

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

RICHARD CHENEY

Handwritten signatures of Donald Rumsfeld and Richard Cheney. The signature of Donald Rumsfeld is written over the name 'DONALD RUMSFELD' and the signature of Richard Cheney is written over the name 'RICHARD CHENEY'.

October 24, 1975



## INTRODUCTION

Mr. President, I care a great deal about you as a person, and about your success. I've worked hard here at the White House and have enjoyed doing it.

I care deeply about the country, and believe it is vitally important that you be re-elected, and that the policies of your Administration be continued.

On a personal basis, I and others on your staff are being criticized by friends, junior staff, Members of Congress and the press for the lack of organization in your Administration. I and others are being accused of running around whispering sweet things in your ear and telling you everything is wonderful, that you are wonderful, and not telling you the truth, that you have some problems. The result is that we have put into question the respect of some people in this town that it has taken years to build. And we are not in a position to defend ourselves, because, if we admitted that we knew there was a lack of organization and/or that we had so advised you, the "heat" would be focused on you. So, as a result, we simply listen, tell you what we believe "with the bark off," but do not say to others that we agree with them in their criticisms, or that we have told you so. It is important that we handle it that way to keep morale up in this building. We have to be seen as optimistic and on top of it, even though we know and feel deeply that things aren't going right and that we have told you so.

Someday, possibly, you can say that you have gotten it "straight."

I recognize that, of course, our backgrounds are different. I have run some pieces of the government and do not believe we have ever had the appearance of the kinds of leaks, jealousies, turf fights and bad morale that it appears your team has. I think the reason for that is that I used a different management arrangement.

You, of course, have a legislative background. I recognize that when you see reports of alleged jealousies, turf fights, and leaks, your assumption tends to be that the individuals are jealous of each other. However, I don't believe it is all their fault. I know that the morale is low, but I believe that it is so because of the organizational approach you have tolerated. In my view the arrangement you now have guarantees, because of the premium on a private relationship



with you, the lack of information which results, and the absence of the connectors between the different parts of the building as we have discussed. People get hurt when the gears finally mesh, as they must, in the previously disconnected pieces, as I described the other day.

Further, the bulk of the problems involve Hartmann, the Vice President or Kissinger. Bob is an unusual human being. He simply seems not to work well with other people. The Vice President is in the office that has historically had problems. Henry seems to have had those problems in whatever he was doing. That is just Henry. Only you can reduce the problem and therefore gain the great value from him, which he has to offer the country.

With that background, and because of our deep sense of these problems, the only way to conclusively make the case and demonstrate the importance we attach to the kinds of changes recommended, is to assure that there will be absolutely no question in your mind that anything said below would affect us in any way or be to our advantage.

You must be free to decide, with absolutely no question on your mind about the motives of those making the recommendations. We are convinced that the job you need done cannot be done unless these major changes take place. You must be free to decide quite apart from any personal relationships including us. Therefore, our resignations are attached.



## FOUR SCENARIOS

1. Reagan runs an effective campaign, "wins" one or more of the early primaries. Other GOP candidates enter the race. You are forced to withdraw or you lose the nomination. The GOP loses in November.
2. Reagan makes a respectable showing in primaries, but loses nomination to you. However, the primary fight splits the Party, and results in a GOP defeat in November.
3. Reagan is beaten convincingly, and withdraws early in 1975. You capture the nomination easily, but lose to the Democrat in November.
4. Reagan does not announce or withdraws early; you win the nomination easily and win in November.

## FACTORS BEYOND OUR CONTROL

The following are circumstances which will affect the outcome, but about which we can do very little. We may be able to affect peoples' perception of the President, based on how he tries to deal with them, but for the most part, we must live with them.

### 1. The Economy

Clearly things are improving, but the fact remains that in spite of positive trends, the rates of unemployment and inflation expected in 1976 will be the worst economic conditions any incumbent has faced since the depression.

### 2. Liabilities of Incumbency

Over the next 12 months the President will have to operate as President. He will have to make decisions and deal with developments which may well cost him votes at election time. He will have to be "responsible" while opponents won't be so constrained.



