dean made a fundamental mistake by getting involved in the middle of a controversy rather than acting as the one who smooths out controversies. The draft, according to Ledogar, was actually written by deRose in Paris and then the Dean agreed to pretend that it was his draft although "everyone" knew that it wasn't so. Ledogar expressed concern that the Dean was becoming erratic and that there would be a real institutional loss if he ceased to be able to perform his traditional function.) While I was talking to Bal, the Dean came in and chatted with us briefly and asked whether there would be any struggle over the communique. I innocently replied that I didn't see how that was possible since there were no brackets. The Dean said he

hoped I was right. He did not lose the opportunity to tell me that he thinks of you as a father thinks of a son. I did not lose the opportunity to tell him that I know that you have a special affection for him.

I asked Bal why European democratic socialists had not been more active in helping Soares and other Portuguese democratic forces in their struggle against the Portuguese communists. Bal said it was a very important question and he was puzzled at the lack of effective action. He said there is a kind of apathy and passivity that he finds difficult to explain. The Belgian Parliament passed a resolution just recently, unanimously except for the communists, in support of the democratic forces in Portugal, but Bal and the Dean both said to me that nothing will come of it, both in tones of scorn and some disgust.

Bal told me that the problem in France is rather obvious because Mitterand is reluctant to take a stand that might jeopardize his cooperation with and support from the communist party. He told me that there had recently been a meeting of Kreisky, Brandt, and Palme in Vienna in which they rejected all collaboration between social democrats and communists. Kreisky affirmed that "democratic socialism is exactly the opposite of dictatorial communism." He warned of the danger of taking too lightly events in Lisbon. He expressed the opinion that the evolution of the situation in Portugal ought to be considered as a test of detente in Europe. Brandt and Palme made similar strong statements.

But apparently they were responding to statements made only a few days before by Mitterand when he met with Soares. Mitterand insisted on the necessity of a dialogue with the communists. He said there is "a solid cement" that binds parties of the Left, representing the workers and the masses. "France, like Portugal, are examples in that regard. Each in its fashion. In France the socialist party is the only one to have concluded a program of government with the communist party. In Portugal,

communists and socialists are associated in the government." (Le Soir, May 25 and 26, 1975). This attitude of leftist democrats is the old one expressing the view: "No danger from the Left."

I had a bit of trouble following all that Bal was trying to convey, but the clear gist is that:

1. There is a need and a possibility for democratic (socialist) parties to help the democratic (socialist) forces in Portugal in their effort to survive against the communists.

2. There is little action of this sort, and that little has been ineffective.

3. Mitterand is arguing the common-front position, and this greatly weakens the over-all European democratic-socialist effort to help Soares.

4. Portugal has some importance within NATO and greatly increased importance outside of NATO, and therefore very great efforts to strengthen non-Communist forces in open and legitimate ways would be justified.

5. This might be an especially important point for the President to discuss with the Permreps next week although it will require great tact with the Portuguese present.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RNG

In the Wall Street Journal, Tuesday, June 3, Dennis Farney wrote a column entitled "All Those Rumors About Kissinger," in which he recounts all the efforts or alleged efforts to diminish the primacy of Henry Kissinger.

Farney then said that the Ford inner circle is making an effort to ensure that the President is not totally dependent upon Kissinger for foreign policy advice. The evidence he presents is that "the President's intellectual in residence, Robert Goldwin, has served up such outside experts as Eugene Rostow for private chats with Mr. Ford."

I called Farney and told him, in gentle tones, that I barely know Rostow, that he did have an appointment with the President on April 17, that it was at the suggestion of Secretary Kissinger, and that the Secretary was present when Rostow spoke to the President, but that I was not present. Farney was apologetic, thanked me for the information, and said if I wanted to write a letter to the Editor he would support it and try to be sure it was printed. I told him that I would not write such a letter because Kissinger knows what the facts are and besides, I had noticed in the last few days that people in the corridors were treating me with new respect as having more menace than they had previously suspected.

But the mention of me was quite incidental. The real topic was the relationship of Rumsfeld and Kissinger. In case you speak to Farney or have to speak to others on the same subject, I thought it would be useful for you to know about my conversation with Farney.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6/4/75

Dr. Goldwin:

Eugene Rostow had an appointment with the President on April 17 at the suggestion of Mr. Kissinger. He was also at that meeting.

Mary

for phone conversation w Dennis Farney

Foreign Policy: Current

C-9

COMMENT

Wall St. Journal, 6/3/75

All Those Rumors About Kissinger

By DENNIS FARNEY

SALZBURG, Austria—In Richard Nixon's White House, somebody was forever putting Henry Kissinger down.

President Nixon, a man whose true interest lay in foreign policy (and not, as he once remarked to John Ehrlichman, in building better sewers for Winnetka) shared Mr. Kissinger's world view and, on occasion, praised him extravagantly.

President Ford not only depends heavily upon him but, equally important, is self-confident enough to acknowledge his dependence. As a White House man diplomatically puts it, "Henry's relationship with President Nixon was more complex because Nixon was a more complex man." Translation: Richard Nixon had an inferiority complex.

There are some signs of tension between Mr. Kissinger and President Ford's top aides. But so far most of those tensions have been muted and the wily Mr. Kissinger has proved more than a match for the Ford palace guard.

The most dramatic clash—or apparent clash—came as a result of those recent rumors that Mr. Kissinger was on his way

There is a certain natural tension between Messrs. Rumsfeld and Kissinger, the two strongest men in the administration. "Don's trying to make sure that Kissinger is telling the President everything he needs to know, and if there is anything else he thinks the President should know, he calls it to his attention," explains an onlooker. "Kissinger may feel some resentment that somebody else is getting involved in foreign policy."

It is possible to read a bit of intramural one-upsmanship into an amusing little incident on this trip. Henry Kissinger, as every Washington newsman knows, often insists that he appear in reporters' stories disguised as an anonymous "senior administration official." Now a second "senior

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT A. GOLDWIN

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

During the course of Meetings the President frequently gives directives that require follow-up by staff. In order to ensure that proper follow-up occurs, I would appreciate it if the lead staff member present at the meeting would report the following:

...What actions, if any, have been directed by the President at the meeting.

...Who is responsible for follow-up.

...When the follow-up is due.

In most cases the lead staff member would be the one who submitted the President's briefing paper. In cases where there is no briefing paper, or where the paper is a joint submission, the staff members should decide in advance of the meeting who is responsible for reporting on it.

You should submit your reports to me and to Jim Connor, the Secretary to the Cabinet, within twenty-four hours of the meeting.

June 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD & RICHARD CHENEY

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

The other night at 7:30 p.m. I was asked by Jim Cannon to attempt a complete rewrite of the draft of a Message to Congress, with a deadline of mid-morning the next day. I did it, I was told it was excellent and would be used, but, as I suspected all along, another revision was done later the same day and in the end not a word of my effort remained in the text. My only complaint is that this assignment forced me to put to one side the other high priority projects both of you had asked me to work on.

