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Ron Nessen
Press
March



For Openers, Problems

By Martin Schram

Newsday Washington Bureau Chief

Washington—From his seat near the center of power, in the Men's Room of the White House Executive Office Building, the Ford aide could hear quite well.

"You know what that sonovabitch Rumsfeld has done now?" one Nixon holdover was asking another as they strode into the echoing, high-ceilinged room in mid-conversation. "He's put out a floor plan and a telephone directory. Given the press all of our names, offices, and phone numbers!"

This was last December and indeed Donald Rumsfeld, President Ford's chief of staff, had done just that. Done it at the urging of Press Secretary Ronald Nessen and with the approval of the President.

The Case of the Telephone Directories is one of a score of examples that point to a rare occurrence in Washington: a promise kept.

"We will have an open . . . administration," Ford promised on the day of his inauguration. And whatever problems have befallen him since, he has managed to make good on that pledge.

Item: It used to be that a copy of a Nixon daily news summary was harder to obtain in Washington than a copy of a Ho Chi Minh captured document. Now all a reporter has to do is ask; Nessen's press office will hand him a copy of the same summary that the President received that morning—a no-punches-pulled compilation by the White House staff of what the newspapers and networks are saying about the President. Even what the cartoonists are drawing.

Item: What with press conferences, interviews, and a few private lunches with journalists, Ford has been submitting himself to questioning by reporters at a clip approaching one a week. In fact, Walter Cronkite has a longstanding invitation to interview Ford on CBS but has not yet set a date, in part because the specter of an interview with the President no longer generates the spark and excitement it once did.

Item: Many of the President's closed meetings with elected officials have taken on a quasi-open quality. Nessen, a former reporter with NBC, sits in on Ford's meetings around the country with governors, mayors, and other elected officials and takes notes. Afterwards, he comes out and briefs the press on what was said. While it is true that this glimpse into the meeting is seen through the eyes of the President's press agent, nevertheless Nessen has faithfully reported a number of comments of criticism—about how the Mayor of Dade County (Fla.) "complained that there was too much red tape and delay . . . especially (by) HUD" and that the Mayor of Miami told Ford at one point "I question why housing is down the scale of priorities."

It is the style of the man that has led Ford's administration to take on a certain open quality in its internal operations as well. For while Richard Nixon preferred to make decisions on the basis of "action papers" and conferences with one or two of his top advisers—Haldeman, Ehrlichman or Kissinger—Ford prefers a different approach. He likes to do things in person, not on paper, whenever possible. And he likes to do things in groups—

gathering perhaps a half dozen or more people in a meeting to talk a problem out and arrive at a decision.

"I cannot remember a single time when Richard Nixon made a decision in one of our meetings," said a former member of the Cost of Living Council. "Those meetings that the President attended with us were really just for briefings and a photo opportunity."

Not so with Ford. A meeting in the Cabinet Room last Tuesday, for example, was called to hammer out a public jobs plan. Ford was there, and so were seven top advisers. The decision: ask Congress for \$2 billion for public service jobs.

The politics of openness is not without its problems. "The biggest problem with doing things the way we do is the leaks—the goddam leaks," said one White House official who works closely with Ford. "When you let so many people in on policy deliberations, someone's bound to slip something out."

Among the leaks that nettled the President and his men were the early stories that appeared in December and outlined the tax cut plans Ford hoped to unveil with much fanfare in the State of the Union address a month later. This led to a public relations war between the White House and the Capitol Hill Democrats to see who could grab the credit first for the tax cut plan.

Another problem is that various officials tend to amplify on their views in public—and often this results in administration officials airing conflicting views on the same issue.

Some who have the President's respect and attention, reportedly including private citizen Melvin Laird, have recently warned Ford to curb some of this openness (at least the open dialogue) lest he appear to be a weak leader—a leader not in full control.

Then there is another factor: the possibility, as one aide noted, of overexposure. Perhaps John F. Kennedy could hop around the country dining with governors and breakfasting with editors and holding press conferences and it would be heralded as a bold, brave new people-to-people presidency. But Ford actually does this, and although he is received warmly at each stop, after awhile the networks are making video tapes of his appearances rather than showing them live.

The possibility of presidential overexposure is not lost on the President. After Thursday night's press conference (where there were actually a few empty seats), Ford stepped down off the podium and began chatting casually—at times putting an arm on a reporter's shoulder, at times breaking into a guffaw—with the men and women who had just spent a half hour firing away at his Cambodia policy. It was unlike anything that happened after the Nixon press conferences; it was instead like a golfer loosening up with his friends after holing out on the 18th green.

"Y'know?" Ford said at one point. "I hear that you guys are running out of things to ask me."

"No," a reporter assured him, "there's still a question or two left."

"Okay then," said the President, turning to leave. "See you. See you soon."



IMAGE MAKERS

The Presidents' Spokesmen— Job of Conflicts

BY AL MARTINEZ

Times Staff Writer

He stands in the path of the hurricane between the President of the United States and the press—often adequately, sometimes incompetently and occasionally brilliantly.

He has been a barrier and a mirror, a royal prince, an adviser, an adversary, an image maker and a statement reader in a spokesman-oriented society.

Mostly he dwells in unenviable limbo between loyalty to his President and responsibility to the public, at once prey and servant to a press corps which is stubbornly unhumbled by power.

He is elected by a constituency of one—the President—and yet in many cases presumes a high purpose to facilitate the free flow of information from government to electorate under increasingly complex circumstances.

This is the White House press secretary.

Whether he is Eisenhower's James Hagerty—considered one of the best the nation ever has had—or Nixon's Ronald Ziegler—by a similar standard the worst—he occupies a special unmandated niche in the corridors of the Republic.

The abrupt resignation of J. F. TerHorst in the infancy of the Ford Administration—a day of conscience following a night of agony—has brought the office of press secretary into new prominence.

And what one sees looking at the office is an ill-defined and/or self-defined nightmare of duties and responsibilities that overlap and conflict.

The "President's Man" by shifting standards, personalities and capabilities over the years has either been a good friend or a fierce enemy of the "boys in the room"—the reporters who gather daily for White House briefings.

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Credibility is his most valuable and elusive asset, and yet he lies and is lied to, forced into a twilight ballet of side-stepping and political tip-toeing that must inevitably bring him to disrepute or destruction.

A press secretary and his President, by one definition, must be closer than lovers, but the hall to the oval bedroom is paved with uncertainties.

The Ford-terHorst relationship fell apart on its honeymoon over the President's pardoning of Richard M. Nixon. To terHorst it was more than simple disagreement. It was a deep and fundamental violation of his own interpretation of equal justice under law.

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IMAGE MAKERS

Continued from First Page

TerHorst denies that he resigned in a pique over being misled about Mr. Ford's intentions regarding the pardon. Neither did he quit after only 30 days because he suspected a Ford-Nixon deal.

What it was, he says, is that "I knew that giving a pardon in advance of any confession or accusation of a crime flew in the face of the Constitution."

"I was taught by immigrant parents that one of the greatest things in this country was that everyone is equal under the law, everyone. I just couldn't make that feeling go away."

TerHorst, who covered the White House for 16 years as a newsmen before his appointment, says he could not be Mr. Ford's spokesman feeling the way he did.

"Critics have said I turned my back on the President at a time when he needed me most. But I would have made his problem worse in the long run by trying to defend something I could not possibly defend."



An act of mercy to me just represented an act of favoritism.

Notwithstanding his resignation, terHorst still believes a press secretary's main loyalty must lie with the man who appoints him.

He saw his role partly that of image maker to the degree I would put the best face possible on whatever had been decided.

But in order to do that you must pretty much believe in what you're doing. I couldn't be an image maker to the extent of pretending a problem that didn't exist when it did.

That's what got Ziegler into trouble—trying to put a good face on something that only had a bad face.

terHorst envisioned himself as an extension of the President—a spokesman steeped in the attitudes and policies of the White House, able to con-

vey subtleties and broad perspectives.

He wanted to free himself from statement reading and office routine and spend his time learning the Executive Branch so well he could mirror it as Hagerty did during the Eisenhower years.

That was what was so great about Hagerty, terHorst says. You could talk to him and you knew that was it, that was Eisenhower's position. With Ziegler we always had to ask, Ron, did you actually see the President?

A danger exists in assuming a role so close to the nation's Chief Executive, terHorst admits.

The press secretary could establish a kingdom of his own. If there's an Imperial Presidency you might end up with a royal prince too.

But the press can bring that down in a hurry the minute they spot it, and they'd be the first to spot it.

terHorst doesn't believe, as others have, that government has a right to lie to save itself.

A lie, he insists, is never acceptable. You owe more responsibility to the public than you do to either the President or the press.

He knows that Mr. Ford never lied to him but that others on the White House staff did, terHorst says. He had hoped to convince them eventually. It isn't true that what a press secretary doesn't know won't hurt him.

Pierre Salinger, like terHorst, a newsman when he became press secretary, never did abandon his role as reporter when he became spokesman for John F. Kennedy.

A press secretary must consider himself a reporter in the unique position of getting information that other reporters can't get, Salinger says.

It's a simple process of moving around the White House to find out what the hell is going on.

The man some describe as "not spectacular but fun" lives in Paris and writes for L'Express. He was one of the best known press secretaries by virtue

of the sudden emergence of television as a powerful news medium.

It was during the Kennedy administration, specifically the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, that the Defense Department's Arthur Sylvester made the comment, "Government has a right to lie to save itself."

The statement caused an uproar and charges of news management pelted the White House. Salinger says he disagreed with the comment then and now, and it took me awhile to put the creckery back together after that one.

Another problem he faced early in the Kennedy era was that information was withheld from

him. During the Bay of Pigs invasion, Salinger found himself kept almost completely in the dark.

I had to go out there and tell the boys all I knew was what I read in the papers, and that was the truth, Salinger says.

When it was over I went to the President and said I couldn't operate that way. My effectiveness would be destroyed unless I knew about even the most covert operations of government. He agreed and it never happened again.

Salinger says that when he became press secretary he turned the White House into an open beat. Reporters no longer had to win clearance from the press office to interview members of the Executive Branch.

He also did away with the rule that if one reporter got a story they all got it.

There had been a practice back to the days of Steve Early (Franklin D. Roosevelt's press secretary) that everyone got the same information. That tended to turn reporter into robots sitting around waiting for you to tell them something. It was healthier if they could get the news on their own.

Salinger's job was made easier because Kennedy had liked the press and understood its historical role in the Republic. He didn't want it turned into a hand maiden of government.

He recalls times, however, when Kennedy's order had to be ignored for the sake of good press relations.

He would call me in and demand that I chew out a reporter for a story he'd written. The next day he'd ask if I had and I would have to say no because I didn't think it was a good idea. He would reply, "I don't think it's a very good idea today either."

There was never any doubt in Salinger's mind that his loyalty lay directly with the President.

How could it be otherwise? he asks. A press

secretary is an employe of the President and spokesman for the President, and in order to hold his job his loyalty must lie with the man.

Despite efforts to open corridors of information to the Executive Branch, Sa-

linger says he never considered himself anymore than a mirror of John Kennedy and something of a protector.

Not that I went through my whole life just trying

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to protect my boss, he says. But every administration from Washington on down has tried to make itself look good. I'm not sure it isn't a totally human trait.

George Reedy, who was press secretary for President Lyndon B. Johnson—and who has been criticized for being "just too human"—defines the role even more specifically:

The press secretary should mirror the President because that's his only reason for existing. He has no other function, authority or mandate.

A press secretary hasn't been elected to anything and no one gives a damn what he thinks. They only care what the President thinks.

There's only one fixed point of responsibility in government and that's the Chief Executive, Reedy insists.

He's a monarch, a sort of king, and if he wants to say something stupid, a press secretary should say something stupid. If he wants to lie, it's the responsibility of a press secretary to lie. By that measure, Ron Ziegler was a very good press secretary.

Reedy, described by White House newsmen as "morally incapable of lying," says Johnson considered the press office more a public relations department than a service bureau.

"We had quite a few arguments on that. Johnson felt we were there to get his name and picture in the paper. The idea that a president can't get his own name in the paper is staggering."

Reedy is now dean of the school of journalism at Milwaukee's Marquette University. He says he resigned from the Johnson administration partly because of the President's secretiveness.

"There were times," he says, "when I just couldn't get any information out of the White House. But I kidded no one. If I didn't know I said I didn't know. I was never asked by the President to lie, and I wouldn't have. I would have quit first."

Reedy—unlike TerHorst—will have no truck with the notion that a press secretary should automatically be an adviser to the President.

"The President will select his own advisers, and the only advisers who are effective are the ones he wants anyhow," Reedy adds, "he's only going to listen to people who say what he wants to hear."

The job of press secretary is, or should be, what it always has been, Reedy believes—a king's statements for a man who doesn't have time to make them for himself and setting up the mechanics of White House coverage.

Ronald Ziegler, he says, tried to establish a kingdom of his own—but in actuality, no White House

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the best press secretary of them all.

Reedy, he says, was "beat to a pulp by LBJ. George wouldn't lie to you, but he was like a quarterback with no one to pass the ball to. So he'd eat it and be piled upon by two tons of press."

Salinger, according to Irwin, was not above stretching the truth. "He was a little sloppy and not altogether accurate, but he was fun. During the Kennedy era, the White House people were accessible and personable."

Bill Moyers, who also served during the Johnson Administration, was a con- niver, Irwin says. "He made you think you had a little bit of truth whether you did or didn't."

Moyers got bigger than L.B.J. wanted him to get and that's what happened to him. Moyers began thinking in terms of power with a capital P.

Ziegler is the press secretary held in lowest esteem by Irwin and others.

"The total discreditability of White House information during the Nixon years goes right back to Ziegler. He had no feeling for news gathering except when it could be used."

Most newsmen liked TerHorst but questioned whether he could have ever become a press secretary of Hagerty's caliber.

"A press secretary has just got to be a part of the machinery," Irwin says, "and TerHorst wasn't. But there's a danger too that he may become too much a part of it and end up as a spokesman for himself rather than the President. It's a fine line."

The White House newsmen are generally withholding judgment on Ron Nessen, the NBC correspondent who became President Ford's press secretary when TerHorst quit.

At his first press briefing last week, however, the adversary relationship between him and "the boys in the room" already had begun. It was apparent almost immediately.

"I hope I'm among friends," Nessen jokes, gesturing to a new open rostrum installed in the White House press briefing room. "I've already taken down the bullet-proof podium." Hardly anyone laughed.



Nessen's Credibility Slumps

By Lee Winfrey
Knight Newspapers Writer

Ron Nessen began work as President Ford's press secretary with a promise that he would not be like Ron Ziegler, who performed the same job for President Nixon. The promise, however, no longer seems to be operative.

Television newsmen are growing increasingly disillusioned with Nessen. In two major areas, keeping them fully informed and helping them get the news onto the air, they say Nessen is letting them down.

In a talk to 45 television writers in Los Angeles, ABC White House Correspondent Tom Jarriel spoke at some length about "a decline in Nessen's credibility." That means, in the wordy way they speak in Washington, that people don't believe so much in Nessen anymore.

In Washington, some things never seem to change. Newsmen always think a presidential press secretary's purpose is to provide them with honest information. Most presidents, however, use their press secretary as a propaganda instrument, a mouthpiece to put a pro-administration slant on the news.

Jarriel mentioned a case which Nessen deliberately did not read a 50-page report submitted to the White House about the central Intelligence Agency spying on American citizens. By remaining ignorant of the report, said Jarriel, Nessen was then able to avoid answering any newsmen's questions about it.

Ron Ziegler's press briefings were often on a level with the spiels he used to put forth in his youth as a Disneyland guide on the jungle boat tour. But he did have one virtue: mechanically, he knew how to help newsmen get their work done. Nessen, according to Jarriel, is not even doing that.

"We wanted a film crew on Air Force One," Jarriel related. "That's three men. Nessen put a three-man team on. Then he bumped the electrician."

Obviously Nessen, who was formerly a TV newsman, must know that an electrician is an indispensable part of a film crew.

"When he took the job," Jarriel said of his old TV news colleague, "we were hopeful. Now the old, warm, Ron-and-Tom relationship is slipping into a more formal, Mr. Nessen-Mr. Jarriel relationship."

A front-page article in the Jan. 22 issue of *Variety*, the show business weekly, makes clear that it is not only ABC that is having its problems

with ex-NBC newsman Nessen. CBS is also running into friction.

Variety mentioned a press briefing at President Ford's skiing retreat in Colorado during the Christmas holidays when CBS White House Correspondent Phil Jones chuckled at something he thought was funny.

Nessen promptly snapped at Jones, "Phil, how would you answer that question if you were press secretary — a job you would dearly love to have?"

I personally don't see why Jones or anyone else would want the presidential press secretary's job. Except for the late and unlamented Vietnam War, it seems like the world's worst no-win situation.



Memory of Nessen--A Good Correspondent

Just to show you how many trails can lead out of a patch of jungle on the Ia Drang river, there Ron Nessen is up there being target as the White House press foiler, and here I am, still wandering around looking for a landmark so I can locate myself on the map.

Last time I saw Ron in the flesh was on Nov. 3, 1965, give or take a day because I never have figured out the International Dateline that well, out at a landing zone named after my wife in some moment of sentiment the planners of a little expedition along the Cambodian border had allowed me. It was a nice gesture, but it was an awful landing zone as it turned out.

Nessen and a magnificent man, Vo Nguyen, a superb cameraman with wonderful courage and dedication, were teamed by NBC then to get Vietnam war news for the "Today" program news segments. They did. When there was an operation, they were out there.

Nessen was one of the few correspondents I met in 1965 who didn't outrage me at some time during our acquaintanceship.

(My outrage threshold was non-existent then, not merely low. One AP writer sent



back a feature describing me as a "gnarled, ornery, unreformed hillbilly." A UPI gentleman disputed a gentleman from Reuters who had called me "a diamond in the rough." The UPI chap said the proper description was "a very rough industrial diamond in the rough." I argued with them a lot about one thing and another.)

There was a very tough outcome of circumstances involving some of the commanders in this particular little affair of 1965 battle where I last saw Nessen. Without going into detail because some good men were involved, it got very tense during the night between some colonels and generals. So tense that in a moment of crisis, a general put a colonel under arrest over the radio. There could have been one rousing mess

stirred up on the networks and in the headlines over the clash of personalities involved during this battle.

Nessen knew about it. He also knew the circumstances involved. They were extremely critical where survival of the men out in the night in the fight were concerned, believe me. The effect on the command was tremendous. There were high voltage personalities and strong tempers clashing over the solution to the combat problem involved.

The next morning, the tempers and personalities had smoothed out to some degree. The night had brought some inspired effort in spite of the fist-and-tong atmosphere which produced the decisions. A major event in the tide of war had taken place and major, even historic, results came from the thing.

I had been out with the three platoons involved in it all and was blissfully unaware of anything except that the sun had come up again, I was alive for some reason, and somebody had sent us reinforcements and got us out of it. Among the people on the first choppers was Nessen.

He came over and I showed him how the

fight had gone by tracing the course of bullets which had cut down small trees and dropped them on my very prone body during the night. He moved on out with the people who came in and covered what happened then. (They had a hard time getting me into an upright position for the next three days, let alone getting me to go out with the platoons again.)

He went by the histrionics at the command posts, he covered the fight and assessed what it meant to the course of the battlefield war and was right, and he impressed me considerably in the process. There were a lot more prizes to be won by covering the command argument than the mere battle going on out there and he knew it. He assessed the life and death of soldiers as being a more important event than an altercation between colonels, however.

I don't know what kind of a press secretary he will make; a lot of the circumstances involved apparently aren't in that office's control. But I do know what kind of a correspondent he was. He was a good one. He was one of them I learned to respect. I liked him, and I was hard to please where newsmen went.



Ron Nessen, President Ford's press secretary, gets annoyed at the suggestion that he's just "another Ron"

That Stern Front Man For Ford



Washington.

Ron Nessen thrusts another cigarette smack into the middle of his mouth, lights up, inhales deeply and pauses. A White House reporter has just asked him whether David Bruce will be the next ambassador to NATO.

Nessen stuffs a hand into his natty suit, sips ice water, then somberly replies, "I have no announcements on that today." The announcement is made the following day.

Nessen, a 40-year-old former NBC correspondent who distinguished himself by his coverage of Vietnam, must now face his one-time colleagues as Gerald Ford's press secretary and the glib patter of his TV reports has been replaced by stiff, studied, halting replies.

The Nessen sternness, exaggerated by icy looks from under an arched brow, have caused some White House correspondents to compare this Ron to another Ron — Ziegler. Nessen recoils at the suggestion.

"Why another Ziegler?"

he asks. "If I'm serious, it's because this is a very serious job. I've been told that if I make a mistake on a domestic issue, it can cause a flap; but if I make a mistake on a foreign policy issue, it can cause a war. But I do try to inject a little humor. Don't I?"

In person, Nessen certainly seems relaxed. Sitting with his feet on his desk in the privacy of his gray and red office, he is surrounded by pictures of his Korean wife, Young Hi Song (whom everyone calls Cindy), and his children, Edward, one and a half, and Caren, 18.

Nessen's family is highly important to him, and one of the reasons he left NBC for his new assignment was the desire to spend more time with his wife and children.

There were other reasons, too. One was to become a participant in history, rather than a spectator; another might have been, according to sources at NBC, that Nessen had gone about as far as he could go with the network.

"I decided to take the job really because after 13 years of being a Washington journalist, always on the outside looking in — what they call a professional observer — I got the itch to be a participant," says Nessen.

"And when the opportunity to participate on this high a level presents itself, there is an awfully strong pull to it. John Chancellor and I have talked about it often. That's why he took a pay cut to head Voice of America under Lyndon Johnson.

"John Scali (who was with ABC) did the same thing. He left the news business, too, to go to the United Nations.

"There's an obvious excitement about being on the inside, getting the inside look; seeing how things run, being a part of history."

Nessen's impressions so far are that "not only do people work harder than I thought, but the machinery of the bureaucracy is much more complicated than I had suspected. I covered Ford and Johnson. I thought I knew what went on in

here, but it's much more complex."

Is that complexity the reason he sometimes hedges reporters' questions? Or is he under instructions from the White House to keep some things from the press?

"No," says Nessen, with a look of horror. "It's just because with all that goes on here, it's impossible to keep it all in hand. Some decisions I'm asked about have not quite been made, or the President hasn't quite said, 'That's the way we're going to do it.'"

"Some questions I just haven't asked the President yet. Besides, I'm here to announce and explain the President's policy, not to make it."

What's it like being on the receiving end of questions? Is the adversary relationship still there?

"You know, I have a lot more information to give out every day than gets out because the press only asks questions about what they're interested in."

Women's Wear Daily



LA Times 1/24/74

IMAGE MAKERS

The Presidents' Spokesmen--- Job of Conflicts

BY AL MARTINEZ

Times Staff Writer

He stands in the path of the hurricane between the President of the United States and the press—often ~~adequately, sometimes incompetently~~ and occasionally brilliantly.

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THE WEATHER

National Weather Service forecast: Night and morning low clouds, otherwise mostly sunny afternoon today and Saturday. Highs both days in the 70s. High Thursday, 72; low, 63.

IMAGE MAKERS

Continued from First Page

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"I was taught by immigrant parents that one of the greatest things in this country was that everyone is equal under the law... everyone. I just couldn't make that feeling go away."

TerHorst, who covered the White House for 16 years as a newsman before his appointment, says he could not be Mr. Ford's spokesman feeling the way he did.

"Critics have said I turned my back on the President at a time when he needed me most. But I would have made his problem worse in the long run by trying to defend something I could not possibly defend.

"An act of mercy to me just represented an act of favoritism."

Notwithstanding his resignation, terHorst still believes a press secretary's main loyalty must lie with the man who appoints him.

He saw his role partly that of image maker "to the degree I would put the best face possible on whatever had been decided.

"But in order to do that you must pretty much believe in what you're doing. I couldn't be an image maker to the extent of pretending a problem that didn't exist when it did.

"That's what got Ziegler into trouble—trying to put a good face on something that only had a bad face."

TerHorst envisioned himself as an extension of the President—a spokesman steeped in the attitudes and policies of the White House, able to con-



Pierre Salinger (AP photo)

vey subtleties and broad perspectives.

He wanted to free himself from statement reading and office routine and spend his time learning the Executive Branch so well he could mirror it as Hagerty did during the Eisenhower years.

"That was what was so great about Hagerty," terHorst says. "You could talk to him and you knew that was it, that was Eisenhower's position. With Ziegler we always had to ask, 'Ron, did you actually see the President?'"

A danger exists in assuming a role so close to the nation's Chief Executive, terHorst admits:

"The press secretary could establish a kingdom of his own. If there's an Imperial Presidency you might end up with a royal prince too.

"But the press can bring that down in a hurry the minute they spot it, and they'd be the first to spot it."

TerHorst doesn't believe, as others have, that government has a right to lie to save itself.

"A lie," he insists, "is never acceptable. You owe more responsibility to the public than you do to either the President or the press."

He knows that Mr. Ford never lied to him but that others on the White House staff did, terHorst says. He had hoped to convince them eventually "it isn't true that what a press secretary doesn't know won't hurt him."

Pierre Salinger, like terHorst a newsman when he became press secretary, never did abandon his role as reporter when he became spokesman for John F. Kennedy.

"A press secretary must consider himself a reporter in the unique position of getting information that other reporters can't get," Salinger says.

"It's a simple process of moving around the White House to find out what the hell is going on."

The man some describe as "not spectacular but fun" lives in Paris and writes for L'Express. He was one of the best known press secretaries by virtue

STANDING ON FIRM GROUND AS SOURCE

White House newsmen point to Dwight D. Eisenhower's stroke in 1957 to illustrate what they must deal with in residential press secretaries.

