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THE SECOND MOST AGONIZING JOB IN THE WORLD



A White House alumnus explains the rugged life
of a Presidential press secretary

By Herbert G. Klein

If you can find a relatively young man who will get up each morning prepared to walk with bare feet across a bed of red-hot coals, who feels little pain as blunt needles are injected into his body, and who occasionally gets pleasure from banging his head against a stone wall, you have a man who in today's Washington world has some of the qualifications to become a White House press secretary.

Anyone who falls short of those qualifications need not apply.

Beyond that, you can debate whether he should have a background of newspaper or television reporting, a close relationship with the President, political experience, articulateness and other qualifications.

The Nation has accepted the fact that the job of the President of the

United States is the most agonizing occupation in the world. But close behind is the position of press secretary to the President.

On a typical day recently, Ron Nessen, press secretary to President Ford, left his home at 6:30 A.M., read the White House news summary and scanned The Washington Post as he rode in a chauffeured vehicle to the Mayflower Hotel. There he answered questions from 100 students brought to Washington by the Hearst Newspaper Foundation. During the long day that followed at the White House, he survived the questions and barbs of the White House reporters at two press briefings, attended half a dozen policy meetings, met and telephoned several reporters, briefed his staff and talked with 20 or more government officials.

Ron Nessen

(with President Ford):

'They often start with the assumption I am not telling the truth.'



He was still studying background papers as he returned home at 10 P.M.

Fatiguing as it may sound, it is not the demanding schedule which makes the job of Presidential press secretary so difficult. The more serious problem, the thing that really makes the post a man-killer, is the intense conflict between the White House news office and the press corps.

The press had an early but short-lived love affair with President Ford, an affair broken off not over news policy but over an emotional issue, the Nixon pardon. Many in the White House press corps took that as a personal affront.

This June the conflict broke into the headlines when Nessen interrupted a long round of questions on John Connally to take on directly charges that he had been lying or who was no longer credible. He accused the White House press corps of "blind, mindless, irrational suspicion and cynicism."

The outburst resulted directly from intense questioning over minor matters such as the release time for the Rockefeller report on the CIA. Behind the headline spectacular, however, was a longstanding hand-to-hand combat between Nessen and a few antagonists in the press, primarily James Deakin of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; Sarah McClendon of Texas Newspapers; Les Kinsolving, a liberal minister with radio press credentials; and Adam Clymer of the Baltimore Sun. It was the latter who jumped the bounds of professionalism during a Nessen briefing to utter, in amateur fashion, an opinion that Nessen was a "liar." Traditionally briefings are for reporters' questions, not opinions, right or wrong. In this case, Clymer was wrong. Professionally and in fact.



Ronald Ziegler

(with President Nixon):

'Few remember that we pioneered television film.'



After a Camp David weekend of candid discussion by members of the President's press office, the incident produced some procedural changes. More important, behind the scenes, it brought Nessen a reaction of strong support from the President and assurances from senior White House staff members, including the national security advisers, that they would give him fuller information. That was an improvement.

John Osborne of The New Republic, one of the respected sages of the news corps, explains the growing conflict this way: "Numerous reporters and commentators forgot that the controlling function of the White House press secretaries and other official spokesmen is not to tell the truth. It is to put the best possible appearance upon what their principals do and say and, if necessary in the course of that endeavor, to conceal the truth. What my brethren in the White House press room were really celebrating, during the halcyon interlude that ended with the pardon of Richard Nixon, was the departure of Mr. Nixon and the quaint illusion that concealment and deception departed with him."

The office of the press secretary has become more visible in recent years, particularly since the emotional debates between Ronald Ziegler and the news corps. As a result, Ron Nessen is today the focus of some extremely careful scrutiny. Nessen has made mistakes, →

continued

which are recounted more often than his successes. But his successes are worth mentioning.

Nessen has made the White House a lot more open than it was during the Nixon years. He has been innovative in several ways. He has improved the format of the Presidential press conference by providing a mechanism for follow-up questions. He has given television a full place in the pool on Air Force One when the President travels. And it is probably due to Nessen that the number of Presidential press conferences has increased.

Through late June, President Ford had held 16 full-scale meetings with the press, 10 in Washington and six elsewhere. The President has also given live interviews to all three networks. When a press conference is held away from Washington, local reporters are given a chance to ask approximately half the questions.

All of this helps, but a substantial amount of bitterness remains. Nessen said recently, in a public address, "The cloud of mistrust is beginning to lift, but we have a long way to go." Privately, Nessen says that "suspicion, distrust and cynicism" in the press corps are his toughest obstacles. "They often start

with the assumption I am not telling the truth. I think we deserve more the benefit of the doubt."

But today's newsmen are often inclined to take an adversary position. On some days the encounter between the press secretary and the news corps resembles more a debating society than a quest for information. The public is the loser.

Typical was a press briefing on Feb. 7 after Charles Colson had said President Nixon considered Secretary of State Kissinger sometimes unstable (a statement later denied) and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen had been critical of the Secretary on the eve of a departure for the Middle East. Nessen read a statement expressing President Ford's strong support of and faith in Kissinger.

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

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

Q: Ron, are you asking for a moratorium on criticism of Henry Kissinger until the 1976 election?

Nessen: I am just telling you how the President feels about Senator Bentsen's comments.

Q: Ron, where should the fitness of the Secretary of State be discussed if not in the political arena?

Nessen: I think I will stick to what the President feels about this particular criticism of the Secretary.

Q: Could I renew Mr. Fulsom's question, which you did not answer, which was, did the Secretary of State have anything to do with writing that statement?

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

Q: But did the Secretary of State have



Bill Moyers

(with President Johnson):

'The press secretary (has) to explain the inexplicable.'

James Hagerty

(with President
Eisenhower):

**'Caught between
two fires, press
and governmental.'**



anything to do with it?

Nessen: It is the President's views.

Q: But did the Secretary of State have anything to do with it?

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

Q: Did he approve it?

Nessen: It is a Presidential statement, and Presidential statements do not need to be approved by the Secretary of State.

Q: What we are asking is whether he looked at it or commented about it or had any input into it?

Nessen: I think he probably looked at it. I did not show it to him, but I have a feeling he looked at it . . .

Q: Ron, are you still seeing the President daily?

Not every moment is hostile. Occasionally Nessen will joke or his repartee with a reporter will purposely relax everyone, as did this discussion of a presidential trip:

Q: When will he come back, Ron?

Nessen: Tuesday evening he will be coming back.

Q: What time is he leaving on Monday, just roughly?

Nessen: I would say mid to late afternoon.

Q: When you say Tuesday evening, do you mean after dark?

Nessen: Yes. I think by definition evening is after dark.

Q: The other Ron [Ziegler] said evening was at 4 o'clock.

Nessen: No. I think we will be back in the evening.

Nessen works with a total staff of about 40, slightly smaller than the fluctuating staff of the Nixon White House and larger than the staff of President Johnson. Forty does not include Mrs. Ford's mini-staff.

That 40 number includes 17 people Nessen labels as professionals, mostly in pay brackets above \$28,000. The press secretary earns \$42,500 and his deputies, William Greener and Jack Hushen, are paid \$36-39,000. Margita White has recently been appointed assistant press secretary. The staff covers functions ranging from the daily news briefings to the White House news summary and broadcast bookings.

Former press secretaries and myself, as Director of Communications, have an unwritten understanding. We are able and indeed willing to criticize outsiders. But not each other. Most former press secretaries attempt to be helpful to their successors, regardless of political party. And they are among the closest observers of press secretaries.

In this small circle, James Hagerty, who served eight years as President Eisenhower's aide, is looked upon as the greatest of the breed. The select group agrees clearly that the news →

continued

secretary works for the President, not the press corps. But that doesn't make his job easier.

Ron Ziegler, the controversial Nixon press secretary, hits the problem directly when he says, "The degree of difficulty for the press secretary leads directly from the attitude of the President and his staff toward the news media. In the field of television few remember that we pioneered television film both in the newsroom and by satellite from Peking and Russia. They more often recall the dislike on the part of the White House for the press corps."

On both sides there was strong hatred.

Press secretaries agree that the closer they were to the President, the better they performed. Credibility is all-important, but as Bill Moyers, one of four Johnson press secretaries, once wrote: "Events make lies of the best promises; the President will sometimes have to reach conclusions from inconclusive evidence, and when all the facts are finally in, the press secretary, having justified the unjustifiable, will have to explain the inexplicable."

In Hagerty's view, the press secretary's role need not be impossible if he is left alone to his professional instincts. "But he is caught between two fires, press and governmental," he said. "He must have independence and support from his boss, the President."

One of Ron Ziegler's most serious problems was that he was not given that independence. He was constantly harassed by H.R. Haldeman and other senior White House staff members. "Our press and communications policy would have been more successful if we had attained the open administration we announced in 1969. By open I mean the willingness of the White House to communicate with the communicators," Ziegler said.

George Reedy, now an author and Dean of Journalism at Marquette University, served with President Johnson

when he was senator, Vice President and President.

Like Hagerty, he believes the job need not be so complicated if the news secretary is free to inform the media. Hagerty added that today's press secretaries are not independent enough and today's reporters are too independent, too free from direction by their editors and broadcast news directors.

Reedy decries the public relations efforts of press secretaries; their selling of the White House concepts.

"With the possible exception of President Eisenhower, most Presidents have felt they also were public relations experts," Reedy said. "Public relations has a place, but not in the Oval Office or the press secretary's spot. He adds, "The only thing really important is credibility."

Ziegler learned the importance of communications through television. He now knows also that this can be misused. But he feels news briefings should not be open fully for television and film. He suggests an alternative: an occasional open news conference for the press secretary.

Television is in the White House newsroom to stay, and every President must recognize its importance. For the first time we now have a press secretary who comes from broadcast news experience. The next step should be to change his title from press secretary to news secretary.

A recent Nessen White House news conference best describes the impossible position of a President's press secretary:

Nessen: I got off to a bad start today because I had my annual physical examination and I did not arrive until Representative John Rhodes and Senator Hugh Scott were here in the outer office.

Q: You forgot something. How was your physical?

Nessen: They say I need a complete body transplant.

Q: That is all? (laughter) (END)

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Press secretary

by Dom Bonafede
1409

Ronald H. Nessen, a former television correspondent and now White House press secretary, is one of nine senior presidential aides who stand at the crest of the government. Nessen, on occasion, influences the policy process when President Ford elicits his views on issues. But principally Nessen has devoted his attention to repairing the White House-press corps relationship that was shattered during Watergate.

Budget document

by Joel Havemann
1417

The Administration is preparing a "current services budget" that will, for the first time, show Congress what would happen to the federal budget if all current spending and revenue programs were carried forward for another year without policy changes. The document could signal Administration priorities for fiscal 1977.

FTC watchdog

by James W. Singer
1418

The Federal Trade Commission, whose basic responsibility is to monitor the free enterprise system, is being monitored in turn by one of the bastions of that system, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The chamber has organized a working group to keep track of the activities of the FTC under its expanded enforcement powers.

Creating jobs

by James W. Singer
1419

Congress is pressing for enactment of legislation that would meet the unemployment problem by creating government jobs and government-sponsored jobs. President Ford, however, would prefer to tackle the problem of joblessness by stimulating the private sector of the economy to create jobs.

Grain reserve

by Daniel J. Balz
1427

Export controls on agricultural products are included as an acceptable technique to be employed during periods of short supply in the Ford Administration's plan for an international grain reserve system. Details of the U.S. plan were presented Sept. 29 to the International Wheat Council.

Regulatory

by Louis M. Kohlmeier
1428

Following his plan to reform federal regulatory agencies, President Ford has nominated Roderick M. Hills to be chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. In selecting Hills, Ford rejected the recommendation of the SEC's outgoing chairman, Ray Garrett Jr., on a successor.

Presidential

by Dom Bonafede
1429

President Ford's veto of an expanded federal school lunch program may cause him serious harm politically by playing into the hands of critics who accuse him of being insensitive to social and humanitarian obligations of the federal government. Congress overrode the veto Oct. 7.

Energy

by Richard Corrigan
1430

A new organization, the Domestic Wildcatters Association, is working for deregulation on behalf of gas producers while striving to disassociate its members from major oil companies in the eyes of the public.

Economic

by Richard S. Frank
1431

The European Community is warning about the possible collapse of the multilateral trade negotiations now under way in Geneva as a result of a recent series of U.S. actions that the Europeans have taken as an indication that trade protectionism is running rampant in the United States.

White House Report/Nessen still seeks 'separate peace' with press

by Dom Bonafede

Prior to the daily morning White House press briefing recently, presidential press secretary Ronald H. Nessen glanced at the waiting reporters and remarked, "And the lamb shall lie down with the lion."

"Which is the lion?" a newsman asked. "Which is the lamb?" another voice inquired.

Although the exchange was light-hearted, an underlying bite in the comments reflected the coolness, even distrust, that exists between the White House press corps and President Ford's chief spokesman.

Search for peace: After slightly more than a year in office, Nessen, 41, a former NBC television correspondent, is still seeking a sort of separate peace with members of the Washington news media. Most agree that as the inheritor of a legacy left by Ronald L. Ziegler, President Nixon's press secretary, Nessen is in an incredibly difficult position. While conceding that the air of hostility that formerly existed has eased considerably, they contend that the level of credibility and the quality of candor has not appreciably improved, at least not to the point where



Nessen discusses press arrangements with assistant press secretary John G. Carlson in his office in the west wing of the White House

ing to shape the world toward ends he considers worthy. . . . A newspaperman, on the other hand, is one whose job is to chronicle daily events and to place the facts before the public in

praise the press room atmosphere, Nessen said he believes his standing with reporters has improved and that the relationship between the press and the White House has returned to a workable pattern.

"I realized, of course, that there was a certain kind of aftermath or hang-over from Watergate," he said during an interview. "Yet, I was surprised at the suspicion and cynicism. I guess I did not fully gauge the kind of carry-over. . . . I was surprised and upset at not having my word believed. But I must say that in the past three months or so a lot of this has settled down and the relationship between the press office and the press has improved a great deal—though I may be kidding myself."

William I. Greener, deputy White House press secretary, said he thought it would take "a few years" before total trust is reestablished.

"It's dangerous to accept everything as gospel—and equally dangerous to accept everything as a lie," he commented.

Press secretary's role

Next to the President, the presidential press secretary probably is one of the most visible officials in the government. With the growth of the presidency, the advent of electronic communications and the focal position of the United States in global affairs, he has become a household name, better known than most Cabinet Secretaries and all but a few Members of Con-

Presidential press secretary Ronald H. Nessen reigns over a staff of 45 that performs a critical function for the White House—keeping its burgeoning press corps sensitive to President Ford's policies and positions on issues that range throughout the government. Nessen enjoys a broader mandate than many of his predecessors. But although he has worked to improve the destructive relationship that evolved between the press and the Nixon White House during Watergate, a residue of mistrust remains.

the interaction between newsmen and the press office has been restored to its traditional adversary relationship.

Describing the current relationship as "pretty fragile," James M. Naughton, a White House correspondent for *The New York Times*, said, "There's a lot less bickering on both sides than had been the case a while back. Still the press is pretty dubious of him (Nessen). There are still challenges to his accuracy and integrity."

Like most White House reporters, Naughton recognized that some of the trouble is endemic, growing out of the inherently different roles and functions of newsmen and public officials.

Reedy statement: In that regard, George E. Reedy Jr., former press secretary to President Johnson, has observed, "A political leader is essentially an advocate—a man who is seek-

some reasonable perspective. Events and facts have a life of their own. They are independent of the dreams and desires of men. . . . On that basis, it is obvious that there must be a divergency of viewpoints between the political leader, who assesses public communications in terms of help or hindrance toward a worthy goal; and the newspaperman, who assesses public communications in terms of their consonance with what he regards as reality—however harsh."

Personal view: Nessen today admits that his experience as White House press secretary has at times been a travail, that mistakes were made, that misunderstandings arose and that the situation was exacerbated by personal and institutional problems.

With the caution of one who was burned for failing to correctly ap-

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The Press on Nessen

A *National Journal* survey of Washington journalists who cover the White House shows that the majority retains reservations about press secretary Ronald H. Nessen's performance and that the climate in the press room has improved, but not nearly as much as might be expected in light of the Ford Administration's claim of openness and candor.

Seldom at a loss for words in print, the newsmen, mostly White House correspondents and Washington bureau chiefs, were equally expansive in their opinions. Although the relationship between reporters and the press secretary is often likened to a family affair, it is of public interest since it may affect the amount and content of information released by the White House and thus bear on the quality of stories that result.

Following are excerpts from the remarks of some of the reporters polled: **Dean E. Fischer, *Time*:** "It's up and down. One hears a lot of complaints, mostly critical of his (Nessen's) personality. He's a little prickly, but has muted that somewhat. Over-all, it's an arms-length relationship, but that's as it should be."

Peter Lisagor, *Chicago Daily News*: "The situation is deteriorating at the moment. . . . I had high hopes for Nessen, he had been a reporter, but nothing has changed. He looks at you with those soulful eyes as though what he is telling you is the truth. . . . It's all so obtuse, squishy and sponge-like, it's difficult to find anything hard."

John Osborne, *The New Republic*: "Reporters I've talked to agree that his credibility and esteem is at an absolute low. Basically, it is a sense of a progressive lack of confidence in him. He is just not coming out with everything he should, but some of the blame might be put on the senior people in the White House who brief him."

Morton M. Kondracke, *Chicago Sun-Times*: "I think the relationship has improved; he's now tolerated. . . . There's continual grouching and a lot of personality conflicts, but some of the animosity goes back to when he was a 'regular.' It is not an animosity I share. Things are reasonably less terrible than they could be."

James M. Naughton, *The New York Times*: "I would say the relationship is pretty fragile. There's a lot less bickering on both sides than had been the case a while back. But still the press is pretty dubious of him. There are still challenges to his accuracy and integrity. Things have improved marginally. The friction is not nearly so explosive, but nonetheless exists."

Paul F. Healey, *New York Daily News*: "On the surface, things haven't changed too much. Underneath, there is a lot of unhappiness and criticism. . . . He doesn't seem to be as conscientious or aware of things as he should."

Martin Nolan, *Boston Globe*: "He has an ego problem as all those guys do. . . . They think that if they don't lie and cheat, they should be believed in everything they say."

Although the survey focused on Nessen, many of the reporters voiced criticism of some of their colleagues. Most of the criticism centered on the inordinate amount of time spent in quibbling on minor points at Nessen's daily briefings and on the superficial reporting by many White House correspondents.

On a separate point, Lisagor said that the Ford Administration's decentralization policy has resulted in the departments, such as State and Defense, being a better source of news than they had been during the Nixon era.

gress. He never is far from the President. And seldom a day passes that he isn't mentioned in the press.

Growth of office: As an integral branch of the modern presidency, with its increasing emphasis on public relations as a tool of government, the office of the press secretary has grown

from less than a dozen aides in the Eisenhower Administration to a record 56 during the Nixon years. Whereas Franklin D. Roosevelt could easily accommodate all the White House reporters in his office during a news conference, Gerald R. Ford requires an auditorium or theater.

Nessen said that his staff has leveled off to about 45, but expects soon to have it down to 35. Yet, as he noted, his office remains "one of the largest in the White House."

Recent innovation: Each President perceives the role of his press secretary through the prism of his view of his own job. No law requires a President to appoint a press secretary, hire a press staff, maintain a press office, hold press briefings or stage press conferences. Indeed, these are relatively recent innovations.

As James E. Pollard, author of *The Presidents and the Press* (Public Affairs Press, 1964), relates, Presidents have had dealings with the press beginning with George Washington, but "it was not until the time of Theodore Roosevelt that a start was made in the direction of organized presidential press relations." FDR, with an instinctive sense of the dramatic, refined the art of presidential public relations. Today, in a society that recognizes the medium as the message, it is inconceivable that a President would attempt to govern without such devices.

No guidelines: Nor is there any manual or blueprint to instruct a new White House press secretary in the performance of his duties.

