

The original documents are located in Box 132, folder “Rumsfeld, Donald, Jan.-June 1975 (1)” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN *RAW*

I need to enlist your help to head off a potentially serious hang-up in the initial presentation of the President's economic programs in the State of the Union.

Jerry Warren and John Carlson, who are overseeing the preparation of the fact sheets, have been unable to obtain any material so far from the Treasury Department. The reaction they have gotten when they pressed for this material, they believe, indicates a lack of understanding at Treasury on the importance of getting this material to us as soon as possible. We were told today that the earliest we could hope for a first draft of the fact sheets is Monday morning, which is only hours before the planned start of our extensive press briefings.

I have talked personally to Secretary Simon about this. He says this is a complex subject and he can promise only some of the material by noon Sunday. Jerry and John believe this is too late to prepare the proper press explanations.

I think its important for you to emphasize to Secretary Simon the urgency of giving us the fact sheets earlier than Sunday noon.

I want to recall that one of the reasons why the President's October 8 economic program was poorly presented and improperly understood was that Treasury did not hand over its fact sheets until shortly before the briefing.

January 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN
SUBJECT: Joseph Kraft

Joe Kraft, the columnist, came in to see me the other day to make a proposal concerning files the FBI has related to the wire-tapping of Kraft done during the Nixon Administration.

Kraft says he has been working quietly with his lawyer on this problem for 15 months. He says his aim is to avoid publicity or a lawsuit. But he wants some kind of vindication.

He has already talked about this matter with Richardson, Ruckelshaus, Saxbe, Silberman, and Areeda.

His proposal is that the files be destroyed and that he be notified that they have been destroyed. He would consider this an admission of wrongdoing by the Nixon Administration and he would then consider the case closed.

Obviously I made no commitment or comment to Kraft. I promised to pass all his views and request to the proper people.

RN/cg



January 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN

I notice that the President has a private meeting this afternoon with James Kemper. If there is any question about the President attending the Kemper Open Golf Tournament in Charlotte, North Carolina on June 4, perhaps you might want to suggest to him that he not commit himself during his meeting this afternoon.

RN/pp



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR RON NESSEN

FROM: TOM DeCAIR

You should tell the President not to commit himself to participating in the Kemper Open Golf Tournament when he meets with Kemper later this afternoon.

January 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN

My impression from the Republican Congressional leadership breakfast this morning and from some other things I have heard is that the President's Republican supporters in Congress do not fully understand his economic and energy programs and therefore cannot adequately defend them.

I have talked to Jack Marsh and Max Friedersdorf about this and they agree. They are arranging some briefings on the Hill for both members of Congress and Congressional staff members. However, I wonder if it would be a good idea to invite all Republican members of Congress to a full briefing with Simon, Zarb, Seidman, Greenspan, etc., perhaps in the East Room. Maybe it would even be a good idea to invite those Democrats who would be willing to come and listen.



January 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DOM RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN

Attached is a memo to Dick Cheney from Tom DeCair giving his thoughts on today's news conference. I thought you might like to take a look at it.

Attachment

RN/pp



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1975

MEMO FOR DICK CHENEY

FROM: TOM DeCAIR

SUBJECT: Presidential Press Conference #6

Four observations on today's press conference-- that may not have come to your attention from others.

1. Apparently the President thought he did poorly. He looked good on t.v. (a little less great in person--but it's t.v. that counts). He should be told it looked good.
2. He should NOT wear the collar pin that looked like it was choking him. He should either wear button-down shirts or shorts with built in collar stays that keep his collar down.
3. He should either completely drop the word judgment (or as he says it, "judge-uh-ment") from his vocabulary or learn how to say it. He used it at least seven times and said it wrong every time. Jerry Warren thinks he makes government a two-syllable word, too, so you might listen for that sometime.
4. While good on balance, a dry run would have helped him overcome some of the mid-sentence and mid-answer pauses he experienced. If he doesn;t want to or doesn;t seem to have time for a dry-run, someone should have the balls to tell him that he absolutely MUST.

Oh balance a good performance--although all really depends on the news shows tonight and the papers tomorrow.

cc: Ron Nessen ✓
Bob Mead

January 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN

In line with our recent conversation in which you suggested that I bring the Paul Miltich matter to a head, I have attached a memorandum which I would like to send to the President.

I would like to have any suggestions for changes.

Attachment

(Note: RN had only copy of memo to P.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

SUBJECT: Press Office Secretary
on Air Force 1

Based on our travel experience last fall and the scheduled Presidential travel coming up over the next several months, I feel we should have a Press Office secretary travel regularly on Air Force 1.

We have pool reports to type, releases to type and distribute on the plane and speeches that need to be stenciled on Air Force 1 for release to the press. Frequently, releases have to be dictated from the White House to Air Force 1 and typed on the plane and then dictated from Air Force 1 to the Press Plane.

In the past I have asked either the staff secretary or Paul Theis' secretary for help on Air Force 1. However, my requirements often came at a time when they were tied up on other chores and were too busy to provide help for Press Office needs. In addition, we have specific requirements on format and style for releases and press pool needs which can best be handled by a person experienced in press office operation.

