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**VARIETY**

Wednesday, January 15, 1975, W

strictest gun laws in the land.

As a delightful prelude to the Super Bowl nonsense, Morley Safer interviewed "The 12th Man," psychiatrist Arnold Mandell, hired by the cellar-dwelling San Diego Chargers to see if he could turn the team around during the 1972 and 1973 seasons. To excellent visual ac-

## New Act

**GERALD R. FORD; Talk; 21 Mins.; White House Library, D.C.**

~~Concluded by the~~ ~~Washington, Jan. 14~~  
broadcasters in his Administration, President Ford is rapidly becoming a master of televised speechmaking. His economic address last night (Mon.) was a dramatic example of what the nation can expect from its homespun Grand Rapids chief executive. "I have been con-

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1975

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Thanks for your favorable review of President Ford's new act. It was favorable, wasn't it?

Unfortunately your reviewer was long on opinion and short on facts. If he had bothered to check the White House, he would have caught these factual mistakes:

- "...a major speech that had been in the works since the November elections." Wrong. The speech had been in the works about three days.
- "with the help of advisor Bill Mead..." Do you mean Bob Mead?
- "...Than began his thesbian lessons." What does that mean?
- "...no fewer than five runthroughs were rehearsed..." Wrong. The President read an early draft on the afternoon of the speech and ran through the final draft just before the speech.
- "It took a few trips through to get the kinks out of the teleprompter..." Wrong. There were no kinks in the teleprompter.
- "...his first crack at the device..." Wrong. The President used a teleprompter frequently for TV appearances when he was House Republican leader.
- "...various poses around the library..." Wrong. He stood behind his chair, sat in the chair, and stood in front of the chair.
- "...appropriate arm movements." The President did not rehearse any arm movements. He really talks that way.

-2-

Well, that will give you an idea of some of the factual errors. Otherwise it was a socko review.

Sincerely,

Ron Nessen  
Press Secretary to the President

Mr. Syd Silverman  
Publisher and Executive Editor  
Variety Magazine  
154 West 46th Street  
New York, New York 10036



THE WHITE HOUSE

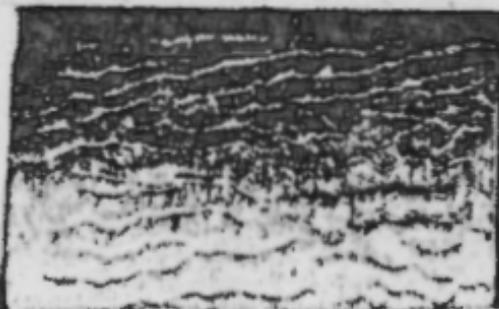
Mr. Syd Silverman  
Publisher and Executive Editor  
Variety Magazine  
154 West 46th Street  
New York, New York 10036

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: **Ron Nessen**

FROM: AGNES WALDRON

*medics  
file*



6

SUNDAY SUN-TIMES, July 18, 1976

# How Ford stays in news

By Tom Littlewood  
Sun-Times Bureau

Democrats, two others tuned in to the game.  
Inasmuch as the President wasn't invited to  
Madison Square Garden anyhow, he rolled

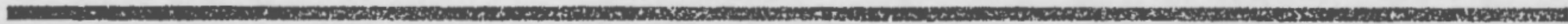


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PRESIDENTIAL FOCUS/DOM BONAFEDE

# Mr. Ford Goes to Hollywood



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JACK AMMELSON

Mr. Ford, Backstage

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# Ford (Surprise) Is Running

By Martin Schram

Newsday Washington Bureau Chief

Washington—All the President's men were there.

The ex-deputy defense secretary. The ex-assistant defense secretary. The ex-secretary of the Army. And Terry O'Donnell and his yellow fly swatter.

The three former Pentagon big guns—to date, the only officials of Gerald Ford's campaign committee—shifted their feet over the dropcloth that protected the Oval Office rug as they waited for their leader to utter the words that would make them legal. But only O'Donnell, the boyish presidential aide, was suitably armed for the occasion. He launched a first strike that caught a fly-splat on the President's mahogany desk, and flicked the deceased smartly out of camera range just before Ford began to read.