Nessen recalled that when Ford offered him the appointment, the two talked over the President's concept of the job. "Out of that conversation I got the feeling of how he wanted the place to be run and how he wanted me to fit into the White House," Nessen said. He said he also spoke to several former presidential press secretaries, including Bill D. Moyers, Tom Johnson, Reedy and Pierre Salinger. "Everybody kind of commiserated with me," he said, "and had their own ideas about the necessity of being in on the decisions; of sitting in and watching policy discussed and decided; of staying close to the President and having good access; to tell the truth, if you didn't know something or couldn't tell the whole truth, say so and not try to skirt about it."

Many forms: A presidential press secretary is seen through the eye of the beholder in any one of several forms: as an Administration flack, White House policy enunciator, pitchman for the President, creator and protector of the White House image and caterer to representatives of the broadcast and print media. To a degree, he fulfills each of these roles.

Yet, his primary obligation is not to



Nessen (far left) and Greener (fourth from right) confer with President Ford and his aides in the Oval Office

assist the press but to serve the President, who must attract popular support for the success of Administration programs. Thus, it is in the President's self-interest to retain a press secretary to promote his policies effectively and to answer his critics.

Mutual dependence: But just as the White House needs the press, and is willing to provide its members with office space and tolerate their demands, so the press needs the White House to carry out its function as the collector, relayer and interpreter of news. Each is mutually dependent on the other, though their professional objectives differ. Essentially, it is a marriage of convenience, devoid of deep affection, but with wary respect for each other.

Elaborating on the equal but separate relationship between the reporters and the press office, deputy press secretary John W. Hushen said, "We do have a responsibility to help them get information they seek; we both want to communicate to the American public what the President is doing. But they are never going to be our pals professionally, nor are we ever going to be their pals. We don't view them as an extension of our office and they don't view us as working for them."

Expanded figure: Along with the physical growth of the White House press operation, the authority and responsibility of the press secretary have been expanded. Media exposure and their identification as White House spokesmen also have made

modern press secretaries figures of public standing.

Nevertheless, the extent of their authority and their involvement in White House affairs is wholly dependent on the President they serve. Throughout his turbulent tenure in the Nixon White House, Ziegler was viewed as a functionary who mechanically carried out instructions of his staff superiors. His dealings with the press were, in a sense, programmed.

Under the present White House organizational structure, Nessen is one of nine senior presidential aides who stand at the crest and are responsible directly to the President. In practice, however, he and seven peers rank below presidential assistant Donald Rumsfeld, who rates as first among equals within the White House hierarchy. As such, Rumsfeld exercises supervisory control over the press office as he does over most White House operations.

Mandate: Nessen, nonetheless, enjoys a broader mandate than many of his predecessors.

Describing his role, he said, "There are several aspects to it. In terms of dealing with the press at briefings, on the phone or in private conversations, I try to accurately reflect what the President feels about the issues. And I always try to answer a question as the President would answer it if he were there. I think that is the most valuable service that a press secretary can perform—to be an accurate reflector of the President's own views.

"Another aspect you don't see much from the outside is a kind of administrative function. There are personnel matters, making sure things are running smoothly, logistics for domestic and foreign trips, getting transcripts and speeches out on time, making schedules, that sort of thing."

Nessen also referred to his participation in the policy making area.

"There are opportunities to reflect my views or the things I detect among the public, in the editorials and columns or what people tell me. There are discussions of issues which don't necessarily involve advice regarding the press, things that come up every day—how to present the energy program, what stand do you take towards Congress, do you see Solzhenitsyn or do you not see Solzhenitsyn?"

Counter view: Some Washington reporters feel that Nessen's rank and status tend to reduce his effectiveness in working with newsmen and establishing rapport with them.

"He's become one of the senior officials, and has a sense of his own self-importance," said Peter Lisagor of the *Chicago Daily News*. "As a result, he has lost touch with grubby, dirty-fingered reporters. His briefings have turned into a debating society and taken on a life of their own. There is no relationship to what the President is doing or feeling, only what Ron Nessen thinks and feels. Who gives a damn what Nessen thinks and feels. I want to know what the President thinks about things. Now, we report

The Battle of the Briefing

The emotional level has been lowered in the White House press room in recent months, but there remains a brittle edge in remarks made at the daily briefings. The colloquy between presidential press secretary Ronald H. Nessen and reporters at the Sept. 26 briefing is illustrative.

Nessen: The President certainly stands by, completely, what he said Monday night (a reference to Ford's statement that he did not intend to reduce his public appearances because of threats against his life).

Q. Who decided security should have greater weight in evaluating these things?

N. Don Rumsfeld.

Q. How can you say he (Ford) is standing by what he said Monday night when he obviously is not?

N. As far as I know, at this point, no firm commitment has been canceled by the President.

Q. You have not been told, according to your own account, of all the changes in his schedule?

N. There have been no changes in firm commitments, as far as I know, Fran.

Q. . . . The President is not going to the Michigan-Michigan State football game is he?

N. The trips that we have announced are Chicago, Omaha and Knoxville.

Q. I know what you have announced, I asked you a question. Are you declining to answer it?

N. No firm commitments, as far as I know, have been canceled.

Q. I would like to get back to my question.

N. Bob, do you remember yesterday's briefing when I said from now on the press office and others in the White House will talk only about firm commitments made by the President, and these are things that he is going to or is not going to do.

Q. If I said the President is going to the North Pole, you would say, "I can't answer that question." Is that right?

N. It is not a firm commitment.

At that point, the official White House transcript read "(Laughter)."

"Nessen said this, Nessen said that." In that respect, things were different under Ziegler; at least he didn't try to project himself."

An independent view was offered by Richard Reeves, author of the newly published book, *A Ford, Not a Lincoln* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975): "Nessen's job is to keep the White House press corps occupied, dumb and happy. He runs an adult day care center. If he were not there doling out a daily ration of front page headlines and 90-second television spots, all those reporters, many of them talented men and women, might be prowling around the government talking to people in, say, the State or Defense Departments, people who know what is going on."

Ford and the press

Few Presidents have entered office on a more amiable basis with reporters than Gerald Ford, who, as a Member

of Congress for 25 years, gained a reputation as a friend of the press. Other Presidents, notably Kennedy and Johnson, had a keen, if exaggerated, awareness of the power of the press. Also, each suffered from an oversensitivity to it. Johnson, Walter Lippmann once noted, was a "pathologically secretive man," who created a "credibility gap" by his attempts at managing and manipulating the news, thereby hastening his political demise.

Nixon, during almost six years in the White House, was unable to hide his distrust and contempt for the press, and bequeathed Ford the chore of repairing a shattered relationship with the news media and restoring confidence in the Administration's credibility.

Pledges openness: Ford promptly set to the task, and in his inaugural address Aug. 9, 1974 he said, "I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our govern-

ment, but civilization itself. . . . In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end."

Ford's declaration was received hopefully by the public and the press. As columnist James B. Reston pointed out in *The Artillery of the Press* (Harper & Row, 1966), "The President's attitude toward the press sets the pattern for the rest of his Administration. If he reads the newspapers carefully, his aides will read them. . . . If he likes, trusts and sees reporters officially and socially, as President Kennedy did, then Cabinet members, foreign service officers, ambassadors and top civil servants will tend to do the same. . . . If, on the other hand, the President is known to be hostile to the press or to certain of its leading commentators, he does not have to tell his aides to be wary or to avoid what he regards as his 'enemies' in the press."

Respects press: Ford, said Nessen, "likes reporters as people, he sees some socially, he respects reporters and is not afraid of them. He takes criticism very well; I have never seen him angry because of a critical story."

Reeves reports in his book that Ford has invited prominent journalists, such as Reston, David S. Broder of *The Washington Post*, and Howard K. Smith of ABC, to the White House for lunch to discuss the state of the nation.

Unlike Nixon, who professed a disinterest in print and electronic journalism, Ford enjoys the news. He reportedly reads eight daily newspapers, some more thoroughly than others: *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *New York Daily News*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Sun* (Baltimore), *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune* and *The Washington Star*. Early each morning, he looks over *The President's Daily News Summary*, which was started by Nixon and is basically a compilation of the previous day's news developments.

Since Ford often is unable to watch the networks' evening television newscasts, tapes of the shows are played for his benefit over the White House TV sets while he is having lunch the next afternoon.

Presidential exposure: During the 14 months he has been in office, Ford has held 18 formal press conferences, not including some scheduled out of Washington. In an unprecedented

step, he has given 47 private interviews to representatives of news organizations, ranging from family magazines to foreign newspapers.

Accordingly, some of Ford's press aides are concerned about overexposure. Said one: "The problem in seeing newsmen with the frequency that he does is that many answers restate previous answers. His predecessor had few press conferences or interviews, and when he did his statements hit like a bombshell. But Ford sees and talks to so many newsmen that he doesn't 'make news' every time he talks about a particular subject."

The aide noted, for example, that a television interview the President gave recently in Omaha was not picked up by any of the three major networks. "They claimed that virtually everything he said was a restatement of what he had said in the past."

Contrast: Meanwhile, Hushen, who served as director of public information at the Justice Department under Attorney General John N. Mitchell, noted the differences in attitudes of the Ford and Nixon Administrations toward the press.

"Basically," he said, "the difference is in a positive versus a negative approach. The 'we against them' syndrome which characterized the Nixon White House is absent in this White House. We put out as much information as we possibly can—not as little as we can get away with."

Contradictions: Nonetheless, there have been lapses that appear inconsistent with Ford's pledge of an open Administration.

He vetoed a strengthened Freedom of Information Act last year. Also, several questions concerning the U.S. military reaction to the Mayaguez seizure in May remain wrapped in mystery. Why, for example, were air strikes made against the Cambodian mainland after the vessel's crewmen had been released?

President's spokesman

White House reporters are fond of recalling that when Nessen was named press secretary Sept. 20, 1974, he promised never to "knowingly lie" or purposely mislead them. Nessen, who was appointed to the post after Jerald F. terHorst resigned in protest over Ford's grant of an unconditional pardon to Nixon, today maintains he has lived up to his commitment. But many among the White House press corps remain unconvinced.

Flare-ups: The breach between Nessen and the press troubles and puzzles him. On several occasions, tension between the two has erupted into heated flare-ups, particularly when the reporters felt he was withholding information on crucial issues, such as the Mayaguez incident, the Rockefeller Commission's report on its CIA investigation, and more recently, the President's curtailed travel plans and tightened security arrangements following two assassination attempts.

Still other incidents have led to clashes between Nessen and the reporters. Upon his appointment, he proclaimed that he did not expect "to be a salesman for the President"—yet he filled that role to the extreme when he overstated President Ford's contribution to the arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union in November. Subsequently, he conceded that the agreement was the culmination of efforts begun under President Nixon.

Then, on June 24, he told reporters that he was unaware of any meeting between Ford and former Treasury Secretary (1971-72) John B. Connally. Nessen stuck to his claim under intense questioning. Not until an aide confirmed that a meeting had taken place a week earlier did Nessen suggest that it had slipped his mind.

On at least two previous occasions at White House briefings, Nessen professed ignorance of unscheduled meetings in the Oval Office—on Dec. 12 when Ford met with Sen. James O. Eastland, D-Miss., to discuss a controversial appointment, and on March 14 when the President conferred with Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger. During the latter instance, Nessen admitted he did not know the criteria for omitting names from the President's schedule. "I probably ought to check," he said. Presumably, he did not, or the tempest over the Connally incident might have been avoided.

Retort: Shortly afterwards, at a June 26 briefing, Nessen cited the "poisonous atmosphere" of the press room and accused some of the reporters of "blind, mindless, irrational suspicion and cynicism." This led to reports that Nessen would resign if it was felt within the higher reaches of the White House that his effectiveness had been irreparably damaged. Later, he said that the situation had never quite reached that point.

"I think my statement had the ef-

fect of clearing the air," Nessen said in recounting the episode. "Certainly, I've done a lot of thinking about it, and I believe the reporters have done a lot of thinking about it; I know they have done a lot of talking about it among themselves and to me. I think 99 per cent of the reporters who are in the press room to ask questions and get facts for writing stories began to express their displeasure at the 1 per cent who were there for other reasons. I think that had a good effect. They began writing stories and naming names and that kind of thing."

Changes: Nessen further listed several steps he has taken to improve relations with the White House press corps members and facilitate their work. Among the changes:

- Routine announcements are posted in the press room at about 10 a.m. so as to reduce time spent on them at the daily briefing.

- Briefings are scheduled to begin promptly at 11:30 a.m., to allow reporters to plan their working day better.

- Film crews no longer are required to get special permission to take pictures on the White House lawn.

- A ban on coverage of White House social events has been eased. Under the current system, a four-member reporters' "pool" will be allowed to cover the affairs but is required to respect the privacy of White House guests and not use tape recorders or cameras.

Earlier, the White House press office instituted a policy of allowing follow-up questions at presidential press conferences.

The social ban was ordered last year when a reporter—identified by a White House aide as Lester Kinsolving, an Episcopal priest who doubles as a journalist—interrupted a private conversation between Ford and Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and began asking questions.

Format under review: Nessen said he has "flirted" with the idea of revising the format of the daily briefings, which have become a sort of sanctified ritual. Proposals have been made to limit them in time or restrict them to designated topics. The suggestion even has been made to dispense with them altogether except when a major story occurs.

A few reporters endorse the latter proposal, but the great majority, those who depend on the briefings for daily stories, are strongly opposed to it.

Nessen: The Man with the Sisyphian Task

Ronald H. Nessen—in common with all White House press secretaries—is like a quarter horse competing in the 1½-mile Belmont Stakes: there is no way he can win over the long haul.

Yet, each day he pits his intellectual and semantic skills against a group of news-hungry reporters whose appetites are insatiable. He is a modern Sisyphus condemned to an impossible task. For every boast of openness there is a charge of secrecy; for every instance of professed candor there is a suspicion of manipulation and management.

Regardless of which chief executive occupies the Oval Office, the President's press secretary holds the one White House job in which the occupant is assured of more brickbats than bouquets.

Comic relief: Nessen, a former NBC correspondent, nevertheless maintains a veneer of studied self-confidence indigenous to television performers. Frequently, like an old-time vaudevillian, he will attempt to put his audience in a congenial frame of mind with a piece of comic relief.

For instance, while announcing arrangements for a recent presidential trip, he told reporters, "Check-in time at Andrews is 3:30 p.m. tomorrow."

"With bags?" a reporter asked.

"You can bring whatever young lady you would like to, Jim," Nessen replied.

As imagined, the technique doesn't always achieve its intended purpose.

Measuring each other: Ironically, after more than a year, Nessen and members of the Washington press corps with whom he deals almost every day have yet to take each other's measure fully. They remain wary of one another, ever mindful of their respective territorial imperatives. They still are experimenting and attempting to adjust to each other's style in the hope of finding a comfortable *modus operandi*.

While talking with a visitor in his White House office, Nessen admitted to being puzzled by this lack of rapport.

"It even goes back to the kind of upbringing I had," he remarked. "My mother taught her two kids that it is very important to tell the truth. I feel that way, not only because I was brought up that way but because I made that promise when I took this job and because I saw what not telling the truth had done to previous press secretaries. I guess I was surprised and upset not to have my word believed."

Charges exchanged: The squabbles between Nessen and White House reporters already have become inscribed in press room lore. At times they have reached such a peak of emotional intensity that if they had occurred out on Pennsylvania Avenue, participants from each side might well have been arrested for disorderly conduct.

On one occasion, Nessen was accused openly of "lying." On his part, Nessen has charged reporters with writing "bum stories" and "mangling" his words.

As a public official who cannot run or hide and whose every word is filtered, magnified and dissected, he is a natural quarry.



Not defenseless: But he has not been rendered defenseless. He does not hesitate to fault some members of the press corps for failing to learn about policy issues and do their "homework."

Warming up to the subject, he said, "When the energy thing first came up, I got asked the same questions every day, 'Is the President going to go for gas rationing? Is the President going to go for higher gas taxes?' Why were those two questions asked? Because they were simple and easy and at that point it was about all that they knew about energy."

Word playing: Nessen contended that there is "an awful lot of fencing" and "playing with words" at his daily press briefings.

"A favorite question," he said, "is, 'Would you rule out that the United States will ever use nuclear force? Ever? Anywhere?' You'd be a fool and liar to say 'yes.' If you say 'no, I wouldn't rule it out,' you'd get a headline saying, 'Ford Threatens to Use Nuclear Weapons.'"

He said he now can spot loaded questions thrown at him by reporters. "I know where the 'land mines' are planted and I can kind of walk around them. I think it is a waste of everybody's time."

Physical toll: Nessen said that the one thing he did not anticipate in his White House job was the "sheer physical work" involved.

"I leave home at 6:30 in the morning, get here at 10 to seven, read the papers both in the car and when I get here and have a little breakfast downstairs and then read *The President's News Summary*. I have a staff meeting at 7:30, attend the senior staff meeting at 8:00 and visit with the President a couple of times. Most of the morning is pretty much spent getting ready for the 11:30 briefing.

"After that, I have phone calls, see reporters, grab some lunch, keep up with the paper work, attend to administrative functions and so forth. Normally, I get out of here anywhere between 8:00 and 9:00. It's a rich, long day, always six and frequently seven days a week."

Budget Report/New accounting technique could become political tool

Greener contends that daily briefings should be held to give reporters the opportunity to ask legitimate questions. "It shouldn't be our prerogative to say there is no major story," he said.

The system

Nessen believes that many of his problems with the White House press corps emanate less from personal differences than from imperfections in the institutional system under which both work.

Built-in flaw: "By and large, the White House press corps is an extremely hard-working, dedicated group which does a damn good job," he said. "But there are institutional problems built into it. The White House will come out and announce a program. It has taken 20 people six months meeting four hours a day and occupied so many hours of the President's time. There is all the expertise and judgment anyone can put into it.

"As a reporter, you have one minute and 15 seconds on the air to summarize it or 300 words in the newspaper. These are institutional problems; I don't criticize or complain about it, I sympathize with it. I was in the same boat once myself."

Stories vs. news: Besides being generalists who are required to cope with specialized issues, Nessen said, some White House correspondents are concerned more with stories than with news.

"This is considered to be sort of the premiere beat in Washington and you have to produce a story a day. One of the things I've come to realize in this job is that there is sometimes a difference between a story and news. I think what is required every day of most people who cover the White House is a story. The real fact of the matter is that on every subject every day there is not that much news. Nevertheless, you have got to write a story.

"This produces semantic juggling and probing and pushing and seeing that something is said differently today than it was yesterday. Again, it is not the fault of the reporter but the imperfection in the system.

Denies blast: Nessen made it clear that he was not going out of his way to criticize the reporters, particularly the 50 or 60 "regulars" who cover the White House fulltime.

"I've had so many bad experiences with stories coming out looking like I'm sitting back here blasting the

press, which I don't intend to do because I don't feel that way.

"What I'm trying to say in a very gentle way is that I think it might be possible for reporters, even if they have to be generalists, to take a little more time to learn more about some of the issues that we handle. It seems to me to cover the White House you need to know as much—or more if you can—as the people you are dealing with.

"One of the reasons that Kissinger (Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger) has such a good relationship with his press corps is that they know almost as much as he does. Yet, if Frank Zarb (administrator of the Federal Energy Administration) or one of the other specialists has a press briefing over here, the White House press corps just doesn't know as much as they need to.

"Consequently, what the system causes—and it is not the fault of the individual—is a kind of oversimplification."

Administration

Much of Nessen's time is spent as an administrator. Under his jurisdiction, in addition to the press section, are the communications office headed by Margita E. White; the news summary operation directed by James B. Shuman; the press advance detail composed of Eric Rosenberger, Arnold Noel and David Wendell; and the President's technical television adviser, Robert Mead.

Kennerly: White House photographer David H. Kennerly and his staff were attached to the press section, but have been transferred to Rumsfeld's operational division.

Recently, Kennerly's photography group was cut by one, bringing it to seven members. "I wanted to cut three more but then we all decided his office might be better off operating within another division," Nessen said.

"The fact is his contribution to the press office was relatively small in terms of pictures for the press. His pictures are mostly used for historical purposes, the archives and congressional and public liaison people and that kind of thing. Given the fact I was given a certain number of people I could employ, I didn't feel I wanted to use up seven of my slots for people who didn't really benefit the press office that much. Rumsfeld agreed and therefore took Kennerly under his own wing."

Top aides: Assisting Nessen in managing the press office are Greener and Hushen.

