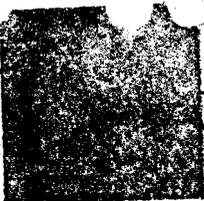


**The original documents are located in Box 129, folder “Hartmann, Robert (3)” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Ron Nessen donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copy to Cheney, Connor, Orben)



TH [REDACTED] USE

From: Robert T. Hartmann

AA

Salary = \$33,000

To:

Ron Nessen \$35

Date:

2/3/76

Time:

a.m.

p.m.

The President has agreed to appoint Milt Friedman Special Assistant to the President and Senior Writer in the Speech Dept.

(quiet)

He would like to have <sup>this</sup> ~~you~~ announced officially and I don't think ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> is my prerogative but I think it should be done. So does Orben.

Milton A. Friedman was born in Portsmouth, Virginia in 1924; served in World War II; attended college at Williams & Mary & the George Washington University; worked as a reporter on a number daily newspapers; and did wire service reporting. Prior to joining the White House staff he was Press Secretary to Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York. He went to work for Ford in January 1974 as the first speechwriter employed by the Vice President's office by Mr. Ford when he was Vice President. and was designated in August 1974 when Ford became President Deputy Editor of the White House Editorial Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1976

*100  
late*

MEMORANDUM FOR:                   RON NESSEN  
FROM:                                 ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
SUBJECT:                             National Association of Secondary School  
  Principals, Monday, February 16, 1976

The President has asked me to obtain your comments on the draft attached and report them to him. Therefore, I respectfully request your priority attention and personal response on this draft (even if you simply approve it as is) by 8:00 a.m., Monday, 2/16/76. Please return your comments to Bob Orben in the Editorial Office in Room 115, OEOB (ext. 6573).

*Answer  
Orben at  
10am*

To expedite this process, it is not necessary to have your views on the literary style or grammatical purity of this draft. Please indicate legibly your suggestions for improving the factual accuracy and/or the substantive policy statements that are within your area of expertise and responsibility (either on the attached drafts or on a separate piece of paper if extensive revisions or substitutions are recommended).

We will either incorporate your suggestions or, in case of conflicting views, present the options to the President for his final decision.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please check one box and sign below:

- ( ) I approve the draft without changes.
- ( ) Suggested revisions are noted on the draft or attached separately.

Initials: \_\_\_\_\_

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY  
SCHOOL PRINCIPALS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1976

It is an honor for me to be re-inducted into the National Honor Society, which I was privileged to join in 1930. On this plaque, I see the honor society's requirements: service, scholarship, leadership, character. As a high school student, I was proud to be thought worthy of those words. I am just as proud to be thought worthy of them today.

Thank you very much.

Let me also thank you for your invitation to be a part of this program. The agenda for this convention shows that your profession is in a time of great change, and that you are addressing yourself to that change.

Yet in some ways your job has not changed at all since the early days of our Nation's educational system. You still give guidance to the schools which guide our children. You are still the executors of our past, and the trustees of our future.

In this Bicentennial year it is fitting that we should look at where we have been, and at where we are going. I would like to share with you my vision of education, and of its role in our Nation's progress.

In our first century as a Nation, America developed political institutions responsive to the people. Unity grew from diversity. And education for the people was a crucial part of the founding father's vision. They knew that ignorance and freedom could not coexist.

A system of general instruction for all citizens, both rich and poor, was the earliest of Thomas Jefferson's public concerns. He led an unsuccessful effort to have the Virginia Assembly support a system of free public schools.

By the time the Constitution was drafted, however, our founding fathers clearly saw education as a State responsibility. Little more than a century later, every State had a tax-supported public school system, free and accessible to every child.

In our second century America's schools and colleges faced great challenges and withstood enormous pressures. They educated millions of immigrant children who spoke no English when they came to our shores.

They met the changing academic and career needs of students as the Nation grew more urbanized and industrialized. American schools contributed greatly to our unprecedented economic growth, and to the widespread sharing of our economic gains.

Now we are entering our third century. I see this as a century devoted to the fulfillment of the individual citizen.

In this century education will not only prepare young men and women to earn a living, it will also prepare them to live a richer life. It will equip them to make their own decisions, rather than permit their futures to be decided for them.

In our third century, more than ever, education will fulfill the role described by Horace Mann when he called it, "beyond all other

devices of human origin . . . the great equalizer of the condition of men, the balance wheel of the social machinery."

Although Horace Mann pioneered public education, he knew education cannot be mass-produced. Education is the key to equality -- but it is also the key to diversity.

It will enrich our children's lives, and it will also enrich our life as a nation.

