WASHINGTON

August 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead

SUBJECT: Transition Team interaction with the White House Staff on substantive policy matters

1. Transition Team should not allow itself to become, or be seen by Congress and the agencies, as a "fix-it" group.

2. Any serious problems the group perceives as to how the White House Staff or OMB are handling specific matters will be discussed at the 7:45 staff meeting. Based on that discussion, Mr. Rumsfeld will raise the items with the President. If the President agrees that work needs to be done to achieve the "Ford Imprint," Mr. Rumsfeld will communicate this back to the Team for appropriate action.

3. The same procedure outlined in Item 2 above applies to handling of positive initiatives the Team wishes to suggest to the President.

4. The principal contact between the Team and the rest of the Government on these matters will be between Mr. Whitehead and Ken Cole, Executive Director of the Domestic Council. It is important that the group not interact broadly with the White House Staff, OMB, and the agencies in following up on any of these items. We will rely on the Domestic Council staff coordinating process to implement whatever it is that the President has directed. Similarly, our point of contact on economic matters will be Sid Jones in Mr. Rush's office, and Mr. Seidman will have responsibility for that liaison. August 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead

Bob Griffin called and suggested that there is no one Jewish religious leader that would be acceptable to the various factions of Judaism. Jack Javits suggested that Max Fisher be contacted to name two or three representative Jewish leaders. Griffin very much feels that Fisher should meet with the President. This might be combined with the meeting Romney proposes with Max Fisher on voluntary action.

CTW:jdm

August 14, 1974

Talking Points for Meeting with Ken Cole

- 1. Fiscal 1976 budget
- 2. Guidance letters
- 3. Preliminary remarks
- 4. The structure of priorities
- 5. Opportunities for change, etc.
- 6. Ask him about the OMB projects and the effect of the balanced budget on the economy, etc., like to see before released.
- 7. Effects of Departmental programs on economy -- employment, etc.
- 8. Budget for liaison with former Presidents

August 20, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO OLLIE ATKINS

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead

We would like to see proofs of the photographs taken of the Transition Team meeting with the President on Thursday, August 15, at 5:00 p.m. From these we would like to select one and get copies for each of the members.

Since some of the Transition Team members will be leaving by tomorrow, we would appreciate your immediate attention to this matter.

RP:jdm

August 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO DAVE PARKER

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead

Confirming the discussion between Al Haig, and Don Rumsfeld, I will coordinate all schedule proposals to be submitted by the Transition Team. In this I will be assisted by Roger Porter. Should you receive any requests on behalf of the Transition Team or its members through other channels, we are prepared to confirm them.

We will be proposing a number of individuals to meet with the President over the next few weeks and hope to do well in advance to ease coordination problems for all concerned. At this time, the only specific items we have are:

1. The President's request to Phil Buchen to arrange meeting with Frank Fitzsimmons, Paul Hall and Leonard woodcock to balance the meeting with George Meany:

2. A meeting with David Packard, the head of the Business Conference; and

3. The President's wish to keep his options open to meet the head of the mine workers' union, if necessary, to avert a shutdown by the miners.

CTW:jdm

TRANSITION TEAM DISCUSSION with the President Oval Office

August 15, 1974

5:00 p.m.

The Transition Team is working on five principal subjects which we plan to present to the President next Tuesday or Wednesday. The purpose of this meeting is to review the approach we are taking to make sure it is what will be most useful to the President.

- I. White House and Executive Office Organization
 - A. Principals
 - B. Discussion of economic policy organization
- II. Specific Opportunites as you move forward the Ford Presidency over the next few months
 - A. Specific new ideas
 - B. <u>Review of Nixon Administration's policy proposals in</u>
- III. Meetings with Key Individuals
- IV. Implementation
- V. Transition Team Directions

TRANSITION TEAM DISCUSSION FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT 5:00 P.M. -- August 15, 1974

We are working on five principal areas which we will present to you in our final report on Tuesday or Wednesday, depending on your schedule. The purpose of this meeting is to review the approach we are taking and to make sure it is what will be most useful to you.

I. White House and Executive Office Organization

Considerations

Organizational considerations with respect to the White House staff and the Executive Office of the President, which could contribute to the establishment of a successful Ford Presidency:

A. First, the needs of the President must be met. The Executive Office of the President must provide assistance on legal matters, personnel, press, Congressional relations, schedule services, speeches and public liaison. The President also will require coordination for National Security policy, domestic policy, economic policy and budget. The President must find arrangements for dealing with these areas of responsibility that suit his needs, his working preferences and the circumstances of the country.