3. The Nixon Connection

Clearly the Democrats will make every effort to campaign against the "Nixon-Ford" Administration. There is no denying that the President and many of his key advisors came to national prominence first as appointees of Richard Nixon. Our economic problems will be blamed on the "Nixon-Ford" team.

4. Republicans - The Minority Party

GOP registration is at an all time low. We are outnumbered about two to one by both Independents and Democrats. Under the best of circumstances, it is tough to win against those odds.

5. Democrats Control the Congress

The nearly two to one margin of control held by the Democrats makes it virtually impossible to enact major legislative initiatives. This control is sufficiently strong to give them a base to constantly harass and obstruct a GOP incumbent.

6. Campaign Laws

The new limitations on campaign spending effectively eliminate the traditional financial advantage enjoyed by Republicans. In 1972, Nixon spent some \$60 million vs. McGovern's \$35 million. Thus the ability to offset the Democrats' numerical advantage by outspending them has been eliminated. They still have their advantage. We've lost ours.

7. This is the First National Ford Campaign

Both the President and many of his key staff people have no experience in running national presidential campaigns. We are faced with the task of building both a national organization and a nationwide political base from scratch. Reagan and many of the Democrats have far more presidential campaign experience than does the President.



8. The Budget

Stringent budget limitations for FY'76 and FY '77 mean that numerous special interest groups such as educators, the elderly, etc., are likely to be less than enthusiastic in their support. We simply don't have the option of "gaining" support, as have many incumbents in the past, by providing Federal funds to a multiplicity of interest groups. Bold new programs and initiatives that cost money are out.

9. Timing and Sequence of Primaries

Unfortunately many of those states where Reagan is strongest come first. Reagan has his best shots in places like N.H., Mass., Fla., and N.C.; and, as the challenger, he doesn't have to win them all, just one or two to get his momentum building.

10. The Media

Because Reagan is the challenger seeking to unseat an incumbent, he has an advantage in news coverage. If he is badly defeated, it will not be a significant development. On the other hand, every indication that he is gaining will receive widespread publicity.



## FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS

As Don has discussed with you, our assessment is that we are not operating effectively. The following items are illustrative of current difficulties:

### 1. Perception of the President

Among the public-at-large, the President is perceived as decent and honest. They like you. However, there are growing questions about your leadership, capabilities and competence. Your approval rating on average, is lower than that of previous Presidents, and you get very low marks when questions are asked about your handling of specific problems such as the economy and foreign policy. In general they like you as an individual, but have doubts about your performance as President.

### 2. Public Confusion over Presidential Policy

All too often there appears to be confusion in the public mind as to exactly what your position is on key issues. New York City is just the latest example. Who is speaking for the Administration? Ron Nessen, who says the President is opposed to aid for New York City; the Vice President, who says it's crucial that we bail out New York; or the "Administration Official" who has hinted that the President might approve a bill if the Congress passes one?

### 3. "Anarchy" in the Administration

There is no question but that morale is low, that the Administration doesn't function as a team, and that too often various individuals criticize one another in the press. Examples include the V.P.'s statement on "support E.I.A. or resign," shots at Callaway and the campaign, etc. The impression created is one of confusion. The result is to weaken the President and force staff members to answer press queries rather than undertake more productive pursuits. It contributes to the impression that the President is not a leader, and raises questions of competence.



#### 4. Policy Mechanisms in Disrepair

Most of the major policy mechanisms, such as the Domestic Council, the EPB and the NSC are not functioning properly. The net result is that we often have to operate outside of channels for two reasons: to get the job done and to maintain security. This leads unnecessarily to low morale, lack of effective follow-up, and less than whole-hearted support for Presidential decisions by officials left out of the process. On the other hand, using the policy mechanisms often leads to leaks, press comments which are harmful, and/or not getting the job done.

