

The original documents are located in Box 129, folder “Hartmann, Robert (2)” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: RON NESSEN
FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN.

Members of the Republican National Associates will be entertained by the President and Mrs. Ford at a reception at 6:00 p.m. on Tuesday, June 24 on the State Floor. The President will speak.

You are cordially invited to attend and I hope you will do so in order to help entertain these important supporters of the party.

~~X~~ Yes
— No



June 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN ✓

FROM: RON NESSEN

I have phoned and written the publisher of the New Orleans Times-Picayune to renew our subscription and to explain that the cancellation was a mistake.

I find that the News Summary office has cancelled its subscriptions to a number of papers on the grounds that the News Summary staff could not read them all. All the papers whose subscriptions were cancelled are now being contacted by personal letter and subscriptions are all being renewed.

This was a mix-up in the News Summary office which did not understand the reasons for having all these subscriptions and is now being corrected without any permanent damage.

cc: Jim Shuman

RN/cg



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM SHUMAN

FROM: RON NESSEN *RH*

As I mentioned the other day, you should immediately renew your subscriptions to the entire list of newspapers which have been cancelled, and should explain that there was a foul-up of some kind in the office and that in fact we treasure our subscription to _____ newspaper.

This should be done quickly before any damage is done to relations with the papers.

If you have any questions, let me see the draft of your letter.



Arizona Republic
 Atlanta Constitution
 Atlanta Journal ✓
 Baltimore Sun
~~Baltimore News American~~ ✓
~~Eastern Pange (La.) Advocate~~ ✓
~~Birmingham News~~ ✓
 Boston ~~Star~~ Globe
 Boston Herald American
 Buffalo Evening News
~~Charleston (S.C.) News-Courier~~ ✓
 Charlotte Observer
 Chicago Daily News
 Chicago Sun Times
 Chicago Tribune
 Christian Science Monitor
~~Cincinnati Post & Times Star~~ ✓
 Cleveland Plain Dealer
~~Columbus Evening Dispatch~~ ✓
~~Columbia (S.C.) News Record~~ ✓
 Dallas Morning News
~~Dallas Times Herald~~ ✓
~~Daily Oklahoman~~ ✓
 Denver Post
 Des Moines Register
 Detroit Free Press
 Detroit News
~~Fort Worth Star Telegram~~ ✓
~~Jacksonville Journal~~ ✓
 Houston Post
 Houston Chronicle
~~Indianapolis Star~~ ✓
 Kansas City Star
 Los Angeles Times
 London Times
~~London Daily Mail~~ ✓
~~Long Beach Independent Press Telegram~~ ✓
~~Manchester Guardian~~ ✓
 Louisville Courier-Journal
 Manchester Union Leader
 Memphis Commercial Appeal
 Miami Herald
 Milwaukee Journal
~~Minneapolis Tribune~~ ✓
~~New Orleans Times Picayune~~ ✓
 Newsday
 New York Daily News
 New York Post
 New York Times
~~Oregon World Herald~~ ✓
 Portland Oregonian
 Philadelphia Evening Bulletin
 Philadelphia Inquirer
~~Phoenix Gazette~~ ✓
~~Pittsburg Post Gazette~~ ✓
~~Portland (Me.) Press Herald~~ ✓

~~Pittsburg News Leader~~ ✓
 Richmond Times-Dispatch
~~Rochester Times-Union~~ ✓ Keep — JED
~~St. Louis Globe-Democrat~~
 St. Louis Post Dispatch
 Rocky Mountain News
~~Salt Lake Tribune~~
~~San Francisco Chronicle~~ [REDACTED]
~~San Diego Union~~
 Sacramento Bee
~~Tampa Tribune~~
~~Tulsa World~~
 Wall Street Journal
 Washington Post
 Washington Star-News
~~Women's Wear Daily~~
~~Yonkers Indicator~~
 Rolling Stone

~~Grand Rapids (Mich) Press~~
~~Lansing (Mich) State Journal~~
~~Marquette Mining Journal~~
~~Port Huron Times Herald~~
 SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER



Mars-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: SENIOR STAFF
FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

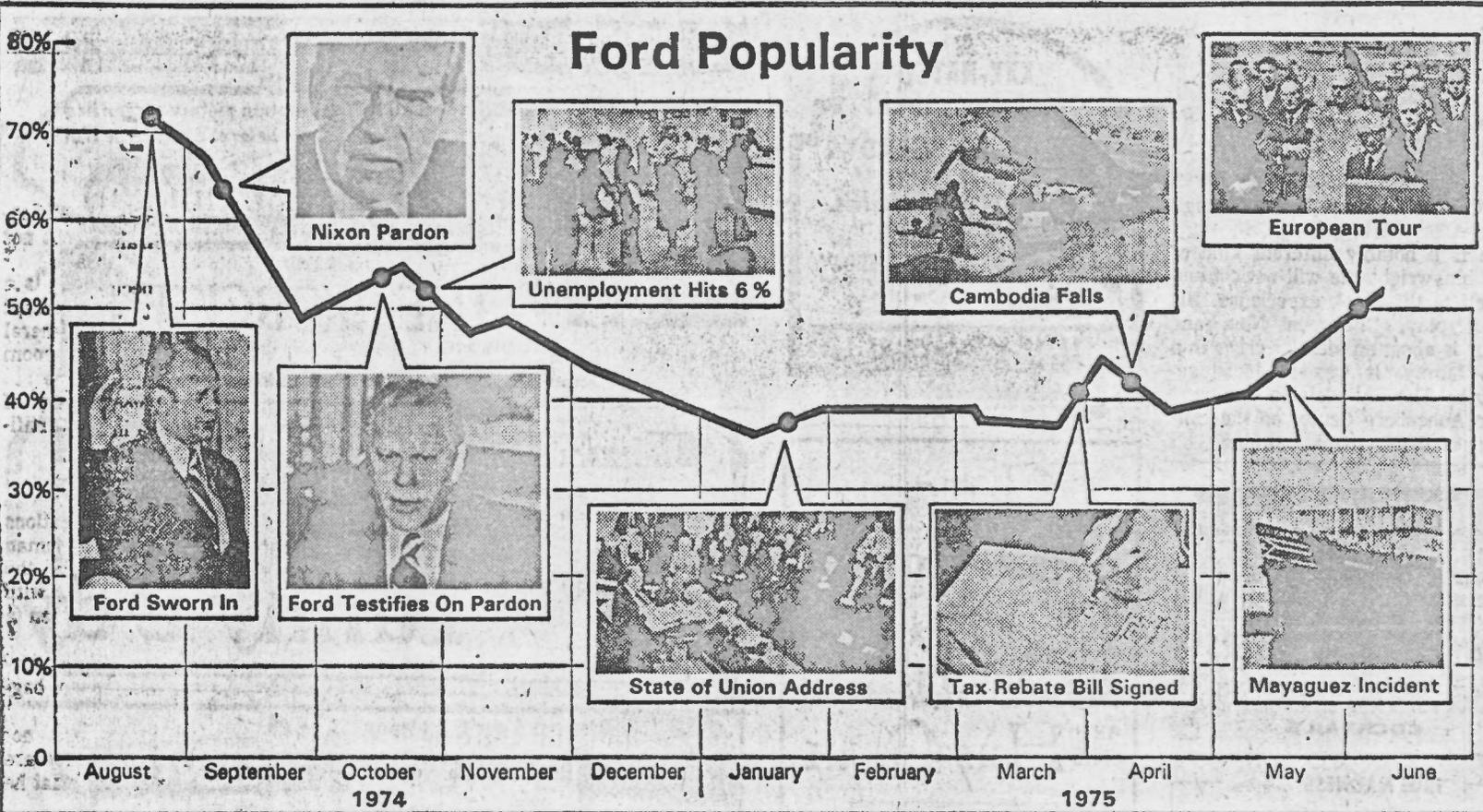


I thought that you might find interesting this graphic portrayal by the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER of the President's popularity ratings by the Gallup poll.





Ford Popularity



PRESIDENT FORD'S popularity rating has risen 11 percent in one month, with 51 percent voicing approval of his performance

in the latest Gallup Poll survey. The chart shows the results of Gallup Polls on Ford's popularity since he took office.

Philadelphia Inquirer / DAVID MILNE

July 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

RON NESSEN

John Rhodes and Dan Button should be told that Roy Rowan, the Hong Kong Bureau Chief for TIME Magazine, already is well along with a book on the Mayaguez to be published about mid-August. Rowan spent ten days aboard the Mayaguez interviewing the Captain and crew. He also interviewed all the American military commanders involved. And he had a 45 minute interview with the President during which the President went through the chronology of the episode and gave details of his decision-making process.

If Button is still interested in doing the book, even though Rowan will be out with a well researched version far ahead of his, then we could consider setting up the interview he wants.

RN/cg

cc: Bob Hartmann ✓



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOTE FOR: Bob Hartmann

FROM : RON NESSEN

I hope you
will join me in
signing this memo.