Throughout our history, the Federal government has recognized this, and has helped our schools and colleges. Since Abraham Lincoln signed the act creating land-grant colleges, Federal encouragement and assistance to education has been an essential part of the American system. To abandon it now would be to ignore the past, and to threaten the future.

But we must make Federal aid more effective than it has been.

In the past decade, as educational problems of national scope have been identified, we have responded with a variety of new Federal programs to meet those needs through assistance to State and local

educational agencies. Each of these programs was initiated to meet the goal of improved educational opportunities for a particular segment of our population.

But the result of adding program on top of program has been a maze of complex and often confusing Federal guidelines and requirements.

At Federal, State and local levels we have unwittingly created a heavy burden of varying regulations, differing standards, and overlapping responsibilities. Too often we ask whether Federal forms have been properly filled out and not whether children have been properly educated.

As President, the first major piece of legislation I signed, 18 months ago, was an omnibus education bill. It improved the distribution of Federal education funds and the administration of Federal education programs.

Soon I will be sending to the Congress my proposals to continue this improvement. The thrust of these proposals will be to consolidate

Federal aid and to give State and local authorities greater flexibility in its use.

I make this proposal to untie the red tape that binds you. I want to free you to meet the challenges of our third century, our century of individual fulfillment.

Our law and custom place the major responsibility for elementary and secondary public education on our State and local governments. And the record convinces me that decisions about education made on those levels are wiser and more responsive to community needs than the edicts of the Federal bureaucracy.

The Federal government -- while providing 7 percent of elementary and secondary educational funding -- should not usurp the State and local role. But by consolidating into block grants more than a score of existing programs, we can do a lot better job with these Federal dollars. At the same time, my proposal would preserve the appropriate national concern for quality education, and concentrate available funds

on the needs of the handicapped and the educationally deprived.

Let me add, that if we can achieve the kind of consolidation which will lead to a more productive use of Federal dollars, then even within the tight budget constraints we face we can plan to increase allocations to elementary and secondary education. The budget projections we will submit with our consolidation proposals will reflect increases for each of the next five fiscal years.

As we look ahead, we can see our educational system adapting to meet changing needs. This has already proved to be one of its great virtues. In the 1950s, for example, America awakened to the urgent need for improved science and mathematics instruction in our Nation's schools. Our advances in technology over the last two decades show that we met this challenge.

Today we are faced with another urgent problem in our Nation's development. It is apparent that many citizens are uninformed, or worse, unconcerned about the workings of their government and the execution of their laws.

Young people in particular appear cynical and alienated from our government and legal system.

Too many Americans see the law as a threat, rather than as a protection. Too few have been taught to understand the way laws are created and administered -- and peacefully changed.

In one poll of Federal workers, more than two-thirds refused to sign an excerpt from the Declaration of Independence. Almost half did not recognize the phrase, "We hold these truths to be self-evident."

These are alarming trends for any Nation to face. They are especially disturbing to us now, as we speak of rededicating ourselves to the enlightened spirit of our country's founders.

This is a new challenge to education. This is a new challenge to you.

If we find this trend distressing, can we in all honesty say we find it surprising? Our Nation has undergone severe shocks in the last quarter-century. Our children face a world at once richer and more

threatening than had ever been imagined.

Our children are less naive, I think, than previous generations of young people. I know my children have different views about a lot of things than I did at their age.

Yet our classes in government and in so-called "civics" tend to continue along outmoded lines.

In 1971 the American Political Science Association reported that these courses presented a "naive, romanticized approach." The American Bar Association found civics students to be widely alienated by platitudes and chauvinism, and the methods of learning by rote.

As Emerson said, the secret of education lies in respecting the pupil. This is just as true for teaching them social values as for teaching them anything else.

We cannot perpetuate our value system merely by telling our children it is good. We can only assure its future by educating our children to admire its strengths, correct its faults, and to participate

effectively as citizens. Only then will they understand why our social values are worth preserving, even though much in our society has changed.

Only then will they understand why we still "hold these truths to be self-evident."

The growing movement to supply such education gives us reason to be encouraged. Yet most of the work in this field clearly remains before us. We must find new ways to teach students about the institutions of law and government which will affect their lives so much. We can perform no finer services for the individual student, and for American society, than to provide them with this understanding.

One problem is that in this field, as in others, we do not yet really know how to measure the quality of education. Many of the standards we had relied on have failed us.

We thought we could measure quality by the student-teacher ratio. Yet some studies suggest that class size may have no effect on student achievement.

We thought we could buy quick miracles in education by spending more money. But the Coleman Report on Equality of Educational Opportunity, and subsequent research, have cast serious doubt on that idea. School costs have risen faster than the cost of living, but the results have not increased proportionately.

It would be easier if we could measure educational quality in dollars and cents, but we cannot.