I recommend that we make a rule from now on that whenever anyone else asks me to undertake a task I refer them to one of you for consideration and approval.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JAMES CONNOR
JERRY JONES
JAMES CAVANAUGH
JAMES LYNN
ALAN GREENSPAN
JAMES CANNON

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RG

This supports the contention I have been making that the non-profit sector is in need of de-regulation, too. The burden of regulation and the magnitude of interference are so great that it is becoming increasingly difficult for these institutions to carry on their main business, which is research, teaching and learning.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Rebellion of the Chancellors

SOME THINGS are nobody's fault. But that doesn't make them any better: it's merely the best that can be said of them. What moves us to these cosmic thoughts is the dispute now apparently being settled between a couple of agencies of the federal government, on the one hand, and representatives of a number of univer-

"conciliation" agreement put forward by HEW has been set aside. Commitment to fulfilling its incredible terms will no longer be a condition for receiving these federal contracts. A stopgap short-form agreement, pledging reason and good faith and an expeditious fulfillment of the requirements of the law will replace the offending docu-

FOLLOW-UP ACTION/STATUS CARD

Subject: Need for de-regulation in the non-profit sector

Date	Action Taken/Status
6/26/75	Memo sent to Rumsfeld, Cheney, Connor, Jones, Cavanaugh, Lynn, Greenspan, Cannon. Circulated article on problems regulation causes non-profit institutions.

file

June 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

These three clippings raise one question:

Should we rush to a CSCE Summit?

lpe

Soviet Dissidents See Crackdown as West's Interest Fades

By Peter Osnos
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 1—Moscow's small community of dissidents believes that the state has ended its brief season of

searched. The Soviets took the unusual step in that case of announcing the arrest in a press release to major Western news organizations.

Among the many other inci-

Jews associated with an underground publication called "Jews in the U.S.S.R."

• The continued refusal to permit Elena Bonner, the wife of the dissident physicist, An-

munist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev, and his colleagues have not entailed any internal ideological liberalization, but they evidently have made the Kremlin more conscious of its

Turchin quoted the KGB agents who searched his apartment as saying that foreigners had "grown bored" with Soviet dissidents.

"I have to agree," Turchin

supplanted the signs of greater tolerance that appeared last summer, fall and winter. These included the abstract art shows (after bul-

cut off. Now, the dissidents say, the hopeful trends are disappearing.

The number of Jews applying for visas has dropped dra-

Soviet actions is that they seem to run counter to the Kremlin's own interest in bringing to an early close the long-running Conference on

OPINION AND COMMENTARY

détente

Joseph C. Harsch

A Monroe Doctrine for Europe?

The Soviets have staked out Eastern Europe for themselves under the so-called Brezhnev doctrine. Under it, the Kremlin claims the right to use the Red Army to maintain

Monroe Doctrine more or less keeps outsiders out of the Americas while the Brezhnev doctrine excludes capitalists from everything lying east of the Stettin-Trieste line. It doesn't

in the Portuguese elections. Is communism to be allowed to gain effective control in Portugal by totally undemocratic means after being massively rejected at the polls?

must expect the United States to ignore the Brezhnev doctrine.

Obviously, Washington is not going to attempt to stir up any actual revolutions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary — much

Making Peace in Europe

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—Six weeks ago, a suggestion was made in this space that the European security conference—a proposed 35-nation supersummit to

summit concessions; after détente brings us SALT II, then we can address ourselves to European security.

Opportunity presents itself by coincidence. In 1968, at a NATO meeting in Reykjavik, the idea of asking for Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction

NYT 3/24/75

June 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

If, as the newspapers report, the President does make a trip to Helsinki and other places in July, I would be interested in going if you think I might be able to be helpful en route. I am not eager to go along just for the ride.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JAMES LYNN
ALAN GREENSPAN
JERRY JONES
JAMES CAVANAUGH
JAMES CONNOR

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RG

As I follow the comment in columns and editorials on the Crime Message, I see one theme frequently repeated. It is that the Crime Message was good as far as it goes, but (and each column or editorial picks some different weakness, according to its own views) it needs beefing up. The attached column by James J. Kilpatrick is only the latest of such comments.

I recommend that a program be prepared for the President to follow-up in a vigorous way to show a continuing and persistent interest in doing something effective about crime. Most of the problem is beyond the reach of federal law enforcement agencies. The President could begin, as Dick Cheney has suggested, by sending letters to the appropriate officials in all fifty states. This effort should be very widely publicized. The President could also seek to address joint sessions of state legislatures to urge them to adopt measures recommended in the Crime Message.

Finally, in his speeches around the country, the President could remind his audiences that the only way to carry out the program he set forth in the Crime Message is for the states to act. He could, therefore, exhort his audiences to remind their own state and local officials of the need to take actions, some of which may be costly, to begin the process of imprisoning more convicted criminals than are presently imprisoned.

The effort to get Congress to act on the proposals in the Message and the Crime Bill will be strengthened by companion efforts to get the states and local authorities to act in the same direction.