I think it's
incredible that
Hooper would reject
renewal of these
subscriptions. RHN



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES E. CONNOR

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN
RONALD H. NESSEN *RHN*

SUBJECT: SUBSCRIPTIONS TO 32 NEWSPAPERS

As you know, the President has requested that his daily news summary contain a wide range of editorial viewpoints from newspapers throughout the United States.

A month or so ago, in an effort to save staff time and money, Jim Shuman cancelled subscriptions to 32 newspapers which had been only marginally fruitful in producing usable items for the President's daily news summary. Since then, he has been able to find a way to cover those papers using volunteer help. This will enable him to check them for items for NEWS & COMMENT and also to help him in preparation of the President's news conference briefing books, in preparation for the President's meetings with out-of-town editors, and in filling requests from other White House staff for information and clippings from regional newspapers.

This morning Jim Shuman received a memo from David Hoopes informing him his proposal to renew the subscriptions was disapproved.

We would like the subscriptions on the attached list renewed.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES B. SHUMAN
FROM: DAVID C. HOOPES
SUBJECT: Subscriptions to 32 newspapers

Your memorandum of July 10 requested that subscriptions be renewed to about 32 newspapers that were cancelled about a month ago. You reported that one of the reasons for continuing the subscriptions was for the political benefit of maintaining them in view of inquiries from several newspapers asking why they were cancelled a month ago. You proposed to store them in EOB 456 and occasionally check them for usable items.

We've checked into the cost of new subscriptions to all newspapers and find that your proposal will cost about \$900 per year. We cannot justify the expenditure of these funds and the proposal was, therefore, disapproved.

cc: William Greener
Robert Linder



Letters to be addressed to the Circulation Manager for each of the following papers:

Atlanta Journal

Minneapolis Tribune

Baltimore News American

Omaha World Herald

Birmingham News

Portland (Me.) Press Herald

Charleston News Courier

Richmond News Leader

Columbus Evening Dispatch

St. Louis Globe-Democrat

Dallas Times Herald

Salt Lake Tribune

Daily Oklahoman

San Francisco Chronicle

Austin American-Statesman

Tampa Tribune

Jacksonville Journal

Youngstown Vindicator

Indianapolis Star

Grand Rapids Press

Lansing State Journal



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
JERRY JONES
BOB GOLDWYN
BOB HARTMANN

FROM: RON NESSEN

RHN

Attached find a memo prepared by Jim Shuman of the Press Office staff pointing up a common criticism of the President which has appeared in a number of first anniversary assessments, and suggesting a possible course of action to meet this criticism.

May I have your comments or reaction to this memo? If I can get your comments back by mid-day Friday, Jim would have a chance to further develop his ideas while the President is in Vail.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: JIM SHUMAN

SUBJECT: VISION AND THE NEW POLITICS:
 PROPOSAL FOR A PRESIDENTIAL THEME

Does the Ford Administration have a vision to carry the country through the 1980's and into the next 100 years? Or is it to be little more than a nuts and bolts caretaker of the machinery of government?

These questions, which strike at the heart of what could become a major campaign issue, began to surface in the nation's press even before the President announced he would be a candidate.

Dennis Farney, writing in the Wall Street Journal several weeks before the President's formal announcement, asked: "Does Mr. Ford have a problem of substance.....Does he know what he wants to accomplish through the Presidency?"

"American political campaigns typically hold out alternative visions of the future." Farney wrote, "Does Gerald Ford have such a vision?"

Since then, there has been a steady, if still subdued, drum-beat of similar criticism.

"His style may be likeable, but what of substance?" The Milwaukee Journal asked in an editorial on July 10th.

"There's a nothingness there (at the White House)," Peter Lisagor said on Washington Week in Review, July 18th, "There are no programs on the drawing board; there are no policies developing or emerging or evolving, so far as we can see."

The President, Time Magazine noted in a favorable cover story on Gerald Ford's first year in office, "has not provided anything resembling a blueprint for the nation."

Newsweek, in a similar article, said President Ford "has yet to demonstrate any larger capacity for leadership -- for defining goals and mobilizing the energies of a nation behind them."

"The country," Joseph Kraft wrote in a column on July 22nd, "wants more than Mr. Nice Guy."

David Broder, writing in the Washington Post, this morning, noted that "Mr. Ford has not yet attempted to give the nation a picture of where he is leading it."

And James Reston in the New York Times this morning described the President as "A happy and appreciative man with a kind of thumby practical wisdom, [who] does not really grapple with the perplexing problems of the insurgent hum of the age."

These conceptions can, of course, change. Gerald Ford is more than Mr. Nice Guy. He does have a philosophy and it is, I suspect, more in tune with the feelings of most Americans than many political writers know.

But as this Administration enters its second year and gears up for the 1976 election, I think we should begin to put that philosophy into words and into a context that is relevant to what Reston calls "the insurgent hum of the age."

In the editorial in which it asked about Presidential substance, the Milwaukee Journal said that President Ford had indicated that "in his campaign he will stress traditional Republican notions -- opposition to big spending, opposition to big government, opposition to regulation of business. While these themes have some merit, they have been associated in the past with largely negative, uninspired thinking. They have too often served as excuses for neglect of major social needs. To be a worthy Presidential claimant, Ford will have to do more than pour his old wine into a few new bottles."

What type of new wine does the United States need as we celebrate our 200th Anniversary?

Pollster Louis Harris defined the political climate clearly in a speech at the Conference of Mayors in Boston.

"It is time for quite a radical rethinking in American politics," Harris said. "The old left-right division of 30 or 40 years ago is totally out-of-date. The old nostrum of a federal take-over of business appeals to no more than 11 percent. The even older nostrum of leaving the economy to the free market leaves over eight in every ten cold and unimpressed."

"The dominant mood of this public: they want men of hope, and genuine humanity, with compassion for the less privileged, but with a realism about the tough problems modern society faces."

"Underneath they have a deep yearning for new politicians, for non-organizational men who speak the language and give voice to the people. They are willing to listen carefully for quiet voices, if they are genuine voices. For make no mistake about it, the voices from the top today are by and large not the voices from below.

"The kind of leadership they would abide would be willing to ask for stringent sacrifice in energy and food when the world's supply says there is not enough to go around; the conservative who has the courage to speak with compassion about the fact that one in six Americans of a different color skin are not equal in fact; the liberal who has the courage to talk about the fact that trade unions, unwilling to join in equality of sacrifice in a crisis, can sink the modern city without a trace. Leadership, in short, that has the courage to cut through the usual political cant and say how rotten the old pork barrel politics really is."

"Above all, people want leaders who have the courage to welcome the governed into the political process. 'Open Up' is the lesson of Watergate and the past few years. People do not want to be treated like 12- year-olds.

"We find the common community of interest underneath was never greater. The trouble with the leadership in all fields is that it has spent 20 years clawing its way to the top, only to find that when it once attains that upmost rung, it is 20 years out of date. In a chorus, people are saying we must learn not to attack each other, but instead to attack our common problems. And people want to find all that and get going on it now.... now before it is too late."

I would explain what has happened more dramatically.

In the past few years, the United States has undergone a major shift in values. It is, in effect, a silent revolution. It is a revolution which is consonant with basic Republican philosophy but which neither Republicans nor Democrats have yet seemed aware of.

It should be recognized politically, not just for the benefit of the politicians who sense it (and a few such as Governor Brown of California and Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts seem to), but to rebuild and strengthen the United States and to restore a needed and missing sense of personal competency, a sense that we, the people of the United States, can solve our problems.

Among the characteristics of this silent revolution are a desire for greater individual self-sufficiency, for greater individual self-determination (the right to make the important decisions about one's own life), and at the same time a greater sense of interdependence and personal responsibility.

It is what I would christen "Responsible Individualism."

One of the most momentous aspects of the silent revolution to "Responsible Individualism" is the strong reversal of the two-hundred year-long trend toward big and centralized government.

Although it is spurred by the inability of centralized government to efficiently deliver services or to respond to the needs of people at a local level, it is not negative. Nor, as much of national political rhetoric still seems to be, is it phrased in negative terms. It does not want to ignore problems, only to shift them to the level where they can be most effectively solved.

To supporters of the New Federalist concept articulated during the Nixon Administration, this shift may seem like confirmation of their ideas. But our response is too often seen as one that is negative. It is against "Big Government" but it seems to offer little to replace it.

There are, however, scores if not hundreds of examples.

The Center for Policy Process, a Washington-based national research center, recently noted some of them in each of the five major areas where this shift toward decentralization is taking place.

To quote from a report the Center developed in cooperation with the Urban Research Corporation, of Chicago:

"(1) Increasing community and neighborhood influence and control. In the history of neighborhood control, the first actions were based on criticisms of the system brought by community members seeking to make schools and police more accountable to local concerns. In the next stage, the cycle has moved toward more integration of civil activities leading to the development of 'neighborhood multi-service centers' which exist in some form in almost every city of over 75,000 population. The basic service elements are information and referral, health, employment, welfare, housing and youth programs. The newest development has turned from integration of present services to community goal setting. This is occurring in about 250 cities and towns including Memphis, Cleveland Heights, Iowa City, Santa Barbara, Seattle, Tulsa, Greensboro, New Orleans, Dayton, and Rochester, N.Y."