Of course, a press office secretary would be available to assist you or any other member of the staff traveling on Air Force 1, in addition to the work she would do for me.

My secretaries, Connie Gerrard and Patty Presock, have had experience serving as secretaries on Air Force 1.

I would appreciate your favorable consideration of this matter.

RN/LT/pp

cc: Lou Thompson

February 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON WESSEH

Bob Mead, who is in Atlanta, suggests the President wear a dark suit for Tuesday's events in Atlanta in order to stand out from the light colored backdrop at the OIC speech and news conference.

KN:jg



February 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

SUBJECT: Opposition to Presidential Visit to Off-Shore Oil Drilling Platform

Eric Rosenberger of my staff has presented some additional arguments against the President visiting the oil rig. He describes the drilling platform as being made up of "small catwalks and large and messy storage areas, a rough place to move around." On the assumption that we will be able to take only a small press pool, conditions on the oil platform will make it difficult to get decent pictures.

The oil rig can only hold one helicopter at a time and can receive only small helicopters holding 8 to 10 people. Since three or four helicopters in all will have to be used to carry the President, staff members, press, and the Secret Service, the helicopters will have to unload their passengers, then fly to another off-shore drilling platform to refuel and then fly back to pick up their passengers. Since the platform where they refuel can only hold one helicopter at a time, there will be helicopters in the air circling throughout the entire visit. In addition, the Navy will need to station a ship nearby with a helicopter pad for emergency landings.

Further, just to make it particularly not worthwhile, this particular drilling platform in this location is not expected to find any oil.

Finally, Erick believes that a trip to an oil drilling rig places the President in a position of embracing the oil industry too closely when Eric feels that the general public attitude toward oil companies is unfavorable. Along this line, some of the helicopters used to take the party to the oil platform will be oil company helicopters with their name emblazoned on the side and this will further contribute to a negative image for the trip.

Just to sum up the unanimous feeling in the Press Office, when the President lays himself open to stories in the press and criticism in Congress that he has burned up thousands of gallons of fuel just to



have his picture taken on an oil drilling platform, this is a very gimmicky project that is not at all in keeping with the President's style.

Obviously, if the President continued to feel that he wants to make this visit to the oil rig, the Press Office will go all out to do as much as we can to give the visit a favorable image.



MEMO TO RON NESSEN
FROM ERIC ROSENBERGER
DATE: FEB. 4, 1975

subject teh Houston oil rig

Pardon the spelling etc. it's late at night!

After the state of the Union, the President has two groups to sell -- The congress and the American people. Today because of the mass media etc. I think there are very few members of the public who really think for themselves, especially about subjects such as the economy and ~~the~~ energy. I think ~~they~~ ^o ~~have~~ ~~their~~ ~~views~~ views are developed by how they are swayed in reaction to statements by leaders - the president and congress, as presented by the media.

The president has spoken and is now trying to sell. The congress is grandstanding having admitted that they have no overall program. ~~It~~

The President therefore cannot give the Congress any free fuel ^{up to} with which they can make a cheap ~~grandstanding~~ ^{grandstanding} comment which he opens ~~the~~ ^{up to} them in doing a cheap publicity event that every good editor and bureau chief will arrange to get congressional comment on.

The President is therefore producing an environment in which he is giving a free forum to congress, in fact an engraved invitation, to take the impact away from the entire day's events ~~by~~ since the media won't buy the oil rig and will give equal time to congressional criticism. Whatever the President does well will be zapped by the congressional comment ~~since~~ ^{since} the comment will follow the footage of the President on the tube and therefore remain in the minds of the viewers.

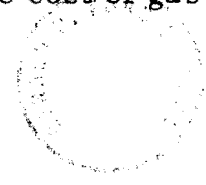
On site inspection of the oil rig shows that it is ~~made~~ ^{made} up of small catwalks, large and messy storage areas, and simply is a rough place to move around on. Because of this, to achieve responsible coverage, different pools would have to be pre-positioned which means at least twenty to thirty press.

The oil rig can only hold one chopper at a time and can only hold choppers which can hold 8-10 people. This means landing 3-4 choppers, unloading, ~~and~~ and ferrying them to a refueling secondary oil rig since the choppers cannot hold enough fuel to remain in the air, pick up the press and return to shore. It is ~~or~~ ^{or} very questionable if there are enough secondary choppers to refuel the press choppers plus the agents, staff, and Presidents choppers at the same time. The result will be a 6-7 ring circus of choppers in the air which is hardly safe... especially when the press choppers will not be military choppers.

The obvious military support required will be very costly and will look like there is a small war about to take place on the water since the navy will have to bring in a ship ~~with~~ with a chopper pad on it for emergency landing and that won't be a small ship. Even if they keep this ship out of site it won't matter since the media will learn about it anyway.