Greener, 50, former assistant secretary for public affairs of the Housing and Urban Development Department and director of public affairs at the Office of Management and Budget for a brief period, is Nessen's principal deputy. Under the White House deputy system, he is considered interchangeable with Nessen and performs virtually the same functions as the press secretary. When Nessen does not conduct the daily press briefing, Greener steps in for him.

Hushen, 40, a former Detroit newspaperman and press secretary to Sen. Robert P. Griffin, R-Mich., ranks immediately behind Greener. He is in charge of the "lower press office" just off the White House briefing room and handles the day-to-day operations.

Hushen also deals with daily press queries, helps prepare the morning briefing material and is in charge of travel arrangements for the press.

Serving as aides to Hushen are J. William Roberts, Larry M. Speakes and Thym Smith.

Cutbacks: Under Ford, both the communications office and the news summary operation have been remodeled and cut back.

Created by Nixon with Herbert G. Klein as its first director, the communications office was envisioned as the White House's press-public relations coordinator with the executive branch and liaison with editors and broadcasters around the country. During the 1972 Nixon campaign, presidential consultant Charles W. Colson took it over for use as a White House political-propaganda arm. The section had a similar assignment under Ken W. Clawson throughout the Watergate period.

At present, the communications office is a subdivision of the press office, performing support services. Mostly, these involve contacts with out-of-town newspapers and radio-TV stations, answering requests by columnists and specialized magazines, arranging regional news for the President, mailing out fact sheets and Administration speeches and maintaining relations with professional press organizations. White has about 14 aides, less than half the number in the office during the Nixon Administration.

News summary: *The President's News Summary* was originated by Nixon aide Patrick J. Buchanan and con-

The Government Vs. the Press

The interaction between journalists and government long has been a subject of study by academicians, newsmen and politicians. Commenting on it, columnist Walter Lippmann wrote in 1967:

"In the relationship between the government and the press there exists a system of checks and balances: officials are able to withhold information and newspapers are able to ferret out information and publish it. These opposing powers check and balance one another, and result in a tolerable and workable adjustment."

Sometimes, however, this untidy arrangement results in a form of guerrilla warfare. Here is how some students of government view the process:

Sorenson: Theodore C. Sorenson, *Watchmen in the Night* (The MIT Press, 1975): "When the press's attitude toward Ford turned 180 degrees after his pardon of Nixon, complaint was heard to the effect that there is something unpleasant or improper about the press being constantly in an adversary relationship with the President. On the contrary, I shudder to think what could happen if the enormous powers at the disposal of each were ever combined in total harmony. . . . Irresponsible journalists can hurt; but irresponsible Presidents can destroy."

Cronin: Thomas E. Cronin, *The State of the Presidency* (Little, Brown and Co., 1975): "The American public has become conditioned by the media not to believe in the reality of a public act until it has been transformed into a dramatic or theatrical gesture. National personalities, including Presidents, know they must try to acquire the attributes of show business."

Schlesinger: Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *A Thousand Days* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965): "Washington reporters, with their acute sense of contemporaneity, always believe that each new Administration is plotting an assault on the freedom of the press with a determination and malignity never before seen in the republic; the inequities of past Presidents fade quickly in retrospect."

Wise: David Wise, *The Politics of Lying* (Random House, 1973): "In my experience, most reporters make a conscious effort to report the facts and to write the truth. . . . Washington reporters must succeed in this to a great extent, for if, as the Nixon Administration has charged, they are preponderantly biased, liberal, and Democratic, it is impossible to explain why Presi-

dents Kennedy and Johnson both complained bitterly about the coverage of their Administrations."

Califano: Joseph A. Califano Jr., *A Presidential Nation* (Norton & Co., 1975): "The calculation with which a President views the press must be matched by the skepticism with which the press views the President. . . . There is little point in rendering moral, social, or political judgments on the calculated use of the press by the President. Like original sin, we must simply learn to live with it."

Neustadt: Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power* (John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1960): "The professional reputation of a President in Washington is made or altered by the man himself. . . . Press secretariats and 'chiefs of staff' and other aides aside, in fashioning his Washington reputation, a President's own doings are decisive."

Deakin: James Deakin, *Lyndon Johnson's Credibility Gap* (Public Affairs Press, 1968): "The margin of acceptance of democratic government is very small. When a President—any President—adds to this alienation by deception and slyness, he has increased the pressures that are always straining at the thin fabric of democracy. That is the real significance of the credibility gap."

Hughes: Emmet John Hughes, *The Living Presidency* (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1972): "There probably exists no relationship in presidential life more ambiguous in its rules, more unsure in its workings, and more serious in its consequences than the encounter with the national press—written or broadcast or televised. For no other relationship is so likely at once to nettle, probe and reveal a presidency."

Rossiter: Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1960): "The press conference is not a restraining but an enabling device. . . . No President in his right mind would surrender gladly the power he draws from this unique institution, which puts him, in a light that he selects for himself, on the front page of every newspaper in the land and, as often as not, in the world."

Reston: James B. Reston, *The Artillery of the Press* (Harper & Row, 1967): "One profession is quiet, the other noisy; one slow, the other fast; one precise, the other imprecise. What makes their relationship even more difficult is that they are stuck with one another."

continued by Ford, first under Philip L. Warden and now by Shuman, a former writer and editor with *Reader's Digest* and personal friend of Nessen.

The news content is based almost exclusively on reports from the wire services, the three television networks and the major newspapers. Since Ford watches the TV news shows and reads the newspapers that provide most of the information used in the news summary, some presidential aides have

suggested that he discontinue the summary. This, they point out, would be in keeping with his plan to reduce the size of the staff employed by the White House.

Outlook

With his baptismal year behind him, Nessen shows little indication of bowing out now despite speculation in the press room. He said that there would be "minor" changes in his

staff, and spoke of future plans as the President's press secretary.

"My view is the press office is running better than ever before, at least since I have been here; some people say it is running as well as it has in a great long time," he said. "I would like to have all the right people in all the right jobs by the first of the year, because I think the campaign and traveling and so forth is going to be a strain on the press office." □

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 (continued on inside back cover)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1975

MEMO FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: JIM FALK

FYI.

THIRTY PART I



OF THE ROVING REPORTERS

By N-R Staff Writers

Don't let it upset you, Mountaineers, but Ron Nessen of the President's staff had a few choice words to say re the President's recent although brief visit in Elkins, W. Va.

He was asked, regarding preparations for the visit, about the phone situation in Elkins. He answered:

"Yes, I think the phone has reached there. They even have indoor toilets down there."

Chickens come home to roost, Nessen baby. Just you wait and see!



THE TAHITI BULLETIN

Tahiti's Only English Daily

DISTRIBUTED FREE TO ALL GUESTS IN FRENCH POLYNESIA HOTELS TEL. 2.88.89

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1975 - VOL. 9 - No. 2150

PUBLISHER: V.K. BOYACK

EDITOR: JAMES BOYACK

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: AL PRINCE



MAGNARD ART SHOW OPENING TONIGHT

PAPEETE — Stéphane Magnard, the most celebrated artist ever to exhibit here, will display his works to the public beginning tonight through Nov. 29 at the Winkler Gallery, Rue Jeanne d'Arc in downtown Papeete.

nesia," Mr. Magnard's oils, water colors and drawings originate from a year spent teaching drawing at the Lycée in Uturoa, where he spent many hours capturing on canvas and paper the local color of the Polynesian and his setting.

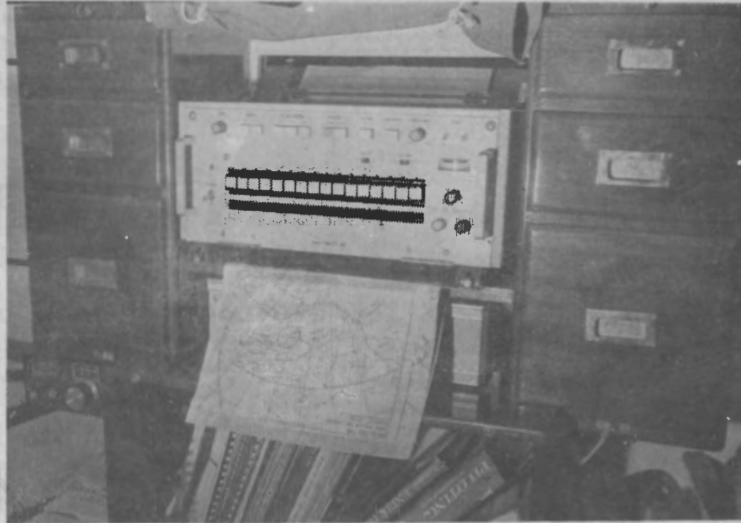
(Cont. On Page 3)

YACHT SONIC HAS WEATHER MAP MACHINE

PAPEETE—The 60-foot yawl Sonic is probably one of the few yachts sailing the South Pacific with its own weather map-making machine aboard.

If the \$5,000 machine sounds like a luxury, it's not when considered.

(Cont. On Page 18)



FORD AGAIN TELLS NEW YORK CITY "NO AID"...YET

WASHINGTON—President Ford told New York City "no" again yesterday, and refused to support federal help until a special session of the New York State Legislature does more toward self-help.

Members of Congress

immediately dropped plans to debate a bill aimed at helping New York City avoid default, saying the measure does not have a chance.

Meanwhile, White House News Secretary Ron Nessen gave reporters the President's

stand:

"The bail-out bill now before the House of Representatives is irrelevant because it does not address the current situation, and the President would veto it.

(Cont. On Page 17)

U.S. pro league be seiged by financial crises, Congress and courts

NEW YORK—The worst economic crisis to confront professional sports in recent history has caused the death of 12 teams and one league in the last month, and the bloodlet-

ting far from finished.

Escalating salaries, labor problems, legal challenges and the threat of intervention by Congress and federal agencies have combined with the pressures of an atmosphere in which inflation to produce an

more teams and perhaps another league or two will cease to exist.

Major league baseball, with its big stadiums, low ticket prices and numerous games, is generally in good financial shape.

The folding of the

(Cont. On Page 18)

tight security for British Parliament

LONDON—Queen Elizabeth opened a new session of Parliament yesterday surrounded by security unprecedented since World War II.

There was a massive search for explosives

in Westminster Palace. The search was prompted by the recent rash of bombings here.

And those bombings may set off a new debate in Parliament.

(Cont. On Page 4)

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Moorea branch in Pao Pao Village at Cook's Bay
ASSOCIATED BANKS
First National City Bank, NYC
Societe Generale, Paris

Ford again tells N.Y. 'no'

BUSINESS NEWS

Stocks close lower

(Cont. From Page 1) ...ault, if it occurs, would be orderly."

U.S. NEWS

NEWS BRIEFS

U.S. INCOME UP BUT...

WASHINGTON—Personal income in the U.S. rose in October for the third straight month, the government reported yesterday. But there was a catch.

The latest figures on personal income are not particularly encouraging, no matter how they look on the surface. The rate of increase last month was less than in September, and that was lower than in August.

What is more important, Americans do not know yet how much consumer prices went up last month. It is quite possible that those price increases ate up most or all of the October rise in personal income. And if that is the case, it will be disturbing because the average American worker fell behind financially in September also.

More than anything else, the U.S. economic recovery depends on the ability of consumers to buy more. And they cannot do this unless income rises a lot faster than the cost of living.

WASHINGTON—THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE GAVE FINAL approval yesterday to a new tax cut package, expanding next year's cuts. But the bill does not contain President Ford's request for corresponding spending cuts.

SACRAMENTO—A FEDERAL JUDGE HERE REFUSED YESTERDAY to dismiss charges or declare a mistrial in the Lynette Fromme case. But Judge Thomas McBride criticized the prosecution for its handling of a key witness in the case.

WASHINGTON—FBI DIRECTOR CLARENCE KELLY TOLD A Senate committee yesterday that terrorist bombings in the U.S. are sharply increasing. He said there were more bombings in the first six months of this year than in all of last year.

NEW YORK—The New York Stock Exchange, reacting to President Ford's refusal to do anything yet about helping New York City, closed lower in moderate trading yesterday.

In other markets at a glance, bonds closed mixed, U.S. government bonds closed slightly higher in moderate trading, the American Stock Exchange closed lower in moderate trading, London stocks closed slightly higher, cotton futures closed higher and gold futures closed higher.

Prices on the New York Exchange took no special trend through the day until President Ford made his latest statement on aid to New York City. Then prices dropped.

The Dow Jones industrial average of 30 stocks closed down .7 at 848.24.

The 20 transportation issues closed down 2.42. The 15 utilities closed down .68. The 65 stocks closed down .25.

Volume on the New York Exchange was 16.82 million shares. There were 1,000 declines and 380 advances. The New York Stock Exchange Index dropped .53. The average price of a share of common stock lost 34 cents.

Volume on the American Exchange was 1.67 million shares. There were 186 advances, 394 declines and 363 stocks unchanged. The average price of a share of common stock lost eight cents.

Among the most active issues traded on the New York Exchange, Texaco was down 1/4 at 23; Xerox was up 3/4 at 50 5/8; Westinghouse Electric was down 1/8 at 10 7/8; National Semi-Conductor was down 1 1/4 at 40 3/4; S.S. Kresgee was down 1/2 at 33 3/4; General Motors was down 1 1/2 at 54 7/8; Southern Company was down 1/8 at 14 3/4; Polaroid was down 5/8 at 35 3/8; Citicorp was down 1 1/4 at 28 1/2.

EXCHANGE RATES

BANQUE DE POLYNESIE EXCHANGE RATES ON NOV. 19.

Currency	Cash	Travellers Checks
\$US	77.50	78.70
ESTG	159.00	161.20
\$AUST	97.50	99.30
\$NZ	81.50	82.90
D.M.	30.00	30.40
F.S.	29.00	29.70
Y.JAP.	26.00	26.30

BANK LOCATED ON THE DOWNTOWN WATERFRONT ST.

"The President is convinced that if New York continues to move toward fiscal responsibility, all parties concerned can look forward to a satisfactory solution despite the apparent obstacles."

Nessen said President Ford will reassess the situation next week and see if federal legislation is necessary then.

The President's promise to veto the bill now before Congress brought this reaction from New York Gov. Hugh Carey:

"It (the legislation) is appropriate. If the bill came today we could act today. The bill that he discusses is a bail-out and he calls irrelevant the most relevant bill of our times right now. It's relevant to curing this condition. If he's not satisfied with the bill, he's a former legislator, he knows how to get the Congress to move this bill. But he prefers to defer."

Gov. Carey then returned to Albany, N.Y., in the hope of pushing new taxes through the State Legislature.

Although he still refused to give aid to New York, President Ford also praised "the seriousness of the attempt the city has already made to avoid bankruptcy."

In reading Mr. Ford's statement, Nessen also said, "If they continue to make progress, the President will review the situation early next week to see if any legislation is appropriate at the federal level."

"In the mean time, should New York leaders fail to implement their intentions, New York City will still be forced into legal default."

"Therefore, the President is asking Congress once again to enact special amendments to the federal tax structure laws which will ensure that such a de-



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Ron Nessen

FROM: Margita E. White
Assistant Press Secretary
to the President

FYI



Nessen's ship is out of shape

Several of his staff are departing; reporters gripe about his operation

Life as President Ford's news secretary has never been smooth for Ronald Nessen, the former NBC newsmen. But in the past couple of weeks it's gotten particularly rough.

One deputy news secretary has decided to leave the White House, while other Nessen aides are expected to depart—one possibly to the National Cable Television Association. And reporters and press office personnel both are reported to be unhappy at the manner in which office is being operated.

Reporters and press office personnel returned from the presidential trip to China two weeks ago sharply critical of Mr. Nessen's performance. Reporters were said to feel that the White House operation during the trip was inefficient. And one White House aide agreed it had been "sloppy." He said Mr. Nessen "seemed to feel he was part of the official presidential party, and hung around with the President." Yet, some of the complaints dealt with Mr. Nessen's alleged lack of information when questioned by reporters.

But President Ford apparently is not disturbed. Last week, in the midst of stories about trouble in the press office, he expressed his "full confidence" in Mr. Nessen. Mr. Ford was said to feel that Mr. Nessen is "fully professionally qualified to do the job."

With Mr. Nessen on vacation in Florida, that statement was given reporters by Deputy News Secretary William Greener, a former Pentagon spokesman who is leaving the White House to return to the Pentagon as assistant secretary for public affairs.

Others said to be departing soon are Eric Rosenberger, who heads the White House press advance office, and John W. Hushen, another deputy news secretary. There is no word on where Mr. Rosenberger might land, but Mr. Hushen and Robert



Back to bars. Clarence N. (Chuck) Medlin, escaped convict who bilked CBS News out of \$9,000 by promising to lead CBS newsmen to the body of James Hoffa (BROADCASTING, Dec. 15), was headed back toward jail last week. A U.S. magistrate's court in New Orleans, where he was captured the week before, verified that he was an escapee from a federal prison halfway house in North Carolina, and his lawyer said he would be returned to federal prison, probably in a few days. CBS News officials apparently have given up hope of finding either Mr. Hoffa's body or the \$9,000 that they had given to a freelance writer, Patrick O'Keefe, who took Mr. Medlin to them. Mr. O'Keefe had agreed to return the money if Mr. Hoffa's body was not found, according to CBS News, but said Mr. Medlin demanded it and he was afraid not to comply.

Schmidt, president of NCTA, have discussed the possibility of Mr. Hushen joining the association in a top administrative post. Mr. Schmidt is seeking someone to fill in for him when he is out of town as well as to assume the congressional liaison duties of Charles Lipsen, who has been dropped, and has talked to six prospects, in all.

Journalism Briefs

Victor. KCBD-TV Lubbock, Tex., defended itself successfully against \$500,000 libel suit filed by two men who were subjects of 1973 investigative series broadcast by station. Two were accused in that series of

mishandling public funds.

Lifesavers. Pete Rayner, reporter, WWOK(AM)-WIGL(FM) Miami, interrupted his morning fishing report from his airplane Dec. 6 to help save eight crew members of sunken freighter who were in sinking lifeboat. Mr. Rayner called Coast Guard and alerted nearby boat for pick-up by dropping flares from his plane. Steve Gill, reporter, WOWK-TV Huntington, W. Va., thwarted armed robbery attempt of Charleston gas station Dec. 9. Pulling in to station after spotting fire, Mr. Gill found manager of station locked inside pay cubicle surrounded by fire started by two men trying to get manager to come out with money. They were frightened away by Mr. Gill, who took part in chase after one.

Webster tells of weeks of terror in Angola

Don Webster, CBS News correspondent, said that at one time while he and freelance cameraman Bill Mutschmann were imprisoned in Luanda, Angola, he was told he would probably die there.

Mr. Webster, who with Mr. Mutschmann was released Dec. 11 after they had been held on unspecified charges for 19 days by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (BROADCASTING, Dec. 8, 15), described their treatment in a report from Lisbon on the Dec. 11 *CBS Evening News With Walter Cronkite* (above).

"The living conditions," he said, "were terrible. The sanitary facilities were undecipherable. The food was inedible. And worst of all was the indecision as to what would happen to you. We were interrogated time and again, accused of being CIA agents, not correspondents for CBS. And on one occasion, the interrogator ended the conversation by saying: 'Mr. Webster, I think you will die in Angola.' And it is that that hung over us the whole time."

He said no charges were brought against them because "they had nothing to charge us with. They don't like Americans. At



one time we were the only Americans at all in Angola and that was our only offense."

Mr. Webster said he and Mr. Mutschmann were not harmed physically, but that "every night without exception some prisoner was taken out and beaten, sometimes savagely ... We saw people after the beatings, with scars and marks that I don't want to describe, but whatever you can imagine, it happened."

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*Broadcasting
Dec. 27*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Ron Nessen

FROM: Margita E. White
Assistant Press Secretary
to the President

FYI

Closed Circuit

Insider report: behind the scene, before the fact

Seeking way out

FCC is expected to begin fighting back today (Monday) against court decisions it feels are forcing it into unconstitutional review of station formats. Under consideration will be draft notice of inquiry which says those decisions—in transfer cases in which citizen groups have opposed proposals of purchaser to change format—have raised two key questions: whether public interest requires close scrutiny of entertainment formats, and whether First Amendment permits it. Draft notice is designed to determine whether commission should play role in “dictating” selection of entertainment formats. Draft is seen as designed to provide commission with basis for coherent policy for dealing with format-change cases. And such policy, commissioner’s hope, will help commission persuade court to modify its position.