#### 5. Lack of Coordination Across Policy Areas

Your method of dealing with the existing organizational arrangements (which are not in and of themselves defective) makes it virtually impossible for anyone to coordinate Administration policy and actions. The Domestic Council, NSC and Speech operations are isolated from the rest of the staff. All independently receive guidance from the President. Thus, decisions are made without consulting others who should be consulted. When it comes time for the speech to be written announcing a major economic initiative, it's done at the last minute, with unnecessary conflict and friction and with reduced effectiveness and quality.

#### Examples:

A. HAK and the President make major personnel decisions on key State Department and Ambassadorial posts without going through the personnel shop or considering political factors.

B. A major European Economic Summit was scheduled with little consideration of the views of economic advisors, or the scheduling office, and little thought about the domestic political consequences of being out of the country on yet another foreign trip.

C. The Russian grain deal was negotiated by the State Department. Originally there was no USDA representative involved in Moscow. The result is that a sound policy and good agreement has hurt us





to a greater degree than necessary in the key midwest farm states. Secretary Butz has lost stature and is therefore unable to do an effective job of telling our side of the story. And, as is inevitable with such handling, relationships have been seriously and unnecessarily frayed between Butz, Dunlop and Kissinger.

D. The crime proposals in the Yale Law School speech were carefully designed to appeal to conservatives, emphasizing mandatory prison sentences for repeat offenders. When the Domestic Council and the Justice Department got through preparing the legislative package, we were saddled with a "gun control" measure which we couldn't get Senator Hruska to co-sponsor. There has been little or no follow-up, and we've dropped the ball on a major domestic issue.

E. Busing. Weeks of effort were devoted to the preparation of a major presidential speech on busing, designed to make clear the President's opposition to forced busing, etc. The speech was never delivered because RTH refused to move on it until he "talked to the President." The President later spoke out on the subject anyway in Dallas, but without the careful preparation, and not using the Presidentially phrased and crafted paragraphs, and without the followup that any major Presidential initiative deserves.

F. The NSC refuses to work closely with the Press Office so that Nessen is often ill-equipped to answer important questions. It's public knowledge that Ron cannot get answers from the NSC. He is forced usually to go to the President for such guidance, which is a waste of the President's time and often cuts the NSC out of an opportunity to contribute.

There are a great many other examples.

## 6. Lack of Discipline

Sloppy staff work, press leaks, and public disagreements with the President's position on key issues never result in disciplinary action of any kind. Very rarely is anyone ever



told they screwed up. With very rare exception, no one is held accountable for performance. Conversely, poor performance is often seen as being rewarded because there is no penalty.

7. Compromise - Does it Have a Role in the White House

All too often there is a tendency to seek to find a compromise between contending staff points of view. Often the best decision would be a crisp, decisive call to go with one or another of the positions, rather than to compromise. Presidents don't have to compromise with their staffs. Compromise will necessarily occur externally with the Congress after a Presidential position has been staked out. Compromises made before a policy is decided can result in decisions which are seen as being fuzzy and compromised.

8. Lack of Priorities and Strategy

At the present time we don't have a carefully thought out list of priorities. The President's time is allocated based on the requests received. The staff's time and the President's time are too often wasted on non-essential items or issues. Policy groups like the EPB haven't been told what they should worry about over the next six months. Issues which don't merit Presidential attention are brought up, while other issues which should be developed are ignored. There is a tendency to diffuse our limited resources across too many areas. We seem to emphasize quantity over quality. Policy groups work at cross purposes because they lack any overall guidance or strategic concept which would force them to work in mutually supporting ways. Our individual pronouncements appear to be disconnected from each other and sometimes contradictory, because they are. We provide no philosophical framework to encompass all of them.



## GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

To correct the current state of affairs, the specific goals and objectives we must strive for should be set forth.

### 1. Perception of the President

Our actions should portray the President as the President. He must be perceived as a leader; strong (sometimes tough), but fair; a man of vision who knows what he wants America to be; and knows how to get us there. It is all well and good to have Americans "like" their President -- but it is even more important that they respect him.