The oil rig cost 25 million a few ~~year~~ ^{year} years ago and is worth 35 million today and yet it is purely exploratory and the oil company admits that it's present location, where the President is scheduled to ~~go~~ ^{go} is most likely not going to produce any oil. It is basically in the eyes of the public who don't understand off shore drilling, a very expensive non-productive enterprise.

Last year when the oil companies had huge profits and everyone was waiting in long lines at the gas pump and there was the flap about the oil depletion allowance, I really don't think the many Americans look too favorably upon the oil companies. Yet by doing this event the President, in the eyes of some, may be supporting all that these people dislike about the oil companies. Whether these views of the industry are well founded or not is not the point. The reality is that a lot of people do have them and probably their present views cannot be changed by a Presidential visit. I don't think the public will buy the President's idea of leadership in the developmet of new energy, shown by his trip to the oil rig, because that concept is too far down the road for them to identify with. They are more ~~concerned~~ ^{concerned} with the rich oil company which makes huge profits and keeps raising the cost of gas at the local pump.



When the President is at the oil rig he is going to have to make some sort of substantive remarks and ~~since~~^{since} everyone ~~is~~ working on the rig are wildcaters which connotates a large level of romanticism to the public, I don't think the public can identify with the workers to whom the President is speaking. And on T. V. without the identification factor with the speaking environment the message really doesn't come through.

To pull off a speaking environment on the rig with substantive remarks, it's really going to look staged ~~and~~ become a pure media event for which the media is really going to zap the President.

It is not the President's style to do this sort of thing and I think it will severely compromise his credibility. It will come across as pure showmanship -- and very expensive to the taxpayer.

In trying to go on the road to gain congressional support for a program, The President should, through his staff, have a very well thought out plan. All the basic considerations such as the regional political and economic situations, the relationship of oil, coal, ~~gas~~ natural gas, atomic energy and ~~their~~ their interrelationships ~~and~~ in solving the energy problem, environmental questions, and the public's current attitude all have to be thought through. I get the impression that we are now on a hit or miss plan and not on an overall unified approach.

There is also a severe filing problem since it will take a long time for the press choppers to return to the Press hotel where the President will shortly give a speech to the Petroleum institute.

It is also questionable whether choppers carrying the press with "Petroleum helicopters" ~~waited~~ on the side will look very good landing ~~at the~~ on the hotel lawn next to the Presidential Marine helos. It really is pretty commercial.

The bottom line is that the press simply is not going to buy this event, and the result will be that the President will essentially be bailing out the Congress by giving them a chance, with the help of the media, to question exactly how substantive his approach really is.

If we lose, let's hope the day of the event is so ~~fix~~ foggy that the choppers can't fly.



RD

February 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

You requested my comments on the TV program, "Gerald Ford's America".

The guys who did this, even though they had a Rockefeller Foundation grant and air time on the Public Broadcasting network, were very young and inexperienced, and I suppose most people would call them hippies.

I didn't see all the four programs in the series, but what I did see could be labeled as "cheap shot journalism". There was no real effort to give a genuine understanding of how the White House works. There was only a sarcastic effort to show the worst side of everything.

I never thought we ought to provide much help to this outfit, but they were highly persistent. They also used miniaturized cameras and microphones, and people did not know they were being taped and recorded a good deal of the time.

The lesson here is that we need to be more selective in who we give time to for TV and other press projects.

RN/cg



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN ✓
JERRY WARREN

Attached is a letter from a good Republican of Illinois concerning the "Gerald Ford's America" program. I have no knowledge as to the accuracy of his concerns because I have never seen one of the programs. But, he is a reasonable guy and I think it bears some looking into.

My impression is that the persons who taped us were not very professional. The questions were pretty bad.

I would like your comments.


DONALD RUMSFELD

Attachment

Sigma



Chi Fraternity

WILLIAM T. BRINGHAM, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, PHONE: (312) 869-3655
1714 HINMAN AVENUE, POST OFFICE BOX 469, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60204

January 24, 1975

The Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
c/o The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Don,

I'm getting a number of phone calls from good Republicans who feel that the channel 11 (public broadcasting) program called "Gerald Ford's America" which is being sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation is not doing the Republican party or the President and his Administration any good. They all understand the bad television coverage because it is video-tape but much of the impromptu shots give a bad image of staff members and gives the appearance that all Washington does is wild partying. Some feel this is the shades of Andrew Jackson. What other reactions are you getting?

The President is doing a great job himself so I would hate to see this kind of thing destroy the good image that he portrays.

Be sure to let me know when you are going to be out this way.

Sincerely,

William T. Bringham
Executive Secretary

WTB/tv

February 7, 1975

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

Something that occurred at today's 12:15 economic meeting in the President's office after you left, disturbs me.

After the President had considered and rejected taking any action today as a result of the new unemployment figures, I asked Alan Greenspan how high he expects unemployment to go before the economic situation begins to get better. I asked him the same question several times in different ways and got no answer.

Don, clearly I am no economist and I am venturing far out of my area to raise this question. But I am really concerned that the President's economic advisors do not know how bad the economy is going to get, and therefore they don't know whether they have recommended sufficient steps to keep the economy from going over the cliff.

