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innately special and therefore deserving.

People tend not to value things that have come to them in ways they consider illegitimate. Housing, food, training, recreation or jobs that are distributed on the basis of some negative attribute—poverty or criminality, for in-

happening right now in St. Louis' huge Pruitt-Igoe project—and we tell ourselves that what is wrong is that there is too little play space, too great a concentration of people, too few social services and not enough jobs.

All these things are true, but not

Legitimacy in this sense has nothing to do with how a thing is actually acquired but with the recipient's sense of deservedness. For one man, goods acquired through thievery, sharp dealing or inheritance may be altogether legitimate because he considers himself in-

considered positive. I don't know what the specific techniques might be. But I do know that the present programs mostly aren't working, and I suspect we've misjudged the reasons why.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# The '76 Ford Campaign

*Washington Post 6/2/75*

onced to shrinking car markets and start exploring new growth industries or services, shift human resources and capital into them and do their best to promote these new products or services. Federal government policies and research should assist Detroit in such efforts.

Isn't that, rather than attempts to recreate the past or blaming foreign competition, the American way of coping with problems created by economic change?

Arlington. **Michael Zuntz.**

adoption of safety re... operational practices i... tality rates averaging... cent below the rate... opened earlier.

Norber... Federal High... Washington.

## *Therapeutic Horse*

While The Washin... given coverage to a l... horsemanship program... Park, its readers may... the national scope of t... North American...

RM 7

He's Still Jerry . . . but Firmly Mr. President

Ford

# How the White House Has Changed

By PAUL HEALY  
Of The News Washington Bureau

PRESIDENT FORD, nearing the end of his first year in office, now acts like the master of the White House in fact as well as in name, but he won't feel he is truly the President unless—and until—he is elected by the American people in 1976.

Ford's closest associates have watched a dramatic metamorphosis in the Grand Rapids politician who was catapulted on Aug. 9 into the world's top job—the first executive post in his 26-year career.

"It's almost like 'no more Mr. Nice Guy,'" observed White House photographer David Kennerly, who is in Ford's presence more than anyone else. "He's still a nice guy, but he becomes impatient more and more and wants things done boom, boom, boom!"

Mrs. Janet Ford, who is married to the President's half-brother, Tom, noted, however, that "while Jerry has always had an inner security, he is very cogni-

zant of the fact that he has not been elected to the office." Ford is the first person in American history to have served as both President and Vice President without having been elected to either position.

The fact that Ford got into the White House by the back door, so to speak, Janet Ford explained, also made him uneasy at first amid the presidential pomp and circumstance, which "is not in his nature to go through voluntarily."

### Uncomfortable With Title

"It also made it difficult for him to accept being called 'Mr. President,'" she continued. "He asked people not to call him that at first, but it got to be such a hassle he gave it up."

Janet has "seen a growth in Jerry from the standpoint of his stature in addressing himself to the extraordinarily important problems he had never confronted before," she said. "He seems to

grasp situations quickly, and make decisions. Now he likes the job."

It is easy to cite Ford's bold handling of the Mayaguez episode in May as the crucial turning point in his presidency—at least as it is perceived by others—but to one aide the change has been more subtle than that. This aide, who asked not to be named, recalls going home one night and saying to his wife, "Now we've got a President!" Puzzled, he added:

"It was not so much that he had become President by his behavior that day, but that I realized he had."

In any case, the small-city Republican Party wheelhorse who seemed reluctant last fall to act "presidential" has evolved into a confident commander in chief—one with the fortunate ability to flick off the pressure at day's end and completely unwind in his new swimming pool or in the circle of his lively family.

To find out what Ford is like after

(Continued on page 62)



N.Y. Daily News

7-13-75

# Recalling Ford 'no' to '76 race

5/

RM

THE MOST PRECIOUS commodity a Chicago politician has is his word—in City Hall or party headquarters. Politicians can be the bitterest of enemies on issues, but time and time again I've seen mutual respect built on the tribute, "His word is good." I think that is the foundation of Mayor Daley's power.

