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The Weather

TODAY—Partly cloudy, high near 40, low near 20. The chance of precipitation is 10 per cent, near zero tonight. **Friday**—Partly cloudy, high near 40. **Yesterday**—3 p.m. air index: 19; temp. range: 53-32. Details on B16.

The Washington Post

FINAL

120 Pages—5 Sections

Amusements	C20	Metro	B 1
Classified	D16	Obituaries	B16
Comics	C24	Sports	D 1
Crossword	C 6	Style	C 1
Editorials	A22	TV-Radio	C39
Financial	D10	Weekly	E Sec.

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Ford Disputed on Events Preceding Nixon Pardon

By Bob Woodward
and Carl Bernstein

Washington Post Staff Writers

President Ford, in apparent contradiction of his public statements, granted a pardon to Richard M. Nixon after hearing urgent pleas from the former President's top aides that he be spared the threat of criminal prosecution, according to reliable sources.

Although Mr. Ford said yesterday through his counsel, Philip W. Buchen, that the pleas did not figure in his decision, there are several facts which he has not disclosed in his statements about the pardon.

One, according to the sources, is a private assurance that President Ford gave Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., Nixon's chief of staff, that a pardon would be granted.

This was given to Mr. Haig on Aug. 28, 1974 — the day of Mr. Ford's first press conference as President and 10 days before the pardon was announced.

A second fact is an impassioned three-page memo written by former Nixon counsel Leonard Garment that same day, urging that Mr. Ford grant a pardon to his predecessor. The memo, according to sources, indicated that Nixon's mental and physical condition could not withstand the

continued threat of criminal prosecution. It implied that, unless he was pardoned, Nixon might take his own life, the sources said.

The sources said they were unsure if President Ford saw the memo, but they said Haig used its arguments in making the case for the pardon to Mr. Ford.

In addition, former Nixon speechwriter Raymond K. Price Jr. drafted a 2 1/2-page statement the same day for President Ford to read announcing the pardon at his first press conference. It was not used, however.

This information about the events leading up to the pardon appears to con-

tradict President Ford's public statements, including his testimony to a House Judiciary subcommittee on Oct. 17, 1974, when he said:

"At no time after I became President on Aug. 9, 1974, was the subject of a pardon for Richard M. Nixon raised by the former President or by anyone representing him."

During that same appearance, President Ford also said, "Nobody made any recommendation to me for the pardon of the former President."

Buchen acknowledged yesterday that the President now "recalls that he talked

with Haig about the pardon from time to time" — possibly on the day of his first press conference as President.

Haig acknowledged yesterday that he had discussions with Mr. Ford about the matter, but refused to discuss exactly what was said. "I don't think I should talk about these things or conversations with a President, especially an incumbent one, and I won't," he said in response to a reporter's questions.

Previously, both the President and Haig implied there were no such conversations.

According to several sources familiar with events leading up to the pardon, President Ford's interest in the matter

began seriously on Wednesday, Aug. 28.

Garment drafted his memo in longhand the evening before at home. Using some of the same arguments that Mr. Ford was to cite in announcing the pardon, Garment wrote that an immediate pardon would spare the country the turmoil of possible indictment, trial and conviction of a former President.

There was a need for immediate action, Garment wrote, because granting a pardon would become politically more difficult as Nixon increasingly became the target of federal investigators.

See PARDON, A6, Col. 1

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WP 1-11-75

Ford Denies Post Story On Pardon

By Bob Woodward
and Carl Bernstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Ford stands by his public statements and testimony about the events leading up to the pardon of former President Nixon, a White House spokesman said yesterday.

William I. Greener said "the President has dealt with candor and truthfulness at all times on this matter."

Greener denied a story in yesterday's Washington Post that President Ford assured former Nixon chief of staff Alexander M. Haig Jr. on Aug. 28, 1974, that a pardon for Nixon would be forthcoming.

This was 10 days before President Ford announced the pardon.

It was learned from other White House sources, meanwhile, that President Ford failed to tell his own staff about his discussions with Haig regarding a pardon, and that — until questioned by reporters this week — Mr. Ford's top advisers were unaware that such conversations took place.

Had they known of the existence of such conversations, these sources said, they would have advised Mr. Ford to disclose them when he testified before a congressional subcommittee last year.

On Capitol Hill, meanwhile, Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. of the House Judiciary Committee directed a review of President Ford's testimony about the pardon, to determine if a subcommittee should reopen hearings into the matter.

According to Greener, Mr. Ford and Haig did discuss the pardon question on Aug. 28, 1974, but only in the context of answers to questions about a possible pardon that Mr. Ford gave at his press conference that day.

Three reliable sources have told The Washington Post that the President and Haig had a substantive discussion that day about pardoning Nixon, and that Haig received assurances from Mr. Ford that a pardon would be granted.