A deputy press secretary, Anne Wheaton, read the announcement that Gen. Eisenhower had suffered "the closure of an artery in his brain."

While the correspondents pretty much figured that amounted to a stroke, they wanted Miss Wheaton to say so, but she wasn't all that certain. The following bit of goping took place:

Q—Is that like a heart attack?

A—Yes.

Q—You mean a heart attack of the brain?

A—Yes.

of the sudden emergence of television as a powerful news medium.

It was during the Kennedy administration, specifically the 192 Cuban missile crisis, that the Defense Department's Arthur Sylvester made the comment "Government has a right to lie to save itself."

The statement caused an uproar and charges of news management pelted the White House. Salinger says he disagreed with the comment then and now, and "it took me while to put the crockery back together after the one."

Another problem he faced early in the Kennedy era was that information was withheld from

him. During the Bay of Pigs invasion, Salinger found himself kept almost completely in the dark.

"I had to go out there and tell the boys all I knew was what I read in the papers, and that was the truth," Salinger says.

"When it was over I went to the President and said I couldn't operate that way. My effectiveness would be destroyed unless I knew about even the most covert operations of government. He agreed and it never happened again."

Salinger says that when he became press secretary he turned the White House into an open book. Reporters no longer had to win clearance from the

press office to interview members of the Executive Branch.

He also did away with the rule that if one reporter got a story they all got it.

"There had been a practice back to the days of Steve Early (Franklin D. Roosevelt's press secretary) that everyone got the same information. That tended to turn reporters into robots sitting around waiting for you to tell them something. It was healthier if they could get the news on their own."

Salinger's job was made easier because Kennedy had liked the press and understood its historic role in the Republic. "He didn't want it turned into a hand maiden of government."

He recalls times, however, when Kennedy's orders had to be ignored for the sake of good press relations:

"He would call me in and demand that I chew out a reporter for a story he'd written. The next day he'd ask if I had and I would have to say no because I didn't think it was a good idea. He would reply, 'I don't think it's a very good idea today either.'"

There was never any doubt in Salinger's mind that his loyalty lay directly with the President.

"How could it be otherwise?" he asks. "A press

secretary is an employe of the President and spokesman for the President, and in order to hold his job his loyalty must lie with the man."

Despite efforts to open corridors of information to the Executive Branch, Sa-

linger says he never considered himself anymore than a mirror of John Kennedy and something of a protector.

"Not that I went through my whole life just trying. Please Turn to Pg. 23, Col. 1.

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PRESIDENTS' SPOKESMEN

Continued from 22nd Page
to protect my boss," he says. "But every administration from Washington on down has tried to make itself look good. I'm not sure it isn't a totally human trait."

George Reedy, who was press secretary for President Lyndon B. Johnson—and who has been criticized for being "just too human"—defines the role even more specifically:

"The press secretary should mirror the President because that's his only reason for existing. He has no other function, authority or mandate."

"A press secretary hasn't been elected to anything and no one gives a damn what he thinks. They only care what the President thinks."

There's only one fixed point of responsibility in government and that's the Chief Executive, Reedy insists.

"He's a monarch, a sort of king, and if he wants to say something stupid, a press secretary should say something stupid. If he wants to lie, it's the responsibility of a press secretary to lie. By that measure, Ron Ziegler was a very good press secretary."

Reedy, described by White House newsmen as "morally incapable of lying," says Johnson considered the press office more a public relations department than a service bureau.

"We had quite a few arguments on that. Johnson felt we were there to get his name and picture in the paper. The idea that a President can't get his own name in the paper is staggering."

Reedy is now dean of the school of journalism at Milwaukee's Marquette University. He says he resigned from the Johnson administration partly because of the President's secretiveness.

"There were times," he says, "when I just couldn't get any information out of the White House. But I kidded no one. If I didn't know I said I didn't know. I was never asked by the President to lie, and I wouldn't have. I would have quit first."

Reedy—unlike TerHorst—will have no truck with the notion that a press secretary should automatically be an adviser to the President.

"The President will select his own advisers, and the only advisers who are effective are the ones he wants anyhow." Reedy adds, "he's only going to listen to people who say what he wants to hear."

The job of press secretary is, or should be, what it always has been, Reedy believes: making statements for a man who doesn't have time to make them for himself and setting up the mechanics of White House coverage.

Ronald Ziegler, he says, tried to establish a kingdom of his own—but in actuality, no White House



James Hagerty
(AP photo)

assistant has any power in and out of himself. A press secretary can assume the role of power only if the President isn't paying attention to what's going on."

As far as enhancing the free flow of information from the White House, the press secretary has no portfolio to assist that, Reedy says. It is totally up to the President.

"Otherwise the press secretary becomes an image maker and destroys a fabric of government."

No President has ever had an easy time with the press, but Reedy doesn't think that's bad.

"I'd be worried," he says, "if the press and the President ever got into bed together. Whenever I hear a politician praise the press I wonder who is rolling whom in the hay."

Reedy worked as a newsman for 13 years before becoming Johnson's press secretary but doesn't believe a news background is particularly essential to the job.

"I'll say it again—the only job of a press secretary is to reflect the President. Had Ziegler (who had no news background) resigned, he would have been replaced by another Ziegler. And he should have been."

Stephen Early was the nation's first full-time press secretary in the Roosevelt era, but most consider Hagerty—now seriously ill from a stroke—to have been the prototype of what a presidential press secretary ought to be—primarily because he was an integral part of the White House.

The job has become more complex over the years because of the increasing complexity of government, the advent of television and the growing size of the White House press corps—from a half dozen in the Roosevelt era to 1,400 today.

Don Irwin of The Times' Washington Bureau, who has covered presidents back to the days of Harry S. Truman, believes emphatically that Hagerty

was the best press secretary of them all.

Reedy, he says, was "beat to a pulp by LBJ. George wouldn't lie to you, but he was like a quarterback with no one to pass the ball to. So he'd eat it and be piled upon by two tons of press."

Salinger, according to Irwin, was not above stretching the truth. "He was a little sloppy and not altogether accurate, but he was fun. During the Kennedy era, the White House people were accessible and personable."

Bill Moyers, who also served during the Johnson administration, was a con- niver, Irwin says. "He made you think you had a little bit of truth whether you did or didn't."

"Moyers got bigger than L.B.J. wanted him to get and that's what happened to him. Moyers began thinking in terms of power with a capital P."

Ziegler is the press secretary held in lowest esteem by Irwin and others.

"The total discreditability of White House information during the Nixon years goes right back to Ziegler. He had no feeling for news gathering except when it could be used."

Most newsmen liked TerHorst but questioned whether he could have ever become a press secretary of Hagerty's caliber.

"A press secretary has just got to be a part of the machinery," Irwin says,



George Reedy
(AP photo)

"and TerHorst wasn't. But there's a danger too that he may become too much a part of it and end up as a spokesman for himself rather than the President. It's a fine line."

The White House newsmen are generally withholding judgment on Ron Nessen, the NBC correspondent who became President Ford's press secretary when TerHorst quit.

At his first press briefing last week, however, the adversary relationship between him and "the boys in the room" already had begun. It was apparent almost immediately.

"I hope I'm a mother's friend," Nessen jokingly said to a new microphone installed in the White House press room. "I've already taken down the proof podium."

Hardly anyone but

Nessen:

STAR-NEWS

10/6/74

Cynicism 'Hangover' Lingers

By Norman Kempster
Star-News Staff Writer

Ronald Nessen, the veteran news correspondent turned White House press secretary, says he is suffering from a "hangover" of public cynicism and distrust generated by the way Ronald L. Ziegler used to evade, obscure and misdirect reports of the Nixon scandals.

The quickest way to get Nessen to demonstrate the temper he usually tries to hide is to compare him with Ziegler, the former advertising man who was former President Richard M. Nixon's only press secretary.

"I overheard a comment in the press room that all Rons are the same," Nessen told a group of reporters yesterday over a breakfast of sausage and scrambled eggs. "I don't think we are running our operation like Ziegler. I don't think I am a Ziegler."

BUT THERE is a feeling of *deja vu* about the way Nessen often provides as little information as he can and sometimes spins his answers to such a narrow focus that the overall point of a reporter's question is lost.

During Nessen's first week on the job following his Sept. 20 appointment he told reporters that President Ford had talked to Nixon on the telephone. He said the subject of public reaction to Ford's pardon of Nixon was raised "in passing."

But *Time Magazine* later reported that Nixon had offered to send the pardon back if Ford wanted him to. When reporters asked Nessen about that version of what happened, he readily confirmed it was factual but insisted Ford had not considered Nixon's offer a serious one.

"It was said in an off-hand way," Nessen explained. "It was interpreted as a polite gesture. It was certainly not considered to be any formal, legal offer to return a pardon."

NESSEN insisted that he had not misled reporters because he had said the subject of the pardon had come up. But reporters who worked side-by-side with Nessen when the press secretary covered the White House for NBC are convinced that in his days as a correspondent he would not have been satisfied with such a glossed-over treatment.

"Now that it has come out in *Time Magazine*, do you

wish you had leveled with us last week?" Nessen was asked.

"I think I have leveled with you last week," he said.

Talking to reporters yesterday, Nessen conceded that he had provided an incomplete answer, but he insisted it was not a misleading one.

Nessen indicated, however, that he is acutely aware of the skepticism with which some reporters regard his answers.

"THERE IS a lot of cynicism and disbelief," he said. "Up until two weeks ago (when Ford picked him to be press secretary) I shared it all. The problem is a hangover of the last five years."

Nessen's syntax is better than Ziegler's and, unlike Ziegler, Nessen seldom uses big words incorrectly. There also is less of the ad man's jargon in his speech.

In a way, Nessen is a victim of the memory of his two most recent predecessors. In addition to the problem of the Ziegler "hangover," Nessen is faced with frequently unfavorable comparisons to Ford's first press secretary, Jerald F. terHorst.

terHorst, who quit the post after a month over the Nixon pardon, succeeded in restoring civility, courtesy and good humor to relations between the White House and the reporters who cover it. He also tried, with some success, to increase the flow of factual information about Ford and his staff.

NESSEN adopted some of terHorst's techniques, including that of relaying di-



RON NESSEN

rect quotations of the President's own words from meetings which are not open to the public.

But the mood at regular press briefings turned prickly. It was as though Nessen somehow brought out the worst in a small group of reporters who seemingly would rather make speeches than ask questions. And those reporters clearly added an abrasive character to Nessen's own public personality.

The news content of recent briefings declined sharply to the detriment of the public, most reporters and, ultimately, Ford himself.

The briefing last Wednesday, for example, was dominated by questions about Nixon political aides who remained on the White House payroll. When the session ended after an hour, Nessen was fuming.

THE NEXT day the press secretary was asked if he had any answers to ques-



tions he was not asked the day before.

"I have cleaned most of that information out of the book, but just by memory I would say some of the information we had related to cutting off aid to Turkey, relations to Cuba, fuel conservation measures, international energy conservation measures and economic proposals. I will see if any of it is still in my book from yesterday," he said.

"What about the economic proposals?" a reporter asked. "What were you going to say about them?"

"Let me just finish . . . if I could," Nessen said. "The rights of Palestinians, the GI bill, pay raise for federal employes, campaign reform, Freedom of Information Act, consumer protection, privacy act, no-knock provision, and amnesty."

"RON, DO you have anything you wish to give us that you didn't give us yesterday?" a questioner broke in.

"Let me just finish answering his question if I could. Consumer participation in the inflation-fighting program, clarification of the White House position on wage and price guidelines, information that would perhaps relate to Mr. Sawhill's appearance on television yesterday, the length of time the White House expects it to take to curb inflation, timing of the economic speech, taxes on gasoline and access to the President by White House staff members."

However, when the questions were asked, Nessen provided little that was new on any of the subjects he had ticked off.

Meeting with reporters yesterday, Nessen complained about "questions that seem to be asked not to elicit information." He explained, "Some of the questions are questions that do not have answers to them."

ONE OF Nessen's pet peeves is the Rev. Lester Kinsolving, an Episcopal priest who covers the White House for a few western newspapers and has a habit of turning questions into sermons.

Last week, Nessen devised what he hoped was a proper put-down.

"Ron, in your discussions with the President, is it your impression that the President feels that this \$9,000 a day to support Mr. Nixon as well as the employment of people like Mr. (Ken W.) Clawson is not an object of great concern to the people he has asked to economize?" Kinsolving said.

Well, I was not able to get you a direct answer, Les, to your question of yesterday and of today, but I have an answer that maybe fits. It is from Ephesians: "Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and slander be put away from you with all malice and be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another as God and Christ forgave you."

"RON, IS that the President's view?" someone asked.

"That is my answer," Nessen said.

Nessen, 40, is a native of Washington. He worked 12 years for NBC following a six-year stint with United Press International and a two-year hitch with the

Montgomery County Sentinel.

It is well known that Nessen was selected for the press secretary post after Ford's staff members had discussed the job with a number of other reporters, all of whom said they were not interested.

Nessen insists he sees Ford on the average of three or four times a day. He said the degree of his access to the Oval Office "considerably exceeded my expectations."

What does he think about the job he has been holding since Sept. 20?

"It looks a lot different than it did a few weeks ago," said Nessen.



One Ron tries to live down another

By SAUL KOHLER
Our Washington Bureau

When President Ford offered Ron Nessen the job as White House press secretary, there was a heart-to-heart talk during which Nessen — then, as now, fearful of being called another Ron Ziegler — told the chief executive he couldn't bring himself to "sell" Ford programs to the media.

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to credibility which was done by Ziegler, who served former President Richard Nixon, and about the resignation of Jerald terHorst after a month in the job because he didn't see eye to eye with Ford on the pardon to Nixon.

But the 40-year-old Nessen, who less than a month ago was snarling at press secretaries himself, worries most of all about being a Ron but not a Ziegler.

"There is a legacy of five years of Ziegler, and my toughest job is to live down those Ziegler years," Nessen said in an interview. "I hope that in the next few months, I can convince

the White House press corps that things are different."

Nessen's philosophy is to "get out as much news as possible" and to tell newsmen the why and how of presidential decisions. In some respects, he has succeeded; in others, he has failed.

Success came in the story of Mrs. Betty Ford, when Nessen summoned the press to make public the news of her illness even while she still was checking into the Naval Medical Center at nearby Bethesda, Md.

Failure came when he announced the resignation of Nixon speechwriter Patrick Buchanan. When asked about other resignations, he dusted off the

five-day-old letter from Watergate counsel J. Fred Buzhardt. Nessen was asked why he waited five days to make it public.

"Nobody asked me about Fred Buzhardt, he snapped.

"Nobody asked you about Pat Buchanan either, a newsman shot back.

And here lies the secret of Ron Nessen's modus operandi. He fears being accused of managing the news, so he'll hold back rather than make lots of announcements. He doesn't want to snarl back at the reporters, so he makes jokes — some funny, some not so funny.

"One day, in the briefing, I responded to some questions by referring to the reporters by their first names," he said. "No reason not to do this; after all, I've worked with you all for years. But do you know that I was accused of doing this so they would know inside who asked the questions?"

That might have been true during the Ziegler years, but as Nessen said when he was introduced by the President to a waiting press corps and as he's said so often since, "I may be a Ron but I'm not a Ziegler."

There also appears to be an effort on the part of White House senior staff members to avoid

misleading the press secretary — as terHorst was misled — and Nessen conspicuously has tried to put the staff and the press corps in a direct working relationship.

"Sure there have been surprises for me since I came to this job," he said. "But they've been pleasant surprises. The access to the President has been better than I hoped or even dreamed it would be, and the number of times my advice has been sought — and taken — has made a big impression on me.

"I have had input in the process — more so than I thought I would when I accepted the position.

"I knew him as Jerry Ford the politician. Now he is Jerry Ford the executive. We made the transition about the same time. It is amazing that Jerry Ford just sat down in the Oval Office

and became President Ford."

Though he is President, Ford seeks advice from staff and encourages "devil's advocacy" on knotty problems. The alternatives are considered, Nessen said, and there never is hard feeling from the top when one of Ford's suggestions is opposed by a member of his staff.

Nessen said the times his advice has been sought or accepted makes up in large part for the almost incredible hours a man must put in on the job. But he hopes that will lighten somewhat as time passes, and that he'll be able to work a straight 12-hour day eventually, with even a day off occasionally.

"But my first task is to gain the confidence of the press," he said. "The press is cynical and distrustful. That's all right. Less than a month ago, so was I.



Nessen struggles to make a name for himself with the press

By SAUL KOHLER
Star-Ledger Washington Bureau

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"By example, I hope to overcome that thing."



Ron Nessen
"I'm no Ziegler"

Nessen aiding White House credibility with press corps

By SAUL KOHLER

Press Washington Bureau
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Nessen said the times his advice has been sought or accepted makes up in large part for the almost incredible hours a man must put in on the job. But he hopes that will

lighten somewhat as time passes, and that he'll be able to work a straight 12-hour day eventually, with even a day off occasionally.

"But my first task is to gain the confidence of the press," he said. "The press is cynical and distrusting. That's all right. Less than a month ago, so was I."

"By example, I hope to overcome that feeling."

Nessen Strives to Banish Ziegler's Ghost

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—President Ford's new press secretary, Ron Nessen, is haunted by the ghost of Ronald L. Ziegler.

On the day he was appointed to his current job less than a month ago, one of the first things out of Mr. Nessen's mouth was, "I'm a Ron but not a Ziegler."

It was not just a wisecrack. Periodically since then, Mr. Nessen has bent over backward to point out the differences between his methods and Mr. Ziegler's and to emphasize how different he himself is from Richard Nixon's press secretary.

"The President has a lot of Richard Nixon to live down, and I have a lot of Ronald Ziegler to live down," he said to a recent questioner who asked about the problems he faced as the chief information officer of Ford Administration.

"There is a lot of suspicion and cynicism left over from the Ziegler period," Mr. Nessen said.

Changing Atmosphere

One method Mr. Nessen has used to drive away from Ziegler's ghost has been to chance the atmosphere of the daily White House news briefings. These take place every weekday around midday in a carpeted, cramped room, erected on top of the swimming pool built for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

During the tenure of Mr. Ziegler and his deputy, Gerald L. Warren, these briefings were generally intense, abrasive affairs that often turned into the verbal equivalent of hand-to-hand combat.

Ron Nessen has deliberately sought to make his briefings as friendly, light-hearted and low key as possible. Sometimes they seem even flippant.

The briefings are scheduled to begin at 11:30 A.M. but they are often an hour or more late, just as they were in Mr. Ziegler's time. Mr. Nessen emerges from his handsomely appointed office in the West Wing and mounts a small rostrum facing a crowd of White House correspondents who sit in the few



Ron Nessen during White House briefing

chairs, perch on tables, stand three or four deep and squat on the floor.

On the rostrum is a music stand that Mr. Nessen ordered to replace the thick lectern that separated previous press secretaries from reporters, and nearby is another small stand containing a glass of ice water and an ash tray for the cigarettes he smokes throughout the briefings.

Mr. Nessen opens his thick, black briefing book, places it on the music stand, and somewhat self-consciously looking like a conductor calling his orchestra to the ready, opens the briefing. It usually begins with a series of Announcements interspersed with jests and somewhat pointed banter.

"You can't believe how much news there is today," he began one morning recently.

"Is that your definition of news or the network's definition?" asked Tom Brokaw, an N.B.C. correspondent, in a needling allusion to a recent incident in which the networks had balked at carrying a Presidential speech live on the ground that it was not newsworthy enough.

Turning to the schedule of President Ford's visit to Mexico the next day, Dr. Nessen said with a broad grin, "It will be a fun-filled day. The press plane leaves from Andrews Air Force Base at 6:45 A.M." (groans from the assembled reporters).

He said that the President would visit the Mexican town of Magdalena de Kino, which, he said, "is spelled just like the Las Vegas game, K-I-N-O." Informed that the game was spelled K-E-N-O, Mr. Nessen said, "Well, I never gamble myself—except when I come out here."

Mr. Ziegler kept tight control on the information that flowed in and out of the White House. All staff members had to report all contacts with the press to his office. He sometimes vetoed interviews and sometimes arranged access to White House officials.

"I've let it be known that I don't plan to do that," Mr. Nessen said. "I want to get out of the talent booking business." He explained that he wanted staff members to follow their own inclinations in talking to the press with the understanding that President Ford wants to run an "open Administration."

The Nixon Administration tried to keep reporters as far away as possible from the President whereas Mr. Nessen thinks it is his job to get the press as close as possible to Mr. Ford.

The job of press secretary is a lot different, and a lot tougher, than Mr. Nessen, a 40-year-old former correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company, imaged when he took it.

Mr. Nessen, a slender, dark-haired man with rather intense eyes belie his jocular manner, said when he took over as press secretary a month ago that his function would be primarily to serve the public. He has since been forced to change his mind.

"I don't agree with my own answer," he confessed. "I now see I have to serve three masters—the public, the press corps and the President. It's one of the most difficult things about the job."

But Mr. Nessen is seeking to make substantive as well as psychological changes in the White House press operation.

"My philosophy is to tell as much as possible," he said to an interviewer.

He noted that he spent five hours every morning preparing for the daily news briefing. "I don't think Ziegler was that well prepared," he said, adding, in a charitable aside, "He may have been thinking of other things."

He Denies Arrogance

Sitting in his shirt-sleeves in his overheated office, Mr. Nessen noted that he had been described as "arrogant" and even worse in stories about him. He said he was disturbed by this because "the personality of a press secretary has a lot to do with how the press perceives not only him but the President and the whole administration."

He said he did not think he was arrogant but did admit to a hair-trigger temper, which he has tried to keep under restraint.

Now that he is on the other side of the reporter-news source relationship, Mr. Nessen sometimes is dismayed to find that the things he says are not reported accurately.

And he has found that the press secretary's job is a lot more complex and requires a lot more effort than he there are compensations, he says, like those occasions when the President seeks his advice on substantive issues other than information policy.

"It is damned interesting and exciting work to see how things operate on the inside," he said. "Few people have a chance to see it."





Say, Why Don't We Try...

Contrary to what many people in Washington believe, Ron Nessen was not the White House's last choice for press secretary. He wasn't the first choice, either, but in fact Nessen was one of the initial reporters contacted by White House aides as they scoured the Washington press corps for a replacement for Jerald F. terHorst.

The first choice of the White House was David Broder, the political writer for *The Washington Post*. Robert T. Hartmann, Ford's chief advisor and the one-time Washington bureau chief for *The Los Angeles Times*, was particularly eager to snare Broder. Five days after terHorst's departure, Broder was contacted by a White House recruiter. "It was a very routine kind of solicitation," Broder recalls. "I said no."

Numerous other reporters were sounded out by the recruiters, and most of them gave the same answer as Broder. Bonnie Angelo of *Time* magazine was among the White House's leading choices, but she declined. So did William Theis, Washington bureau chief for the Hearst chain. A recruiter contacted a Washington reporter for *The New York Times* to find if *Times* deputy national editor Robert Semple might agree to become press secretary. "Semple would never take the job," the reporter responded. Murray Seeger of *The Los Angeles Times*



Press secretary Nessen being introduced by boss. UPI

was asked if he wanted his name "thrown in" with the others. He declined. White House chief of staff Alexander M. Haig, Jr., called Lloyd Shearer of *Parade* magazine, according to several sources, but the job was turned down by Shearer, too.

In the meantime Nessen, then covering the White House for NBC-TV, had been contacted by White House recruiter David Smythe, and had expressed interest in accepting the job "under certain conditions." Nessen's stiffest competition for the

job came from Jerry Friedheim, the former press spokesman for the Pentagon who gained notoriety for his "explanations" of U.S. bombing attacks in Southeast Asia. Friedheim was being pushed for the White House post by his old Defense Department boss and Ford intimate, Melvin Laird, who arranged a secret Friedheim-Ford meeting in the Oval Office on Sept. 14. Friedheim was willing to take the job, but it was never offered to him.

Nessen didn't get into the Oval Office until Sept. 18. He and Ford talked for an hour, and Nessen spelled out the "conditions" under

which he would take the job. The most important one was assurance that he would have access to what was going on at the White House. Nessen said that he didn't feel that a spokesman had to agree with each of his boss's policies. Finally, Ford asked if Nessen wanted a day or two to think about taking the job. Nessen said he didn't need any time at all and accepted the post on the spot.

—FRED BARNES

National Pastime

On a plane ride from Dallas to Kansas City the night of Sept. 26-27, manager Billy Martin of the Texas

Rangers slapped the team's 60-year-old traveling secretary and publicist director, Burt Hawkins, who has heart condition, during an argument over a proposed wives' auxiliary club. The public didn't learn about it for a week.

Hawkins asked the three reporters on the plane who either saw or knew about the incident to put a 24-hour hold on the story. The writers James Walker of the Dallas *Tim Herald*, Mike Shropshire of the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, and Ray Galloway of the Dallas *New* acceded. When Hawkins and Martin quickly made up, the unwritten stories were dropped altogether. It was not until Walker's bosses, editor Jim Woodruff and executive sports editor Blackie Sherrod, heard about the incident and ordered Walker to write about it that the news got out on Oct. 4. Sherrod and Woodruff decided to tell Hawkins their plans, and when Hawkins passed the news to Shropshire and Galloway, all three Dallas-Fort Worth papers carried the news during the same 24-hour period.

"We all let our personal feelings for Burt get in the way," says Galloway. "I realize now that it was a mistake." Walker disagrees. "I respect Burt a lot," he says. "I know journalistically there was no way I could justify it, but I had made a personal decision. It was a question of what was journalistically right and what was morally right." For his part, Shropshire could always point out that his boss, Bob Lindley, had ordered him not to run the story. Lindley told [MORE]: "If it had been anybody but Burt Hawkins, I would have splashed it all over the paper. I've traveled with the Rangers and I'm a friend of Hawkins. Since the other papers agreed, I decided not to do it. . . . If the circumstances were the same, I would have done the same thing again. I didn't see where it was all that big a deal."