"Today I am officially announcing I am a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1976."

The last time a President campaigned for a new term, the nation wound up in the gravest political scandal in its history, and the stench of Richard Nixon's Watergate was very much on Ford's mind as he sought to reassure Americans from the outset that there would be none of the GREP mentality in his President Ford Committee.

"My campaign will be conducted by outstanding Americans on whose integrity both my supporters and all others can depend," Ford read in the third sentence of his announcement. He went on to praise his campaign chairman, ex-Army Secretary Howard (Bo) Callaway; his finance committee chairman, ex-Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, and his campaign treasurer, ex-Assistant Defense Secretary Robert C. Moot. He also singled out his former political aide Dean Burch, an ex-Goldwater man now in private law practice, who helped set up the Ford committee and will serve it as an adviser.

Ford's announcement comes at a time when he is doing well in the pub-

lic opinion polls—he leads all Democratic challengers. It also comes at a time when he faces a fledgling threat from within his own party: A committee is being formed to boost Ronald Reagan for the Republican presidential nomination, and while Reagan is saying he has not made up his mind, he is going around the country sounding a warning that the Republican Party is lying dead in the water.

In his announcement yesterday, Ford pledged: (1) "I intend to conduct an open and aboveboard campaign"; (2) "I will seek the support of all those who believe in the fundamental values of duty, decency and constructive debate," and (3) "I am determined never to neglect my first duty as President."

So it was that Gerald Rudolph Ford announced officially what he had announced unofficially at every occasion for the last few months. It was an announcement that packed about as much suspense as sunrise. Yet for some unexplained reason of White House gamesmanship, Ford's staff chose to present the presidential announcement of an "open and aboveboard campaign" in a veil of official secrecy.

As late as yesterday morning, even when word had leaked out that Ford would be announcing his candidacy at noon, press secretary Ron Nessen's office insisted on treating the information as if it were a blueprint for a secret weapon. At 10 AM, a reporter asked a Nessen press aide: "Where and when today will the President be making his announcement?"

The press aide replied: "I know. But I can't tell you. I'm sorry, but those are the orders." At 11:27 AM a secretary picked up the loudspeaker in the White House press room and made a cryptic announcement: "The 11:30 briefing will be held promptly at 11:30."

Nessen appeared at 11:30 to make a few announcements including the fact that Ford would be making an announcement of his own—he wouldn't say what—in the Oval Office at noon. Then, in a move that stunned reporters, including some of the nation's top

—Continued on Page 43



Aide Terry O'Donnell, above, bluffs moments before President announcement. Behind Ford, from left, Dean Burch and Robert



# Reagan Campaign Unit Being

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9, 1975

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WASHINGTON POST  
September 28, 1975

*David S. Broder*

# Can Ford Stay Home?

Rather than infringe to that extent on the civil liberties of all citizens, a good many people now are calling for a sharp curtailment in the freedom of travel of one person—Gerald R. Ford. The "Jerry, stay home" brigade has been very vocal.

But that would also be wrong. The need to get out of the White House, out of Washington and out among the people is not synthetic or phony on Mr. Ford's part. He is a naturally

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Ron Nessen

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

FYI



ing would constitute "an adversary quasi-judicial proceeding, which I regard as wholly inappropriate for your purposes and journalistic purposes."

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## Ford's news appetite

If White House News Secretary Ronald Nessen is anywhere near accurate on the subject, President Ford has to be one of the most prodigious consumers of news ever to set foot in the White House.

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# White House Maneuvering To Clip Kissinger's Wings

By JAMES DEAKIN  
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON

AS UNITED STATES foreign policy staggers under the impact of misfortunes and defeats around the world, quarrels and intrigue have sprung up between Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and senior members of the White House staff.

So far, Kissinger has survived the political fall-out and backstairs skirmishing that have resulted from the collapse of South Vietnam, the failure of his Middle East peace mission, the leftist military takeover in Portugal and the unresolved Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus.