Washington is another story. Credibility, believability, "a person's word"



Jack  
Mabley

22

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday - November 17



## Washington Letter

# Don't write President Ford off yet

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington

Mr. Ford in very short order has become

prices aren't going up quite as fast as they

# TV AUDIENCES DIP FOR FORD'S TALKS

Nielsen Reports President's  
Share Off Since March

By LES BROWN

NEW YORK TIMES  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1975

Comment of White House



## Peter Lisagor

### FORD'S FUTURE

WASHINGTON.

tions." He has come off badly in the

gram that would include a negative income tax, an expanded food-for-peace program in which America's agricultural abundance would be used as "a weapon" in dealing with Communist countries, a tax reform measure geared to greater emphasis on equity capital, a carefully streamlined defense program, an overhaul of retirement pro-

# Tomorrow<sup>®</sup>

A LOOK AHEAD FROM THE NATION'S CAPITAL



## Newsgram<sup>®</sup>

2300 N Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Race for the Presidency is shaking down now, strategies growing clearer.

Gerald Ford intends to paint himself as a sincere, practical leader--a man who has grown in the job. He'll take a calm, reasonable approach to the hottest issues. Object: Impress voters as low-keyed but competent.

The President will stick to his basically conservative beliefs. Yet, you can expect him to play down ideology, cite common-sense reasons for his actions. Battle plan is to make opponents look wild-eyed, extreme by contrast.

Mr. Ford will ignore other candidates for the most part. But his backers will slug, claw for public support. Cabinet members are to lead the way.

Ronald Reagan's method: Throw everything into early primaries. He thinks his best shot is to defeat the President or come close in the first few States--thus bring in Republican fence sitters, build up unstoppable momentum.

California's former Governor will hammer hard on cutting back federal spending and interference at home, taking a tough line with Russia abroad.

Reagan campaign is built for attack. Confusion over his idea to shift 90 billion dollars in outlays from Washington to State, local levels threw him off stride. Supporters contend that any slowdown will be only temporary.

Democrats' prime objective is to survive the early going.

First primaries won't clinch it for anyone--but will eliminate the weakest.

Henry Jackson wants to build up steam gradually, come on strong in the stretch. He's aiming at the party's moderates, conservatives. Emphasis: more federal aid, beefed-up defenses, a hard-nosed attitude toward the Kremlin.

Birch Bayh is out to capture Democrats' liberal wing. He'll push programs calculated to attract labor, blacks, women, the poor--main focus on jobs.

Jimmy Carter will offer a fresh start, an overhaul of Government to make it more efficient and responsive. His chief problem: winning in the North.

George Wallace plans to pounce on issues that rile voters. Look for him to zero in on racial busing, bureaucratic bungling, drop in U.S. global prestige.

And there's Hubert Humphrey--waiting serenely for a Convention deadlock.

Average American isn't paying much attention to politics yet. But interest will perk up before long. The next few weeks will set the pattern for 1976.

Coming now: clashes between White House and Congress on foreign policy.

Issue is whether lawmakers--still smarting over their lack of knowledge about Vietnam--should have a voice in making major policy decisions overseas.

Squabble over Angola will open this year's fight. Members, including some

(over)

# President Ford Committee

**PETER KAYE**  
Press Secretary

(202) 457-6430 OFFICE  
(202) 265-1765 HOME

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
Sunday, Jan. 25, 1976

Jack Anderson

Mr. Ford, Backstage

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# The Philadelphia Inquirer

An Independent Newspaper

Published Every Morning by Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc.  
400 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

SAM S. McKEEL, President  
CREED C. BLACK, Editor

DAVID GELSANLITER, General Manager  
EUGENE L. ROBERTS JR., Executive Editor

Friday, January 23, 1976

Page 10-A

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**A** President Ford's budget:  
A sound, brave challenge

100 South Adams,  
6-A

Thursday, January 22, 1976

EDITORIALS

A Budget Back to Basics  
And Sound Conservatism

The Philadelphia Inquirer  
Op-ed Page

Sunday, Jan. 25, 1976

7-D

companies,



Hobart Rowen

Ford Edges Reagan

In Battle of the Budget

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President Ford has presented scheme to Sen. George once, but would be phased in

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Page 10-A

Army (PLA)—the military ar.