(2) "More power is being assumed by the state. The states of the union are taking charge in areas once considered the preserve of the federal government. Federal agencies continue proliferating regulations and promulgating codes, but the once one-way flow has ceased; significant decision-making authority is being lodged in state capitals."

(3) "Revenue sharing. The strong decentralizing impact of federal revenue sharing is being felt at all levels of government; states are now beginning to return tax money to cities and cities to neighborhoods. Once highly criticized, revenue sharing is now receiving greater praise."

(4) "A growing diversity in approach among governmental jurisdictions. This new geographic pluralism is following the pattern of increasing diversity that we saw in the counter-culture individualism and the ethnic diversity of the sixties (from 'Black is beautiful' to the use of bi-lingual and poly-cultural textbooks in schools). We are just beginning to recognize the extent of a jurisdictional diversity in approaches to problem solving--wide variations in the way towns, cities and states are approaching issues. The old notion that there was a "one best solution" to social problems to be imposed everywhere is fading."

(5) "The tired axiom about the 'economies of scale' is being challenged and supplanted by criteria for appropriately scaled activities which are effective economically and socially. In both the public sector, and the private sector, we are scaling down our activities in the name of economy: we have neighborhood councils and neighborhood courts emerging; small towns are regaining popularity; transit systems are being installed with mini-buses and jitneys; custodial institutions (jails and mental institutions) are being decentralized; and families are decreasing in size. The question is, what is the most appropriate scale (level of government) for each particular social goal."

This trend is not confined to government. It is showing up in attempts to improve factories and offices, educational institutions, and social service organizations. To me, this is the politics of the 1970's and most likely into the next century: Can this desire for responsible individualism, with its recognition of diversity and interdependence, be accommodated by our existing institutions.

I think it can. And I think this Administration not only should play a major role in creating the society these values call for, but that this Administration is the logical one to do so.

On July 4th, when President Ford spoke at Fort McHenry, he said that the next 100 years of the American experience should be ones in which we worked toward individual freedom.

I think we should begin, preferably as soon as Labor Day, to begin to articulate how that freedom is to be achieved. We should define it as "Responsible Individualism" or whatever, phrase catches popular fancy and notes that individualism must recognize interdependence. (And does not use the word "new". People are tired and distrustful of that type of rhetoric and promise.)

I would propose a program of several stages.

Stage I: Recognition and Learning-- This stage would have the President acknowledging, probably in a speech, that much has changed in the United States during the past decade. He would then set out to learn about it, through on-site tours, meetings, conferences; posturing himself as a leader concerned about his people and desirous of finding out how they are positively and successfully attacking problems -- and virtually all of our national problems fit under the overall schematology of "Responsible Individualism." There are many successful examples of such new approaches. Presidential recognition would doubtless spur others. In addition, in a period in which people are distrustful of politicians and feel their views are not heard, the posture of a President acknowledging the competence and wisdom of the American people would be, at least, reassuring. This stage would last perhaps three to four months, say up until the end of 1975.

Stage II: Reflective. This period would also last three to four months while programs were developed. During it the President would continue to make speeches and do other Presidential-type activities. There would be no public announcements of new policies, but the President in Bicentennial speeches could articulate the basic premises of "Responsible Individualism."

Stage III: Implementation. This would coincide with the election campaign, it would follow the traditional political pattern of a campaign, but would be well in tune with what the voters were thinking, and it would be offering fresh solutions.

All of this, of course, needs more thought than I have been able to give it in this memo. My intention here is merely to open an area for further discussion and exploration. It is one I see as having minimal risk and maximum gain.

-END-

August 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HARTMANN

FROM: RON NESSEN

Paul K. Schilling, a very active Republican in Minnesota, asked me during the President's stop in Minneapolis whether he could be sent a record of the most recent votes by Minnesota Congressmen on energy, Turkish aid, and farm issues. Schilling said that these vote counts could be used in Minnesota Republican campaign publications.

Will you please handle this? Schilling's address is:

704 Pioneer Building
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

RN/cg



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann

Rth
by memo m.

To: RON NESSEN

Date: August 26, 1975

Time

a. m.

p. m.

For your information

August 15, 1975

ROSCOE DRUMMOND COLUMN

SPECIAL NOTE TO EDITORS:

Roscoe Drummond will be on vacation for one week. As a replacement column, we will be sending you our bright, young new star on the Washington scene, RON HENDREN. We've enclosed some background.

The ROSCOE DRUMMOND COLUMN will resume with the release for Friday, August 29.

LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE

IN WASHINGTON by Ron Hendren

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE (Distributed 8/15/75)

CBS CHALLENGES EQUAL TIME LAW

by Ron Hendren

(c) 1975, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON--The Columbia Broadcasting System has filed a little-noticed request with the Federal Communications Commission that could spell disaster for the Democrats in their drive to unseat Gerald Ford next year, and could prove equally devastating to third-party and Republican challengers for the presidential nomination.

Early last month CBS quietly asked the FCC to rule that presidential press conferences are exempt from the equal time provision of the federal Communications Act which regulates the broadcast industry.

A ruling in favor of CBS would mean that President Ford could hold as many press conferences as he likes throughout the remaining 14 months of the campaign, and the networks would be free to broadcast them live with no obligation to provide equal time to his opponents, Democratic, Republican or third party.

(MORE)



Page Two...RON HENDREN...(Dist. 8/15/75)...party.

Informed sources at the FCC said that a decision on the CBS request is expected in early September, and that there is an even chance the commission will rule in CBS' favor.

The Democratic National Committee has informed the FCC that it will oppose the request. "To void the equal time principle would severely hurt our chances for success in the presidential election," according to committee spokesman, attorney Robert N. Smith.

Informed of the Democrats' intentions, Richard Salant, president of CBS News, told this reporter, "Why didn't they think of that when a Democrat was in?" He was referring to a similar request made by CBS in 1964 when incumbent President Lyndon B. Johnson was running for election.

The FCC, composed at that time of a majority of Democratic appointees, did in fact oppose the request which would have been favorable to Johnson, and denied the CBS petition on the grounds that all bona fide candidates should have equal opportunity to obtain air time.

Salant said that another ruling against CBS might mean that the network would not be able to broadcast presidential news conferences live for the duration of the campaign.

(Paragraph continues)



Page Three...RON HENDREN...(Dist. 8/15/75)...campaign.

"We'd have to take a very hard look at it," he said. "It would be tough for us to go ahead."

Salant pointed out that the equal time provisions, as they are now interpreted, force the networks to give time to any legal candidate who requests it, and who has met the minimum requirements of announcing, and of entering a primary or soliciting financial support. This includes even candidates who clearly have no realistic chance: as one broadcaster put it, "The guy who's walking down the street one day and suddenly decides he wants to run for President qualifies for equal time."

However, the FCC has attempted to ameliorate this problem by its June 10 ruling which tightens considerably its interpretation of what it means to be a presidential candidate. Experts in FCC law told me that as a result of this ruling Salant's argument no longer holds. One attorney characterized the CBS position as "a shallow threat to black out presidential news conferences, nothing short of a blackmail attempt."

(c) 1975, Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE/Times Mirror Square,

Los Angeles, Calif. 90053

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUGUST 27, 1975

Bele
9/2

Office of the White House Press Secretary

Royal "We"

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

It is with the deepest regret that we have learned of the death of Emperor Haile Selassie. For five decades, he was a towering leader not only of his own country but of the entire African Continent. At the time of the invasion of his country, he was an inspiration to everyone around the world who believes in national independence and peace with freedom among nations. As a friend of this country and as a symbol of the emergence of developing nations, he will be greatly missed. But his achievements -- peaceful cooperation among African states and between African states and the rest of the world -- will live on and continue to have fullest American support.

#

Ron Kessen - maybe this is my own speech dept's fault - but "we" have to keep alert against a revival of the "Royal we" in Presidential statements



[Handwritten signature]

September 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN ✓

FROM: RON NESSEN

Attached is correspondence from the Saturday Evening Post to the President and me.

I think it would be an excellent idea to send a Presidential Christmas message for presentation in the December issue of the Saturday Evening Post.

Would you prepare such a message and get it back to me to forward to the Saturday Evening Post.

Attachments:

Letters from Starkey Flythe - SEP

RM/jb



September 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN ✓

FROM: RON NESSEN

I hope you will agree that a byline article by the President on "Regulation and its Effect on the Economy" for the Michigan Chamber of Commerce's publication seems like a worthwhile project.

Would you prepare such an article (it could be quite brief and taken from any recent Presidential speech on deregulation) and send it to me for forwarding to the Michigan Chamber of Commerce.