Attachment

James J. Kilpatrick

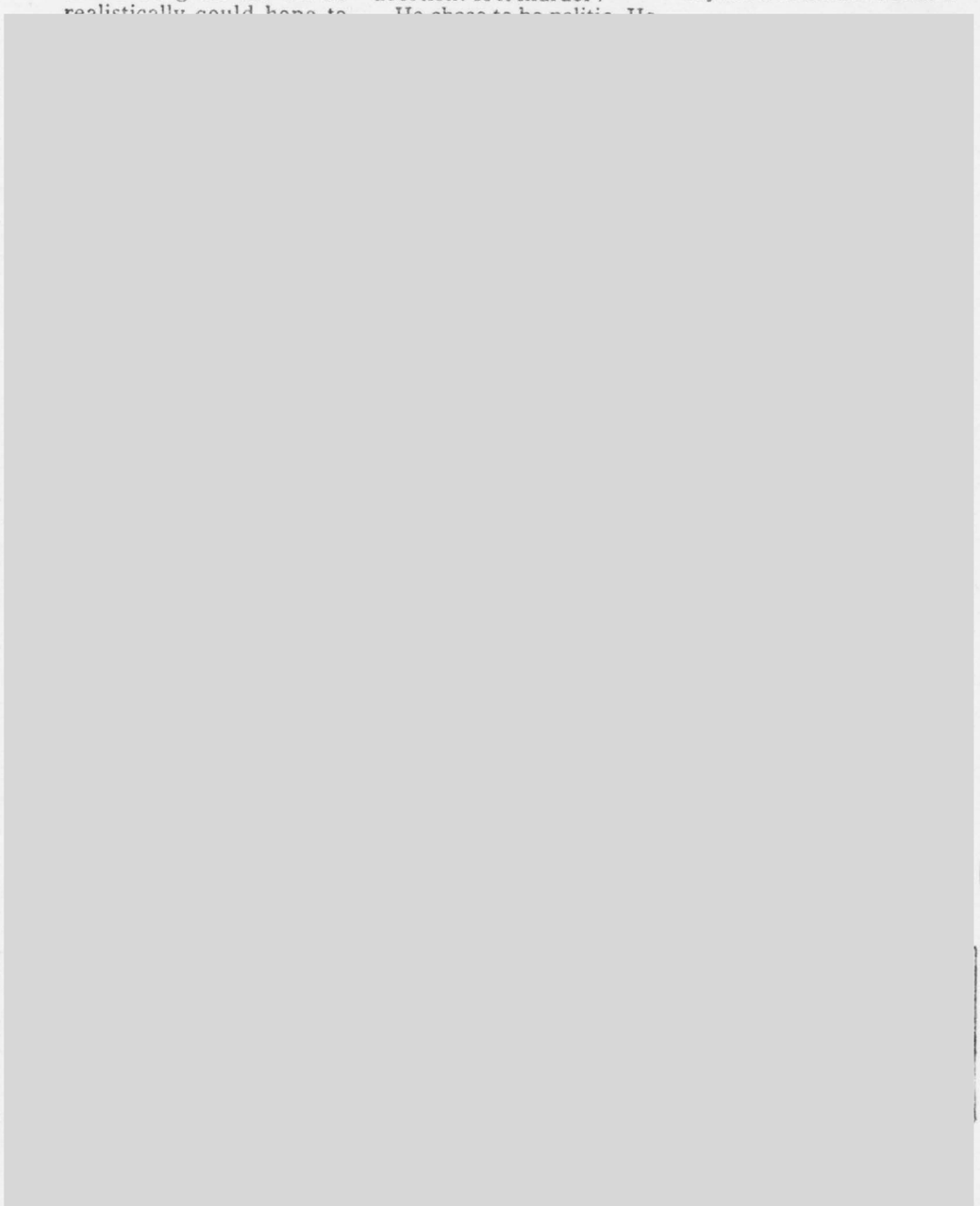
Star
6/28

Ford's crime program needs some beefing up

President Ford's comprehensive message on crime was the work of a wise and experienced politician. That is intended as a compliment, not an insult. Ford asked Congress for all he realistically could hope to

sending young men and women to prison for mere possession of small amounts of marijuana. He might have come down one way or another on the issue of abortion: Is it murder?

but by civil injunctions. It is almost impossible to convict a top racketeer on a criminal indictment — not when a jury must be unanimously convinced of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bob -

Thought this might interest you.

Pete

[ca 7/75]

INTERVIEW WITH DONALD RUMSFELD, CHANNEL 26, WETA-TV

HEFFNER: I'm Richard Heffner, your host on the "Open Mind." Donald Rumsfeld is Assistant to the President of the United States, was my guest on the last "Open Mind" program, and is back with us again today. Mr. Rumsfeld, I'd like to begin today's program by referring to a speech that you made at Wake Forest College on June 7, 1975. I was very much impressed with your beginning -- you said -- and with the ending, too, and the middle, too. (Laughter) You said that in 1954 you'd heard a speech that had a profound effect upon you and you didn't in the course of your speech itself indicate who delivered that speech. Who did?

RUMSFELD: Actually, it was Adlai Stevenson, the former governor of the state of Illinois who was, at that point, between his two Presidential campaigns. And it was, as you mentioned, in 1954. He was in a very reflective mood. He had not been back to Princeton,where he had graduated, for many years, and he came back and spoke to our senior banquet, shortly before graduation. It was a very special speech and it was brilliantly delivered. Very thoughtful and, as I indicated, something that did have a profound effect on me.

HEFFNER: What was the nature of its content that had that effect?

RUMSFELD: One of the events of that period was the McCarthy hearings which was really one of the major televised congressional things in history. It was a time when there

was a good deal of mistrust in the country. Governor Stevenson's talk -- his visit with graduating seniors -- was used, essentially, to talk about the nature of the American political system -- about the importance of individual citizen action and involvement in that process. As I recall he said something to the effect that our country had made a magnificent gamble and decided that the people should have an opportunity to help guide and direct the course of our country. And that that was a magnificent gamble. It was a gamble in the sense that it presumes that free people will be able, given sufficient information, to make correct judgments. It presumes further that trust -- that fundamental glue that assists in communications -- because without trust there is no communication, there is no leadership by consent as opposed to command -- that that trust will exist. It presumes that good people will involve themselves in the affairs of government either as principal, active participants or as supporters or defenders or correctors of those who are in public life. He said it considerable more eloquently than I have.

HEFFNER: You say, "given sufficient information the people can govern themselves." I don't mean constantly to strike a negative note but there have been those who have felt that in our own times it was almost impossible for the average citizen to have the kind of information that would be considered sufficient for him to govern himself. To vote appropriately. How do you respond to that? In the twenty-

one years that have elapsed since you heard Governor Stevenson, I wonder whether we haven't . . .

RUMSFELD: Has it been that long?

HEFFNER: It's been that long. I'm sorry -- for myself and for you. (Laughter) Hasn't our society been so much more complicated that the possibility of being well informed has diminished considerably?

RUMSFELD: No, indeed. Just the reverse is the case. The means of communication today are so far superior to twenty-one years ago. Now, it's true that this is not any more ancient Greece where the constituency could sit on a hillside and discuss and debate the affairs of the city-state. We talk of future shock -- the compression of events -- the glut of information -- but, you know, the human being's an amazing mechanism. People are able to adjust to things and I don't question for a minute but that as the technological changes have occurred, as television has come upon us, as the velocity of world events has accelerated, I don't question for a second but that there may be periods where people might lose their bearings. Where it's more difficult than in other times. But people adjust. Their tolerance level changes and they find that they can sift and sort. And it's not necessary for each citizen -- two hundred and thirteen million in this nation of ours -- to have all information on all subjects so that they could act in each other's stead in government on all decisions. What is essential is that there be a rough sense of direction, that there be a point where a

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correction can be made -- as we do have every two years when a majority of all of the members of the House and a third of the Senators are elected and where a President is elected every four years, or re-elected -- there has to be a . . . in our country to govern successfully, people have to have a sense of the American people. Successful public leaders. They have to be in communication with them and they have to prove themselves and be measured against what they say and what they do. So that I think that despite the changes we've seen in the world, despite the changes that we'll see -- probably at an accelerated rate in the coming twenty-one years -- my estimate is that our system of government does work. That that magnificent gamble is a good gamble and that, in fact, we'll find that human beings can adjust and can continue to adjust and fulfill that role of public responsibility which they have.

HEFFNER: You said, too, that the other quality that Governor Stevenson referred to was trust. And when I was reading your speeches I noted you . . . before the program . . . you said "But what struck me," and you were talking about his speech, "and what remains in my mind was the importance of trust in the American system." Then I asked you whether you meant trust in the American system or whether you meant the importance of the element of trust -- of believability in our system.

RUMSFELD: And, without question, I meant the element of trust in the sense of believability. If you have a system that suggests that the people can play a role and if you have a system where leaders lead not by command but by consent, by

agreement, that means they lead by persuasion, communication. And without trust there is no communication. If a person disbelieves, they don't listen. They don't want to listen. And I think that when one thinks of graduating seniors today -- or thinks of any of us -- we've gond through some pretty startling events in the last ten or fifteen years, in the lifetime of these students that are now graduating. We've had a President assassinated in office. We've had one candidate for President wounded and another killed. We've had a President who wasn't able to run for re-election. We've had a President who, for the first time in our history, resigned. We've seen inflation and recession. War. There've been some very unusual events and we've -- I think all would agree -- we've also lived through a period where, for one reason or another, the reservoir of trust has drained somewhat. You know if you're in a sailboat and you turn the rudder and you're not moving, the sailboat doesn't turn. It just stays there. You need steerage way to steer the sailboat -- for the rudder to work. Trust is like that for our society. If everyone's going off in their own direction and doing their own thing, or doing nothing is their own thing, nothing happens in our society because although we believe in the individual as the real source of creativity in our society we know that for really great things to be achieved it requires that people work together and the only way that they can work together is if, in fact, there is a leaderership and a followership that comes from communication, that comes from trust, that comes from ascent. That is to

say that cooperation and cohesion voluntarily achieved is, in fact, the thing that has enabled our country to do some perfectly splendid things.