Please don't think that this note indicates that I am suggesting a panic response. I simply am concerned that perhaps the President should take a brand new look at the future course of the economy and perhaps should seek out some forecasts from other economists.

RN/cg



MEMORANDUM

File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 7, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN *RHN*

This is about the fourth time Pierre Salinger has requested an interview with the President. He was especially insistent before and during Martinique.

My feeling is that there is nothing for the President to gain and quite a lot to lose by doing interviews with reporters for foreign publications, including L'Express. We have too many interview requests from respected American publications and networks piled up and waiting to take the President's time for an interview for foreign publications.

February 7, 1975

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RN/cg



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 6, 1975

TO: Ron Nessen
Brent Scowcroft

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

Pierre Salinger has suggested the possibility that the President might be willing to do an interview with LeExpress and or possibly one or more other foreign publications, such as he has been doing with TIME, NEWSWEEK, etc. Needless to say, Pierre would love to do it. What are your thoughts?

MEMORANDUM

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1975

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
February 7, 1975

file

EYES ONLY

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Please don't think that this note indicates that I am suggesting a panic response. I simply am concerned that perhaps the President should take a brand new look at the future course of the economy and perhaps should seek out some forecasts from other economists.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR RON NESSEN

Let's talk about the possibility of doing, say, four press briefings a week rather than five or six. We might consider alternating Hushen every second or third time.

DON RUMSFELD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR RON NESSEN

FROM:

DON RUMSFELD

Ron, there was no one at the morning staff meeting from the Press Office on Tuesday, February 11th.

February 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

I and others in the Press Office have received a very strong negative feedback from reporters on the President's visit with John Connally in Houston. This has come from serious, responsible reporters such as Carroll Kilpatrick and Don Irwin, as well as from the other kind.

These reporters all acknowledge that Connally is legally innocent pending his trial, that he is an old friend of the President's, that he does have a special knowledge of energy and economic matters, and that he is a force in Republican Texas politics.

But they make the point strongly that the visit simply did not LOOK right. It reminded them of the bad old days of Watergate and connected President Ford with that era.

Dick Cheney tells me that he has had similar conversations with reporters.

The Connally episode casts light on an interesting development in the press corps. There is beginning to blossom a feeling among reporters at the White House that the President is a decent, honest man of complete integrity who is working hard and effectively at his job, and may have the right answers. There is the nebulous beginning of a feeling in the White House press corps that the reporters hope the President succeeds.

The serious and thoughtful reporters tell me that the Connally visit caused so much commotion because it disappointed those reporters who are hoping that the President succeeds.

RN/cg



February 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: PETE ROUSSEL
SUBJECT: U. S. News & World Report Interview

Event: On-the-record, Q&A interview session with editors and reporters of U. S. News & World Report.

**When: Friday, February 14, 1975
3:00 PM**

**Where: U. S. News Headquarters
2300 N Street, NW.
FE3-7400 Contact: John Mashek**

Length: One Hour

**Participants: Marvin L. Stone, Executive Editor
Les Tanser, Associate Executive Editor
Joe Fromm, Associate Executive Editor,
International Affairs
Bill Bryant, Associate Executive Editor,
Economics
John Gibson, Associate Executive Editor,
Congress
Paul Martin, Senior Editor, Politics
John Mashek, Associate Editor, White House
Patricia Avery, Associate Editor, White House
Photographer**

Summary: The questions will primarily focus on operation of the White House, the reorganization, the decision-making process as it now exists, etc. with less emphasis on the Economy/Energy issues.



-2-

A transcript of the interview will be provided and you will have the final edit before it goes to press. Nothing will appear that you do not approve.

This will run in approximately 2-3 weeks.

cc: Dick Cheney
Ron Nessen ✓

k



Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

February 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

Here is a very small sample of the kind of reaction the President is getting from his out-of-town travels in behalf of his energy and economic programs.

One is an editorial from the Atlanta Journal and the other is a syndicated column by Pat Furgurson. The reaction to the Atlanta and Houston trips overwhelmingly has been similar to these two examples.

In addition, both Jerry Warren and I have received a large number of letters from editors, publishers, and broadcast executives, also overwhelmingly favorable.

I urge the continuation of these out-of-town selling trips...OOPS... explanatory trips.

RN/cg



THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 106 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

James M. Cox, Chairman 1950-1957—James M. Cox Jr., Chairman 1957-1974

JACK TARVER, President



REG MURPHY, Editor

Pat Eurgurson

Ford In Atlanta

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1975

ATLANTA — Wherever you are in this country, any time this month, that visitor who looks so much like Gerry

The Atlanta Journal

Covers Dixie Like the Dew

Since 1883

James M. Cox, Chairman 1939-1957—James M. Cox Jr., Chairman 1957-1974

Jack Tarver, President

Jack Spalding, Editor

28-A

FEBRUARY 5, 1975

Time to Do Something

THE ENERGY crisis afflicts the entire West and nation after nation

companies will be able to make their choice of future courses

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 15, 1975

File

MEMORANDUM

FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

The President wanted you to be aware of the article from The Grand Rapids Press by Cornier. It is attached.