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## Poll shows Ford retaking lead from Reagan



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# The Reagan plan

*... simplistic solution to complex problems*

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Page 10-A

He didn't mean that

19

Reagan's \$90 billion mistake...



# Reagan: His 'concrete'

By Robert S. Boyd  
*Inquirer Washington Bureau*

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — For most of his first three years as governor of California, Ronald Reagan steadfastly resisted proposals to withhold state income taxes from workers' paychecks.

The conservative Republican hero argued that taxpayers would better realize the high cost of public services if they had to pay for them in a lump sum at the end of the year. On this issue, he insisted, "My feet are in concrete."

But near the end of his third year, faced with a critical funds shortage, Reagan changed his mind and came out for tax withholding. "The concrete is crumbling," he joked.

The story of the "crumbling concrete" illustrates a major fact about Reagan's record as chief executive of the nation's largest state:

In his eight years, from 1967 through 1974, he was unable to live up to most of his promises or achieve most of the goals he had set for himself.

The record also shows that beneath the right-wing spellbinder on the campaign trail was a practical, skillful politician who recognized reality and accommodated to it.

"What he did in office didn't always match what he said on the dinner circuit," said Ed Salzman, editor of the California Journal, a monthly review of state government. "Events made him a pragmatist."

"He over-promised," said A. Alan Post, the California Legislature's non-partisan financial analyst, who has served under five governors. "He said he would do things he had never thought through."

## "Biggest taxer"

Now that the former sportscaster, movie star and TV personality is trying to snatch the Republican presidential nomination away from Gerald Ford, his performance in office has become an important issue.

"Ronald Reagan was the biggest taxer and spender in California history," says a background paper distributed by Ford's campaign committee.

"His rhetoric is great and his record is poor," the President's campaign manager, Howard (Bo) Callaway told Southern Republicans in Houston last December.

Reagan, on the other hand, declares that he is proud of his record and brags about his accomplishments in almost every campaign speech.

He claims he has proved as governor that "fiscal responsibility is possible, that the welfare rolls can come

# record crumbles



Reagan: 'Events made him a pragmatist'

down, that social problems can be met below the federal level."

"We changed the entire attitude of the government and of the people toward government," Reagan said in an interview aboard his campaign plane.

Official statistics do not bear out Reagan's contention that he made a significant dent in the growth of California's government.

Item—Reagan took office in 1967 with a pledge to "cut, squeeze and trim" state spending. He ordered an immediate 10 percent slash in the budget prepared by his predecessor, Edmund (Pat) Brown.

By the time the new governor's first year was out, however, spending had gone up by 8 percent — not down by 10 percent. Over his eight years in Sacramento, the state budget more than doubled — from 4.6 billion to \$10.2 billion.

## Collections double

Item — Reagan campaigned for governor as he is now campaigning for President, warning that high taxes weaken the economy, undermine free enterprise, and threaten liberty itself.

But during his two terms, Reagan put through the highest tax increases in California history. State tax collections doubled. Personal income tax receipts rose more than 500 percent. And local taxes, despite a much publicized property-tax relief program, also just about doubled.

Item — Reagan's proudest boast is that he brought the "welfare mess" under control in California. This also is turning out to be partly an illusion.

Welfare case loads, which soared during his four years in office come down for three years after a Reagan-sponsored reform plan passed the legislature in 1971. But the rolls started to rise again during his last year, and are still going up.

The conclusion is inescapable that Reagan, despite a valiant effort, failed to prove his case that he held down the cost of government — a claim that is at the heart of his pitch for the presidency in 1976.

Reagan argued, in the interview, that he did hold spending below what some other governor might have done. There is no way, of course, to substantiate this claim.

But if the governor's record did not live up to the expectations of his conservative followers, neither did it



Ford has the initiative

## Reagan's plan is shot full of holes

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON—President Ford has presented the nation with a budget that has been honed and polished to meet the right-wing chal-



ped. "I can't imagine 50 states having all of these programs dumped on them and then having to increase taxes if they want the programs continued."