HEFFNER: There seem to be a great many people in the last decade who have felt that that ascent literally has come from on top to below and that what you had was communications downward and a somewhat high degree of carelessness about literally what the people felt or what they wanted or what they meant -- if indeed there was any consensus that you could identify as what they wanted or meant --/(do you) feel that there is some sense of reversing that today. Is there some means by which we can reverse it?

RUMSFELD: Well I was out of the country for two years and when I came back I was struck by the fact that the leadership structure of our society seemed to have flattened somewhat. That there weren't groupings of people working towards common goals. That there was a sense of anti-institutionalism, an anti-leadership, an anti-politician, an anti-union, or anti-school, or anti-church feeling. This is disturbing. It tends to confirm what you're suggesting. That for one reason or another people were mistrustful or not willing to be a part of something bigger than themselves. Not willing to submerge their own views into something that had the support and cooperation of a great many more people. I see it changing. Personally I think there's probably nothing more frustrating than freedom that's purposeless. Freedom is a very special thing and when one doesn't have it they tend to value it

greater than when they do have it. But it's not a very special thing if it's for nothing and that freedom that we have as individuals I think is purposeless unless we begin to recognize that it's through groupings of people and institutions, and working with others that something important can be accomplished.

HEFFNER: And you see the role of leadership providing that purposefulness?

RUMSFELD: Well I guess I think the first thing that has to be done -- and I personally believe that it is now being done -- is to refill that reservoir of trust. I don't think you have steerage way without that because unless you can communicate and be believed and have people have a sense that that is in fact where you are and what you are and who you are as a political figure or as a leader in a family or a company or in a union, there isn't any followership, there isn't any cooperation, there isn't any communication back and forth so that the direction can be voluntarily agreed upon by more than one person. We see a microcosm of this, I think, in the United States Congress today. Now, as a former congressman I don't want to sound critical of that institution because I think it's a great institution. But the fact of the matter is it truly represents the country and in its most recent period it's reflected something of what I've just described. That is to say 435 members of the House and 100 members of the Senate tending to each go off and do their own thing. Well, that's not good enough. Simply because a person has

a mimeograph machine doesn't mean we need 535 economic policies or 435 energy policies or 100 foreign policies -- one to suit each Senator. In fact we need one foreign policy for the country. And that means that there has to be compromise, there has to be adjustment, there has to be a movement toward some common principle and, at some point, we will see some jelling of the leadership structure in the House and the Senate and we will, I think, probably see it at a point where we also see it in the country.

HEFFNER: How do you analyze the comments that some people make -- aside from dismissing them -- I trust you won't -- but how would you analyze the comments that some people make that the trust that you ask for, that you find so necessary as the glue that keeps the democratic society together, that it is not possible any longer, at a time when the very media that you've spoken about, that provide us presumably with so much information have it, or see it, as part of their task to present the whole story. The whole story being that which makes it so much more difficult for us to have and to keep idealized images of leaders. How can you have the trust when on the one hand we have an information industry or an information input that constantly is demeaning to the presentation of all the information. Our capacity to admire a leader, our capacity to have trust. Is it really possible? I wonder what your analysis of that comment that so many people make these days is. We've moved away from the possibility of having trust in those

images because idealized images are necessary.

RUMSFELD: Well, if one follows what you're saying -- and I've heard as you're suggesting -- it is a theory that's common today -- but if one followed it to its logical extreme, it would suggest that free people can no longer participate in governing themselves. That something's happened to our life and that it's not possible for human beings to adjust to this new situation. Now I just reject that. There's not a doubt in my mind but that the people of this country will be able to begin to sift out from the glut of information -- from the editorializing, the interpretive comment, the negatives the pluses -- sift through it and make relative judgments. Now they may alter their view as to what a leader is. It may be something less than perfection. It may be more like a real human being. But it will be relative. It will be, "Is this person a better leader than that person.?" It's a relative judgment as opposed to, "Is this person perfect." Indeed, we're not perfect. We're human beings -- those of us in government, those of us in leadership positions and every person in the country's in a leadership position -- as well as a followership position. So, people begin to measure it from their own life. And they will do that. They'll know that in some instances they are good father or a good mother or a good friend or a good foreman. In some instances they may have made bad judgments. But that doesn't make them evil people. It means that they will alter their expectations. And expectations will be not for the man on the White Horse

who knows everything, who I simply want to wait for him to tell me where to go and what to do and what to think. But, rather, it will be an expectation that's more realistic, maybe. More adjusted to what, in fact, exists in our society. And yet the reason it will occur is because the people at some point will say it's not acceptable to have everybody running off into separate directions. It's not acceptable to have every Senator thinking he can conduct the foreign policy of our country. We've got to have one national energy policy. It's not acceptable for 535 members of the House and Senate to tear around each thinking they can have their own. Meaning we have no policy for our country. They will reject that at some point. And that is to say they will reject it because they know that it's ineffective, it's purposeless and, in fact, they will say, "This may not be perfect, but it makes more sense than something else." I believe that.

HEFFNER: In your address at Wake Forest, though, you indicate that there are several dangers. You never denied the danger, and I admired that. And one of the dangers, of course, is the possibility that the substitute for the many, many, many disparate voices being heard will be one voice -- and not the voice of all the people, not consensus, if that's a word we can use again, but rather the voice of a man on horseback. And I wonder where it is written, in your estimation, we'll come out of it with a sense of coming together rather than a sense of identifying an individual and turning to him because it would seem that the history of the world is the history

men on horseback galloping on the scene at a very time such as our own.

RUMSFELD: Well I did mention that in my remarks because particularly having watched the European political scene and having listened to discussions there about people who are so frustrated with the rates of inflation in Europe, which are considerably higher than ours, who are so frustrated with the confustion, the strikes, the disarray that many of those countries find themselves in that people do start saying that what we need is a strong leadership. What we need is authoritarian leadership. What we need is someone to take a hold of this thing. Now you take that to an extreme and you end up with an authoritarian system that means that in exchange for that benefit of order you pay a penalty. And the penalty you pay is freedom. And that's a penalty we won't pay in this country. Why do I say what I say.

HEFFNER: I was just going to ask you. I'm glad you asked yourself.

RUMSFELD: I say it because we've seen 200 years of history in our country and more. As I go around the country I find people who are dissatisfied with where the pendulum is at the moment but they're not looking for violent swings either to the left or to the right. Yes, there's a bit of despair, there's some mistrust. There is a sense of "things didn't quite work out." That is not necessarily a bad thing that the people feel that way because to the extent people participate in this process they can make good judgments and poor judgments.

And to the extent things might not have worked out perfectly for us in every instance it's alright for us to reflect on our past judgments and to try to improve them in the future. But I don't think that this country will make that kind of a violent turn to the left or to the right.