B. Second, the arrangements should be such to avoid isolation of the President by providing a flow of information, access to the President, a span of control that can be handled while still allowing time for reflection, and an orderly but inclusive decision-making process.

C. Third, the arrangements should help to set a tone that truly reflects the man and the times and turn the White House from a besieged bastion into the residence and offices of the people's President. Examples include steps such as reducing the size of the White House staff by belt tightening as well as having more functions performed in the Departments, reducing the number of prerequisites and trappings of power to minimize the danger of a self-contained White House. For example, it might be healthy if more members of the White House staff ate lunch, and had their hair cut outside the complex and if fewer used government vehicles. D. Fourth, a strengthened Cabinet department system would suggest greater access for Cabinet officers, improved policy guidance to Cabinet departments; less White House and OMB involvement at the present levels of specificity.

E. Fifth, while change is in order in terms of relationships with the press, Congress, and Cabinet departments, the country cannot be run like the United Nations and the President is not a Secretary General. There is but one President and, while full communication during the decision-making process is needed, it must end in a decision, and this requires an orderly process with someone responsible for seeing that it works.

F. Sixth, any arrangement decided upon will evitably change and be adjusted during the term of office, as the President changes and the times change. And that is good. The danger is not change, it is that resistance to change which is a fact of life in such an organization might inhibit those changes as they are needed.

Our suggestions, therefore, are simply suggestions as a way to begin or, in some instances, a direction to point.

Example: Economic Policy Organization

You specified five areas of organization you particularly wanted us to consider: economic, press and public affairs. domestic policy, personnel, and legal. As an example of the approach we expect to give you next week, here is a preliminary report on economic structure:

Present Economic Arrangements:

The Rush Office seems to have been established to ameliorate a Simon-Ash conflict. The Council on International Economic Policy was established to reduce conflicts among State, Treasury and the Special Trade Representative. And the CEP was designed for George Shultz' special role as Assistant to the President for Economic Policy. Most everyone we have talked to favor elimination of the Rush Office.

- Greenspan believes the Council of Economic Advisers should be a "consulting operation for one client, not 'the' spokesman for economic policy."

- There is considerable feeling that the President will want to personally deal with economic policy. To do so, he will need strong and not fragmented staff support.

Major options include:

A. The Rush Office

- 1. Eliminate
- 2. Status quo
- Strengthen and make this person your spokesman on economic policy
- B. Council of Economic Advisers
 - Make Chairman your spokesman and chief economic coordinator
 - 2. 'Use Chairman as your "consultant" while you are chief spokesman
 - 3. Focus CEA on domestic economic policy
- C. Council on Economic Policy
 - 1. Eliminate
 - 2. Focus on domestic economic policy under chairmanship of the Secretary of the Treasury
 - 3. You chair CEP, use it for all economic policy, and establish separate subcommittees for domestic and international matters

- D. Council on International Economic Policy
 - 1. Eliminate by legislation
 - 2. Change chairmanship from the President to the Secretary of State and use to coordinate all international economic policy
 - 3. Merge with Office of the Special Trade Representative.
- E. Special Trade Representative
 - 1. Status quo
 - 2. Merge with CIEP
 - 3. Merge into Department of State
 - 4. Merge into Department of Commerce

Our recommendation on this complex issue would take the form of one option from each category. For example,

| A-1 | | | | A-1 | |
|-----|---|----|---|-----|---|
| B-2 | | | | B-2 | 1 |
| C-2 | | or | 1 | C-3 | 1 |
| D-2 | | | | D-2 | 4 |
| E-3 | ' | | | E-3 | 1 |
| E-3 | ' | | | E-3 | 1 |

II. Thoughts on establishing the Ford Presidency over the next few months

A. Specific New Ideas

To start establishing a Ford Presidency, there are some specific actions you might take, both in approach and in substantive areas, over the next two or three months. We expect to have a number of such items for consideration early next week. Some examples:

1. There has been much positive comment about your commuting from your Alexandria home. Although this cannot continue, you might consider extending a personal invitation to King Hussein for cocktails at your home Friday evening, and then drive with him to the State Dinner at the White House. 2. There is some feeling that you could unite most of the country around an appropriate proposal of earned immunity (as opposed to amnesty) for the Vietnam war draft evaders and desserters. This would have to be checked carefully on the Hill beforehand. Very likely it could best be done <u>soon</u> if you are interested.

3. Former Presidents have established the pattern of having the Hill come to them. You could consider going through with the invitation you accepted earlier for luncheon with Mike Mansfield and the Murphy Commission on Organization of Foreign Policy, hosted by Arend Lubbers.