Attachment:

Letter from Harry R. Hall -
Michigan State Chamber of Commerce

RN/jb



sent to Harry Hall

September 18, 1975

ARTICLE FOR MICHIGAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MAGAZINE

I want business to grow. America's future depends upon the enterprise of business.

I want business released from the shackles of Federal redtape. The tremendous efforts of business, large and small, are stifled by unnecessary, unfair and unclear rules and regulations.

In the months ahead, we face critical choices: Shall business and government work together in a free economy for the betterment of all? Or shall we slide toward an economy whose vital decisions are made by politicians while the private sector dries up and shrivels away?

My resources and my resolve as your President are devoted to the free enterprise system. I do not intend to celebrate our Bicentennial by reversing the great principles on which the United States was founded.

The increasing growth of government dramatizes the need to keep Federal authority within reasonable bounds. There is a direct connection between the spirit of the American Constitution and a competitive, privately oriented economy.

In the last few years, the more than 10 million businesses in America -- from neighborhood stores to huge corporations -- have struggled to adapt to consumer protection laws, to environmental mandates, to energy shortages, to inflation, to recession and to complicated and high taxation.

Depending on their size and resources, some businesses can survive over-regulation better than others. Large corporations have specialized staffs of accountants and attorneys. Small businessmen and businesswomen have nobody but themselves.

Although most of today's regulations affecting business are well-intentioned, their effect, whether designed to protect the environment or the consumer, often does more harm than good. They can stifle growth in our standard of living and contribute to inflation.

Of course, when we consider revisions in these regulations, we must carefully consider those who may be injured by regulatory modifications. Our system can and will make needed changes which are fair to all. Obviously, we cannot and should not eliminate all regulations. But let us evaluate all of these programs, so that we can answer the question: Does the added costs to the public make sense when measured against actual benefits?

As a consumer, I want to know how much the tab at the front door checkout counter is raised through the backdoor of regulatory inflation. As President, I want to eliminate unnecessary regulations which impose a hidden tax on the consumer.

Over a period of some 90 years, we have erected a massive Federal regulatory structure encrusted with contradictions, excesses and rules that have outlived any conceivable value.

I have met with leaders of the Congress and with the Commissioners of the 10 independent regulatory agencies to seek cooperation in eliminating regulations which do more harm than good and in improving the agencies' rules and procedures.

My deep personal concern is not only for the consumer and the producer but for the millions whose employment depends upon the enterprise of business. I want to end unnecessary, unfair, unclear regulations and needless paperwork. The number of different forms sent out from Washington is more than 5,000. America is being buried by an avalanche of paper.

This must be stopped. I intend to do everything in my power to see that it is stopped. I want to get the government out of the affairs of business, out of peoples' lives and pocketbooks -- and out of their hair.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1975

Mr. Hartmann:

426-1434

We got a call this morning from Connie
in Fred Morrison's office at DOT

She said that Mr. Morrison had been ill
and that he passed away last night.
His widow's name is Marilynne, her
address is: P.O. Box 30, Cumberland, Md.
21555-phone: 301-395-5303.

She told me that the viewing of the body
would be at Pumfrey's Funeral Home
at 8434 Georgia Ave. in Silver Spring,
Saturday from 7-9 p.m. and Sunday from
3-5 p.m. and 7-9 p.m. She said that
she believed that a service would be
held at the Washington Cathedral on
Monday-they are still uncertain about
which chapel and the time.

Mr. Felix Cotton called about the same
matter. He said that he believes that
the funeral will now be held at the
Cathedral on Saturday. He will check
and get back to us. His number: 967-5383

Gail



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT T. HARTMANN *RT*
FROM: MILTON FRIEDMAN *M.F.*

In preparing the suggested draft of the President's letter to the Society for the Family of Man dinner in New York City on November 6, I have learned from the host organization's leading officials that there are some last minute developments of sensitivity. I have taken these developments into account in the draft of the suggested letter by the President.

1. Before Mrs. Ford is presented with the award, the Reverend Kenneth Folkes, President of the Council of Churches of the City of New York, (a black minister) will present a check covering this year's proceeds of the Family of Man charity to Mayor Abraham Beame to buy Big Mac bonds as a gesture of confidence in the fiscal policies of New York City. Reverend Dan Potter, executive director of the Council of Churches of the City of New York, told me that Reverend Folkes is under heavy pressure to voice hope that the President will "soften his heart" toward New York City. Reverend Folkes may quote Biblical scripture about withholding help from the needy, the need for compassion and Christian values in Washington, etc. He will then present roses to Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Beame.

2. Hundreds of demonstrators from various New York churches, mainly Black, will be outside demonstrating against the award to the President. Reverend Potter said there would

(more)

be "hundreds" of choir members in robes singing protest songs like "We Shall Overcome" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic". They may have a public address system and offer protest remarks by clergymen who are against the award to the President. There may be placards outside like "Betty, yes; Jerry, No."

3. I obtained a copy of the prepared remarks by Maurice Granville, of Texaco, who is dinner chairman. He will introduce Mrs. Ford at the close of the program. His remarks are attached and seem appropriate.

4. Arrangements are being made by the dinner leadership to respond to Mrs. Ford with a "very warm" standing ovation because of the dissent.

5. Reverend Potter is seeking an advance text of the President's letter to issue to the press at 5:00 p.m. (prior to the dinner). I recommend against the advance release of this message because prior knowledge would enable critics, who precede the First Lady on the program, to answer the President's words even before they are spoken. It would weaken the dramatic impact of the humane and compassionate tone of the President's letter.

#

Copies to
The President -
Mrs. Ford
Ron Wassen ✓
Wick Cheney
Jerry Jones

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL A. THEIS

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN 

Not long after you spoke to me for guidance on the request of Muriel Dobbin of the Baltimore Sun to do a story on the Presidential Speechwriting Department, my office received a similar request from Fred Barnes of the Evening Star. I would expect that someone has sown the seeds of a really good story in the Speechwriting Department or maybe it is simply a sequel to the seed planted with Aldo Beckman of the Chicago Tribune. It is curious that it follows hot on the heels of Dave Gergen's latest draft for possible Presidential use.

So that my instructions are perfectly clear, the responses to all such inquiries are: (1) that the Editorial Office and everybody connected with it are presently much too busy with their work to be interviewed; (2) numerous stories about the structure of the Editorial Office under your direction are already in the public record and the system has not changed; and (3) the basic content of any Presidential speech and much of its actual language is the product of the President himself.

As I indicated earlier to you and others, speechwriters and other members of the Editorial Department should not discuss with the press the details of the drafting of any Presidential speech or document and certainly should not disclose any differences of opinion which may have prevailed prior to final Presidential approval. These are policy questions which should be publicly discussed, if at all, only by the President himself -- at least this is the rule as far as anyone under my supervision is concerned.

I know these requests for interviews will be persistent and do not want to give the impression that we are closing any open doors. However, it is your responsibility to take the heat and find ways of preventing any more journalistic airing of Editorial Office matters on the basic premise that we are simply too busy doing our work. I do not intend to accept any interviews on this subject and will simply duck any such questions that may arise in a general interview. My stock answer is that a Presidential speech is the product of many minds, first and foremost the President's, and my job is simply one of making

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL A. THEIS

October 24, 1975

Page 2

sure that any text conforms to his desires. I refuse to admit whether I or any other individual played the leading role in the process of preparing any particular speech. This should be considered the general guidance for all of your staff.

cc: Don Rumsfeld
✓ Ron Nessen

November 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN

FROM: RON NESSEN

Phil Shabecoff of the New York Times is doing a long, serious story on "the powers of the President" in the wake of Watergate, Vietnam and other events of recent years.

He complained to me that he is having difficulty reaching you. If you have the time, I think it would be worthwhile talking to Shabecoff.

RN/jb



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: ✓ RON NESSEN
PAUL THEIS

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

DATE: December 15, 1975

President's remarks for the White
House Staff Christmas Party today.

CHRISTMAS HAS A SPECIAL MEANING FOR
ALL OF US, REGARDLESS OF OUR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS,
BECAUSE IT IS A HOLIDAY BUILT AROUND THE
CONCEPT OF THE FAMILY. WHAT BEGAN WITH
JOSEPH AND MARY AND THE INFANT JESUS IN A
BETHLEHEM MANGER --- THE SENTIMENTS OF
TOGETHERNESS AND LOVE -- HAS SPREAD OVER
THE CENTURIES TO MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF
HOMES IN EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD AND THE
JOY OF THE CHRISTMAS SEASON HAS BECOME AN
ALMOST UNIVERSAL BLESSING.

BETTY AND I HAVE INVITED YOU TO OUR
HOME TONIGHT -- AND IT'S CONVENIENTLY CLOSE
TO WORK -- BECAUSE YOU ARE ALL PART OF THE
WHITE HOUSE FAMILY.

WE WANTED YOU ALL TO BE THE FIRST TO GATHER
AROUND OUR CHRISTMAS TREE AND SHARE IN THE
WARMTH OF THE HOLIDAY SEASON WITH US.

IT'S NOT A TIME FOR SPEECHES, BUT FOR FRIENDLY
TALK AND RELAXATION.