—JIM KAPLAN

Do-It-Yourself

Angels—long a mainstay of theatrical financing—may be coming to the publishing world. Morrow Wilson, whose new novel *M.I.M.* exposes what he calls "the evil institution of publishing," financed his publication by selling shares of his book to various friends and acquaintances. The investors include a professor from Berkeley, a media accountant from New York, an educator from Princeton, a broadcasting advertiser, and a county committeewoman from Maryland.

Some of the investors own part of a share and others have bought a

The Junta That Refreshes

In August, the Chilean military government retained J. Walter Thompson, the advertising and public relations specialists, to polish up the junta's international image. From the outset, the arrangement was highly unpopular in JWT's Washington office, which was still smarting from the notoriety the firm had recently gained from producing Haldeman, Ziegler, and Chapin. Following news of CIA involvement in the downfall of the Allende government, the firm received threats of violence against some of its European offices. One month after signing the contract, the agency quietly terminated the arrangement.

At a charge of \$8,000 a month for one year, JWT had planned to assemble a media campaign for the U.S. and abroad, and submit it for approval to the Chilean government. Kevin Corrigan, former correspondent for the Latin American magazine *Vision*, had been assigned to supervise the account. At the time the contract was canceled, the firm's research department had already begun an opinion survey to learn what, say, the American press thought about Chile.

The contract was signed in Santiago last August by Jack Raymond, president of Dialog, a new public communications division of JWT. Raymond, president of the Overseas Press Club, has refused to discuss the short-lived arrangement, but he called two editors at [MORE] to inquire about the status of this article.

Raymond was once involved in a similar situation with a foreign government. In December 1967, the Greek military junta hired Thomas J. Deegan Co., Inc., a New York-based PR firm that employed Raymond. Raymond worked actively on the account and became the firm's president later that winter. By April 1968, the firm had withdrawn from the contract because of criticism from the media and within the company.

By law, any firm acting as an agent for a foreign government in the United States must, within ten days after beginning its work, file a registration statement with the Attorney General containing specific information about the firm's activities. JWT, which represented its South American client for a month, says it intends to meet its legal obligations, but as of this writing the firm has filed no registration and technically is in violation of the law, subject to criminal prosecution.

—BEEKMAN WINTHROP



Marty Norman

More November 1974

more. The total money acquired from investors—around \$10,000—was used to cover initial advertising and production costs. The backers will in turn receive a one-figure percentage proportionate to the amount of their investment, according to Wilson's assistant, Zanne Fremon.

—PHYLLIS SHEERR

Rosy Future?

The take-over of the *Washington News* by Texas multimillionaire Allbritton will mean a major cleaning at the top of the hidden newspaper. Allbritton, a banker, is in the process of buying almost 40 per cent of the paper's stock in a \$25 million deal that makes him chairman and chief executive of Washington Star Communications, the parent company which owns the newspaper and broadcast stations in Washington and two other cities. For the moment, no other personnel changes have been announced: But bold Noyes, the present editor, says he has volunteered to step down and expects he ultimately will. Noyes is a member of one of three families which have controlled the newspaper more than a century. Family



Washington Star News

Allbritton: housecleaning due. Members have long held some senior positions with the paper. But even as they are mounted in recent years, the *News* executive suites have continued to house a particular kind of kinfolk. One of them, Soloff Kaufmann, has been earning about \$35,000 a year through his duties consist almost entirely of handling the letters to the editor. Noyes says he expects the optimism to be curtailed in what he calls "a gradual movement of some of us out of the picture." A source close to Allbritton says initial changes will occur on the business side of the paper, which has been valued at least \$5 million a year. The deal also indicates that Allbritton eventually act to remedy what he considers a "dead editorial set-up."

Allbritton's intentions should have come as no surprise to Noyes. Last summer, Noyes killed a story about Allbritton written by staffer Fred Barnes, who had been sent to Texas to interview the prospective owner. The story reportedly contained some blunt criticisms from the Texan about the way the newspaper has been managed.

In the weeks immediately before the deal was closed, a hitch developed over the present management's failure to consult Allbritton about the terms of the new labor contract. Allbritton charged this was an "abrogation" of his agreement and it appeared for a time the entire transaction might fall through. Mary McGrory, the paper's star columnist, sent Allbritton a telegram. "Say it ain't so, Joe," it read. The next day, Allbritton, ever the Texan, sent McGrory 36 yellow roses together with a wire that read, "It ain't so, Joe."

—BRIT HUME

Slice of Life

Pittsburgh's former Cardinal Wright, visiting from Rome, told the Beaver, Pa., press he was tired of the same old questions on abortion and divorce. Ask me something else, he said. The hard-nosed reporters complied. Emerging from the session were the cardinal's thoughts on his favorite Roman tavern, his Pittsburgh Pirates office ashtrays, and his retention of a Boston brogue. This was front-page stuff in the Sept. 7 *Beaver County News-Tribune*. The article went on to describe the prelate as

The man who at varied times is called "the most Roman of the Roman cardinals," "a 20th century John Newman," "a man who can walk with crowned heads without losing his touch for the common man"....

It was all too much for *News-Tribune* printer Joseph Spielvogel, who inserted the word "baloney" after the above passage. A proofreader marked the word, but the correction was never made.

In a Sept. 9 apology "to any and all, of whatever faith, or conviction, who were offended...." the *News-Tribune* accepted "only the responsibility, not the blame," which was handed to Spielvogel. The notice did not say, however, that the printer was suspended without pay for either one week (according to Spielvogel) or two (according to editor Thomas Blount). Spielvogel is now back in the composing room, and Cardinal Wright is presumably back in Rome, where he says the manhattans at the Rainbow Tavern "come with true cherries."

—C.C.

Keep on Truckin'

ROSEBUDS to *Overdrive* magazine, a 60,000-circulation publication for truckers, for its determined unraveling of the complex schemes by which the underworld continues to tap the Teamsters Union pension fund. Since June 1972, the Los Angeles-based monthly magazine has published 16 articles on the union's Central States Pension Fund, an institution which has been the focal point of scandal in the Teamsters for more than a decade. Much of the credit goes to Jim Drinkhall, a 34-year-old investigative reporter who has been given the freedom and expense money necessary to stay on the story full time. "I have never investigated a pension fund loan and found a straight business transaction," says Drinkhall.

Among the not-so-straight transactions he has uncovered:

- The loan of \$1.4 million to a virtually moribund plastics manufacturing company in New Mexico. The *Overdrive* reports on this loan helped spark a federal investigation, which has led to the indictment of seven men on charges of defrauding the fund. The indictments charged that much of the money was diverted to such other purposes as the purchase of wiretapping equipment for a man considered the Chicago syndicate's electronics expert, and for the purchase of a home for the same man while he was ostensibly managing the plant in New Mexico. Two of those indicted are members of the fund's board of trustees. The others include an assortment of unsavory figures with well-known gangster connections.



- The approval of \$90,000,000 in loans to a 32-year-old Las Vegas casino operator who has only four years of experience in the business world and, according to *Overdrive*, is an associate of various organized crime figures. *Overdrive* reports that its investigation of these transactions has produced evidence that the recipient of the money may be a front man "to conceal the hidden interests in two Las Vegas casinos" held by the mob.

The person responsible for Drinkhall's freedom is Michael Parkhurst, editor and owner of *Overdrive*, who has made his publication—and himself—a voice for independent truckers since it was founded in 1961. Articles in the ad-rich magazine mostly convey professional information—on the antifreeze shortage, on bills affecting interstate commerce, or on an anti-truck campaign by political conservatives. Regular play is given to "Dump Truck/Tractor/Wrecker of the Month." But the trucker gets more than just a color spread on the new Kenworth VIT cab; he gets bikini-clad Cheryl La Raine adorning the truck in a rather incongruous pairing. Cheesecake and truck also frequent the magazine's cover. *Overdrive* would continue to prosper without its investigative reporting.

"It doesn't bring back dollar income," Parkhurst says of the series on the fund. "But if we don't do it, who will? It's just a thing you have to do. If you know that there's a cancer, even if you can't cure it, maybe you can chip away at the edges of it a little. If you don't, then you're not doing all that you can." So far, the reports have brought no physical retaliation from the Teamsters Union, but Parkhurst, a former Teamster and key organizer of the truck shutdown during last spring's fuel shortage, is evidently taking no chances. The main doorway to *Overdrive*'s office in Hollywood is protected by a large automated iron gate, and visitors are admitted only by appointment. The doors will probably stay locked for some time. Asked how long he is willing to foot the bill for the pension fund reports, Parkhurst says, "As long as there's a dirty floor, we've got the mop."



The White House

An awesome sense of power, a little snappy patter, and a lingering paranoia.

By Clifford Terry

The first thing one notices when one walks by the White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Av., Washington, D.C. 20506, is that it is, indeed, *white*. Not your fancy-schmancy Nimbus White or Parchment White or Rice-Paper White; not your Bone White, Oyster White, Antique White, Shell White, Smoky White, nor your Glidden Spred Latex Enamel Semi-Gloss Titania White. It is just white white. One look and you can't help but say to yourself: That is a *white house*.

Closer to the sidewalk, one sees the huge trees in the President of the United States' front yard — red oak, American elm, white oak, the scarlet oak personally planted by Benjamin Harrison — but it is hard to detect the sirens, tucked in their branches, that blast forth with high-pitched whines during the starling season. Local observers say that if it weren't for these

Clifford Terry is an associate editor.

sirens, it would *not* be a white house.

Many people, of course, do not seem concerned with these things. The man with the sandwich board does not. He is walking up and down Pennsylvania Avenue, carrying on one side of it his message — “Exorcise Nixon,” “Impeach Nixon.” This is 2½ months after Richard Nixon has resigned. As if in recognition of that fact, the man has used the other side of the board as a kind of final-edition replate: “Hooray, Nixon Quit!” Still, he maintains his solitary patrol.

Someone else who is ignoring the White House and its grounds is a young man handing out leaflets publicizing a public appearance by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the pro-Nixon evangelist, sort of the Rabbi Korff of Korea. Late that evening the event would be picketed by protesters lined up outside Constitution Hall holding banners reading “Moon Is on the CIA Payroll,” and one of them would tell the Washington Post that he was ordered to be on the alert from

sneak attacks by the “Moon goons.”

Across from the sandwich-board man and the Moon messenger is Lafayette Park, where office workers are gathering on this beautiful autumn day to eat their lunches and stare at the cloudless sky. A bum is sleeping on the grass; she is allowed to stay there by the District police, who have bigger things to worry about. The park is on the north side of the White House, and like the buildings flanking the other sides of Gerald Ford's residence—the Washington Monument, the Treasury Department, the Old Executive Office Building—provides a nice buffer between it and the less idyllic parts of the city. There is no nearby residential district, as there is around the Capitol, unless you count the dorms at George Washington University; instead, there are department stores and modern office buildings and old, posh hotels such as the Hay Adams, where the Gallic, dark-haired, dark-suited diplomats in the lobby all seem to

look like Alain Delon and the 11-year-old boys chatting with their fathers in the dining room all seem to sound like J. D. Salinger prodigies.

One enters the building, this white house, by way of the northwest gate, where keepers of the guardhouse check your appointment, ask your birthdate, and phone some mysterious source for a quick-as-a-flash security check. You walk up the driveway past a network TV reporter who is using the White House as a backdrop for his nightly “standup.” At the foyer leading to the West Wing reception room, you are greeted by a United States Marine and then by an appointments secretary. The reception room is the former press room; where newsmen once piled their coats and cameras on a huge, circular table, visitors now wait amid pristine surroundings, without even a Today's Health or True magazine in sight. All one can do is stare at still another portrait—the place is full of 'em—of George Washington. 22 ▶

Long hours are not new to White House staffs.

It is here that you are close to the center of power — the offices of Henry Kissinger (in his role as head of the National Security Council staff), Donald Rumsfeld, John Marsh, Robert Hartmann, and, of course, The Man himself. As in other big businesses, there are several status perquisites here. One is being qualified to eat in the White House Mess, which was established by H.R. Haldeman as a clubby place for the resident superstars. Another is having your office as close as possible to the President's. "It is almost literally measured by the number of feet from the Oval Office," says one veteran observer. "I mean, they play games here that you'd spank your third-grader for if he tried it."

At this point in time, Gerald Ford has been President of the United States for 10 weeks, so there is a great deal of uneasiness as holdovers from the Nixon Administration wait for the other shoe to drop. Over in the Old Executive Office Building, next door to the White House, a secretary for outgoing Speechwriter Pat Buchanan looks vacantly at the Cardboard boxes piled up around her and wonders where she will be packed off to. A reporter pops his head in another door, asks the whereabouts of someone else, and is told she is gone. "Oh, I'm sorry," he says. "No, no," he is hastily reassured. "She's just gone for the day."

Another problem, of course, is trying to erase the White House image that Elizabeth Drew described in *The New Yorker* as "the court of the Borgias." Donald Rumsfeld, it is reported, will supervise a new ethics code—"standard of conduct" rules—for everyone from top aides to the newest secretaries. Even the title of Rumsfeld's predecessor, Chief of Staff Gen. Alexander Haig, has been stripped of its martial implications; instead, the onetime NATO ambassador is "coordinator of White House operations," a good Republican title. Even the most innocuous jargon in the press room has been changed; the Nixonian "photo opportunity" is now "probable press photo."

Still, there is a lingering paranoia, a collective psychic twitch. Trying to get a direct quote from a White House staffer is like trying to get a straight-line answer from an account executive at Leo Burnett or J. Walter Thompson. Everything is *off-the-record* or *not-for-attribution*; I suspect that even the rose gardener wouldn't divulge the percentage of potash in the fertilizer.

"Have you heard what the WIN button really stands for?" one staffer whispers. "And for God's sake don't quote me on this: It means 'Where Is Nixon?'" Others volunteer little more, except their contributions to the current Washington sport — tel-



The Oval Room: Status is having an office as close to it as possible.

ling Wilbur Mills jokes. ("Down in Arkansas, Faubus got knocked off by Bumpers. Now Wilbur almost got bumped off by knockers.")

One aide, dug in close to the Oval Office, says he will talk, but not for attribution. As it turns out, it doesn't matter because he doesn't say anything anyway. He reveals he

had served at the White House several years before, in a lesser capacity. "In those days I saw only one aspect. Now we have to be concerned with everything from visiting Michigan Apple Queens to the problems of the boll weevil. It's easy, naturally, to become cynical about the White House, but it's also easy to

become so wrapped up in the sense of wonder, the awe, about the place that you can't act. . . . No, we haven't redecorated; this is the way Haldeman had it done. I *did*, however, take down two American eagles."

Besides the Mills jokes, there is a great deal of talk about the President's work schedule. The running gag is that Ford decided to sleep in the other morning: He didn't get up until 5. "I've heard bitching that Nixon never got out, never saw anybody," says one aide. "Now I hear bitching that Ford sees *too many* people. Which may be true. He's just going to have to learn to delegate more responsibility."

Not that long hours are new to White House staffs. One masochist says that in three years he has had three days off. "Sure, that puts pressure on marriages," he shrugs. "There are a lot of divorces in this town for that very reason. I just tell my wife, 'We're only here once, and we should do the best we can.'" He doesn't say what his wife tells *him*.

For those who are not within a WIN button's throw of the Oval Office, the next best place to be is in the Executive Office Building, now known as the Old Executive Office Building to distinguish it from the New Executive Office Building down the Street, where no one wants to be. The old building is a marvelous place, with long, Last-Year-at-Marienbad halls and 20-foot ceilings. 38 ▶

Lunching along with Kissinger

Half a block away from the White House, on 17th Street, is the Sans Souci, a small, terribly important restaurant where administration staffers lunch alongside others who know what it means to dine at terribly important restaurants. It's no Pump Room; you don't get celebrities here like Barbara Rush and Charlton Heston and, well, Forrest Tucker. The names at the Sans Souci run to Henry Kissinger and Edward Bennett Williams and Art Buchwald — who once used his column to nominate the maitre d', Paul Delisle, for President. No one apparently cares that John Hess, the former New York Times food critic, called the place

"indifferent and gloomy." The point is that if you aren't there, you should be. In May, shortly before he started serving his prison sentence, Jeb Magruder reportedly phoned Delisle and asked if he would still be welcome for lunch. (He was assured he would be.)

In "Laughing All the Way," Barbara Howar says of the place: "For at least three administrations, influential Washington men have been judged by where they are seated and with what speed they are served. A bad day at the Sans Souci could herald hard times." Well, that's not exactly true. The room is so compact — about 20 tables and a couple rows of leather banquettes — that there really isn't a "Siberia," and the service, even for not-too-big shots, is quite commendable. So are the prices — about \$5 for such offerings as sea bass, bouillabaisse, crab *en chemise*.

Presidential nominee Delisle is, unlike some of his New York counterparts, a friendly and gracious man. He says he seats about 125 or 130 persons for lunch and has to be constantly prepared for handling last-second calls from White House wheeler-dealers. "I gamble," he says with a grin. "I put them down for a table already reserved and hope for a cancellation. If there isn't one? Well, they just have to wait."

Media types other than Buchwald also are seen there. On this particular day, Douglas Kiker of NBC decides he doesn't want to wait *at all*, and he bulls his way to the front of the short line. "Typical," a fellow reporter mutters. "The guy's a real _____." Inside, the menus are being studied by such notables as David K.E. Bruce, the first U.S. representative in Communist China and now NATO ambassador;

Dick Goodwin, the JFK-LBJ speechwriter and Chappaquiddick consultant; and Mr. Nancy Dickerson. "It has never been a restaurant for lunching ladies," Howar writes, noting that female members of the working press are no exception. "An unwritten law has prohibited women from eating there from noon to 3 unless they have power or beauty—Washington rarities."

The story goes — a reporter swears it is true — that the restaurant became the place during the Kennedy Administration when Pierre Salinger, who frequented another French establishment, allegedly read in the paper that the son of the chef at the other place had died from eating a poison mushroom; shocked that the father wasn't informed enough to have pointed out the danger, Salinger switched his gustatory allegiance. □

“People say he doesn’t have a sense of humor, but that’s not true.”

Out in one of those halls, a young woman in charge of the newly established Comment Office — which takes inquiries directed to the President and makes referrals to the proper government agency — is laughing about one of the day’s callers. “She wanted *me* to comment on something. And she got mad when I told her it wasn’t that kind of Comment Office. ‘Well,’ she said, ‘if you feel *that* way about it . . .’ and she slammed down the phone.”

Inside one of the offices

farther down the hall, Robert Orben is discussing his unusual career track record. A middle-aged man whose closely cropped hair would make a Marine D.I. look like a Rush Street rake, Orben is a speechwriter for Gerald Ford. He has also been a writer for Red Skelton, Jack Paar, Dick Gregory, and Red Buttons.

“I started working part time for the President in 1968, when he was the House minority leader,” he says. “I guess I’ve been doing both political stuff and comedy writing for about

15 years now. It’s really not that odd a combination. The essence of comedy writing today is the one-liner rather than the long, involved story, so you develop a facility for succinctness, which is a big help in a political speech. But the difference between Washington and Hollywood! Out there, they do a Friars’ roast every other day. Here, I was approached *two months* in advance to come up with material for a Gridiron Dinner. Two months! I mean, you’d think they were about to pronounce war.

“I work on the President’s serious speeches, too, but when they want some humor, they call me in. What I try to do is make the jokes a mirror of his own special humor. People say he doesn’t have a



The Cabinet Room: More than a million visitors troop thru the White House each year.

sense of humor, but that's not true. It's just that they probably never paid attention to it when he was a congressman; people don't pay much attention to the individual characteristics of a congressman. Sometimes I cringe at what he does with some of my lines, sure, but I'd really be worried if he said them *too* perfectly. Maybe he *doesn't* deliver a line like Bob Hope, but Bob Hope doesn't have the whole country to worry about."

He passes out some speeches containing samples of the Orben touch:

1) Ford at Ohio State's summer commencement: "So much has happened in these few months, the Marine Corps Band is so confused they don't know whether to play 'Hail to the Chief' or 'You've Come a Long Way, Baby!' . . . Your football coach is so popular

here in Ohio, it's unbelievable. We just had our picture taken together, and when it appears in the Dispatch, I'm pretty sure what the caption will say: 'Woody Hayes—and friend.'"

2) Ford at the opening of the World Golf Hall of Fame, Pinehurst, N.C.: "Henry Kissinger is undoubtedly one of the greatest diplomats the world has ever known. I'll tell you why I say that. Last week I was in a sand trap. There was a water hazard beyond that, and then 95 feet to the first hole. And Henry conceded the putt! . . . They say you can always tell how good a player is by the number of people in the gallery. You've heard of Arnie's Army? My group is called Ford's Few. . . . What really hurt was when Arnold asked me to wear his slacks under an assumed name. . . ."

Bob Orben is not on the White

House tour, nor is the Old Executive Office Building. You can, however, see a portrait of Mrs. Coolidge and her dog. A total of 1.3 to 1.6 million persons troop thru the executive mansion each year, most hooking up with one of two tours—the public tour and the Congressional, or so-called VIP tour. I still don't know what the qualification for VIPdom is; the day I tagged along, one of my companions was a 4-year-old girl. Acutally, the way to sign on *this* tour—which allows you to enter three additional rooms and receive a guided spiel instead of just checking out things for yourself—is to request, far in advance, a pass from your congressman. To do so, of course, you have to know the name of your congressman; that may be what prevents a lot of people from

40 ▶



AMOUR AMOUR
TWO PARTS LOVE...
ONE PART LEGEND

"May none but honest and wise men rule under this roof."

becoming VIPs.

During the summer crush, the line for the public tour begins forming on East Executive Avenue as early as two hours before the 10 a.m. opening. Such diligence is not really required. Mike Farrell, the special Presidential assistant who supervises the tours, advises people to arrive as late as 11:30; everyone who is in line at the time of the noon closing will still be allowed inside. "We just don't go out and bang the gate shut in their faces," Farrell says. For the diehard earlybirds, the government has installed speakers every six feet or so on the White House grounds, and they blast forth every so often with historical facts about the place. ("There have been times when people climbed in

the windows and over the furniture to get close to the President. . . .") The dose of information is followed by some rousing music such as "This Is My Country," which really seems quite tacky.

The VIPs, or whoever, check in at the East Wing at 8:45 a.m. and wander inside, looking — as do their public-tour counterparts — at such items as portraits of John Tyler, William Howard Taft, and Harry Truman, and then the lovely Jacqueline Kennedy Gardens, which contain a pool, grape arbor, herbs for use in the White House kitchen, and, the day I was there, a pigeon. (Some time ago, a Chicagoan took the VIP tour while trying to endure a brutal hangover; when she felt the sudden need for a rush to the

ladies room, she was told there wasn't one available but was thoughtfully escorted out into the same gardens. There she was able to throw up on a patch of history.)

The crowd of 800 or 900 is broken down into groups of about 75, which are assigned a guide decked out in blue blazer, gray flannels, white shirt, red tie, American-flag lapel pin, and Motorola walkie-talkie. The White House guides all look like the presidents of their high-school National Honor Societies eight years later. Ours tells us that the building has 29 fireplaces, all working, that it takes a day and a half to clean the chandeliers, and that Abigail

Adams used to hang her laundry in the East Room, where today people like Sammy Davis Jr. and Roger Miller entertain.

He also gives us a little snappy patter. Pausing in the East Room, he notes that the last reception held here was for the president of Poland — "and there were no jokes told, either." Apparently buoyed by the laughter, he goes on to tell us that Dolley Madison was quite a matchmaker but failed to fix up Thomas Jefferson with a wife because he had once written down on a piece of paper that no one should be deprived of life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness. Really going now, he points out the Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington, right arm extended, palm upwars.

"Contrary to popular belief," the guide says, "he is not introducing Martha, whose portrait is on the other side of the door. What George is saying is, 'The M&M's are in the other hand.'"

There is more of this; then, finally finishing up in the State Dining Room, he calls our attention to the inscription carved into the mantel and taken from a letter written by John Adams on his second night in residence: "I Pray Heaven to Bestow the Best of Blessings on THIS HOUSE and on All that shall hereafter Inhabit it. May none but Honest and Wise Men ever rule under this Roof."

I may be wrong, but all of a sudden I think I am the only one in the room who is laughing. ■

Covering the President



There are some 1,500 newsmen who pay dues to the White House Correspondents Association, an organization that, according to Timothy Crouse ("The Boys in the Bus"), has spawned "journalistic Prufrocks" who measure their lives in handouts. Only a fraction of that number actually gather for Press Secretary Ron Nessen's daily briefings (page 25).

The press room, located in the West Wing, was, until 1970, the White House swimming pool. It is actually a series of rooms, the biggest of which is used for the briefings. It is filled with comfortable chairs and couches and film cameras belonging to the three major television networks. At the moment, late afternoon, U.S. News & World Report is sleeping on a couch. On the wall, two blinking stars signify that there is a news "lid"—that is, everyone may leave with impunity, no more news today. "One of the stars is for the photographers and the other for the writers," says Bill Roberts of the press office. "I can never remember which is which."

In the next room, there are small cubicles assigned to reporters from the major dailies and a row of wall phones for those news organizations not rating a cubicle, such as Business Week, Japan Broadcasting, and Tass. The back room, onetime site of the White House kennels, is now the favored spot to let sleeping reporters lie. It is also the place where they play cards and watch "Jackpot" and "Hollywood Squares." There are vintage pictures of Hoover and FDR and Ike, and on the bulletin board a letter from a woman in Tuxedo

President Ford and family dog on White House South Lawn.

