

The original documents are located in Box 133, folder “Rumsfeld, Donald, July-Nov. 1975 (2)” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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August 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

Enclosed find attached:

- 1. The report of Senator Jackson's speech praising the Russian grain sale, as reported by the Springfield, Illinois State Journal-Register of July 12, 1975.**
- 2. Reports in the New York Times and the UPI of August 4 and 5, 1975, concerning Senator Jackson's criticism of the grain deal.**
- 3. A set of press releases from Senator Jackson's office dated August 3 through 7 relating to a nation-wide series of speeches with sections outlined in yellow containing criticism of the grain deal.**

RN/cg



N-10

NEWS

Jackson Says Ford's Policies Could Lead to National Disaster

Sen. Henry Jackson (D., Wash.) said Monday that President Ford's policies on decontrolling oil prices and selling grain to the Soviet Union have the markings of a national disaster.

Jackson also accused the President of turning his back on captives of Eastern Europe and said the Administration was courting catastrophe by not working to ease the credit bind of New York City's and other municipalities throughout the country. -- AP;UPI (8/4/75)

News & Comment
The President's Daily News Summary

SWAP GRAIN FOR OIL

BOSTON (UPI) -- THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONSIDER EXCHANGING GRAIN FOR SOVIET OIL, ACCORDING TO PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR SEN. HENRY JACKSON, D-PA.

JACKSON WAS IN BOSTON MONDAY ON A SIX-DAY, SIX-STATE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SWING. HE STARTED IN CONNECTICUT SATURDAY, AND TRAVELS THIS EVENING TO NEW YORK, MICHIGAN, ILLINOIS AND IOWA.

SINCE WEATHER CONDITIONS THREATEN MIDWEST GRAIN CROPS, JACKSON SAID, FURTHER GRAIN SALES TO RUSSIA SHOULD PERHAPS BE "HELD IN ABEYANCE."

"IF WE PLAYED IT ROUGH, THE WAY THE OIL CARTEL HAS PLAYED IT, USING FOOD AS A COUNTERVAILING FORCE, MAYBE SOME THINGS WOULD CHANGE A BIT," HE SAID.

"DETENTE MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET. HOW DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GAIN FROM THE TREATY BEING SIGNED IN HELSINKI? HOW DO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GAIN FROM THESE GREAT GRAIN SUBSIDIES BY THE SOVIETS?"



New York Times, Aug 5, 1975

Jackson, in City Invites 1976 Support

By MAURICE CARROLL

mocratic party's city coordina-
tor then headed for a series

New York is a problem in
the primary. The delegate can-

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: RON NESSEN
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

From now on, we will have a policy whereby the press office will release nothing until it has been signed off on by Rumsfeld, Cheney, Jerry Jones, or Connor.

CC: Cheney, Jones, Connor

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES ✓

RON NESSEN ✓

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

Godfrey Sperling mentioned that he would like to have the President do something in connection with the 10th Anniversary of his breakfast group. I think it is probably not a bad idea. Let's keep it in mind. I believe it is sometime around February.

August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN

You asked me to remind you after the European trip that in Poland First Secretary Gierok expressed to you his desire to buy American color TV sets and American color TV technology for his country.

RN/cg



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 6, 1975

*Please see me back
when we are back
in D.C.
DVR*

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL GREENER
JACK HUSHEN
LARRY SPEAKS
BILL ROBERTS ✓

FROM: RON NESSEN *RAN*

We got ourselves in trouble again with the release of the President's departure statement before the European trip. When the President made substantial changes in the draft we released, we had a policy controversy on our hands which we didn't need. This follows the premature release of the President's statement on his first oil decontrol compromise and several other prematurely released Presidential statements.

I want to tighten up the procedure for releasing Presidential statements. No Presidential statement should be released without my personal approval.

If I am not available, no Presidential statement should be released without the approval of Don Rumsfeld or Dick Cheney.

cc: Don Rumsfeld ✓
Dick Cheney



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8-7-75

NOTE FOR: Don Rumsfeld.

FROM : RON NESSEN

Is this the
proper answer for
the President to
give on this matter,
if asked?

RAN

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

August 6, 1975

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR

Ronald Nessen
Press Secretary to the President


The purpose of this memorandum is to furnish information in the event the President is queried on the attached Washington Post article regarding Project SANGUINE -- now SEAFARE -- the Navy's proposed Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) system for communication with submerged submarines.

During the past several years the Navy project has been shunted from Wisconsin to Texas and is now under consideration in Michigan; this due to pressures from groups concerned with potential adverse impact on the environment.

This Office has been involved in the project from the outset from two standpoints -- providing radio frequency support and evaluating potential biological effects.

If queried, suggest the response be along the following lines:

"I am familiar with the Navy project and consider it to be an important undertaking; one which should be implemented in such a manner as to have minimal impact upon the environment. I am informed that the Navy has made extensive efforts to ensure that this objective is met."


John Eger
Acting Director

cc: Jeanne W. Davis, Staff Secretary
National Security Council
James A. Cannon, Assistant to the
President for Domestic Affairs

Navy Is Awaiting Chance to Build Sub Radio System

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Washington Post
August 6, 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN *RAN*

The President and you asked me to do a little research for a possible meeting between the President and a group of leaders from the Aspen Institute.

Bill Moyers suggests that Friday night would be the best night from the point of view of the Institute officials. They would drive from Aspen to the President's residence in Vail.

Bill suggests the following timetable:

4:30 - 6:00 pm	Discussion
6:00 - 7:00 pm	Reception
7:00 - 8:30 pm	Dinner

This would enable the Institute officials to make the two hour drive back to Aspen and get back at a decent hour. Bill indicates that the Institute officials would be agreeable to coming without their wives.

Bill suggests the following guest list:

Robert O. Anderson	Chairman of the Board of Aspen Institute, and Chairman of the Board of Atlantic Richfield
Joseph Slater	President of the Aspen Institute
John Hunt	Executive Vice President of the Aspen Institute, and former State Department official
Douglas Cater	Head of the Institute's section on Communications, and former official in the Johnson White House

Robert McKay	Head of the Institute's section on Law, and former Dean of the New York University Law School
Walter Orr Roberts	Head of the Institute's section on Science, and a world-renowned meteorologist who lives in Boulder, Colorado
Harlan Cleveland	Head of the Institute's section on International Relations, former Assistant Secretary of State, former Ambassador to NATO, former President of the University of Hawaii
Waldermer Neilsen	Head of the Institute's section on American Society, and a former President of various universities and foundations
Tom Wilson	Head of the Institute's section on Environment, former official of the United Nations and UNESCO, and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Frank Keppel	Head of the Institute's section on Education, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, and former President of Time-Life Educational Programs

I suggested that Moyers, who is a Fellow at the Institute, also attend. He is a little reluctant because of morale problems this might cause among other Fellows.

_____ Approve meeting with Aspen Institute officials Friday, August 15, at the President's residence.

Discussion

_____ Yes _____ No Time: _____

Reception

_____ Yes _____ No Time: _____

Buffet Dinner

_____ Yes _____ No Time: _____

_____ Approve 10 guests proposed by Moyers, without wives

_____ Also invite Moyers

cc: Terry O'Donnell

Aug 13

Dear to Mrs Ford.

B-C

Robert O. Anderson - Chairman of Bd. (Ref'd)

~~Joe~~ Joe Slater - Pres of Aspen Inst

(Farm

John Hunt - Ex V.P. 15 yrs

With DOS

Douglas Cate - Commencement

Robert McKay - Law. (Former Dean

of NYU Law
School)

Walter Orr Roberts - Science. Melting

Lived in Boulder

Harlan Cleveland - Inst Relations

Asst Sec of State

Amb to NATO.

Former Pres of U of Hawaii

Waldemar Nielsen = American Soviet

University & Foundation

Pres.

Bill Meyers = Fellow



Aug 13

Casper
illustrated

Cher Bud A - R

Anderson -

State

Bent

Cal

Tam Wilson -

Environment

Repts - UN, UNESCO

Dept. Nat. S. & S.

Frank Keppel -

Ihe.

Educator.

Can. of Ed

Proc. & Time-Life

Education Regm.

4 p.m. Start.

Fridg - best auto.



August 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

SUBJECT: Grand Rapids trip in early October

The President and you asked me this morning for further information on the proposed visit to Grand Rapids in early October, in order to make a decision on whether to grant an interview in Vail to Murray DeJonge, Political Editor of the Grand Rapids Press, and an old friend of the President's, or whether to hold this interview and do it at the time of the President's visit to Grand Rapids.

Jerry Jones reports that there is no particular reason for the proposed trip to Grand Rapids, which would last from Saturday afternoon, October 4, until about noon Sunday, October 5, at which time the President would depart Grand Rapids and go on to Abilene, Kansas, to dedicate the Eisenhower Library.