### 2. Timing is Crucial

We have only a week or two to affect Reagan's decision to run. We have only 60-90 days to shape the State of the Union message, the legislative package for 1976, and the attitudes of voters in the early convention and primary states. We probably have only six to eight months to have any significant input on the '76 election. Any nomination for a major post requiring Senate confirmation should be sent up in time for action to be completed before Christmas. Every day that we delay action is a day lost forever.

### 3. Accountability

People must be given clear directions, the authority to carry out their assignments, and then be held accountable for performance. If someone is incapable of, or unwilling to operate on this basis, they should be fired. There is no room for incompetence. We will never achieve perfection in staff operations, but we must always seek it. Sloppy staff work, failure to coordinate properly, turf fights and other forms of inefficiency should not be tolerated.

### 4. Limited Resources

For everything we do, we must recognize that we have only so many competent people and a limited amount of time. We can't do everything. And, shouldn't try. We should decide what our priorities are and then operate accordingly. If something is not on the list of priorities then we shouldn't do it.



## PERCEPTIONS

A goal should be to establish organizational arrangements and policies and assignments to people so that the following perceptions are achieved to the maximum extent possible.

Illustrative examples:

1. That you have a Constituency, and know what it is (51% is victory). For example:
  - Small business - not big business.
  - Anti-government, as opposed to being part of the problem (i. e., discontinue saying 26 years in government).
  - Efforts for the aged.
  - Efforts for the farmers.
2. In Charge -- Competence. For example:
  - Speeches should be sent back when they aren't good.
  - Deadlines should be set.
  - People who don't perform well should be told so or fired.
  - People should be told to develop a schedule for implementation of the matters they are handling and get it to the Coordinator.
  - There should be some pain for screwing up; not rewards.

The perception of competence will be affected by the quality of the people around you.



3. That you are focusing on what is important. When people bring minutia to you, you should say it is crap and shove it away. Keep dealing with the big issues and be seen as dealing with the big issues. Stop signing so many photographs and so many duplicate letters. Reduce the schedule by dropping the trivial events and non-essential staff meetings. Your time is valuable and unless you treat it as such, others will not.

4. Assignments should be made to others, so it is clear that you are dealing with the big pieces, and they are dealing with pieces you have assigned to them. It shows you have your priorities in order.

5. Effectiveness

We should emphasize your achievements and they should be categorized and communicated.

6. Your Administration has to be seen as having sensible answers for the questions Americans are asking (i. e., The NSC should be held in session with additional participants until such time as we have a logical explanation of our policy on foreign arms sales.).

7. That you are focusing on three to five big things. It shows purposefulness -- the economy, morality, freedom of choice, energy, whatever -- items that are directed towards your constituency. For example, the position book that Cannon gave you should be reorganized and grouped under those four or five big things that your Administration is working towards, and which will be the highlights of your State of the Union Message.

8. That you are not simply a politician. Republican events should be minimized.

9. That you are the President. Events involving your candidacy should be minimized. You will be re-elected on how you govern, not your skill as a candidate.

10. That you can manage. It should be seen that you are planning ahead, that you stick to your plans, that you have an approach and you are not blurring it by agreeing with people who come along with ideas that don't fit into the focus or perception you want (It is a minor matter, but



your on again off again RON in Florida suggests to people a lack of discipline). You should lay down the law on Rumsfeld's Rules for Assistants to the President. The White House should be the "Tiffany" of management in the country, as Jack Marsh has said repeatedly. We should find techniques to get a team spirit -- sessions at Camp David, dinners, etc. -- so that your people aren't running off in different directions.

11. That you are a good communicator. Speeches, statements, and oral conversations should be adjusted so that governmentese is dropped and that we use words that mean something to the American people. That takes control and discipline to achieve this. It takes management. President's are judged by history on the quality of their spoken and written words. You should be saying a few things worthy of being carved in stone.

12. That you are realistic about the problems facing the country, but that you are optimistic about our future.

13. That you are honest, listen to people, and have compassion.

14. That you have a philosophy -- that all people may not agree with it in every respect, but that you know what it is, that it is sound, and you stand by it. You have a vision.