But despite President Gerald R. Ford's announcement that Kissinger would stay on the job at least until January 1977, a strong feeling persists that congressional disillusionment, political pressures and White House maneuvering may induce him to call it quits before then.

Another official over whom the storm

clouds are gathering is press secretary Ronald H. Nessen, a key figure in a behind-the-scenes effort to curb Kissinger's power. Nessen's credibility with White House reporters has vanished as a result of his role in the intrigue.

There is an even stronger feeling that Nessen's days as press secretary are numbered. Mr. Ford, it is being pointed out, can hardly afford to go into next year's presidential campaign with a press secretary whose statements are being greeted with open disbelief.

THE UNDERLYING reason for the infighting appears to be the anxiety and apprehensiveness of influential White House assistants over the impact of the foreign policy disasters on Mr. Ford's presidency and his political future. What to do about the fiascoes in Vietnam and elsewhere is a subject that is preoccupying the men around the President.

The backstage maneuvering came to light earlier this month when White House officials let it be known that they were trying to put a little distance between Mr. Ford and Kissinger in the President's foreign policy speech to Congress.

Kissinger, whose influence with Mr.

Ford remains great, was said to have been insisting that the speech emphatically renew the President's request for \$722,000,000 in emergency military aid for South Vietnam, together with a hard line putting the blame on Congress for the disaster that had overtaken the Saigon government.

It was this second point that especially disturbed White House chief of staff Donald Rumsfeld, presidential counselor Robert T. Hartmann and Nessen, according to White House sources. They wanted Mr. Ford to go much easier on the issue of who was responsible for the Vietnam debacle.

THE SPEECH, when Mr. Ford delivered it April 10, strongly repeated the request for emergency military aid. On the issue of blame, it faced both ways. The President said he was not going to "engage in recriminations or attempts to assess blame," but he said also that the retreat of the South Vietnamese army, which became a rout, was ordered because of uncertainty over further U.S. aid.

The same contradiction has been

TURN TO PAGE 3, COL. 4

St. Louis Post-Dispatch 4-27-75

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*File*

**From Jon Hoornstra**

**FYI**



a backlash. California, for example, is drafting a "solid case" against Interior, to be filed if the department tries to ram through a lease sale before Californians are ready. At the moment the California sale, one of the first in the 10-million-acre plan, is scheduled for sometime next summer, and the state is hurriedly working to complete a coastal zone management plan. Oil companies are not the only ones who claim they need a slice of California's coastline, and careful planning is needed to prevent a mad scramble in which the best property goes to the highest bidder. If California were to allow the oil companies to put tanks, pipelines and refineries wherever they please, in a short time it might have a Gary-on-the-Pacific.

In an attempt to educate state officials about the need for offshore drilling, the Interior Department organized a special dinner and briefing in November and invited the coastal state governors and governors-elect to attend. Those who came (and it wasn't a stunning turnout) were treated to a first-class performance, with speeches by President Ford, Henry Kissinger and Secretary Morton. However many of the governors left more confused and apprehensive than they had been, according to Hussey. Secretary Morton avoided mention of the dread 10-million-acre plan, but spoke instead of the department's less grandiose program for six offshore lease sales in 1975. This hardly reassured anyone, for as the governors know by now, if they didn't know then, the 10 million acres had been scheduled from the start for disposal in six sales. Regardless of whether high or low numbers are used, the governors see a looming menace. A small incident at the meeting brought the tension into the open. The newly elected governor of Maine, Independent James Longley, stood up at the wrong moment to ask a question about the states' role in planning for offshore drilling. Morton told him to sit down and wait until the question period came. At that, Longley turned on his heels and left the room.

Environmentalists and coastal planners foresee a protracted pointless and bitter struggle unless they are allowed to participate in the very first stages of the offshore program. States don't want to be left to clean up the ugly consequences of decisions made in Washington. They know that once the tracts are let, oil will quickly make its way to the nearby shore, whether the people who live there are ready or not. They want a voice in deciding what will be leased, and when. They hope to take advantage of the Coastal Zone Management Act (1972), which requires federal agencies to comply with state coastal plans. But the states haven't finished writing their plans yet, and as a result, 1975 is being viewed as the last open season on federal leases. This may be another reason why the Interior Department wants to hurry up, and the states want to wait.