B. Review of policy proposals now in process

The OMB and Domestic Council are preparing a number of memoranda for your review on the policy proposals and pending legislation "in the pipeline." You will receive information and options on these items from them. We are reviewing these items and will call some to your attention before we disband the Transition Team with suggestions on how you might wish to handle them in a way significantly different from the current thinking of the OMB and Domestic Council staffs.

III. Meeting with Key Individuals

One legacy you face is the accumulated hostilities with a number of segments of our society. While it is assumed that your Administration will continue many of the same policies, it is important to avoid carrying over the hostilities. We are preparing a list of individuals from business, the arts, religious, academic, and other interest groups to meet with you. This group will contain a number of distinguished leaders in their fields, and also some small businessmen, small town law enforcement officials, etc., who are not normally found on such a list.

When these lists are completed, we will pass them on to Al Haig for consideration in the normal scheduling process, except perhaps for one or two key groups that we think you should meet with in the next few weeks.

IV. Implementation

The recommendation in our final report will be designed to be carried out through the White House structure. Other items, such as organization and key personnel changes, may best be handled through some special procedures. We will make recommendations as to how you might wish to proceed after we have submitted our report.

V. Transition Team

We suggest a meeting be scheduled Tuesday or Wednesday of next week to discuss with you our final report. At that time, we recommend that this phase of the transition be considered completed and the Transition Team disbanded.

Action: (1) Date for next and final meeting of Transition Team

- (2) Approval of our recommended approach
- (3) Press guidance
- (4) Privacy of our report

August 13, 1974

To: Mr. Pagnotta

From: Judy

Mr. Whitehead would like an additional telephone line for his phone -- a private line that rings and appears on his telephone only.

Thank you.

August 12, \$974

To: Mr. Pagnotta

From: Judy Morton

Mr. Whitehead would like to have some changes in his furniture:

Please remove the desk.

He will use the table that is in there for a desk.

He would like another table the same size w/about 4 or 6 chairs -- doesn't like GI black or brown chairs, so I hope you have others.

He needs table lamps.

Also, we would like to have 1 coat rack -- I guess it can go in this room with me.

Thakks much.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 14, 1974

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE TRANSITION TEAM

FROM: Tom Whitehead

These are the memoranda on legislative and substantive policy direction being sent to the President in the next few days by Ken Cole, Roy Ash, and Bill Timmons. Those with an asterisk are action memoranda, the remainder are for the President's information. I have copies of the current drafts of these memoranda.

If any of you know of any problems, potential pitfalls, or interesting opportunities for the "Ford Imprint" in these areas, please let me know, and we will arrange for an input to the President through Ken Cole, Al Haig, or directly to the President.

Attachment

- 1. Agriculture-Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriation Act, 1975
- 2. Campaign Reform Legislation
- * 3. Cargo Preference Legislation
- * 4. Consumer Protection Agency (CPA) Legislation
 - 5. ERDA (Energy Research and Development Administration); Status of Legislation to create
 - 6. Freedom of Information Act Amendments (H.R. 12471)
- * 7. Juvenile Delinquency Legislation (S. 821)
- * 8. Mass Transit.
- * 9. National Health Insurance
- *10. OEO Community Action Program
 - 11. Omnibus Housing Bill of 1974



- Private Pension Reform Legislation "Employee Retirement Income Security Act, H. R. 2"
- *13. Safe Drinking Water Legislation
 - 14. Surface Mining
- *15. Veterans Education Bill
- *16. White House Authorization Bill

President Ford has an inherited Administration, complete with personnel, policies, legislative history, staff procedures, and operating style. The new President has been a long-time supporter * of the foreign policies and many of the domestic policies of the former administration. The political philosophies of the new President are not dramatically different from that which produced the mandate of 1972.

And yet President Ford has inherited an Administration besmirched by scandal, indictment, arrogance, hostility with and to the Congress, manipulation of public opinion through the press, and, finally, probably the worst, a preoccupation with the power and form of government rather than systems and responsiveness of government.

The new President, then, faces a dilemma. He must maintain continuity, but he must also convey in which he must retain his philosophy, the personnel, the staff procedures, etc., of the Nixon Administration and yet somehow turn it gradually into his own distinctive Administration. There will be great pressure from without for him to do this too soon. And there will be greater pressures from within not to do it at all. The President's principal problem, then, is to walk a steady course between these two, and the principal problem becomes: how much, now soon?