Education relies on people. On the teachers who work in the schools, and on the administrators who direct them. The clear and constant measure of educational quality is the degree of your commitment.

I understand the theme of this convention is the "cornerstone for tomorrow." For millions of young Americans the cornerstone of tomorrow will be you.

I have faith that you will do the job for them, and for those who follow.

Thank you very much.

3/16

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

NOTE FOR: Bob Hartmann  
FROM : RON NESSEN

May I probe your  
thoughts on the  
possibility of doing  
this, so I can  
respond.

R.N.N.

# U.S. News & World Report

WASHINGTON

2300 N STREET, N. W. · WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037

March 12, 1976

MARVIN L. STONE  
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

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

Dear Ron:

After several months of preparation, we are starting work in earnest on an enterprise we consider one of the most distinctive and thought-provoking we have yet undertaken: a Bicentennial issue, appearing just before July 4, that celebrates the nation's past by taking a look at the third century just ahead.

In addition to the research being done by our own staff, we are asking leading heads of state abroad for short appraisals of the American future.

What we see as the highlight of the issue, however, is a signed article by President Ford that represents his own view of the opportunities and problems ahead for the United States. In essence, this would be an article of perhaps 1,600 words that addresses itself to such questions of primary interest as these:

How fares the heritage of the nation--a commitment to liberty and justice for all--after 200 years?

What major tests, at home and abroad, in times ahead, are likely to be crucial to our existence as a free and democratic nation in years and decades to come?

What principal assets--in will, purpose and resources--do we have for meeting these challenges? What shortcomings are apparent in the turbulence of recent years?

The Honorable Ronald Nessen 3/13/76

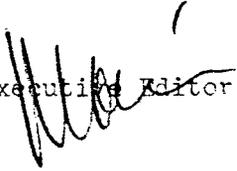
What should be our primary goals in world relationships? Will Century 3 be an "American Century"? Or will it be something different? What changes should Americans strive for in the nation's society, politics and economy?

On balance, should Americans be mainly concerned or rather hopeful about their nation's future?

I believe the President's thinking on these broad and important questions would attract profound interest and study among our nation's and world leaders who comprise a large share of our responsibilities and among millions of Americans in all walks of life.

If the President agrees, and I hope he will, let me know how we can set up deadlines and provide any more information on the subject that might be useful guidance in preparation of the article.

Sincerely,

  
Executive Editor

MLS/mlp



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH  
RON NESSEN ✓  
JERRY JONES

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN *RTH*

This sounds like a good idea to me, particularly since the Fourth of July falls on Sunday this year, and I think we should grab it and run with it before somebody else does. May I have your comments before I discuss it with the President.

If we could make a decision and publicly give Mr. Brooks credit for it prior to the May 4th Primary in Georgia it would do no harm there.

*Sounds good to me.*  
*R.H.N.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
April 1, 1976

*RML*

MEMORANDUM TO: BILL NICHOLSON  
RON NESSEN ✓

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN *RTA*

If the President needs a good forum in Los Angeles sometime between now and the California Primary or during the Fall campaign, the attached invitation from the Greater Los Angeles Press Club would be one that could be set up on relatively short notice and would yield maximum media results.

I met with the press during my recent visit to California at the Press Club and even I got excellent attention. On that occasion, I promised to strongly endorse their invitation to the President and would appreciate being kept advised.





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH  
RON NESSEN ✓  
JERRY JONES

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN *RTH*

This sounds like a good idea to me, particularly since the Fourth of July falls on Sunday this year, and I think we should grab it and run with it before somebody else does. May I have your comments before I discuss it with the President.

If we could make a decision and publicly give Mr. Brooks credit for it prior to the May 4th Primary in Georgia it would do no harm there.

*Sounds good to me.*  
*R.H.N.*



May 11, 1976

**MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HARTMANN**

**FROM: RON NESSEN**

**The President made a telephone call to John McGoff of the Panex newspapers in Michigan on Monday evening, May 10. This was in response to a phone call recommendation proposal.**

**On the basis of a very friendly phone call, McGoff indicated that the 35 weekly Panex newspapers in Michigan would be supportive of the President's candidacy.**

**As expected, McGoff asked the President to arrange a meeting with about a half-dozen members of the editorial boards of the 8 Panex daily newspapers in Michigan. The President indicated to McGoff that such a meeting is under consideration, and likely, during the President's forthcoming weekend trip to Michigan.**

**I appreciate your calling this matter to my attention. I'm glad we were able to get on it, and I think we will have some success with the Panex newspapers, both weeklies and dailies.**

RN/jb



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann



To: Ron Nessen

Date: May 13, 1976

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

a.m.

p.m.