Commissioner Glen O. Robinson is understood to be drafting statement of his own that would accompany notice. It would expand on legal issues raised in notice and express his known uneasiness about thrust of courts’ format-case decisions.

Bad timing

If any network TV advertisers think they can get price break by stalling around, they’d better think again. That was word at all three networks last week after Donald Evanson of J. Walter Thompson Co. suggested publicly that week just ended (Dec. 15-19) might be critical time for NBC-TV rates (BROADCASTING, Dec. 15). Sources at all three said prices were holding everywhere and business was booming.

Sources at NBC, whose rates had been singled out as subject to special pressures, reported sales for January best they’ve ever seen and said orders were not for first quarter alone but for second and third as well. In addition, election night has been completely sold. As for holdouts, NBC official said it’s too late: Some advertisers whose decisions were delayed have already discovered parts of packages they wanted were snapped up while they dallied.

Disillusionment

President Ford’s television adviser, Robert Mead, ex-CBS News producer, is finding his turf crowded with what he regards as instant TV experts, and he’s not liking it very much. He feels top White House advisers have at times pre-empted his role, with adverse consequences for President—as, for example, bit of stage

business in which President in televised speech ripped pages off calendar to underline impatience with slow pace of Democratic Congress on energy problem (“Closed Circuit,” June 9). More recently, it was presidential counsel, Phil Buchen, who gave what Mike Wallace took to be commitment for presidential appearance on *60 Minutes*—and Mr. Mead who was given job of expressing regrets when President’s advisers decided, belatedly, Mr. Ford’s schedule could not accommodate interview.

Mr. Mead, incidentally, had written memo expressing his view on how Mr. Ford’s *60 Minutes* appearance could be more effective than Ronald Reagan’s and he opposed, as unprofessional, decision to cancel. Mr. Mead has indicated to friend that glamour of job has worn thin since Jerry terHorst hired him and promised free rein.

New territory

Ambitious project to collect most promising radio co-op advertising plans of American manufacturers has been undertaken by Radio Advertising Bureau. It initiated survey of 10,000 manufacturers few weeks ago to determine which have radio co-op plans and what plans are. From returns, now beginning to come in, RAB expects to collect at least 700 plans that hold most potential for radio stations and publish them in detail in book form during first half of 1976.

Encouraging mood change has already been noticed. In past, RAB officials say, manufacturers tended to be chary about giving out more than highlights, if that much, of their plans. But this time they seem more willing to send details. Some 150 plans have been received thus far. Project is part of over-all RAB co-op drive. Another feature: 18 co-op sales clinics between Jan. 12 and March 5, conducted by co-op specialist, Ed Crimmins, with leading manufacturers offering case histories.

Other body on view?

With outlook good for admission of broadcasting to House of Representatives (BROADCASTING, Dec. 8), first overtures are being made on Senate side. CBS Broadcast/Group President John A. Schneider and Washington Vice President Bill Leonard met last Wednesday with staff director of Commission to Study Operations of the Senate (so-called Culver Commission, named for Senator John C. Culver [D-Iowa], who authored resolution creating it). CBS President Arthur Taylor went to Washington to

meet with Senator Culver—who’s not member of commission—on subject, but Angola vote intervened.

Problem in Senate is said to be infinitely more complex. In House, all speakers deliver their remarks from dais in front of Speaker’s chair. In Senate, each member speaks from his desk, requiring broadcasters to mix 101 mikes, and posing more difficult camera-lighting considerations. Policy problem is something else again. Resolution identical to that on verge of adoption in House has been before Senator Robert C. Byrd’s (D-W. Va.) subcommittee (Standing Rules of the Senate) of the Rules and Administration Committee all year, without attention.

Canadian confrontations

Discovery of applications filed with Canadian Radio Television Commission for transfer of head-end locations of several Toronto cable systems to Hornby, Ont., seven miles away, is seen as indication that cable systems are seeking means of circumventing plan of three network affiliates in Buffalo, N.Y., to jam their signals northward. Hornby location, according to Buffalo authorities, would bypass expected jamming locations.

In Toronto last week were Ward L. Quaal, Chicago broadcast management counselor, retained by Buffalo stations, and Frank U. Fletcher, counsel for WBN Inc., to survey situation prior to Jan. 13 meeting of U.S. and Canadian diplomats on sensitive media problem (BROADCASTING, Dec. 15). Canadian plan to block flow of advertising to American print and broadcast media had resulted in earlier decision of *Time* and *Reader’s Digest* to terminate Canadian editions. Cable edict would require systems to delete U.S. advertising from programs purloined from U.S. stations, which proposed jamming retaliation.

More action

Highly placed source at CBS-TV says network will attempt to save MGM-TV’s *Bronk* (Sunday, 10-11 p.m., NYT), starring Jack Palance, which just managed to squeeze onto CBS’s second-season schedule, by making changes in the show. “The Palance character is too brooding and passive and stoical,” source said. “We’re going to take the pipe out of his mouth and make him more energetic and demonstrative, get him right into the action.” Hope at CBS, this source concludes, is that these changes, plus thinning out of ABC’s competitive Sunday-night movie package, will turn *Bronk* into a second-season survivor.

Bill

The club

There is, it seems to us, a fundamental misconception in the National Press Club's survey of White House relations with the press. The survey, as reported here a week ago, assumes that Presidents ought to be unfailingly candid and accessible and their press secretaries fountains of objective information to be turned on at the approach of any deadline.

Those conditions may prevail some day, but not while humans inhabit the White House.

The press club, as noted, has conceded that Gerald Ford and his administration are a welcome contrast to the Nixon regime which engaged in calculated efforts to manage news and discredit news media. Still, things could be much better, in the press club's eyes. A yearning is expressed for more "openness and candor" from the President. Ron Nessen, the press secretary, is criticized for ignorance in foreign affairs and inadequate knowledge of other subjects.

There is in all of this an addled idealism that ill suits professionals who are supposed to be telling the public what really goes on in Washington. Journalists are losing touch with political realities if they begin to hope that Presidents will answer every question fully or that information officers in presidential employ will suddenly begin acting like disinterested gatherers of unadulterated news. However high minded a President or his press secretary, their perceptions of the public good will often differ from the journalists'. It is often the conflict between those perceptions that makes news.

For the National Press Club's next study of White House news coverage, things might usefully be turned around. How much hard grubbing are reporters doing in the White House outside the oval office or Mr. Nessen's briefing room? Is television devoting enough time to the reporter's unillustrated report, based on sources that cannot be pictured? Is the abrasiveness of questions and answers at daily briefings distracting reporters from their basic job of getting at the facts?

Is the press club ready for that survey?

Star performance

Washingtonians, bureaucrats and ordinary citizens alike witnessed a unique demonstration of adversary journalism at its best at the year end. It was unusual because the opponents are under the same corporate tent.

On Dec. 30 the *Washington Star* in a lead editorial laid it on the government, National Association of Broadcasters and the networks for throwing blocks in the path of pay television. It was an inaccurate, outdated and inept portrayal of the existing conditions, although correct in the premise that most broadcasters oppose siphoning of programs.

Came Richard S. Stakes, president of the Washington Star Station Group, who also happens to be chairman of the NAB Committee on (against) Pay Television, with an op-ed rejoinder using double the space occupied by the *Star's* eruption. It answered the newspaper's attack with arguments largely familiar to all broadcasters—and cable operators.

The *Star's* new owner—Joe L. Allbritton—is under FCC mandate to dispose within three years of all broadcast properties whose ownership involves him in violation of the commission's crossownership rules. These include WMAL-AM-FM-TV Washington and WLVA(AM) or WLVA-TV Lynchburg, Va. These, plus

WCIV(TV) Charleston, S.C., are the properties directed by Mr. Stakes.

What happened here does not establish precedent. These days it isn't unusual for newspapers and stations under the same top ownership to take opposing positions on local issues or even on candidates for public office. Most newspaper ownerships have completely separated broadcast operations from their newspapers with separate corporate entities in separate buildings.

That was not how it was two decades ago. While it is perhaps after the fact, it is now evident that whatever misgivings government might have had about concentrations of media in the same market have to a great degree been voluntarily dispelled.

Hardy perennials

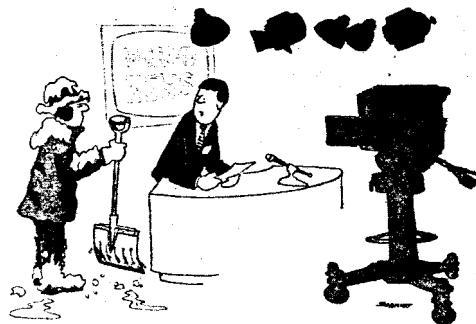
Television soap opera was discovered all over the press last week, as though it had suddenly emerged as a new quirk on the cultural scene. *Time* had a cover story of unusual length of the whole genre. Newspapers coast to coast were full of previews of Norman Lear's new *Mary Hartman! Mary Hartman!*, starting in syndication.

If any significance can be read into this, it is that television itself is always a dependable subject for journalistic treatment. In a slow news week, how better to sell magazines than with a cover piece headlined "Sex and Suffering in the Afternoon"? Almost as sure-fire as that sex-and-violence-in-prime-time speech that politicians have used so dependably in slow legislative periods.

N for nothing

Now that the laughter has subsided after the discovery that NBC paid "well under \$1 million" for a corporate symbol that a staff artist ran up for the Nebraska educational television network while working on company time, an accommodation must be reached. If the Nebraska people are as smart as they seem to be, they will abandon their use of the logo in exchange for one concession from NBC.

In its promotion accompanying its introduction of the new logo, NBC asserted that Lippincott & Margulies submitted 1,000 designs before the N was ultimately chosen. Having already rejected them, NBC would surely be willing to let the Nebraska educational television network take its pick from the discarded 999. Designers we know say Nebraska couldn't lose.



Drawn for BROADCASTING by Jack Schmidt

"Here comes a weather bulletin."

KPIX(TV) San Francisco reporter; Jim Arnold, WBZ-TV Boston cameraman, and Tom Fleming, independent producer formerly with WJZ-TV Baltimore, who will follow news stories with a documentary to be cycled among the five Group W stations.

Journalism Briefs

Pool arrangements. Television and radio pool arrangements are planned for Democratic National Convention in Madison Square Garden, New York, beginning July 12. Foreign broadcast service for international use will also be available. Inquiries should be addressed to *Robert Asman, NBC, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 10020.*

Correction. ABC spokesman says the network's news division has total of 90 correspondents, not just 52 reported in *BROADCASTING*, Jan. 5 ("The network evening news; showcase of electronic journalism"). That number included only TV correspondents. Spokesman said ABC also has 38 radio correspondents, some of whom also work in television.

Switch of the week: Nessen complimented

National Press Club criticism is countered by Cheney, 'Post'

White House news secretary Ronald Nessen, who has been drawing even more criticism than usual of late, was defended and praised by the White House chief of staff in an appearance on CBS's *Face the Nation* on Jan. 4. Mr. Nessen also got an editorial note of sympathy from the *Washington Post*.

Richard B. Cheney, in answer to a question from CBS's Phil Jones, said he and President Ford feel that the former NBC newsman has done "an extremely good job in an extremely difficult situation." He also said the office of presidential news secretary is one job—the Presidency is another—that serves as a "lightning rod," drawing a great deal of criticism, regardless of the work done.

As for the National Press Club report that sharply criticized Mr. Nessen's performance as news secretary (*BROADCASTING*, Jan. 5), Mr. Cheney noted that the *Washington Post* had published an editorial criticizing the club for failing to give Mr. Nessen an opportunity to reply. The editorial said it was disturbing that the report did not provide for a rebuttal.

The editorial also called attention to what the *Post* considered another, more serious, "flaw." And that is that the White House press corps seems, in the report, to assume some things "good reporters" should not—that "press secretaries are merely adjunct to good reporting," for one. Reporters, the editorial said, should rely on their own digging to develop news, not on press secretaries, whose job is to promote or at least protect "the image of those who pay their wages."

Equipment & Engineering

EBS hardware maker blasts NAB's position favoring delay in system implementation

**McMartin says it and other
manufacturers have equipment
ready now and cheaper than if
a postponement were granted**

The National Association of Broadcasters was rapped sharply last week for petitioning the FCC to postpone for six months the April 15 deadline broadcasters face for installing the new, two-tone Emergency Broadcast System equipment (*BROADCASTING*, Jan. 5). The rap was administered by Ray B. McMartin, president of McMartin Industries, Omaha, an associate member of NAB, which builds the equipment used in the new system.

Mr. McMartin, in a letter to NAB's general counsel, John Summers, said that postponing the effective date would be unfair to the broadcasters who have already purchased the new equipment as well as to the manufacturers (and associate members of NAB) who "have already invested huge sums in inventory buildup, anticipating an orderly flow of systems to the broadcasters."

He also said there is no basis for the argument that the necessary EBS equipment is not now available to broadcasters. "At least 14 suppliers have now been certified" by the commission, he said, "and a heavy advertising campaign" is being waged by the competing firms to reach broadcasters, who "are having no difficulty choosing the systems most appropriate to their needs."

"There is no reasonable need to defer decision-making until NAB convention time [March 21-24]," Mr. McMartin added. "While this might enhance the justification for attending and participating in the NAB convention, it does so at the expense of associate members engaged in supplying EBS equipment."

Mr. McMartin also warned that, contrary to what he said were suggestions that a postponement in the effective date might produce price reductions, it is more likely that further delays will cause prices to rise. He said quantity buying has already occurred and that labor costs after Jan. 1 will reflect "the substantial higher minimum wage increases." He said the maximum average cost for each broadcaster for the equipment will be \$425.

Two petitions seeking extensions of the deadline are pending before the commission—one, by the Louisiana Association of Broadcasters, seeking a one-year delay, and the NAB's. The commission is expected to act on those petitions this week.

Technical Briefs

Replacement order. General Electric Broadcasting Co., group broadcaster, has

placed \$345,000 order with Harris Corp. (Quincy, Ill.) for BT-D-361, 36 kw IF modulated TV transmitter to replace present equipment at KOA-TV Denver.

Bought for Boston. RKO General's WNAC-TV Boston will purchase eight RCA color TV cameras—five TK-45A studio cameras, one TKP-45 studio-quality portable and two TK-76 electronic news portables—from RCA Broadcast Systems, Camden, N.J. Total cost is in excess of \$500,000.

Studio monitor. Robins/Fairchild, Commack, N.Y., has developed compact 25-watt solid-state studio monitor power amplifier for broadcast use. Designated model F62500, it allows disk jockeys to have more headset sound than provided by lower-power units for monitoring records.

General agreement on ABC's push for FCC satellite grand design

**Cable and broadcasters do argue,
however, over who gets what**

ABC's petition to the FCC asking for a rulemaking on "the establishment of a basic over-all design for the development of domestic communication-satellite services" (*BROADCASTING*, Oct. 20) has been recognized in comments to the FCC as necessary by broadcasters as well as by cable TV and common carrier interests. There was however, disagreement over specific proposals suggested by ABC.

ABC in its petition had said that guidelines must be adopted soon or "satellite capacity in the 4/6 ghz band will be depleted within the next five years on a 'first-come, first-served' basis." ABC went on to suggest that broadcasting be given priority on the 4/6 ghz band and expressed concern over possible erosion of spectrum space if the commission allows earth station antennas smaller than the 10 meter (33-foot) ones normally recommended. These proposals were supported by the National Association of Broadcasters and CBS.

The National Cable Television Association did not go along with the antenna proposal. It said that "questions regarding the regulation of the design of ground station installation must be avoided. These matters should be marketplace in nature." The ban against smaller, less expensive antennas, NCTA added, would have the effect of restricting "the use of the 4/6 ghz band to broadcast network uses and shift other users . . . such as CATV to the 12/14 ghz band." The result of ABC's proposal, said NCTA, Hughes Aircraft and Home Box Office, would be to "remove the necessary flexibility from the development of nonbroadcast services utilizing satellites."

A combination of these two positions was taken by Eastern Microwave Inc., a common carrier, which said that no antennas smaller than 10 meters should be

Loeb Blow

In both front-page editorials and news stories, the Manchester, N.H., *Union Leader* has savaged a long list of public figures in the 19 years that it has been owned by Publisher William Loeb. The paper's targets have included Dwight Eisenhower ("that stinking hypocrite"), John Kennedy ("the No. 1 liar in the U.S.A."), Henry Kissinger ("Kissinger the Kike") and Edmund Muskie, who was driven to tears—and a fatally poor showing—during the state's 1972 presidential primary by a *Union Leader* description of his wife Jane as a heavy drinker with a fondness for gamy jokes. Loeb and his paper, which is the only statewide daily (circ. 63,750) in New Hampshire, have powerfully influenced everything in the state from elections to the slogan on its license plates ("Live Free or Die"). As contenders in next month's New Hampshire primary will probably learn, William Loeb, 70, is a mean man to cross.

That fact has not daunted Kevin Cash, 49, a Manchester native who has worked as a reporter and rewrite man at one time or another on a dozen or so newspapers, including Loeb's own *Union Leader*. Cash has written and published a devastating 472-page biography of his old boss entitled *Who the Hell Is William Loeb?* (Amoskeag Press, \$8.95; paperbound, \$5.95). The book sold 10,000 copies in the first nine days after it appeared in November; since then, 20,000 more copies have been distributed, and a third printing of 20,000 came off the presses last week. Those are impressive sales figures in a state that has only 791,000 people (the book is not yet generally available outside New Hampshire). Says Don Alper, a bookseller in Bedford (pop. 5,859) who sold 137 copies in two hours: "Up here it is going faster than *The Pentagon Papers*, *The White House Transcripts*, *Helter Skelter* or any other book in my experience."

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NEW HAMPSHIRE PUBLISHER WILLIAM LOEB & FRIEND
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Public President

After Gerald Ford took his widely televised spill on the ski slopes at Vail, Colo., Press Secretary Ron Nessen berated reporters for neglecting the President's accomplishments in office to spotlight his unfortunate footwork outside the White House. Last week syndicated Columnist Max Lerner, a liberal, added a complaint that the press has created an undeserved "ordeal of ridicule" for Ford that "will affect not only his personal showing against Reagan, which isn't so important for the nation, but also the Administration conduct of foreign and domestic policy, which is." Americans, said Lerner, "can afford to distinguish between hard slugging on policy decisions and unfair attacks of a personal character."

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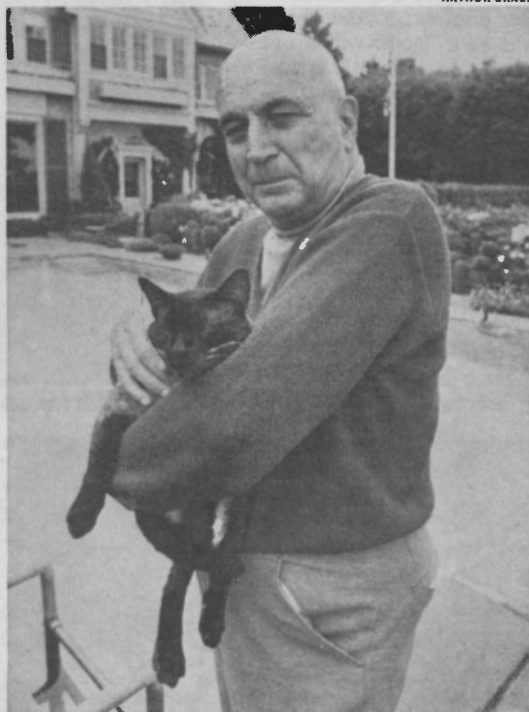
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Bill

as Science for the People protested that this research could prejudice parents against boys identified as XYY cases, and perhaps produce in such children the same behavior that is circumstantially associated with the defect. MIT biologist Jonathan King, a member of Science for the People, noted that some pregnant women whose male fetuses were found by amniocentesis to possess the XYY syndrome had become so alarmed when they were told that they were considering abortions, even though no conclusive evidence has emerged to link the defect with abnormal behavior.

Activist critics such as Science for the People saw the NIMH's involvement in the study as a political invasion of science. Supporters of the experiments argued that it was the critics who were really politicizing the issue—and pointed out that the treatable genetic ailment phenylketonuria is now routinely identified by similar screening studies. Despite these arguments, the pressure forced Walzer and Gerald to halt the program prematurely last May.