Jones further reports that Pete Seccia is the one strongly urging the overnight stop in Grand Rapids. Jones says that Seccia is pressing to have the President dedicate a mural at the Grand Rapids Airport and take part in 3 or 4 other local events. There are no political events scheduled in Grand Rapids.

Jones says he has doubts about the value of the stop in Grand Rapids, and is continuing to look at the proposal.

Due to the doubt about whether there will actually be a stop in Grand Rapids, and due to the fact that the time there will be short if there is a stop in Grand Rapids, I recommend that the President have an interview with Murray DeJonge in Vail sometime next week. Jerry Jones agrees this would be a good idea.

On a related matter, the President has previously approved a session in Vail during which the black artist, Paul Collins, would sketch the President. At the time the President approved this, it was decided that the sketch would take place during the interview with Murray DeJonge, and DeJonge agrees.



-2-
Terry O'Donnell recommends that if the President agrees to see them, the interview with DeJonge and the sketching by Collins be scheduled on August 21 or 22, sometime between 10 and 11 a.m.

Terry and I will take care of making the arrangements on whatever decisions the President makes on these proposals.

_____ Approve interview with DeJonge in Vail next week

_____ Disapprove

_____ Approve sketching by Collins during interview

_____ Disapprove

Suggested date: _____

cc: Terry O'Donnell



September 9, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN
SUBJECT: NATIONAL GOALS COMMISSION

Attached is a letter to the President from Godfrey Sperling of the Christian Science Monitor. He asks that the letter be brought to the President's attention. The letter, as you can see, calls for a new National Goals Commission. How should this be handled?

Attachment:

**Letter to the President from
Godfrey Sperling - 9/9/75**

RN/jb



The Christian Science Monitor

Washington News Bureau

September 9, 1975

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Many thanks for the fine picture of the White House interview, together with the warm and generous words you have written on the bottom.

Also, if I may touch on another subject:

Did you, by any chance, see my Monday column which focuses on the need, as I see it, for the setting of national goals?

My reading of public opinion, from extensive interviewing, indicates the people generally are seeking a sense of direction for the nation as well as for themselves.

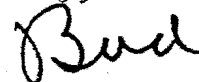
I don't think they, necessarily, are looking for new programs or more spending. But I believe they want to feel that the President is making an effort to determine where the United States should be 5, 10, 20 years from now--and how these goals should best be achieved.

A new National Goals Commission, relying on input from the best minds in the nation, would, in my opinion, reassure those Americans who wonder whether our leadership is bringing imagination and vision to the Presidency.

Further, it seems to me that you, as President, would find such a study and report very useful. You might adopt some of the goals for the party platform and for your convention speech and post-convention campaigning. And you well might find that the public is just waiting to rally behind a clearly stated and well-articulated set of new, national targets.

I hope that a newsman's suggestions are not out of order. I'm really writing more as a private citizen than as a reporter on this particular day.

Sincerely,



Godfrey Sperling, Jr.
Chief, Washington News Bureau

GS:bk
CC: Ron Nessen

September 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

I have no objection to the President spending some time with Sanford Unger of the Atlantic Monthly. In fact I have spent considerable time with him myself, and find him an intelligent and pleasant person.

However, we have a short list of major publications and important White House correspondents still waiting for their first opportunity to talk privately with the President. Jerry Jones is scheduling these remaining 4 or 5 interviews at the rate of one a week. I think we really have an obligation to let these White House regulars visit with the President first and then work in Sanford Unger.



RN/cg

2
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN
BILL GREENER

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

Apparently Sanford Unger has made a request for 20 minutes meeting with the President concerning an article he is doing on the President and the Administration. Do you have any view on that?

September 30, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

Here is some information the President might wish to know before he reaches Skokie, Illinois:

Thirty-four police officers from the Skokie police department were fired recently after a strike. The Chicago newspapers and the Associated Press have both carried stories saying that the Skokie police department promises to provide adequate protection for the President despite the firing of the 34 policemen. The remaining Skokie policemen will work overtime, and policemen from other nearby jurisdictions will be brought in to help with Presidential protection.

The 34 fired Skokie policemen sent a telegram to the White House offering to serve as unarmed volunteers to help with protection during the President's visit to Skokie. They requested a reply from the White House to their offer.

The telegram was referred to Dick Parsons to handle. The Chicago Daily News phoned the White House about the telegram. The call was referred to Jack Warner, the press spokesman for the Secret Service. Warner had not heard of the telegram, but has now obtained a copy.

I do not know what answer, if any, was sent to the fired Skokie policemen by Parsons.

RN/cg



September 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CONNOR

COPY TO: DON RUMSFELD ✓

FROM: RON NESSEN

Beginning October 15, the daily news summary will be distributed to the following people only:

**The President
Bill Baroody
Phil Buchen
Jim Cannon
Max Friederodorf
Bob Hartmann
Henry Kissinger
Jack Marsh
Ron Nessen
Don Rumsfeld
Bill Seidman**

The Vice President

**Alan Greenspan
Jim Lynn**

Six file copies

Also beginning October 15, the news summary will be limited to about 20 pages, the exact number being determined by the amount of typing and duplicating which can be done by one person.

Just before the change-over, from the large distribution list, and from the larger news summary, a note will be published in the summary explaining the change.

RN/cg



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

Lee Walczak (of BUSINESS WEEK) says they have a request in for the President to have an interview with the magazine editors. He indicated that they have three to six million influential readers.

It would be an indepth meeting -- probably with Lou Young, Robert Farrell (of the Washington Bureau) and Lee Walczak. It would be a cover piece. The subject would be the economy, domestic and foreign policy, and energy. We would have a chance to edit the transcript.

It might be a good idea to think of that prior to the President's next European trip.

*Sent to
Don Rumsfeld
10-14-75*

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

THIRTY ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020 CIRCLE 7-8800

JULIAN GOODMAN
(Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer)

October 9, 1975

Mr. Ronald H. Nessen
Press Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Ron:

We had a difficult decision to make last Monday, when we received your request for time on the NBC Television Network at eight o'clock that night for a speech by President Ford on his proposal for tax reductions coupled with budget reductions. Because it's a long time between now and November 2, 1976, and because this subject will doubtless arise many times again, I thought I should give you some of the considerations that lay behind our decision.

First, when President Ford announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination, he became (and we became) subject to the provisions of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act which says that any "use" a candidate makes of television or radio requires the broadcaster to provide equal opportunity to all other legally qualified candidates for the same office. As you know, the statute was amended in 1959 to exempt bona fide newscasts, regularly scheduled news interviews, certain news documentaries and on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event. A recent decision by the FCC indicates that coverage of news conferences and certain types of debates will be considered exempt, as they have not been until now.

Mr. Ronald H. Nessen
October 9, 1975
Page Two

Your statement that live broadcast of President Ford's speech constituted on-the-spot coverage of a bona fide news event is at variance with the advice of our counsel who specialize in the interpretation of Section 315. It also is at variance with my own personal experience of thirty years in dealing with appearances such as this and observing FCC and court interpretations of the law.

Although a speech of the President which has been prepared for television and radio broadcast may be important in the general sense, that does not put it, under the law, in the exempt category when the President is a candidate; and the only exceptions the FCC has made in the past thirty years of its administration were on two occasions when the President's speech dealt with international developments affecting national security and were urgent in nature.

The equal time law makes no sense. I have campaigned unavailingly for years to have it eliminated or modified so that broadcasters may make unhampered journalistic judgments and the public may be better informed on the issues.

There is one other factor I should mention, though it has nothing to do with Section 315. It has to do with our own standards of fairness, and particularly in an election year. You probably already know that often when the President goes on television the Democratic leadership in Congress asks -- usually in advance of the speech -- for similar time on the air. In the case of Monday's speech, since you requested the time for a speech on a controversial subject not universally embraced on a bi-partisan basis in Congress, we probably would have offered time on the air to the Democrats, just as we have done in the past for Republicans when a Democrat was in the White House.

Mr. Ronald H. Nessen
October 9, 1975
Page Three

There is one more small point which is so close to quibbling that I almost left it out, but I cite it because we have a long road to travel before election. We were called after 2:00 PM on Monday with a request for live coverage of the President's speech at one time only -- 8:00 PM that evening. The man who put the speech on a video roll had to have more notice than we did. You gave us six hours to make a difficult decision, and gave us conditions that made it necessary for our decision to be black or white. We need to work together better than that. We are both after the same objective: an informed public. I hope we can find ways of doing it better.

With best regards.

Sincerely,


Julian Goodman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN

Attached find an invitation to the President to take part in a seminar sponsored by the Washington Post in Reston on October 28 on the subject of broadcasting during a political campaign year. Jerry Jones, Red Cavaney, and I agree that this is not appropriate for the President to participate in and I have notified Larry Israel of the Post of this decision.

Israel is wondering whether you would be interested in taking part as a representative of the White House. I promised him that I would pass on this material to you and he will be calling you directly in the next few days to find out if you can take part.