Attachment

Rov

The Grand Rapids Press

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1975

SECTION D

Ford, Nixon After Six Months



Former president traveling to Peking a scene of his greatest triumphs, but his moment gone.

By Gaylord Shaw

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif. (AP) — Six pain-filled months after resigning the presidency, Richard M. Nixon is talking wistfully to friends about traveling to Peking and Moscow again someday to relive his greatest diplomatic triumphs.

The friends say he sets no timetable and talks only vaguely about ending his lonely self-exile, couching his hopes in such terms as "someday" and "do you think I could?"

One aide who sees Nixon frequently insists "the President is not sitting here contemplating a return to the political arena... his only plans are to write a book."

Nonetheless, evidence of Nixon's desire to resume a more public life has seeped increasingly from behind the walls of his San Clemente compound.

One former... the possibility... journey as a... that if the for... it probably w... foundation o... publishing a... foreign lead...

But one Ni... the former p... or the Soviet... happening. I... conversation... do anything... wants to do...

Another... again bec... spokesma... recent co...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR: RON NESSEN
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

Please arrange to see that Jim Lynn (OMB) is given exactly the same delivery service on printed materials from the Press Office as you provide for the people in the West Wing.

Thank you.

February 18, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

For your amusement and possible use, here is the material you requested on Hubert Humphrey's recent statements concerning the urgency of the tax cut.

The first page is the Congressional Record transcript of Humphrey's TV answer to your State of the Union speech. Humphrey said Congress "can and must" approve a tax cut in 30 days. The date he said that was January 22.

The second page contains excerpts from Humphrey's appearance on Meet the Press 25 days later. He says Congress must pass a tax cut within 30 days!

I am sending a copy to Rumsfeld, Marsh, and Hartmann.

RN/CG/



to our economy and prosperity to our people.

I outlined specific steps to deal with high interest rates, inflation, the housing depression, and, most importantly, unemployment.

Mr. President, Congress must take the lead, in cooperation with the President, in forging a national economic policy that will break the back of recession and put America back to work.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my response to President Ford be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S ENERGY, ECONOMIC
MESSAGE, JANUARY 22, 1975, BROADCAST ON
CBS-TV**

Good evening.

If it were possible for you to talk with me tonight, I think I know what you'd probably say.

"No more speeches, Mr. Humphrey. In the past months all we've heard are words. What we want is some action."

Well if that's your message to me, I hear you loud and clear.

Both Congress and the President have wasted valuable time in getting our economy soundly on the road to recovery. There's no sense denying it. And it's futile arguing over who's more to blame.

We can't change the past. But if you can stand one more speech, I believe you'll be surprised to learn what Congress is planning for the immediate future . . . the decisive action that is long overdue.

I can report broad agreement among Congress and the President as to the need for an individual and corporate tax cut—to stimulate purchasing power, to accelerate business investment, to lower unemployment, to restore economic growth. Moreover, this tax cut can be a reality within four to six weeks.

Until the President's remarks last week, our country was like a seriously ill person whose doctors in the Executive Branch and Congress could agree on neither the diagnosis of the illness nor the proper treatment. President Ford initially proposed a curious remedy—his five-percent surtax. A tax increase in the midst of recession would have bled the country of its economic strength, weakening the patient still further.

Fortunately, Congress rejected this remedy. But while the doctors were arguing over the cure, the patient's health deteriorated rapidly.

At last, the doctors agreed on the source of the disease—the most serious recession since World War II—and at least part of the proper treatment—a large dose of economic penicillin in the form of tax cuts to bring the patient back to full health and normal activity.

The first action of this Congress must be a tax reduction for individuals and business. This can and must be done in the next 30 days.

We have now only to decide on the size and frequency of the tax cut and—most importantly—who gets the benefits.

Under the President's tax cut plan, a family of four with an income of \$10,000 a year would receive only \$100. Under a bill I have introduced the same family of four would receive a tax cut of \$300.

President Ford's tax cut puts 43 percent of the benefits into the hands of the richest 17 percent of the population. This is not only unfair, it is bad economics because it will not stimulate the economy. Congress will not accept the President's plan.

I recommend an overall tax cut of about \$20 billion. While some people may consider

this too much, they should recall that in 1964 the Congress cut taxes by about \$12 billion—when the economy was smaller and the recession less severe. In today's economy, that would be equal to a tax cut of about \$26 billion.

If economic penicillin is needed to combat the recession, then we should prescribe a dose large enough to help the patient. And we cannot afford to wait until May and September to get extra money into your pocketbook, as the President advocates. Instead, Congress should provide a reduction of withholding rates, retroactive to January 1, 1975, to increase your take-home pay and to keep it coming on a weekly basis.