BUT I DID WANT TO TELL YOU THAT I DO KNOW,
AND DO VERY MUCH APPRECIATE, THE LONG HOURS
AND HARD WORK YOU HAVE BEEN PUTTING IN TO
HELP ME DO MY JOB. I REALIZE IT HAS
INTERFERED WITH YOUR OWN CHRISTMAS SHOPPING
AND TIME WITH YOUR OWN FAMILIES AND ALL I CAN
SAY IS, THANK YOU.

AND TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU, AND TO YOUR
LOVED ONES, FROM THE FORD FAMILY -- HAVE A
MERRY, MERRY CHRISTMAS AND MAY NEXT YEAR BE
THE HAPPIEST YEAR OF YOUR LIVES.

END OF TEXT

January 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN
FROM: RON NESSEN

A sympathetic member of the press has suggested you might want to consider Ted Sell (who I think worked with you at the L. A. Times) as a possible addition to the speechwriting shop.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE SENIOR STAFF

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN 

This memorandum is to inform you of changes approved by the President in the staff under my supervision.

1. Douglas Smith will serve as my Acting Executive Assistant and Deputy in the West Wing in the place of Jack Calkins, who has resigned in view of his nomination as Republican candidate for Congress in New York.
2. Robert Orben has been appointed Special Assistant to the President and Editor of the Speech Communications office.
3. Milton Friedman, the President's senior speechwriter, will continue as Deputy Editor of that office. In addition, he will serve as my special assistant.
4. Gwen Anderson will continue as my Deputy Assistant and will have administrative responsibility for the Research and Presidential Message offices.
5. Roland Elliott will continue to have responsibility for the Correspondence section.

In order to achieve greater coordination, all requests and interoffice memoranda should be addressed to me at my West Wing office and will be forwarded to the appropriate office for action. One exception to this will be urgent communications regarding Presidential speeches which may be directed to Mr. Orben in the EOB with an information copy to me.

cc: Mr. Cheney
Dr. Connor
Mr. Nessen ✓
All staff members concerned

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/24/76

NOTE FOR: *Bob Northmann*

FROM : RON NESSEN

*I have acknowledged
this letter and said
I was turning it
over to you for
consideration*

R. N.



NAVY RECRUITING COMMAND
4015 WILSON BOULEVARD
ARLINGTON, VA. 22203

IN REPLY REFER TO

Ron Nessen
Press Secretary
The White House

22 January 1976

There are maybe 500 better writers than me in Washington. Five-hundred and five if you include White House speech writers.

But then, how many of them will have the nerve to take a shot at the speech writing vacancies reported today in the Post?

Since I have the nerve and some credentials, count me as an applicant. Let me hear from you and I'll send along an SF 171; otherwise I can't see any sense in bugging you with still another unwanted job application.

In short, however, I'm your basic ex-daily and weekly newspaper type (1950-60) with 14 later years as a media rep and programs information officer at Commerce, Army and Navy.

Right now I'm Navy's top writer of recruiting ads and literature. Two-bit stuff? Well, maybe not.

Not if you don't underestimate our audience of young Americans who are pretty sharp people, indeed. And not if you look at the importance of our mission to man the Fleets.

Unfortunately I'm nobody's authority or expert on anything. At least not anything definable as a formal, academic discipline. Nor, perhaps, am I altogether as naive as this letter of application might imply.

It's just that I believe a steady, digging hack writer who can turn a nice phrase maybe once, twice a year, could be worth having around.

Like to hear from you.

Steed Evans

5470 Bradford Court #232
Alexandria, Va. 22311

JANUARY 27, 1960

INTERVIEW WITH ROBERT T. HARTMANN
COUNSELLOR TO THE PRESIDENT
BY SARAH McCLENDON
AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PRESS

THE ROOSEVELT ROOM

3:10 P.M. EST

Q We are just so pleased that you could give us the time. We know you are very busy.

MR. HARTMANN: I thought we had all the tapes removed from the White House.

Q We thought you might need them again so we thought we would bring them along.

We will go right to questions. Who wants to have the first question?

Q I would like to have the first question. I am going to ask you what I think is going to be the really gut issue this year and that is jobs. How do you plan to handle that?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, first of all, contrary to your answer, I agree with your premise that, at least at this point, it looks like one of the major issues, if not the major issue, and it is going to be the issue of jobs and the economy, which is kind of interlocked.

I think that the question is not limited just to jobs but to how one goes about trying to make more jobs. At least, judging by the President's State of the Union and related Messages and Senator Muskie's reply, it would seem that they have drawn the issue line rather clearly as to whether the best way to get more jobs and get them quicker is through direct Government action or through using the Government's powers to stimulate action in the private sector.



I think that the debate will certainly go on for some time on that point and may even be the major issue of the campaign, although I hate to pick the major issue right now any more than I hate to pick the Democratic candidate. I will be glad to speculate about who the Republican candidate will be.

Q Who do you think the Democratic candidate will be?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I have been saving just in order to have an answer when this question is asked me, and at the moment I would have to say Senator Humphrey, but I say that without a whole lot of conviction because people who pick candidates six months before the convention are very frequently wrong.

Q Some months ago you were quite sure it was going to be Senator Kennedy. I gather you have changed your mind about that?

MR. HARTMANN: I switched some months ago when I began to feel that Senator Kennedy's protestations were genuine, and I would not want to be in the position of not taking the gentleman at his word.

Q What made you switch?

MR. HARTMANN: I just became convinced that when Senator Kennedy said he was not a candidate and didn't want to be that he would not.

Q Do you think that Governor Wallace has a chance to be on the ticket with Senator Humphrey?

MR. HARTMANN: I am not a great expert at Democratic conventions. My last experience in that respect was in 1960 when I covered the convention at -- was it Chicago? No, it was Los Angeles, and so it has been a long time. I did pick the winner there, but I was wrong on the Vice President.



Q Bob, have differences between the President and Governor Reagan disappeared pretty much? That is how I see it.

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I would not say the differences have disappeared. I don't think that they have been as profound as the differences between either of them and anybody who is likely to be the Democratic nominee, but there are differences as to the degree in which we want the Federal Government to go out of business and the speed with which you want this to be accomplished and the ways in which you want to have it done and those differences being fairly clearly delineated by what Governor Reagan is saying and what the President is saying.

Q Who do you think is going to win the New Hampshire Republican primary, and also Florida, between Reagan and Ford?

MR. HARTMANN: Would you say that again?

Q Who is going to win, Ford or Reagan, in New Hampshire and in Florida?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I think it is bad for me to guess about those things. The easy out would be that the President is going to win in them all, but I mean that is --

Q What do you really think? You surely have said this is the primary issue now, isn't it?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I don't have any better crystal ball than anybody else does. Many of you have actually been there and I haven't. The President's campaign people are putting on a good battle and actually he hopes to win, but as to my guess as to who will or by what proportions I don't think that is very profitable because I don't really know.

Q Didn't you get any readings? I mean truly you are engaged in terms of what is happening in New Hampshire and voter psychology and so forth. Do you have any indications to think that Ford is not going to win in New Hampshire? Is that valid?



MR. HARTMANN: Well, I think he is going to win them all and that is my state of mind. My factual knowledge is not very good. I will say for the record that, naturally, I hope and expect him to win, but if he does not win, he is going to go on to the next one.

Q What is the main reason why you think he is going to win them all?

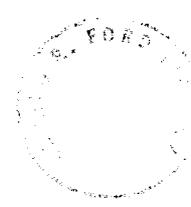
MR. HARTMANN: Well, that is just my general optimistic attitude.

Q What about incumbency? To what degree do you think that that is important?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I think there are certain advantages to an incumbent President and there are certain disadvantages. In many ways Mr. Reagan is well-known to the general public through his previous career and through his Governorship of California and he is better known as a public figure than most people would be who are running for President for the first time, so that that, to some extent, makes up for some of the advantages.

Q Do you think the advantages outweigh the disadvantages so far as the incumbency are concerned?

MR. HARTMANN: I would have to say that the President enjoys an edge in any contest.



Q Bob, I believe you referenced in the differences between Ford and Reagan that "Federal Government to go out of business" -- I think was your term --

MR. HARTMANN: Well, that is a little extreme.

Q Isn't that what you said? :

Q Yes, that is what you did say.

MR. HARTMANN: The degree in which you want to get to increase the role of the Federal Government, would be more precise.

Q What I wondered, in connection with that statement --

MR. HARTMANN: Get out of certain businesses.

Q Sure. Then there is Mr. Callaway's statement about throwing people out in the snow and so forth and so on. Considering the fact --

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't know about that one.

Q Yes.

Considering the fact that the Ford campaign has said that the common cause standards' willingness to appear on the same platform, among other things, with other candidates, and considering the President's own statement in the press conference when they asked about debating Reagan he said, "I am not afraid of anybody," why is it that as one of his principal political advisers you have not advised him to take on Reagan? He certainly could hold his own on the \$90 billion issue, couldn't he?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, first of all, you are stating an assumption as to what I may or may not have advised him.