Attachment

THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY

LARRY H. ISRAEL

President

1150 15TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 223-5180

October 1, 1975

Dear Ron:

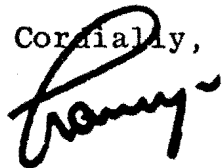
This is a follow-up on our telephone conversation. I have asked Bo Cutter of our staff to delineate for you the nature of our conference to which we have invited President Ford to speak at 4:00 p.m. on Tuesday, October 28, at the International Conference Center, Reston, Virginia. A copy of the program is enclosed.

As I indicated to you, it is a nonpartisan approach, and our stations are taking no position on the issues. We have an attractive and interesting cross section of important broadcasters, scholars, political leaders, and citizen groups. The idea for the conference was initiated in a talk I made last year indicating some of the problems in the use of television in political campaigns, and it seemed to get a very responsive reaction. The conference is the outgrowth of that suggestion.

I very much hope that the President could be with us. I believe it would be a valuable forum for him to address on this subject.

My thanks for your assistance. With all good wishes.

Cordially,



Mr. Ronald H. Nessen
Press Secretary to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Enclosure

THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY

TO: Larry Israel

FROM: Bo ~~WBC~~er

RE: Washington Post Conference on Political
Broadcasting--"Ballots and Broadcasting"

DATE: September 30, 1975

1. Overall perspective on the Conference and President Ford's participation.

The Washington Post Company's Conference, "Ballots and Broadcasting," is planned for October 26-28 at the Reston International Center, Reston, Virginia. The Conference is being co-sponsored by The League of Women Voters and The Aspen Institute Program on Communications and Society. The Conference will be an attempt to:

- A. Define the range of present views regarding campaigns and broadcasting.
- B. Discuss these views.
- C. Provide both broadcasters and public officials with an opportunity to discuss their differing perspectives and experiences with each other.
- D. Provide for these practitioners the views of policymakers and scholars in this area.
- E. Assist broadcasters in determining their own policies for the 1976 election year.

The conference's purpose is to consider the issues objectively and to arrive at a series of constructive proposals. It is not intended to ratify any particular view of politics and broadcasting. We feel that this conference is unique because it involves, in a central way, both broadcasters and public officials.

We very much want President Ford's participation both because we feel that communications in a free society deserves presidential attention and because we feel that the President's views will have considerable influence in this area. We believe that from the President's point of view, this particular conference at this particular time should offer an important and unique forum for him to speak on an important topic in an effective manner.

We would like President Ford to deliver the conference's concluding address on Tuesday afternoon, October 28, at 4 p.m.

2. Agenda and participants.

The Conference is planned as follows:

A. Sunday, October 26--reception (6:30 p.m.); dinner;
live presentation by Edward Nelson of scenes from
"Give 'Em Hell, Harry."

B. Monday, October 27

(1) Morning

a. Introduction address--Larry Israel.

b. Presentation of a documentary prepared for
this Conference on the role of television
and radio in political campaigns.

c. Panel defining alternative views of political
broadcasting--Participants: Richard Salant,
President, CBS News; Edward Ney, President,
Young & Rubicam International; John Gardner,
Chairman, Common Cause; Frank Lloyd, Director,
The Citizens Communications Center; Senator
John Tower; Congresswoman Pat Schroeder;
Moderator Douglass Cater.

(2) Lunch--Address by FCC Chairman, Richard Wiley.

(3) Afternoon--Small group work sessions.

(4) Evening--Retrospective views of personal experiences
in campaigning--Participants: Senator Hubert Humphrey,
Senator Charles Mathias, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm,
Governor Tom McCall, Mayor Richard Hatcher, Moderator
Martin Agronsky.

C. Tuesday, October 28

(1) Morning

a. Remarks by Art Buchwald.

b. Panel considering politics and broadcasting from
a newsman's viewpoint--Participants: James Snyder,
Vice President, News, Post-Newsweek Stations, Inc.;
Av Westin, Executive Producer, ABC Television News;
Ed Diamond, Visiting Lecturer, Department of
Political Science M.I.T., and media critic,
New York Magazine; George Will, syndicated columnist,
commentator for Post-Newsweek Stations, Inc.

(1) Morning (continued)

- c. Panel considering scholarly perspectives in politics and broadcasting--Participants: Ithiel Pool, Professor of Political Science, M.I.T.; Fred Friendly, Professor of Journalism at Columbia University and Adviser to the Ford Foundation on Communications.

(2) Lunch--Remarks by Mrs. Katharine Graham (tentative).

(3) Afternoon

- a. Panel considering broadcasters' views of political broadcasting--Participants: James Lynagh, Vice President and General Manager, WTOP; Lord Windlesham, Managing Director, ATD (television company in London), former Leader, House of Lords, Author of "Communications and Political Power"; Martin Oumanski, President, KAKE, AM-Television, Wichita, Kansas; Bil Osterhaus, President of station KQED, San Francisco, California; Gery Swanson, President, Swanco Broadcast Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
- b. Sum-Up of the Conference--Participants: Rod MacLeish, Joel Chaseman.
- c. Concluding Address by President Ford.

3. Expected Audience.

Very briefly, the Conference will consist of key executives from 65 radio and television stations, large and small, as well as executives from the radio and television networks. In addition, political leaders from the United States Congress and from local, state, and national government; communications scholars, political scientists; and representative citizens' groups will also be attending.

Among those coming are: Westinghouse Broadcasting Company; Taft Broadcasting Company; Capital Cities Communications, Inc.; Corinthian Broadcasting Company; Cox Broadcasting Company; General Electric Broadcasting Company; Hearst Broadcasting Stations; King Broadcasting Company; Metromedia, Inc.; Storer Broadcasting Company; Meredith Broadcasting Company; Scripps-Howard Broadcasting Company; The CBS Television Networks; CBS Owned Radio Stations; CBS Owned Television Stations; ABC Television Networks; Corporation for Public Broadcasting; McGraw Hill Broadcasting Company.

This is a selected list. We expect many others.

THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY

1150 15TH STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 223-6000

LARRY H. ISRAEL

PULSE "MAN OF THE YEAR" AWARD LUNCHEON

WASHINGTON ADVERTISING CLUB

MAYFLOWER HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1974

I ACCEPT YOUR TRIBUTE ON BEHALF OF THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY, WHO IN SMALL AND LARGE WAYS, I BELIEVE, HELP OURS TO BE A MORE ENLIGHTENED SOCIETY. THE NEWSPAPER WHICH BEARS OUR COMPANY NAME HAS BEEN THE MOST VISIBLE IN RECENT TIMES IN EXERCISING STRONG LEADERSHIP IN VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. BUT EACH OF OUR OTHER COMPONENT PARTS HAS EARNED SIMILAR MARKS OVER THE YEARS WITH JOURNALISTIC INITIATIVES FOR THE PARTICULAR AUDIENCES THEY REACH: TELEVISION AND RADIO STATIONS IN FIVE IMPORTANT MARKETS, AND NEWSWEEK, ONE OF THE VERY FEW PUBLICATIONS WITH A NATIONAL FOCUS AND A NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY.

IT'S GOOD TO VISIT HERE TODAY WITH MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE PRIMARY ACTIVITIES ARE ON THE MARKETING AND ADVERTISING SIDE OF COMMUNICATIONS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH NEWS. I FEEL RATHER AT HOME IN BOTH WORLDS, BECAUSE I HAVE BEEN FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO HAVE WORKED IN BOTH. MY FIRST JOB IN THE INDUSTRY WAS AS A REPORTER IN PHILADELPHIA IN THE DAYS WHEN THE USUAL LOCAL NEWS PROGRAM WAS FIVE-FIVE-AND FIVE: FIVE MINUTES NEWS, FIVE SPORTS, AND FIVE WEATHER. I STILL REMEMBER THE THRILL OF BEING ASSIGNED TO COVER THE PENNSYLVANIA ANGLES OF THE 1948 NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS AND HEARING FROM SOME USUALLY RELIABLE HOMETOWN THAT DEWEY WOULD BE A CINCH IN NOVEMBER.

MY NEXT JOB WAS PUTTING PITTSBURGH'S FIRST TV STATION ON THE AIR IN THE PRE-MILTON BERLE, PRE-HOWDY DOODY ERA, BEFORE THE CO-AXIAL CABLE ARRIVED, AND I BECAME THE STATION'S FIRST SALES MANAGER. THAT, DR. ROSLOW, WAS WHEN I FIRST LEARNED ABOUT RATINGS, AND I MUST SAY, I GOT THE WRONG IDEA; THE DUMONT STATION THEN WAS THE ONLY STATION IN PITTSBURGH, AND OUR RATINGS WERE WELL . . . VERY, VERY HIGH. I DIDN'T KNOW THERE WAS ANYTHING SUCH AS LOW RATINGS UNTIL I WENT ON TO MANAGE PITTSBURGH'S NEW SECOND STATION WHICH WAS A UHF, AND I DISCOVERED THAT YOU COULD HAVE RATINGS SO SMALL THEY COULDN'T BE MEASURED!

