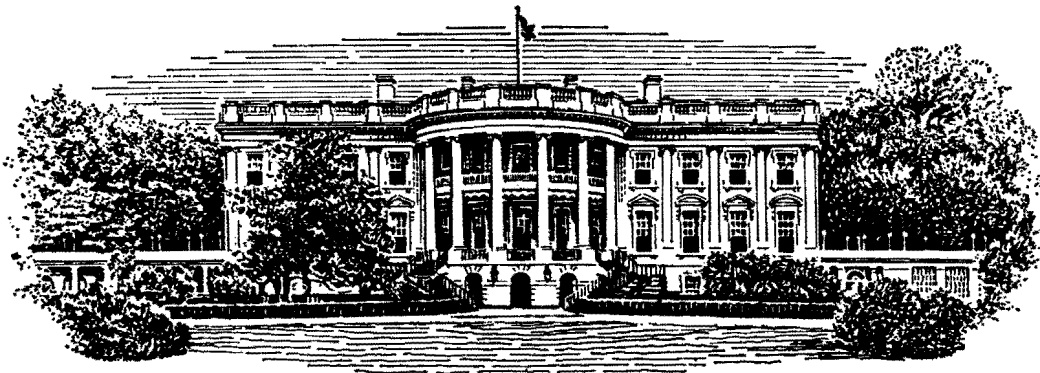


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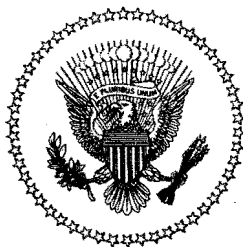
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, January 5, 1976



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[CONTAINS QUARTERLY INDEX]

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, January 2, 1976

Drug Abuse

Statement by the President Announcing a Program To Combat Drug Abuse. December 26, 1975

Drug abuse is a tragic national problem which saps our Nation's vitality. It is also a major contributor to our growing crime rate. All of us must redouble our efforts to combat this problem.

Earlier this week I met with Representative Charles B. Rangel and other members of the Congress to discuss the problem of drug abuse. The Congressmen reported the growing availability and use of illicit drugs and expressed their concern about the continuing flow of drugs across the Southwest border from Mexico and their continuing concern about a possible resurgence of heroin traffic from Turkey.

Aware of the worsening situation, last spring I directed a high-priority review of the entire Federal effort in drug law enforcement, treatment and prevention, and international control. The resulting White Paper on Drug Abuse contained a frank assessment of where we are in these efforts, as well as a number of comprehensive recommendations to improve our response to this critical problem. I endorse the white paper, and the budget I will submit in January will request sufficient funds to implement all of its major recommendations.

This Administration already has begun to take strong action to deal with the mounting threat, however. I have spoken with Presidents Echeverria of Mexico and Lopez-Michelsen of Colombia and with Prime Minister Demeril of Turkey in an effort to strengthen cooperation of other nations involved in the fight against illicit drug traffic. Because of my particular concern about the problem of Mexican heroin, I am directing Secretary of State Kissinger to express to the Mexican Government my personal concern that we explore opportunities for improved control. I have also directed the Domestic Council Drug Abuse Task Force to present me with specific recommendations for improving our ability to control drug trafficking along the Southwest border.

I call upon the Congress to enact my proposal for mandatory minimum sentences for drug traffickers, so those who are spreading this evil throughout our communities will be put behind bars where they belong. And I urge the Congress to ratify the Convention of Psychotropic Substances, so we can fulfill our obligations to the other nations of the world to see that strong international controls exist for all drugs. In the weeks ahead I will send to the Congress a comprehensive message on drug abuse establishing a framework for a broad government response to the problem.

NOTE: The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

Deputy Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of John G. Carlson. December 26, 1975

The President today announced the appointment of John G. Carlson, of Annandale, Va., as Deputy Press Secretary to the President. He succeeds William Greener, who became Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

Since April 1972, Mr. Carlson has been on the White House Staff and became Assistant Press Secretary for Domestic Affairs in 1974. Prior to joining the staff, he was assistant to the chairman of the board of Hamilton International Corp., a Michigan based financial holding company. From 1966 to 1968, he worked for Scott Paper Co., in Everett, Wash., in personnel and public relations and industrial relations.

Mr. Carlson was born in Tacoma, Wash., on October 23, 1940. He attended Washington State University and received his B.A. degree in 1963. He received his M.B.A. in 1966 from the University of Washington. He served as an infantry officer in the United States Army from 1963 to 1965. Mr. Carlson is married to the former Jan Nelson, and they have two daughters.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Vail, Colo.

United States Ambassador to Mozambique

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Willard A. De Pree. December 29, 1975

The President today announced his intention to nominate Willard A. De Pree, of Zeeland, Mich., to be Ambassador to the People's Republic of Mozambique. He is the first United States Ambassador to Mozambique.

Since 1972, Mr. De Pree has been a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. During 1971-72, he was Deputy Coordinator of the Senior Seminar at the Foreign Service Institute, after having attended the Institute in 1970-71. He became Deputy Chief of Mission in 1968 in Freetown and was there until 1970. From 1964 to 1968, he was a Political Officer in Accra. While at the Department from 1961 to 1964, he was an Intelligence Research Specialist.