The Transition Team is at work on organizational and personnel that will provide significant and major options for the new President in designing a staff system and a reorganization of the Presidency to reduce the overblown and baroque super-structure of the Executive Office erected by the Nixon Administration, However, it is essential that the President, over the first two or three months of his Presidency, establish a tone, a style, a method of operation that is distinct from that of the former President and conveys to public, press, and Congress that this is a new President, a steady President who is his own President. There are three ways to do this at the outset: (1) personal style, (2) how he conducts his business, and (3) what he does in substantive issues.

The first largely takes care of itself. Nixon never wore plaid suits. He never <u>really</u> smiled, etc. The second has already begun in some ways; most notably in the President's spirit of cooperation with the Congress and his matter-of-fact, frankness, and genuineness in dealing with the Congress, with the public. However, the rhetoric will wear thin if not very soon replaced or at least supplemented by the evaluation of a Ford style with respect to what he does. Several proposals need to be developed for the President of things the President can undertake to do over the next few months that would convey more of his intentions and style.

The third has not yet taken place. The OMB and Domestic Council, along with the Departments and Agencies, will throw up to the new President a steady stream of memoranda designed to obtain his ratification for the support or opposition of specific bills, policy proposals that will lock him into the same positions as the Nixon Administration. Since many of these positions have been arrived at in a way that has left the Congress and many groups of society hostile with hard feelings and bitterness toward the Administration, it is important that the President deal with some of these in new and novel ways. The two attached papers provide a list of actions for the President's consideration that will further the development of a "Ford Imprint" on the Presidency over the next few months and suggest some tentative timing to insure that these are paced over that period of time so that the press and the public will receive it as a steady development and evolution of the Ford Presidency rather than a massive PR speculation.

-3-

Early Options for Ford Imprint

Personal Touches:

- 1. Trip to Grand Rapids (Labor Day, Veterans Day?)
- 2. What he does with his friends
- 3. Visit with top civil servants (careers, pay, etc.)
- 4. Regional listening sessions

(instead of campaigning)

(2-3 days in one place; TV talk show for several communities; , minimum rallies; few speeches)

- 5. Swimming pool/golf
- Visit with young people (perhaps selected by the President's children or at their schools
- 7. Meeting his new neighbors in the District of Columbia
- 8. George Meany's birthday party, Friday, August 16
- 9. Meet with old Vice Presidential staff
- 10. August 28 luncheon with Mansfield and Murphy Committee (should be prepared to have something to say, but the main purpose is to indicate willingness to go meet the Congress.
- Swear in a few early appointees, e.g., Greenspan, Carlson, etc. (indicates awareness of importance of sub-Cabinet)

Early Options for Ford Imprint

Issues:

- 1. Amnesty
- 2. Economic policy "summit"
- 3. Waiver of blanket executive privilege -- early or with reorganization
- 4. Cuba
- 5. Privacy
- 6. Cable -- launch major debate
- 7. Sharing his education on the economy and/or energy
- 8. Bicentennial (?)
- 9. Meet with education leaders on signing Education Bill
- New imprint on consumer problems on the occasion of signing the Consumer Protection Bill

August 23, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR BILL BAROODY

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead

Attached is a list of names of scientists as a starting point for the group that should meet with the President. I believe it would be best to start from this list rather than the list you originally gave us since it is much broader in scope and political balance.

Some of the individuals on this list I do not know, and you can take it from here. However, I think it is very important that the final list include representatives from more than the academic physicist-dominated science establishment that has dominated Presidential communications with the science community.

The relations between the White House and the science community have become a bit strained since we did away with the Science Adviser, and the President needs to be a bit careful in dealing with scientists.

If I can be of any help, give me a call.

Attachment

CTW:jdm

Dr. William O. Baker President Bell Telephone Labs Mountain Avenue Murray Hill, New Jersey 07974

Dr. Ivan L. Bennett, Jr. Vice President-Health Affairs and Director New York University Medical Center 550 First Avenue New York, New York 10016

Dr. Lewis M. Branscomb Vice President and Chief Scientist IBM Corporation Armonk, New York 10504

Dr. Harvey Brooks, Dean Division of Engineering and Applied Physics Harvard University 217 Pierce Hall Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dr. Harold Brown President California Institute of Technology 1001 East California Boulevard Pasadena, California 91109

Mr. J. Fred Bucy, Jr. Executive Vice President Texas Instruments, Inc. Post Office Box 5484 Dallas, Texas 75222

Dr. Robert A. Charpie President Cabot Corporation 125 High Street Boston, Massachusetts 02110