The tax cut I have proposed would reduce taxes by 61 percent for those earning under \$5,000, by 32 percent for families with incomes ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000, by 21 percent for those earning from \$10,000 to \$15,000, and by 16 percent for taxpayers with \$15,000 to \$20,000 incomes.

In addition to these individual tax cuts, business and farms need an increased investment tax credit—to provide new buildings, new machinery and equipment, and most importantly, new jobs. On this issue the President and the majority of Democrats stand together.

Next, the Congress should turn its attention to tax reform to provide greater fairness in our tax structure. By this, I mean phasing out the oil depletion allowance, strengthening the minimum tax to ensure that the rich pay their share, and eliminating foreign tax preferences that send jobs and capital abroad. And there are many more.

People have a right to expect that the tax laws will be fair.

Prompt action on a tax cut is only the first step on the Congressional agenda. Six and one-half million persons are presently out of work and that number will surely increase. One thing is certain: a tax cut is of little direct help to a person without a job.

In Congress, Democrats and Republicans alike, are committed to putting more people to work, to getting them off unemployment lines and into jobs where they can support their families and pay their share of taxes.

What America needs are jobs, not "Win" buttons. What Americans want is work, not welfare.

On its own initiative, Congress passed an expanded public service employment program providing 300,000 jobs in hospitals, schools, day-care centers, and other public facilities. Since this program was passed in December, half a million more people have become unemployed.

This simply means that more must be done. Democrats propose that Congress immediately authorize an additional 500,000 public service jobs. And an additional 250,000 jobs for each one-half percentage point rise in the unemployment rate.

Yes, I know that this will cost money, but it costs more to have people unemployed. When you're working, you're producing—you're both a consumer and a taxpayer—you're self-sufficient.

Unemployment is not only the loss of a job and income; it is being told you are not needed. This violates the promise of America.

The President has said that he will veto any new federal spending. He proposed that those on social security shall not receive more than a five percent increase in benefits, even though the cost of living has increased by 12 percent. Those on fixed incomes—the elderly, the blind, and the disabled—have suffered the most from inflation. To deny them an increase in benefits equal to the rise in the cost of living is wrong and unacceptable. The Congress will not permit it.

There is no sense punishing people who rely on a small social security check, or raising the price of food stamps for people who are already struggling to feed their families. Congress is no less concerned than the

President over the growth in federal spending and in controlling a large and wasteful bureaucracy. Last year, for example, we cut the President's budget requests by \$5 billion.

There is one basic reason for the record-breaking deficits that have accumulated since 1969.

On two occasions, in 1969-70 and 1973-74, former President Nixon attempted to control inflation by slowing down economic growth. During these deliberately-engineered recessions, as production declined, incomes also went down, profits fell, people lost their jobs and, as a result, federal tax receipts dropped sharply. Unemployed workers and businessmen and farmers operating at a loss don't pay taxes.

In these recession years, the federal deficit grew by leaps and bounds. In just this year and the next we can expect a federal deficit of \$80 billion. This is frightening.

The way to end these deficits is to get the economy moving—to get people back to work and business to invest. And we can do this with a prompt tax cut, sensible federal spending, and ample credit with lower interest rates.

These are among the major items on the Congressional economic agenda. They will offer each of you a greater measure of security as America begins the long period of economic recovery. But lasting economic health is impossible unless wise actions are taken in several additional areas.

First, let me discuss money and credit. Tight money and high interest rates have not halted inflation. They have added to it. That's obvious to everyone. But they have choked off economic growth, brought homebuilding to a virtual halt, increased bankruptcies among businessmen and farmers, and created havoc in our capital markets.

Yet in his remarks last week, President Ford was totally silent on the money and credit policies that will make economic recovery possible. I propose that the President convene an emergency conference on monetary policy, attended by the Federal Reserve Board and representatives of business, labor, banking, farming, and the investment community.

This conference should be convened for the express purpose of arriving at monetary policies that are fully consistent with the goal of economic recovery. Unless this is done, the desired economic effect of the tax cut and other economic recovery measures will be largely wasted.

I further propose that the President use the Credit Control Act of 1969 to channel credit into sectors of the economy now starved for funds, primarily housing, state and local government, small businesses, and agriculture.

Now let me say a word about housing.

There is no way out of a national recession while housing is in a depression. Today hundreds of thousands of skilled construction workers are out of their jobs and thousands of contractors are without work.

Yet America needs homes and many of our cities need massive reconstruction.

As early as 1949, Congress established a national goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. To achieve these goals and rescue the housing industry, strong action is necessary.

First, Mr. President, release the funds that the Congress has provided for housing.

Second, Congress should consider establishing a National Housing Bank with sufficient funds to provide interest subsidies and other financing for low and middle-income taxpayers.

Third, the President should use the authority he now has under public law to allocate credit for housing.

Economic recovery also depends on a sound national energy policy that can be supported by every American. This will re-

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY "MEET THE PRESS" February 17, 1975

HUMPHREY: "Unless we take some very concrete and effective action, and very quickly, ~~within the next 60 to 90 days~~, I think we would be approaching what you would call the dimensions of a depression."