## White House Watch

# Ruffles and Shuffles

President Ford's staff chief and coordinator, former congressman and Nixon assistant and NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld, said after he returned to the White House in October that his first task would be to make sure that "the organizational arrangements" there were such that Mr. Ford "finds them useful and is comfortable with them." Rumsfeld's organizational rearrangements won't in themselves be very meaningful to most people. But the changes tell something about the kind of presidency that Gerald Ford wants to conduct and for that reason a few of them are worth reporting and explaining in some detail.

The President discouraged others from calling Rumsfeld "chief of staff" when he took on the job, the thought being that the term was too reminiscent of the bad old Nixon days when H. R. Haldeman and General Alexander Haig were known by it and had all the power that it implied. Rumsfeld no longer quibbles at it, knowing full well that he is in fact the chief of staff and that any President in these times has to have one. He oversees—he prefers to say, coordinates—the entire White House operation. He and his nearest assistant, Richard Cheney, supervise the President's schedule and, without exercising the absolute control over it that Mr. Nixon required his administrators to maintain, pretty well determine who sees Mr. Ford.

Like Haldeman and Haig before him, Rumsfeld concerns himself very closely with the personnel process both at the White House and throughout the federal government. A recent and little noted change in the name of the sizable office that manages the hiring and firing of senior personnel symbolizes Rumsfeld's interest and the range of his authority over it. Under Fred Malek and his first successors, it was the White House Personnel Office. Under William Walker, a lawyer who worked for Rumsfeld at the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Cost of Living Council and later was general counsel of the Federal Energy Office, it's the *Presidential* Personnel Office. The office always was concerned with the 1240 executive level and noncareer, upper-grade positions that are filled by presidential appointment in the government at large, not merely at the White House, and the new name indicates its sweep and power.

Walker emphasizes the fact that he's a lawyer, not a professional personnel specialist, and the word put out to his staff of some 35 people, including about 20 professional assistants, is that President Ford wants appointees with substantive abilities and substantive interest in issues rather than the management-consultant types that are alleged (with some exaggeration) to have been favored in the Nixon period. At the moment two of Walker's assistants are assigned full

Eliot Marshall

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

6/10

TO:

Rev. Tessen

FROM: PAUL THEIS

F41 - in case you  
missed it.



# *Ford's Hurling Down Treacherous Political Slopes*

By JERRY GREENE

the whole credibility of his administration will hang in the balance. Word seeped out that Ford of the statesmen attendant thereunto

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# ANGOLA: DETENTE



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Ford in St. Louis: Surrendering the U.S. grain weapon

*Spearheaded by Russian tanks and Cuban regulars, a small army of pro-Soviet Angolan troops stormed victoriously into the town of Carmona, headquarters of a rival faction supported by the U.S. Seizing a nearby airfield, they captured two American-made cargo planes and a mountain of weapons and supplies . . . Out in the Atlantic, a small Soviet naval flotilla steamed in the direction of Angola, while Washington ineffectually registered its "dismay" . . . Across the continent in Addis Ababa, the Organization of African Unity gathered for a crucial summit meeting on Angola, with the Kremlin's allies riding high . . . In Pretoria, the South African Government announced that six more of its troops had died in Angola, among them a brigadier general . . . And in Washington, Henry Kissinger confided glumly to Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon that if the U.S. could not stand firm in Angola, its enemies would grow bolder everywhere—including the Middle East.*

**A**s most Americans understood it, détente was supposed to put an end to all that. Over the past few years, Washington and Moscow had managed to place a lid of sorts on the nuclear-arms race and, after a generation of confrontation, the superpowers had entered a "generation of peace." Or so Americans had been led to believe. Now, suddenly, the U.S. and Russia were at it again—this time in a proxy war over an obscure piece of African real estate that few had ever heard of. And with a sense of weary disillusionment, many felt they had been drawn into another humiliation overseas.