In addition, both Haig and

See PRESIDENT, A4, Col. 5

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Ronald Reagan: Off Balance in New Hampshire

(file)

CONWAY, N.H. — Ronald Reagan, in a seemingly stuck with this vitally important Feb. 24 presidential Reagan's headlines indeed were

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Frank Starr

Chicago Tribune 9 Jan 1976

A Watergate heritage: harsh judgments of Presidents

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Belt-Tightening At The White House Mess

By **JAMES DEAKIN**

Washington Correspondent

they are Henry Kissinger, in which case they eat at a fancy French restaurant

caught a glimpse of the menu and asked deputy press secretary John W. Hushen

The man actually in charge of the is a retired Navy Commander, Ron

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Monday, July 21, 1975

The Washington Star

A-7
x

News Summaries Heavy on Anti-Ford Comment



By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

Ford took over, and now Shuman has enlarged it to

for re-election to the Senate next year.

many take note of a speech he had made. "I said no,"

comment section was provided by Jerald terHorst,

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Presidency Is Found Weaker Under Ford

Curbs on Exerting Power May Denote An Increase in Ascendancy of Congress

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 27— President Ford pushed some buttons recently, and nothing happened.

He tried to provide covert military aid to favored Angolan factions and was blocked by Congress.

He invoked executive privilege so that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger would not have to turn over information on intelligence activities to a Congressional committee, but Mr. Kissinger divulged the information anyway.

He declared he would win his party's Presidential nomination by staying in the White House and then had to campaign furiously to head off his challenger.

These are not isolated examples. It happens quite often these days that when a button is pushed at the White House—be it a policy button, a political button or a bureaucratic button—there is no response.

Now that he has been in office for over 18 months, it

is clear that Mr. Ford is presiding over what appears to be the least potent Presidency since the Eisenhower Administration.

Mr. Ford himself in a written reply to a query by The New York Times, said that while he did not think the President had lost any of "his basic powers," there has been a swing of "the historic pendulum" toward Congress, raising the possibility of a "disruptive" erosion of his ability to govern.

Period of 'Reaction'

His Attorney General, Edward H. Levi, observed in an interview that the nation had entered a period of "reaction" to what, because of Vietnam and Watergate, has erroneously been perceived as excessive Presidential power.

Mr. Levi warned that, incorrect or not, the reaction had posed the possibility that there might be a "cycle" of Congressional ascendancy and Presidential weakness similar to

Continued on Page 44, Column 4

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JACK HANAUERSON

Mr. Ford, Backstage

...and intimately say he

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Chevy Chase, above, on President Ford: "If he's so dumb, how come he's President?" President and Mrs. Ford, at right: "Mr. Chevy Chase, you're a very, very funny suburb."

A (Gerald) Ford Bumps Into a Chevy (Chase)

By Tom Shales

"I'm Gerald Ford," said the President, pointing to TV star Chevy Chase, "and you're not." The line, a reversal of Chase's trademark, got a big roar from the Radio and Television Correspondents' Association at their 32d annual dinner last night, in the Washington Hilton Hotel.

But the bigger roars went to Chase himself, who did, in person, his bumping, stumbling impression of Mr. Ford—a regular feature on the high-rated late-night TV series "NBC's Saturday Night," which has brought a new wave of irreverent satire to television and developed a huge youth-cult following in the process.

Last night marked the first meeting for the satired and the satirist. Mr. Ford alternately puffed his pipe and laughed on the dais as the comic—who insists Chevy Chase is his real name—went through his Gerald Ford routine, frequently nosediving toward the floor and being rescued by fellow cast members Dan Ayckroyd and John Belushi, playing Secret Service agents.

"Whoop!" Chase would say, dropping out of view. Then, retrieved: "No problem." Continuing to lampoon Mr. Ford's alleged clumsiness, Chase announced, "I have asked the Secret Service to remove the salad fork embedded in my left hand."

When he accidentally bopped himself with a gavel, the two "agents" grabbed the gavel and wrestled it to the floor. Some of the real Secret Service agents standing by did not appear to be amused.

The White House had already let it be known that it considered this kind of tomfoolery to be funny rather than malicious. Presidential Press Secretary Ron Nessen announced on Feb. 24 that he will appear as a guest host on the April 17 edition of the NBC program. Earlier yesterday, Nessen met with the show's three cast members and its 31-year-old producer, Lorne Michaels, at the White House.

From his stumblebum presidential impersonation, Chase, 32, went into one of his satirical "Weekend Update" newcasts. He reported that the campaign slogan Mr. Ford had chosen was, "If he's so dumb, how come he's President?"