Park, N.Y., addressed to the White House Press Corps ("Gentlemen?????") and taking them to task for their press-conference handling of Nixon in his last days in office. ("Just who in hell do you pundits think you are? We are quite capable of forming our own opinions and making our own decisions without the aid of a 'mental lynch mob.'")

In the morning, there is a briefing by Senators Jacob Javits and Henry Jackson and Rep. Charles Vanik of Ohio on a Presidential-Congressional compromise to provide trade benefits to the Soviet Union in return for a relaxation of Moscow's emigration policies. This is followed by a briefing by James Lynn, secretary of Housing and Urban Development — pretty dreary stuff, full of statements like "Let's take section 236. . . ." I drift over to the bulletin board and read a Notice to the Press: ". . . As the bill-signing ceremony concluded, Mr. Thomas Francis Murphy of Washington, D.C., President of the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers, presented the President with a silver card designating him an honorary member of the Union." Next to it, one of the day's "pool" reporters, Walt Rodgers of AP Radio, has knocked off a memo about a photo session in the Oval Office, and he has managed to misspell a senator's name at every opportunity. ("Javitts did most of the talking, making small talk about his election, none of it significant.")

Nessen's briefing is next, and then most of the news of the day is over. In the afternoon, it is nickel-and-dime stuff, starting with a photo session in the Oval Office with Ford, Kissinger, and President Francisco da Costa-Gomes of

Portugal. Under the rules, the photographers, like pro basketball players, have so much time in which to shoot. ("Thirty seconds, gentlemen," someone intones. ". . . Fifteen seconds. . . .")

Twenty minutes later, and it's out to the rose garden, now blossoming with brown, white, and yellow mums and, for some reason, the entire Wake Forest University football squad. The President steps out to welcome the winners of the National Civil Service League awards. ("We've got him doing everything today except blowing his nose," one photographer grouses.) He also welcomes the football players, notes their losing record, and jokes about his team's disastrous fortunes during his senior year at Michigan. Mrs. Ford, recuperating from surgery, appears in her bedroom window and waves down. "Well," the President tells the collegians and civil servants, "that's where we live." Mrs. Ford then disappears, comes back holding the game ball that the Redskins had presented her the week before. She pretends to pass it. "She can probably throw it better than I can catch it," her husband quips; he then wishes the team well for the remainder of the season. The next day Wake Forest loses to Maryland 47 to 0.

Another 15 minutes, and the photographers have gathered in the Cabinet Room to capture the President signing the proclamation for Drug Abuse Prevention Week. "Jesus Christ, I wish this man would take an afternoon off; one of them complains to a colleague. "Yeah. Reminds you of Lyndon on his worst day, right?"

Back in the Press Room, the "lid" lights start blinking, and those who haven't gone home already now do so. ■

Two saloons in the bureaucratic dark

Washington after dark is a disaster. The country's public servants have long scattered to their homes and private parties in Maryland and Virginia and Georgetown, while in the center part of the District, the Crimestopper vapor lights bathe the empty streets in Orwellian ghastliness. Despite the Silver Slipper and the Junkanóo and the Tidal Basin by moonlight, it is a fusty town; one half-expects the curbs to be draped after 6 p.m. with antimacassars.

The choice of watering spots, then, is limited. Staffers at the White House usually head for one of two bars within a couple of blocks of their offices. Nick & Dottie's, on 17th Street next to the Sans Souci, is a dark, masculine place attached to the Black Steer Steak House. Over the bar are autographed pictures of Billy Kilmer and other Washington Redskins and the team's schedule (brought to you by the beer that won the ribbon in 1893; with the scores penciled in. In the center, near the cash register, is one of those basement-rec-room "drunk" signs: "We run a tight ship here! However, lately, some of us have been getting tight a little too often."

Groups of bureaucratic-looking men and women sit at tables, trying to keep their feet off their immaculate attache cases, while the knrrs hunch over drinks at the bar, trading weekend-escapade stories with the bartender or morosely going thru the evening paper before bracing for the drive back home to Rockville. You know this is Washington because instead of Dear Abby they are reading the op-ed page. Someone at the far end of the bar stares at the televised Gerald Ford droning on with his Dick-and-Jane, clean-your-plate speech to the Future Farmers of America. "That guy is the ultimate



The Class Reunion.

State Farm Insurance salesman," the viewer sneers. "I mean, he has all the charisma of the third-base coach of the San Diego Padres."

The Class Reunion, on H Street, the other popular spot for White House staff, is the type of bar where a woman who has been called Pat all her life is introduced to a young executive and tells him her name is Trish. Perhaps the major difference between it and Nick & Dottie's is that *this* Redskin schedule on the wall is put out by Dewar's instead of Pabst.

The saloon was started a couple years ago, during the height of the '50s nostalgia craze, by a pair of high-school classmates ('54) who put up photos of Nixon and Ike, Marilyn lifting her "Seven-Year Itch" skirts, and Charles Van Doren pretending to sweat it out in the isolation booth. The piped-in music is Continuous Sinatra, and there is a sign that says "Eggs Benedict Always." The bartender is wearing a "Wilbur Mills for President" button, and a recent-Vassar-grad type is chatting about summers up at the Cape at Chatham and slipping her gin and tonic, which she has specified be Tanqueray. □



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s too early
all fairness
judge the job
s doing now."

something like that happened to me, I don't if I'd resign. I'd have to consider the mstances. I *don't* think I have to agree with thing Jerry Ford does. He's the President and not. The press secretary doesn't have to quit time he disapproves of a Presidential action."

ther one of the surprises, he says, is the view the other side of the lectern. "My first week ard. Most of the questions were about Richard , and I thought I was there to talk about Jerry One day I had 128 questions, all of them about holdovers. I was terribly frustrated; I didn't if I could go on under those circumstances. But ik the press also may have been shocked or ayed by that number of questions, and we've meetings since. I understand the problem. It's rou've had five years of Ziegler, so you've had ears of suspicion, cynicism, and mistrust. And 's nothing I can do to break it in any short d of time."

ssen drew flak from his colleagues for his ed close relationship with Ford when he was President. One veteran correspondent called 'the head pompon waver."

don't think the criticism was valid," Nessen "There was a very small group of reporters raveled with him, and he is a friendly man, but 't pretend, even now, to be an intimate friend of Ford. Sure, when he gave his first state r — for King Hussein — he invited my wife and But he also invited Tommy DeFrank of week and his wife, Helen Thomas of UPI and husband, Carrol Kilpatrick of the Post, Eric Reid

think my reports on the Vice President were is even handed, or as critical, as anyone else's. he asked us not to run something, but we all did ay; if I had been a great booster, I would have d to his wishes."

"Man in the News" columns following his House appointment stated that Ron Nessen expected as a reporter by his coworkers, but so has his share of disparagers. "I think he's f shallow," says one journalist. "As a reporter, ight, he was a smark-aleck punk. Since he's ne press secretary, it turns out he was a star at But he really was the kind of correspondent network could afford to lose for a year and let ide around the country with a Vice President wasn't making any news. I don't mean he was a ny—you have to have a certain degree of tise—but he certainly wasn't one of the es. It's too early in all fairness to judge the job loing now. But from what I've seen in the past, ight say I'm still underwhelmed."

ssen himself, obviously, wouldn't agree. "Cer- / the job has changed my relationship with the men, but I hope it hasn't cost me friends. I ed in and out of Washington for a long time and I I have their respect. And I never sensed any tment from the pen-and-pencil guys for being evision. I think I've always had the reputation ing just a reporter, not any show-business nality. I mean, I never pretended to be a pretty



Hagerty



Salinger



Christian



Reedy



Moyer

Meeting the press, from Early to terHorst

FDR gave us the first full-time press secretary, Stephen Early. But it wasn't until Ike's Jim Hagerty came along that the job took on real celebrity status.

By Robert Young

In the last 20 years, the White House press secretary has become a celebrity. But anyone taking on the job must harbor a latent streak of masochism. He must operate in a hammer-anvil situation between his boss and an adversary pack of journalists who, by instinct and tradition, are critical and suspicious of government. So, while he may pour forth information, announce big stories and minor news, explain and clarify, provide guidance and confidential background, he may also conceal and suppress, evade, dissemble, and even lie if that's what the White House feels the situation calls for. And whether he comes to be liked and respected or falls from grace, by and large he mirrors the man he works for.

President Wilson, who initiated the first White House press conferences, also had the first press secretary — Joseph P. Tumulty, who served on a part-time basis. Harding, a former newspaper editor and publisher, Coolidge, and Hoover conducted their own press relations. With the national government rapidly growing more complex, Stephen Early, a onetime wire-service reporter and public relations executive, went to work full time for Roosevelt. Truman's two press secretaries, Charles Ross and Joseph Short, also were former newspapermen.

But it was with Eisenhower that press secretaryship became the institution it is today. As a result of the impact of television and of being given carte blanche to do his job, James Hagerty became a widely known public figure and set the stage for those who came after him.

Robert Young is a Washington correspondent for the Tribune.

James Hagerty

This tough-minded, self-confident Irishman invariably is rated as one of the best press secretaries, and some veteran newsmen vote him the best.

Hagerty, son of a newspaperman, was a New York Times political reporter, then press secretary for Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York before he began his long association with Eisenhower with the 1952 campaign. This time was right for Hagerty. Ike, the ex-Army general, believed in delegating authority. TV news coverage was expanding rapidly. The aggressive, savvy Hagerty had a close relationship with the President, and he made sure he knew about everything that was going on.

Newsmen liked working with Hagerty; they believed he was trying to be as helpful as possible. But altho he was congenial and gregarious, he also could be brusque and authoritarian. And he never left any doubt as to who came first. Now and then, badgered for information, Hagerty would snap: "Look, I work for the President — not for you guys!"

Hagerty's public renown can be dated to Eisenhower's heart attack in Denver in 1955. The stricken chief executive is said to have ordered Hagerty to "take over," but even if such an instruction was not issued, the press secretary did.

Hagerty disregarded the axiom that bad health is bad politics and, tho not totally candid, did give out voluminous information on the President's condition. He arranged for Vice President Nixon and a procession of administration officials to fly in daily for conferences with the President. But Hagerty did not choose to disclose that for several days the President had been close to death, nor that the conferences

By Clifford Terry

It is 12:35 on a Friday afternoon, and Gerald Ford's press secretary walks into the White House press room to take on the daily briefing.

"The President was in his office at 7:30 this morning," he begins. "He met with various staff members, including Marsh, Kissinger, Rumsfeld, Timmons, Hartmann, and myself."

"Who are you?" someone whispers.

The 50 or so newsmen know, of course, but this is just a little White House humor. You take what you can get.

At the time of this particular briefing, Ronald Harold Nessen has been on the job for less than a month. Before that, he was on the other side of the lectern as a correspondent for NBC-TV. It is, in fact, a new lectern, a streamlined number that replaced — perhaps as a symbol of the new administration's openness — the heavy, Presidential-style, bulletproof model used by Richard Nixon's press secretary. "I am a Ron," Nessen had said when appointed to his new post on Sept. 20, "but I am not a Ziegler."

He goes on to tell about Gerald Ford's morning-meeting with Senators Jackson and Javits, signing the Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act—and then outlines his upcoming talks with Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez. One of the meeting places, he announces, is Magdalena de Kino. "That's M-a-g-d-a-l-e-n-a-d-e-K-i-n-o, as in Las Vegas Kino."

"That's the wrong 'Keno,'" the reporters shout back.

"Well, I never gamble," he answers. "Except coming out here."

The laughter is followed by the more somber details of a Presidential trip to the Carolinas. "It's going to be a fun-filled day. Press check-in—are you ready?—is at 6:45 a.m. . . . Well, you wanted to be White House correspondents. . . . The President gets back in Washington at 11:45 p.m., whereupon blood transfusions will be available to all. . . . On Sunday, he plans to spend the day at the White House. Probably wearing his jammies all day. . . . That's off the record."

"Is he going to church on Sunday?" a newsman asks.

"I don't know, maybe he'll just use Dial-a-Prayer. . . . That's off the record, too."

The briefing continues, settling down now to no-nonsense questions and answers about import quotas, the cost of operating Air Force One, the wisdom of giving \$1.6 million in aid to Iran. Only

Ron Nessen: inside, looking out

The new press secretary, the first "electronic journalist" to hold the post, at least understands the problem.



"A Ron but not a Ziegler."

occasionally does the cordiality wear thin, as when the journalists start pressing on the amount of Nixon "transition" funds. Nessen is put on the defensive like a goalie for the Kansas City Scouts trying to stave off a Boston Bruins power play. As the hour rolls on, the mood at times is one of testiness, but never viciousness. This Ron obviously isn't a Ziegler.

When Ron Nessen was still with NBC, he told Tribune TV Critic Gary Deeb: "One of the problems with Ziegler—in addition to the fact that he lied a lot—was that he simply didn't know anything." The day Nessen took over—the first "electronic journalist" to hold the position—he stated he would never knowingly lie to the press or mislead them.

It is no secret, says a White House correspondent,

that Nessen was considerably down the list candidates, that quite a few others had spurned the \$42,500-a-year job. His name was not exactly Nielsen household word, certainly not like sup stars Dan Rather and Cassie Mackin. Why, Nessen wasn't even a finalist in the Barbara Walters coo sweepstakes.

Now he is briefly relaxing in his office in the White House and reflecting on his decision to take the job (and pay cut). "I'm 40 years old, and I've been at the news business for 17 or 18 years. I guess everyone around 40 gets a little itch to try something else. In recent years I've been very conscious of always being on the outside looking in. Maybe I'm going through my 'midlife crisis' or whatever, but I did have a real urge to become a participant.

"I talked with the President about the job for about an hour. I told him, first of all, that I had no political leanings, that the last time I voted was for John F. Kennedy in 1960. I told him I would need to have access to the entire staff, that they'd have to tell me everything, that I'd want to contribute an input as a participant instead of just being a spokesman."

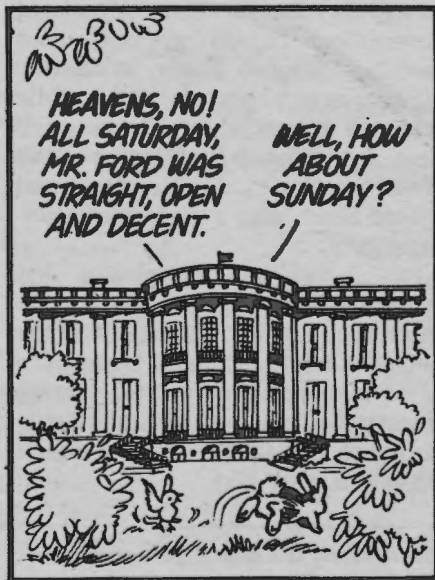
A native of Washington and a graduate of the American University, Nessen had worked for several radio stations and the Montgomery County (Md.) Sentinel (another alumnus: Bob Woodward) and UPI before joining NBC in 1962. He covered such stories as the civil-rights marches in Alabama, the Greek military takeover, the Biafran-Nigerian war, the Agnew rise and fall. While he was in Vietnam in 1966, his left lung was punctured by a grenade fragment, but he returned three more times. "I think anyone who had been there was sort of fascinated by the place and wanted to see how it came out. The Tet offensive just about cured me of that." He met his wife, the former Young Hi Song of South Korea, when she was on an Asian tour singing in hotels and clubs. They now live in Bethesda, Md., with their 21-month-old son, Edward. (Nessen also has a daughter, Caren, a sophomore at the University of Iowa, by a previous marriage.)

In 1973, he was assigned to cover the new Vice President; he traveled 118,000 miles with him. When Gerald Ford became President, Ron Nessen became NBC's White House correspondent.

"The long workday is one of the surprises of the job," he resumes. "Another is that the input is greater than I'd expected. It's not just the President asking me if he should go on television in the afternoon or evening. There's considerable give and take among the staff. Actually, they're sort of bending over backward; they don't want another Horst episode."

DOONESBURY

by Garry Trudeau



The two crises of Ron Ziegler

The other Ron, now a private aide to Richard Nixon out at the San Clemente "government in exile," was appointed press secretary in 1968 at age 29. A onetime Jungle Cruise guide at Disneyland, Ronald L. Ziegler had campaigned for the Republicans in 1960 while still a student at the



"The others are inoperative."

University of Southern California and had arranged for Nixon's visit to the campus. Two years later, while working at J. Walter Thompson in Los Angeles, he began being politically groomed by fellow ad man H. R. (Bob) Haldeman, who, according to columnist Nick Thimmesch, "wound him like a clock."

The clock ran down on April 17, 1973, when Ziegler issued a statement that has to rank alongside George Romney's Viet Nam "brainwashing" blunder. "The President refers to the fact that there is new material (on Watergate)," the press secretary said. "Therefore, this is the operative statement. The others are *inoperative*."

On Aug. 20, President Nixon arrived in New Orleans to address the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention. The American public had had a summer full of Watergate on television. The VFW delegates could provide that lift a beleaguered President needs. The President was keyed up.

Crowds on the street near the convention center were mostly friendly, though a few protesters waved anti-Nixon signs. Nixon flexed himself before entering the arena. He wanted nothing in his way before he got at that crowd inside.

But breathing down his neck were Ziegler and the clump of TV cameras, mikes, and newsmen that inevitably followed. Nixon wheeled, grabbed Ziegler by the shoulders, spun him around, gave a good shove, and barked, "I don't want any press with me, and you take care of it."

"It was misinterpreted," Ziegler says now. "The President only gave me a kind of shove. He wanted a moment to think without the press being around. After the speech, on the plane, he put his hand on my shoulder and said, 'I'm sorry that happened.'"

Many White House correspondents, it is said,

have liked Ron Ziegler personally but couldn't abide his public abuse of his staff, his inaccessibility to the press, his use of a language that no one understood (newsmen coined the verb *ziegle* in reference to it)—not to mention his deceptive tactics or outright lying. The credibility gap created by the April 17 statement forced the White House to have Deputy Press Secretary Gerald Warren take over the briefings. It was Warren who announced on Aug. 1, 1974: "The President will not resign."



"It was misinterpreted."

were staged events calculated to reassure the public.

Hagerty repeated this performance the next year when Eisenhower suffered an attack of acute ileitis in Washington. His new celebrity and his skill paid off in persuading party leaders and the public that serious illness need be no bar to Eisenhower's second term.

Pierre Salinger

Some newsmen who covered the Kennedy White House considered Pierre Salinger too haphazard and too much of a swinger to be a really good press secretary. But gauged by the basic standards of the job, Salinger performed well. He was quick-minded and articulate, well-informed and politically smart, close to the President, consummate New Frontiersman. Portly, French-speaking bon vivant with a liking for fine wines, cigars, and high-stakes poker, investigative reporter for a Los Angeles newspaper and a national syndicate. He joined the staff of a committee investigating labor practices and came to the attention of Sen. John Kennedy, a member.

He handled press relations for John Kennedy in the 1960 campaign. By political bent and lifestyle, Salinger was a perfect adjunct to Kennedy and immediately popular with reporters who welcomed Camelot after eight years of Eisenhower. Salinger's operations were free-wheeling and light-hearted, more in keeping with an election campaign than 1600 Pennsylvania Av.

To horse, terHorst!

After Ziegler, the takeover President appointed as press secretary Jerald F. terHorst, the 52-year-old Washington bureau chief of the Detroit News and a Gerald Ford friend for 28 years. He lasted almost a month, resigning on Sept. 8 when Ford not only pardoned Nixon but kept terHorst unaware of his decision until 18 hours before the public announcement. In October the resignee—now a syndicated columnist for the News—received the Society of Magazine Writers' first Conscience in Media medal.

Salinger was the first press secretary to put a President's news conferences on live TV, but daily press briefings often were confusing exchanges of repartee in Salinger's crowded office. The air of insouciance around the press office surfaced in news-release errors and unanswered queries. Reporters who preferred the no-nonsense Jim Hagerty were less than charmed by the bouncy Salinger. On Presidential trips, reporters at times encountered what some called "Salinger's Law"—his availability was determined by the kind of place the President was visiting: He was on the job in Scranton or Omaha but nowhere in sight in Palm Springs or Palm Beach.

But by and large, Salinger worked hard to keep informed, and he worked for a President both popular and comfortable with the press. Salinger had his share of charges that he bent truth on occasion and "managed" news—particularly during the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and the Cuban missile crisis the following year.

When the President was assassinated in Dallas in 1963, Salinger was over the Pacific en route to Tokyo. The plane turned around, and he returned to Washington to serve President Johnson. He is given high marks for his

performance during the transition. But as is often the case with holdovers, those newly in power looked on him as a rather exotic outsider.

Still, the new President depended on his expertise. Salinger made something of a hit with the extroverted, publicity-loving Johnson by arranging a press conference at the LBJ ranch in Texas with cabinet members, bales of hay, and sizzling spareribs. To the President's annoyance, however, Salinger himself captured a disproportionate amount of attention by putting on a 10-gallon hat and awkwardly mounting a cow pony.

Under any circumstances, Salinger would have remained in the White House only until Johnson had found his own press secretary. As it turned out, he quit abruptly in March, 1964, to make an unsuccessful run for a Senate seat from California, his native state.

George Reedy

After graduating from the University of Chicago with a sociology degree and nine years with United Press covering Capitol Hill, erudite, pipe-puffing George Reedy went to work for Lyndon Johnson in 1951 because, the story

He could and did withhold information and dissemble.

goes, he believed the senator was destined to become President and Reedy wanted to get in on the ground floor. The big, slow-moving man with a shock of prematurely white hair moved into the White House after the Kennedy assassination.

Many people assumed that he would become press secretary, but others wondered whether Johnson ever intended to appoint him. As it was, when Pierre Salinger quit unexpectedly in 1964, the available Reedy got the job.

After 16 months, he left with the same abruptness as his predecessor. His somewhat professional manner and slow, reflective speech were out of tune with those razzle-dazzle days. But his

most troublesome handicap was working for an unpredictable, temperamental chief executive who did not keep him informed. The congenial and likable Reedy usually is rated at the bottom of the four Johnson press secretaries.

It seems that he and Johnson had periodic arguments over the President's view that Reedy should function as a high-class press agent responsible for getting his name and picture in newspapers and on television screens. One July day in 1965, Reedy announced he was taking an indefinite leave of absence for foot surgery and that Bill Moyers would replace him as acting press secretary. But no one doubted that he was gone for good.

Reedy did return briefly to the White House as a special assistant but quit in 1966 to take a research job with an engineering firm. He had worked for Johnson 15 years — longer than any other man. Born in East Chicago, Ind., and son of a Chicago Tribune reporter, he is now dean of the college of

journalism at Marquette University in Milwaukee.

Bill Moyers

If George Reedy was considered an underachiever as press secretary, then the hard-charging, precocious 31-year-old who succeeded him could be classified as an overreacher. Moyers had worked for Johnson when he was Senate majority leader and Vice Presidential candidate in 1960. Five years later, when Moyers was tapped to take over as Johnson's third press secretary, he already was the President's top-ranking special assistant.

Brought up in a small Texas town, Moyers was the outstanding student of his high-school class, was the top student and twice class president at North Texas State College; received a journalism degree and another super-student award at the University of Texas while working full time as assistant news editor for the Johnson

radio-TV station in Austin; studied on a fellowship at the University of Edinburgh; graduated from a theological seminary and was ordained a Baptist minister; and became deputy Peace Corps director in the Kennedy administration.

Moyers was the first press secretary since the Wilson era to fill the job while serving the President in another capacity. He was press secretary in name and fact while continuing as No. 1 special assistant. But his drive and abilities were such that he never seemed like a part-time press aide. He was good-natured, accessible, helpful, and well-liked. Some reporters rate him as the best of Johnson's press secretaries.

But Moyers risked the wrath of the secretive Johnson by telling tales out of school, and reporters recall that he could and did withhold information and dissemble while cagily giving a convincing appearance of candor.

Johnson, another Texas over-achiever, had had a close, father-son

35 ▶

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He did not appear impressed with White House glamor.

relationship with Moyers for a decade. But after Moyers had been press secretary a few months, Johnson began to hint that he was having misgivings about his young protege. In his role as No. 1 special assistant, associates reported, Moyers was considered irreplaceable. But as press secretary, Moyers was thought to be acquiring an unbecoming taste for the limelight. As it turned out, in early 1967 Moyers became publisher of Newsday on Long Island. He said he was leaving reluctantly because of growing family obligations.

George Christian

George Christian always insisted he did not make the long trek from Texas in the second Johnson term with the understanding he would become press secretary. But it's more than likely that the foxy President had that in mind when he persuaded Christian to join his staff in May, 1966, as an administrative assistant. No doubt the President figured that the young, ambitious Bill Moyers might be leaving

Christian had press-secretary credentials. He was an International News Service reporter in Austin, his home town, for seven years; was press secretary to two Texas governors; and he knew politics, particularly the Byzantine Texas brand, from a lifetime in the state capital.

On arrival, Christian worked with Walt W. Rostow, special assistant for national security affairs. He was named as successor press secretary when Moyers announced in December, 1966, that he was leaving. Christian held the job for two years, until the end of the Johnson presidency and longer than any of his three predecessors. In the rating game, voting falls pretty evenly between Moyers and Christian.

Christian, just 40 when he took over the job, did not appear to be impressed with White House glamor, kept his social activities to a minimum, and showed no taste for personal publicity. He was one of the very few outside Johnson's family who knew in advance of Johnson's decision not to run for reelection in 1968. On the March night that Johnson went on network TV with that startling announcement, a reporter asked Christian if the President was sticking to his prepared text on a bombing halt. Christian said Johnson would have an addition. Important? Deadpan, Christian replied: "Yep, it will be important." □



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Carey to revamp agencies

By GERALD S. BUDGAR

Gov. Hugh Carey's 1975-76 state budget will include proposals for a massive reorganization of state government. The Times-Union learned Wednesday.