The attached letter and enclosures from Mr. Howard P. Allen, Executive Vice President, Southern California Edison Company, are forwarded for your information in connection with future California briefings.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 13, 1976

Dear Mr. Allen:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 4th.

I am pleased to have the enclosed materials on Proposition 15, nuclear power plants initiative, which will be voted on at the June 8th California Primary, and hope you will express my appreciation to my good friend, Peter de Wetter, for suggesting that you forward them to me. Please be assured they will be helpful in our preparation for the President's next trip to California.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
Counsellor to the President

Mr. Howard P. Allen  
Executive Vice President  
Southern California Edison Company  
P. O. Box 800  
Rosemead, California 91770

bcc: Ron Nessen ✓  
Gwen Anderson

*Southern California Edison Company*

P. O. BOX 800

2244 WALNUT GROVE AVENUE

ROSEMEAD, CALIFORNIA 91770

HOWARD P. ALLEN  
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

TELEPHONE  
213-572-2777

May 4, 1976

Mr. Robert T. Hartmann  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hartmann:

Peter de Wetter asked that I forward to you an Executive Summary on Proposition 15 for use as background in connection with the President's next California trip.

Also enclosed is a California Nuclear Statement, which I suggest as a guide for a statement or response.

We who are opposed to the nuclear initiative are particularly anxious that he say something about the fact that reprocessing and waste handling are safe -- see last paragraph of Statement.

Thank you for your consideration and support.

Sincerely,



Enclosures

cc: Messrs. Peter de Wetter  
Roy Hughes

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

SUBJECT: Proposition 15 - NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS INITIATIVE

STATUS: Will be decided in California Primary Election - June 8, 1976

BACKGROUND: A drive to qualify an initiative concerning nuclear power plants for the June 1976 statewide primary election ballot began in California during late 1974. Sufficient voter signatures were obtained to qualify the Initiative as a ballot proposition in the June 1976 California Primary Election. This effort followed an unsuccessful prior effort to qualify an initiative on the same subject by similar proponents in Spring 1974.

### WHAT DOES THIS INITIATIVE DO?

After one year, the Initiative would prohibit construction of new nuclear power plants and forbid the operation of existing plants at more than 60 percent of their licensed power level--unless the Federal government, by that time, had removed all limits on liability for nuclear accidents, as determined by a California court of competent jurisdiction subject to appeal.

After three years, these same restrictions on nuclear power would be imposed unless the California legislature, by a two-thirds vote, determined that it could reasonably expect that the Initiative's goal regarding safety systems and waste disposal would be met within five years from the date the act was passed.

After five years, unless all of these conditions had been met, the Initiative would require a reduction of electrical output from existing nuclear power plants by an additional 10 percent a year--going from 60 percent to 50, 40, and so on, until all such plants were phased out of generating electricity.

### WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

Proposition 15 Proponents say:

The \$560 million dollar per plant liability limit--under the "Price-Anderson Act"--must be removed to protect the public in the event of possible catastrophic accidents.

Effectiveness of all safety systems has never been demonstrated by "...comprehensively testing in actual operation substantially similar physical systems."

It has never been proven that radioactive wastes can be stored or disposed of in such a way that there is "no reasonable chance...of escape of radioactivity into the environment which will eventually adversely affect the land or the people...whether due to imperfect storage technologies, earthquakes or other acts of God, theft, sabotage, acts of war..."

Proposition 15 Opponents say:

Congress, last year, re-enacted indemnity limits by extending the Price-Anderson Act for 10 more years. Price-Anderson provides "no fault" coverage, in which damage is fully compensated within the \$560-million limit. In addition, a provision was added to the Act, stating that in event of a nuclear accident exceeding the liability limit, Congress would take additional action to protect the public. If Price-Anderson were repealed, damage claims would be handled under standard tort law procedure, similar to malpractice insurance. This would not protect the public as well as Price-Anderson coverage with its 1975 amendments.

Nuclear power plants vary substantially in design. For testing in "actual operation" it would be necessary to construct actual plants of various types and then partially destroy them in testing. Valid tests have been and continue to be made on component parts and systems in every nuclear power plant. Furthermore, in cases where there has actually been a malfunction in a full-sized operating plant, the safety systems have worked perfectly, as designed, to turn off the reactor.

Scientists already have developed several storage methods which are perfectly capable of handling waste safely for many years. First of all, only 1% of the total high-level waste produced in the United States is from commercial nuclear power plants. Therefore, the amount of high-level radioactive waste accumulated from these power plants is small so we can afford to take time to select the best means of storage. No final decision has yet been made by the Federal government on the best location of permanent storage facilities for nuclear waste, but even without a decision on a permanent site, we have and will continue to safely store this waste. Meanwhile, scientists can continue research on future refinements and work out the very best method possible for permanent storage. Perhaps one of the best reasons why the Federal agency is being so deliberate about permanent storage is that research is still discovering new uses for radioactive waste, and we might lose some valuable resources if we buried it permanently right now.