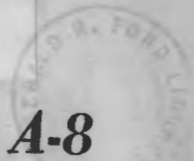
Chase also related that on one accident-prone morning, the President "tied his shoe to his hair blower, and it inadvertently pardoned Richard Nixon."

In the New Hampshire primary, Chase said, "President Ford accidentally kissed a snow ball and threw a baby."

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*That yard like this
for the files!*

John Malia
159 Pottengill Street
Lewiston, Maine 04240



FOCUS

Editorials, A-6; Living, A-8
Chat, A-21; Help Wanted, A-22

Boston Sunday Globe November 24, 1974

A-1



Ford team — (left to right) front, William Seidman, Philip W. Buchen, Gerald Ford, Robert T. Hartmann, Donald Rufffeld, Rogers Morton; back, Charles Goodell, Henry Kissinger, William Simon, Melvin Laird and Ron Nessen.

WILLIAM

John Maliar
159 Pettengill Street
Lewiston, Maine 04240



Mr. Ron Hesson,
1600 Penn. Ave.,
Washington, D. C.

For news items
rept.

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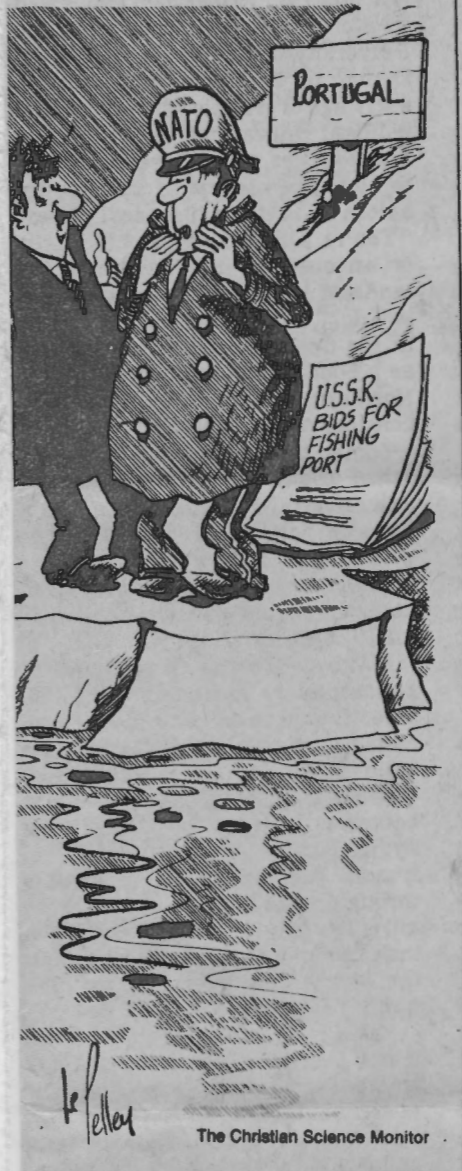


then the full grain in the ear"

Opinion and commentary

PUBLISHED BY
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The Christian Science Monitor

The President and press criticism

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington

It was back in the '50s during one of Estes Kefauver's many campaigns to win the presidency. Kefauver had just been handed an article which, from beginning to end, was a scathing criticism of Kefauver the candidate and Kefauver the man. The big Tennessean read the piece slowly, his face showing no expression. Then, finished, he handed it back to a reporter with a shrug. "I'd call it A-plus," he said, evidently content that he was at least getting his name spelled correctly in the widely circulated publication from which the article had come.

Whatever Estes Kefauver was or was not — he simply has to have been one of the thickest-skinned of all presidential candidates as far as press criticism was concerned. He seldom got a "good press," either nationally or in the region where he campaigned. Usually his opponent was Adlai Stevenson, who got much better treatment from the media but who was extremely sensitive to any criticism that came from the press.

But those who have been in the presidential arena have usually been less than philosophical about adverse articles. Well remembered is the threatening note Harry Truman once sent a critic who had made some unflattering comments about the singing of daughter Margaret. John Kennedy once cut off his subscription to the New York Herald-Tribune. Lyndon Johnson raged over his press treatment at times. And Richard Nixon's battles with the press began back in the early '50s and continued right up until his resignation.

Now comes President Ford. Of press criticism of the President an aide says: "The President feels that this is the way of life in this city. He is philosophical about it. He doesn't question a reporter's right to be critical — or even to be wrong. He doesn't get upset by it."

Says another aide: "He doesn't have a thin skin. He doesn't go around the office stewing about this or that story."

In a recent interview with the Washington Post the President said this of such negative treatment by the media: "They (such stories) don't bother me at all . . . sometimes I think it's unfair, sometimes I think it's not accurate . . . but I don't let

caused him to flare up had he been inclined to do so. Thus far, Mr. Ford hasn't batted an eye at such barbed questions.