The upheaval, one source said, will include the elimination and merger of some agencies, the transfer of functions among others, and the creation of a few new ones.

Another source told The Times-Union the revisions will be so extensive that "several agency heads may look at the new state budget and not find their agencies."

"The entire bureaucracy is uneasy," one state worker said, "and everyone is just waiting for the shoe to fall" Feb. 1, when Carey makes his budget proposal public.

The reorganization, subject to Carey's final approval, will be based on recommendations sent to the governor recently by several task forces and an Albany "mini-cabinet" headed by Steve Berger.

The "mini-cabinet" spent eight weeks in Albany after the November elections studying state bureaucracy, and interviewed almost every state agency head.

Among agencies known to be under intensive scrutiny are the Department of Agriculture and Markets, Council on Architecture, Board of



THE MESSAGE: 'NOT GOOD'—As Vice President Rockefeller watches, President Ford tells Congress Wednesday that State of the Union is "not good."

TAKING IT SITTING DOWN—Ronald Nessen, President Ford's press secretary, listens as White House economic and energy advisers brief newsmen on President's message. (AP, UPI PHOTOS)

Equalization and Assessment, Office for the Aging, Division for Youth, Department of Environmental Conservation, Office of Parks and Recreation, Office for Local Government, Office of Planning Services, and the Public Service Commission.

In addition, sources add, Carey has been urged to begin moving several state agency headquarters, including the Division of Housing and Community Renewal, the State Power Authority, and the State Liquor Authority, from New York City to Albany.

These measures, the sources add, may be deferred because the unemployment situation in New York City is considered more severe than that in Albany.

Expected to remain in New York City are the Departments of Banking and Insurance, sources added, because that city is considered headquarters for those industries in the state.

Carey is also studying a proposal to merge and consolidate several public authorities whose functions, such as housing development, overlap.

Berger, sources indicate, will soon be named to a top-level policy post that will al-

See SOME STATE, Page 5

Ford message bleakest in years

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Ford submitted to Congress on Wednesday the bleakest State of the Union message in decades, formally urging massive tax cuts, a red-ink budget and higher fuel costs to overcome recession and energy shortages.

"The state of the union is not good ... I've got bad news and I don't expect applause,"

Ford told a nationally broadcast joint session of Congress.

"Millions of Americans are out of work. Recession and inflation are eroding the money of millions more. Prices are too high and sales are too slow."

He called for a "new partnership" with the Democratic Congress as he outlined de-

tails of the recovery plan he had sketched in a broadcast address Monday night.

The major elements of Ford's plan:

—A one-shot tax cut for individuals totaling \$12 billion and a longer term tax reduction of \$16.5 billion. The one-time tax cut of 12 per cent would be based on last year's taxes and

Ford's proposals at-a-glance:

5 million would pay no taxes; new energy sources sought.

all on Page 9

would be accomplished through rebates of up to \$1,000 to individual taxpayers.

The long-term tax reduction

would be carried out during 1975 through reduced withholding, with the largest cuts going to low-income individuals.

—A quick \$4 billion tax break for industry by raising the investment tax credit to 12 per cent. This would be coupled with a \$6 billion per year cut in the corporate tax rate.

—A broad-ranging series of

taxes and levies on oil and natural gas intended to increase prices and thus reduce consumption. The \$30 billion in revenues raised would be channeled back into the economy, mainly through the tax cuts.

—A federal budget that will contain a deficit of about \$30

See FORD's, Page 9

Hike in deficit draws bipartisan criticism

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Assistant Senate Democratic leader Robert C. Byrd, joined by GOP conservatives, Wednesday denounced President Ford for advocating the biggest peacetime deficits in history.

Byrd bluntly called Ford's economic proposals "surrender to inflation" and Sen.

James L. Buckley, R-N. Y., added it would "feed" inflation.

Sen. Barry M. Goldwater, R-Ariz., said "tax cuts, in my opinion, are not going to save the economy" and blamed the nation's plight on excessive federal spending.

The twin attacks from the

increasingly influential Democratic whip and spokesmen for Republican conservatives could signal trouble for parts of Ford's program.

But Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R-N. Y., a leading Republican liberal, called Ford's proposed tax cut "a sound economic measure." He added, however, that the tax rebate

should be limited to those earning \$23,000 a year or less.

Javits also said he did not think that higher gasoline prices would discourage consumption. He called for some form of rationing or allocation.

In his reaction to the State of the Union address, Byrd

said, "I do not necessarily oppose a tax cut, but revenue reduction should be matched by decreases in spending.

"The enormous deficits the President envisions—and I think they will be even higher than he estimates—are bound to make our double-digit inflation even worse."

"It's ruinous," Buckley said

of Ford's proposal to cut taxes. "It will rack up massive deficits that in turn will lead to borrowing by the government that will sop up capital in the private capital markets and thus feed inflation."

Even before Ford spoke to a joint session of Congress, Rep. Al Ullman, D-Ore., acting

See DEFICIT, Page 9

Wholesale price dip first in 14 months

WASHINGTON (AP) — Wholesale prices plunged sharply in December, marking the first decline in 14 months, the Labor Department reported Wednesday.

The government's Wholesale Price Index fell five-tenths of a per cent as declining farm and food prices more than offset a slight increase in industrial commodities.

Despite last month's drop, wholesale prices for all of 1974 soared 20.9 per cent, the most in any year since prices rose

31.1 per cent in 1946 when World War II price controls ended.

The report came as President Ford presented Congress with economic proposals designed to shift the administration's focus from fighting inflation to combating recession and energy problems.

Government analysts said the December price decline — the first since wholesale prices dropped one-tenth of a per cent in October 1973 — reflected both an easing of the

nation's high inflation rate and the spreading effect of the recession.

Wholesale prices have moderated in recent months, and the trend is expected to be reflected at retail in the coming months, particularly in the nonfood area.

Raw material prices have declined steadily from their peak last spring, and most price increases resulting from the end of price controls in April have now worked their way through the economy.

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WEATHER CHANCE OF FLURRIES

Map, details on Page 4

CIA admits spying in U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Central Intelligence Agency acknowledged for the first time Wednesday that its agents infiltrated dissident groups inside the United States and established files on about 10,000 U.S. citizens.

But Director William E. Colby told senators he flatly denies "the press allegation that CIA engaged in a 'massive illegal domestic intelligence operation.'"

"Whether we strayed over the edge of our authority on a few occasions over the past 27 years is a question for those authorized to investigate those matters to judge," Colby said.

The Senate Appropriations

subcommittee on intelligence operations' cross-examined Colby and former CIA Director Richard Helms for more than three hours in a closed-door session. It then recommended unanimously the immediate start of a full and in-depth probe of all allegations against the spy agency.

In a 45-page statement made available to the press, Colby said he firmly believes all current CIA activities are within legal limits.

In the past, he said, the CIA — in two separate programs — placed agents into radical or dissident groups inside the United States to protect its

own facilities and to further its intelligence and counterintelligence activities abroad.

Colby said that, in order to establish the credentials of spies it intended to send overseas, it "recruited or inserted" about 12 persons into "American dissident circles."

He also said that, beginning in 1967, the CIA inserted 10 agents into dissident groups working inside Washington, D.C., because it believed that step was necessary to protect CIA facilities and information.

According to Colby, the first program was part of an effort to uncover possible foreign involvement in domestic disturbances.



WILLIAM E. COLBY

All Is Back to Normal in the White House Press Room: Grumbles and Disappointments

By MARTIN ARNOLD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan 30 — Things are normal in the White House press room. The reporters who regularly cover the President are grumbling about the faults, real and imagined, of the Presidential press secretary, Ron Nessen, and Mr. Nessen, if he has no harsh complaints about the press corps, has at least some disappointments.

The atmosphere is all very different from what it was when President Nixon was in office. Then a virtual state of war existed between the White House press corps and Ronald Ziegler, the press secretary. Now it's rather like border fighting. Or as Variety, the daily how-business newspaper put it recently, "Ron Nessen—is he siding with D.C. newsmen?"

Fifty or so newspaper, magazine, television and radio reporters are regularly assigned by their offices to cover the President, and the assignment is considered in the profession to be among the most important in Washington journalism. Likewise, the job of Presidential press secretary is one of the most important in this city, since the secretary is the main conduit through which Presidential policies and pronouncements or even foibles are made public.

The answer to Variety is yes, Mr. Nessen is "fading" with some White House correspondents. And some are fading with him. He sees, for instance, that

a great deal of the information he has available for the press each day is never asked for by reporters. Some reporters feel, in fact, that some of the questions put to Mr. Nessen are not to elicit information, but, as one White House regular put it, "to prove their manhood."

Still, many observers believe that some confrontation is the natural condition and probably the healthy condition, too, since a tension between reporters and the press office tends to keep both sides on their toes.

A Balancing of Views

There are several built-in problems in the press secretary job, the most important being the need to balance what the press secretary conceives his job to be against what the President often perceives as the secretary's proper role.

Many secretaries begin seeing themselves as mere dispensers of information. When Mr. Nessen was appointed to the job in September he vowed never to "knowingly lie" to the press, announced that he did not believe that the press secretary always had to agree with the President and said that he would not become a salesman for the President.

Some reporters think he has shaded the truth at times, although that is not a major criticism of him. No one knows whether or not he always agrees with the President.

Mr. Nessen says now that the "job looks a lot different to me



Ron Nessen, White House press secretary, at the lectern as members of his staff stood in the doorway

The New York Times/Mike Lien

than it did when I came here, and I can no longer be precise about drawing the line between giving an explanation of the President's policies, which is my job, and salesmanship."

Nearly to a man most of the White House reporters believe that Mr. Nessen has become a salesman for the President's energy and economic policies. At a recent press briefing, for instance, he delivered a long commentary on the dangers of gasoline rationing—which the President opposes—and delivered it not in response to a reporter's question but because he wanted to.

He generally opens with a joke, partly because that's the nature of the man and partly as a device to relax the years of tension that developed between Mr. Ziegler and the White House press. Most reporters give him credit for relaxing the tensions, but seriously criticize the jokes.

On some occasions Mr. Nessen, who is known to have a rather volatile temper, can be preachy. Last month, for instance, he scolded a reporter, accusing him of being disrespectful in questioning Rogers C. B. Morton, the Secretary of the Interior. "I would like to remind you again of something I said before about the need for civility in the press room," the secretary said.

Another time, when a reporter started chuckling in a press briefing, Mr. Nessen snapped at him, "How would you answer that question if you were press secretary — a job you would dearly love to have?"

Some reporters feel that Mr. Nessen has a tendency to let his temper get the better of him. Thus, they feel, he overreacted when The Washington Star-News broke the White House release date on President Ford's budget yesterday. Because of that, Mr. Nessen ordered an advance copy of the President's Economic Message withheld from the paper until deadline time and banned the paper from a briefing on the message.

One of the complaints about the press secretary is that the press office he runs is inefficient. Thus, on President Ford's trip to the Far East last month, press briefings were often held in the middle of the night, some reporters were never told that the press briefings were being held and frequently neither Mr. Nessen nor his aides could be found to answer questions when they were needed. For all of this, he later apologized.

In his own defense, he says that the job of press secretary "looks fairly simple from the outside, but that it really involves complicated machinery" whose handling it took him some time to learn. Reporters generally agree with this assessment of the job.

There are areas in which Mr. Nessen deserves high praise, most White House reporters believe he has, for example, apparent ready access to the President, and when he speaks about how the President feels on some situation, reporters can be fairly sure that that indeed is how the President feels.

In fact, some members of the press corps criticize Mr. Nessen because they think that he is more concerned with helping to make policy than to giving out news about policy. Similar criticism has been made about other Presidential press secretaries.

At Mr. Nessen's suggestion, President Ford became the first President to allow "follow-up" questions at his news conferences, meaning that a reporter, after listening to the President's answers to a first question, could ask a second question on the subject.

On a recent day, for instance, there was a news article that the Chinese had canceled a contract to purchase 100,000 tons of wheat from the United States. At his press briefing, not one question was asked about it.

In the same day's papers, there were accounts of the withdrawal of 1,000 Turkish troops from Cyprus, about a Latin-American Foreign Ministers' meeting, about the United States' asking the Soviet Union to explain a possible violation of the 1972 agreement on limitation of strategic arms and about the White House's asking the courts to allow to send a substantial number of former President Nixon's papers to him in California.

Mr. Nessen cited a number of examples of news events in recent weeks on which he received no questions at his news briefings although he had been prepared, often with quotes from the President.

He arrives each day at the press briefing with a large loose-leaf notebook jammed with information, including long quotes from the President.

No Question on Topic

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An Open White House

Largely because of Mr. Ford the White House is probably more open to reporters than it has been since the early days of President Lyndon B. Johnson. That is because Mr. Ford does not seem either to fear or dislike reporters.

If the reporters have their usual complaints about the press secretary he in turn has some unusual complaints about them. Mr. Nessen says, for instance, that he spends about five hours each morning preparing for the morning press briefing and is "surprised how little homework the reporters do."

He has told friends that the caliber of questioning is such that most often he never gives out much more than 20 per cent of the answers he is prepared to make.

When asked about it he puts the percentage somewhat higher, concedes that "I was no better when I covered the White House" and adds that he is disappointed in the press corps.

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The briefing lasted 54 minutes, and not a question was asked about any of those news events, the official transcript of the briefing shows.

"The format of these briefings is question and answer, and it bothers me—the question how much should I volunteer when I'm waiting for questions?" Mr. Nessen says. "Where is the limit I fear if I volunteer people are going to say I'm using my friendship for the President, they are trying to manage the news. I can't tell the press what news they are not going to get out by not asking the questions."



Is Nessen the flat tire on Ford's wagon?

RON NESSEN is a pretty awful standup comedian. As White House press secretary he is held in contempt by a whopping majority of reporters who cover President Ford. And there's a prevailing opinion that he's totally dazzled by the glamor of his position and therefore more interested in pomp and circumstance than in the nuts and bolts of his job.

Less than five months after taking over as the President's news chief, Nessen appears to be in deep trouble with the White House press corps. But it's uncertain whether the friction endangers his job.

Virtually every White House reporter interviewed by this column had depressing words about the quality of Nessen's work. And surprisingly the harshest comments came from former TV colleagues of the ex-NBC reporter.

"MOST OF US see Nessen as a mediocre newsman who suddenly is in 'way over his head," declared one network veteran.

"He's more impressed with his title than he is with his job. In other words, he thinks he's an adviser to the President and he forgets that his job is to get the news out. He's basically a superficial guy, a little on the shallow side. He can't see beneath the surface."

Another White House correspondent was even more blunt. "Look," he said, "here's a little kid from Washington who grew up and never amounted to a great deal, and all of a sudden he's press secretary to the President — and he can't believe it! He just LOVES every minute of it! He's on a phenomenal ego trip and he's not doing a very good job."

NESSEN HAS a first-rate feud going with CBS correspondent Phil Jones, he's clashed on several occasions with his onetime NBC workmate Tom Brokaw, and he recently infuriated almost everybody with his inept performance during President Ford's globetrotting.

In Vladivostok, when Ford and Soviet leaders issued an important communique on nuclear arms, Nessen was too busy wining, dining, and sightseeing to put out the story properly. Newsmen had severe deadline problems as a result.

Time after time on the Asian tour, Nessen's staff was unavailable when needed, basic questions went unanswered, and reporters were forced to get along without advance texts of Presidential speeches.

One night in Korea, Nessen called a 1 a. m. news briefing. But when it became obvious that he had no real news and was miserably misinformed on many issues, the press corps got angry.

Gary
Deeb

TV-Radio critic



NBC CORRESPONDENT Brokaw asked a question, to which Nessen responded with a flip comment. Finally an irate Brokaw said, "Look, Ron — if you don't have any answers, you shouldn't wake us up in the middle of the night and bother us with smart-ass remarks."

Later Brokaw took Nessen by the elbow, pulled him aside, and privately told him, "You better shape up or you're gonna be in real trouble."

By the time Nessen got back to Washington, he recognized the seriousness of his situation. So he called a "minibriefing," apologized, admitted that he'd been too caught up in the festive life, and vowed to start doing his homework.

And he did — for a couple of weeks. "But now he's fallen back into his old bad habits," a TV newsman stated.

NESSEN'S DAILY White House press briefings give off a rather embarrassing amateur-hour aura these days. Coming on like Johnny Carson, he tries to lead off with a snappy joke but the humor invariably falls flat.

"Nobody ever laughs," reported one soberminded newsman. "In fact, some people make nasty remarks back to him but he just doesn't seem to understand. He doesn't take the hint.

"One of Ron's big problems is that he constantly gives wise-ass answers when he doesn't know something."

A case-in-point happened at a briefing at the President's Christmas retreat in Colorado. When a reporter grilled him for specifics on a particular story, Nessen hemmed and hawed. CBS newsman Phil Jones chortled softly in the front row.

Obviously unhappy at Jones' amusement, Nessen snapped: "Phil, how would you answer that question if you were press secretary — a job you would dearly love to have?"

"THAT PROBABLY is the classic example of how Ron Nessen really feels about himself," said a former network



According to his critics, Ron Nessen is no Johnny Carson — and not much of a press secretary.

colleague: "He feels that somehow he now has arrived at a pinnacle of power and prestige because he's press secretary."

And while resentment against Nessen steadily mounts, there nonetheless are no solid indications that President Ford is considering dumping him.

"There are people who think he's not going to last very long," said a newspaper reporter. "But I don't think Ron has destroyed himself yet. He tries hard. But I can't say there are many of us who respect him."



Letters may be condensed and those not published will be returned only when accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Letters to the Editor

Washington Star-News

Wednesday, February 19, 1975

Broken Embargo

To the Editor: So the *Star-News* was "punished" for allegedly breaking the White House-imposed embargo on President Ford's budget; further, that the newspaper must take the spears and arrows, that it was not given the economic report of the President, until later, and not allowed to attend the morning's briefing on the economic report by the President — orders of White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen. And, as further punishment, one of the *Star-News* reporters would not be allowed to ask questions.

Well, la-de-da! — and shades of the old past dirty tactics, when the same darn leaks have been known to be used by the government, as commonplace as an old shoe, to confound the public about issues, distorting views in its own favor!

Perhaps the *Star-News* was only hoping to give the people some truth, versus a White House-planned impact on the public, so let us not fool ourselves that the government also leaks its own propaganda, and therefore, in my opinion, is just as guilty, as the alleged charges against the *Star-News*!

Esther Oberteuffer.

Seaside, Ore.

* * * * *

To the Editor: So you "technically" violated the White House embargo on the budget, did you?

Come now — you know the rules. You cheated; and you paid the price. At least be big enough to admit it and not use space to cry wolf.

Every word you used to describe someone else's pettiness was really descriptive of your own childishness.

Jack L. Orton.

Alexandria, Va.

* * * * *

To the Editor: This is the second time that I have heard of Ron Nessen turning against someone of the press.

He's just a press secretary, not God; and the question is: Are you going to let him get away with this censure against you? If you do, he'll keep pouring it on.

I've never heard of any other press secretary doing what he did to your reporters.

You people ought to ask some of us down here in the middle ring of life in this country what we think of this so-called President and his group. He's no president, because we didn't have anything to say about it, and his press secretary certainly acted differently when he was asking the questions.

It's time you told Ron Nessen where to go. I'll back you.

Mrs. Arthur S. Gaines.

Long Beach, Calif.

* * * * *

To the Editor: At last I've seen it happen. I've been waiting for this chance to write and express my view of what seems to me the total irresponsibility of the press.

It has happened in many ways, including distortions, reckless embellishments and,

certainly, unsupported reporting — saying, "by a good source" or "unconfirmed information," etc. The day will come when the "freedom of the press" won't be so free — for the protection of the citizens.

I'm sure I'm not alone in my feelings toward the press.

J. A. Shea.

Long Beach, Calif.

* * * * *

To the Editor: It seems to this reader of your fine newspaper that you are somewhat defensive about the *Star-News* having broken the embargo on the President's budget message.

You justified it "because the President broke the embargo." The more that you write about the matter, the more the *Star-News* is made to appear defensive. Perhaps it would be better had you heeded what Ben Jonson once wrote: "The dignity of truth is lost with much protesting."

J. M. Forsman

Arlington, Va.

* * * * *

To the Editor: The recent reaction of the

White House to your reporter's handling of the budget affair was slightly ridiculous. Since when is it bad for a newsman to get a scoop? Looks as though your Fred Barnes is being singled out to head up a new "Enemies List." One is almost tempted to say, "Here we go again."

Mrs. John J. Bailer.

Maryland Park, Md.

* * * * *

To the Editor: Unbelievable! Isn't there any discipline or decorum that the press acknowledges. Committing the act, then writing it up, was bad enough. But your editorial "Live and Learn," was the last straw.

How can we expect a disciplined society when a major newspaper takes this attitude?

Hobart S. Sockman

Arlington, Va.

* * * * *

To the Editor: With respect to your editorial, "Live and Learn," I do not think the budget information should have been published before the deadline agreed upon with the White House press office.

In the first place, the majority of the news media's interpretation of important news is to a very great degree inaccurate and liberally slanted.

If you expect honor among people, you should practice it yourself.

The general public has lost faith in the news media and that, to a great degree, is the cause of many of our national troubles.

James A. Summers.

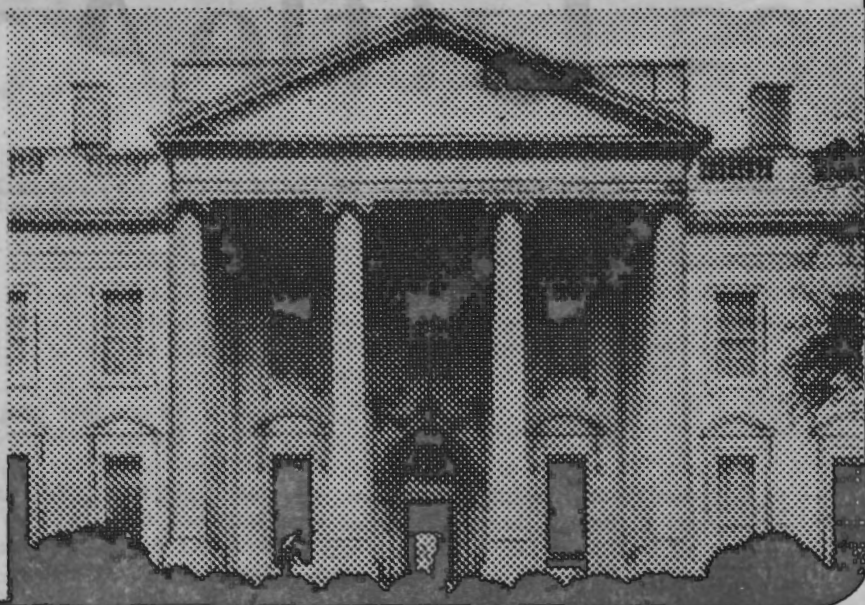
Gaithersburg, Md.



Sunday, March 2, 1975

PENNSYLVANIA AVE.

1600



Another Ron, but...

By Martin Schram

Newsday Washington Bureau Chief

Washington—It is after midnight and the makeshift press room in Florida's gaudy Diplomat Hotel is frayed and disheveled. The President's press secretary is looking much the same.

Ron Nessen is dragging on his third cigaret in a row, after giving his third briefing of the day, and the smoke he exhales cannot fight its way up through the stale haze. There are circles under his eyes; he is talking about finding the nearest bar; and he is admitting with some small discomfort that perhaps he did not handle the golf thing very well.

He did not.

The golf thing was not a big thing. But it was one of those little inoperatives that can, if allowed to accumulate, destroy the

credibility of even the most sincere and hard working of press secretaries.

Earlier last Tuesday, Nessen had been asked which came first: President Ford's decision to play in Jackie Gleason's golf tournament in South Florida, or his decision to have a White House Conference on domestic and economic policy in the same region at the same time. More bluntly, was the conference hastily set up to give Ford a legitimate reason to go to Florida for the golf tournament?

Nessen had bristled at the very suggestion. "It is simply not true," he said. "... The idea of coming here was on the schedule tentatively at least six weeks ago."

REPORTER: "And that was before

the President decided to play in the golf tournament?"

NESSEN: "Yes, he only decided to play in the golf tournament in the last couple of days."

The problem is that there is so much evidence to the contrary. For example:

• On Oct. 23, 1974, Ford wrote Jackie Gleason saying he looked forward to playing in the comedian's golf tournament on Wednesday, Feb. 26, according to *The Miami Herald*.

• On Jan. 15; Bill Nicholson, White House deputy director of scheduling, was quoted in *The Miami Herald* as saying: "The President does intend to participate [in Gleason's Inverrary golf tournament]. We have sent the Inverrary people a letter of acceptance to their invitation... But that far in advance, anything could happen, so we are not prepared to say that the President will definitely be there. We always make that disclaimer any time the President accepts an invitation for a future date. But barring anything unusual, the President will be there."

• On the day Nessen said the Florida conference had been in the works for "six weeks" and that Ford had decided to play golf just "in the last couple of days," the presidential assistant who runs the regional conferences, William J. Baroody Jr., said he had only been given "about two weeks notice to organize this one." And another White House official familiar with the situation said: "Normally we wouldn't have two conferences in the South back to back. [Ford addressed another in Atlanta on Feb. 3]. But we go where he goes, and he had committed himself to this golf thing."

So Nessen botched the golf thing. Botched it in a way that certainly would have evoked irritation—and perhaps a hissed profanity or two—from the Ron Nessen who was an NBC reporter just a few months ago.

Nessen appears to have worked harder than many people give him credit for—to assure that the Ford White House is an open one. He has been able to achieve a good bit of success, of course; because Ford is the sort of President who,

—Continued on Page 7R

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Another Ron, but...

—Continued from Page 1

unlike Richard Nixon, wants it that way.