* * *

SPIVAK: "When will Congress do something (about tax cuts)?"

HUMPHREY: "~~Within the next 30 days~~"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Lee
save

February 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

Subject: Handling of the President's Effort to Achieve our National Energy Goals (and other similar efforts).

1. Problem: Ron Nessen is getting advice from many different people each day. He feels forced, in a sense, to answer a great many questions each day, as are other Administration spokesmen. As a result, the staff gives their best advice on each specific question from the slant the question is asked. Ron poses the questions to the staff. Then Ron gives the answer which represents the best judgment of the people he talked to on that specific matter. Yesterday, for example, when asked if the President was ready to compromise, he was advised to say, and he said, "the answer is, a firm 'no'."

2. Question: What is the best way to handle this particular effort concerning energy? And for that matter, from a technique standpoint, what is the best way for the Administration to handle efforts of this nature, which last over a period of months? Needless to say, it is vital that the President's credibility be preserved, that Ron's and other spokesmen's credibility be preserved. However, it is important that the President, through Administration spokesmen, say things that are helpful in moving the President towards his goal.

The only way I know to do this is to develop an approach to the problem -- an overall approach which then enables Ron and all Administration spokesmen to have a broad sense of how all the various specific questions can best be answered. This requires dissemination of broad policy guidance which is carefully thought through, communicated throughout the Administration, and then repeated and repeated by Administration spokesmen.

3. There are several of options.

One, for example, in this energy effort, would be to say flat out, "we are just not going to compromise." In my judgment, that is not wise because, under the Constitution, eventually the Executive has to try to find a solution.

Another option is to admit "we are going to compromise." That is not helpful either, in that it takes the steam out of our supporters' efforts to get what is needed.

A third approach would be to not comment very much, and live with some mystery as to what may be done. That has the problem because it reduces the opportunities to use public communication to assist in moving towards the goal.

The best approach is a fourth option -- namely, to develop a general approach and state it repeatedly, answering specific questions within that overall approach, and staying with it long enough that it begins to sink into the press, the American people and through them to the Congress.

4. Specifically, in the case of the energy effort, we would get general agreement of the key people in the White House and the Administration that the goal of what we all say will be to have the press, the Congress and the public eventually see the President as making a serious, purposeful effort to achieve a goal. Thus, answers should be phrased to posture the President as urging action, not in a truculent or belligerent way, but, rather in a determined, steady manner, expressing his desire to see the country meet a problem facing the Nation.

5. For example:

- There is a danger to America in the present vulnerability of our country to foreign sources of energy, in the waste of energy and in the large dollar outflow that results from payments to foreign sources for the energy we import.

- There is a danger to the industrialized Nations of the world in their vulnerability, wastefulness and dollar outflow and our circumstances economically are interlinked.

- It is possible to do something about these problems.

- But, it takes the country to develop a national solution -- the Executive Branch, the Legislative Branch, and the people of the country -- working together.

- A national effort requires a national goal. In this instance, the goal is energy sufficiency by 1985. This means a circumstance where the United States is (a) no longer vulnerable to foreign sources of energy, and (b) where we have slowed the dollar outflow resulting from oil imports and thus, the danger of blackmail.

This goal can be achieved by a serious conservation program over a period of time and by the development of alternate sources of energy.

- This is not a new problem. The Congress and the country have known about the problem for years and next to nothing has been done.

- The President has developed a comprehensive program. He has put it before the Congress. It involves higher prices for energy but those added costs will be returned to the American people by a tax cut, thus, putting the dollars back into the pockets of the American people and into the economy.

- When asked if and when the President is willing to compromise, the answer is: This country needs a national energy program. Under the Constitution, the Congress must legislate such a program. For the country to have a program, the Congress must act. The President is eager to work with anyone to achieve a national program that will achieve those goals. But, is he willing to compromise in the sense of letting the Congress do nothing? No! Is he willing to see the country continue to be vulnerable? No! Etc.

6. Having an approach such as the above has the advantages of:

a) It leads to repeatedly restating the goal, the urgency and the actual situation. And to lead in a democracy requires repetition. We should not get bored with repetition. We not only do not need a fresh new answer to every question, but also it is harmful to have new answers everyday.

b) It avoids the danger of having the President seem to be without purpose or weak or, conversely, as being truculent or unyielding.

c) It avoids the danger of answering specifically a whole range of specific questions that contain inaccurate assumptions within them, or that give away ground without getting anything in exchange.

d) It enables Administration officials to say something rather than remaining silent, for fear what they say might send out the wrong signals.

7. In short, we are doing fine on the energy effort.

The Administration and the Congress were in disarray last winter. Today the Administration has a program. The work done was good work. The program is standing up to the test of outside analysis. Our people are proud that it is good work. And, they are standing with it.

The Congress is still in disarray. The Democrats are in disarray. Even when and if they develop a program, it will suffer strong criticism, even by Democrats.