Concern: Many scientists fear that similar political pressure is about to be applied from Washington. "I'm afraid that what Kennedy is thinking about is legislation to control the kinds of experimentation that can be done," says Baltimore. "This is extremely dangerous because it may stop all sorts of things that are both safe and beneficial in the process of stopping what is, at the moment, a very theoretical danger." Berg echoes that sentiment. "You don't stop basic research for fear that the information it will generate will be misapplied," he argues. "The concern should come at the point at which that information is ready to be applied to humans."

The researchers' critics insist that they have no intention at the moment of writing new laws that control research. What they are asking is whether the public, which stands to be affected by any accidents in genetic experiments, should have some say in just what experiments are conducted. "Scientific research by its very nature has outside implications," says Harvard geneticist Richard C. Lewontin, "and consequently there is no inherent right to do anything a scientist damn well pleases."

The issue really boils down to one of deciding when the risk of any piece of research outweighs the benefit. That sort of analysis will be a major focus of a forthcoming conference of scientists and laymen that is being organized at the behest of Kennedy and New York's Sen. Jacob Javits, the ranking Republican on the Senate health subcommittee. What seems clear already, though, is that biomedical researchers, thanks in part to their very achievements, face a future in which they themselves—and perhaps public officials too—will have to devote more attention to the eventual consequences of their work.

—PETER GWYNNE with STEPHEN G. MICHAUD in Washington, WILLIAM J. COOK in San Francisco and bureau reports

Nessen's Report Card

To White House press secretary Ron Nessen, it seemed "the most unconscionable misrepresentation of a President." Once again, Gerald Ford had been pictured in the media suffering one of his chronic tumbles—this time on the ski slopes at Vail, Colo.—and the quick-tempered Nessen rose to his defense. "This President is healthy," he protested. "He is graceful, and he is by far the most athletic President within memory." But if Ford's performance on the slippery slopes was pardonable, Nessen's seemed less so. "To sensible people," editorialized *The Wall Street Journal*, "the whole idea of a Presidential press secretary bragging about his boss's gracefulness makes the whole team look comic."

nadir" with perhaps "the most inept performance in modern times" by a press secretary overseas. The report concluded: "It is difficult to see how Nessen can be the Presidential spokesman abroad unless he finds some way to improve on this kind of disastrous non-performance."

Those harsh words were prompted by the fact that on the China trip Nessen kept himself even less available to the press than the Chinese liaison officials. Then, on the Air Force One flight to Indonesia, he let his long-standing feud with Henry Kissinger pop into the open when he angrily called reporters "patsies" for changing a pool report at the Secretary of State's urging. After the trip, *The New Republic's* John Osborne wrote: "It is intolerable that Ron Nessen should be kept by the President." In fact,



Nessen meets the press: High marks for Presidential access, low marks for China

It was not the first time Nessen had managed to seem maladroit in his boss's behalf. The former NBC newsman took over as the President's spokesman with a promise to be candid and fair, but after fifteen months on the job, Nessen's low standing with the press corps has become a serious political issue in its own right. Last week, a six-man committee of the National Press Club, including three White House correspondents, handed Nessen an embarrassing report card, based on an eight-month study of White House press relations. While the study gave Nessen some points for efficiency and openness—especially in comparison with the stonewalling Nixon press office—it cited reporters' complaints of his "arrogance" and "irascibility." And on the recent Presidential visit to China, it said, Nessen "plunged to his

some of Ford's closest advisers—notably Melvin Laird—are known to believe that Nessen should be fired. And Ford's chief of staff, Richard Cheney, is said to be deeply concerned about the situation. Some critics think that Ford's faltering political image is largely the fault of his chief image maker.

Sandbagged: In fairness, Nessen's failings are not all self-inflicted. As the Press Club study notes, he has at times been sandbagged by his superiors. Both Kissinger and former chief of staff Donald Rumsfeld have kept him shut off from key policy information, so that often he has appeared evasive and unprepared in news briefings. On other occasions, he was stuck with the loyal servant's chore of official dissembling—insisting, for example, that Ford's position on aid to New York City had not changed when report-



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Kennedy: Bio-ethics is the new frontier

the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco managed to combine genes from a number of different organisms, in preparation for genetic transplants. "As soon as I saw that experiment," Berg recounted, "I knew the whole issue would come up again."

Berg and other biomedical researchers moved quickly to try to head off the hazard at the pass. Eighteen months ago they issued an unprecedented call for a moratorium on certain genetic-transplantation studies. Last February they followed that up with an international meeting at Asilomar in California that pondered the potential risks of the research (NEWSWEEK, March 10). As a result of the meeting the National Institutes of Health, which funds most biomedical research in the U.S., appointed a committee of researchers to decide the safety procedures necessary for specific transplantation experiments—a difficult task because, in the words of committee chairman DeWitt Stetten Jr., NIH deputy director for science, "We are assessing the risk of a procedure that has never been done—as far as we know."

Risk: Early last month, after a series of meetings that featured arguments between advocates of strict and loose controls, the safety committee settled on a series of guidelines to reduce the risk in transplantation experiments to a minimum. Scientists undertaking the experiments will be required to work in physically secure laboratories, similar to those presently used for experiments that deal with disease-carrying organisms, and to use special strains of bacteria that are genetically weakened, and thus unlikely to

survive outside the laboratory. Most biomedical researchers are satisfied with these guidelines, but their critics are openly skeptical.

The most influential critic is Senator Kennedy, who has declared that the scientists' self-regulation is inadequate "because scientists alone decided to impose the moratorium and scientists alone decided to lift it." Many researchers see in that statement a thinly veiled call for legislation that would put representatives of the public at the elbows of scientists in the laboratory—a prospect that sets off alarms in the scientific community. They bridle understandably at the notion that the government—or anyone else—should declare some avenue of research taboo. "If you're dedicated to the truth, you have to say that there are no truths not worth seeking," argues geneticist Robert Baumiller of the Kennedy Institute's Center for Bioethics in Washington.

Faced with a perceived threat of political regulation, many geneticists invoke the memory of Trofim D. Lysenko, who dominated the Soviet scientific establishment under Stalin. Lysenko's view that genes were unimportant in heredity became state policy because it conformed to Marxist economic determinism—and thus stymied Russian agriculture and genetics for decades. "One of the reasons they're buying so much wheat today," observes MIT molecular biologist and Nobel laureate David Baltimore, "is that Lysenko upset the whole scientific basis for their agriculture."

There is no question that scientific research has become increasingly vulnerable to government control simply because so much of it is paid for by the

government. Budgetary stringencies have already led to a cutback of research. But beyond these dollars-and-cents problems, some scientists today are worried that certain lines of investigation may become hard to pursue because their results might prove politically embarrassing. Genetic research, with its capacity for discovering differences between groups of people, is a particularly sensitive area. "The precedent of beginning to censor research because of the knowledge it might lead to about genetic differences in people is extremely dangerous," warns microbiologist Bernard Davis of Harvard Medical School. "If we want workable solutions to social problems, they have to be built on a reality that's there."

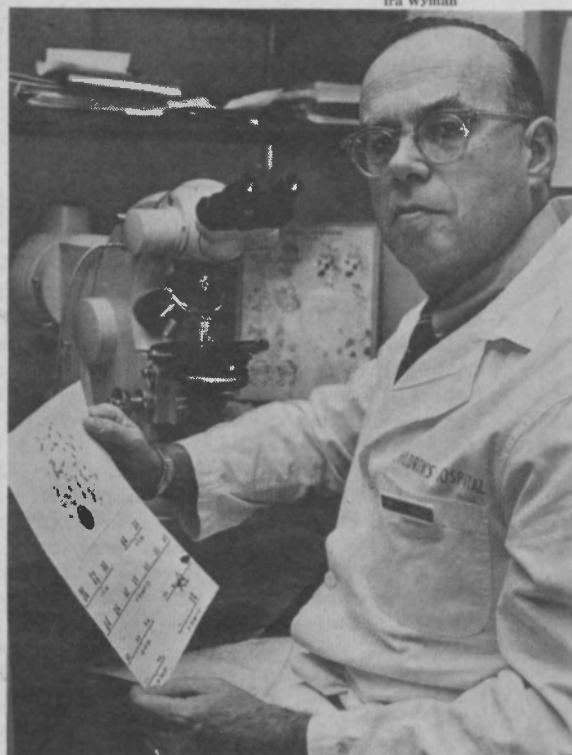
Link: In Boston last spring, public pressure forced cancellation of one attempt to investigate a reality that's there. At issue was a study of a genetic abnormality that occurs in roughly one in 1,000 males—the presence of an extra sex chromosome, labeled Y, in addition to the normal male complement of one X and one Y chromosome. Limited statistical evidence has suggested that this "XYY syndrome" may be associated with criminal or antisocial behavior. In the late 1960s, child psychiatrist Stanley Walzer and geneticist Park Gerald, both of Harvard Medical School, set out to investigate the possible link. They obtained a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health's Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, and began screening boys born at the Boston Hospital for Women for the XYY abnormality. They planned to monitor the XYY cases throughout their childhoods.

But then a Boston-based group known



Tony Rollo—Newsweek

The rivals: Boston protesters stopped geneticist Gerald's XYY research



Ira Wyman

ers knew it had days before. What's more, while the Nessen press operation was bound to benefit in comparison with that of the Nixon era, it also inherited the post-Nixon legacy of mistrust. With the aura of the Presidency dimmed by Watergate, the press corps no longer gives the White House the benefit of the doubt, and the baiting of Nessen during briefings is sometimes relentless.

Still, Nessen's highest marks have come for improving contacts between the President and the press. He has encouraged Ford to grant more personal interviews, and last week he organized the first in a series of by-invitation-only conversations with a small group of reporters.

Turmoil: But Nessen's personal credibility has failed on its own merits. En route to Vail, he told reporters the President had signed only minor bills during the flight, though Ford actually had signed the decidedly major tax-cut-extension bill. On Christmas Day, Nessen informed the press pool that a Gallup poll to be released over the weekend would show a rise in Ford's popularity from 44 to 49 per cent; the correct figures turned out to be 41 to 46 per cent and the poll had been released two days earlier.

Meanwhile Nessen's press office itself is in turmoil. Chief deputy William Greener, who has commanded far more respect than Nessen, has departed to become Rumsfeld's press chief at the Pentagon. He has been replaced by the highly regarded assistant press secretary John Carlson. But another deputy, John W. Hushen, is scheduled to leave soon to work in private industry and at least three other Nessen aides are known to be job hunting.

Nessen acknowledges he is not in high esteem among his former colleagues. After the release of the Press Club report, he told NEWSWEEK: "I'm disappointed in myself for not getting higher marks. But I'm learning as I go along, and I still hope to earn their respect." Even though he has at least one powerful supporter in the President himself, Nessen knows he faces an uphill struggle with reporters. As The Chicago Daily News's Peter Lisagor noted, Nessen's relations with the press are "very venomous, low, hostile—possibly reparable, but I'm not sure of that."

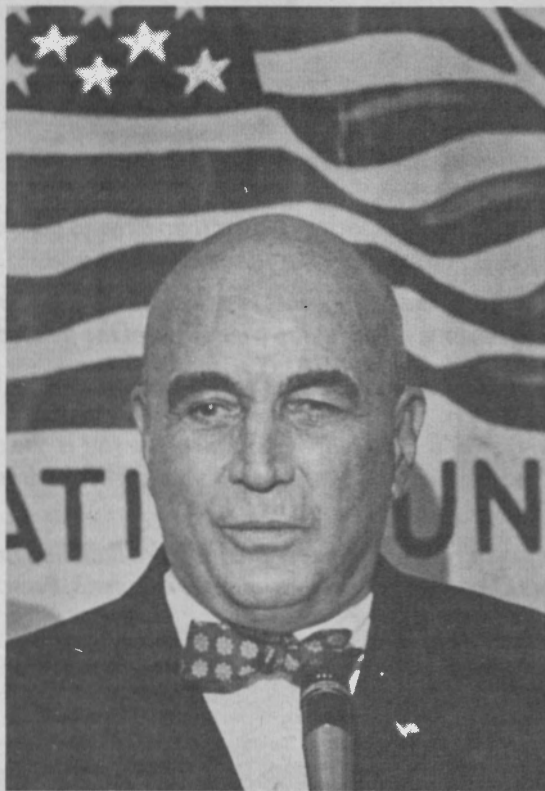
—DAVID GELMAN with THOMAS M. DeFRANK in Vail, Colo., and JEFF B. COPELAND in Washington

Cashing In on Loeb

Every four years, reporters covering the New Hampshire Presidential primary are drawn to the one-man sideshow staged by William Loeb, publisher of the far-right Manchester Union Leader. Loeb purveys a kind of blue journalism,

pushing his personal vendettas and ultraconservative views in his news columns, and capping editorials with such tasteless headlines as JERRY IS A JERK and KISSINGER THE KIKE? It was a Union Leader slur on Edmund Muskie's wife that brought those costly tears to Muskie's eyes in the 1972 campaign—and made Loeb a potentially awesome political force. This year, however, the sideshow has spawned a sideshow, thanks to a man named Kevin Cash.

Sue: Who the hell is Kevin Cash? He is the author of "Who the Hell Is William Loeb?"—an unauthorized 472-page biography that has become a best-selling *succès de scandale* in New Hampshire supermarkets (a whopping 30,000 copies sold to date). Loeb emphatically denies the book's allegations, but, as Cash tells it, the publisher's private life is only slightly less off-color than his editorial



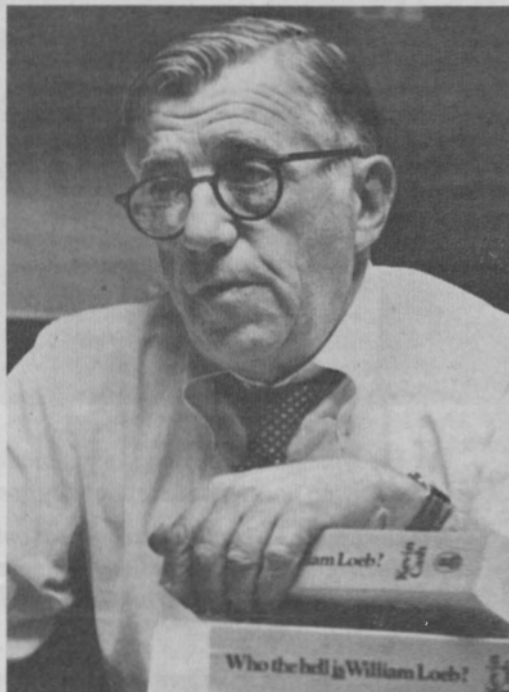
Ellis Herwig

style. Using documents, newspaper files and gossip, Cash paints the thrice-married publisher as a womanizer who used his relationships to finance his newspaper ventures, and charges that Loeb was once sued by his own mother over some missing securities.

Loeb, according to Cash, is a gun-lover with a hair-trigger temper who once shot the office cat and was drummed out of a country club for waving a weapon around. Cash says Loeb used the columns of the Union Leader to bludgeon political opponents, once even launching an attack on the 15-year-old daughter of former New Hampshire Gov. Walter Peterson after she spoke approvingly of marijuana users. Much of the material is familiar, but it adds up to the first full-length portrait of the flamboyant Loeb

who, as publisher of New Hampshire's only statewide daily, carries clout in both local politics and the state's trend-setting Presidential primary.

The 49-year-old Cash, a Manchester native who lives with his mother, is an itinerant newspaper man who was fired from the Union Leader in the 1950s for getting drunk while covering a golf tournament. "There was no doubt I was drunk—I have many witnesses who will testify to that," he says. But when some New York newspaper chums talked him



Andrew Schneider

Loeb (left) and biographer Cash: A full-length look at a far-out publisher

into beginning the Loeb book in 1972, he switched to drinking black coffee and began three years of intensive research, at one point gaining access to correspondence between Loeb and his first wife. Unable to find a willing publisher when the book was done, Cash formed Amoskeag Press, Inc., and brought the book out himself, even using his own truck to deliver copies to stores.

"I came back to New Hampshire after a number of years and heard 9-year-old kids saying, 'Kissinger the Kike,'" says Cash, explaining why he wrote the book. "Bill Loeb might think that's funny, but I don't." Bill Loeb doesn't find the book funny, at any rate. "He never interviewed anyone except people who are hostile to me, like my ex-wife," Loeb told NEWSWEEK. "We're quite sure it's a non-book." Loeb threatens to sue, but Cash, knowing Loeb's penchant for litigation, had armed himself with a lawyer before the book's publication and seems unintimidated. A suit, in fact, might boost "Who the Hell..." into a third printing—nice work for a non-book by an unknown author, publisher, distributor.

—DAVID GELMAN with TONY FULLER in Boston

IMAGE MAKER WITH HIS HANDS FULL

GROWING White House concern over public portrayals of Gerald Ford as a bumbling, inept President is prompting a counterattack—and it is Mr. Ford's press secretary, Ron Nessen, who is leading the fight.

Mr. Nessen is attempting to bat down what he considers to be an unfair and belittling image of Mr. Ford as a clumsy caretaker who is filling the job only until a President is elected.

The latest episode involving Mr. Nessen and the press came after pictures were published of the President falling while skiing during his Christmas vacation in Colorado.

The President himself laughed off the fall. But Mr. Nessen complained that Mr. Ford was being treated unfairly. The President, he said, is an excellent skier whose rare slip on the slopes was blown out of proportion.

Earlier in the year the White House suffered through pictures of the President falling down an airplane ramp at Salzburg, Austria. Then came other embarrassments. Mr. Ford bumped his head on the side of a pool while swimming in Florida and banged the top of his head in boarding the presidential helicopter at the White House.

Laughter hurts. White House officials say that real irritation set in after columnists, cartoonists, television personalities and night-club comics began making Ford the butt of their jokes. Observed one key official: "Ridicule is the most dangerous weapon you can use against a politician."

Liberal columnist Tom Braden, after repeating a story told by Johnny Carson on television about Mr. Ford, wrote: "It's a clear signal, more important even than that Gallup Poll. When the nation's end men begin to treat a serious politician as a joke, he is through. Gerald Ford is through."

In his counterattack, Mr. Nessen argues that the press is concentrating too much on trivial matters. The President, says Mr. Nessen, should be judged on his policies and not on his co-ordination on the ski slopes.

In fact, declared Mr. Nessen in Colorado, Mr. Ford is probably the best athlete in recent White House history. He pointed to the President's ability as a swimmer, golfer, skier and tennis player, along with his unusual stamina for a 62-year-old man.

Particularly upsetting to aides is their feeling that the press, especially those members covering the White House, goes out of its way to point up the foibles of the Chief Executive.

Discussing the problem with newsmen on December 31, Mr. Ford said he retains complete confidence in himself although "some of the things you read or hear or see kind of hurt your pride. . . . You have to have a sense of humor (and) be a little thick-skinned."

But Mr. Nessen and other White House officials have decided not to conceal their dismay over what they feel to be unwarranted characterizations. They worry that such an image damages Mr. Ford's positions on such important issues as the economy, taxes, energy and

sen of "disastrous nonperformance" on the Ford mission to China.

One newsman wrote that "Nessen's conduct on that trip, in the opinion of many correspondents who accompanied the presidential party, was distinguished chiefly by long absences from the press room and by the presentation of inadequate information when he appeared."

Mr. Nessen's reaction following Mr. Ford's skiing fall also has come in for criticism. The *Wall Street Journal* commented editorially: "We think Mr. Nessen has shown the real clumsiness here.

He has taken what is essentially a joke and turned it into a serious matter, and, moreover, a serious matter on which he cannot hope to win. To sensible people, the whole idea of a presidential press secretary bragging about his boss's gracefulness makes the whole team look comic."

Internal troubles. Mr. Nessen has had his problems within the Administration, too, particularly with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Although it is largely regarded as a personality clash, Mr. Nessen believes the Secretary has denied him access to important foreign-policy information and thus hampered his effectiveness.

Mr. Nessen says that he is not a "salesman" for Mr. Ford—a role he vowed to shun when he took the job. But a growing number of reporters feel that he is a partisan political advocate.

The press secretary contends that he answers every question the way

he believes the President would answer it and puts his own beliefs behind him.