Nessen was fond of saying when he began his job that he was another Ron but not another Ziegler.

But he has also shown on occasion a tendency to "ziegle"—a word reporters coined to describe the way Nixon's press secretary used to dodge and evade.

Consider this exchange at a Feb. 7 briefing, after Nessen voluntarily issued a presidential statement defending Secretary of State Kissinger from criticism by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.).

Q: Did Dr. Kissinger have any role in writing this statement?

Nessen: That is a statement the President wants made clear.

Q: ... Could I renew [the] question, which you did not answer ... ?

Nessen: It is a statement that comes out of my office.

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Nessen: The Secretary of State did not draft this statement.

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White House officials have since confirmed that Kissinger was indeed consulted at least once before the statement was issued.

Epilogue: When a reporter told Nessen

the other day that he was planning to write "a story about you, a Nessen story," the press secretary flew into a sudden rage.

"Jesus Christ!" he said, as two other Ford aides looked on, apparently startled. "Another one! ... I know what you're going to write—that I have a bad personality; that I have a temper; that I am arrogant; and did I bomb out at NBC? Well goddammit, if I can quote a previous administration [meaning Nixon's]. 'Watch what we do and not what we say'"

What Nessen should keep in mind, however, is that no matter how well-intentioned and hard-working he is, one fact cannot be escaped: the truest measure of how a spokesman does is what he says.

Martin Schram, Bureau Chief

Washington Bureau
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW - Suite 304
Washington, D. C. 20006
Telephone: (202) 223-8410

March 4, 1975

Mr. Ronald Nessen
Press Secretary to
the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ron:

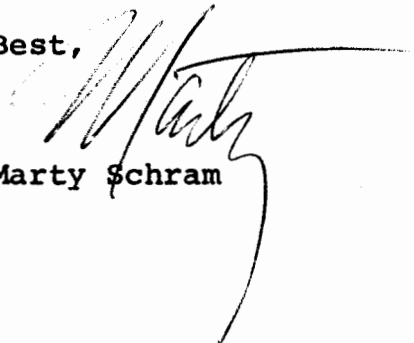
Thought you'd like to see this.

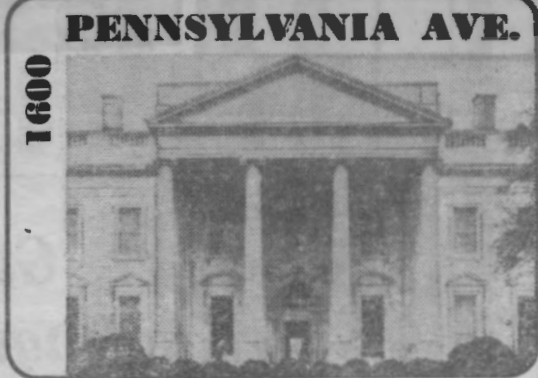
It's the standard moan of the print media that the copy desk exorcists pencil the most crucial prose for the sake of space. But unfortunately, that happened to a couple of grafs in this -- and they were the ones in which I went on to list the accomplishments made in the name of White House openness.

All that means is that: (1) apologies for the omission of these pluses; and (2) I'll have to do a piece on openness at the White House real soon.

Hope you're in good spirits.

Best,


Marty Schram



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Newsday/

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW - Suite 304
Washington, D. C. 20006

Martin Schram, Bureau Chief

Telephone (202) 223-8410

March 12, 1975

Ron --

Here's the dropping of the other shoe.
Unlike Part I, I think you'll find this a rather
comfortable old slipper.

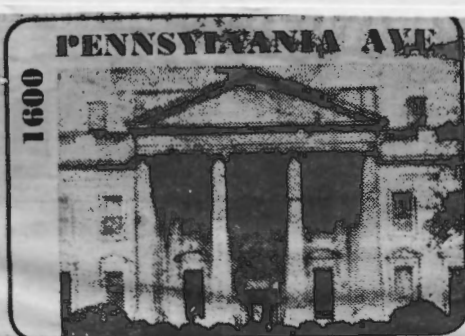
See you around.

Best,

Marty



DR
F. V. I.
R.H.N.



For Openers, Problems

By Martin Schram

Newsday Washington Bureau Chief

Washington—From his seat near the center of power, in the Men's Room of the White House Executive Office Building, the Ford aide could hear quite well.

"You know what that sonovabitch Rumsfeld has done now?" one Nixon holdover was asking another as they strode into the echoing, high-ceilinged room in mid-conversation. "He's put out a floor plan and a telephone directory. Given the press all of our names, offices, and phone numbers!"

This was last December and indeed Donald Rumsfeld, President Ford's chief of staff, had done just that. Done it at the urging of Press Secretary Ronald Nessen and with the approval of the President.

The Case of the Telephone Directories is one of a score of examples that point to a rare occurrence in Washington: a promise kept.

"We will have an open . . . administration," Ford promised on the day of his inauguration. And whatever problems have befallen him since, he has managed to make good on that pledge.

Item: It used to be that a copy of a Nixon daily news summary was harder to obtain in Washington than a copy of a Ho Chi Minh captured document. Now all a reporter has to do is ask; Nessen's press office will hand him a copy of the same summary that the President received that morning—a no-punches-pulled compilation by the White House staff of what the newspapers and networks are saying about the President. Even what the cartoonists are drawing.

Item: What with press conferences, interviews, and a few private lunches with journalists, Ford has been submitting himself to questioning by reporters at a clip approaching one a week. In fact, Walter Cronkite has a longstanding invitation to interview Ford on CBS but has not yet set a date, in part because the specter of an interview with the President no longer generates the spark and excitement it once did.

Item: Many of the President's closed meetings with elected officials have taken on a quasi-open quality. Nessen, a former reporter with NBC, sits in on Ford's meetings around the country with governors, mayors, and other elected officials and takes notes. Afterwards, he comes out and briefs the press on what was said. While it is true that this glimpse into the meeting is seen through the eyes of the President's press agent, nevertheless Nessen has faithfully reported a number of comments of criticism—about how the Mayor of Dade County (Fla.) "complained that there was too much red tape and delay . . . especially (by) HUD" and that the Mayor of Miami told Ford at one point "I question why housing is down the scale of priorities."

It is the style of the man that has led Ford's administration to take on a certain open quality in its internal operations as well. For while Richard Nixon preferred to make decisions on the basis of "action papers" and conferences with one or two of his top advisers—Haldeman, Ehrlichman or Kissinger—Ford prefers a different approach. He likes to do things in person, not on paper, whenever possible. And he likes to do things in groups—

gathering perhaps a half dozen or more people in a meeting to talk a problem out and arrive at a decision.

"I cannot remember a single time when Richard Nixon made a decision in one of our meetings," said a former member of the Cost of Living Council. "Those meetings that the President attended with us were really just for briefings and a photo opportunity."

Not so with Ford. A meeting in the Cabinet Room last Tuesday, for example, was called to hammer out a public jobs plan. Ford was there, and so were seven top advisers. The decision: ask Congress for \$2 billion for public service jobs.

The politics of openness is not without its problems. "The biggest problem with doing things the way we do is the leaks—the goddam leaks," said one White House official who works closely with Ford. "When you let so many people in on policy deliberations, someone's bound to slip something out."

Among the leaks that nettled the President and his men were the early stories that appeared in December and outlined the tax cut plans Ford hoped to unveil with much fanfare in the State of the Union address a month later. This led to a public relations war between the White House and the Capitol Hill Democrats to see who could grab the credit first for the tax cut plan.

Another problem is that various officials tend to amplify on their views in public—and often this results in administration officials airing conflicting views on the same issue.

Some who have the President's respect and attention, reportedly including private citizen Melvin Laird, have recently warned Ford to curb some of this openness (at least the open dialogue) lest he appear to be a weak leader—a leader not in full control.

Then there is another factor: the possibility, as one aide noted, of overexposure. Perhaps John F. Kennedy could hop around the country dining with governors and breakfasting with editors and holding press conferences and it would be heralded as a bold, brave new people-to-people presidency. But Ford actually does this, and although he is received warmly at each stop, after awhile the networks are making video tapes of his appearances rather than showing them live.

The possibility of presidential overexposure is not lost on the President. After Thursday night's press conference (where there were actually a few empty seats), Ford stepped down off the podium and began chatting casually—at times putting an arm on a reporter's shoulder, at times breaking into a guffaw—with the men and women who had just spent a half hour firing away at his Cambodia policy. It was unlike anything that happened after the Nixon press conferences; it was instead like a golfer loosening up with his friends after holing out on the 18th green.

"Y'know?" Ford said at one point. "I hear that you guys are running out of things to ask me."

"No," a reporter assured him, "there's still a question or two left."

"Okay then," said the President, turning to leave. "See you. See you soon."



March 28, 1975

Dear Ted:

Thank you for the tear sheets of the column you did about me. It certainly got good play.

I appreciate the kind things you said about the Press Office operation. We are trying very hard to maintain our credibility and to meet the complaints which have been voiced in other columns and TV broadcasts.

I think we are making slow headway, and in this difficult aftermath of Watergate and Vietnam I appreciate the support of perceptive reporters like you.

Sincerely,

Ron Nessen
Press Secretary to the
President

Mr. Ted Knap
Scripps-Howard Newspapers
1200 Wyatt Building
777 Fourteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

RN/cg





SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1200 WYATT BUILDING
777 FOURTEENTH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

Wednesday, March 26

Ron,

Enclosed are a few sample tear sheets
of the column I did about you.

Thanks for your help, and best regards,

Ted

ted knap



Nessen earns high marks for credibility

By TED KNAP

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

RON NESSEN HAS BEEN President Ford's press secretary for nearly six months, and the credibility of both remains intact.

That may sound like faint praise. But considering what happened to the previous two presidents and their several press secretaries, it is a strong plaudit for Ford and Nessen.

Nessen deserves high marks for being a good reporter of the President's views on issues of the day, which, after all, is supposed to be the main function of a press aide. That's more important than "getting along" with the White House correspondents, which Nessen does not always do.

Nessen gives accurate and fairly detailed accounts of Cabinet meetings and presidential sessions with bipartisan congressional leaders, including quotes from the President and other participants.

HE DOES NOT INTERFERE with, and sometimes encourages, newsmen's efforts to get information from other White House officials. Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, a damper was put on such relations by requiring staff members to report any and all contacts with the press. Under President Richard M. Nixon, an even tighter lid was maintained by regarding newsmen as enemies.

There is less hostility at the daily press briefings than during Nixon's last two years, when Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler was transmitting lies about Watergate and the President was avoiding press conferences for five months at a time. Ford has been holding press conferences about twice a month, and is much more available in other ways as well.

The resumption of openness is due more to Ford than to his staff; his first presidential press secretary, J.F. terHorst, was every bit as open as Nessen and had a better store of knowledge about Ford and the workings of Washington.

Unlike terHorst, who quit in protest of Ford's pardon of Nixon, Nessen says it is "irrelevant" what a press secretary thinks about the President's policies or decisions.

A standard question to press secretaries is: "Whom do you serve — the President or the public?"

WHEN HE TOOK OVER last September, former UPI and NBC reporter Nessen said his primary function would be to serve the public. Later he said he served three masters — the public, the press corps and the President, adding: "It's one of the most difficult things about the job."

Now he says he serves both the public and the President, without "any occasion when I have had to choose clearly between the two."

Nessen has almost complete access to Ford, so he doesn't get his views filtered through others. And from all reports, Ford places little or no restriction on how Nessen handles the dissemination of his views.

RESTRAINTS AND PRESSURES do come from Counselor Robert Hartmann, Chief of Staff Donald H. Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Nessen has a big staff of 45, and appears to have organized it fairly well. A reporter calling one of his assistants, particularly John Carlson, Bill Roberts or Larry Speakes, is likely to get information instead of a runaround. As a result the public gets more accurate and more complete information about what the White House is doing.

Nessen and his staff are no different from other flacks in that they try to put

the best face on what their boss is doing. It is up to reporters to weed out what is merely self-serving.

The low point in Nessen's effectiveness came after the meeting in Vladivostok between Ford and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev. Nessen said the press was "dazzled" by the new arms agreement and predicted Ford would "return home in triumph." Twice in the presence of newsmen Nessen said the agreement was "something Nixon couldn't do in five years, but Ford did it in three months."

Nessen's customary confidence had turned to cockiness. Days later he apologized and gave Nixon due credit for initiating the arms pact.

"I will never knowingly lie to you, never knowingly mislead," Nessen told White House newsmen on his first day.

He is more sensitive about his reputation for veracity than anything else.

WHEN THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER Enterprise left the Philippines a few months ago amid speculation it was going to Vietnam, Nessen was told by a national security aide that it was not.

"If you're lying to me," Nessen warned, "you or I are going to have to get out of here."

When CBS carried a report that the White House was publicly optimistic but privately pessimistic about Cambodia, Nessen took great pains to point out that Ford had said in public as well as in private that Cambodia could only "hope" to survive "until the rainy season" and then seek negotiations.

A crucial test of credibility came early in January when Ford had decided to abandon his plan to seek a tax increase to fight inflation and switched to a tax decrease to fight the recession.

"Isn't that a 180-degree turnaround?" Nessen was asked.

"Well, let's say 179 degrees," he replied.



Knap

March 18, 1975



Nessen Survives The Test

Press Secretary
Keeps Credibility

By TED KNAP
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

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That may sound like faint praise. But considering what happened to the previous two presidents



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Mr. Nessen deserves high marks for being a good reporter of the President's views on issues of the day, which, after all, is supposed to be the main function of a press aide.

That's more important than "getting along" with the White House correspondents, which Mr. Nessen does not always do.

Mr. Nessen does not interfere with, and sometimes encourages, newsmen's efforts to get information from other White House officials.

Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, a damper was put on such relations by requiring staff members to report any and all contacts with the press. Under President Richard M. Nixon, an even tighter lid was maintained by regarding newsmen as enemies.

Less Hostility

There is less hostility at the daily press briefings than during Mr. Nixon's last two years, when press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler was transmitting lies about Watergate and the President was avoiding press conferences for five months at a time.

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Unlike Mr. terHorst, who quit in protest of Mr. Ford's pardon of Mr. Nixon, Mr. Nessen says it is "irrelevant" what a press secretary thinks about the President's policies or decisions.

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—Section A—Page Eight

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A crucial test of credibility came early in January when Ford had decided to abandon his plan to seek a tax increase to fight inflation and switched to a tax decrease to fight the recession.

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"Well, let's say 179 degrees," he replied.



Nessen Earns 'A' In Functions Of Press Aide



By TED KNAP
Scrapps-Howard Staff

WASHINGTON — Ron Nessen has been President Ford's press secretary for nearly six months and the credibility of both remains intact.

That may sound like faint praise. But considering what happened to the previous two presidents and their several press secretaries, it is a strong plaudit for Ford and Nessen.

Nessen deserves high marks for being a good reporter of the President's views on issues of the day, which, after all, is supposed to be the main function of a press aide. That's more important than "getting along" with the White House Correspondents, which Nessen does not always do.

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NESSEN gives accurate and fairly detailed accounts of Cabinet meetings and presidential sessions with bipartisan congressional leaders, including quotes from the President and other participants.

He does not interfere with, and sometimes encourages, newsmen's efforts to get information from other White House officials. Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, a damper was put on such relations by requiring staff members to report any and all contacts with the press. Under President Richard M. Nixon, an even tighter lid was maintained by regarding newsmen as enemies.

There's less hostility at the daily press briefings than during Nixon's last two years, when Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler was tantamounting lies about Watergate and the President was avoiding press conferences for five months at a time. Ford has been holding press conferences about twice a month and is much more available in other ways as well.

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Daily News Tribune

A Scripps-Howard Newspaper

'Give Light And The People Will Find Their Own Way'

Alfred L. Hewitt, Editor

Fred Serrot, Vice President

C-14 Wednesday, March 19, 1975

North Orange County, Calif.

The Health Care Scandal

It's sad, but unalterably true, that when large sums of money are appropriated for government projects, some people will always find ways of getting more than their share.

In a country as vast as ours, the number of taps leaking taxpayers' hard-earned dollars is enormous. And downright scandalous.

The government's health care programs, Medicare (for the elderly) and Medicaid (for the poor) are no exceptions.

In recent days, readers of News Tribune have had an opportunity to judge the magnitude of the health care scandal from articles by Dan Thomasson and Carl West, Scripps-Howard investigative reporters.

Unlike chiselers in other government aid programs such as welfare, the serpents in the health care Eden are not generally the recipients for whom the programs were designed.

In Medicare and Medicaid, the malefactors are the unscrupulous doctors, dentists, podiatrists, therapists of all sorts, pharmacists, medical laboratories and others who cheat the government by grossly inflating the bills they render for payment by the government treasuries.

And in some cases there are third parties involved who share the loot.

These are the agencies to which the inflated bills are "factored" for collection in exchange for a cut of the exorbitant fees.

Taken together, the various schemes add up to a multimillion-dollar escalation of the cost of public health care beyond the legitimate bill for the programs.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), which administers the programs, has a staff of investigators to monitor the use of federal funds for health care. But there are only 60 investigators to cover the entire country, manifestly a woefully insufficient force for the job.

And meanwhile, the chiselers go their merry way. The needy are receiving care, of course, but at costs that are mockery of ethical practices.

Obviously, HEW must beef up its staff of investigators. But beyond that, the American Medical Association and the various state professional societies must assume a far greater burden of responsibility for nailing the financial malpractice of their members and thus help stem the increasingly dangerous drain on the already flattened public pocket-book.

the event anyone couldn't understand the printed words.

Boiled down, the new White House code is referred to as "Rumsfeld's Law," and it abjures one and all that if there's any doubt about the correctness of an action "don't do it."

One staff members's reaction was: "If we have to be told what is ethical and what isn't, we don't belong here in the first place."

He's quite right, of course.

However Rumsfeld's Law is surely a far better rule for public servants than the apocryphal 13th Commandment, which of late has been observed most often in the breach. It says, simply: "Don't get caught."

'What Was Good Enough For Our Forebears Is Good Enough For Me'



WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

A Plot by KGB to Kill Nixon Revealed

By JACK ANDERSON with LES WHITTEN
WASHINGTON — The Soviet KGB had a contingency plan to kill Richard Nixon if he had been elected President in 1960, a big Russian intelligence officer has told the CIA.

The Nixon murder plot was described to incredulous CIA agents by Anatol Golytsyn, a former KGB major, who defected to the United States from his post in Helsinki, Finland, in the early 1960s.

He gave American agents other valuable intelligence, which has turned out to be completely accurate. Our sources, therefore, believe his story about the Nixon assassination plan.

Golytsyn's own view was that the plan, although bizarre, was deadly serious. He attributed it to the late Nikita Khrushchev, then the cock of the Kremlin, whom Golytsyn understood to be somewhat deranged. In those days, Nixon had the reputation as an implacable foe of the Soviet Union.

The Russian major also told CIA agents that the hot-tempered Khrushchev had talked about eliminating the brilliant ballet dancer, Rudolf Nureyev, after he defected to the West. The worried Golytsyn tried to warn Nureyev of the possibility, according to our sources, although they don't know whether the warning ever reached Nureyev.

For years, Golytsyn's spectacular revelations have been hidden away in the CIA's files. But after stories about the CIA's assassination attempts hit the headlines, CIA sources confided Golytsyn's KGB assassination tales to us.

The former KGB officer was one of the highest ranking Soviet defectors in CIA

say. Part of the money was spent on an ingenious scheme to sneak him and his family to the United States.

By comparison, a far more publicized defector, Peter Deriabin, was paid only \$25,000. Our sources agree, however, that the taxpayers got their money's worth from Golytsyn.

During 18 months of debriefing, Golytsyn blew the cover on one dangerous Communist spy operation after another. Our sources say he helped identify members of the notorious "Sapphire" Soviet ring, which became the model, in part, for the novel and movie "Topaz."

Britain's Kim Philby and Sweden's Stig Eric Wennerstrom, two of the most celebrated Soviet international agents, were exposed with the help of Golytsyn, as well as lesser spies in Germany, France and NATO.

IN TIME, THE STRONG-WILLED Golytsyn tired of CIA surveillance and decided to take his complaints to the late Robert Kennedy, then the Attorney General. The defector was housed within walking distance of Kennedy's home in northern Virginia and visited with him either at his home or in another private place, our sources recall.

Golytsyn also drafted a long letter laying out his problems to Kennedy and expressed his pique to John McCone, then the CIA head. This upset the CIA agents who had gone to such lengths to protect him as hiring rent-a-cars to visit him so the tag numbers couldn't be traced back to "security" cars.

They agreed to let him go to Britain, however for further debriefing by the British. Our sources say he was last

reported near Nixon's California residence in the 1960s. CIA agents close to Golytsyn thought at first that the KGB might have caused it. A CIA spokesman had no comment on Golytsyn's disclosures.

SHAN CONNECTION: The colorful Shan guerrillas have made another signed, secret offer to sell most of the Southeast Asian opium crop to the U.S. government at the prevailing black market price. This would dry up 20 per cent of the heroin supply now reaching the United States.

The Shan hillmen are willing to back up their offer, moreover, by attacking any other convoys that try to bring opium out of the back country.

The offer has been relayed to Washington through Rep. Lester Wolff, D.-N.Y., chairman of a House narcotics subcommittee and the House's leading expert on Burma-Thai-Laos opium production.

It has been submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in a secret subcommittee report, signed by Chairman Wolff, Rep. Morgan Murphy, D.-Ill., and Rep. J. Herbert Burke, R.-Fla.

A similar offer was rejected by the U.S. government in August, 1973. With the lifting of the ban on opium growing in Turkey, however, the United States can expect a flood of illegal heroin, which is refined from the opium.

To buy up the Shan's opium crop would cost \$24 million, double the 1973 price. "It is important to note," explains the secret report, "that . . . the Shans will be receiving the market price for opium that they would have otherwise sold on the

WASHINGTON CALLING

By The Washington Staff Of Scripps-Howard Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Postal strike by mid summer is real possibility.

Hardnosed new Postmaster General Ben Bailar and powerful postal unions are on collision course. Issue isn't money; it's job protection vs. plans by Bailar to hike productivity.

Postal strike is banned by law, but two biggest postal unions have already served notice: no contract, no work. Present contract expires July 20.

Threat is taken seriously by Bailar. If one comes there'll be quick embargo of nonessential mail, use of National Guard to deliver mail.

New postage rate increase will come soon — first class probably going up to 13 cents an ounce — and mail volume is expected to shrink two-to-three per cent because of it.

Unions charge Bailar will use volume drop to institute labor-saving programs, seek repeal of no-layoff provision of Postal Reorganization Law, consolidate home delivery routes. Any plan to cut work force would trigger strike, unions warn.

Wage demands probably will add as much as \$1.5 billion to deficit-ridden Postal Service's budget, and Bailar insists public will demand he drive hard bargain.

LOOK FOR GASOLINE prices to go up about a nickel a gallon by May 1, thanks to Federal Energy Administration (FEA).

Determined to trim gasoline use any way it can, FEA will soon order refiners to pour all their increased costs into gasoline prices, leaving stable the price of other petroleum products.

FEA's aim, according to some sources, is to drive up gasoline prices four to six cents a gallon by the time the summer driving season begins. Gasoline prices, which peaked at national average of 56 cents a gallon for regular last summer, have eased to 53-cent average.

ADMINISTRATION gets behind House Ways and Means Committee energy plan involving gradual phase-in of higher energy prices.

Plan shapes up like this: — Gradual instead of sudden lifting of controls on oil brought in from pre-1973 wells. Gradual phase-in of gasoline tax, beginning next year at five cents a gallon, stepping up to maximum of 25 cents by 1978. Tax for first 500 gallons a year would be rebated through income tax deductions.

— No new tariffs on overseas crude oil but a higher duty on refined petroleum imports, to encourage refinery construction in the United States.

But that's only a plan: Stiff tax and price increases for energy will be tough to sell to rank-and-file members of Congress.

INVITE A SENATOR to dinner. Frantic over deepening divisions within Senate Republican ranks, a split widened

Rumsfeld's Law

At his first White House news conference, President Ford was asked whether he planned to set up a code of ethics for the executive branch of government.

His admirably succinct reply was: "The code of ethics that will be following will be the example that I set."

After the object lessons of Watergate, that should have been enough to cover all contingencies.

But apparently Donald H. Rumsfeld, White House chief of staff, didn't think so. He has prepared a book listing standards of conduct for White House employes, and set up lectures to explain what they mean in

Hanoi And The Missing

For the first time North Vietnam has said publicly it has information about Americans listed as missing in action in Indochina.

Hanoi's Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh made the statement in a letter to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, who had written asking for information on missing American servicemen and a number of journalists who disappeared in Cambodia.

Trinh made clear that Hanoi would not give any information about the missing until Washington forced

President Nguyen Van Thieu out of office in South Vietnam and ceased sending military aid to his country.

That was, of course, a callous effort to use the anguish and uncertainty of families of missing men for political and military blackmail.

One wonders if those Americans in Congress and elsewhere who never fail to denounce real or imagined violations of civil rights by Saigon will have anything to say about Hanoi's latest "humanitarian" ploy.

The Mailbag

SMOG DEVICES

Editor, News Tribune:

I am writing in regard to the mandatory installation of useless \$35 smog devices on 1966-1970 vehicles. I believe it is a waste of money for me and a profiting business for the company that manufactures them. It will decrease my miles per gallon, which isn't too good right now any way. It is a fact that this smog device creates more lead to smother our already filthy cities than the cars without them do now.

The State Transportation Committee members in Sacramento do not live in the basin and they aren't required to install one. I feel that if they were in contact with the situation, they too would see it as a waste of time and money for many.

SHAY SEAMAN
Fullerton

COSTLY ASSISTANCE

Editor, News Tribune:

On Wednesday, March 12, my daughter found a dog (a little brown wire-haired terrier) on Imperial Highway near Kellogg Drive. The dog had been hit by a car. It was still alive, but badly injured.