Although no American combat troops were involved in the struggle, Angola was perhaps the most painful symptom of the steady deterioration of détente. For months now, critics have charged that the rapprochement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, carefully orchestrated by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, had turned into a one-way street favoring the Kremlin. The Russians are widely accused of cheating on the strategic arms limitation treaty and of breaking their Helsinki promise to liberalize their own society. The Soviet Navy is leapfrogging the globe, and the Kremlin is challenging the West more forcefully than ever in Africa and Europe, notably Portugal. "I think détente is



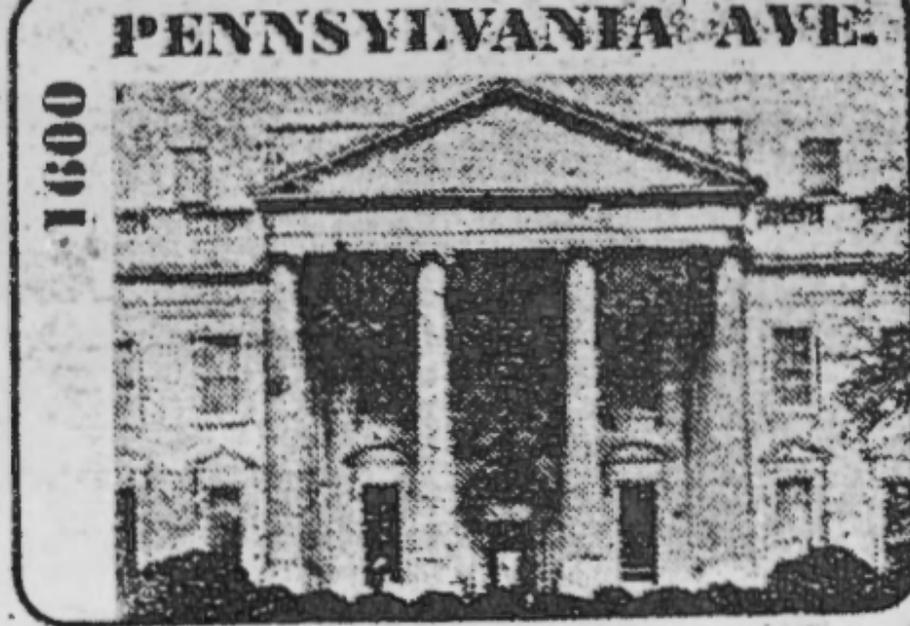
Pro-Soviet troops in the Angolan capital of Luanda: A

finished, if you define it as it was defined by Nixon and Kissinger," says Prof. Richard Pipes of Harvard. "It was supposed to keep the two superpowers out of confrontation, but instead we have allowed the Russians to expand all over the world." Chatting with American friends, former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir remarks: "I don't know why you use a fancy French word like 'détente' when there's a good English phrase for it—cold war."

Belatedly, Americans are beginning to perceive the pitfalls of détente, and their political leaders don't quite know what to make of that. Although the economy remains Topic A, foreign policy is likely, after all, to be an issue in Campaign '76. But the Presidential candidates have not yet figured out which way the issue will cut—or how deeply the voters really care about the future of Angola. To a man, the Democratic