#### WHAT ARE THE IMPACTS OF PASSAGE?

WOULD COST TYPICAL CALIFORNIA FAMILY \$7,500 - The shutdown and abandonment of nuclear energy will cost the typical California family \$7,500 in increased prices of energy, goods and services over the next 20 years. The total cost to all Californians shown in a recent U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration study is a staggering \$40 billion over this 20-year period.

COMPROMISES OUR NATION'S PROJECT INDEPENDENCE PROGRAM BY INCREASING RELIANCE ON FOREIGN OIL - The additional fuel oil which California would be required to import from overseas to replace the generating capacity of shutdown nuclear generating plants would average 38 million barrels each year over the next 10 years. By 1995 this additional fuel oil requirement would climb to 200 million barrels a year.

COULD SEVERELY LIMIT JOB OPPORTUNITIES - Initially, thousands of people who are either employed at operating nuclear power plants or engaged in the design and construction of nuclear power plants would face unemployment. Within a short period of time the secondary effect on the commercial and industrial firms which produce the equipment and materials used in the construction of these nuclear power plants would take its toll. The California Economic Development Commission has estimated that passage of Proposition 15 would add one million people to California's unemployment rolls between 1980 and 1990.

AGGRAVATES ENERGY CRISIS - Natural gas supplies are steadily dwindling. Coal presents air pollution problems in California. Most feasible hydroelectric sites have already been well developed. Expensive oil from foreign countries is a finite resource. Also, since oil is valuable in petro-chemicals, some industry leaders think oil is too valuable to burn. Passage of Proposition 15 would only increase our reliance on foreign oil.

INCREASES POSSIBILITY OF POWER SHORTAGES - If nuclear power plants are phased out and replacement fossil-fired plants cannot be built expeditiously, power shortages could result. This huge loss of production capacity would have to be paid for.

There is no question that Proposition 15 is intended to shut down the nuclear power industry in California.

## CALIFORNIA NUCLEAR STATEMENT

I have stated previously that I am very opposed to Proposition 15, the Nuclear Initiative, which will appear on your June 8 ballot here in California.

I am opposed to Proposition 15 because it would result in great damage to the energy program of our nation. It is bad - bad for the economy. It is inflationary. Its passage would make us more and more reliant on foreign oil.

I also understand that bills are pending in the California legislature that would seek solutions to concerns about nuclear power plants by legislation. People are understandably concerned about reprocessing and long-term management of radioactive waste.

I should emphasize that nuclear radioactive waste is now being stored safely in isolation from the public and the natural environment. Many people may overlook the fact that the federal government has been safely storing wastes from our nuclear weapons program for more than 20 years. Scientists already have developed several storage methods which are perfectly capable of handling waste safely for many years, and we are continuing research on future refinements so that we may select the very best possible method for permanent storage.

Proven technology is also available now to safely reprocess radioactive waste and to ultimately mix the small amount of waste that cannot be used again as fuel with non-radioactive materials to form a solid, glasslike substance which could never leak from a storage facility.

Reprocessing, radioactive waste handling and storage are, and will continue to be, managed safely. However, because of widespread misinformation and lack of knowledge about these matters, I will ask the appropriate federal agencies to make non-technical, clear statements to assure the public that reprocessing techniques are in being and are available now and that radioactive waste management is being and will continue to be safely accomplished.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN



I recently met the Editor of the JERUSALEM POST and he asked about getting a special interview with the President as is described in the attached letter.

I brought him by to see you but you weren't present so I said I would relay the request.



Office: THE JERUSALEM POST BUILDING, Room 908, Jerusalem 91000  
P.O.B. 81 • Tel. 528181, Jerusalem Branch • 6 Rehov Aristobolus • Tel. 223966.

Jerusalem Aviv 61000 • 44 Rehov Yehuda Halevi • P.O.B. 425 • Tel. 624215  
Haifa 31040 • 34 Rehov Herzl • P.O.B. 4810 • Tel. 640794/640795.

PUBLISHED DAILY IN JERUSALEM BY THE PALESTINE POST LTD

Washington Bureau: Room 908, 1341 G Street, N.W.,  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
202-638-2256

May 10, 1976

The Honorable Robert T. Hartmann  
Counselor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hartmann:

On behalf of The Jerusalem Post, I want to thank you for taking the time on April 27 to meet with Wolf Blitzer and myself. Our discussion helped us gain a better perception of the prevailing mood in Washington. Knowing your busy schedule, we were especially appreciative.