The goal, and the President's purposefulness, are getting through to the people, the press and to the Congress, because of the effectiveness of the Administration's spokesmen. They are doing a good job.

The task now is to keep it up. The Administration wants to win this vote, yes, but regardless of how this vote comes out, the country will still need an energy program. And, this Administration is going to see that the country gets one.

February 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RIMSFELD
JACK MARSH

FROM:

RON KESSEN

Apparently gun control again is going to be a major issue in this session of Congress. I have already begun to get questions from the press about the President's position on gun control.

This doesn't need to be done immediately but at sometime in the next few weeks, I would like to have on paper the President's views on gun control.

Thanks.

RH/PP



February 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN

If you recall, some time ago I relayed to you Joseph Kraft's request that the FBI acknowledge and apologize for tapping his telephone under the previous Administration. I passed on to you Kraft's statement that if he received such an acknowledgement and apology he would drop any plans for a lawsuit against the Justice Department.

He has asked me twice recently where his request stands.

RN:jg



February 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

VIA:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

RON NESSEN

RE:

Reassignment of and Promotion
for Tom DeCair

You will recall in the initial reorganization of the Press Office staff that I was going to use the position vacated by Jim Holland for an Assistant Press Secretary to Jerry Warren. Initially, I was going to place Larry Speakes in that position and recruit a woman to replace him in Jack Hushen's office. The White House Press Corps was so impressed with the performance of the team of Hushen, Speakes and Roberts and the support they received from them that they requested that Larry remain in his present position.

We then set about to find Jerry an assistant and selected Margita White. As you remember, we got your approval in December to use the Miltich Presidential commission for Margita since we were limited to four commissions. Margita is, therefore, filling the Holland vacancy with the Miltich commission.

Now that Paul is leaving as soon as his clearances are completed, and I am told that the clearance process should be finished around March 1, I want to strengthen Jerry Warren's operation since it is so vital to the successful communication of the President's programs and objectives to the millions of Americans who are influenced by the media not represented at my daily briefing.



Jerry Warren has Margita as his principal assistant. Bob Kelley, as a Staff Assistant, is assisting Jerry principally in the economic area. With Paul Miltich's departure, I am incorporating all of Paul's functions under Jerry Warren -- the News Summary, Press Office Correspondence, the President's briefing book, and the development of fact sheets and Op-Ed pieces. This will allow Jerry Warren as the Deputy Press Secretary for Information Liaison to have full control of all information liaison functions and those related aspects such as the feedback we get from the editors and publishers across the country through the News Summary and Press Office related correspondence.

It is important that we make greater and better use of this feedback in the development of our external communication programs, particularly in the work toward better informing the public of the President's programs and as we enter the campaign. I, therefore, want to assign Tom DeCair to the Miltich vacancy and give him the primary duties of (1) monitoring and improving the News Summary, (2) preparation and coordination of the President's briefing book, (3) coordinating with the Departments and Agencies the development of fact sheets, Op-Ed pieces and letter replies to editors and publishers which will be sent from our office.

Tom is a valuable asset to me, you and the President. His extensive experience in the Press Office, the manner in which he has adjusted to the transition from the previous Administration, and his mature judgment convince me there is no other better qualified person to complete the Warren team. Tom is fully agreeable to this change and desires it. Lou Thompson has picked up most of the functions Tom was performing for me such as the preparation of my briefing announcements, etc.

Tom has requested a salary increase and West Executive Avenue parking. I am assured that he will get the latter. Lou Thompson has talked with David Hoopes and Jerry Jones on the salary increase, and their consensus is that an increase to \$34,500 would be appropriate and commensurate with his level of responsibility. He currently earns \$31,700. The increase is comparable to the salaries earned by John Carlson and Bob Mead of my office.



Request your concurrence in transferring Tom to Jerry Warren's office to fill the Miltich vacancy and to increase his salary to \$34,500, to be effective upon the departure of Paul Miltich. I will hold in reserve the vacancy created by Tom's transfer, and I do not want to lose that position since we have already reduced the Press Office strength by greater than 10 percent.

Approve transfer of Tom DeCair to the vacancy created by the departure of Paul Miltich

Approve a salary increase for Tom DeCair to \$34,500 effective upon the departure of Paul Miltich

LMT:jg



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN *RHN*

As I have mentioned to you in several conversations, I was troubled by the situation the President was placed in by attending the Jackie Gleason golf tournament and reception.

As you know, Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp were on the Board of Directors for the tournament and Rebozo showed up on the first tee to greet the President and walk along with him. All three networks showed pictures of Rebozo as part of their coverage of the President.

In addition, many in the crowd at the reception were probably not the kind of people the President should have been seen or photographed with, although the "Mafia and hooker" characterization is probably too strong.

The question I am raising is not so much whether he should have gone to this particular event but whether the Advance Office or the Scheduling Office knew prior to the event that Rebozo would show up or that the crowd at the reception would be that kind of a crowd. I am also wondering whether in the future the Advance or Scheduling Offices shouldn't check more thoroughly on who the President will be meeting to avoid possibly embarrassing situations.