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DR  
F.V.I.  
RHN



# *For Openers, Problems*

**By Martin Schram**  
Newsday Washington Bureau Chief

DR →  
F. I. I.  
RHN



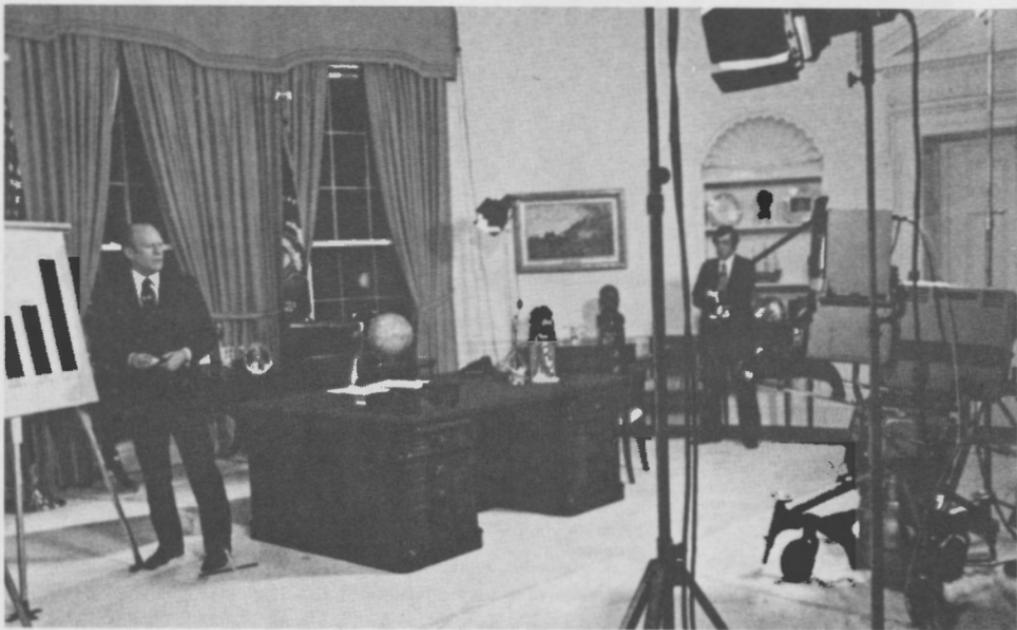
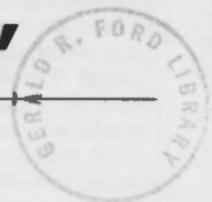
# *For Openers, Problems*

**By Martin Schram**  
Newsday Washington Bureau Chief

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# 'He Always Hits His Marks'

President Ford has become an accomplished television performer, with the help of an expert tutor



Bob Mead observes President Ford during March 29 TV speech.

By John Weisman

Shortly before President Gerald Ford's speech March 29 about the tax-rebate bill, Donald Rumsfeld, Mr. Ford's chief domestic adviser, stops the Presidential TV adviser, Bob Mead, in a White House hallway. "If everything doesn't go absolutely perfectly tonight," Rumsfeld jokes, "you're going to be leaving Air Force One somewhere over Kansas."

Mead laughs and continues down the carpeted, antique-lined passage, heading for the Oval Office, where a crew of NBC technicians in shirt-sleeves is

preparing for the telecast that will carry the President's economic message to a national audience of 57 million people. In the eight months since he left his high-priced job as the Emmy-winning White House producer for CBS News, the tall, lanky, 40-year-old Mead has taken a pay cut (to \$34,800) and a hefty increase in working hours—all so that he can try to make President Gerald Ford look his best on television.

Mead was largely responsible, for example, for the President's Jan. 13 →

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*file under  
"ugh!"*



**J**ERRY FORD HATES AMERICA. Not all of America. He keeps tucked like an armored pocket *Bible* next to his heart a xenophobic compendium of the glories he imagines she wore in an imaginary golden age. When the flag flew high over a nation of honest yeomen, when government was best because it governed least, when honest folk spurned cities because cities bred the spirochetes of sin, when virtues were plain, skins white, values puritan and businesses mom and pop, when the lazy poor deservedly starved and the inferior shuffling blacks knew their place and paradise was country-club golf on a sunny Saturday afternoon—true believer that he is, this is the America that he adores. But the America of conflict and diversity, of poverty and races, of promised equality and government brave and strong enough to guarantee it, of massive forces massively joined in a struggle for the future—the America that is the real and contentious and idealistic and unfinished place in which we live—Jerry Ford hates, with the ferocity of a man whose deepest childhood fears have not yet, at 63, been laid to rest.