AFTER QUITE A FEW YEARS IN BROADCASTING, I REFORMED; WENT STRAIGHT; CONVERTED; OR . . . BROADENED MY HORIZONS . . . DEPENDING ON YOUR POINT OF VIEW: I BECAME INVOLVED IN THE PRINT MEDIA, AS WELL.

WELL, I'VE LEARNED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT THERE CAN BE BIAS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE JOURNALISTIC STREET TOWARDS ONE'S MEDIA COLLEAGUES. THERE'S THE ONE IN WHICH THE BROADCASTING PRO THINKS . . . "ALL THOSE PRINT GUYS ARE OLD-FASHIONED." AND THEN THERE'S THE OTHER ONE: A HANGOVER PERHAPS FROM THE ROMANTICIZED HECHT-MACARTHUR "FRONT PAGE" NOTION OF NEWS, WHICH ASSUMES THE ONLY PROPER NEWS IS PRINTED NEWS. THIS GROUP WON'T ADMIT RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS TO THEIR CLUB.

BUT MORE AND MORE I'VE FOUND THAT THE OLD CLUBBY PREJUDICES ARE BECOMING OBSOLETE, AND UNPROFESSIONAL. ALL OF US

WHETHER OUR SPECIALTY IS PRINT, SOUND, OR SIGHT ARE DEVELOPING MUTUAL RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S CRAFT DIFFERENCES, WEAKNESSES, STRENGTHS--AND MUTUAL PROBLEMS. UNFORTUNATELY, WHAT MORE AND MORE HAS BROUGHT US TOGETHER ARE THE IRRATIONAL AND SELF-SERVING ATTACKS ON ALL ORGANS OF NEWS, WHICH HAVE CONCOCTED A NEW VILLAIN FOR OUR TIMES. WE HAVE SO MANY GENUINE ONES, WE SURELY DON'T NEED ANY PHONY ONES. THE VILLAIN IS THE MEDIA. THE ATTACKS, ALTHOUGH THEY OFTEN TAKE ON A PERSONAL TONE, ARE REALLY MORE THREATENING, BECAUSE THEY FUNDAMENTALLY TEND TO UNDERMINE OUR ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

NOW IF THIS WERE THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS, INSTEAD OF AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX, DIFFICULT, AND DANGEROUS ONE, I SUPPOSE THE MEDIA WOULD NOT BE PEJORATIVE. BUT A REPORTER MUST REPORT, AND A PUBLISHER SHOULD NOT BE A PANGLOSS.

THE WATERGATE EXPERIENCE IS A DRAMATIC REMINDER OF THE NEED FOR DETERMINED, INDEPENDENT MEDIA WHICH ARE FREE TO PLAY THEIR CRITICAL ROLES. IN A LARGE SENSE, THAT PRINCIPLE IS UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT DISBELIEVERS ARE STILL WITH US WHO CHOOSE TO IGNORE THE MOUNTAINOUS EVIDENCE OF ETHICAL AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION WHICH WAS PRINTED AND BROADCAST DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS, AND WHO SOMEHOW BELIEVE (OR PRETEND TO BELIEVE) THAT THE PRINTING AND THE BROADCASTING ARE THE CORE PROBLEMS.

THIS IS THE SCAPEGOAT SYNDROME, SHARED BY THOSE WHO, FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER, CLAIM THAT THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN

THIS CITY WAS CAUSED BY SOME SORT OF MEDIA CONSPIRACY RATHER THAN BY THE HARSH EVIDENCE ITSELF, WHICH EVEN NOW ACCUMULATES DAY BY DAY.

SHAKESPEARE, THAT GENIUS OF REPORTERS OF THE WAYS OF MANKIND, UNDERSTOOD THIS A LONG TIME AGO WHEN IN, OF ALL THINGS, ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, HE SAYS ". . . THOUGH IT BE HONEST IT IS NEVER GOOD TO BRING BAD NEWS." AND AS MUCH AS JOURNALISTS MAY NOT RELISH THAT ASSIGNMENT, THAT IS WHAT OFTEN MUST BE DONE. I WISH WE COULD ON MORE OCCASIONS BE IN THE PLEASANT POSITION DESCRIBED IN ISAIAH . . . "HOW BEAUTIFUL UPON THE MOUNTAINS ARE THE FEET OF HIM WHO BRINGETH GOOD TIDINGS . . ."

TO YOU TODAY, I BRING TIDINGS, SOME THAT ARE GOOD, AND SOME THAT ARE NOT SO GOOD.

THERE IS A DISTURBING COMPLACENCY AMONG MANY AMERICANS WHEN IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT-MEDIA CONFRONTATIONS ARISE--AN UNQUESTIONING ASSUMPTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS, AFTER ALL, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THAT IT MUST BE RIGHT.

FEW AMERICANS PERCEIVED THE ENORMOUS DANGER WHEN THE GOVERNMENT--FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY--SUCCEEDED FOR A SHORT PERIOD DURING THE PENTAGON PAPERS CONTROVERSY IN GAGGING THE PRESS PRIOR TO PUBLICATION. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE OR NO PUBLIC OUTCRY WHEN REPORTERS HAVE BEEN THREATENED WITH JAIL, OR ACTUALLY JAILED, FOR PROTECTING THE IDENTITY OF NEWS SOURCES.

WHEN THE STATE SUPREME COURT IN FLORIDA EARLIER THIS YEAR ORDERED THE MIAMI HERALD TO PRINT A REPLY TO AN EDITORIAL, MOST PEOPLE PROBABLY THOUGHT THAT A DECENT AND FAIR PROPOSITION. FEW REALIZED THAT THE STATE, IN EFFECT, WAS SEATING ITSELF IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

THE MEDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT ARE NOT EQUALS IN STRUGGLES OVER SUCH ISSUES. ONLY THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE POWER TO CREATE LAWS AND VIRTUALLY UNLIMITED RESOURCES TO ENFORCE THEM. FURTHERMORE, THOSE SHOWDOWNS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS ARE NOT PRIVATE SQUABBLES. THEY HAVE ENORMOUS PUBLIC CONSEQUENCES.

THAT'S BECAUSE THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS NOT A PRIVILEGE FOR THE PRESS ITSELF BUT SIMPLY THE FREEDOM FOR A PROCESS THROUGH WHICH ORDINARY CITIZENS HAVE THE BEST HOPE OF OBTAINING TRUTH. A REPORTER'S SO-CALLED PRIVILEGE TO SHIELD THE SOURCE FOR HIS STORY DOES FAR LESS FOR THE REPORTER THAN FOR THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW. THE JUDGMENT RESERVED FOR AN EDITOR IN DECIDING WHAT TO PUBLISH OR NOT TO PUBLISH EXISTS ULTIMATELY NOT FOR THE EDITOR BUT TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC FROM NEWS FILTERED FIRST THROUGH A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL.

IN AN OBSERVATION ON THE CURRENT PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PRESS, JUSTICE POTTER STEWART IN A RECENT ADDRESS AT YALE LAW SCHOOL SAID:

"THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS THAT I HAVE SEEN INDICATE THAT SOME AMERICANS FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT AND FORMER

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WERE HOUNDED OUT OF OFFICE BY AN ARROGANT AND IRRESPONSIBLE PRESS THAT HAD OUTRAGEOUSLY USURPED DICTATORIAL POWER. AND IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT MANY MORE AMERICANS, WHILE APPRECIATING AND EVEN APPLAUDING THE SERVICE PERFORMED BY THE PRESS IN EXPOSING OFFICIAL WRONGDOING AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, ARE NONETHELESS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE THE ILLEGITIMATE POWER OF THE ORGANIZED PRESS IN THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF OUR SOCIETY. IT IS MY THESIS THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, THE ESTABLISHED AMERICAN PRESS IN THE PAST TEN YEARS, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, HAS PERFORMED PRECISELY THE FUNCTION IT WAS INTENDED TO PERFORM BY THOSE WHO WROTE THE FIRST AMENDMENT OF OUR CONSTITUTION. I FURTHER SUBMIT THAT THIS THESIS IS SUPPORTED BY THE RELEVANT DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT."

AND THEN JUSTICE STEWART ADDED THAT THE PUBLISHING BUSINESS IS THE ONLY "PRIVATE BUSINESS THAT IS GIVEN EXPLICIT CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION"--NOT FOR ITS OWN SAKE, BUT IN ORDER TO SERVE INDIVIDUALS IN THE SOCIETY.

THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF CELEBRATED COURT TESTS IN RECENT MONTHS WHICH BEAR ON THAT BROAD CONSTITUTIONAL AREA. SOME OF THE CASES CAUGHT THE PUBLIC EYE; SOME DID NOT. MOST OF THEM, I'M PLEASED TO SAY, HAD THE GENERAL OUTCOME OF ENHANCING THE FIRST AMENDMENT.