HEFFNER: What are the evidences that you have of a resurgence of this glue. Of this trust. Of the quality of trust and belief in ourselves and in our leaders. Where do you see it?

RUMSFELD: I suppose partly it's faith in the people in this country that I know and respect and partly it's faith in the system that we have. It may be imperfect but, as Churchill said, it's better than any other that's ever been tried. And partly it's microscopic pieces of evidence. George Shultze, the former Secretary of the Treasury was in Washington a number of weeks ago for the unveiling of his portrait as Secretary of the Treasury. It was a very small affair, mostly family and friends. He said something that struck me. He said, very simply, that this President of ours is trusted because he trusts people. And there's something true about that. You come to find in life what you go out to expect to find. And a person such as President Ford is, who does trust people, does find that that trust is reciprocated. If a person approaches life in a different way -- and I'm not saying this to praise him -- I think it's just happenstance that he happens to have that quality -- it may be developed, it may be environmentally created -- but the fact of the matter is he happens to be President and I think it's fortunate that he is.

He does trust people. And people can tell that. And they respond to that. I believe that at some point that will begin to be seen and felt. I think also after people go on a bit of a binge and mistrust everything that's kind of a -- without mooring lines -- they then say, "Well that isn't so all-fired great anyway and I think I'll maybe go back and may be trust something." So you begin to see pieces of it throughout the society. I could cite other little things but I don't know that they'd be any more persuasive. Maybe history will have to prove me right or wrong.

HEFFNER: Well, it does bring back for us the question that again you raised in your speech, the question of the search for scapegoats when we can turn to trust as you've suggested. But we can turn to scapegoats and we can turn to men on horseback. And I gather your assumption is neither of those.

RUMSFELD: I think we'll do some of the first two. We will possible muse about the advantage of having strong leadership and then shy away from that -- too strong leadership. We may very well -- people in this country -- may go through that process of saying, "It was their fault." But, in fact, all of us, I think, to the extent things aren't perfect, recognize that it's very difficult to pinpoint blame only on others. That each of us has a responsibilit. One of the things Adlai Stevenson said in his speech in 1954 was "If a good man in public life is attacked unfairly and others fail to defend him, good people won't go into public life because they won't be willing to tolerate the guerrilla

warfare of life unless others will assist them, support them, defend them when they're right, criticize them when they're wrong, be helpful and be a part of it." Because it's not enough to be that alone. I think that that begins to come.

HEFFNER: You smiled so benignly when you referred to Stevenson's comments, because I gather to you it means people will support those who have been unfairly attacked and that those who watch what has happened will continue to enter public life.

RUMSFELD: I think they will.

HEFFNER: Alright. But perhaps in our own time we've seen how difficult it is not to be attacked. And we've seen and heard of a number of instances in which people have withdrawn from public life because the kitchen has gotten too hot. Now, it might be well to remember with great admiration what Adlai Stevenson said, "Unless this happens . . . there will be a refusal of good men to enter politics." Perhaps in our own time we've seen the result -- not of that as a contrary to fact statement -- but of a factual statement -- that the heat is too great. Again, the adversary press question. President Ford hasn't experienced it to the extent, certainly, that President Nixon did or that Lyndon Johnson did. What happens to men who find that with media that bring instant information instantly everywhere -- that everyone is fair game. Do you think you can . . . do you personally feel that in your own life situation you can take that kind of heat -- want to take that kind of heat?

RUMSFELD: I can't say as I enjoy it. No. I mean when I'm attacked unfairly -- and I admit that I get praised inaccurately as well as blamed inaccurately -- I supposed in life you have to take the good with the bad -- but I don't like it. Maybe what happens to us is that we develop the ability to go on and get a little tougher skin and recognize that's just the environment we're functioning in. It is a critical period. People are critical. They do look at each person and examine them under the microscope. And they find imperfections because we're human beings. But I don't know that that necessarily means that our system can't work. I think it is working and I think that it's going to be working better in the coming period.

HEFFNER: The warning that Stevenson gave in 1954 -- do you think that what has happened since that time has indicated the wisdom of that warning in terms of the growing pace, the acceleration of the attacks upon public figures. Not in the McCarthy sense, necessarily but just that you're all fair game.

RUMSFELD: I think it's like many lessons. When you're dealing with human beings and groups of human beings many of the lessons that need to be learned are never learned finally. They have to continuously be learned. And my sense of it is that his comments had a high degree of validity in 1954. In many respects they're equally valid today for this generation and I think they may very well be valid twenty years from now albeit it in a different way.

HEFFNER: So your concerns are not quite that great when you thrust into the future twenty years.

RUMSFELD: We'll make it.

HEFFNER: We'll make it. Thank you very, very much for joining me today and helping us interpret the ways in which we can make it. Donald Rumsfeld, Assistant to the President of the United States has been right in the midst -- in the heat of all of the political and public and informational chaos of our times. I do appreciate your having joined us today, Mr. Rumsfeld. Thank you very much and thanks, too, to to the ladies and gentlemen in the audience. I hope that you'll join us again on the "Open Mind." Meanwhile, as an old friend used to say, "Good night, and good luck."

RUMSFELD: Thank you very much.

# # # #

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . ROBERT A. GOLDWIN PAPERS (WH Operations Office)
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FOLDER TITLE . . . . . Rumsfeld, Donald - Memoranda (1)-(3)

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July 7, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

SUBJECT: President Hoover, the 72nd Congress, and the Depression

In early May you asked me to take a look at what the Democratic Congress did between 1930 and 1932 to Herbert Hoover. You mentioned that the President proposed effort after effort to deal with the Depression, but that the Congress defeated all these measures, passing them only after President Roosevelt came in office. You asked whether there is an analogy between that situation and the present one.

Information on this point has been hard to obtain because everyone in Congress seems to be also looking into the same question, and the researchers are overtaxed. We obtained the relevant research material just this week from the Library of Congress, but best source for some of the more important facts.

The information we obtained seems to indicate a different situation from the one you asked me to look into. The following are the facts:

1. In the elections of 1930 the Republicans lost their majority in the House. They retained their Senate majority, but lost 8 seats to the Democrats.

2. President Hoover was opposed to and did not ask for direct federal relief for unemployed persons suffering from genuine distress. He advocated instead a policy of decentralized work relief that called for federal leadership of a national voluntary effort by agencies

operating on a self-help basis in state and local communities. His object was to perserve the principles of individual and local responsibility.

3. The lack of any substantial reconstruction legislation during the first two years of the Depression was apparently due not to congressional opposition to Hoover, but to acceptance by the Congress of Hoover's doctrines and policies. During this period it appears that there was a consensus in support of Hoover's approach.

4. President Hoover apparently excluded Congress from major remedial actions because he distrusted Congress; accounts indicated that poor relations with the Congress throughout most of his public career had made him uneasy in its presence. Most important, however, he felt that voluntary community cooperation could deal with the Depression more appropriately than the government.

5. As conditions got worse, popular pressure increased on Congress to adopt relief legislation. The Hoover consensus for legislative inaction (except at Presidential direction) began to crumble, and a new one calling for congressional action began to develop. This pressure was translated into federal legislation for spending on public works.