Q No, no, I didn't assume anything. I said, why don't you in the future?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I might do that but, you know, I don't feel that what I advise him is something that I ought to go out and tell the world or what I intend to do in the future or whether even he ever asks me.

All I can tell you is that in the past the President has in his election campaigns always debated his opponent up in the Fifth District of Michigan in spite of the Council of the Elders saying that he should not give the exposure to an unknown candidate. So on the record, that is what he has done.

I won't go into the future because I think that is a question you ought to ask him.

Q I will try. I have tried. I have asked Mr. Nessen, I think seven times, on this. Mr. Nessen kept saying, "Well, is Reagan a candidate?"

Q Mr. Nessen is not holding this briefing. Mr. Hartmann is.

MR. HARTMANN: The next time the President has a press conference, which I assume won't be too long from now, that is a question to ask him. I can't answer it for him.

Q You say he might do that. Does that mean that this is in the consideration?

MR. HARTMANN: No, the question was, would I advise him to do that, and I said I might.

Q Because to win you have to have a background organization, the bell ringers who go out and get the people to get the votes because without the votes you are not going to win. How strong is your organization in the 50 States as far as really going out to compete with Mr. Reagan?

My second question, to follow up, is, the issues that Mr. Reagan has used to attract this large segment of the population, millions of people have studied those issues to see why those people gravitate to him and not to the President?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, let's start on the first question.

Q The organization, yes.

MR. HARTMANN: I am not trying to duck the question but I have not been around the 50 States and I really can't answer it because I don't know. That is a question we ought to ask Stu Spencer or somebody in the Campaign Committee.

The second question -- have we studied the issues and have we studied the way Governor Reagan stands on the issues --

Q Why does he attract those people?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. Until we get a vote somewhere I don't really know how many he does attract vis-a-vis the President. Of course, I have studied the issues. I have not studied the issues specifically vis-a-vis Governor Reagan because I have been too busy with the issues on the merits. Again, the campaign committee people are, I am sure, comparing the Governor's positions with the President's but I personally have not gone into it in great detail.

Q Bob, did you advise the President on the firing of Schlesinger?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't think it is right for me to say what I advised him on and not advised him on.

Q Can you say if you had any advance notice or if you had any contribution to that or anything?

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't receive any contributions for a long time.

Q I mean have you had any contribution to the thinking around the President that contributed to this?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, if I say, Sarah, that I have no contribution to the President's thinking, that will be a bad thing -- there would be no reason for me to be here. If I said I did, I just don't think I ought to talk about that.

Q Can you explain this matter? It is sort of a very important thing.

MR. HARTMANN: I can't explain it any more than the President has explained it for himself. He has explained it as fully as I know anything.

Q Bob, what weapons will the President use in his battle for New Hampshire? Will Susan go up and campaign for him or ski in New Hampshire?

MR. HARTMANN: You know, you are asking questions that you ought to be asking Callaway or Stu Spencer or Jim Cleveland.

Q We think you are important in politics, Bob, that is why we ask you.

Q If you would explain to us, please, how you function.

MR. HARTMANN: I have been preoccupied with the State of the Union and these other messages and things, and while I am, I find politics very fascinating. I really have not been dealing with these matters in terms of a campaign confrontation.

Q Bob, has your function changed in the last year and a half or so since the Ford Administration has been in? For example, I recall at the beginning, I believe, that you were supposed to be the political adviser; now, of course, we have Rog Morton. Then there were to be speeches and we have Bob Morgan under your direction. Has your function changed any or could you explain to us what you did do and what you are doing now?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't think it has changed very much. It never was very well-defined. People used to ask me what do I do and I say I do what the President wants me to and I guess that is still as good a definition as any.

Q Bob, who was the chief author of the State of the Union speech?

MR. HARTMANN: The President.

Q And who next?

Q Who was his chief assistant?

Q Mr. Hartmann --

MR. HARTMANN: Let me finish.

Q It was different from the others, that is the reason I am asking.

MR. HARTMANN: Generally, the President directed me to handle the mechanical process of putting the elements of the speech together and pulling it all together and coming up with something on paper on which he could start to work, but in the end, and after the long process, the speech was the President's own and very much more of the President's own than the one a year ago.

Not only more of it was in his own words, in his own language, but he was a part of the process of making the budgetary and programatic decisions over the whole year's period than he was the previous time. This time he didn't have to turn to an expert and take his word for it as to whether this sentence accurately represented what he wanted to say, he knew what it accurately represented or not because he had been part of the process of developing programs and priorities right from the beginning.

So it was very much more his speech and his program than it was a year ago. I am not just being modest, for which I am not noted, but I am being honest in saying he really was the author of the speech.

Q Bob, how did that State Department decision come about?

MR. HARTMANN: The briefing on the budget?

Q Yes.

MR. HARTMANN: He knew more about the budget than anybody else did so he decided to do it himself.

Q Was that his decision?

MR. HARTMANN: I guess so.

Q Now Elaine has a question.

Q Yes. I took this 70 issues in the budget document with me to the HEW press briefing and the Office of Education official told me not to use the education part because it was full of inaccuracies, but it is still being distributed. I wonder what is safe to use and whether you are going to get out a revised edition?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, that is, I think, a question you ought to ask Mr. Lynn or the Secretary of HEW. You know, I have not gotten down to the nitty-gritty of the details like that.

Q Bob, I think we need to know here just what you do so why don't you tell us in your own words what you do so we won't be floundering around asking you things you don't know.

MR. HARTMANN: Well, Number one, I do whatever the President assigns me to do and this varies from day to day.

Q Like what?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, it could be that he wants me to work on a certain speech or a certain statement or it might be that he wants me to handle a certain problem of an individual who he has not got time to spend all the time with getting the details, but he does want to keep personal --

Q You have some of the contacts with the people out over the country who are politically important or important as citizens, do you not?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, yes. You know, there is a lot of old personal friends that I know and he has known over the years and maybe they want to talk to the President and maybe they do, but he does not have time to call them back six or seven times about little details so he tells me to look into this and come back with the answer. It is impossible to describe these things in detail because they are never the same, and in that sense I suppose I do about the same thing I used to do up on the Hill.

Q Do you make policy?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I don't make policy. The President makes policy.

Q Do you often discuss policy?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I sit in on the Cabinet meetings and various other meetings at which the President discusses and asks others to give their views and I give mine.

Q Do you think the President has an imagine problem, and, also, what is being done to correct it because it seems to be a general feeling that he is coming off as bumbling because that is the way some of the news magazines have described it. Do you think this will hurt him?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't think that is true and I don't think it will last long if it is the current thing. It does not concern me. I think that the perception of the President over the long haul will be fairly close to an accurate perception and I don't believe that he is bumbling or clumsy.

Q Bob, what is the President's position on abortion?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, that is one that I can't exactly answer.

Q Has he ever, to your knowledge, taken a stand on it as Mrs. Ford has taken?

MR. HARTMANN: Back in the Congress he, I think, was a co-sponsor or the author of some legislation to leave it to the States, but I can't remember all the details of that. Abortion has never been much of a problem.

Q Well, Reagan has just endorsed a constitutional amendment. I am wondering if, on that basis, you might have studied it?

MR. HARTMANN: The constitutional amendment which leaves it to the States?

Q Reverses the Supreme Court.

MR. HARTMANN: Reverses the Supreme Court decision.

I have not been involved in that problem and I can't speak with any authority.

Q Is it possible to get one? We asked the other day when there were 60,000 demonstrators, but Ron --

Q I thought Ford had twice stated in his early days in the White House something on abortion.

MR. HARTMANN: All I recall is what is in his Congressional record and that is a matter of record. I don't remember the dates of it with any great precision, but I have no recollection of his having stated the position since he became President. Maybe he has, but I don't remember. You should remember that better than I can. It is not a subject that I have been involved in.

Q Do you think this is going to be one of the big issues in the campaign?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. I mean I am at a time in life when it is a matter of no personal concern.

Q Bob, to get back to your duties, when you came over here everyone had the impression that you were the chief adviser to the President and now there has been some indication that some of your power, if you could describe it as that, has been cut down a little bit, the one being the speechwriting functions -- one of the speechwriters was fired -- and the other being your political advice on and your liaison with the committee has been, or will be, removed. I wonder if you have any feelings of hurt or resentment or if you would like to address yourself to that?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I find the comments in some columns and so forth entertaining. It is ridiculous, all of you people that I have known over the years and know very well, that no President ever relies on a single adviser for political advice or anything else.

It is impossible for the President to get along with a single adviser. It is impossible for the President to have a single adviser. All Presidents have numerous advisers. If the President is running things the way most Presidents do, nobody ever knows exactly who is on first, and if they think so, they don't stay there very long. So I am flattered by having been referred to in the early days in that respect -- that it really has not been so.

Am I hurt? The answer is no. I continue to do what I have always done and the best I can and I don't really feel that very much has changed.