Even by many of his critics, Mr. Nessen is credited with playing a part in improving White House relations with the press, including such things as more presidential news conferences.

Mr. Nessen does not act like a man in danger of being fired, despite frequent rumors to that effect. The President, who is the final arbiter, seems satisfied with him. The press secretary's job, Mr. Ford has told friends, is one of the toughest in Washington.



Nessen and "The Fall." The publicity given President Ford's ski spill, often accompanied by jibes about his apparent clumsiness, prompted a sharp blast at press coverage from the White House news chief.



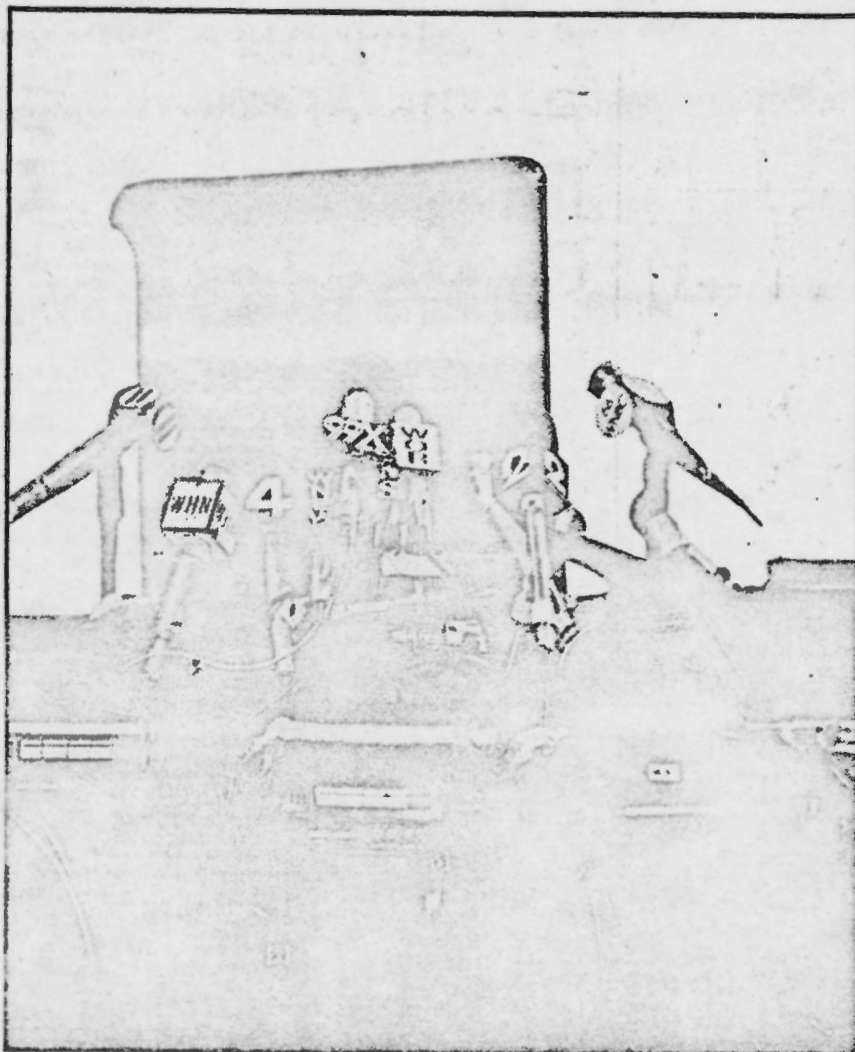
UPI, USN&WR

détente when he already is in trouble in public-opinion polls.

Disputes with the press are nothing new for Mr. Nessen, who took over the job as White House press secretary 16 months ago. A former National Broadcasting Company TV correspondent, the 41-year-old Mr. Nessen is considered by many to be at a low point in his job performance.

Much of the unhappiness stems from Mr. Nessen's handling of the President's China trip. A National Press Club study group in Washington accused Mr. Nes-

The Press Secretary Deflects Barbs Aimed at His Boss



Michael Martin/Black Star

Nessen's Problem: He's A Shield With a Thin Skin

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON—One of President Ford's senior campaign aides said he nearly drove his car off Massachusetts Avenue the other day while guffawing at a radio news account that Rogers C. B. Morton was being appointed White House counselor on domestic and economic issues.

"Economic policy!" the campaign aide hooted a day later, recalling his surprise. "Rog Morton on economic policy!"

In fact, as the campaign official knew, the press suspected, departing Commerce Secretary Morton conceded and, by week's end the White House was finally acknowledging, Mr. Morton's principal role in the Executive Mansion was to give some belated coordination to Mr. Ford's disjointed Presidential candidacy.

The flap occasioned by the Morton announcement—Democrats and even the Republican chairman of the Federal Elections Commission openly

questioned paying Mr. Morton \$44,600 from tax funds to engage in partisan politics—served as one illustration of the current nature of President Ford's press relations.

In and out of the White House there were those who quickly suggested that Ron Nessen, the Presidential Press Secretary, had botched the announcement by trying to persuade a skeptical White House press corps that Mr. Morton would give but "incidental" attention to politics. "You have to expect that from a girgin White House," said a Ford campaign official. "The choice of the word 'incidental' was unfortunate," said a White House aide.

But the subject of Mr. Morton's salary and how to submerge his political function in a job description of White House "counselor" had been the topic of conversation among Presidential aides and had been cleared, it was suggested authoritatively, by Mr. Ford himself. Only by indirection did anyone try, though, to blame the President for the snafu.

Mr. Nessen accepted the blame. To hear his associates tell it, he did so willingly. They said that

Mr. Nessen was pleased, in a perverse sense, when the National Press Club recently issued a report crediting the President with restoring civility to White House press relations and chastising Mr. Nessen for flaws in the White House communications process. The report, said one friend of Mr. Nessen's, bolstered his confidence that he was earning his keep by "drawing a certain amount of fire and heat away from the President."

That interpretation sounded like a rationalization on the part of the Press Secretary—the press club study said, among other things, that his conduct of press relations in China last year may have been "the most inept performance in modern times"—but it at least underlined what has become common to Presidential press policies: They often aim more at insulating the President than at enlightening the public.

As the press club study panel noted, Mr. Ford has been uncommonly accessible in 17 months as President. He conducted 24 news conferences (former President Nixon held 37 in 67 months) and afforded correspondents the option of a follow-up question. He submitted to innumerable interviews and began recently to hold semiformal conversations with groups of journalists. He attended social functions at reporters' homes and partied with the press here and in Vail, Colo. He writes congratulatory notes to journalists of his acquaintance who earn promotions or win awards. He calls many in the press by first names, although he keeps referring to Aldo Beckman of The Chicago Tribune as "Adolf" and Jules Witcover of The Washington Post as "Julius."

If his predecessors have been calculating—the common view is that President Kennedy seduced, President Johnson bullied and President Nixon bugged the press—there is a prevailing impression that Mr. Ford's cordiality is sincere, no more than a reflection of an open personality.

Presidential Reassurances

Mr. Ford "doesn't complain" about negative press accounts and rarely indulges in "mild grumbling" at unfair printed gossip about his family or the leak of sensitive information, according to the Press Secretary. When Mr. Nessen, who clearly does have thin skin, feels depressed, he is said to be reassured by the President, "Do what you think is right. Don't let it get you down."

There are, though, some close to Mr. Ford who believe, on the basis of their observations, that his geniality is at least partly calculated and his accessibility is attuned as much to the post-Watergate climate of political openness as it is to Mr. Ford's instinctive amity.

"My theory," said a senior White House official, "is that it bugs him nearly as much as it bugs me and others when he gets an unfair rap, but I can't imagine him saying it out loud. It's a part of his political personality. Down deep he has this private rule: 'Don't attack the press.'"

Genuine or not, Mr. Ford's attitude stands him in good stead. Presidents always try to persuade the press they can do no wrong. The press routinely looks for Presidential flaws. The process usually leads to gradual disenchantment on both sides. In Mr. Ford's case, the President and the press continue on good personal terms—and Mr. Nessen has become the object of growing dislike or disfavor among the correspondents, some of whom would as soon bait him as question him now. They blame Mr. Nessen for the evasions, obfuscations or, as in the case of the Morton announcement, the occasional shams.

Mr. Nessen more likely does what he does, however well, on the basis of policy. An impression was current late last year that Mr. Ford might be on the verge of replacing his spokesman. Mr. Nessen has remained and probably will be at his lectern in the foreseeable future. So long as he is willing to be the object of scorn that might otherwise be directed at his boss, Mr. Nessen admirably serves the President's purposes.

James M. Naughton is a White House correspondent for The New York Times.

JUN 11 1976



Sen. Humphrey



Sen. Proxmire



Rep. Dellums



Rep. Schroeder

Spotlighting Big Spenders, Anti-Defense Liberals

ACU Announces Budget-Busters Award, Ostrich Award for Congressmen

ACU HAS INITIATED a new policy of distributing "awards" to certain members of Congress who have voted irresponsibly on key spending and defense issues. Twenty-five Big Spenders in Congress were recently bestowed the "Budget-Busters Award," while 20 anti-defense members were recipients of the detente-plumed "Ostrich Award."

The *Budget Busters Award* was distributed to those Members of Congress who have consistently voted for programs ballooning the Federal deficit, generating inflationary pressures, and imposing a heavier tax burden on the American people.

In announcing the award, James Roberts, ACU's Ex-

ecutive Director, stated that "recipients of the award have proven to be totally out of step with the majority of the American people who are fed up with unchecked, runaway federal spending and the imposition of greater Big Brother government interference in their lives."

"There is no question," Roberts said, "that these Congressmen are undeserving of another term in office and should rightly be denied the opportunity to continue their budget-busting ways in Congress."

The *Budget Busters Award* recipients for 1976 are: Senators John Tunney (D-Calif.), Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), Harrison Williams, (D-N.J.), Joseph Montoya (D-N.M.) and Frank Moss (D-Utah); and Representatives Mark Hannaford (D), John Krebs (D) and George Miller (D-Calif.), Tim Harkin (D) and Ed Mezvinski (D-Iowa), Martha Keys (D-Ks.), Abner Mikva (D-Ill.), David Evans

(Continued on next page)



ACU Awards

(Continued from front page)

(D) and Ed Roush (D-Ind.), Bob Traxler (D-Mich.), William Clay (D-Mo.), Max Baucus (D-Mont.), Stephen Neal (D-N.C.), Henry Helstoski (D-N.J.), Bella Abzug (D) and Matthew McHugh (D-N.Y.), Thomas Ashley (D-Ohio), Joe Fisher (D) and Herbert Harris (D-Va.) and Alvin Baldus (D-Wisc.).

Ten Senate and House votes on important spending issues in 1975 were selected for judging the performance of the award recipients. On most or all of these votes the *Budget Busters Award* recipients voted contrary to ACU's position, thereby increasing the Federal debt and fanning inflation.

These key Senate and House votes are: H.R. 2166, Tax Reduction Act of 1975; H.R. 4481, Emergency Jobs Appropriations; Buckley amendment to S.Con. Resolution 32 to cut the FY '76 Budget by \$25 billion (Senate); Latta amendment to H.Con. Res. 466, FY '76 Budget, to cut new budget authority by \$12.5 billion and lower budget outlays, the deficit and public debt by \$4.7 billion (House); Long motion to table, and thus kill, the Buckley amendment to H.R. 2166 which would introduce "indexing" into the tax structure (Senate); S. 200, Consumer Protection Act of 1975; H.R. 4485, Emergency Middle-Income Housing Act; H.R. 5237, Local Public Works Capital Development and Investment Act; Veto override vote on H.R. 5901, Education Appropriation Act; H.R. 10585, Debt Limit Increase (House); H.R. 10481, New York City Aid; and H.R. 5559, Revenue Adjustment Act of 1975.

ACU's *Ostrich Award* is being given to those members of Congress who, taking a head-in-the-sand approach, have consistently voted to weaken the United States' military capabilities while ignoring the unprecedented military build-up by the Soviet Union.

In an April 20 press release, Jim Roberts states "There is mounting evidence that the balance of power, both nuclear and conventional, has greatly shifted in favor of the Soviet Union over the past few years. Despite this alarming trend some Members of Congress have succumbed to what former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger referred to as the 'ostrich syndrome.'"

How You Can Help!

To help us defray the cost of publishing *Battle Line*, we'd appreciate it if, right now, you would send us a contribution in the enclosed postage-paid envelope. Anyone who gives \$10 or more will receive, at no additional cost, a copy of the new ACU study *My Guys*, a critical look at President Ford's appointments; or Frank McNamara's *The Case for Internal Security*.

"Ignoring the growing Soviet military threat and recent Communist gains in Southeast Asia and Angola," Roberts added, "recipients of the *Ostrich Award* have consistently voted to slash the defense budget and to undermine the United States' position as leader of the Free World. It is evident that these Members of Congress do not represent the majority of Americans who believe in a strong national defense and therefore, are not deserving of another term in office."

The *Ostrich Award* recipients for 1976 are: Senators Edmund Muskie (D-Me.), Hubert Humphrey (D-Mn.), William Proxmire (D-Wisc.); and Representatives Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), Patricia Schroeder (D-Col.), Andrew Jacobs (D-Ind.), Gladys Spellman (D-Md.), Bob Carr (D-Mich.), Richard Vander Veen (D-Mich.), Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), Richard Nolan (D-Minn.), Helen Meyner (D-N.J.), Jerome Ambro (D-N.Y.), Robert Edgar (D-Pa.), Allan Howe (D-Utah), Harold Ford (D-Tenn.), Les Aspin (D-Wisc.) and Robert Cornell (D-Wisc.). Selection of the recipients for the *Ostrich Award* was based on their voting record on key defense and foreign policy issues and membership on related committees.

Five Senate and four House votes on important defense and foreign policy issues in 1975 were selected for judging the performance of the award recipients. On most or all of these issues the *Ostrich Award* recipients voted contrary to ACU's position, thereby endangering U.S. military preparedness.

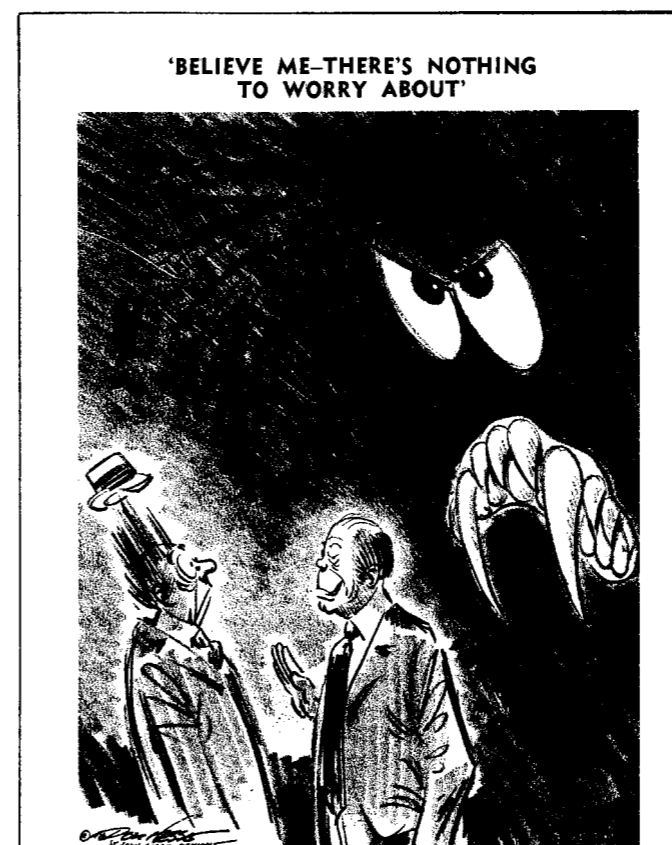
Key Senate and House votes: H.R. 6096, South Vietnam Assistance Conference Report; McGovern and Aspin amendments to delete funds for the B-1 bomber; Aspin amendment to H.R. 6674, to cut \$1.89 billion for weapons procurement (House); H.R. 6674, Department of Defense Authorization Act; Conference report vote on Aug. 1, 1975 (Senate); Culver amendment to H.R. 10029, to withhold funds for Diego Garcia base (Senate); Kennedy amendment to H.R. 9681, to dismantle Grand Forks ABM site (Senate); Slack amendment to H.R. 8121, to give up House opposition to Senate version of the bill which did not contain language prohibiting appropriations for U.S. negotiations to conclude a treaty relinquishing U.S. control of the Panama Canal Zone (House).

ACU will be working actively with its state affiliates in the upcoming elections for the defeat of the Congressmen and Senators receiving these awards.

Meanwhile, three recent national public opinion surveys show that large majorities of the American people are fed up with Big Government and inflation and believe that it is important that the Federal budget be balanced.

A Lou Harris Survey reveals that as far as most Americans are concerned, the "old politics" are largely finished as a force in the 1976 election, indicating that many factors that weighed heavily in previous White House races over the last 30 years now appear out of date.

This shift is one of the key reasons many of the liberal



Democratic early contenders have faded from the race. Voters are no longer prepared to support the politics on which the New Deal was based.

Sixty-two percent of the nationwide cross section of 1,512 adults surveyed agreed "The trouble with most liberal Democrats is that they think problems can be solved by throwing money at them, and that is wrong."

No Free Lunch

Eighty-one percent agreed that "the trouble with your getting special benefits and handouts from the government these days is that you will have to pay for them four or five times over in higher taxes."

Over-Promisers Suspect

Seventy-seven percent agreed that "the candidate for President who promises one group something special from the government and another group something else will probably turn out to be a friend of no group if elected." And 77 percent also agreed that "a candidate who says he can give the unemployed government jobs and not increase federal spending just isn't being honest."

Inflation a Top Priority

Another Harris Survey shows that despite an improvement in the economy, 94 percent of Americans think "keeping inflation under control" should be the chief priority of the next President.

Federal Taxes a Concern

Close behind the top issues of inflation and federal spending was reducing unemployment, which was mentioned by 85 percent of those polled. Holding down federal taxes was a major concern of 81 percent. Maintaining United States military defenses is believed to be very important by 76 percent.

BATTLE LINE/April-May 1976

A Gallup Poll shows that the mood of the electorate this year is clearly one of fiscal conservatism, with voters' views on government spending likely to assume major importance in the post-convention campaign period.

Gallup Finds New Mood on Budget

To probe this new mood, Gallup asked a representative sample of the public to vote on a proposed constitutional amendment that would require Congress to balance the federal budget each year.

Democrats Want Balanced Budget, Too

Of particular interest is the finding that nearly as large a proportion of Democrats as Republicans favor a law to balance the budget, despite the fact that Republicans have traditionally been more conservative regarding fiscal matters. The crucial bloc of voters who classify themselves as independents hold views similar to Republicans and Democrats.

Following are the questions and results. As the response to the second question indicates, only 6 percent believe it is not important to balance the budget.

Most States Require Balanced Budget

The results show as many as eight in 10 voters in favor of such an amendment.

All but three states currently have laws requiring a balanced budget. The size of the Ford administration's proposed budget is \$395.8 billion, with a projected deficit of \$44.6 billion. The last time the budget was balanced was in 1969, when a surplus of \$3.2 billion was realized.

Big Government a Major Issue

"In no other presidential election year in recent times has the issue of Big Government and big spending been so widely debated as it is this year, with the near-bankruptcy of several major U.S. cities undoubtedly contributing to the public's current belt-tightening mood," says Gallup.

Amendment to Balance Budget Favored

"Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment that would require Congress to balance the federal budget each year—that is, keep taxes and expenditures in balance?"

	Percent		
	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
National	78	13	9
Republicans	84	9	7
Democrats	78	12	10
Independents	77	16	7

"How important do you think it is to balance the federal budget—very important, fairly important, or not so important?"

	Percent			
	Very	Fairly	Not So	No Opinion
National	69	21	6	4
Republicans	74	20	3	3
Democrats	69	21	4	4
Independents	67	20	9	4

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John D. Lofton, Jr., Editor

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BATTLE LINE/April-May 1976

ACU Effort Helped Reagan Trounce Ford in Texas

The Gipper lives!