Also, as a congressman, Mr. Ford was never one to call editors or reporters to complain about an article he didn't like.

Thus, the picture of Gerald Ford and the press which emerges from the White House seems credible.

One aide says of the President: "He is the greatest newspaper reader in town. When he leaves on any trip he has a big pile of papers with him — to read while traveling. He marks and he clips. He loves to read papers. He has a healthy respect for the fourth estate."

Another aide says that quite frequently the President will clip out an article which is critical of some administration activity. "Later he will bring out that clipping and ask us to look into it," this aide says, "to see if there is something which should be corrected in our operation."

Mr. Ford does, it appears, become irritated over "leaks" of information from members of his administration — leaks that shape stories which say that the President has decided on this or that policy position on a major issue. Mr. Ford feels that he has taken no policy stance until he has made a public pronouncement. And he has made it clear to his subordinates that he wants no stories given out by them that indicate he is even leaning in any policy direction.

Thus, like presidents before him, Mr. Ford wants to "manage" the news coming out of his administration.

But the President's aides say that Mr. Ford is "philosophical" about the stories sourced by his many congressional and nongovernmental friends here in Washington, stories which indicate or speculate about the direction the President is likely to take on important matters.

"He knows the game well," one aide said. "He knows what these men are doing — that they are often seeking to give advice, to tell him what direction he should take."

But on press criticism of himself in general the President knows that he will always get his share. Thus, he will say of "sour" articles that "they go with the job of being President."

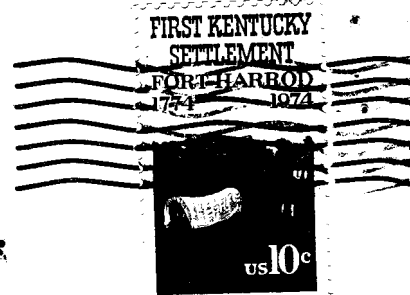
cal spying

D. Canham

than sinister, relates that President Johnson invited Attorney General Kennedy to his office to tell him he was not going to choose him as vice-presidential nominee. President Johnson had the conversation in the Oval Room taped, the report goes. When he tried to listen to the conversation, he found it had been jammed electronically. Then he recalled that Mr. Kennedy had held an attache case in his lap during the friendly chat between political partners! With

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Washington, D. C. 20006



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

Personal

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A Penny for Ford's Thoughts

By Gordon Chaplin

Washington Post Staff Writer

Don Penny first met Gerald R. Ford at 8 a.m. in the Oval Office the day of the State of the Union speech last Jan. 15. Harried by advisers, Mr. Ford seemed to him more like a man plotting his escape than the leader of the country.

Penny, a little man with curly hair and a face like a 12-year-old boy's, sidled in back of the desk and whispered to the hemmed-in President:

"Boss, don't worry. If you play your cards right I think I can break you out of here."

His timing was right. Mr. Ford grinned his nutcracker grin, and a few weeks later Penny was signed on as a \$150-a-day "White House consultant" attached to the speech writers.

Since then, the 43-year-old comedian from New York has been bouncing around the sober halls of the White House like Woody Allen in his helium-filled jump suit,

terrifying the regular staffers with his access to the President and confounding efforts to fit him safely into the organizational hierarchy.

"There is no defense against a guy like me around here," Penny likes to say. "I seep through the cracks like a piece of silly putty."

But not even Penny is sure exactly how he is expected to function in the

See PENNY, A3, Col. 1



DON PENNY
... a humor blitz

Sunday, May 9 Washington Post

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Washington
Star - May 11

COOKING UP A NEW PRESIDENTIAL IMAGE

By Fred Barnes

Washington Star Staff Writer

You may remember Don Penny, not his name but his face.

He played Seymour, Marlo Thomas' agent, in the television show "That Girl." He was Jackie Cooper's pal in "Hennessy." And he was the cook in the short-lived situation comedy "The Wackiest Ship in the Army."

Don Penny has now come to Washington, starting right at the top. His new role takes him into the Oval Office several times a week, and he travels with President Ford on the stump as well.

Penny's job is to teach Ford, in the midst of his faltering campaign for the Republican presidential nomination, to be a better public speaker.

IT IS NOT an easy job. Ford, for all his experience in delivering political addresses, is acknowledged even by his closest White House advisers to be a dreary public speaker whose style generates little enthusiasm.

Penny, 43, who gave up acting and comedy work some years ago to become a New York producer of television commercials, came to the White House in January to put together a series of campaign TV advertisements.

"I became terribly aware that it wasn't the content (of what Ford said) that was the problem, but it

See PENNY, A-6



—Washington Star Photographer Joseph Silverman

Actor Don Penny on TV's "Wackiest Ship" several years ago and on the White House grounds several days ago.

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