I would like to take this opportunity to remind you of The Jerusalem Post's July 4, 1976, Bicentennial Special Supplement, which we raised with you because Mr. Ron Nessen was outside Washington with the President. As you will recall, that supplement will center around U.S.-Israeli relations, and all their various facets. We would like a special interview with President Ford for that issue, which will be distributed by The Post not only in Israel but throughout the world. Mr. Blitzer, our Washington Correspondent, would be happy to meet with the President to conduct the interview, hopefully, sometime around the middle of June.

At this important juncture in U.S.-Israeli relations, it would be very helpful to have the President outline his views to our readers. Any assistance by you will, of course, be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ari Rath". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Ari" being more prominent than the last name "Rath".

Ari Rath

Editor and Managing Director

May 17, 1976

Dear Mr. Rath:

Bob Hartmann has sent to me for reply your request for an opportunity to interview the President some time around the middle of June.

The President's schedule for that period has not been finalized. However, I cannot be very encouraging about arranging an interview for the Jerusalem Post's July 4 Bicentennial special supplement. The President will be quite busy with campaign travel, and a full calendar here at the White House during the middle of June.

I will keep your request under active consideration and should time open up on the President's schedule for an interview with the Jerusalem Post, I will be back in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Ron Nessen  
Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Ari Rath  
Editor and Managing Director  
The Jerusalem Post  
1341 G Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20005

RN/jb

cc: Brent Scowcroft  
Bob Hartmann

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1976

CLOSE HOLD

TO: RONALD H. NESSEN  
FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN   
SUBJECT: Speech Suggestions

1. In order that the President may have the benefit of your thinking and suggestions as to the theme and content of his acceptance speech at the conclusion of the Republican National Convention, I have been asked to gather the written recommendations of certain friends and members of his administration and submit them to him not later than Monday, July 19.
2. This speech will probably command the widest attention of any that he will give for the remainder of the year and its importance is obvious. At this stage, what the President wants is not so much polished words but the basic theme and thrust you believe he should take, the main points to be developed in support of that primary purpose. It can be in outline form, or whatever style suits you best, but please try to boil it down to a couple of pages.
3. Without intending in any way to inhibit your independent observations, I believe the President's general inclination is to maintain the tone of his Bicentennial speeches and to express his personal convictions about this country and his vision of America's future in a way that will both bind up Republican party wounds and appeal to the wider audience of non-Republicans. Direct rebuttal or attack on the candidates and platform of the other party would be left for another occasion; this speech would be positive, affirmative and forward looking.
4. Please treat this as a personal request on a close hold basis, even within your own shop, and return your sealed recommendations for my personal attention to Neta or Gail at my West Wing office, by 9:00 a.m. Monday or earlier if possible.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN  
FROM: RON NESSEN *R. Nessen*  
SUBJECT: SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S  
ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

I would like to offer my suggestions in the form of random thoughts:

1. The President's speech should be short -- 10 to 12 minutes. I felt that Carter's acceptance speech, which ran 42 minutes, ran far too long and, from what I've heard, did not hold the television audience's attention. A short speech, in addition to holding the audience's attention, would give the President an opportunity to rehearse it over and over again to the point where he would deliver it well to the television viewers.
2. The speech should have the same high level tone as the Bicentennial speeches, truly worthy of a President. Obviously, he should not mention Carter or Mondale. He should not use any political attacks, slogans or code words.
3. The speech should harken back to the themes and even the specific words of the speeches the President gave in the East Room and to Congress immediately after he assumed the Presidency. This will enable the President to demonstrate that he has kept all or most of the promises he made then and is now ready to move off into a new era of his Presidency, having cleaned up the mess he inherited.
4. The theme of the speech, it seems to me, should be what the President has done to heal the very battered America which he found when he took office, and what he plans to do in the future as the great American adventure continues. He should connect his own long-held Middle American, Middle Western values with what he believes to be similar views held by the vast majority of American people.

5. One thing the President does well, but not very often, is to speak in a very personal way of his own life. The acceptance speech, I think, should be the perfect opportunity to recall his own birth in the heartland of America, growing up in the depression, working hard to get a good education, his service in the World War II, and his public service to his friends and neighbors back in Grand Rapids as a Member of Congress for 25 years. The President should mention here that he never sought the Presidency, never had an ambition to sit in the White House, but now, having mastered the difficult job and the difficult circumstance he wants to continue his own common sense approach, which he believes reflects and represents the views of the vast majority of Americans in all regions of the country.

He also should mention his own close family life. He should talk about Betty, the boys and Susan (during this, the TV networks would cut away to shots of the family watching from the gallery, and since the family is very popular with the public, this would be an added bonus.)