15. That you are President.

16. That you are open, and friendly, but are disciplined.

17. That you are interested in the Bicentennial, the history of the country and the national character.

18. That you have confidence in our American institutions and provide leadership to them.

19. That you are for peace, yes, but also defense.

20. Re-privatisation, moving things towards state and local governments, the private sector and the individual (regulatory reform fits here).



21. That you are a worthy successor to Jefferson and Lincoln and that you are capable of leading the greatest nation in the history of the world.

The above are merely illustrations. You must decide and communicate to a few people what perception of your feelings you desire.



Develop a list of do's and don't's for you and your Administration.  
Those who are for you need your guidance. For example:

Some illusive DO's

- Be Presidential -- act like you are President.
- Busing -- address the issue. Put forth a leadership position. Don't let it be simply a throw away line in a Republican Women's speech.
- Be for tax cuts, and be seen as being for tax cuts.
- Hit inflation.
- Be seen as tackling food stamps. College kids and people like Squeaky Fromme, for example, shouldn't be on food stamps; it is wrong.
- Be optimistic on the future of America
- Patriotism
- Values
- Credibility
- Consistency and stability
- Elevate and inspire
- Hit government
- Establish a goal by the end of 1976 of reducing government by a quarter of a million federal employees, reducing forms, etc.
- As in Mayaguez -- use the symbolic power of the Presidency.
- Break some china around here on the crime issue. You came up with a good package, put it forward and it's dropped in the mud. It must be carried forward.
- Presidents are different from others.
- Fire someone visably.





- Represent national feelings, hopes and aspirations.
- Address the "quota" issue.
- Talk to America -- not to the government or the Congress.
- Demonstrate your understanding of the Bicentennial.
- Establish and be seen as having priorities.
- Know that the only political value in the energy issue is in demonstrating Presidential leadership -- otherwise it is a loser.
- Be willing to go against your advisors -- don't quote your advisors.
- Do things that symbolically fit the stereotype of a President.
- Recognize that all of your people have strengths and weaknesses. Give them assignments that they are capable of fulfilling. Don't ask them to do things they aren't capable of doing. Play to their strengths, not their weaknesses.



## SOME ILLUSTRATIVE DON'T'S

- Don't let NSC, State and DOD be totally in charge of foreign policy and national security decisions to the detriment of having things handled in a way that can be understood by Americans, or there will be little national support for our policies and the best judgments in the world won't matter. There is no such thing as foreign policy as a separate matter from Congress and domestic policies (i. e., the press and the people).
- Don't quote your advisors.
- Don't be seen as being political.
- Don't go to "big business" meetings.
- Don't do things that identify you with Hoover or the Republican Party.
- Don't give Republican fundraiser type speeches at Republican fundraisers. Discuss foreign policy -- elevate.
- Reduce the optics of your associations with people that don't fit the perceptions you need to develop.
- Don't publicize playing golf with lobbyists.
- Don't publicize skiing at Vail.
- Don't talk governmentese. Don't say deregulation, say regulatory reform.
- Don't refuse to see Solzhenitsyn.
- Don't be seen as compromising excessively on energy -- it gives the appearance of diving for the middle.
- Don't go to Paris.
- If possible, don't go to China.
- Don't say you have been in Washington or in the Congress for 26 years.



- Don't do things, or appoint people, or go places that remind people of your relationship with Nixon.
- Don't appear to be a captive of what has gone before.
- Don't use words like fiscal responsibility. Use words that "people" use.
- Don't only be anti-government, but know its real role and its limitations.
- Don't necessarily avoid confrontations. Sometimes the best way to lead is for there to be screams of opposition. It shows everyone else exactly where you stand.



## MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT

1. You decided at the outset that you wanted multiple sources of information up. That is fine. That is happening. You decided at the outset that you did not want to have multiple decision-making going down in an uncoordinated way. That hasn't happened. It is uncoordinated. It has to be corrected.

(a) Have your top assistant or his alternate be able to attend all meetings and have it be the exception when one member of the staff or some outsider meets alone with you.