THE HIGHLY CHARGED PENTAGON PAPERS CASE WENT TO THE HIGHEST COURT, AND, ONE HOPES, IT HAS BARRED THE GOVERNMENT FROM EXERCISING ANY RESTRAINT ON A PUBLISHER PRIOR TO PUBLICATION. IN ANOTHER MAJOR CONTEST WITH FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES, OUR COMPANY'S RADIO STATION IN WASHINGTON, WTOP, CAME UNDER ATTACK FOR REFUSING TO SELL ADVERTISING TIME FOR THE DISCUSSION OF CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. THE U. S. SUPREME COURT ULTIMATELY SUPPORTED OUR CONTENTION THAT AIR TIME FOR THE EXPOSURE OF SUCH ISSUES SHOULD NOT HINGE ON THE SIZE OF AN ADVOCATE'S BANKROLL. I SHOULD ADD THAT ALL OF OUR BROADCAST STATIONS PRODUCE EXCEPTIONAL AMOUNTS OF NEWS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMMING FOR THE EXPLORATION OF PUBLIC ISSUES.

QUITE RECENTLY, THE MIAMI HERALD CAME UNDER LEGAL ASSAULT IN THE LANDMARK TORNILLO CASE WHICH AROSE FROM THAT NEWSPAPER'S DECISION NOT TO PRINT A PARTICULAR LETTER TO THE EDITOR. THE SUPREME COURT AFFIRMED THE EDITOR'S RIGHT TO MAKE SUCH A JUDGMENT.

ALSO IN RECENT WEEKS, NBC WON A PROTRACTED DISPUTE OVER A DOCUMENTARY PROGRAM DEALING WITH THE SHORTCOMINGS OF PENSION PLANS. IN THAT SITUATION, THE FCC HAD DECREED THAT THE PROGRAM LACKED BALANCE AND HAD SOUGHT TO FORCE THE NETWORK TO ACHIEVE BALANCE ON THE GOVERNMENT'S TERMS. IN A HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT RULING, THE U. S. COURT OF APPEALS UPHELD NBC'S RIGHT TO EXERCISE JOURNALISTIC JUDGMENT IN THE PREPARATION OF THE PROGRAM.

PERHAPS AT NO OTHER TIME IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY HAS A FREE PRESS BEEN UNDER SUCH A SERIES OF ATTACKS. AND IN ALL OF THE CASES JUST CITED, THE MOVEMENTS AIMED AT LIMITING THE FIRST AMENDMENT WERE PERSISTENT, AND MOST WERE WELL FINANCED.

ON ONE HAND, THERE IS AN ONGOING STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS, CHIEFLY THOSE ENJOYED BY THE PRINT MEDIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE EXISTS AN EQUALLY IMPORTANT STRUGGLE TO OBTAIN REAL FIRST AMENDMENT PROTECTION FOR BROADCAST JOURNALISM.

ALTHOUGH DIFFERENT IN ITS CHARACTERISTICS OF DELIVERY, ELECTRONIC JOURNALISM TODAY UNQUESTIONABLY IS A CO-EQUAL WITH PRINT AS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF NEWS AND INFORMATION FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. TRAGICALLY, HOWEVER, THE CONCEPT OF A FREE "PRESS," AS THAT TERM IS USED IN THE U. S. CONSTITUTION, HAS NOT YET BEEN EXTENDED TO RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE U. S. SUPREME COURT, WHICH STRUCK DOWN A SO-CALLED RIGHT-TO-REPLY STATUTE AFFECTING NEWSPAPERS, HAS AT LEAST BROADLY UPHELD RIGHT-TO-REPLY RULES AFFECTING BROADCASTING. THE SAME COURT WHICH BOOTED THE GOVERNMENT OUT OF A NEWSPAPER EDITOR'S CHAIR SEEMS CONTENT TO ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO SIT IN A TELEVISION EDITOR'S CHAIR. AGAIN, THE EDITOR IS NOT ENDANGERED WHEN THAT OCCURS, BUT THE PUBLIC IS.

EVERY NEWSPAPER IN THIS COUNTRY QUITE PROPERLY IS THE ARBITER OF FAIRNESS AND BALANCE IN ITS NEWS COLUMNS. EVERY

BROADCAST NEWS PRODUCER, HOWEVER, HAS TO ASK HIMSELF ENDLESSLY WHETHER EVERY STORY WILL SATISFY NOT ONLY HIS OWN PROFESSIONAL CRITERIA BUT THOSE OF AN IMPRECISE "FAIRNESS DOCTRINE" IN USE AT THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION. IT IS A DOUBLE STANDARD WHICH IMPAIRS TRUE LIBERTY IN THIS COUNTRY.

IT IS OFTEN ARGUED BY SOME THAT THE FCC REALLY HAS NOT ABUSED ITS OVERSEER ROLE AND THAT NO FAIR-MINDED BROADCAST STATION EVER HAS BEEN PENALIZED. BUT WHEN A TELEVISION EDITOR IS CAUSED EVEN TO THINK ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE BEFORE GOING WITH A STORY, THAT STORY INVARIABLY SUFFERS SOME DEGREE OF TAINT.

NBC WAS REPRIMANDED BY THE FCC FOR ITS PENSIONS DOCUMENTARY AND WAS ORDERED TO CORRECT THE ALLEGED IMBALANCE IN THE PROGRAM. THAT IS TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT THE "FAIRNESS DOCTRINE" IS INTENDED TO BE MORE THAN A BENIGN PIECE OF PAPER.

FOR MORE EVIDENCE, CONSIDER THAT THE FCC LITERALLY PUT A STOPWATCH TO ANOTHER SPECIAL NBC PROGRAM DEALING WITH THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE ALASKA PIPELINE. SOMEBODY IN THE COMPLAINTS OFFICE ACTUALLY CONCLUDED THAT 10 MINUTES AND 52 SECONDS OF THE PROGRAM WERE DEVOTED TO "PRO-PIPELINE" ARGUMENTS, WHILE 21 MINUTES AND 15 SECONDS WENT TO THE "OTHER" SIDE. THE FACT THAT THE ISSUE MAY WELL HAVE A DOZEN SIDES GETS LOST IN SUCH SIMPLISTIC AND DANGEROUS ARITHMETIC.

DEFINITIONS OF PRO AND ANTI, FAIR AND UNFAIR, BIAS AND BALANCE ARE DIFFICULT IN THE VERY BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES. THESE DETERMINATIONS HAVE BEEN ENTRUSTED ENTIRELY FOR ALMOST 200 YEARS TO NEWSPAPER EDITORS. THE REPUBLIC HAS THRIVED DESPITE ABUSES OF THAT PRESS FREEDOM FROM TIME TO TIME.

MANY NEWSPAPER EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS CONTINUE TO HAVE A MYOPIC VIEW OF THIS ISSUE--A SORT OF PRIDEFUL DENIAL THAT NEWS ON TELEVISION IS ALSO JOURNALISM. BUT WHEN ENOUGH "FAIRNESS" PRECEDENTS HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN MEMORANDA AND CASE LAW AGAINST ELECTRONIC JOURNALISTS, THERE IS CERTAIN TO BE MUCH PRESSURE TO REVISE THE RULES OF THE GAME TO PUT "FAIRNESS" TAPE-MEASURES TO THE PRINTED PAGE AS WELL.

THE LICENSING OF TELEVISION AND RADIO OUTLETS SEEMS TO BE THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID AN OVERLAPPING OF SIGNALS ON THE AIR. THE EXTENSION OF FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS TO BROADCAST JOURNALISM CAN BE MADE COMPATIBLE WITH THAT ENGINEERING REALITY.

IT IS WELL AND GOOD TO PUSH FOR AND TO MAINTAIN JOURNALISTIC FREEDOM. BUT IF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM IS TO BECOME REALLY HONEST AND EFFECTIVE, SOME NEW AND IMPORTANT MEDIA RESPONSIBILITIES WILL HAVE TO BE MET.

WE ARE WITNESSING AN UNPARALLELED SEASON OF REFORM IN THE REALM OF POLITICAL FINANCE. NEW FEDERAL LEGISLATION WILL FOR THE VERY FIRST TIME IN HISTORY ATTEMPT TO MINIMIZE THE CORRUPTING INFLUENCE OF LARGE PRIVATE DONATIONS BY SHARPLY LIMITING THE SIZE

OF SUCH GIFTS AND BY INTRODUCING PARTIAL PUBLIC FUNDING OF PRESIDENTIAL RACES AND NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

THESE STEPS AND OTHERS--SUCH AS THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION AS A WATCHDOG--JUSTIFY SOME OPTIMISM THAT THE ARTIFICIAL INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL MONEY ON FEDERAL LAW-MAKING AND POLICY-MAKING MAY BE REDUCED.