Dr. Eugene G. Fubini Xerox Building 1901 North Fort Myer Drive Arlington, Virginia 22209 Dr. Philip Handler President National Academy of Science 2101 Constitution Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20418

Dr. Joshua Lederberg Department of Genetics Stanford University Stanford, California 94305

Dr, William McElroy Chancellor University of California at San Diego LaJolla, California

Dr. William Nierenberg University of California Director Scripps Institute of Oceanography LaJolla, California 92038

Dr. Thomas O. Paine Senior Vice President Technology Planning and Development General Electric Company Fairfield, Connecticut 06431

Dr. Gerard Piel Scientific American 415 Madison Avenue New York, New York 10017

Dr. Allen E. Puckett Executive Vice President Hughes Aircraft Company Culver City, California 90230

Simon Ramo is a Member of the Executive Committee and Director of Bunker-Ramo Corporation, formerly President; the original firm (Ramo-Wooldridge) played a key role in the systems engineering and management of our missile program Dr. Roger Revelle President Center for Population Studies Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dr. Robert Seamans President National Academy of Engineering 2101 Constitution Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20418

Dr. Lloyd H. Smith, Jr. Chairman Department of Medicine University of California San Francisco, California 94122

Dr. John G. Truxal Dean, School of Engineering State University of New York at Stony Brook Stony Brook, New York 11790

Dr. James B. Wyngaarden Chairman Department of Medicine Duke University Medical Center Durham, North Carolina 27710

Judy-fit for

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

To: Clay Whitehead

From: Roger Porter

Re: Congressional Schedule

August 12, 1974

Labor Day Recess

The Senate has scheduled a Labor Day recess from August 23 until September 4.

The House of Representatives has scheduled a Labor Day recess from August 23 until September 11.

Series of Presidential Messages

The timing on the series of presidential messages to the Congress is tied to the date on which Congress reconvenes in January. The 20th Amendment to the Constitution stipulates that: "The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day." Congress frequently has reconvened after January 3rd depending on how late in the previous year they adjourned.

The White House Office of Congressional Liaison expects that Congress will reconvene on January 6, 1975. This is based on the assumption that there will be no post-election session. Should Congress resume activity following the November election then they would likely reconvene later in January, perhaps around the 20th.

Traditionally, the State of the Union message has been delivered within a matter of days following the commencement of the congressional session. It is followed by the Budget Message, which must be submitted within 15 days after Congress has reconvened. The President's Economic Report is traditionally submitted following the Budget Message. The State of the Union Message, the Budget Message, and the Economic Report traditionally are submitted to Congress in a period of a week to ten days.

The new Budget Reform Act will not alter this pattern. In the past, Congress has been willing to extend the date on which the Budget Message and the Economic Report are submitted for two or three days if necessary. August 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jack Marsh

Subject to your approval, we will implement the following system for screening telephone calls to your Residence:

1. The Signal Switchboard will receive all telephone calls for you placed to the White House or to your personal telephone. The Military Duty Aide will have a list of individuals whom you wish to be connected directly to you when you are in your Residence. President Nixon allowed such direct telephone access only for the First Family, the Military Assistant, and Stephen Bull.

2. You may wish to consider having the following people on such a list:

The First Family The Military Assistant, General Lawson General Haig Ambassador Rumsfeld Mr. Hartmann Mr. Marsh Congressional leaders (?) Personal friends (?)

3. Anyone else who wished to reach you on an urgent basis would be referred by the Military Duty Aide to one or more people of your choosing who would be authorized to ascertain the nature of the call and decide whether or not it should be put through to you. For this purpose, you may wish to consider Mr. Hartmann and Mr. Marsh. August 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead

After discussion, the Transition Team agreed to the following procedure for handling its suggestions on Press Office announcements:

1. Mr. terHorst will brief the Transition Team at the 7:45 a.m. meeting each morning on the most important items scheduled for announcement that day. The Team will have that opportunity to make its suggestions for the "Ford Imprint." Any serious questions about announcements can be raised by Mr. Rumsfeld with the President at the 8:30 a.m. meeting or by Mr. gerHorst at their 10:00 a.m.

2. The timing of announcements for the next few days will be reviewed briefly at each 7:45 a.m. staff meeting in order to assure that "Ford Imprint" considerations have been taken into account in pacing the announcements and in notifying members of the Congress, interest groups, etc., of intentions, as appropriate.

3. Longer range Transition Team efforts will be considered by the Team to arrive at an orderly pacing of amjor announcements in order to assure completion of various projects so that an orderly pacing of announcements can be planned.

CTW:jdm