We took the dog to a veterinarian who treated it for numerous lacerations.

On Friday the doctor released the dog. On Saturday an article appeared in the

Daily News Tribune saying, "Pooch Injured, Owners Sought". No one called to claim their dog.

On Sunday, March 16., the dog went into convulsions. After calling nine veterinary exchanges we finally reached a doctor who agreed to see the dog after explaining the circumstances.

I left the dog with the veterinarian and when I arrived home decided to call and see how the dog was doing. The doctor informed me that so far the bill would be \$87 for the first 24 hours, but that he had already done that amount of work.

Is it right to leave a dog dying in the street?

Is it right to be charged an outrageous price for a dog that you are trying to help?

What can be done?

MARYELLEN REID
Yorba Linda

CRITICAL OF CARTOON

Editor, News Tribune:

Your Friday editorial page had a joke-cartoon with abortion as the subject matter. To those of us who agonize over the thousands of fetal deaths each year, such callous humor is sickening.

First abortion is accepted, then eulogized. Next, the butt of jokes?

You run a good paper. It is professional and mature, as much as the biggest city newspapers. It generally is in good taste, so please continue to screen your material, to withhold such that is totally offensive to readers who are sensitive to fetal carnage.

FRANCES FEELEY
Fullerton

SPEEDY RESPONSE

Editor, News Tribune:

Tragedy is a news item until it strikes home as it did in my family Tuesday night.

A distraught phone call to the nearest hospital suggested a call to the paramedics. Before I had hung up I heard the engines start on the trucks. By the time I had made my way to the front of the house I heard the sirens approach.

My thanks to the Fullerton Fire Department and their paramedics.

V. L. MINKS
Fullerton

history. The United States paid him \$200,000 in compensation and spent at least \$500,000 more to protect him, our sources

reported living in the United States under a superbly contrived false identity. Footnote: When a forest fire was

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WHITE HOUSE WATCH

So Far, Ron Nessen Gets High Marks

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Long, Long Ago

As taken from the files of the News Tribune

40 YEARS AGO

A broad program to eliminate war profits was put forward by the Senate Munitions Committee today after a six-month investigation of arms manufacturers.

Editorial — Hitler stirs Europe by a proclamation repudiating those clauses of the Versailles Treaty which limit German armament and the size of Germany's army.

30 YEARS AGO

The state assembly today defeated a motion to bring tax reduction bills favored for early passage by Gov. Earl Warren to a vote later this week.

American submarines have sunk 15 more Japanese ships, including five combat vessels, the Navy announced today.

20 YEARS AGO

The Air Force disclosed last night that U.S. combat planes are now operating from a new air base at Adana, Turkey, only 500 miles from the Russian border.

Orange County's oil well yesterday hit a stream of oil-bearing sand that could produce from 200 to 400 barrels of high quality crude daily.

10 YEARS AGO

Two U.S. astronauts and a moon probe, badly upstaged by a Russian who does summersaults in space, will try to save a little national face in a cosmic doubleheader starting Sunday.

The Community Center Authority of Anaheim yesterday elected officers and called for bids on the city's proposed convention center.

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"Well, let's say 179 degrees," he replied.



'Who's had the Pope's file?'

by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller's controversial ruling during Senate fight over easing filibuster rule, Republican senators plan series of informal dinner parties in effort to clear air. Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., Tenn., former Sen. Marlow Cook, Ky., came up with idea to hold four dinner parties, inviting a few Senate Republicans and Rockefeller to each.

Parties would be held at homes of Baker, Sen. Charles Percy, Ill.; Roman Hruska, Neb., Assistant Senate Republican Leader Robert Griffin, Mich. Parties would be stag, no staff allowed, no-holds-barred discussion encouraged.

Rockefeller likes idea.

NOTE: Vice President is still trying to justify his Senate rulings to anyone who will listen. At recent Cabinet meeting he used pointer and elaborate charts to outline his options in each situation. Those who attended said presentation took an hour or so. Said one in attendance: "I think I heard someone snoring."

PENTAGON officials, nettled by constant antimilitary barbs from Rep. Les Aspin, D-Wis., chortle at Army Times newspaper story saying Aspin drew a \$300 uniform allowance when he was in Army but bought no uniform. Army Times said Aspin, who worked mostly in mufti at Pentagon, said he borrowed a uniform when he needed one. Aspin later said he was misquoted by Army Times, said he told newspaper he never had a uniform that fit.

WILL CURRENT North Vietnamese offensive in South Vietnam turn into go-for-broke 1968 Tet-type drive? Pentagon doesn't think so but watches for these clues:

— Will Hanoi beef up its draft and training effort for a long campaign? Last North Vietnamese draft was in January.

— Will Communists move warplanes to captured South Vietnamese base at Khe Sahn?

North Vietnamese are gaining ground and hurting South Vietnamese morale. And all the familiar names are back in the news: Rockets destroying planes at Pleiku, Bien Hoa, Danang. Tay Ninh falling, high ground around Phu Bai and Hue imperiled.

HOUSE SUPERINTENDENT moves to spike age-old Capitol Hill ripoff involving free picture frames for congressional aides.

Aides — and sometimes their bosses — have routinely ordered their own pictures framed at taxpayer expense in the House carpenter shop. Staffers would use the boss' name, and carpenters asked no questions.

Superintendent now demands written signed order from the lawmaker with each order. "That will cut out a lot of free-loading," said one aide, optimistically.

THE DAY PRESIDENT Ford through a spokesman complained that the Senate planned to take an Easter vacation without finishing the tax bill, Vice President Rockefeller left for a four-day jaunt to Dorado Beach, Puerto Rico, and White House was arranging for Ford to spend 10 days in Sunny Palm Springs, Calif., beginning Good Friday.

Another View



'At the age of 45 it will be hard to get up on my own two feet and learn to walk'

Birmingham Post-Herald

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD Newspaper

DUARD LE GRAND

Editor

Owned and published daily (except Sunday) by Birmingham Post Co., 2200 Fourth-av, n, Birmingham, Alabama 35202.

Member of United Press International, Associated Press, Scripps-Howard Newspapers and NEA Service, Inc., which organizations retain exclusive rights to all news and features credited to them. Member Audit Bureau of Circulation. Telephone 325-2222.

W. H. METZ

Vice President

"Give light and the people will find their own way"

PAGE A4

Tuesday, March 18, 1975

Support the schools

Next Tuesday, Birmingham voters will have the opportunity to help improve the Birmingham School System. They can provide this help by voting for a five-mill property tax—proceeds of which will finance the accreditation of elementary schools.

Money and accreditation are not cures for what ails public education. But without the money and the foundation which accreditation represents, the schools cannot provide the education which we have a right to expect.

Accreditation means that the schools have the basic facilities and personnel to meet the needs of their students. It means libraries, the size of classes and the training of teachers and other staff members meet minimum standards. The fact that Birmingham's elementary schools cannot presently meet these standards means our young people are being deprived of the education they deserve and need.

The administrative staff of the Birmingham School System, under the leadership of Dr. Wilmer S. Cody, has laid the groundwork for achieving accreditation. Studies of what is needed are complete and plans have been made to improve our schools. All it takes to begin is money.

Goodies for everyone

Congress is playing an irresponsible game of giftmanship in its frantic effort to slash taxes, stimulate the economy and put an end to the business recession.

The motto now seems to be goodies for everyone — and don't worry about running up the federal deficit.

Spending fever is rampant in the Senate, where a tax cut of more than \$30 billion is taking shape. That's double what President Ford had in mind and about \$10 billion more than the House already has approved.

Among the Senate proposals is a neat little budget-buster that would offer tax credits as high as \$2,000 to any family

While new taxes are never popular, the need for this tax outweighs any arguments to the contrary. Birmingham's property taxes for schools have not been increased in the last 50 years with the result that local support of the school system has fallen to below 15 per cent of the system's budget. This is far less than it should be in a school system that strives for excellence and our support of education is below the average for the Southeast.

The choice of the property tax to bring in an additional \$3 million reflects the sound thinking of local education officials. This tax is less regressive than other available sources of revenue. Property taxes in Birmingham and Alabama are far below the national average. A person who owns a \$20,000 home would pay only an additional \$20 per year if this tax is approved.

A city which seeks to be a national leader must have an adequate public education system. The accreditation of our elementary schools would set us back on the path of good public education where we were once a leader.

For the sake of our children and ourselves, the five-mill property tax should be approved by the voters. It will help make a better community.

taxpayers the option of taking a \$200 tax credit for each dependent instead of a \$750 deduction.

This simply decreases tax revenues at a time when the federal deficit is fast approaching \$1 billion a week.

Not to be outdone by the Senate, the House has come up with some quick fixes of its own.

One is for the federal government to buy 121,000 new cars and trucks at a cost of \$443 million, whether it needs them or not.

Another is to subsidize mortgage rates so that families can buy new houses at 6 or 7 per cent interest instead of 9 per cent or more.

Nessen winning high marks as White House press secretary

By Ted Knap

Scripps-Howard Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Ron Nessen has been President Ford's press secretary for nearly six months, and the credibility of both remains intact.

That may sound like faint praise. But considering what happened to the previous two presidents and their several press secretaries, it is a strong plaudit for Ford and Nessen.

Nessen deserves high marks for being a good reporter of the President's

views filtered through others. And from all reports, Ford places little or no restriction on how Nessen handles the dissemination of his views.

Restraints and pressure do come from Counselor Robert Hartmann, Chief of Staff Donald H. Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Nessen has a big staff of 45, and appears to have organized it fairly well. A reporter calling one of his assistants, particularly John Carlson, Bill Roberts or Larry Speakes, is likely to get information instead of a runaround. As a result the public gets more accurate and more complete information about what the White House is doing.

Nessen and his staff are no different from other flacks in that they try to put the best face on what their boss is doing. It is up to reporters to weed out what is merely self-serving.

White House Watch

views on issues of the day, which, after all, is supposed to be the main function of a press aide. That's more important than "getting along" with the White House correspondents, which Nessen does not always do.

Nessen gives accurate and fairly detailed accounts of Cabinet meetings and presidential sessions with bipartisan congressional leaders, including quotes from the President and other participants.

He does not interfere with, and sometimes encourages, newsmen's efforts to get information from other White House officials. Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, a damper was put on such relations by requiring staff members to report any and all contacts with the press. Under President Richard M. Nixon, an even tighter lid was maintained by regarding newsmen as enemies.

There is less hostility at the daily press briefings than during Nixon's last two years, when Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler was transmitting lies about Watergate and the President was avoiding press conferences for five months at a time. Ford has been holding press conferences about twice a month, and is much more available in other ways as well.

The resumption of openness is due more to Ford than to his staff; his first presidential press secretary, J. F. terHorst, was every bit as open as Nessen and had a better store of knowledge about Ford and the workings of Washington.

Unlike terHorst, who quit in protest of Ford's pardon of Nixon, Nessen says it is "irrelevant" what a press secretary thinks about the President's policies or decisions.

A standard question to press secretaries is: "Whom do you serve—the President or the public?"

When he took over last September, former UPI and NBC reporter Nessen said his primary function would be to serve the public. Later he said he served three masters—the public, the press corps and the President, adding: "It's one of the most difficult things about the job."

Now he says he serves both the public and the President without "any occa-

The low point in Nessen's effectiveness came after the meeting in Vladivostok between Ford and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev. Nessen said the press was "dazzled" by the new arms agreement and predicted Ford would "return home in triumph." Twice in the presence of newsmen Nessen said the agreement was "something Nixon couldn't do in five years, but Ford did it in three months."

Nessen's customary confidence had turned to cockiness. Days later he apologized and gave Nixon due credit for initiating the arms pacts.

"I will never knowingly lie to you, never knowingly mislead," Nessen told White House newsmen on his first day.

He is more sensitive about his reputation for veracity than anything else.

When the aircraft carrier Enterprise left the Philippines a few months ago

amid speculation it was going to Vietnam, Nessen was told by a National Security aide that it was not.

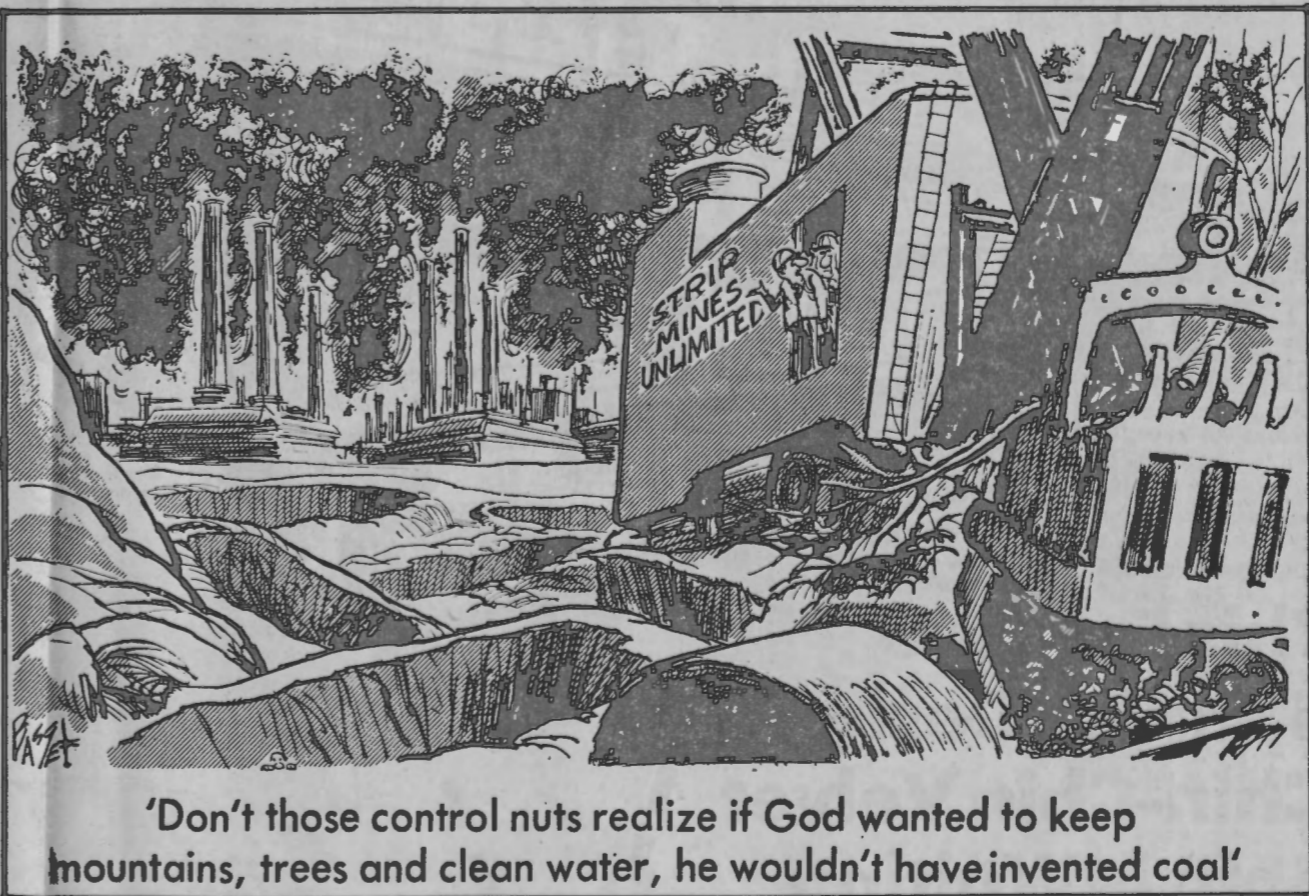
"If you're lying to me," Nessen warned, "you or I are going to have to get out of here."

When CBS carried a report that the White House was publicly optimistic but privately pessimistic about Cambodia, Nessen took great pains to point out that Ford had said in public as well as in private that Cambodia could only "hope" to survive "until the rainy season" and then seek negotiations.

A crucial test of credibility came early in January when Ford had decided to abandon his plan to seek a tax increase to fight inflation and switched to a tax decrease to fight the recession.

"Isn't that a 180-degree turnaround?" Nessen was asked.

"Well, let's say 179 degrees," he replied.



'Don't those control nuts realize if God wanted to keep mountains, trees and clean water, he wouldn't have invented coal'

Long recession more than we'll put up with

By Art Buchwald

WASHINGTON — I have good news to report today. The recession is not going to last as long as everyone, including the President of the United States, predicts.

My source for this information is Prof. Heinrich Applebaum of the Flatbush School of Economics.

Prof. Applebaum told me the reason he believed the economic downturn wouldn't last was that "Americans just don't have the stamina to go through a long recession."

"They did during the Thirties," I reminded him

one wants to stand in soup lines anymore or sell apples on the street as we did when I was a boy. It takes a tough moral fiber to have a long recession. We don't have the determination we used to have. Sure you hear a lot of talk about recessions, but how many people you know are willing to fight for one?"

"Not many," I admitted.

"Since television, the attention span in this country on anything has been exactly 20 minutes. Right now we're in a recession because everyone says we're in it. People whisper to each other, 'Don't buy anything because things are bad.' They go to parties and

like they got tired of Watergate.

"Then they'll be whistling a different tune. They'll say to the media, 'We don't want to hear no more about a recession. Give us something else to talk about. If you don't stop talking about the bad economy, we'll turn off your news programs and stop buying your newspapers.'"

"Will the media bosses listen?"

"Of course they will. They don't want to antagonize their viewers or their readers. The editors will say, 'Take all recession stories off the front page and put them back in the financial sections

the rest of 1975.

Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., says the tax credit (5 per cent on the purchase price of a home) would help the depressed housing industry.

But the obvious effect would be to confer an unwarranted tax break on families — many of them affluent — who would have bought new homes this year in any case.

Also dubious is a proposal by Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., to give

is what happens to the economy when all this red-ink spending builds a new fire under the inflation rate, which is just beginning to cool off.

Nobody in Congress loves a penny pincher.

But it would be comforting to know that somebody at the party is sober enough to recognize that, one way or another, the country will wind up paying the bill.

between the two."

Nessen has almost complete access to Ford, so he doesn't have to get his

We look around for the answer. We are aware of the modern conveniences that mean so much to us all. We are proud of the comfortable homes that most of us enjoy. We are grateful for the cars available for us to travel in. We have fun buying the pretty fashions dis-

"Ah yes, but we're dealing with a different breed of American cat now. He's much softer; he's had it too good. No

essential items, and for over 20 million retired people on a fixed salary there is a shortage of money.

I find the principal cause for most shortages is greed. That age-old sin, greed; seeking the things we want more than the things we need is universal. The Lord never promised us all our wants, only our needs. I can't recall a single shortage that could not be solved if everyone would cut down on their wants.

The main cause of the gasoline shortage can be traced to waste. I stood on the corner of First-av and 50th-st with some friends around 4 p.m. recently. Cars were bumper to bumper, one person to the car. They spent more time waiting for the light to change than they did driving—at 15 miles per hour. Five times as many cars as needed, standing idle half the time and averaging less than 15 miles per hour from downtown to city limits. Isn't that a waste of gas and time?

I don't want to get the newspaper on my back, they have been pretty good to me, but I can't help but wonder, how many tons of paper they have wasted printing the same story, daily about Watergate? The editors may say the space for my essays is wasted but I do change the subject occasionally. Watergate hasn't changed for years.

In every facet of life we Americans are wasteful. We throw enough food into garbage cans each day to feed millions of starving children.

Most of our shortages are for things we want not for things we need.

Dr. Lelias E. Kirby
One 80th-st n.

where they belong. The broadcasters will stop sending out camera crews to depressed areas. Pretty soon everyone will say, 'Hey, the recession is over! It's okay to go out and spend money again.'

"This will mean that orders to the factories will start coming in, people will have to be hired, unemployment will go down, sales will go up, and the Avon lady will once again be ringing your doorbell."

"It sounds too good to be true" I said.

"It's going to happen," Applebaum assured me. "The best thing about it is that Congress and the Administration have been so slow in doing anything about the recession that it will be over before they get any bills passed. Once the American people get the message that Washington can't help them, they'll figure a recession isn't worth all the bother."

Applebaum continued: "This generation just doesn't have the 'Spirit of '32.' I asked my class the other day how many of them would be willing to go out and panhandle for a couple of years, and not one student raised his hand."

"It's not like the old days," I said.

"The thing about our generation is that we could always say to our kids, 'You never had it so good. When I was your age I was lucky to have enough to eat.' If I'm right that this recession isn't going to last, the young people today won't have a damn thing to say to their kids about how they suffered."

"That's sad," I said.

"Let me give you some facts about this recession," Applebaum said

"I don't want to hear them," I said angrily. "I'm sick and tired of talking about it all the time."

Applebaum smiled. "You see. What did I tell you? If even the opinion makers get sick of talking about a recession, can prosperity be very far behind?"

Cheryl Self
4209 Warren-rd

The good side

It is thoroughly obvious that both of our local newspapers are doing everything reasonable to help promote Birmingham and the surrounding area. The public service full page ads which have been appearing on a regular basis should do something to encourage affirmative attitudes. I want you to know that I am going among your readers who appreciate what you are trying to do and recognize the efforts and sacrifices that go into these full page ads.

Time can work some very interesting changes. It was just a few years ago that you and the other thinking people in our community were very much concerned about our image outside of the State of Alabama. A few black marks had made us to appear as medieval and perhaps barbaric communities. Now the effort seems to be to encourage ourselves and to convince ourselves that we are pretty good and pretty successful.

Thanks for your effort in this regard.
Karl B. Friedman
First Federal Bldg.

Act of compassion

It is refreshing, in this day and age, to see someone exhibit reverence for the living. It is particularly refreshing to see this trait exhibited in my personal Monday trash collection crew, City of Birmingham.

This morning, I witnessed a rare act of compassion. A neighborhood Poo-type dog darted in front of a City trash collection truck, momentarily escaping the usual close control of its owner. The driver of the City truck, with great skill and with due regard for the safety of his crew and equipment, skillfully brought his truck to a stop in time to save the life of the endangered pet.

He did this instinctively, to the credit of his fine character. I do not mean to exonerate the dog's owner from his failure to adhere to our City's leash law, but I feel that this situation was isolated and unavoidable, nonetheless.

Thank you, sir, and may your kind flourish and prosper.

Folke Becker, Md., CDR, USNR (Ret)
President, Alabama Animal League, Inc.
1701 14th-av, s

Leave the 'goose' alone

The plan to cut up the "Spruce Goose" into nine serving-size pieces like a barnyard fowl headed for the stew pot is all wrong.

The "Spruce Goose" is, of course, Howard Hughes' plywood flying boat, the gargantua of aircraft, the biggest plane ever built. Nine museums are to get parts of it.

Designed and constructed as a troop-carrier by Hughes, it was completed too late for use in World War II. By that time, land-based jets had rendered its 175-mile-an-hour cruising speed as woefully outmoded as a holdover pterodactyl caught in a flight of condors.

But its size remains mightily impressive, with a wingspan of 320 feet—topping the Boeing 747 by 60 per cent, and 20 feet longer than a football field.

Only in its entirety can it mean much to future generations of airplane buffs. Even the 51-foot wing section that the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum in Washington plans to keep for display will mean little more to amateurs than the shin bone of pithecanthropus erectus without the rest of the skeleton.

Could we get any idea of the majestic proportions of the Great Pyramid of Cheops at Giza if it were to be parcelled out, stone by stone, to far-flung museums? Of course not.

Far better than the powers that be leave the "Goose" whole, and park it somewhere in the Mojave desert, where the dry air would keep it spruce for all to gawk at, forever and a day.

Reducing the urge

General Motors has come to a decision that will shock every highway jockey with a heavy foot on the accelerator.

Next year, the top speed shown on speedometers of smaller cars will be 85 miles per hour, instead of 100. Later, the change will be extended to other GM models.

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has been trying to get

manufacturers to do this as a means of reducing drivers' psychological urge to "hit the top of the clock."

Since the speed limit on the nation's highways is now 55 miles per hour, GM's voluntary move makes eminent good sense. Other manufacturers should follow suit.

Morning mail

played in our stores; clothes for any occasion that one might need.

We usually have the available cash to buy the things we need and many of the things we just want. Sometimes it requires weeks and months to accumulate enough to make the trips we have longed to make, but if we work diligently we can usually do or see almost anything our heart desires, within reason. Best of all, we have freedom! This is the most important of all.

Again I ask myself, what is the problem? The world is all "a-tizzy". We really wonder how long things can last as they have lasted. The only answer I can come up with is greed. Greed has to be the problem. I honestly believe most people want to cooperate. We are asked to economize on energy; we do. What happens? The price goes up on our monthly bills, even though we cut back and try to help. It is suggested we pool the cars to economize on gas. What happens? Now they are warning us that gas can continue to get higher. We shop for food, and find slowly that penny today; penny tomorrow on many items and the food continues to rise. There has to be an answer. I wish I knew.

Do we need another Independence Day with a new declaration of independence? With a few good, deep-thinking men who will put the people's needs first instead of their own desires. Who will be willing to take the time to dig from the bottom of things and come up with the right answers to settle things. Have strong departments with people who aren't afraid to work to find the problems instead of so many agencies and committees. Let the states work out some of their own problems, instead of depending on Uncle Sam to do it all. Put responsibility on responsible people.

Would this be the answer? I really do not know.

Hester L. Jinks
949 Martinwood-dr, n 35235

"Greed causes shortages"

The word "shortage" has become almost as popular (or unpopular) as the word, Watergate. Both words have the smell of crooked dealings; waste, corruption and greed.

Sure, we have a shortage of oil, gas, lumber, paper and hundreds of other

The Almanac

United Press International

Today is Tuesday, March 18th, the 77th day of 1975 with 288 to follow.