BUT THE MEDIA--AND ESPECIALLY TELEVISION WITH ITS UNIQUE IMPACT--UNNECESSARILY CONTRIBUTE TO THE HIGH COST OF CAMPAIGNING AND THUS TO THE NEED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE FOR LARGE WAR-CHESTS OF MONEY.

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION IS A LEGITIMATE BUSINESS AND IS ENTITLED TO COMPENSATION FOR THE USE OF ITS FACILITIES. BUT IN VARIOUS WAYS, INDIVIDUAL STATIONS CAN EASE THE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF RUNNING FOR OFFICE. THE POST-NEWSWEEK STATIONS FOR YEARS HAVE BEEN PROVIDING SUBSTANTIAL DISCOUNTS TO POLITICAL ADVERTISERS AND DONATING BLOCKS OF PRIME TIME WITHOUT COST TO CANDIDATES IN MAJOR RACES. DURING THE ELECTION SEASON JUST PAST, OUR STATIONS CONTRIBUTED A TOTAL OF 125 HOURS OF AIR TIME TO CANDIDATES--FREE OF CHARGE. INCLUDED IN THAT TOTAL, BY THE WAY, WERE 97 FREE HOURS IN PRIME TIME. WE BELIEVE, AS A RESULT, THAT THE ELECTORATES IN THE COMMUNITIES WE SERVE WERE BETTER EQUIPPED TO VOTE.

WE ARE NOT ALONE IN HAVING TAKEN SUCH INITIATIVES. BUT BROADCASTERS, WHILE ACUTELY SENSITIVE TO THE DYNAMIC ROLE OF

TELEVISION IN POLITICAL RACES, HAVE BEEN INSENSITIVE TO THE NEED TO MAKE TELEVISION MORE AFFORDABLE FOR THOSE SEEKING PUBLIC OFFICE.

BEYOND THE COST OF CAMPAIGNING OF TELEVISION IS THE PROBLEM OF THE MANNER OF CAMPAIGNING IN THAT MEDIUM. THE 1976 ELECTIONS WILL BE HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT TO THE NATION IN BOTH REAL AND SYMBOLIC TERMS, AND I VENTURE TO SUGGEST THAT THERE WILL BE HEALTHIER AND MORE PRODUCTIVE ELECTIONS IF WE PROCEED TO SHARPLY MINIMIZE OR EVEN PUT AN END TO POLITICAL SPOTSMANSHIP ON TELEVISION.

THE 10-SECOND, 20-SECOND, OR 60-SECOND SPOT ANNOUNCEMENT IS AN ACCEPTABLE DEVICE FOR MERCHANDISING COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES, BUT IT IS PROVING TO BE POISONOUS TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS WHEN USED TO MARKET CANDIDATES.

THE POLITICAL SPOT, EVEN IN THE HANDS OF A CANDIDATE OF GREAT INTEGRITY, AT BEST LEADS TO OVERSIMPLIFICATION, AND AT WORST TO DISTORTION AND DEMAGOGUERY.

WE ARE IN AN ERA WHICH IS MAKING THE PRODUCER OF TV AND RADIO POLITICAL SPOTS MORE IMPORTANT THAN A CAMPAIGN MANAGER. NEWSPAPERS RUN SOLEMN CRITIQUES OF A CANDIDATE'S LATEST COMMERCIAL, USUALLY WITH ONLY PASSING REGARD FOR WHAT THE CANDIDATE IS SAYING. THERE IS SCARCELY A HOLLYWOOD CINEMA TECHNIQUE THAT HASN'T BEEN EMPLOYED: REAR SCREEN, SPLITSREEN, JUMP CUTS, ANIMATION, WIPES, STOP-MOTION, AND THE LIKE. RADIO SPOTS, TOO, ARE PRODUCED WITH ALL THE HYPED-UP DEVICES OF MODERN AUDIO: ECHO CHAMBERS, ROCK OR FOLK MUSIC, THEME SONGS, FOLKSY ANNOUNCERS, AND SO ON.

IN THE NEW YORK STATE CAMPAIGN THIS YEAR WE WERE SHOWN A CANDIDATE PLAYING TENNIS, AS THOUGH HIS PHYSICAL STAMINA HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE QUALITY OF HIS LEGISLATIVE DECISIONS. IN ANOTHER, A TASTELESS CLOSE-UP OF A FOETUS WAS USED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR PROPER DISCUSSION OF THE COMPLEX AND SENSITIVE ABORTION QUESTION. COUNTLESS NUMBERS OF CANDIDATES HAVE POSED ON CAMERA WITH COUNTLESS NUMBERS OF THEIR CHILDREN IN SUPERFICIAL GESTURES OF SEEMING SOLIDITY.

SPOTSMANSHIP IN POLITICAL RACES IS DOWNRIGHT DANGEROUS . . . A REMEMBER-THE-FACE, SPELL-THE-NAME-RIGHT STRATEGY WHICH DECEIVES WITH SIMPLICITY A PUBLIC CONFRONTED WITH LIFE-AND-DEATH ISSUES OF GREAT COMPLEXITY. IN THAT SENSE, THE MESSAGE IS WRONG FOR THE MEDIUM.

WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES TO POLITICAL SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS? THE FIRST ANSWER APPEARS TO BE LONGER BROADCAST PERIODS FOR CANDIDATES TO BE SEEN AND HEARD, AND IMPROVED FORMATS TO HELP THE PUBLIC ASSESS CANDIDATES. WHETHER FIVE MINUTES OR FIFTEEN MINUTES OF AIR TIME IS OPTIMUM, I DON'T KNOW. THE EVOLUTION OF IMPROVED FORMATS WON'T BE EASY, GIVEN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE TRADITIONAL RELUCTANCE OF MOST INCUMBENTS TO APPEAR WITH CHALLENGERS.

IT IS HEARTENING THAT SOME ELEMENTS IN THE ADVERTISING PROFESSION ALSO ARE REPUDIATING THE PRACTICE OF PACKAGING CANDIDATES. I HOPE THAT OTHERS IN THE PROFESSION WILL JOIN

THE SEARCH FOR BETTER AND MORE HONEST WAYS OF DISPLAYING CANDIDATES AND THEIR IDEAS.

ALTERNATIVES TO GIMMICKRY MUST BE FOUND. TELEVISION, WITH ITS MAGNIFICENT POWER TO TRANSMIT THE HUMAN BEING--THE PERSON, HIS FEELINGS AND THOUGHTS--IS TOO CRUCIAL TO THE POLITICAL HEALTH OF THIS COUNTRY.

POST-NEWSWEEK STATIONS, THEREFORE, HAS DECIDED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE OF ARRANGING A CONFERENCE AMONG CONCERNED BROADCASTERS TO DEVISE BETTER METHODS AND TO OFFER IMPROVED STRATEGIES FOR THE COVERAGE OF ELECTIONS IN 1976. WE PROPOSE TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVE BROADCASTERS, FROM RADIO AND TELEVISION, LARGE AND SMALL, AS WELL AS KEY LEGISLATORS, SPECIALISTS IN COMMUNICATIONS, ACADEMICIANS, AND OTHER INTERESTED GROUPS.

I BELIEVE THAT SUCH A GATHERING NEEDS TO TAKE PLACE SOON. SOME CANDIDATES DOUBTLESS ARE ALREADY PLANNING STRATEGY FOR 1976.

IT WON'T SUFFICE FOR ONE STATION OR GROUP TO UNDERTAKE REFORMS IN THIS AREA. TO BE EFFECTIVE, TO CHANGE THE THRUST OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING ON RADIO AND TELEVISION, WILL REQUIRE SOME COMMON JUDGMENTS AND SOME SHARED RECOMMENDATIONS AMONG BROADCASTERS.

WE HOPE THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT COME UP WITH MERE CONVERSATION AND POSITION PAPERS BUT RATHER WITH A SERIES OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ON WHAT SHOULD BE DONE.

MY HOPE IS THAT THE CONFERENCE TO BE CONVENED WILL LOOK AT EVERY ASPECT OF ON-AIR CAMPAIGNING. THERE WILL NEVER BE ANOTHER

OPPORTUNITY FOR REFORMS QUITE LIKE THIS ONE. THE WATERGATE AFFAIR HAS SENSITIZED AMERICANS TO THE NEED TO SET POLITICS RIGHT, AND WE MUST CAPITALIZE ON THAT MOOD BEFORE IT SLIPS AWAY.

LET ME EMPHASIZE. INDIVIDUAL BROADCASTERS, GROUPS OF BROADCASTERS, AND EVEN BROADCASTING AS A WHOLE CANNOT BRING ABOUT THESE NECESSARY REFORMS. BROADCASTERS' PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITIES ARE TO BE CREDIBLE THEMSELVES, TO OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, AND, AS GOOD CITIZENS, TO TRY TO SHOW OTHERS THAT CRITICAL CAMPAIGN REFORMS MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED. THE TOTAL EFFORT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERYONE. THIS IS A CHALLENGE TO OUR DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES--SURVIVAL OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AT A TIME WHEN IT FACES ITS GREATEST AND PERHAPS MOST DIFFICULT TASK. THE CRITICAL PROBLEM TODAY IS THE INCREASING SKEPTICISM OF MANY AMERICANS THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ARE CAPABLE OF COPING WITH THE ENORMOUS ARRAY OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS WE FACE.