Q The President really trusts you? You have known him longer than anyone.

MR. HARTMANN: That is a very good question to ask the President. I suppose he does or I would not be here. If he doesn't trust me, he certainly ought to get rid of me.

Q What I am saying is, would you be categorized like Harry Hopkins, for instance? Would you be that close?

MR. HARTMANN: I hope not. I mean, that close. I have not moved into the second floor of the White House as Secretary Hopkins did.

Q He was close. You can talk to him with your shoes off and that sort of thing.

MR. HARTMANN: The President has lots of people he can talk with. I have not noticed him removing his shoes but --

Q You know what I mean. Not actually taking them off but comfortably talking without being --

MR. HARTMANN: This President has dozens of people that he is comfortable with and I hope I am one of them.

Q How much campaigning do you think he will do?

MR. HARTMANN: He is much less of a remote person than most Presidents that I have observed, and he is comfortable with a lot of people, both within his official family and outside of it. Yes, I hope that he is comfortable in my presence. I certainly am comfortable in his presence but I don't think that is a particularly unique position.

Q Are you going to be sending any of your staff out to make speeches and contacts during the campaign?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, we all keep pretty busy. This is the first the thought has occurred to me.

Q The first time you thought of it?

Q Four speechwriters have left the White House. Did they do it on their own? Did they have help to find jobs?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, the speechwriters have been turning over ever since the start -- have always been coming or going. As you know, this place burns people out and they work very hard. The last bunch of stories--actually we didn't have four speechwriters leave. We had one resign and we had one go back to the detail from which he had been dropped for trial purposes and we had one transferred over to the First Lady's staff -- she had been doing that kind of work anyway for a while, and so we just got her off of my numbers and onto somebody else's.

Q How could you let Paul Theis go when he knows so much about politics and the Republican Party and all that?

MR. HARTMANN: You know, I wondered when I read Nessen's transcript who asked that question and now I know.

Q I don't know whether I did or not, but it has been bugging me for some time.

MR. HARTMANN: Paul had a very good job offered to him and we are happy that he was able to get it.

Q He could not have gotten it unless you all wanted him to go. He would not have left if you had not wanted him to go.

MR. HARTMANN: He had been working very hard and --

Q Is there a difference here of philosophy or something about speechwriting or new Republicanism that you are trying to try out that is different?

MR. HARTMANN: No. There was not any philosophical difference; just some changes made in the organization in which we thought we would work more efficiently and --

Q Bob, the presentation of the medal to Mr. Colby yesterday, could that be interpreted as the President admitting he made a mistake in firing him?

MR. HARTMANN: Now you are in an area that is completely outside of my purview and I really don't know anything about it and I can't answer it.

Q Is it true you don't get along with Mrs. Ford?
(Laughter) And what does that date back to?

MR. HARTMANN: As far as I know, I have always gotten along with Mrs. Ford, whom I greatly admire and I hope she admires me.

Q Well, did you endorse the Equal Rights Amendment, too?

MR. HARTMANN: My wife has had more than equal rights as far as --

Q We are not talking about your wife. We are talking about all the other women. Tell us, Bob, are you for it or against it?

MR. HARTMANN: Sure, I am for it. What the heck.
(Laughter)

Q I just wondered how important you think humor is to the success of a speech?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I think that the President has always had a good natural sense of humor and extemporaneous conversation that comes out very well. His formal speeches sometimes may be deficient in that respect and this goes back to when he first became conscious of this, I guess, and was called upon to be the Republican spokesman at the grid iron opposite Vice President Humphrey in 1968, I think it was -- 1967-68.

At that time I was working on a speech and I missed a lot of help from all the fine people I knew -- Buchwald and Ken Abel and George Murphy, who was then in the Senate who had a pretty good sense of humor. George said, "Hey, I will put you in touch with a very funny man I know out in Hollywood," and so he put me in touch with Bob Orben and that was the beginning of our association and his association with the President.

We worked on that grid iron speech together and I don't know if he hardly ever met the then Minority Leader because it was mostly done by telephone and by mail. I guess he did come back at one point and meet the boss but that was the beginning of that association.

Then when he became Vice President he had another occasion to make a grid iron speech and this time he called Bob Orben and Guy down here and really worked it over.

When Ford became President we put him on the staff and he has contributed.

He is a very able and thoughtful guy and much more than just a joke writer. He is an excellent student of word of mouth communication of all kinds and he has done some very fine serious things as well as funny things, but he has helped bring out the President's own sense of humor and has given him the self-confidence he needed, like when he fell down the last two stairs in Austria he got up, brushed himself off and said, "Well, I am sorry I tumbled in" -- pure ad lib.

Q Do you think the President has changed in the White House?

MR. HARTMANN: Has what?

Q Changed. You have known him a long time.

MR. HARTMANN: I have no benchmark to compare with because I have not seen this process in any other person.

Q Well, you have, too. You have seen everything this man has done.

MR. HARTMANN: No, no. I mean, I have not known any other Presidents well before and after.

Q We are only talking about one President here now; we are talking about Ford.

MR. HARTMANN: All right. Let me answer. Yes, Presidents always change, I assume, but as far as the human being is concerned, as far as his personal relations with other people and his subordinates and so forth, I would say he has basically changed very little. If anything, he is a little more conscious of time and has to cut off the conversational talk a little quicker than he used to, but otherwise, at the same time, he maybe is a little more conscious of the way people knock themselves out in his behalf and never fails to thank people for just doing what they are paid to do. Maybe up on the Hill he was less conscious of the need to say thank you to the secretaries but as President he is unfailingly considerate not only of your time but of your effort.

Q Bob, why doesn't he get along with Congress? Doesn't he like Congress any more?

MR. HARTMANN: Sure. They get along personally.

Q Why is he always picking a fight and saying something nasty about them?

MR. HARTMANN: I think that is the nature of the system set up by the Founding Fathers; that they have to fight each other a little in order to keep you free.

Q Bob, did he make a statement about the override of his veto on the labor Health, Education and Welfare which was about one-third of his, no doubt about it?

MR. HARTMANN: What was the first part of your question?

Q Well, has he made a statement about the override of his veto of the labor HEW appropriation bill?

MR. HARTMANN: I am not aware. Is this something that happened today?

Q Yes. The House overrode.

MR. HARTMANN: I have not been in touch with what has happened since then. I didn't know they overrode it, but I thought they probably would.

Q Do you think that Reagan is acceptable as a number two spot or would it be too much of a one-sided ticket?

MR. HARTMANN: Would he be acceptable as a running mate?

Q Yes, or would it be too conservative?

MR. HARTMANN: That is another question you will have to ask the President. I don't think that is my prerogative.

Q After the State of the Union there was a story describing how long has been the process, nine months or so, and how far ahead it had been gotten ready and that sort of thing. One of the network reporters came on that evening and said there was utter chaos in the White House, the speech had just been finished on Friday and there were still last minute changes being made, yet they came an hour and a half early to the Hill which is the first time anybody can remember that.

What was the real story on the conflict of the State of the Union or non-conflict?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, the State of the Union is something like the budget done in words instead of numbers and the process of reconciling everybody's special interests in the final document is somewhat the same. Everybody makes appeals and last minute efforts to run around the end and all that to get their little thing in the message. The process, I am sure, is always the same although I have only been through it twice. To anybody peeking through a window it looks like chaos but I don't know any other way to do it.

Q How did it compare with other years?

MR. HARTMANN: It was in my orderly process this year that the President was more completely in command of it because he too had been through it once before.

Q Bob, do you give any advice to Ron Nessen about how he arranges press conferences or any of the format? Do you give any advice to Ron on how he conducts his office?

MR. HARTMANN: When he asks me and sometimes when he does not.

Q That is what I --

MR. HARTMANN: Well, we all meet with the President almost every day, if not every day, and discuss a range of problems including whether we are going to have a press conference or not and where. Yes, I suppose I get my two bits' worth in there.

Q Does the President like the press?

MR. HARTMANN: You know that as well as I do.

Q I mean --

MR. HARTMANN: Generally speaking, I would say yes, he likes the press.

Q Bob, could I follow that up by asking this: You have mentioned that you read the transcript or at least you read one -- do you read them regularly and how often does the President read them?

MR. HARTMANN: I think the President reads them rather faithfully.

Q What is that -- twice a week, three times, once a week?

MR. HARTMANN: I think he reads them every day.

Q Every day?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I would not say never misses.

Q Then I would like to ask this question: One of the nicest people in the press corps, as far as I am concerned, is Dick Lerner of UPI. Twice in one day he asked Ron to recognize him for a question and Ron looked right through him and looked at somebody else. Now that, to me, is discourtesy and I asked the question the second time he did it: "Can you imagine the President of the United States treating a reporter like this?" And he said no.

Now I just wondered, why is this done?

MR. HARTMANN: The transcript would not show that?

Q That is right. It does not.

MR. HARTMANN: It just says: Q. Not having this to second guess Nessen, I don't want to answer that question.