And we are proud to say that the American Conservative Union played a significant, independent role in Ronald Reagan's smashing victory in Texas over Gerald Ford. White House press secretary, Ron Nessen, however, is not proud of ACU's role. Mr. Nessen seems to believe that it is, if not *ipso facto* illegal to oppose his boss, it is certainly immoral and unethical. Speaking of Mr. Nessen, it is becoming increasingly difficult to tell whether he is speaking as the President's press spokesman, or if he is merely trying out new material for a possible return engagement as the Guest Buffoon on the *NBC Saturday Night TV* show. But, we digress. For more on this, see the story on page 6.

In the Lone Star State, ACU spent over \$30,000 on hard-hitting radio and newspaper ads contrasting the Reagan and Ford positions on key issues. We based our advertising pitch on the presumption that, given the facts, Republican voters would choose the no-nonsense conservatism of Reagan over the operational liberalism of Gerald Ford.

ACU placed 29 full-page ads and over 3,000 radio spots in such cities as Austin, El Paso, San Angelo, Waco, Amarillo, Corpus Christi, Beaumont, Lubbock and Abilene. In addition, ACU chairman M. Stanton Evans held press conferences in Houston, Austin, and Dallas announcing our independent campaign and criticizing the President for political double-talk on issues such as the Panama Canal, energy deregulation, aid to New York City, gun control, and forced school busing.

Under the auspices of ACU, Robert Carleson, former U.S. commissioner of welfare, spent four days crisscrossing Texas for a series of radio, TV and newspaper interviews on Reagan's record as governor of California. Four thousand copies of the book, *Sincerely, Ronald Reagan*, were mailed to conservative Democrats throughout the state.

ACU's advertising campaign was not the only independent effort. ACU supporter J. Evetts Haley of Midland, author of *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*, ran his own version of ACU's newspaper ads and separate radio spots throughout the state.

In Indiana, ACU:

•Had mailed to all Republican voters in Marion County—32,000 of them—copies of a *Human Events* supplement on Ronald Reagan's record, written by ACU Chairman Stan Evans. Marion County, which includes Indianapolis, was carried by Reagan by about 7,000 votes.

•Placed 400 one-minute spot ads for Reagan around the state, and full-page newspaper ads in 10 newspapers.

In the Georgia primary, which Reagan won in a walk, ACU placed radio spot ads on 10 stations.

ACU began its independent campaign on Reagan's behalf just prior to the Florida primary, March 9, and continued in North Carolina, Illinois and Wisconsin.

Whatever else it may have demonstrated, Ronald Reagan's defeat of Gerald Ford in Texas and his win in Indiana, have demolished the argument that the

former California Governor is an un-electable, right-wing extremist who appeals only to a small minority within the Republican Party. In these states, Mr. Reagan captured not only the conservative GOP vote but also the votes of thousands of independents and Democrats, many of whom formerly supported Alabama Governor George Wallace.

Mr. Reagan's defeat of Ford in the Lone Star State was truly astounding in its scope, surprising both Mr. Ford and his backers and the Reagan people as well. Reagan won all 96 delegates, sweeping all 24 Congressional districts and all but two of the nearly 200 counties which held a GOP primary. He carried by the overwhelming margin of about two-to-one the county and home precinct in Wichita Falls of the man who headed President Ford's campaign in Texas, Sen. John Tower.

Commenting on Mr. Reagan's victory, which drew some 419,000 voters into the Republican primary, more than four times as many voters as have ever participated in a GOP primary in Texas, Reagan co-chairman Ray Barnhart told *Battle Line*:

"What this demonstrates is that Reagan has broad support contrary to the garbage the Ford strategists are putting out. It shows just how shallow the President's support is. We got a lot of help from the Wallace Democrats but not all of them crossed over. Wallace still got about 20 percent of the Democrat vote." In the last Texas GOP primary in 1974, gubernatorial candidate Jim Granberry drew only 74,000 votes.

The Reagan triumph, says Barnhart was a "people's campaign" because most of the Republican Party big-wigs backed Mr. Ford. "I'm convinced that most people voted for Reagan because of his stands on the issues, not against Mr. Ford. It was a positive thing," Barnhart observes. "Reagan carried the cities big and little, rural and urban areas. You name it, he carried it. What we had was a November election in May, a general election where people exercised their votes not on the basis of party affiliation but on the basis of what they believe."

Barnhart firmly believes that Reagan's win in Texas marks the demise of Mr. Ford's candidacy. "It demonstrates the fatal weakness of Mr. Ford," he says. "Ford is not a leader but a product of Watergate. He was selected, not elected. He came from the Washington crowd not because he was a leader but because he wasn't. He was chosen because he made no one mad about anything."

Knight newspaper reporter Saul Friedman quotes University of Houston political scientist Richard Murray as saying of Reagan's Texas victory: "Ford's weakness is glaring. He campaigned hard here, but he ended up with support only from the country-club Republicans. Reagan showed that he could draw votes from Democrats and independents, blue-collar and middle-class."

The former Republican chairwoman from Harris County, Texas, Nancy Palm, says: "Ford just doesn't realize how weak he is when he gets out among independent and conservative voters."

Well, he does now.

BATTLE LINE/April-May 1976

Sen. Tower, Kissinger: A Real Odd Couple

Although I realize the truth of the statement that politics makes strange bedfellows, still—even for reasons of political expedience—it blows the mind to see Texas Sen. John Tower in the sack with Henry Kissinger.

Denies Kissinger a Soft-Liner

In an interview last month, in which he bitterly criticized Ronald Reagan, Sen. Tower staunchly defended Dr. Kissinger calling him a "brilliant secretary of state," and saying that he has "no major criticisms" of him during the eight years he has served a Republican President. Denying what has now become the conventional wisdom among conservatives and liberals alike—that *detente* with the Soviet Union has indeed been a one-way street—Sen. Tower told me: "Unless it can be proven to me that Kissinger is a soft-liner toward the Soviets, I would say that President Ford should keep him on."

Nuclear Superiority No Longer GOP Position

But one wonders just what kind of proof it takes to convince the Senator. Take, for example, the issue of American strategic nuclear superiority over the Russians, something the 1968 Republican Party platform demanded, and something Sen. Tower says he's still for.

Sold President Idea of Strategic Retreat

In their 1974 biography titled *Kissinger*, authors Marvin and Bernard Kalb report that it was Kissinger who sold President Nixon on the idea that something called "sufficiency" should be substituted for "superiority" as the goal of American military policy. Characterizing this as a "strategic retreat," the Kalbs write:

"The President was under considerable pressure from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to expand the country's strategic arsenal. They recommended that the U.S. resume the construction of ICBM's—frozen for several years at the level of 1,054—and that the U.S. step up its production of nuclear-powered submarines and long-range bombers. Kissinger realized that the Soviet strategic arsenal was growing every day but, during an NSC meeting on March 5, 1969, devoted exclusively to a review of the ABM system, he argued strenuously against the JCS recommendations on the grounds that they would escalate the arms race, thereby jeopardizing the long-range prospects for SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) and unnecessarily antagonizing the Russians."

Refuses to Criticize SALT Talks

So, what about that 1972 Kissinger-approved SALT agreement with the Soviets? Does Sen. Tower agree with those critics—again liberals and conservatives alike—who maintain that we were had because this pact halted the U.S. in the areas where we were ahead, and allowed the Russians to advance where they were behind? Not at all. The Senator says we had to have this agreement "to arrest Soviet military growth." But this has not happened at all, and as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Sen. Tower should know this is not true.

BATTLE LINE/April-May 1976



SEN. TOWER AND HENRY KISSINGER

From victory over communism to victory over Reaganism...

In statements before various Congressional committees, Dr. Malcolm Currie, the Pentagon's director of research and engineering, has repeatedly warned of the "staggering growth" of the Soviet's military machine. Dr. Currie says: "A study of all the trends leads one to the inescapable conclusion that the balance of power is shifting to the side of the Soviet Union."

Soviets Seeking Superiority

In a massive statement to Congress in February of this year, Dr. Currie declared ominously: "I do not pretend to understand how the Soviets think. However, a valid explanation of such thinking—and one to which we must respond in the absence of any proof to the contrary—is that they plan not on maintaining equivalence, but rather on achieving effective and useful superiority: the ability to destroy us militarily while minimizing our capability to retaliate."

Tower Backed Victory Over Communism

In 1962, a bright-eyed and bushy-tailed young freshman Senator wrote a book titled *A Program for Conservatives* in which he declared that the purpose of the foreign policy of the United States should be "victory over Communism." Rejecting the idea of peaceful co-existence or accommodation with Communism, this individual wrote:

Denounced Peaceful Coexistence

"If we are to avert the disaster that all too clearly is approaching, our foreign policy must be purged of the elements that have put us on this road to defeat. America must declare for victory. And she must do so from the innermost fiber outward to the farthest extremity. A handsome Dorian Gray 'image' of victory will not hide a flabby corpus, made so by incompatible desires to fight on the one hand and to make peace on the other. The enemy is not deceived."

Principles or Partnership?

When I asked Sen. Tower about these ringing words he had written 14 years ago, and how they square with the Ford-Kissinger policies of *detente*, the best he could do was mutter something about a Democratic Administration being in power in 1962.

Like I said: a real mind-blower.— John D. Lofton, Jr.

Nessen Falsely Accuses ACU of Violating Election Law

A nasty, reckless smear campaign by White House press secretary Ron Nessen against the American Conservative Union, in flagrant disregard of the facts, indicates just how panicky and desperate the Ford camp has become in the wake of Ronald Reagan's recent primary victories over President Ford.

In San Antonio, Texas, late last month, in a special press briefing for journalism students at Trinity University, Nessen complained that the ACU was one of several independent "side groups" spending "a lot of money" in Mr. Reagan's behalf but not filing reports with the Federal Election Commission (FEC), as is required by law.

At a subsequent White House press briefing, Nessen again raised this issue, charging that in some places 80 percent of the ads for Reagan are being paid for by independent groups who are "slipping through loopholes in the law" and not filing expenditure reports with the FEC. Are you charging the Reagan people with doing something unethical, Nessen was asked? Oh, no, perish the thought, he replied, adding: "I just think this is something good reporters will want to look into."

Well, I'm a good reporter—and since I also happen to be the editor of ACU's monthly publication, *Battle Line*—I've looked into Nessen's charges. And, to put it bluntly, they are hogwash.

It's no secret that ACU, in an independent effort allowable under the Supreme Court's ruling on the Federal election reform law, has been conducting a vigorous campaign in behalf of Ronald Reagan. In the primary states of Florida, North Carolina, Illinois, Wisconsin and Texas, ACU has spent thousands of dollars on pro-Reagan advertising on the radio and in newspapers. But contrary to Nessen's allegations, ACU has filed an expenditure report with the FEC.

As ACU Executive Director Jim Roberts says in a press release demanding that Nessen retract his wild charges: "The fact is that we have reported to the FEC and will continue to do so."



LISTENING TO RON NESSEN talk it is becoming increasingly difficult to tell whether he is speaking as the President's press spokesman, or whether he is merely trying out new material for a possible return engagement as the Guest Buffoon on the NBC Saturday Night TV show. Nessen is shown here on the NBC set with actor Chevy Chase, or maybe this is Nessen in the Oval Office, but then again maybe...

So, what is Nessen talking about? What is the basis for his remarks in Texas? When I put those questions to Nessen in a briefing, quoting Roberts' response, he refused to answer directly, instead quoting at length from a recent issue of *Battle Line* detailing ACU's efforts in Reagan's behalf. Fine, Ron, I said, ACU is not denying it is for Reagan. But what about your charges that ACU has not filed with the FEC? Why did you say this when the organization has filed its first quarterly report and did so on April 10?

"As I say," Nessen replied, "it is not required that these so-called independent organizations file monthly reports as the candidates and their official campaigns are, and any financial report filed will be filed now after the primary season is over." So, you're not charging any illegality? No, said Nessen, not at all. He says this is not for him to judge and he wasn't even implying any lawlessness. Then did you mis-speak yourself in Texas? Incredibly, he says: "No."

Those who have pursued Ron Nessen about his general allegations that independent groups are working for Reagan but not reporting their expenditures, as the law requires, have been referred by him to Bob Visser, the general counsel at the Ford for President Committee, for

(Continued on next page)

Goldwater Attack on Reagan Bizarre, Puzzling and Shocking

Those of us who know and love Sen. Barry Goldwater—and we say this sincerely—are by now used to his sometimes eccentric behavior. But his attack on Ronald Reagan's position on the Panama Canal—that is that it belongs to the United States and should not be surrendered—is both bizarre and puzzling.

In a press conference, Goldwater has blasted Reagan's statements about the Canal saying they demonstrate either "a lack of understanding of the facts" or they "reflect a surprisingly dangerous state of mind." Now, what is odd about these charges is that Reagan's position on the Panama Canal is, for all practical purposes, the same as Goldwater's, or at least the same as Goldwater's position used to be.

Most recently, Goldwater is one of 37 Senate sponsors of Senate Resolution 97—presently pending before Congress—which states that sovereign control over the Canal is "vested absolutely" in the U.S. This Resolution specifically criticizes the Ford Administration's efforts to renegotiate the Canal treaty, which Goldwater now defends, as constituting "a clear and present danger to the hemispheric security and the successful operation of the Canal by the United States under its treaty obligations."

The Goldwater-sponsored resolution says: "The Government of the United States should maintain and protect its sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the Canal and zone, and should in no way cede, dilute, forfeit, negotiate, or transfer any of these rights, power, authority, jurisdiction, territory, or property that are indispensably necessary for the protection and security of the United States and the entire Western Hemisphere."

Furthermore, as far back as 1964, when he was seeking the GOP Presidential nomination, Goldwater took a hard-line position on the Panama Canal which by comparison makes Reagan look like a real sell-out artist. Back when he was urging President Johnson to send in the Marines to turn on the water at our base in Guantanamo, Cuba if Castro shut it off, Goldwater told a New York audience in January of 1964:

"I hope and pray the President doesn't back down one inch. The Canal is ours....The United States can't afford having governments take our property away from us.... We built it with their permission under a treaty that's six decades old....There is no reason to change it."

On February 6, 1964, while campaigning in Dover, N.H., Goldwater declared: "I thought at first Johnson was off on the right foot so I didn't say anything, but since then he has been diddling and doodling." Referring to the Johnson Administration's pledges to renegotiate the Canal treaty, he added: "You just don't renegotiate a treaty, particularly when it relates to things like sovereignty."

Attacks LBJ's Stand on Canal

This same month, in Reno, Nevada, in a general attack on LBJ's foreign policy, including his position on the Panama Canal, Goldwater criticized the President in language appropriate to the locality calling him "The Great Compromiser" who had "no stomach" for facing difficult problems at home and abroad, accusing him of being a man who had "just crapped out six times." He said Johnson was not acting in the national interest so that "for a period of time no matter what happens to the Nation, he can be all things to all people and thereby win election as President of the United States."

In his 1962 book titled *Why Not Victory?*, Goldwater ridiculed President Eisenhower's 1959 decision giving into the demands of Panamanians that they be allowed to fly their flag along side the American flag in the Canal Zone to symbolize Panama's "titular sovereignty" over the area. Making the point that the U.S. will never win over world opinion by begging for it, that the beneficiaries of our concessions and self-denials would soon construe these things as weakness and want more, he wrote:

"Does anyone seriously suppose, for instance, that our generous decision to permit the Panamanian flag to fly over American territory in the Canal Zone will placate the Panamanian nationalists? The gesture is bound simply to whet the mob's appetite and transfer its sights to bigger targets."

Goldwater Mail Running Against Him

Well, the Senator was right. Twelve years later, the mob's hungrier than ever and President Ford seems bound and determined to feed them by giving up the whole kit and kaboodle, the Canal and the zone. This, of course, is not surprising. But what is shocking is to see Barry Goldwater now attacking Ronald Reagan and giving aid and comfort to the mob. On this one, in our hearts, we know Barry Goldwater is wrong, or to use his phrase, maybe he just doesn't understand the facts.

Footnote: Sen. Goldwater's office says that he has received about 200 mailgrams in response to his criticisms of Reagan and they are running about 60-40 against the Senator.

Nessen Remarks Demonstrate Ignorance of Campaign Law

(The following is excerpted from an exchange between Battle Line editor John Lofton, Jr. and Presidential press secretary Ron Nessen at a White House news briefing on May 5, 1976.)

Lofton: Ron, I just want to see if I can get specific one last time here. What states are you saying ACU spent money in and did not file a report on the expenditures specifically?

Nessen: As you say, you are the editor of the publication and you have laid it out in your own publication, so I don't know why I need to read back to you from your own publication.

Lofton: It has been filed for those states, Ron, April 10 filing. It is already on record.

Nessen: And the next filing was after the primary season, as I understand it. July 10 is the next required filing.

Lofton: What specific states are you saying...

Nessen: Whatever primary states the so-called independent organizations have spent money in will not be reported until after the primary season is over.

Thus, it is clear that Ron Nessen's problem is that what he thinks is the law is not the law. The law requires only that independent groups such as ACU file spending reports quarterly—which ACU has done—not that these reports be filed immediately after money is spent in a primary.

Nessen

(Continued from page 6)

details. But Visser tells me that Nessen "may have been confused" as regards this particular subject. He says he knows of no money spent by ACU in Reagan's behalf that has not been reported. Visser adds, although he's not sure, that there probably have been independent efforts in Mr. Ford's behalf like those conducted by ACU for Reagan. He says he'll talk to Nessen to see what he's basing his charges on.

When Ron Nessen became President Ford's press secretary he said he was "a Ron but not a Ziegler," referring to President Nixon's press secretary. And indeed he isn't. When he was caught in a lie, Mr. Ziegler at least had the courage to admit that his erroneous remarks should be considered "inoperative," which is more than Nessen has done in this sordid episode.—John Lofton, Jr.

Ford Not Candid On Panama Canal Negotiations

Aside from the issues of the economic and strategic significance of the Panama Canal to the United States, President Ford's contradictory statements regarding this important subject raise serious doubts about his own personal reputation for openness, candor and honesty.

In a news conference in Texas last month, Mr. Ford declared: "I can simply say, and say it very emphatically, that the United States will *never* give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will *never* give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

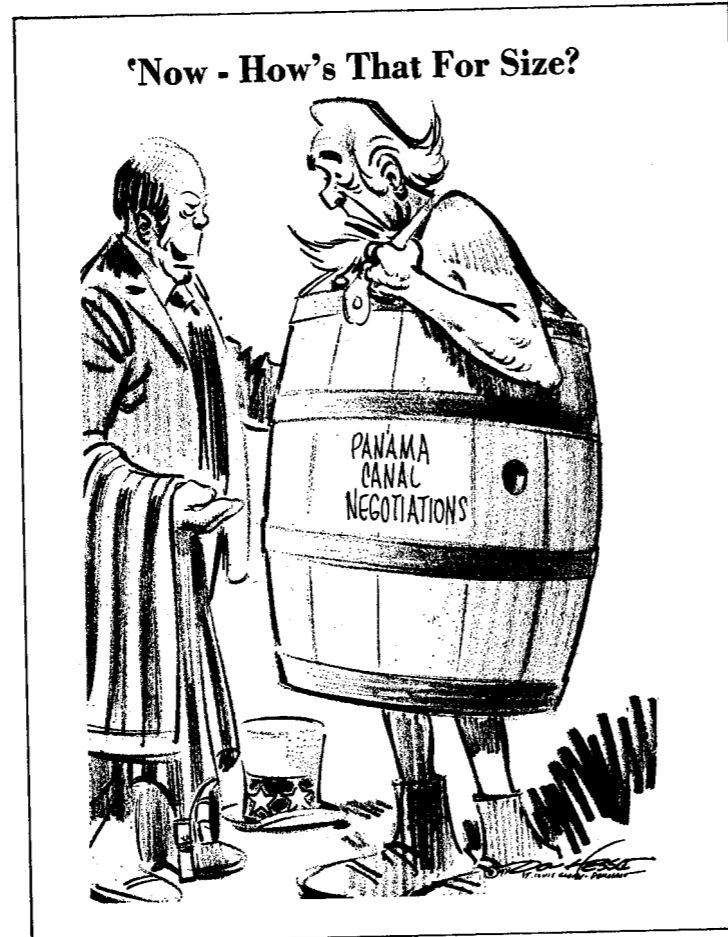
But Rep. Gene Snyder, (R-Ky.), has released secret congressional testimony which shows that the President is planning to do exactly what he says he will not do. According to a partial transcription of testimony given to the House Panama subcommittee, the Ford Administration's chief Panama negotiator, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, was asked by Snyder if the object of the negotiations was to give up the Canal Zone to Panama. He replied:

"To give up the Canal Zone after a period of time, that is correct."