I'D LIKE TO TOUCH BRIEFLY ON ONE OR TWO UNRELATED MATTERS WHICH ALSO ARE IMPORTANT TO OUR POLITICAL STABILITY.

THE NETWORKS, IT SEEMS TO ME, ARE MISCALCULATING IN THEIR USE OF COMPUTERIZED PROJECTIONS ON ELECTION NIGHT. JUST RECENTLY, AT LEAST ONE WINNER WAS DECLARED IN A LARGE STATE WITH LESS THAN 1 PERCENT OF THE ACTUAL VOTES COUNTED. EVEN IF THE COMPUTERS ARE ESSENTIALLY ACCURATE, THEY ARE STILL RISKY IN SITUATIONS

LIKE THAT WHERE THE VARIABLES ARE SO LARGE AND NUMEROUS. AMONG OTHER THINGS AT STAKE IS THE VERY CREDIBILITY OF TELEVISION AND RADIO REPORTING. ONE NETWORK MADE A VICTORY CALL WHICH THE OFFICIAL RESULTS LATER PROVED WRONG. TWO NETWORKS MADE DEFINITIVE CALLS IN OTHER RACES WHICH HAD TO GO THROUGH RECOUNTS TO BE SETTLED. A MORE RESTRAINED USE OF THE COMPUTERS CERTAINLY IS IN ORDER.

LASTLY, WE OUGHT TO SEE AN END TO THE RITUAL WHEREIN ANY PRESIDENT, OF ANY PARTY, CAN COMMANDEER ALL OF THE NETWORKS ON A WHIM FOR A PERSONAL APPEARANCE. VARIOUS PRESIDENTS, AT VARIOUS TIMES, HAVE PREEMPTED ALL PROGRAMMING ON ALL THREE NETWORKS TO REGALE US WITH POLITICS OR WITH PABLUM.

ANY PRESIDENT CLEARLY OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO GET INTO ALL THE NATION'S HOMES WHEN ISSUES OF UNSURPASSING URGENCY COME ALONG. FOR SOME YEARS, HOWEVER, WE HAVE BEEN VICTIMS OF WHITE HOUSE ARM-TWISTING, AND THAT'S THE PART WHICH GRATES.

THE NETWORKS THEMSELVES CAN PUT SOME REASONABLENESS INTO THIS PICTURE BY MAKING THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT NEWS JUDGMENTS ON EACH SUCH REQUEST FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, AND BY STICKING WITH THOSE JUDGMENTS WHEN THE HEAT GOES ON.

IT HAS BEEN AN ARTICLE OF FAITH WITH ME FOR QUITE A LONG TIME THAT A GOOD PRODUCT--HONEST, AGGRESSIVE, PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM--MAKES FOR GOOD BUSINESS. THE OBVERSE IS EQUALLY TRUE. GOOD JOURNALISM CANNOT CONSISTENTLY BE ATTAINED WITHOUT A SOUND BUSINESS SIDE WHICH CAN PROVIDE THE NECESSARY RESOURCES.

THE MEDIA, TOO, IS FACING A CRUNCH IN THE CURRENT ECONOMIC RECESSION. THIS WAS FIRST BROUGHT HOME TO MANY OF US THROUGH THE GASOLINE SHORTAGES LAST WINTER; SINCE THEN, WE HAVE ALL WATCHED, SEEMINGLY POWERLESS TO INFLUENCE THE MARCH OF EVENTS; EXPLOSIVELY RISING PRICES AND GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT. IN RECENT WEEKS OUR ATTENTION HAS BEEN RIVETED ON THE SPECTRE OF WORLD HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION AND FURTHER ENERGY SHORTAGES.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A PROFESSIONAL HANDWRINGER TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY IS ENTERING INTO A NEW, LARGELY UNCHARTED STAGE OF INTERRELATIONSHIPS; MORE AND MORE PEOPLE WILL BE COMPETING FOR CERTAIN FINITE RESOURCES. IN THE 1940s, AMERICAN IDEALISM COULD SPEAK, AS WENDELL WILLKIE DID, OF "ONE WORLD." IN THE 1950s, IT WAS TWO WORLDS--"FREE" AND COMMUNIST. IN THE 1960s, THE EMERGING NATIONS OF AFRICA AND ASIA WERE SEEN AS THE "THIRD WORLD." NOW, IN THE SEVENTIES, WE ALREADY SEE THE EMERGENCE OF THE "FOURTH WORLD" AS AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES DIVIDE INTO THE UNDERDEVELOPED BUT RICH (THE OIL STATES) AND THE UNDERDEVELOPED AND POOR.

THIS NEW "FOURTH WORLD" STAGE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS EXERTS NEW PRESSURES ON THE PRESS. FIRST, IT DEMANDS A NEW KIND OF ECONOMIC-POLITICAL-SOCIAL REPORTING IN ORDER TO KEEP UP WITH ENORMOUSLY COMPLEX EVENTS. THIS MIGHT BE CALLED INTERDISCIPLINARY REPORTING. NO LONGER WILL IT BE SUFFICIENT FOR JOURNALISTS TO MASTER ONE FIELD, SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL TRADE (THOUGH WE STILL

HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO IN DEVELOPING ENOUGH SINGLE DISCIPLINE SPECIALISTS). THE JOURNALIST OF THE SEVENTIES AND EIGHTIES WILL HAVE TO KNOW MORE THAN ONE SPECIALTY.

CURRENT AND PROSPECTIVE ECONOMIC STRAINS TEST NEWS PEOPLE AND NEWS ORGANIZATIONS IN ANOTHER WAY. WE ARE, AFTER ALL, AN INDUSTRY, AND LIKE OTHER INDUSTRIES, THE COST OF DOING BUSINESS HAS BEEN GOING UP DRAMATICALLY. LIKE ANYONE ELSE, WE ARE PAYING MORE FOR OUR RAW MATERIALS, LABOR AND PRODUCTION COSTS. THE NATURAL TENDENCY WHEN COSTS GO UP IS TO HOLD THE LINE OF EXPENSES. WE ALL ARE DOING THAT IN MANY WAYS. BUT THE EQUALLY CHALLENGING ASSIGNMENT IS TO CONSERVE AND TO TIGHTEN OPERATIONS WITHOUT USING THE ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN AS A RATIONALE TO REDUCE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DELIVERY OF THE NEWS OR THE QUALITY OF OUR PRODUCT.

FINALLY, ALTHOUGH OUR FREEDOMS HAVE SURVIVED FOR ALMOST TWO CENTURIES, THOSE FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEES SEEM TO BE IN RETREAT AROUND THE GLOBE AND ARE NEVER A CERTAINTY EVEN HERE.

TO CONTINUE TO BE A GREAT PEOPLE, WE MUST PRESERVE OUR ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH ONE ANOTHER. WITHOUT THAT, OUR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL LIVES WILL BE BARREN AND MEANINGLESS.

WE'RE ALL FAMILIAR WITH THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE COULDN'T STAND THE TRAUMA OF THE RECENT PAST . . . URBAN RIOTS, CONSTITUTIONAL CRISES, AND THE REST. BUT THE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATED ITS RESILIENCY. WHAT SEEMS TO BE LACKING IS A SENSE OR URGENCY ABOUT OUR PROBLEMS; A WILLINGNESS TO REACH OUT AND TRY SOLUTIONS WITH AN ELEMENT OF BOLDNESS THAT CAN REKINDLE THE SPIRIT OF MUTUAL TRUST AND NATIONAL PURPOSE.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN *RHN*

Attached is the memorandum from you to Henry urging him to take a representative of the television networks and the White House Press Office to China with him to make a survey of technical needs.

Since Henry leaves Friday, we will need his answer rather quickly.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HENRY KISSINGER

FROM:

DON RUMSFELD

I suggest that you give ~~serious and favorable~~ consideration to taking one representative of the American television networks and one representative of the White House Press Office on your forthcoming trip to China so that they can make a technical survey of their needs for coverage of the President's trip.

Ron Nessen tells me that the networks have made what he considers to be a persuasive argument that they need to make this technical survey as soon as possible in order to assure full and smooth coverage of the President's visit to China.

There were 40 days between the pre-advance trip and the visit of former President Nixon during which to make technical arrangements. The networks pointed out that this time there will be less than half that amount of time.

A network representative on this trip to China ^{should} ~~would~~ in no way get in your hair or interfere with your negotiations. A representative of the White House Press Office would see to that and also ~~could~~ get an on-the-spot feel for press office needs during the Presidential visit.