On this day in history:

In 1931, the first electric shavers appeared on the American market.

In 1937, an explosion at the Consolidated Public School in New Lond, Tex., killed 426 persons, most of them children.

In 1962, the French and Algerians signed a cease-fire agreement ending a seven-year civil war and bringing independence to the North African territory.

In 1974, the Wire Service Guild went on strike against United Press International in the first editorial walkout in the company's 67-year history. It lasted 23 days.

MOON

Mar. 12 Mar. 20 Mar. 27 Apr. 3
New First Quarter Full Last Quarter

Noggin Joggin'

By Mitchell-Murray

1. "The Survivors" was the series which starred beautiful Lana Turner and Ralph Bellamy as the principal characters in the family stories of a banker's empire. The interest could have been higher had it been shown at an earlier hour. We feel this is why "The Survivors" didn't survive!

2. "Go straight to jail" if you failed to name the four railroads on the Monopoly board as "READING," "PENNSYLVANIA," "B & O" and "SHORT LINE."

3. "All In The Family" opens the show with "Those Were The Days" and closes with "Remembering You." "Right, Edith?"

S. "That's a joke, Son!"

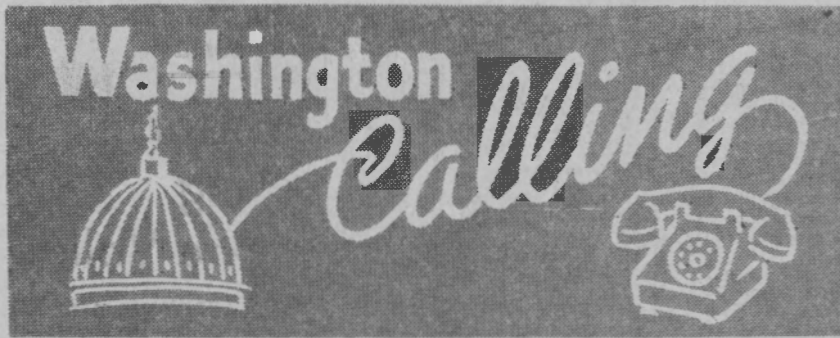
Join us for more Noggin Joggin' fun in Wednesday's Post-Herald!

Side Glances

By Gill Fox



"I'd go home to Mother right away but Stan would be sure to overwater!"



Postal Strike Seems Likely

A Weekly Size-up by the Washington Staff of The Scripps-Howard Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Postal strike by midsummer is real possibility.

Hard-nosed new Postmaster General Ben Bailar and powerful postal unions are on collision course. Issue isn't money; it's job protection vs. plans by Bailar to hike productivity.

Postal strike is banned by law, but the two biggest postal unions have already served notice: No contract, no work. Present contract expires July 20.

Threat is taken seriously by Bailar. If one comes there'll be quick embargo of nonessential mail, use of National Guard to deliver mail.

New postage rate increase will come soon — first class probably going up to 13 cents an ounce — and mail volume is expected to shrink 2 to 3 per cent because of it.

Unions charge Bailar will use volume drop to institute labor-saving programs seek repeal of no-layoff provision of postal reorganization law, consolidate home delivery routes. Any plan to cut work force would trigger strike, unions warn.

Wage demands probably will add as much as \$1.5 billion to deficit-ridden Postal Service's budget, and Bailar insists public will demand he drive hard bargain.

HANOI WILL GET U. S. MONEY

U. S. dollars will go to North Vietnam after all, says right-wing Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio.)

Ashbrook charges United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), partially funded by U. S. contributions, plans to give \$18 million to Hanoi, \$4.5 million to National Liberation Front (Viet Cong), \$11 million to South Vietnam by year's end.

Look for gasoline prices to go up about a nickel a gallon by May 1, thanks to Federal Energy Administration (FEA).

Determined to trim gasoline use in any way it can, FEA will soon order refiners to pour all their increased costs into gasoline prices, leaving stable the price of other petroleum products.

FEA's aim, according to some sources, is to drive up gasoline four to six cents a gallon by the time the summer driving season begins. Gasoline prices, which peaked at national average of 56 cents a gallon for regular last summer, have eased to 53-cent average.

HIGHER ENERGY PRICES BACKED

Administration gets behind House Ways and Means Committee energy plan involving gradual phase-in of higher energy prices.

Plan shapes up like this:

Gradual instead of sudden lifting of controls on oil brought in from pre-1973 wells. Gradual phase-in of gasoline tax, beginning next year at five cents a gallon, stepping up to maximum of 25 cents by 1978. Tax for first 500 gallons a year would be rebated through income tax deductions.

Sen. Marlow Cook (Ky.) came up with idea to hold four dinner parties, inviting a few Senate Republicans and Rockefeller to each.

Parties will be held at homes of Baker, Sen. Charles Percy (Ill.); Roman Hruska (Neb.); assistant Republican leader Robert Griffin (Mich.). Parties would be stag, no staff allowed, no-holds-barred discussion encouraged.

Rockefeller likes idea.

Pentagon officials, nettled by constant antimilitary barbs from Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), chortle at Army Times newspaper story saying Aspin drew a \$300 uniform allowance when he was in Army but bought no uniform. Army Times said Aspin, who worked mostly in mufti at Pentagon, said he borrowed a uniform when he needed one. Aspin later said he was misquoted by Army Times, said he told newspaper he never had a uniform that fit.

Watergate special prosecutors, their investigative work winding down, are still trying to find out what CIA did or didn't know beforehand about Watergate break-in and whether CIA knowingly aided the burglars. Attorneys from prosecutor's office are "informally" interviewing present and former CIA employees.

Possibility of building mind-boggling electricity generating "centers" clustering 10 to 40 nuclear power plants into one super-complex is being investigated by Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Theoretically, centers would generate enough power to serve entire regions, such as New England. Centers would be made up of "breeder" atomic reactors (still being developed with work being carried on at Oak Ridge) which produce both electricity and plutonium fuel for nonbreeder reactors. Each center would have its own nuclear fuel manufacturing plant, reprocessing center, temporary storage for nuclear waste.

Centers would be more secure than individual plants, reducing chance that plutonium could be stolen by political extremists.

If cost, environmental studies prove attractive, centers could become operational in 25 or 30 years.

SEEKS TO SPIKE OLD RIPOFF

House superintendent moves to spike age-old Capitol Hill ripoff involving free picture frames for congressional aides.

Aides — and sometimes their bosses — have routinely ordered their own pictures framed at taxpayer expense in the House carpenter shop. Staffers would use the boss' name and carpenters asked no questions.

Superintendent now demands written signed order from the lawmaker with each order. "That will cut out a lot of the free-loading," said one aide, optimistically.

Embassy Row scuttlebutt has it that British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's \$2 billion trade deal with Russia has a string tied to it: Britain must agree not

CARNIVAL By Dick Turner



"I'll always stick to Janie! What she lacks in allowance she makes up for in geometry!"

SIDE GLANCES By Gill Fox



"We'd been putting-off having you over — then the power went off and Amy had to empty the freezer."

News-Sentinel Forum

Starts on Page C-2

ciné he "knew" was only that which he had read in textbooks. One of the first realizations of medical training is that seldom is a textbook case of any illness encountered. Just as no two human beings are alike so are no two disease entities presented the same. Unfortunately many articles presented to the laymen oversimplify medicine and thus condition the public to expect too much. Frequently the proper medical care does not produce desired results. When and if this realization is acknowledged, we can begin to reach a sensible and fair solution to protect both the patient and the physician.

FRED S. BOOTH, MD

Wise, Va.

Wright's Ferry Resident Says Take Proposed Bridge and Corridor to Riverbend

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

As a 30-year resident of Wright's Ferry Road, I take offense to the letter of Corydon Bell. If the man of Riverbend went slumming on Wright's Ferry he saw for himself the beautiful trees, the spacious fields and the serene country living that the home owners of Wright's Ferry have strived to achieve.

We enjoy our homes as much as the people of Riverbend. We have long-time residents of over 50 years on Wright's Ferry. If it is so easy to relocate as Mr. Bell suggests, then I suggest that the residents of Riverbend do so.

If we wanted subdivision living we would have bought a home there. I cannot conceive of any man telling a group of people that they would be better off and have a higher standard of living by having to sell their property that so much expense and labor have gone into.

Perhaps, Mr. Bell, you can visit with the residents of Wright's Ferry and tell each and every one of us how much we can improve our way of living since you know how it is done. But we of Wright's Ferry take a firm stand also on the proposed bridge and corridor. We don't want it either. So let the Planning Commission take it back to their first choice, Riverbend.

MILDRED C. POPEJOY

Wright's Ferry Rd.

said in his column that President Ford has finally learned to walk and chew gum at the same time. Now only if someone (Ford or Baker) could teach Bill Brock how to do the same, but don't expect a miracle.

Sen. Baker also talked in Washington about the conservative movement in the Republican party. This seemed to be triggered by a weekend speech by Bill (Muttering) Brock saying he no longer knows what the Republican party stands for. But then in this writer's opinion Brock knows very little about what the people of Tennessee want and stand for.

AL WHITE

107 Palmer Rd., Oak Ridge

Another Wonders Why There Are So Few Places Where Handicapped Can Move

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

I heartily commend Mrs. McGinley for her letter of March 8, urging the elimination of architectural barriers in all public buildings. A wheelchair patron at the Civic Coliseum fares no better than at the UT Stadium. He must sit alone in the walking traffic area — separated from his companions of the evening. One wonders if anyone has checked the plans of the new Courthouse and the new TVA building for architectural barriers?

Millions of tax dollars are spent on stadiums, coliseums and auditoriums. For a few extra dollars the designers could go the "second mile" and make all facilities accessible to everyone including the handicapped. Architectural barriers — or blunders — are also much in evidence in the construction of private shopping areas, entertainment centers and eating places.

The West Town Mall is a good example of proper planning. Once inside, the wheelchair shopper can swish from store to store with the greatest of ease. A few blocks north of West Town is an excellent retirement community with all residences and other facilities on one ground level. These two projects come close to meeting the tests for proper planning, but fail in the "second mile" test. Both projects are short on ramps from the parking area to the sidewalk.

Thousands of Americans are confined to wheelchairs due to birth defects, cri-

Watch on Washington

Aspin Won't Give Up on Haig's Explanation of Pet Dog's Trip

By CLARK MOLLENHOFF
WASHINGTON, D.C. — Gen. Alexander Haig's tales of his shaggy dog, Duncan, are not over.

The former Nixon White House chief of staff, now supreme NATO commander in Brussels, is mistaken if he believes that reimbursement of the Government for his dog's plush military travel accommodations will satisfy his arch critic, Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.).

It is difficult for Aspin to swallow Haig's explanation that he does not know who arranged or authorized his dog's European travels by military plane and chauffeur-driven limousine.

And it is equally hard for the outspoken Wisconsin Democrat to accept a Pentagon statement that Haig does not know who is responsible for mislabeling his private stock of liquor, which was illegally shipped to Brussels at Government expense in violation of a specific Army regulation.

JUST LIKE NIXON STATEMENTS

Aspin and his staff find Haig's explanations remarkably similar to former President Nixon's claims that he did not know of the activities of his White House staff in the Watergate cover-up, and Aspin has written Army Secretary Howard H. Callaway asking whether Haig's explanation was given to Army investigators under oath.

"As I am sure you are aware, on three separate occasions Gen. Haig has found it necessary to reimburse the Government for the illegitimate use of Government facilities," Aspin wrote. "In all three instances, Gen. Haig has indicated he was unaware of the actions of others which resulted in the misuse of Government facilities."

"I am particularly interested in learning whether or not Gen. Haig has signed a sworn affidavit that he was unaware of these incidents. If such an affidavit has been forwarded to higher authority I hope that I could obtain a copy of it."

"If all of these three actions were not authorized by Gen. Haig, I am also interested in learning who actually did authorize them."

NOT MUCH COOPERATION

Ordinarily, Aspin does not expect, nor get, much cooperation from the Penta-

gon in his requests for information about the peccadillos of officers who stretch laws and regulations to extend the privileges that go with high military rank.

However, Aspin has been amazed at the ease with which he has been able to obtain Pentagon confirmation of reports from outraged GI's in Europe on the travels of Duncan and of Haig's reimbursement of \$46.92 for a chauffeured military automobile ride from Frankfurt to Stuttgart and \$21.70 for a military plane ride from Stuttgart to Belgium.

Seldom in recent military history has the Pentagon been so helpful, and Aspin hopes the cooperation will continue, but he doubts that this is indicative of a new openness and frankness in dealing with Congress in the post-Watergate era.

In fact, a letter from Brigadier General James C. Donovan, deputy chief of legislative liaison, confirming and explaining the prohibition against transportation of pets on Defense Department aircraft, is in sharp contrast to the vague explanation Aspin received in response to an inquiry on alleged improprieties of a brigadier general who commanded an army installation in North Carolina.

A RESULT OF JEALOUSY

Army Secretary Callaway wrote that "... most of the allegations (against the brigadier general) were not substantiated but that, in certain instances, (the) general ... had conducted his personal affairs inappropriately."

With no illumination of what was confirmed or denied, Callaway did not detail the allegations in the three-month investigation but said it had been handled by calling the information to the attention of the general's commander for corrective action.

The way Aspin and his staff look at it, the frankness in confirming the details of violation when Haig is involved is probably a result of jealousy, as many career army generals were passed over when Nixon made Haig a four-star general for his political service in the White House.

"The cooperation we are getting on Haig's problems is excellent, but the Army is probably doing the right thing for the wrong reason in this case," one of Aspin's aides quipped.

(Released by the Register and Tribune Syndicate, 1975)

The Gallup Poll:

'Get Out of UN' Sentiment Has Not Grown Among American Public

By GEORGE GALLUP

Princeton, N.J. — Although the United Nations organization has been under heavy fire from certain quarters in recent months, the percentage of Americans who think the United States should give up its membership has changed little over the last quarter century.

The latest nationwide Gallup Poll shows a large majority, 75 per cent, in favor of retaining our membership. Only about one person in 9 (11 per cent) thinks we should get out of the world body, while 14 per cent are undecided.

The UN has recently been criticized

The results by groups:

Should U.S. Give Up UN Membership?

	Should Not Pct.	Should Pct.	No Opinion Pct.
National	75	11	14
Republicans	75	14	11
Democrats	77	9	14
Independents	74	13	13
East	74	13	13
Midwest	76	11	13
South	72	11	17
West	76	11	13
18-29 Years	79	9	12

No new tariffs on overseas crude oil, but a higher duty on refined petroleum imports, to encourage refinery construction in the United States.

But that's only a plan: Stiff tax and price increases for energy will be tough to sell to rank-and-file members of Congress.

Invite a senator to dinner.

Frantic over deepening divisions within Senate Republican ranks, a split widened by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller's controversial ruling during Senate fight over easing filibuster rule, Republican senators plan series of informal dinner parties in effort to clear air.

Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., former



Ted Knap

Ford, Nessen Still Credible

WASHINGTON — Ron Nessen has been President Ford's press secretary for nearly six months, and the credibility of both remains intact.

That may sound like faint praise. But considering what happened to the previous two presidents and their several press secretaries, it is a strong plaudit for Ford and Nessen.

Nessen deserves high marks for being a good reporter of the President's views on issues of the day, which, after all, is supposed to be the main function of a press aide. That's more important than "getting along" with the White House correspondents, which Nessen does not always do.

Nessen gives accurate and fairly detailed accounts of Cabinet meetings and presidential sessions with bipartisan congressional leaders, including quotes from the President and other participants.

DUE MORE TO FORD

He does not interfere with, and sometimes encourages, newsmen's efforts to get information from other White House officials. Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, a damper was put on such relations by requiring staff members to report any and all contacts with the press. Under President Richard M. Nixon, an even tighter rein was maintained by regarding newsmen as enemies.

The is less hostility at the daily press briefings than during Nixon's last two years, when Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler was transmitting lies about Watergate and the President was avoiding press conferences for five months at a time. Ford has been holding press conferences about twice a month, and is much more available in other ways as well.

The resumption of openness is due more to Ford than to his staff; his first presidential press secretary, J. F. terHorst, was every bit as open as Nessen and had a better store of knowledge about Ford and the workings of Washington.

SERVES THREE MASTERS

Unlike terHorst, who quit in protest of Ford's pardon of Nixon, Nessen says it is "irrelevant" what a press secretary thinks about the President's policies or decisions.

A standard question to press secretaries is: "Whom do you serve — the President or the public?"

When he took over last September, former UPI and NBC reporter Nessen said his primary function would be to serve the public. Later he said he served three masters — the public, the press

to sell arms to China. Pending British deal to sell China 200 jets has been canceled, and deal to build Rolls-Royce factory in China to manufacture jet engines is to be called off too.

The day President Ford through a spokesman complained that the Senate planned to take an Easter vacation without finishing the tax bill, Vice President Rockefeller left for a four-day jaunt to Dorado Beach, Puerto Rico, and White House was arranging for Ford to spend 10 days in sunny Palm Springs, Calif., beginning Good Friday.

James J. Kilpatrick is ill. His column will resume upon his return.

White House Watch



corps and the President, adding: "It's one of the most difficult things about the job."

Now he says he serves both the public and the President, without "any occasion when I have had to choose clearly between the two."

MORE ACCURATE, COMPLETE

Nessen has a big staff of 45, and appears to have organized it fairly well. A reporter calling on one of his assistants, particularly John Carlson, Bill Roberts of Larry Speakes, is likely to get information instead of a runaround. As a result the public gets more accurate and more complete information about what the White House is doing.

The low point in Nessen's effectiveness came after the meeting in Vladivostok between Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev. Nessen said the press was "dazzled" by the new arms agreement and predicted Ford would "return home in triumph." Twice in the presence of newsmen Nessen said the agreement was "something Nixon couldn't do in five years, but Ford did it in three months."

Nessen's customary confidence turned to cockiness. Days later he apologized and gave Nixon due credit for initiating the arms pacts.

"I will never knowingly lie to you, never knowingly mislead," Nessen told White House newsmen on his first day.

SENSITIVE ABOUT REPUTATION

He is more sensitive about his reputation for veracity than anything else.

When the aircraft carrier Enterprise left the Philippines a few months ago amid speculation it was going to Vietnam, Nessen was told by a national security aide that it was not.

"If you're lying to me," Nessen warned, "you or I are going to have to get out of here."

A crucial test of credibility came early in January when Ford had decided to abandon his plan to seek a tax increase to fight inflation and switched to a tax decrease to fight the recession.

"Isn't that a 180-degree turnaround?" Nessen was asked.

"Well, let's say 179 degrees," he replied.

Congress Called On Not To Give Away Panama Canal Which U.S. Paid For

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

I read in the paper that Kissinger and Bunker are negotiating to give our canal to Panama.

The citizens of the United States paid Panama for the land on which to build the canal, paid for building the canal, and Panama has reaped a profit from it that they would not otherwise have received. Why give it away?

Beginning with World War I our legislatures have been giving the money, which belongs to the citizens of the United States, to countries all over the world and we never seem to get paid back. Now we are about \$5 billion in debt and apparently have never made a single friend.

It would not surprise me, if someday some fools in Washington would decide that the \$7 million we paid for Alaska was not enough and want to give Alaska back to Russia.

We need to start a good collection department and do away with our giveaway department.

If a lot of our citizens would let it be known just how they feel about what goes on in Washington maybe some things might be changed.

A. W. YOUNG JR.

622 Kenesaw Ave.

Those Fighting Religion in Public Schools Are Called America's Worst Enemy

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

This is an appeal to all sincere American citizens who feel they are willing to consider a true answer for the public school tragedy of opposing the Bible in schools and also to all who have been deceived that religion as revealed in the Bible is against the law.

All who say it is against the law of the United States should be reminded that this nation publicizes throughout the world that it is founded and built upon the religion of the Bible.

Dollar bills and the money handled every day are upholding the Bible religion, and those who shut the Bible out of the public schools are fighting against this nation and are America's worst enemy in a troubled world. In God We Trust" is our Government's testimony.

REV. ALBERT E. S. McMAHON
Rt. 20, Ball Rd.

Brock Knows Little About What Tennesseans Want, Oak Ridger Declares

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

In Washington recently the Republicans displayed two different parties — the old GOP dominated by traditionalists and what President Ford hopes can become the new GOP, younger and more open.

They even agreed to water down the remains of an already weak reform bill. In other words, each state party can do whatever it wishes to try to revitalize the GOP — or do nothing. The polls show as a fact there are only 18 per cent Republicans left in the country. Out of this 18 per cent, 11 per cent are called weak Republicans and there is only seven per cent old guard Republicans left. In the March 9 News-Sentinel J. F. terHorst

plunging diseases, traffic accidents or military combat. These people have two strikes against them already — with dozens of daily frustrations. They can not get out often because of transportation problems. When they do enter the outside world they encounter architectural barriers at every turn. It's time for all handicapped persons to receive a fair shake at the market place!

RAY ALSPAUGH

801 Vanosdale Rd.

Scientist's Figures on Solar Heat and Lack of Nuclear Danger Disputed

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

Dr. Herman Postma of Oak Ridge Laboratories spoke to the Chamber of Commerce recently, and he greatly overestimated the cost of solar heating compared to nuclear power, and greatly underestimated the dangers and costs of nuclear reactors.

Solar heating and cooling systems can be built for the average new house at a total cost of around \$2000-3000, a cost which would enable such systems to pay for themselves in five to 10 years, after which heating and cooling would cost almost nothing. The solar heating complex at the Knoxville Zoo will pay off its own costs by recovering the cost of heating and cooling bills from utilities in three to four years.

Electric solar heating is still being developed, and it is unfair for Dr. Postma to pick the least effective solar heating system to compare to electric heat. However, solar electric plants are now being developed by a Mobil Oil Co. affiliate which predicts that within five years solar electric generating plants could be built at the same or lower cost per kilowatt of nuclear plants being built at the same time, and then operated at a lower cost than the nuclear plants.

Dr. Postma also tries to imply that nuclear plants are totally safe, since they leak little radiation. However, he does not mention that the emergency core cooling systems used in reactors have never worked in simulated tests. He does not mention the problems of transporting and storing nuclear wastes, and that some 300,000 gallons of nuclear wastes have escaped from tanks in Washington state where they were supposed to be stored safely for thousands of years. He does not mention that all life insurance policies specifically exclude reactor accident claims, because no life insurance company has the confidence in reactors that Dr. Postma has.

Even though he works for Oak Ridge Laboratories, Dr. Postma needs to be more objective if he is to retain any credibility as a scientist.

SAMUEL D. HASKELL

1403 White Ave.

No Such Thing as Expert, He Says After Reading of Menathol as Substitute

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

After reading the article on menathol (wood alcohol) in your paper, I looked up some information I have on the subject. My information shows that menathol must be labeled with a skull and crossbones. It takes two gallons to produce the same energy as one gallon of gasoline. It costs from two to three times as much money to produce. It puts an eye irritant into the atmosphere called formaldehyde. Even if it could be used as an energy

substitute, how long would it be until we had a shortage? Watch the environmentalists jump on this wagon. You will see what I have been seeing all along: They seldom have any facts but are always playing with fears of things they imagine. I read and listen to a lot of news every day. I see an expert opinion on a given subject, then another expert on the same subject with an opposite opinion. I've decided there is no such thing as an expert.

And how about the catalytic converter? It puts a poison into the air that is probably more dangerous than cars with no controls at all. Unless and until we get some people in authority with a little common sense, our problems are likely to just get worse. I'm afraid it is asking too much though.

J. W. GLASS

Lenoir City

Daylight Savings Time Is Too Much for Mothers, Woman Protests

EDITOR, The News-Sentinel:

I hope that the "brilliant" minds that thought up Daylight Saving Time soon get their fill of it and we can go back to regular time. From Memorial Day to Labor Day, Daylight Saving Time could be pleasant and enjoyable, but for mothers who have to get their children in at night and up of a morning, it is an ordeal.

Surely there is little support for fast time among this group, and they must be in the majority.

I want to get my protest in early, before we go through another year of this.

MRS. W. E. SANDERSON

Hazelnut Dr.

30-49 Years	77	11	12
50 And older	69	13	18
College	82	31	7
High school	75	12	13
Grade school	62	9	29
Men	74	15	11
Women	75	8	17

Although the United Nations has come under increasing criticism in recent years, few organizations in history ever started out with such overwhelming public support from Americans.

A Gallup survey in 1945, the year the United Nations was founded, showed the American public to be in favor of the Senate ratifying the charter by an overwhelming vote of 20-to-1.

In subsequent surveys the public has consistently given the UN a high rating, although expressing dissatisfaction at times over the achievements and progress of the world organization.

In seven surveys conducted during the last 24 years, large majorities, ranging from 72 per cent in January 1951 to 86 per cent in January 1962, have voted in favor of the U.S. staying in the UN.

EARLIER SURVEY OF OPINION

An earlier Gallup survey of opinion leaders from 70 nations of the free world indicated that most would like not only to see the world body strengthened and its present work expanded, but would also favor the UN's taking on new roles. These include the creation of a permanent United Nations peace-keeping force and the establishment of universities in major areas of the world.

Some critics of the UN reached in the survey felt that the organization's effectiveness had been seriously curtailed by the veto powers of the Security Council and by the voting rules in the General Assembly which give as much weight to the vote of smaller nations as to the vote of larger ones.

The opinion leaders interviewed in that survey favored, by more than a 2-to-1 margin, limiting the veto powers of the Security Council. A closer vote was recorded on changing the voting rules to give less weight to the vote of smaller nations, with 48 per cent favoring such a change and 43 per cent opposed.

The results reported today are based upon interviews with 1559 adults, 18 and older, interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation between Feb. 7 and 10, 1973. Field Newspaper Syndicate

NOTES ON THE NEWS



"Is the President planting a WIN garden? Is Congress?"