Rockefeller, enjoying a rare mo-

solidate 59 categorical grant programs into four "block" grants that would give states total discrimination in spending money. But under the Ford plan, Uncle Sam would still





Carl Rowan

## Say Again, Reagan

WASHINGTON  
Ronald Reagan is squirming like a

water and irrigation programs. Sec-  
tions of industry depend on highway

money make a roundtrip to Washing-  
ton

*The DALLAS MORNING NEWS*

*Jan. 10, 1976*

✓ 'Conservative' Opinion Being Misread?

The Washington Post, Jan. 23, 76

"WHEN HE TALKS, YOU CAN TELL HE'S USING HIS HEAD"

AFTER WELFARE III  
THE

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Op-ed Page

Sunday, Jan. 25, 1976

7-D

OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

Is Reagan a conservative?

[1/31/76]

To assure turnout, several unions brought in out-of-state staff to help locals contact their membership. Carl Wagner, who is Midwest regional organizer for AFSCME, is responsible for running the phone banks and field organization to turn out his union's 7000 Iowa members. He projected that they "might elect as many as 2000 precinct delegates." By comparison, the UAW has 40,000 members in Iowa—85 percent of them Democrats—and NEA has 35,000. Both ran organizational efforts comparable to that of AFSCME.

In a week or two, coalition representatives in Iowa will know how well their efforts paid off, but right now they are bullish. "We know we did well," says a local AFSCME coordinator, "but when we get the delegate lists and match them up with our membership lists, we'll know *exactly* how well and then we'll be back in touch with the presidential candidates."

The job in Iowa now is to be sure that precinct delegates turn out at county and district conventions, and the coalition will leave that monitoring function in the hands of local leadership. Chuck Gifford, UAW political director in Iowa says, "In 1972, the auto workers in Cedar Rapids elected 40 delegates to the district convention and only two showed up. They thought the deal was over with. Well, we won't make that mistake this time."

Following Iowa, the coalition is concentrating on Florida where they hope to stun George Wallace. There, the objective is a statewide voter identification program run primarily through phone banks. As an example, in the three congressional districts around Miami, the coalition will open an office, install telephones, and begin contacting their membership. The costs between now and the primary—currently projected at around \$5000 (not including staff salaries) will be prorated among the participating unions. Since that primary is largely a squaring off between Carter and Wallace, the coalition is also contemplating a special mailing to members who indicate a preference for the 10 or so other candidates who have been placed on the ballot by the Florida secretary of state urging them to change their minds and back Carter. All of this, of course, is costing the presidential campaign of Jimmy Carter nothing at all.

Most of the coalition activities are undertaken without publicity or fanfare. No one will be specific about total costs, staff allocations, targeted districts or projected delegate goals. Evidently there are no firm goals for individual unions, state-by-state or overall, but the number 600 keeps coming up and within NEA there is talk of 250 delegates for that union alone. In 1972, there were less than 500 labor delegates altogether, so sights are set high.

At the root of coalition strategy is the potential this year for a deadlocked convention. Not since the Democrats eliminated their two-thirds requirement for nomination in 1936 has any convention gone beyond three ballots. But if several candidates are able

to stay in to the end, and if Wallace arrives in New York with the 20 to 30 percent of the delegates that current polls suggest he might win, it is conceivable that several ballots might be taken with no candidate able to command a majority of the votes. Then, legal mandates will begin to expire, making free agents of elected delegates; at this time, the fruits of more than a year of intensive organizing could make a coalition dominated labor caucus the critical factor in determining who emerges as the compromise choice. Even if one candidate does come out of the primaries with enough strength to win a first ballot nomination, increased delegate strength will give the coalition unions greater leverage in platform decisions, credentials contests, and in any future fights over party reform.

It is not at all clear that the unions will be able to maintain this level of cooperation through the convention when sides are chosen up and labor priorities begin taking second place to candidate priorities in credentials battles and the like. But coalition strategists believe that by working together now, sharing information and resources, forming a common front wherever possible, and keeping in mind that when the New York convention is long past, they will all still be around to work together, it may be possible to forge a solid enough base to avoid the usual fragmentation. Also by keeping the confederation loose and avoiding the issue that always proves most divisive—settling on one and only one candidate—they have enhanced their staying power.