Snyder then asked: "And the canal over a longer period of time?" Bunker answered: "Over a longer period of time." Snyder says that when the U.S.-Panama treaty is concluded, the United States will abolish the current Canal Zone government in six months, and will relinquish jurisdiction in the zone within three years. The canal would then be turned over in 25 to 50 years.

Meanwhile at the White House, in an attempt to bail his boss out, presidential press secretary Ron Nessen has said that Mr. Ford's Texas comments on the Canal lacked "precision and detail," that what he meant to say was

(Continued on next page)



Defense Aspects of Canal A Vital U.S. Concern

"The national defense aspects of the Panama Canal are more obviously a vital U.S. concern. Although the canal's vulnerability in the missile age has diminished its strategic value, the isthmus is an important military asset in both peace and conventional war. Its demonstrated value during World War II has been reinforced by its use in the Korean War, the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam War. For example, between 1964 and 1968, the military-sponsored cargo through the canal increased by 640 percent for dry cargo and by 430 percent for petroleum products. Since 90 percent of bulk tonnage to support committed forces moves by ship, the canal is an important asset for national defense.

"Apart from canal operations, the U.S. rights in the Canal Zone permit the United States to conduct a range of military activities. Most of these are associated with training and advisory missions. The recent reorganization of the U.S. Army Southern Command is clear evidence that these missions could be easily adjusted in the wake of U.S.-Panamanian negotiations. Hence, they are only peripheral to the vital contribution that the canal makes to strategic mobility. The

canal's real defense contribution is the capability that it affords to position forces quickly and to support committed major forces conveniently without disruption of internal transportation networks....

"However unpalatable it may sound to some, the facts are these: The United States is a great power with great national interests; it presently holds valid treaty rights from Panama; it operates the canal on behalf of the world community; Panama receives substantial benefits from the canal; and, finally, the United States is willing to renegotiate the old treaty consistent with its vital national interests.

"Vital interests are not easy to define except in general terms. In this instance, the United States requires the sustained and efficient operation of the Panama Canal. But it is clear that the present renegotiation can only result in a lessening of freedom of action in protecting those interests. This is the reality."—Lt. Col. Vincent P. McDonald, with the Strategic Plans and Policy Division, J4, Joint Chiefs of Staff, writing in the December 1975 issue of "Military Review."

Let There Be Light, Barry

Appearing on "Meet the Press" recently, Sen. Barry Goldwater said he sees no real difference between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan. Suggesting a sort of political M & M test, he declared: "If you put Reagan in one hand and Ford in the other hand and turned the lights out, you wouldn't know who the hell you had in either hand because of their political philosophy." Well, we'd like to suggest Senator, most respectfully, that you take a look at both of these gentlemen in a room with the lights on, then we think you might see a difference. But your point is well taken: in a dark room it is difficult to tell Reagan and Ford apart.

Panama Canal

(Continued from previous page)

that he would never agree to any treaty that did not maintain U.S. interest in the Canal. But the problem is that the President was too precise in Texas. What was lacking was his telling the truth about what his administration is planning to do as regards the Panama Canal.

In the final analysis, the President's position on the Canal may prove irrelevant because there is little likelihood that Congress will approve any treaty that surrenders the Canal, now or ever. Last March, 37 senators—three more than are needed to block a treaty—cosponsored a resolution calling on the Federal Government not to transfer any of its rights over the waterway and the Canal Zone to Panama.

Last June, the House voted 246-164 to deny funds to "negotiate the surrender or relinquishment of United States rights in the Panama Canal." Congresswoman Leonor Sullivan, (D-Mo.), who chairs the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, which must report out the enabling legislation, declared: "I've told them (the State Department) again and again that the House will never enact a law to give away the zone... They'll be wanting to renegotiate the Louisiana Purchase next."

Just a word on the strategic importance of the Canal to the United States. Ambassador Bunker is now playing down this aspect of the subject, telling *New York Times* columnist C. L. Sulzberger late last year that the Canal's value, while of continuing importance, "is probably not as great relatively as in earlier years."

But in November of last year, a State Department fact sheet on the Canal called it "an important defense asset, the use of which enhances U.S. capability for timely reinforcement and resupply of U.S. forces."

In 1970, Gen. George Mather, former commander-in-chief of the Southern U.S. Command, told a House subcommittee that the Canal provides an important defense capability for prompt redeployment of American nuclear submarines if they have to move from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, or vice-versa.

In 1967, when he was a congressman, Gerald Ford was a strong supporter of U.S. sovereignty rights in the Panama Canal Zone and expressed shock at the idea that these rights should be surrendered, voicing his concern about a Communist threat to the canal if U.S. authority there were reduced. As President, Mr. Ford now owes it to us to tell us why he was wrong then but right now.

Strong Conservative Elected in Texas With ACU Help

Texas conservatives are still crowing about their great victory in the 22nd District (Houston). Running an aggressively conservative campaign, Dr. Ron Paul defeated moderate Bob Gammage by an impressive 55-45 percent margin. The election was held to fill the seat vacated by Rep. Bob Casey who resigned to take a post with the Federal Maritime Commission.

Paul conducted a forthright conservative campaign on the issues, geared to the slogan "Let's Put Government on a Diet." In line with that theme he stressed his opposition to busing and gun control, his support for right-to-work laws, the need for reducing taxes and balancing the budget, his opposition to land-use, OSHA and other Federal regulatory schemes. In the area of foreign policy he spoke out for a strong national defense, and against the weakness of *detente* and President Ford's proposed give-away of the Panama Canal.

Although his opponents tried to depict Paul as a "radical extremist" his big win proves that conservative themes are popular with the voters. Paul is also an enthusiastic Reagan supporter and his win bodes well for the California governor in the upcoming primaries.

ACU was the first national organization to endorse Dr. Paul and ACU's allied organization, the Conservative Victory Fund, contributed \$3,500 to his winning effort.

Following Paul's victory, CVF Chairman Rep. John Ashbrook stated: "The election of Ron Paul brings to Washington a highly articulate spokesman for the conservative cause. His success proves once again that there is a conservative tide running in the country today and it indicates that in 1976 we have a chance to return sanity to the Federal Government."



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BATTLE LINE/April-May 1976

Estimated 800,000 Killed

The Silence of the Liberals Is Deafening As Communists Slaughter Cambodians



SEN. MCGOVERN, N.Y. TIMES' TOM WICKER
Opposed U.S. military aid to help Cambodians...

A year ago last March, when ACU was supporting the Ford Administration's request for more military aid to help the Cambodian government resist Communist aggression, opponents of this aid pooh-poohed the idea that there would be a bloodbath if it was not forthcoming.

New York Times columnist Tom Wicker wrote that there was "not much moral choice" between the non-Communist Cambodian government and the Communist Khmer Rouge. The *Times* itself editorialized that American aid would "only extend Cambodia's misery," therefore the "honorable course" was to halt this assistance. Sen. Hubert Humphrey said the cut-off of U.S. aid would "alleviate the suffering" of the Cambodian people. And Sen. George McGovern declared that the Cambodians would be "better off" to work out political arrangements "in their own way" without American help.

'Honorable Course' Is Genocide

Well, a year later, these arrangements are being worked out, and what is happening is genocide. *Time* magazine reports that the Communist takeover of Cambodia has resulted in purges, mass evacuations, forced labor and willful assassinations causing the death of an estimated 600,000 people—one-tenth of the country's population. *Time* says at least 20,000 Cambodians have fled across the border into Thailand. These refugees tell of people being clubbed to death "to save ammunition," and they say others have been bound together and buried alive by bulldozers, or suffocated by having plastic bags tied over their heads.

Time relates one typical incident in the provincial capital of Battambang where last year hundreds of officers were assembled in a school building on the pretext they were going to meet Prince Sihanouk. There, they were bound hand and foot, loaded onto trucks, and machine-gunned on the outskirts of the city. Whole families—and sometimes entire villages—have been massacred, according to refugees who have escaped.

BATTLE LINE/April-May 1976

Some estimates of the Communist-conducted carnage run even higher, however. The leftist French newspaper, *Le Monde*, puts the number of Cambodians slaughtered at closer to 800,000. The *Baltimore Sun's* Hong Kong correspondent, Arnold Isaacs, quotes a Bangkok-based diplomat as describing Cambodia as being run "by the same methods as Nazi or Soviet concentration camps."

ABC News' Ken Kashiwahara reports that in Cambodia "freedom of movement and of speech are gone. Food is scarce, starvation is common, work hours are long and the penalty for disobeying is death."

So, how about it, Sen. Humphrey? Sen. McGovern? Mr. Wicker? The *New York Times*? Don't just sit there silently. Please, tell us how all of you could have been so wrong. You owe the American people, and certainly those Cambodians who are left, some kind of explanation. We anxiously await your comments.

Gun Control Bill Must Be Stopped

Once again the gun control advocates in Congress are pushing legislation designed as the first step toward eventual confiscation and control of handguns. On April 13 the House Judiciary Committee voted 20-12 to report out H.R. 11193, a bill that will ban the manufacture, importation and sale of so-called "Saturday Night Specials." (Actually the "Saturday Night Special" really isn't a gun, it's usually a young tough between the ages of 18-30 who commits crimes using handguns.)

The bill is essentially the one proposed by President Ford and represents a major threat to all gun owners. Under its so-called "Saturday Night Special" provisions, H.R. 11193 would outlaw the production of approximately 50 percent of all domestically manufactured handguns, including all revolvers with barrel lengths of four inches or less. Moreover, the bill would disallow multiple purchase of handguns and require a one-month waiting period before taking possession.

Another major aim of the bill is to discourage and restrict commerce in all firearms, including rifles and shotguns. The bill gives the Treasury Department open-ended powers to regulate the transport of all guns by common carrier. Furthermore, by increasing licensure fees for retailers, the measure could eliminate many of the nation's small dealers of firearms.

Please write or wire your Congressman immediately and urge him to vote against H.R. 11193. If this bill passes, the next step by Congressional liberals will be to take *your* gun. Don't let this happen!

Write to:

Your Congressman
U.S. House of Representatives
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Phone:

(202) 224-3121, ask for your Congressman's extension.



Kissinger on Athens

By M. Stanton Evans
Chairman, American Conservative Union

In his test of strength with Ronald Reagan concerning Athens, Sparta and related matters, it would appear that out second best.



Evans

spokesmen into paroxysms of denial.

In his TV remarks, Reagan critiqued the Ford-Kissinger policy of "detente," and then touched off his bombshell. "Dr. Kissinger," he said, "is quoted as saying that he thinks the United States is Athens and the Soviet Union is Sparta. 'The day of the U.S. is past and today is the day of the Soviet Union.' And he added: '...My job as secretary of state is to negotiate the most acceptable second-best position available.' "

Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger replied that this is not the official policy of our government, and the State Department said Reagan's comment was a "false and irresponsible invention." A spokesman for the department also relayed a Kissinger statement, intended as an historical putdown, that "Gov. Reagan perhaps forgot that Athens survived Sparta by several centuries."

A false and irresponsible invention? If so, the inventor wasn't Reagan. His source, in fact, is one of the best imaginable, former Chief of Naval Operations Elmo Zumwalt. In his forthcoming book, *On Watch*, Zumwalt re-

There is, up front, the question of what Kissinger actually said on the subject of declining American power. Reagan exploded the issue into the headlines with his televised address March 31, sending Kissinger and President Ford and other official

ords a direct conversation with Kissinger which exactly duplicated the formula relayed by Reagan. The relevant passages are as follows:

"[Kissinger] feels that the U.S. has passed its historic high point like so many other civilizations. He believes the U.S. is on the downhill and cannot be roused by political challenge. He states that his job is to persuade the Russians to give us the best deal we can get, recognizing that the historical forces favor them.

"He says that he realizes that in the light of history he will be recognized as one of those who negotiated terms favorable to the Soviets, but that the American people have only themselves to blame because they lack the stamina to stay the course against the Russians, who are Sparta to our Athens."

As many people in Washington are aware, such themes are commonplace with Kissinger. This writer was present a few years back when the secretary held forth on the theme of American irresolution and the pattern of weakness this mandated in our diplomacy. Every concession was explained in terms of deficient American will and the need for Kissinger to cut the best deal possible from the resulting enfeeblement.

Just this summer, Kissinger rehearsed a similar set of arguments at a private breakfast with a prominent conservative. Again the constant theme was that the American people and the Congress lacked the will to stay the course, and that Kissinger therefore had to deal from weakness. (Never explained in all of this is what, if anything, Kissinger has done to generate awareness of the problem among the American people.)

Which leaves the question of Athens and Sparta. The secretary is right in saying that Athens, after a fashion, survived. But it did so only after it had been conquered by Sparta, saw its confederacy liquidated and replaced by a Spartan empire, had its democratic government replaced by an oligarchy, and had the terms of its internal politics dictated by its conquerors. One hopes the secretary doesn't envision a similar brand of "survival" for the United States.

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Ron Nessen

Press Rejects Nessen's Plan For Coverage

St. Louis

8/19/76

By JAMES DEAKIN
Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

KANSAS CITY, Aug. 19 — White House reporters waged — and won — an unprecedented revolt last night as President Gerald R. Ford watched the balloting for the Republican presidential nomination.

Reporters for the Associated Press, United Press International and major newspapers refused to take part in a press pool covering Mr. Ford because reporters for television and radio networks were excluded from the pool.

The refusal followed several months of steadily worsening relations between press secretary Ronald H. Nessen and reporters assigned to the White House.

Last night's dispute began when Nessen announced that only one reporter, John Mashek of U.S. News and World Report magazine, would be allowed in Mr. Ford's suite at the Crown Center Hotel while the President watched the convention balloting on television.

Mashek was to be a one-person pool reporting later to the rest of the White House correspondents. Normally such pools consist of reporters from both wire services, a newspaper, a magazine, a television network and a radio network.

Later it was learned that two other magazine reporters, Strobe Talbott of Time and Thomas DeFrank of Newsweek, would be admitted to Mr. Ford's suite as "guests of the President" but would not have pool responsibilities to report what they saw to their colleagues.

After reporters protested heatedly that the wire services, newspapers and TV and radio networks were being excluded, assistant press secretary William Roberts announced that AP and UPI reporters would be added to the pool.

However, the wire service reporters — Frank Cormier and Howard Benedict of AP and Helen Thomas and Richard Growald of UPI — refused to take part unless newspaper, TV and radio reporters were added.

Reporters crowded around Roberts, angrily denouncing Nessen and accusing him of sending a subordinate to deal with the situation instead of facing reporters himself.

Roberts returned to the press room a few minutes later, apparently after consulting with Nessen, and announced that one newspaper reporter would be added to the pool but that TV and radio reporters still would be excluded.

Reporters for several newspapers then refused to take part in the pool unless TV and radio reporters were included. The newspapers included the New York Times, Washington Post, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Baltimore Sun, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Sun-Times and the Knight newspaper chain.

Faced with this united front, the White House capitulated. Roberts returned a few minutes later, apparently after another conference with Nessen, and announced that reporters for the Los Angeles Times and the ABC television and radio network would be added to the pool.

Roberts said the original decision to limit the size of the pool had been due to limited space in Mr. Ford's suite. However, reporters pointed out that about 10 photographers had been taken up to the suite to take photographs of the President watching the balloting.



Broadcast, print newsmen allies for the moment in battle with Nessen

All-media boycott of President's suite on night of balloting is threatened when TV-radio is not invited in for coverage

Broadcast and print reporters are normally a competitive bunch, and nothing brings out the competitiveness as much as a political convention. But last week, White House news secretary Ronald Nessen managed to persuade a group of White House correspondents to abandon their hostility toward one another long enough to focus their unified hostility on him. And in the process, he precipitated a brouhaha of marvelous proportions—one reporter talked of "anarchy . . . chaos."

The incident involved White House reporters' request for permission to visit President Ford in his suite when he watched the nomination balloting on Wednesday night. Television correspondents also asked to have a camera present. Mr. Nessen's response, Wednesday afternoon, was that one pool reporter—from *U.S. News and World Report*—and five still photographers would be invited. No one and nothing more.

That was disturbing enough. But then the reporters learned that the White House had also invited two other reporters—from *Time* and *Newsweek*—to the suite. That set off an outcry, with warnings that unless the White House

relented, reporters would do stories charging discrimination.

Throughout this exchange, according to CBS's Bob Pierpoint, there was no explanation for the White House's position. But the White House charged its position to the extent of offering to include wire-service reporters in the invitation. Instead of mollifying anyone, the offer was taken as attempt to split the reporters, and the wire-service reporters refused to accept.

Mr. Pierpoint said the wire-service reporters were taking a stand not only in behalf of newspapers but, surprisingly, broadcasting services as well. That elicited what the reporters regarded as another "divide-and-conquer" tactic—an offer to include a newspaper reporter in the group. Broadcast journalists were still being excluded.

Finally, at about the time Walter Cronkite was broadcasting a story on what amounted to a press boycott of the President's suite, and the reasons for it, the White House relented. The White House would allow a minicam crew, a broadcast correspondent—it turned out to be Charles Gibson of ABC—two wire-service reporters, a *Washington Post* reporter, and the three magazine reporters and five photographers originally set to visit.

Mr. Pierpoint was not entirely satisfied. The White House refused to bend on its refusal to permit live television coverage; the President's challenger, Ronald Reagan, had permitted such coverage. But the networks did use taped coverage made available by the minicam crew. And Mr. Pierpoint seemed to feel a point had been made. "It isn't often you can get wire service reporters to stand up for broadcast journalists," he said.

Broadcasting, 8/23/76



Nessen's bobble

When a spokesman misspeaks himself, the result is almost certain to be confusion. When that spokesman happens to be the White House press secretary, erroneous information then is transmitted nationwide. And when the garble pertains to the North Korean leader's message of regrets over a major incident, the slip itself causes unfortunate repercussions.

To his credit, Ron Nessen does not often make such bobbles. But when the President's press secretary said the statement from President Kim Il Sung was sent on Thursday - before the U.S. show of force on Saturday - it constituted a distressing display of White House ineptness.

The Nessen comment seemed to conflict with the State Department version of what was happening and led to initial confusion over whether the Kim message preceded or followed the American military responses. Deputy press secretary John Carlson later explained that the Korean message was received some hours after President Ford had ordered out the Navy task force and said the offending tree should be chopped down.

Admittedly Mr. Nessen's comment followed closely on the heels of the Ford nomination in Kansas City, an event of prime concern for the White House. But the Panmunjom affray was too important and too delicate a matter to becloud, even so. It conceivably could have triggered a major confrontation in Asia - in which case, being partly right is scarcely good enough.

TIME TO TAKE STOCK

Before the proposed massive swine-flu inoculation program actually begins, the government ought to subject the scheme to a searching reappraisal by medical scientists.

Professional differences have left the public puzzled and uncertain. There is an impression that the program is merely drifting forward on the original momentum imparted by President Ford.

The pending questions should be resolved by experts so that the immunization drive can proceed in an atmosphere of confidence, or be scrapped if it is deemed of doubtful value.

Presidential Science . . .

The Senate's confirmation of Dr. H. Guyford Stever as science adviser to the President re-establishes a relationship that had been scuttled when President Nixon abolished the Office of Science and Technology whose successive chiefs had advised Presidents since the late 1950's.

Science has now returned to the White House. Symbolically, at least, the high status of science in American society has been reaffirmed. Practically, there is a new and potentially very useful institutional mechanism to help the President deal with science components of many high-priority issues.

It was under the impact of the initial Soviet sputnik that President Eisenhower appointed the first White House science adviser in 1957. Problems of military and space research, of course, continue high on today's agenda, but Dr. Stever is clearly right in emphasizing that his contribution should be aimed primarily at non-defense areas.

This view gives recognition to the fact that science is a key component in current ecological, energy, health and other major civilian concerns crucial to the nation's future. The determination of research priorities moreover also offers a fruitful area for Dr. Stever's guidance of the President and his budgetary aides, especially because these priorities are so readily distorted by those in Government who see science predominantly as the inventor of more powerful armaments.