6. President Hoover took some governmental relief steps of his own: in December 1931 he proposed, and the Congress passed, legislation establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He also obtained congressional passage of a moratorium on the payment of World War I debts. Nevertheless, by late 1931 Congress began to assume the leadership in the fight against the Depression, and Hoover continued his efforts to curtail legislative initiative.

7. The Democrats represented themselves as the ones who took action against the Depression in the 1932 campaign. The fact seems to be that during the first two years of the Depression Congress and the nation shared Hoover's ideas of voluntarism and community

action and minimal federal activity. The change to presidential and congressional action came about when everyone began to see that action was required. By 1931 both the President and the Congress were action-minded.

8. In sum, it appears that the situations then and now are too different to provide much guidance or even good argument.

Call Research:
- ask about resources sent over
- L. of Congress
- Mr. Sharp or Stewart
426-5519
- Mr. Whittier 426-5821

John - your work on this

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

Please take a look at what the Democratic Congress did between 1930 and 1932 to Herbert Hoover. As I recall, he proposed effort after effort to deal with the depression, and the Congress did nothing, and they defeated them all, and then when Roosevelt came in, they passed them. Is there an analogy?

- Editorial Research Reports (wrap-up) Dr. Kranz
H35.E35 1929-33

- Dr. Riddick:
Parliamentarian of the Senate

- Call C.Q.

- Herbert Hoover Volumes

- Schlesinger book on Roosevelt "Decline of the Old Order," or similar

- Hoover Memoirs, Vol. 3+2

Eugene
- Lyons bio. on Hoover
- Harris G. Warren: Herbert Hoover & the Great Depression

7/7/75

DR - 1 pm

Ashe

Perle - Garment arrangent
Pres dislikes him
report each time I meet him

topics: Israel - nothg much there

Romanian trade bill: Pres's letter to be Long

SALT - Schlesinger
- Wohlstetter
- Wolfowitz
- Li Weiss
- Brennan (Kahn)

Jack Anderson interview on Bicentennial
set for 7/15
my session w Pres. 7/9

Redecker

F/u on affirmative action

Basic speech, or debate next?

Riesel column?

July 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

Yesterday on the phone Ron Nessen praised highly the suggestions for talking about the Bicentennial I gave the President for the Jack Anderson taping. He said he found them very instructive and thinks they could be helpful to several other people in the White House. He suggested that I send copies to the Speechwriting Section and to individuals who make speeches on their own like Jack Marsh, Jim Cannon, Bill Baroody, Jim Lynn, and Alan Greenspan.

As you know, there is much more in those notes than the President can possibly use in a thirty minute taped conversation. I had in mind not only to give him a chance to choose to use some rather than others but also to provide materials for later use in talking about the Bicentennial.

I recommend sending those notes to the others listed, but think I ought to have your okay before proceeding. I would, of course, revise the notes as necessary to delete the material designed especially for Anderson. I would also delete the indications that it had been submitted to the President.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1975

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
EUGENE McAULIFFE
JAMES GOODBY
BRAYTON REDECKER
JAMES CONNOR
BRUCE CLARK
STEVEN LEDAGER
JAMES SOLDOW
ANNETTE MOORE

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

More authority for what I have been telling everyone. They covered "hopefully," but not "intensive" or "meld."

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1975

136 on Panel Aghast or Tolerant on Word Usage

By ISRAEL SHENKER

In 1971, William and Mary Morris, editors of the Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage, began sending questionnaires on usage to those they describe as "distinguished literary fig-

and inevitable contraction the language demands and will have. No amount of schoolmarming will suppress it."

Dwight Macdonald, critic, voting no: "Alas, the 19th-century schoolmarms did their work too well."

Would you approve "The committee met to finalize plans for the dinner?"

Walter Cronkite: "A valuable new form."

Mr. Kuralt: "It's a Washington word. The Washington example has very often

accept "The White House requested the cooperation of all the medias?"

Elizabeth Janeway, writer: "Never Never Never Never Never! (Though I wouldn't be surprised at the White House.)"

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JAMES CAVANAUGH
ALAN GREENSPAN
JAMES LYNN
JERRY JONES

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

This article is additional evidence that over-regulation in the non-profit sector is causing as much havoc as in the profit sector. I have sent for a copy of Bailey's complete text.

Attachment

7/21/75

☆ p1 - compliance w/ Gov't programs
☆ p15 - letters

THE CHRONICLE
of Higher Education

July 21, 1975 • 75¢
Volume X, Number 18

The High Cost of Compliance

Colleges found digging deep in reserves to abide by federal social legislation

NEW ORLEANS

Colleges and universities are being forced to dip into their reserves to meet rapidly rising costs of complying with federal social programs.

At one large, private university, those costs increased from $110,000 in 1964-65 to $3.6-million in 1974-75.

further increase their tuition rates to pay the rapidly increasing costs of meeting federal requirements.

In the keynote speech at the annual meeting of the National Association of College and University Business Officers here this month, Mr. Bailey said many of the federal requirements had been accompanied by

"We have been quite as guilty as other segments of the society in perpetuating evils of caste and class—especially those based on race, sex, and age," he said.

"And we have no more right to blow up a human being in an unsafe chemistry laboratory than an industry has the right while making widgets or munitions in an unsafe

Government Plays Down News

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JAMES LYNN
ALAN GREENSPAN
JERRY JONES
JAMES CONNOR
JAMES CAVANAUGH
ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

This talk by Lou Harris is crammed full of useful information from start to finish. I think it deserves careful study.

Attachment

7/24/75

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JERRY JONES
JAMES CONNOR
JAMES LYNN
ROBERT HARTMANN
JOHN MARSH

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RG

This letter is a good indication of the domestic political consequences of the Solzhenitsyn affair because the man is so obviously a supporter of the President and wants so much to be on his side.

For your information, "UCRA" means University Centers for Rational Alternatives, Inc., an organization of outstanding academics all over the country who opposed racial violence on the campuses in the 60's.

7/25/75

Attachment

DR. ALEXANDER VON GRAEVENITZ
2064 CHAPEL STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06515

July 19, 1975

Dr. Robert A. Goldwin
Special Consultant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Goldwin:

I do not generally write letters to the White House but feel compelled to do so now. As one of the original members of UCRA, I thought it best to address my letter to you.

The President's decision not to receive Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was ill-advised. I do not wish to elaborate on the reasons which other critics have stated and which I do think are valid. I also fully accept the notion that the Presidents acted only on Mr. Kissinger's advice.

But there are two further points to which I have to address myself.

As you know, there are not very many defenders of the President in "academia". I am one of the few Republicans at Yale, and have always upheld the President's side in the face of often overwhelming hostility. Although I have not discussed the Solzhenitsyn affair with anyone here, I feel that the President's decision has severly undercut his intellectual defenders. At this time, the arguments that the intellectual left is blind when it comes to suppression of liberties in Socialist countries are invalid as long as the White House implicitly takes the same stance.

The second point is the increasing weight that is given to Mr. Kissinger's opinion in <u>any</u> matters affecting foreign affairs. I think it is foolish to doubt Mr. Kissinger's competence, as it is fashionable right now - again, in academic circles. But he is not beyond error; and détente is as sensitive as freedom is.