6. In summary, the television viewer should come away from the acceptance speech feeling the same affection that his friends who have known him through the years feel. The television viewer should turn his set off that night and say to himself, "Gee, that Jerry Ford is really a likeable guy, and he seems to know what he's doing. He's done a damn good job as President under very difficult circumstances and I think he deserves a chance to do even more during a full term of his own."

August 20, 1976

INTERVIEW OF ROBERT HARTMANN  
WITH THE  
AIR FORCE ONE POOL

Q Is he doing this under duress? Because of the openness, forthrightness and candor of the Ford White House?

Q Did he do anything different, working on this speech, than he has done before because many people know it is easier for the President to deliver --

MR. HARTMANN: The President started working on his speech right after the Fourth of July, the day after, Monday, the 5th of July. We got back to the White House. He called me in and said when are we going to work on this. The first thing we did, we got from the old official documents acceptance speeches of all the Presidents back to Harry Truman, all the Presidents and all the candidates of both parties.

I then sent out a memo to all of the Cabinet except those who were specifically nonpolitical like Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Kissinger and the Attorney General, and asked for their views, suggestions, opinions, whatever, and also the members of the senior staff of the White House and those who in the past have shown an excessive inclination towards speechwriting. We asked them to send in more or less of an outline, and ideas rather than something like a draft and try to keep it short.

Then there were some other people in addition, such as PFC people and some of his friends like Bryce Harlow, members of the transition team, Mel Laird and so on.

Q Who from the PFC?

MR. HARTMANN: I think Rog and Spencer, Elly Peterson, I think that is all. Bill Timmons. And then there were the Republican leaders in the House and Senate. In addition, of course, from time to time when he was talking to people, said if you have any ideas send them in to Bob Hartmann. We got some volunteers that way.



All of these things were given to him and he read them all and marked the ideas he liked with a red pencil, under the things he liked.

Q He read all these memos, Bob, that you presented to him?

MR. HARTMANN: He read them, too.

Q I mean --

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, he read them all.

Then we had the -- we brought our speechwriting department -- I skipped a step. About three weeks ago, I guess it was, the President sat down with me alone and he had a little piece of yellow paper on which he made some notes and he outlined a general outline, the way he wanted it, the order in which he wanted the speech to go. Obviously, although he didn't have much on the little sheet of paper, he had been doing a lot of thinking about it and he rattled off, like, you know, 1-ABC; 2-ABC, 3-ABC. I took that outline and had a meeting of our speechwriters and relayed it to them and they, of course, also had been reading up on all this other stuff and everybody was to come back with a draft.

Q How many, Bob?

MR. HARTMANN: Five or six or seven.

Q Their own drafts?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, their own draft. I took those drafts in to the President, along with my own. Naturally mine was the winning one. (Laughter)

Q I wonder why.

Q You put your name on the winner?

Q You had the names on those?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I was kidding about that. Mine was the basic draft because I had had the benefit of working with him personally and it was naturally closer to what he wanted.



Q Are you serious he picked yours? It was a matter of picking one, and he picked yours?

MR. HARTMANN: It was pretty close. I obviously had ten years on anybody else.

Q Bob, did your draft have the line in there challenging Carter to a debate?

MR. HARTMANN: I will get to that in a minute.

He then took the other drafts. He took all the drafts and marked the part that he liked the best and he wrote some stuff in on his own and then I went back and put all of this together.

Q You incorporated what he liked best into yours, right?

MR. HARTMANN: I incorporated what he liked best from all of them and his own stuff, of course. Then this went back to him about two weeks ago. Then we began working on it every day for several hours and --

Q Both of you?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q When would this start?

MR. HARTMANN: Maybe it would be an hour in the morning --

Q When, though?

Q Two weeks ago, he said.

Q Two weeks ago, I am sorry.

MR. HARTMANN: About two weeks ago.

Q Did you work on it every day?

MR. HARTMANN: In some form. He kept this very close. He didn't farm it out to everybody on the staff like he usually does. There wasn't a great deal of factual data that needed to be checked out. We checked that out without actually giving the whole text to the research people. We just asked them to check the facts. So, the draft, itself, was very closely held and was reviewed; aside from the President, only by Jack Marsh and Cheney early on in the process and again toward the very end of the process. The rest of it was, aside from those people he may have shown it to himself, it was not farmed out to everybody on the staff like he usually does.

There were only two copies of this draft at any time. One was mine and one was his. He never let it out of his hands, neither did I. All of the changes were put in by the same two gals.

Q Why the security? Who were you afraid to see it?

MR. HARTMANN: It wasn't so much that as everybody wants to change it.

Q It was more for your own staff, then. It was not fear of the Carter people?

MR. HARTMANN: Oh, yes. It was a matter of the President wanting to make this the way he wanted it, not everybody telling him the way he ought to do it.