National Chairman Robert Strauss recently commented that he was thinking of appointing a "negotiating committee" drawn from various elements of the Democratic party. If the convention deadlocks, Strauss figures, his appointees would help broker the outcome. If the organizational efforts of the Labor Coalition Clearinghouse reap as many delegates as it now seems they might, Strauss may well have to put about nine union presidents on his committee.

Ken Bode

## White House Watch

# Ford's Balancing Act

Wait for the State of the Union address, Mr. Ford's White House people said during the six weeks preceding the delivery of that speech at the opening of the second session of the 94th Congress and the subsequent submission of his fiscal 1977 budget. It's got to be a great speech and it's going to be, they said. Their implication and their hope were that it would begin to turn the tide of the President's waning fortunes. Their further hope was that the budget and

*"Media file"***BUT SPECTER OF NIXON CUTS CHANCES****Panoply, Pageantry Aid Ford Campaign****BY AL MARTINEZ**

Times Staff Writer

Air Force One, its silver belly gleaming in the California sunlight, climbed to its cruising altitude and turned north up the coast toward San Jose.

In its forward cabin Gerald Ford removed his jacket, lit a pipe and gazed down at the pattern of mountains and valleys that emerged through a scattered cloud layer.

He was seated behind a desk. On a corner couch, Press Secretary Ron Nessen thumbed idly through papers and waited for his boss to answer a reporter's question.

Finally, Ford turned away from the window. "I never thought I'd be President," he said, thinking back to his first campaign for Congress in 1948.

"My total ambition was to be Speaker of the House. I tried five times and lost three times to John McCormack and twice to Carl Albert."

For a moment the stern face known to millions around the world

softened, and his expression seemed almost bemused. He hesitated, puffed his pipe and said, "But all that abruptly changed . . ."

What changed were not simply the fortunes of a Michigan congressman who had never polled more than 119,000 votes in an election.

What changed, sweeping Ford into the Presidency, was the Administra-

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**This is the first of two articles on the Republican candidates for President.**

---

tion he so loyally served as Republican minority leader.

First, Spiro T. Agnew resigned in disgrace, and Ford found himself nominated as Vice President—a job he took, he says, "because my country was in a crisis and I was convinced by others that I was the only person who could be easily confirmed as Vice President."

Eight months later, Richard M. Nixon, his Presidency shattered by Watergate, revealed how deep the

crisis was by quitting under fire.

And Gerald Ford—once more abruptly—became the nation's Chief Executive, the only one ever to reach office without having faced the national electorate.

He thought about that aboard Air Force One in one of the few quiet moments of a four-day campaign swing through Oregon, Nevada and California.

For now America's 38th President was seeing his policies, his 22 months in high office, being tested in the crucible of a campaign for an office he had not even hoped for back in 1948.

The Presidency changes a man, and Ford is no exception. The office he may have been indifferent about at the start of his political career looms large to him now, and he is working hard to retain it.

It is, as others have said, through the grueling primaries, Office No. 1, the Big Hurrah, the top of the heap.

Please Turn to Page 14, Col. 1

## BUT SPECTER OF NIXON CUTS CHANCES

# Panoply, Pageantry Aid Ford Campaign

BY AL MARTINEZ  
Times Staff Writer

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Please Turn to Page 14, Col. 1

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO : Ron Nessen

FROM: DAVE GERGEN

It would have been nice if  
one of us had been asked  
about this -- unfortunately  
we didn't have that pleasure.

TRIBUNE - 8/8/76

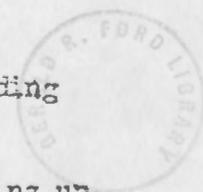
# Nixon-style 'attack team' planning Ford's strategy