Viewed against the primary issue in the Solzhenitsyn case - the snub of a gifted and outspoken writer who seeks in the West what he could not get in Russia - my points are trifling. Nevertheless, I thought them important enough for the reputation of the President - whom I continue to admire - to write about them. I shall appreciate it if they were brought to the President's attention.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Alex von Graevenitz.

Alexander von Graevenitz, M.D.
Professor of Laboratory Medicine
Yale University

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

You may like to talk to Len Garment about Ted Ashley and visit with Ashley sometime. He is a very interest man. Maybe you can come up with some thoughts on him.

You also might like to talk to Len Garment about Ron Burman. I think that Len thinks he is a person that would be useful for you to know.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB GOLDWIN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

Thanks so much for the copy of the three lectures on the American Revolution.

August 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

I think this letter from Wilson should be considered and acted upon.

I am sending all of the copies to you and to no other addressee. I leave it to your judgment whether copies, with my covering memorandum, should go to the other addressees.

Encls.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RG

Professor Wilson, Department of Government at Harvard, sent me the attached letter on the subject of executive privilege.

I phoned him to amplify the meaning of several words and phrases in the letter, with the following results:

> By "the court-supported principle of executive privilege" Wilson is referring to the Supreme Court's opinion in the case to force release of the Nixon tapes. By an 8-0 vote, the Court recognized the validity of the claim to executive privilege, but found it not applicable in the case before them.
>
> By "whipsawing the agencies" Wilson means that one official is asked for raw data and is reluctant to supply it, whereupon another official, when asked for similar information, complies. Then the first official is recalled and is in an awkward and perhaps untenable position if he refuses.
>
> By "aggressive leadership" Wilson means that the White House must give prompt and firm guidance to agencies on questions such as revealing the raw data in the files, whether names of some persons ought to be deleted, whether the names of all citizens ought to be deleted, and so on.

Most important, Wilson argues, is that there be an understanding that executive privilege is a valid principle and necessary to be maintained in appropriate circumstances.

Attachment

cc: Philip Buchen
James Lynn

July 31, 1975

PERSONAL

Dr. Robert Goldwin
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bob:

The Congressional hearings now underway with respect to the FBI, CIA, and DEA have evoked a dangerous situation for the doctrine of executive privilege and for the maintenance of that minimum level of confidentiality essential to the operation of law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

My observation, based on current research in and close familiarity with the FBI and DEA, coupled with the experiences of a colleague now doing research in the CIA and DOD, is that these simultaneous Congressional hearings are whipsawing the agencies--one is played off against another--and inducing among some key officials an imprudent desire to accommodate to the demand for publicity even at the expense of the operations and morale of the agencies.

I believe that there is a Presidential interest that ought to dominate these independent agency reactions. That interest is in protecting the court-supported principle of executive privilege and the necessary ability of important agencies to serve vital national interests.

It would appear that there is now no strong central direction being given by the White House to these agency reactions to Congressional inquiries such that legitimate Congressional and Presidential interests are kept in balance. This requires, it seems to me, not merely casual communication or meetings, but aggressive leadership by a high-level Presidential aide.

Sincerely,

Jim

James Q. Wilson

September 3, 1975

Dear Dutch:

I really appreciate the suggestions sent in your August 20 letter and have brought them to the attention of other members of the President's senior staff -- as well as to the appropriate people on the speech writing staff.

It's certainly good of you to take the time to put these points on paper and I look forward to your future additions.

With my best regards,

Sincerely,

Donald Rumsfeld
Assistant to the President

Mr. O. A. Feldon
President
Hitchcock Publishing Company
Hitchcock Building
Wheaton, Illinois 60187

bcc for into to Robert Hartmann and Robert Goldwin

DR:MD:gft

Hitchcock Publishing Company

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

HITCHCOCK BUILDING
312-665-1000

WHEATON, ILLINOIS
60187

August 20, 1975

Mr. Donald Rumsfeld
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

Apparently the President is planning some political speeches. Therefore I am passing on some thoughts on subjects that have been discussed with me by numerous interested people.

I will put them in capsule form and, of course, they could be expanded. In some cases the subject could also be a complete speech in itself. They will not be listed in accordance with their importance.

Give America back to the people. Too much bureaucracy. Too much regulation. Getting to be like a police state.

Balance the budget -- you can't fight inflation with more inflation. Deficits have a major part in building inflation.

Explain to our people (taxpayers) in simple language what the purpose is of our large military and economic commitments all over the world which represent many billions of dollars of our taxpayers money.

If we have to fulfill all of these military and economic commitments and win these wars, what would be our future responsibilities in these areas after victory.

Complete reorganization and modernization of all federal agencies and their regulations. Organizations like Booz Allen & Hamilton or McKinsey & Co. could do a good job in that area as they did for the Hoover Commission.

Complete new tax structures for individuals and also business and industry closing all loopholes and putting these tax payments on a more equitable basis. This is really something that antagonizes

the average taxpayer. If we need more taxes to balance the budget, why not pass these tax measures in the right areas.

An economic program for business and industry that stimulates expansion and creates jobs. Also selling the idea that profits mean jobs because no profits, no business and,therefore, no jobs -- it is just that simple.

The American public is also frustrated because they do not see the road ahead. I think it important that we have a new American challenge -- for building a better America for all our people. After all, the American way of life and the American system has built the highest standard of living for our peoples compared with any other country in the world. So we should continue to improve what we have rather than tear it down.

The people are tired of the everyday crises. They would like peace and tranquility for at least a decade.

This calls for long range planning which is lacking today. I suggested several years ago, the establishment of a National Planning Institute which would call for using many of the outstanding people in the country to activate this whole operation on a nonpolitical basis and give this country a real objective for the next 100 years.

We certainly don't want our industries, our people and our capital going to other countries. We have much to do here in the building of a better America.

It is also exceedingly important in order to build a better America that management, labor, government and agriculture work together on unified programs. Not, for example, like George Meany stating that the Labor Department could do a better job running the State Department than Henry Kissinger.

From time to time I will add to these subjects and will be glad to do so because I have the confident feeling that the President can be re-elected if he discusses these subjects with the American public on a very constructive basis and with specific plans and programs to meet and solve our problems.

Yours very truly,

President

OAFeldon:hp

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JAMES CONNOR
RONALD NESSEN
ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN RG

I had a chance to talk on the telephone with one of the editorial writers of the Washington Post soon after the President gave his Helsinki speech. I reminded him of the editorial they ran entitled, "Jerry, Don't Go." I suggested that they might now want to write an editorial entitled, "Jerry, We're Glad You Went." He said he doubted they would go that far, but that they had a high opinion of the speech and would show it in their editorial. In case you missed it, I enclose a copy.

Note, especially, the praise in the last paragraph.

9/4/75

Encl.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

8/11/75

Beyond Helsinki

The Helsinki summit is fading into the footnotes, but in an important sense what happened there cast an important light on the ongoing policy of "detente." And what will happen to its proclamations now that they are signed will also have

has accused Russia of taking a hand in Portugal, and one of the big questions at Helsinki was whether Leonid Brezhnev's speech repudiated the "Brezhnev Doctrine," Russia's 1968 attempt to justify its invasion of Czechoslovakia as a de-

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: DONALD RUMSFELD
RICHARD CHENEY
JOHN MARSH
THEODORE MARRS

FROM: ROBERT A. GOLDWIN

This immaginative suggestion from Professor Martin Diamond for Presidential participation in an event on July 4, 1976, deserves serious consideration.