Q Did Gergen ever see it?

MR. HARTMANN: Not with my knowledge and consent, but I can't answer that categorically.

Q Since it went across so well, apparently, does that mean you are going to have to be doing more of them from now on?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know how I could do any more than I have already.

Q Continue the chronology. We are getting down to D-Day now, and the two of you have been working on the last drafts, right?

MR. HARTMANN: About a week ago, then he started working on delivery of it, first just aloud and then later with video tape and watching it played back to himself.

Q When did he start --

MR. HARTMANN: About a week ago. Let me see, the speech was given on Thursday, I guess about the previous Wednesday.

Q Anyone help him on that?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes. He had both myself and Bob Ordman and Don Penny.

Q Where would he practice, in the Oval Office?

MR. HARTMANN: Sometimes it was in the Cabinet Room, sometimes it was set up in -- it was usually set up in the Cabinet Room.

Q Did you say he practiced every day on this?

MR. HARTMANN: At least once.

Q He stood up?

MR. HARTMANN: He stood up at a little podium and it was recorded and he watched it played back and he did it again sometimes.

Q Why did he think it was that important?

MR. HARTMANN: It was.

Q He did the delivery and the speech itself, when did he put the debate in?

Q It was not in the draft, itself. We received it with the advance text.

MR. HARTMANN: No, this was a decision he came to a couple of hours before he went out.

Q He made the decision only a couple of hours before he went out?

Q He had been considering it for a long time, though, hadn't he? That is what Nessen told us, that he had been considering it.

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, I am sure he had because a couple of years ago, you may remember, I inadvertently said at that Sperling breakfast that he might possibly debate his opponents.

Q Two hours before he made the speech he decided to go for the debate?

MR. HARTMANN: I knew it was being considered and one other person knew it was being considered. As of yesterday and the time after he got through with the Vice Presidential business, we actually worked on exactly how he was going to say it, if he said it. He hadn't made up his mind for sure he was going to say it.

Q What were the considerations? Will you give us any idea of his motives for deciding to include that?

MR. HARTMANN: I think the only question is whether that part of the acceptance speech would be ready on time.

Q When did he decide to include it as part of the acceptance speech? Can you give us any sense of that?

MR. HARTMANN: I think you have to ask him.

Q When did he actually make the decision, then?

MR. HARTMANN: I left the hotel last night and I didn't know whether he was going to say it or not.



Q What time did you leave the hotel?

Q Did he continue to practice with the video tape and everything in Kansas City?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, he did in Kansas City, but about two days ago, before he gave it, was about the last one he recorded.

Q So, what time did you leave for the Convention?

MR. HARTMANN: About 6:00.

Q So, you didn't know then?

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't know for sure whether he was going to say it or not say it, neither did anyone else.

Q When did he actually make the decision?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, just before he left the hotel he had my secretary type up the words on the speech typewriter. So, I suppose it was sometime in there.

Q When did he first tell Carter he was going to announce he was going to debate him, can you tell us that?

MR. HARTMANN: He didn't tell anybody.

MORE



Q We are not going to have a chance probably to ask the President this question. You couldn't give us any help at all on why he decided? Why did this seem like an opportune time?

MR. HARTMANN: He said we are going to come out fighting and this seemed a concrete example of it. That is my interpretation of what he said.

Q It was that philosophy that triggered him putting it in his acceptance speech rather than announcing it this weekend?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q You had no idea Carter was coming out this morning with the same challenge?

MR. HARTMANN: I had heard that from Sam Shaffer at the arena last night.

Q When you say videotape, you mean an actual film was taken on him making his speech and he would look at the film, is that how it goes?

MR. HARTMANN: You know these little home sets where you film the children and show them on television?

Q Was it a little thing?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, it wasn't a great big set-up. A camera sitting on a tripod. It wasn't very professional, but it did give him a chance to --

Q Bob, the remarks about you not having to do more is there won't be so many committee speeches anymore?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. I don't know about the picture. We did eight in five days on the Bicentennial.

Q But they weren't all yours like this one. They didn't have so much the Hartmann mark on them as this one?

MR. HARTMANN: It was the same process.

Q Do you think this is the best speech you ever wrote?

MR. HARTMANN: I didn't write it, the President wrote it.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

\* \* \* \* \*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN



1. In order to coordinate fully the work of the Speech, Research and Presidential Messages and Correspondence sections, I have designated Mr. Douglas J. Smith as my Deputy with authority to act on my behalf in all matters except those personally assigned me by the President. To the extent this enables me to concentrate on the President's priority needs the cooperation of all members of the staff with Doug will be deeply appreciated.
2. A current organization chart is attached.