By Aldo Beckman

cabinet officers, but likely to include big-name Republicans after the conven-

Ford

Jerry Ford is still with us -- President, politician, candidate, *father,*  
 and all around regular fellow. There he stood the other night giving a rouser of  
 an acceptance speech, having defeated Ronald Reagan for the nomination when  
 a lot of people said he would not; also having just ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~certified~~ <sup>certified</sup> Robert Dole as his  
 running mate, a move that these same people now are saying is a prelude to  
 disaster in ~~November~~ <sup>November</sup>. At this point in this singular political season  
 somebody in the ranks of the ~~resident~~ resident political seers, commentators,  
~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> assorted high priests of prediction, ought to begin to wonder  
 about Ford and ~~what~~ their own repeated assertions that he is headed toward  
 disaster. When he pardoned Nixon, they said he was finished, washed up. When he  
 declared inflation the worst economic enemy and began to veto ~~billions~~ spending  
 bills instead of pumping money into the economy, the thumb suckers predicted  
*(The collapse of Vietnam was supposed to finish him.)*  
 an early demise. When he stumbled down the plane ramp, flubbed words in his bad  
 speeches, they said he was ~~not~~ getting an image as boozie the clown and would be  
 laughed out of office. When Ford ~~shook up~~ <sup>shook up</sup> his cabinet  
 the same experts said it marked the beginning of his burial as a viable  
 leader. Month after month the end of Ford has been confidently reported by the  
 leading political authorities. Yet, once again he has come through. His standing  
 with the people is ~~rising~~ <sup>rising</sup>, the world is at peace and the ~~US~~ economy is moving up.  
~~But~~ None of this means Ford will necessarily be ~~re-elected~~ <sup>re-elected</sup> to another term.



Nor does it suggest he should be. But what the record should tell us is that

to continue to say that ~~to~~ President Gerald Ford is an inept, mindless ~~politician~~

politician and leader, is a mistake far greater than any ~~made~~ *Ford has yet committed.*

This is Hugh Sidney.



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FROM: Jim CAVANAGH

TO: DICK CHENEY

INFO: Ron NESEN ✓  
TERRY O'DONNELL

DATE: 26 18 37 SEP 76

RELEASED BY: [Signature]

TOR: 26 18 30 z



The Washington Star  
**Sports**  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1976

SECTION D

# The Big Race:

# Gerald Ford Is a Mortal Lock

I am making one of the biggest bets of my life on a race this fall, one in which I'm getting odds of 8 to 5 on a mortal lock: I'm betting on Gerald Ford to defeat Jimmy Carter.

This wager is not based on my political convictions, of which I have none. I view politics as a game to bet on, not something to take seriously. When the rest of America was anguishing over the Watergate crisis, I was rooting home my 10-year-old son that Nixon would be impeached.

There is simply an overwhelming amount of logic which indicates that Ford will win in November. I believed that when the polls said he was trailing by 38 percentage points, and I believe it even more firmly now.

Although Ford may not be the most charismatic leader of our time, few voters have any strong reason to dislike or to want to vote him out of office. For the first time in a decade, America is suffering no national traumas. There is no Vietnam. There is no Watergate. Inflation isn't too bad and the Dow Jones Industrial Average is over 1,000.

THE ONLY reason for the American people to choose against Ford would be an opponent who excited and stimulated the electorate. But Jimmy Carter is not the man. Nothing in his past performance record suggests that he is an inspiring or even a particularly astute politician.

## Andrew Beyer

He won his party's nomination by struggling to defeat opponents like Mo Udall and Frank Church, who are political equivalents of 31,500 claimers at Waterford Park. The one decent candidate who faced him, Jerry Brown, beat Carter everywhere.

The Maryland primary was especially revealing. A month before Maryland's primary, Carter was already building a national reputation

while the average Maryland voter had barely heard of Brown. And yet the Californian came into the state and scored a decisive victory. The outcome hardly suggested that Carter is a master vote-getter.

Even though Ford looked this summer like an excellent bet, I was worried by one factor: the debates. They will obviously have an enormous impact on the results in

THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN

RELEASE DATE: Tuesday, October 5, 1976

THE HAIRSHIRT SEASON

by Nick Thimmesch

(c) 1976, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON--President Ford is a forbearing soul who controls his temper to avoid ulcers. This was amply demonstrated when he put on his best stony face and told newsmen that he had not used campaign funds for his personal use.

He did acknowledge that he had played golf with industrialists, a transgression which places him in the fellowship of Sinclair Lewis' Babbitt.