I think it is a splendid idea.

9/4/75

Attachment

FELLOW OF THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS *Smithsonian Institution Building Washington D.C. 20560*

August 26, 1975

Dr. Robert A. Goldwin
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

As you know, I have been thinking for some time about what might be an appropriate Center and culmination of the Nation's Bicentennial celebration. In contrast with the celebration of our first Centennial, when all activities were centered in Philadelphia, this time we are going about the business in a decentralized way. As a member of the National Advisory Council of ARBA, I have cheerfully endorsed this principle and regard with satisfaction the extraordinary range of activities being undertaken almost everywhere. But I do think that some single central dramatic national celebration is also called for. Pursuant to your request that I reduce my thoughts to writing, the following is the suggestion I would like to make.

I propose that there be organized a kind of Assemblage of the Republic. There is a natural and splendid locale for such an assemblage, namely, in the Great Hall of the National Archives where are housed our two great national documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. I propose that at some appropriate time on the 4th of July, there be assembled in this hall, before the two documents symbolic of our founding, invited representatives of our national political, social, and economic life. The program would consist of reflective speeches and a televised display to the nation of the documents in which are written inperishably the principles of individual liberty and representative democracy which together form the heart and soul of our national existence. Among the "assemblage" should be the President, representatives of the two houses of Congress, and members of the Supreme Court. Here we would thus see in their unity the representatives of our separated branches of government. There should also be representatives from the states, governors, legislators, and judges, and also representatives from the various levels

of local government. In addition, there should be representatives of the great private institutions and organizations which are so preeminent a part of our political way of being; these would include representatives from business and labor, of the professions, of the academy, and of the private voluntary associations.

May I suggest some of the reasons why this seems to be an appropriate form of celebration? First and foremost, the event I propose would dramatically place at the very center of our national celebration the two great political instruments to which we owe our being. Let me emphasize the importance of having the celebration center on both of these documents. The Declaration represents the revolution and the Constitution its fulfillment; the Declaration represents the principle of individual liberty and the Constitution, the embodiment of that principle in a soberly wrought enduring frame of government. The genius of American life consists in the unity of these two documents and their two principles, liberty and representative democracy. It seems to me imperative that during the Bicentennial we do everything in our power to renew the dedication of the American people to both these principles in their subtle unity. By having the celebration take place in the very presence of the two documents, this central theme of the Bicentennial would be physically and visually established.

Further, by the "Assemblage of the Republic," I mean to symbolize, as it were, the e pluribus unum aspect of American life. If I may use the phrase again, the genius of American political life consists in the diversity, the heterogeneity of the elements of which it is composed, and at the same time, their unity in action. This diversity consists above all in the separation of powers, in federalism, and its associated multiplicity of local units of government, and in the immense diversity of private voluntary associational life. Dignitaries representative of all this diversity would be brought together at a national shrine and their unity would be symbolized in the act of Bicentennial celebration.

Coming down somewhat from the grandiose level of these utterances, let me add the following. The hall in which the Declaration and the Constitution are displayed is an ideal physical setting, both for housing the occasion I propose and for the televising of the event. The hall is quite large and would accommodate the necessarily large group of people who ought to attend. The murals

and artifacts and documents on display in the hall, especially the Declaration and the Constitution, would lend themselves to interesting television. I believe that a vast patriotic audience would eagerly tune in the kind of , say, one hour program that I am proposing. Many would perhaps be at various public places throughout the country, celebrating the Bicentennial in their various local fashions. But I believe that arrangements could be made for this one hour program to be seen as part of the local festivities and, of course, millions would be at home and could be drawn by means of such a highly publicized national program, into an act of celebration even in the midst of their private holiday activities.

May I note also that this proposed way of achieving a single climactic national occasion is perfectly compatible with the continuation of all the other decentralized plans for the 4th of July. It would take very few people away from state and local activities and those few might, perhaps, view their participation in the national event as an obligation and an honor. It seems to me that this single event of short duration would, with minimum discommoding of other events, adda vital national peak or center to the Bicentennial.

Finally, I would hope that the proposed occasion would evoke reflective and celebrative utterances worthy of the country on its 200th anniversary. The setting and the theme, I am bold enough to believe, would bring the best out of all of us.

Do let me know what you think of all of this.

Cordially,

Marty

Martin Diamond

September 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD RUMSFELD

THROUGH: RICHARD CHENEY

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

The next small seminar with academic persons is in the President's schedule for Saturday, September 27. The topic I recommend for discussion is "the ethnic composition of the American population."

As you know, this subject has been developed briefly in the draft of the undelivered speech on school busing, but there is much more in it that is fascinating and instructive. Its scope is much broader and its significance much deeper than problems of schools, court orders, and integration. Some of the most interesting research now being done in the universities, involving some of the most interesting people in academic life, is on this topic of ethnicity.

Ethnicity is related to massive shifts in the American population (for example, it is estimated that one million Jews have moved out of New York City since 1960), voting behavior (85 per cent of some groups vote, like Slavs and Jews, while other groups have a much lower voting performance), and housing patterns (Irish-Americans tend to be renters rather than homeowners while Slavs tend to be homeowners rather than renters).

Perhaps most important is the way ignorance of the polyglot nature of "the white race" has led to programs of massive government interference in the private lives and private decisions of individuals and families. The intended results have rarely been achieved, and all sorts of unintended results have come about, influencing where people live, what schools their children go to, what jobs they hold, and how they dispose of their incomes.

Persons who could participate (tentative until I talk to each of them), in addition to the President and Bob Goldwin, are:

NATHAN GLAZER, Professor of Education and Social Structure at Harvard (co-author with Patrick Moynihan of Beyond the Melting Pot and numerous other writings on the ethnic situation).

MICHAEL NOVAK, author of The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (a liberal Democrat who has recently taken a strong stand against busing in an article in the Wall Street Journal).

JAMES COLEMAN, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago (and author of the famous "Coleman Report").

THOMAS PETTIGREW, Professor of Sociology at Harvard (and one of the leading proponents of busing and court-ordered school integration).

PATRICK MOYNIHAN

DAVID MATHEWS

DONALD RUMSFELD

ROBERT HARTMANN

Two other topics I will propose for subsequent seminars are "jobs, unemployment, and welfare," and "the nature of the Presidency." I discussed all three topics with Cheney and Greenspan, and we all concur in recommending "ethnicity" as the topic for September 27.

It takes about three weeks to have outside particpatns ready for one of these sessions with the President. If I can start on or about the 8th, we can be ready by the 27th.

MEMORANDUM TO: DONALD RUMSFELD

FEOM: ROBERT GOLDWIN

I had a chance to talk on the telephone with one of the editorial writers of the Wall Street Journal soon after the President gave his Helsinki speech. I reminded him of the editorial they ran entitled, "Jerry, Don't Go." I suggested that they might now want to write an editorial entitled, "Jerry, We're Glad You Went." He said he doubted they would go that far, but that they had a high opinion of the speech and would show it in their editorial. In case you missed it, I enclose a copy.

Note, especially, the praise in the last paragraph.

9/9/75

Encl.