If he has seemed otherwise, if he has seemed a genial and modest man, his voting record as a Congressman and his priorities as President belie that dissimulation. Across 28 years of elective and appointive office, Ford has worked unrelentingly to oppose those Government programs designed to aid the weak, the disenfranchised, the poor and the disadvantaged. While promoting the largest possible defense budgets, he has

maneuvered to cripple, gut or void every civil rights bill he has seen introduced. He's against food stamps. He's against free school lunches for the children of the poor. He's against national health insurance, public housing, aid to education, rent subsidy, unemployment compensation for farmworkers, increased Social Security benefits, an increased minimum wage, support for mass transit from the Highway Trust, abortion on demand, busing, strip-mining regulation, gasoline rationing, "liberal" Supreme Court decisions, public works. He prefers unemployment to inflation. He's in favor of school prayers and the CIA.

These are the classic positions of an Old Guard Republican, and it would be easy to pass them off as the automatic reflexes of a dutiful conservative. But no human being is merely an automaton; we are what we are because of choices we make among the pressures and opportunities that contend within us. "People," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "seem not to see that their opinion of the world is also a confession of character." While Richard Nixon was able to believe, or pretend to believe, whatever suited his immediate needs, Jerry Ford's Old Guard positions have held steady through decades of time and change, because they are deeply entrenched convictions. He has never wavered from them and he doesn't waver from them now. They must therefore relate to his own ecological balance, to the dynamics of his shadowy interior.

There is this about the Anglo-Saxon voice, scarred sequela of the Anglo-Saxon

morality that aborted it: its quality of strain. Put to service for its many official uses—counting cadence, propounding goals, condemning the faint of heart, exhorting ambition, praising the American way of life—it comes out thin, pitched too high, without range unless deliberately trained. And the fair, blue-eyed, broad-bottomed men, the recent masters of the world, who early train their bodies to hardness, invariably neglect its training, as if in the midst of their stylized manhood, a manhood as circumscribed by fear as a life of crime, they want to leave a desperate clue.

Gerald Rudolph Ford, a.k.a. Gerald Rudolf Ford, Jr., a.k.a. Leslie Lynch King, Jr.—five-fingers bowlegged, according to his sometime tailor (and imagine him suffering those tailor fingers between his legs), and 38th President of the United States by vote of the House of Representatives, where he served as water boy and center for 25 years—has such a voice. Compare Kennedy's nasal arrogance, Johnson's bully bellow, Nixon's oleaginous announcerese. Even Eisenhower, another Anglo-Saxon but hardened to confidence in the cowboy West, spoke more forcefully, though something burred caution going by. To consider Jerry, foursquare, fundamental Jerry, and overlook the pathology of his Calvinistic larynx is to misunderstand the forces and conflicts that made him what he is; and since he is temporarily in charge of our mutual destinies, we misunderstand him to our discomfiture if not to our immediate peril. Like all our Presidents, perhaps like all men everywhere, he lives behind a mask; but unlike most of our Presidents, he didn't design that mask himself. He doesn't swear in public, but he doesn't swear in the privacy of the Oval Office, either. The God for whose judging, all-seeing eyes the craftsmen of the Middle Ages finished and decorated even the sealed interiors of chests and cathedral walls has eyes for him; and sometimes at noon—today at the pinnacle of his power as in quieter days past—with Machiavellian Mel Laird kneeling improbably at his side, Gerald Ford prays aloud for guidance, knowing that tape recorders far more sensitive than the ones Nixon used are running without switch or deletion high above the famous desk. The Presidency is a terrible burden, or so we have been told; but more terrible by far is the burden of the true believer, and there's a live one in the White House now.

He wasn't always so. Look at Jerry when he was three. He's sitting on a wicker chair beside a wicker couch on a

# THE DEMONS OF GERALD FORD

HE MAY SEEM AS BLAND AS OATMEAL, BUT HE MIGHT WELL BE THE MOST TROUBLED PRESIDENT IN OUR LIFETIME

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEL

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# TV GUIDE

## Behind the Scenes: What Happens Before The President Goes on TV

Page 3

Local Programs May 31-June 6

25¢



The Cast of 'The Bob Newhart Show'

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