Anyway, Jimmy Carter said he was glad to hear Mr. Ford's denial, and considers the matter is closed.

But doesn't the memory linger on? However innocent Mr. Ford might be discovered to be, won't folks think he was mixed up in something wrong? It was the same in Communist-hunting days. Once a person's name was in print, that name was blemished, whatever the facts.

In Mr. Ford's case, the situation is even more perplexing. It seemed that during the examination of Mr. Ford's

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fitness to be Vice President, everything about him, save, perhaps his private parts, were gone over by squads of FBI men and other government investigators. He came out clean. How come now?

I cannot believe it is because the head of the Watergate prosecutor's office is a bona fide Democrat. That's too simplistic. I think there is more validity to the complaint from Republicans that the fresh legion of investigative reporters in this town hasn't nosed enough around in the backgrounds of Carter-Mondale, or in how key congressional Democrats fixed it so the Watergate prosecutor's office helped Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss off a painful hook.

It was a pair of Democratic congressmen, Phillip Burton and Wayne Hays who, in 1974, got a bill through making it almost impossible for the Watergate prosecutor's office to prosecute violations that took place in 1970 and 1971. This was accomplished by cutting the statute of limitations on the Campaign Spending Act from five to three years.

At that time, Strauss was being investigated for accepting an illegal campaign contribution of \$50,000 from Ashland Oil Co. in 1970, when he was Democratic Party treasurer.

(MORE)

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The oil company pled guilty to this and other charges, but Strauss was not indicted. The prosecutor's office announced that the Hays-Burton amendment made it impossible, and washed its hands like Pontius Pilate.

Next, there are the illegal corporate campaign contributions Democratic vice-presidential candidate Walter Mondale admits to having received from Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. in 1972 and from Allied Insurance Co. in 1966. The Hays-Burton statute of limitations takes him off the legal hook on those, I suppose, but it shouldn't prevent him from being impaled on some newsman's pencil.

A look at the clips also shows Mondale, in the style of the 1972 Nixon campaign, wouldn't reveal the sources of his contributions before April 7, 1972. And how about the charge, by a political agent for the milk lobby, that Mondale's campaign manager repeatedly pushed him for \$25,000 for the 1972 campaign only weeks after the senator co-sponsored legislation to hike price supports for milk?

Let us not ignore Jimmy Carter. There is plenty of bookkeeping to clean up over the \$150,000 the National Marine Engineers Beneficial Assn. (MERA) raised for Carter at a dinner,

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June 30, 1976. And has the prosecutor's office satisfied itself over the \$150,000 missing from Carter's California primary campaign fund?

Carter has already admitted that he accepted corporate contributions in his 1970 gubernatorial campaign, but refuses to say from whom or how much. Carter claims the records weren't kept properly, but the two Atlanta accountants who worked on the campaign said the records were kept on a computer and were quite accurate.

Finally, while Mr. Ford golfed with industrialists, Carter accepted the use of corporate planes of Coca-Cola and Lockheed Aircraft Corp. He and his family made free use of the recreational facilities of Brunswick Pulp and Paper Co., a Georgia firm, when he was governor.

Should Mr. Ford sling all this back as mud? No, he shouldn't and won't. The whole question of how a politician can make his way through a career without becoming blemished by some newly discovered sin is a tough one to ponder.

Mr. Ford, his running mate, Robert Dole, and Mondale are men of modest means. When they ran for office, they could not

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dip into family fortunes. They are not crooks, but by the  
righteous standards of some fretters in this capital, their  
earlier campaigns will not win the Leon Jaworsky Award for  
Sanitation.

This was all B.W. (Before Watergate) and the hairshirt  
era. Sometimes I learn how the public can tire of such hairshirts.  
The other day a repairman at my house said: "I don't even read  
that stuff any more. All they're trying to do is tear down Ford  
and anybody else who is trying to do a job."

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THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN

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AFTER WEEKS OF DULLNESS, A TASTE FOR BLOOD

by Nick Thimmesch

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WASHINGTON--Until last week, the Carter-Ford contest was like a baseball game between the seventh- and eighth-place teams on a cold day at the end of the season, with no buns for the hot dogs, therefore no hot dogs. And only 300 paid customers in the stands.