~~I would hope you would see the importance of taking a television representative and a White House Press Office representative with you to China. If there is some reason that this is not possible, another possibility would be for the State Department to help arrange a separate and private survey trip to China including representatives of the television networks and a White House Press Office representative.~~

~~Since time is growing short before your departure to China, may I have your answer as soon as possible.~~

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

RON NESSEN

Attached is a memorandum sent to me by Jim Shuman outlining his views on two likely election year issues and some very general thoughts on how the President should deal with these issues.

The memorandum doesn't really break any new ground or provide any dramatic insights or answers.

However, Jim's memo does raise a number of fundamental questions:

1. Who in the White House has the responsibility for pinpointing what the major issues will be next year?
2. What is the procedure for determining the President's position on these issues?
3. What is the mechanism for making this position known through Presidential speeches, news conferences, press office briefings, statements by other Administration officials, etc?

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE


WASHINGTON

October 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN

FROM:

JIM SHUMAN 

SUBJECT:

Is Gerald Ford "A Kind of a Klutz?"

The 1976 election campaign, it appears now, will center on two major issues.

The dominant one, about which most of the public speechmaking and debate will center, will be the broad philosophical issue of the federal government's role in society. Should the government grow larger and assume a more custodial role in each individual's life?

The secondary issue, which may remain unspoken, is the competency of Gerald Ford. Is he, as John Chancellor said at Yale Sunday, merely an "amiable Midwestern conservative -- a kind of a klutz"?

In setting the stage for the first one, which we must do and do early, we should be able to diffuse the second. We must set the stage because we can be badly beaten if the issue is fragmented and fought on specious humanitarian grounds in such areas as child nutrition or care of the elderly. Moreover, we must demonstrate early that it is our Administration, not the Democrats, which is in tune with changes in America.

Setting the stage could most likely best be done through a series of thoughtful Presidential talks on the major areas of confrontation and change: First, Foreign Policy, and then a series on Domestic issues.

These speeches should be deep analyses of where the United States is at the moment, raise the question of where we want to go, and suggest directions consonant with our founding goals. They should be free of rhetoric, and they should prompt people to see the broad issues clearly. Those hearing them should be left with the impression that Gerald Ford does know what he is doing, that his Midwestern conservatism is based on deeply felt and carefully thought out principles and that those principles are what most Americans believe in.

The "klutz" image - which actually may not be all that bad (people do feel affection toward a klutz - but which we must dissipate, can be dealt with through two methods.

One is high quality staff work. This will counter the incorrect image some have of a "lack-luster staff". It should include a Press Office and other offices that operate smoothly, with all parts co-ordinated, and no preventable mistakes. But in the Administration itself, it also should allow room for the dissident, and we should set the press and others to look on dissidents as examples of how the President listens to a variety of opinions and maintains an open administration.

If this seems appealing, let's talk about it at more length.

October 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN

We have had an on-again, off-again policy of allowing reporters to wait for appointments in the West Lobby.

We have settled on a policy of not allowing reporters to wait there after a series of complaints from various White House staff members that they and other visitors, including Presidential visitors, were being interviewed or overheard by reporters waiting for appointments.

We do occasionally make exceptions for people like Roland Evans, etc.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR: RON NESSEN
FROM: DON RUMSFELD

Aldo Beckman was upset because he was not allowed to sit in the West Lobby the other day. What is the rule on that and where did it come from and is it a good one?

October 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: RON NESSEN

New York City will again come to the brink of default on December 1. The President will be in China on that date. You might want to think in advance about the optics of that and about the mechanics of handling any Federal intervention or any re-emphasis of Federal non-intervention while the President is in China.

RN/jb



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

10-31-75

NOTE FOR: Don Rumsfeld ✓

FROM : RON NESSEN

FYI

RHN

FIRST LINE REPORT

Friday, October 24, 1975

SCHIEFFER: First Line Report, news and commentary. I'm Bob Schieffer, CBS News White House Correspondent reporting on the CBS Radio Network with some thoughts about President Ford's autumn of diplomatic maneuvering. That story after this message.
(ANNOUNCEMENT)

SCHIEFFER: The turning of the leaves was supposed to have signalled much more than the coming autumn here in Washington. It was also to have signalled the beginning of an important season in American diplomacy. First there was that projected visit to this country by Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev who had hoped to come here to put the finishing touches on a new arms limitation agreement. Then there was to have been Mr. Ford's visit to China intended to draw that country closer to the United States. Thrown in for good measure was to have been another visit by Mr. Ford to Europe, this time to try to do something about world economic problems. Well, so much for what might have been. Mr. Ford's trips are still on, but rather than journeys to accomplish a thing in particular, they are now shaping up as little more than sightseeing excursions. As for the new arms agreement, those negotiations seem to have bogged down to a point where it appears nothing will be arranged in time for a visit by Mr. Brezhnev this year, beyond that there is at least some speculation that Mr. Brezhnev may never get here. Henry Kissinger's advance mission to China seems to have demonstrated most of all that the main feature of U.S. - Chinese relations these days is that both countries have come to realize they have a number of things on which they disagree. In addition to this new coolness, there are other developments now going on in China and in the United States which will bear on the President's visit and what transpires while he is in China. First there is the question of just who is in control in China these days. Mao Tse-tung and Chou En Lai who caused the first thaw in U.S. - Chinese relations are both reportedly in poor health. It is not altogether clear just how much power they still wield. Second, with Mr. Ford now determined to do all that he can to impress the right wing of his party these days, it seems unlikely that he's anxious for any kind of movement right now on the question of Taiwan, which is what the Chinese are most anxious to discuss. Thus, except for the food and the tea and the weather, the Americans and the Chinese might have trouble finding anything to talk about on this get-together. As for that coming trip to Europe and the summit with Western leaders next month, few here seem quite sure what it is all about, or what will come out of it, except there does seem to be a growing consensus here that whatever comes about will not be of overwhelming significance. As for the Americans who is trying to work up an agenda for the meeting, and so far reportedly, there is no agenda, says the idea is to talk about economic problems. He says German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt wants to go back and tell his parliament that Germany's economic problems are just part of the world economic slump while all of the things that are right about Germany's economy are the result of Schmidt's shrewd economic management techniques. Schmidt hopes the meeting will be a forum through which he can say that and that, says the official, is probably the real reason that Schmidt has pushed so hard for this session. The problem with all of this for Mr. Ford is that one of his advisors did not foresee when all these trips were being laid out months ago, and that that these forays overseas do not seem to help Mr. Ford at all back home. In fact, his popularity slumped after the Helsinki trip earlier this year. In part, no doubt, because of the criticism which was raised about the trip being more smoke than substance. So now, what aides had hoped would be an autumn of diplomatic triumph, is shaping up as nothing more than just a lot of sightseeing travel which promises little in the way of significant accomplishment. With some of the President's closest advisors now convinced Mr. Ford ought to curtail his domestic travel, because it has been counter-productive, in their view, the thought of still another overseas sightseeing tour is not altogether a comforting thought. Now, this message.
(ANNOUNCEMENT)

SCHIEFFER: First Line Report. Bob Schieffer, CBS News.

October 31, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

A number of important questions will come up at my briefing today involving New York City, David Packard's resignation, Secretary Kissinger's management of the Forty Committee, the NSA testimony, Coors' nomination, the Fromme deposition, and the trip to China.

I have no approved answers to any of these subjects, and I don't see how I can begin my briefing scheduled for a half hour from now, without some authorized guidance.

RN/cg



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1975

MEMO FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

I met this gentleman in San Francisco and
he sent you his best wishes.

*Local: 232-0555
Chicago: 668-1855
Residence: 584-3773*

ARTHUR C. LEPPERT

SINCE 1855
Baird & Warner
INC.
REAL ESTATE

426 SOUTH THIRD STREET
GENEVA, ILL. 60134

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN

FROM:

DONALD DRUMSFELD

Thanks for your kind words out in San Francisco.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1975

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

Ron, I did the "Open Mind" program with Richard Heffner. It is on PBS and he is an excellent interviewer. You might give some thought to having the President do this at some point.



November 18, 1975

Dear Dick:

Thanks for your note. I will pass it along to Ron Nessen, who has the responsibility for that subject.

Warm regards,

Donald Rumsfeld
Assistant to the President

Mr. Richard D. Heffner
Chairman
Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.
522 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10036

DR:jw

bcc: Ron Nessen w/ copy of incoming for appropriate handling

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JACK VALENTI
.....
President

Richard D. Heffner
Chairman
.....
Code and Rating Administration



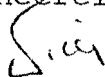
November 13, 1975

The Honorable Donald Rumsfeld
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don,

The last thing in the world that you need to be concerned with now is another extraneous request, but I wonder if you think that the President would be willing to "do" an OPEN MIND with me. As you know, we originate in New York and then are seen elsewhere around the country.

Sincerely,



RICHARD D. HEFFNER

RDH/gw

Good luck in Confirmation!