(b) Reduce the number of meetings. The growth of the number of meetings reduces disciplined thinking. You should require that issues be put on paper, in order to avoid sloppy staff work. You should not tolerate sloppy staff work. There is no question but that an excessive number of meetings ruin the quality of staff work. It is easier to "chew the fat" about a problem than it is to rigorously put it down on paper.

2. Senior Staff members and Cabinet members should have the right to request private meetings with the President to express their concerns and grievances. But these sessions should be rare and scheduled only as needed. They must not become forums for deciding policy issues which must be handled through normal channels.

3. The staff must know that you will require that they coordinate with your top assistant, and that there will be pain for not doing so.

4. Do not start up the old staff meetings that existed prior to the President's sinus illness. It is easier to change now, than to go back to the old separate meetings with Brent, Mildred, Marsh, Nessen, Kissinger, and the Vice President, the Domestic Council, the Economic and Energy, etc. and then have to change.

The following people, who have had separate meetings with you this past year, should have meetings with you only when they are needed: Marsh, Hartmann, Nessen, Friedersdorf, Mildred, Economic, Energy, Domestic Council, OMB, etc. They should not be regularly scheduled meetings.



The Vice President should have a regularly scheduled meeting once a week. All of the material, issues, etc. should flow through the regular staff system or be discussed in the regularly scheduled staff meetings, as will be set forth. Discontinue the meeting with Scowcroft and Peterson in the morning and read the daily brief.

The President would continue to meet regularly with his NSC Advisor, but to include your top assistant and, regularly, the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and CIA.

Your top assistant would hold a regular 30 minute staff meeting with the following senior people every morning: NSC, Economic, Energy, Domestic, OMB, CEA, the Vice President if he wishes, Cabinet Officers if they wish, Marsh, Nessen, Buchen.

The President would meet with that group immediately after their regular meeting no less than two or three times a week. Other possible attendees: Friedersdorf, Baroody, Buchen, Connor, Jones. Invitees should be told to be there.

The President would instruct the staff that the top assistant is in charge and will be backed up so that he doesn't have to waste his time horsing around. At staff meetings, the principal normally would attend. No one other than the principal or his deputy could attend. Therefore, one of the two must be in town all the time.



## DAILY SCHEDULE - INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE

### Rules

1. Cut down on what is done each day. Delegate responsibility. Know that you have others who can give speeches, meet with delegations, etc. You don't have to do it all yourself.
2. Stop signing so many photographs and duplicate letters, the perception of it is bad as well as the fact that it consumes valuable time.
3. Spend more time, before the fact, working on Presidential speeches, so that the language conveys exactly what is desired, and the value of Presidential words and leadership receives a proper weight. Assume that each time a major speech is agreed upon that it will take a minimum of 10 hours of the President's time. Each time a press conference is agreed upon, it will take a minimum of eight hours of the President's time.
4. Make more creative use of the telephone.
5. Allow time for reading, planning and thinking.
6. Keep on schedule in the White House so that it doesn't look sloppy.
7. Reduce the number of events each day, so that it doesn't look jerky and frantic.



## CALENDAR EVENTS OUTSIDE WHITE HOUSE

### I General Rules:

1. Minimum travel outside the White House.
2. Minimum travel outside of Washington, D. C.
3. Minimum travel outside of the United States.
4. Modify and focus press coverage (the optics, perception and reason for events) outside of the White House, the city, and outside the United States.
5. Reduce the number of "events" each time the President travels outside the White House so that it looks less frantic.
6. In the event the FEC rules against RNC funding for Republican visits, use that excuse to cancel some Republican events.
7. Keep the President on schedule so that he and the White House do not look sloppy.



## II Specific Events:

1. Consider postponing China trip.
2. Consider not going to Vail.
3. Consider postponing trip to Paris. Say press of domestic business -- New York City, Congressional action on economy, etc.
4. In the event your health is not improved, cancel the California-Milwaukee fundraisers on that basis.
5. Review rest of calendar for adjustments (West Virginia etc.)