But the contest has changed. Mr. Ford "misspoke" in the debate. Carter tasted blood and now lusts for a whole bite off the leg. Mr. Ford huffs and puffs as he desperately tries to pull free.

Now the Rev. Mr. Carter always sermonizes on how he would never tell a lie, and while as one of God's fallen children he might make mistakes, they would always be mistakes of the heart.

Carter's heart must be racing, if he means what he says about the Helsinki agreement. "I would not have signed

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that pact," he was quoted several days after the debate. "I saw no reason for us to participate in the Helsinki conference, and I still believe it was a mistake."

Well, the record shows that the Helsinki agreement followed a two-year conference by 35 European nations including such diminutive sovereignties as Vatican City, Monaco and San Marino. Only Andora didn't participate.

The United States did, because, as the major power of the West, we were there to protect Western interests, including ours. This was not a "deal" between the United States and the Soviets. It was 35 nations negotiating, and the United States sometimes had to argue a hard-line with its allies as well as with the Soviets. Carter evidently doesn't know this.

Anyway, if Joe McCarthy were alive, he would join Carter in attacking the conference, even though the agreement specifies that no nation can violate the sovereignty of another and that the borders of the nations which signed are not permanently fixed. That means if the Poles in an act of self-determination, managed to throw out their Communist government, the Soviets would break the agreement by sending in

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Page Three...NICK THIMMESCH ...October 14 ... sending in troops to put down the insurrection.

But Carter mindlessly charges Mr. Ford with being 'brainwashed' about the European Security Conference, cries about the 'terrible mistakes of 'Nixon and Ford,' and lets loose with low blows such as there was 'just about as much openness in the Ford Administration as there is freedom in Eastern Europe.'''

Carter tries to smear Mr. Ford with Nixon whenever he can, demanding, I guess, that the President tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me Carter. Sample: 'Gerald Ford has hidden himself from the public even more than Richard Nixon at the depths of Watergate.' Joe McCarthy would like that broad-brush technique, but come now, Jimmy, is that the kind of guy you really are?

Actually, President Ford has been embarrassingly open about himself. He was gone over with a fine tooth comb during his confirmation as Vice President. As President, he released an unprecedented medical report on himself that was scatological. And being a forebearing soul, he has not cried bloody murder that Internal Revenue Service records were leaked

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to the press by a Carter supporter. No taxpayer, including  
Mr. Ford or Carter, deserves to be victimized by the crime of  
a release of confidential tax information. That crime is the  
stuff Watergate was made of. And yet holy Carter exploits it.

He also exploits the fiscal crisis in New York City  
with an ad that proclaims: "I guarantee that if I go to the  
White House, I'll never tell the people of the greatest city on  
earth to drop dead."

President Ford never used the words "drop dead" in  
addressing the New York City crisis. Those words belong to the  
imaginative headline writer who put them on the front page of  
the New York Daily News, and that's where Jimmy Carter got them.

Several weeks back, Carter told a huge farm audience  
in Iowa that he would never allow grain embargoes the way the  
Ford Administration did, but later he told the editors of the  
Des Moines Register that there would be occasions when such an  
embargo would be necessary.

Indeed, the Carter campaign is laced with such  
discrepancies, and when newsmen report them, Carter loses his  
Christian patience. The Wall Street Journal recently reported

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Page Five...NICK THIMMESCH ... October 14 ... reported that Carter summoned a dozen reporters for an off-the-record session, and charged the press with nit-picking criticism and failute to cover Mr. Ford thoroughly. Tsk, tsk.

Mr. Ford is covered thoroughly, as the full treatment of his blunders demonstrates. He deserves this embarrassing attention. All he can do is fill the air with explanations. Tsk, tsk, again.

This is a bum election. Carter now shows up at the Polish-American Congress with his Estonian-born sister-in-law, and daughter Amy posing with a doll dressed in native costume. But Carter did not pledge to end Soviet domination of Poland. Somehow, that ball game between the bottom-ranked teams on a cold day and no hot dogs seems better.

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