Q How did Elliott Richardson get that favorite seat next to Mrs. Ford up in the Gallery? Did they have to draw lots or fight for it?

MR. HARTMANN: I can't answer that question either. The First Lady's Gallery --

Q Was that arranged by the President?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know.

Q Well, it certainly did him a lot of good. I have heard a lot of comments on it.

Q If the President does not do well in the primary -- in other words, if he does not make a good showing in a series -- can you conceive of any circumstances under which he would withdraw?

MR. HARTMANN: I not only can conceive but have been told in no uncertain terms that if anybody thinks that I am going to get out of this race until the votes are counted, they are out of their minds.

Q How much of a setback do you believe it would be if the President lost either New Hampshire or Florida?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, how much of a setback is a hard question to answer. Of course, any time you lose is a setback. The bigger you lose, the more the setback. I think the President's attitude in general is very much that of the old football player that some plays you lose ground and others you try to make it back and at the end you get your net yards gained from pushing.

Q Do you think he would have to go out and campaign harder in the Midwest, then?

MR. HARTMANN: Whether his exact tactic would be to come back and work harder on it, I don't know, but I don't think he is going to pull out as a result of one or two or three early setbacks. Votes are counted on the Floor at the convention.

Q What is going to pay in the campaign? I mean, is it wise to continue the negotiations into the campaign? Can you win votes with a more cozy relationship with the Soviets?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, now we are getting into Henry's territory and that is a dangerous place to tread.

Q No, that is not Henry's territory. We are asking a political aspect.

MR. HARTMANN: I would say the President's conduct of foreign relations, including those, or national defense questions which that embraces is done without regard for the campaign insofar as it is humanly possible for a person to comport themselves, that the personal political considerations would be the last thing he is considering and those are very important matters.

I think that I would have to say that anybody who holds the office of President would probably have to say that -- they are not worthy of the office.

Q Bob, you have not answered very many of our questions directly and I am wondering whether --

MR. HARTMANN: I am used to framing questions.

Q -- there are any areas you think perhaps we should be interrogating you in or is there anything perhaps that you would like to get across?

MR. HARTMANN: No. I have answered them as directly as I can. I really was not told that there was any specific area here and I was --

Q There isn't.

MR. HARTMANN: I was simply scolded by Sarah for having put her off this long. I managed to put her off until I was through with the State of the Union speech and I could not put her off any longer.

Q Bob, is Mr. Ford a hard man to work for? Does he put a lot of limitations on what you can say and do?

MR. HARTMANN: He doesn't even know I am saying anything.

Q I know, but has he told you in the past what you can say or do?

MR. HARTMANN: No.

Q Anybody around here that is quoted in the paper, do they get clobbered here the next day?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, he has been known to say that "You would have been smarter if you had not said it."

Q Well, does he put any limitations on people, say, on their bad drinking? Does he say how many martinis they can have for lunch or how many cocktails?

MR. HARTMANN: No.

Q Does he do much drinking himself?

MR. HARTMANN: You have observed his conduct in public which is about the same as in private.

Q I have not seen him drinking that way but some of my colleagues apparently said they did. I had a query on it and I told him that I had not seen anything like that.

MR. HARTMANN: I think he gets his work done and a good deal more than most people his age do so I don't think that is any kind of a problem.

Well, to answer the first part of your question, is he a hard man to work for, I think was the question -- he is a man that makes you work hard but he is an easy man to work for.

Q Does he ever lose his temper? There was a report he did during the State of the Union message.

MR. HARTMANN: He has been known to have a little flash of temper but it never lasts very long and it is more for effect than it is real.

Q What do you think his main problem is with Reagan? Between Reagan and Ford, what is going to be the determining factor really among the Republican voters? Reagan does have more charisma according to most people and he is a better speaker and so forth. Will these things weigh against Ford?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, if I could answer that, I could make a lot more money than I am making now. That is one of the great mysteries of our political process -- why do people pick one guy over another. They set them up against their image of what the President ought to be and I suppose that image varies quite a lot among individuals, and how do you know what their image is? Each one has his favorite idea of a good or perfect President and they compare these people who want to be elected or --

Q We are trying to find out how the President is going to knock off Reagan. I mean, it is as simple as that. Is there any strategy?

MR. HARTMANN: Step-by-step. (Laughter)

Q You write the speeches and you must have something to guide you as you write those speeches.

MR. HARTMANN: I will answer that.

Q Where he is vulnerable?

MR. HARTMANN: He is going to, if he does -- and I think he will -- by being himself, by trying to get across to people what kind of a man he really is, what he really believes and what he really hopes for the future of this country; and if that perception is in accord with what the people want, he will be elected both over Reagan and over whoever else he may run against. I don't know how to define it any better than that.

Q Aren't you seeking to persuade people to come to your way of thinking when you write these speeches? What is guiding you?

MR. HARTMANN: What is guiding me is that the message be as nearly what he means to say and wants to say and it will be understood accurately as a way of his communicating directly with people who are listening.

Q Have you analyzed why he went ahead of Reagan in the NBC polls today on several points?

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't know he did.

Q Yes.

Q 50 to 30.

MR. HARTMANN: The polls at this point seem to be flipping back and forth and they seem to reflect the last action of one or the other. The linkers in the person's mind that is being called and I just -- they are very volatile and he may gain because Reagan made somebody mad or he may lose because Reagan made somebody glad or vice versa.

Q Something can be said about the President not being out meeting people and staying back here until the polls look better.

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know that we can make that correlation. The circumstances have dictated his being here and working hard. Whether you can make that correlation I think it is a little soon to say.

Q Does anybody talk around the White House about the fact that New Hampshire and Florida may not be considered typical of the United States?

MR. HARTMANN: Does anybody around here talk about that?

Q Yes, does anybody talk about that?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, the electoral process in this country is done by giving due respect to every State.

Q I know. I am not saying they don't, but I am saying they do and --

MR. HARTMANN: Well, what State is typical? No State is typical.

Q Florida, because these States are becoming so critically important, especially since New Hampshire is such a small State.

MR. HARTMANN: No State is typical. How do you find a State that is typical?

Q Well, I would think one out in the Midwest would be more average.

MR. HARTMANN: It does not matter because you don't run on a national referendum. You run one State-by-State and so they are not supposed to be typical and you have to consider each one as it is.

Q You mentioned that you tried to put in words what the President meant, and it seems to us who are not down here all that much that it is difficult to find out what he does mean. First, he runs all around the country and then he stays in Washington. First, he says he is going to sign the situs picketing bill and then he does not. It seems that there is not any real firm foundation on which he is grounded. Would you like to comment on that?

MR. HARTMANN: No. (Laughter)

Q Bob, you are something. You are something.

MR. HARTMANN: All I am saying is that in terms of the President's speeches and communicating that way our standard is to as clearly as we can convey what he really wants to say and what he really believes and let people be the judge of that.

Q You know, if you are a newspaper man -- and you have always been a very good newspaper man as I have seen -- but you have written a very good story here today --

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I manage to appear before the National Press Club without anybody being able to find a lead in it. (Laughter)

Q Bob, the President in his last press conference on the 31st stated that among his New Year's resolutions he wanted to raise the spiritual level and so forth, and they asked him how and he said, "I want to participate with spiritual leaders."

Now right down here there was a three-day conference of the spiritual leaders -- a cross-section of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and so forth -- where seven candidates showed up and they answered questions. The scheduling office said that the President was too busy and he ended up going out to a ~~mass~~ Presbyterian Church much further away where nobody could ask him questions.

Now, how does he intend to participate and why did he not go there but go out there where they could not ask him questions?

MR. HARTMANN: I cannot answer the first part but I think I can answer the second part.

Dr. Elson has been running that thing on the opening day of Congress ever since I can remember and the boss has been going to it ever since I can remember, and he did again this time. The other part I cannot answer.

Q It is too bad Mr. Nessen didn't answer that question like that when he got it.

Q I would like to get back to the jobs question that I asked originally.

MR. HARTMANN: This is the last question.

Q Do you folks have any thinking going on or any plans whereby you might be able to get people into jobs quicker than through the mechanism that appeared to be presented in the budget and the State of the Union message where it appears as a sort of trickle down kind of thing where, first of all, business has to have its incentives before it can take people on-board? Do you have anything on-stream whereby you might be able to pick up people faster in the private sector and provide more jobs in the private sector?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know of anything except what you have seen, but let me point out this plan for quick depreciation of investments in areas where unemployment exceeds 7 percent, advantage has to be taken of that tax break within 12 months so that means that you are saying to the businessman, "If you want to get this break you have got to start your project right now." It is not going to take long to get carpenters and cement mixers and all that to work.

This is not a change in the tax liabilities forever; they have to do that plant expansion, they have to buy the new lathes and all that within 12 months after the law is enacted so it would not be as slow as you might think. If they want to get that break, they have got to start the project right away.

Q Bob, thank you very much for taking time out of your busy work. Thanks a lot.

MR. HARTMANN: Thank you, Sarah.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END (AT 4:09 P.M. EST)