## IMPLEMENTATION

1. All actions, or almost all actions, should be prior to an announcement by Ronald Reagan.
2. All announcements requiring confirmation should be announced during the "Congressional confirmation window," which is probably no later than November 5.
3. This means that all -- or almost all -- decisions must be done in a wave of two or three pieces, within the next two weeks. This has the following advantages:
  - (a) It will provide stability in the government, in that people will know with certainty what is going to take place for the next thirteen months.
  - (b) If all or most changes occur at one time, it is less difficult on those who are being moved.
4. Details can only be laid out after the final decisions are made. However, the assumption should be that the President will simply direct a single person to either get it done, implement his decisions rapidly and be held accountable for it, and that that individual will advise the President as to which pieces will require his personal time, or the assistance of others, and make the necessary arrangements for getting them done.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_



Finally, decide that you want to win in 1976, decide that it is truly important that there be a Republican President, decide that you do want to do everything possible to achieve it and to effectively govern the American people and provide sound world leadership. To achieve these goals, you may wish to consider going back and reviewing any "Disapprove" box you may have checked. The sacrifices a President must make to be a great President are enormous, but they make the difference.

PS: If you can take this load and still smile, you are indeed a President.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

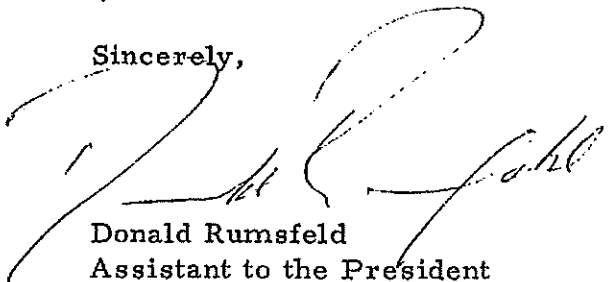
As we have discussed, I am hereby submitting my resignation as Assistant to the President of the United States, to be effective on a date to be determined.

The months since August 9, 1974, have been historic ones for our country. Our involvement in the long and tragic war in Southeast Asia has ended. We have experienced and are surmounting the most difficult economic situation since the end of World War II. And, we have embarked upon the celebration of our nation's 200th Anniversary. Perhaps most important of all, you have successfully healed the wounds of a nation deeply divided, a nation grown weary of scandal and mistrustful of its leadership, a nation lacking confidence in itself.

Serving as a member of your staff during this period has been a unique and rewarding experience, one which I will value throughout my life. I will always take pride in having served you and shared in your endeavors.

As I leave public service, know that I have the highest respect for you and your Administration. I stand ready to be of any possible assistance to you in the years ahead.

Sincerely,



Donald Rumsfeld  
Assistant to the President

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 25, 1975

Dear Mr. President:

I am submitting my resignation to be effective on a date to be determined.

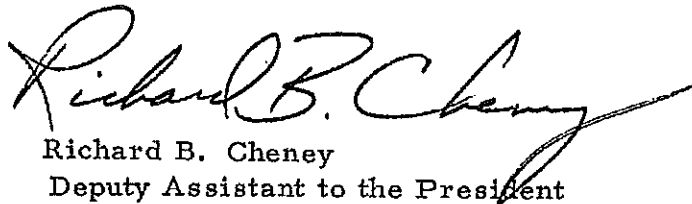
I want to thank you for the opportunity you have given me this past year to serve you and your Administration. These months have been the high point of my life, and I will always be most grateful to you and those who serve you for letting me share in your endeavors.

You came to the Presidency under a most unique and difficult set of circumstances. Those of us who have worked with you have watched with growing respect and admiration as you rebuilt the confidence of the nation in its leadership and re-established America's position in the world.

Your courage and determination to restore dignity and integrity to the Office of the Presidency is deeply appreciated by all Americans and I shall always take great pride in having been a part of that effort.

I know that in the months and years ahead, you will continue to merit the support and trust of the American people.

With my personal best wishes,

  
Richard B. Cheney  
Deputy Assistant to the President

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