Mr. De Pree was assigned to the African area training at Northwestern University in 1960. During 1958-60, he was an Economic Officer in Nicosia after having been a Consular Officer in Cairo in 1957-58.

Born November 1, 1928, in Zeeland, Mich., Mr. De Pree received his B.A. degree in 1950 from Harvard College. He attended the College of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales, during 1950-51. He received his M.A. in 1952 from the University of Michigan. In 1951-53 he was a teaching fellow at the University of Michigan. He served in the United States Army from 1954 to 1956.

Mr. De Pree is married to the former Elizabeth Pierrau, and they have six children.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Vail, Colo.

Bombing Incident at LaGuardia Airport in New York City

Statement by the President. December 29, 1975

I am deeply grieved by the loss of life and injuries which occurred tonight at LaGuardia Airport in New York. It appears this senseless act involved the use of a bomb.

I have instructed Secretary of Transportation William Coleman and the FAA to investigate immediately and to give me a complete report on the tragedy as soon as possible. The Justice Department and the FBI have been directed to provide whatever assistance they can to the FAA and local law enforcement agencies.

NOTE: The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

Conversation With the President

*The President's Question-and-Answer Session
With 23 Reporters. December 31, 1975*

THE PRESIDENT. Let me just start out by saying that we will primarily talk about 1975, but I think you have to add to that and put it in proper context the few months that I was President in 1974.

Let me talk about personnel for just a moment. I think we have put together a very good team, both in the White House and in the Administration. And probably one of the best examples of the quality is the nomination of John Paul Stevens to the Supreme Court. I can't positively say that his nomination and confirmation was a record, but it is pretty close to it. We did a good job in checking all of the potentials and the net result was in a very, very short period of time we ended up with a man who was confirmed 98 to nothing. That is a pretty good batting average by any criteria. I am certain he will do a superb job as a member of the Court.

But if you look at the Cabinet, I think they are quality people. If you look at the individuals we have selected for the various regulatory agencies, I think they are top people and who will follow a constructive line in trying to update some of the procedures and concepts in the various agencies. I think all of the regulatory agencies have been strengthened, not in aiming toward more regulation, but in taking the line that I think is important, of deregulating where there has been over-regulation.

If you look at the problems that we had when I became President—inflation, the disastrous unemployment that developed—I think we have made significant progress in both areas. Inflation is about half of what it was a year ago; unemployment soared. On the other hand, the trend is in the right direction and I am convinced, beyond any doubt, that unemployment will continue its downward path. It is still too high, but I think the trend is right and the prospects are encouraging.

In foreign policy, we had, of course, a setback in Southeast Asia. But if you take a look at what has been accomplished elsewhere, whether it is in NATO, where we have convinced our allies that the American people are going to stand strong in that area, they absolutely believe that the United States is going to be a firm partner. And I think the personal relationship with leaders in Western Europe is as good, if not better, than any time in the last 20 or 30 years.

If you look to the Pacific, despite the problems in Vietnam, our relationship with Japan is the best in the history of this country. We have kept faith with other countries in the whole Pacific area and they believe that the United States will stand in the future firmly for the freedom that they have and the opportunities for a better life for all of their people.

Let me just summarize, if I can, my New Year's resolutions so you won't have to ask the question. [Laughter]

I am going to make as a New Year's resolution a dedication to the strengthening of spiritual and moral values among 215 million people. And I noticed yesterday we passed 215 million people, according to the Bureau of the Census.

I am going to resolve that we do everything possible to improve the economic circumstances, not only of ourselves, that being my prime concern, but the economic well-being of people throughout the world, because I think that contributes to stability, not only at home, but worldwide.

And I, of course, will resolve that we have peace with ourselves in this country, but peace with the world as a whole.

So why don't you ask questions.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

QUESTIONS

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Q. Mr. President, why do you think that you are going to be able to defeat Ronald Reagan in his bid for the Presidency? And what do you see as the key differences in actual approach? I know he doesn't have Federal experience, but over and beyond that, where are your differences on the main issues?

THE PRESIDENT. As I have said before, Helen, I have never, as a candidate, attacked an opponent. And I don't intend to. I do feel that my thoughts, my programs for the future of this country, would justify nomination as well as election.

I think we have a good economic program and the results I have cited initially. I believe we have a good foreign policy. It is my judgment that I can give the right moral and spiritual leadership to this country. With those concrete things to talk about, I think I can say that experience will help to achieve those results.

It is my opinion that the 25 years in the Congress, roughly a year as Vice President, 2 years as President, gives to me in this office an opportunity to execute and implement those constructive programs that we have started that are producing results. I would rather talk on the affirmative side and convince the American people that that is what they want for a President in the future. Now what other people say out as they campaign around the country—it is very easy on occasion, as I am sure all of you know, to say you can have a quick fix here, and a new program there, and that is why an individual ought to be President. But we have a record. I think it is an improving record. It will be perceived in the months ahead as a constructive record. And I am going to run on it, and I am going to win on it.

Q. But in terms of Reagan's policies, do you see any major difference?

THE PRESIDENT. I think he will have to develop those. I am going to talk about my policies.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Q. Mr. President, if, as you say, things look as good right now both economically and in terms of foreign policy, why is it that the polls don't look better for you?

THE PRESIDENT. That's a good question. We have made some very tough decisions in the last 12 or 15 months. They haven't been necessarily popular. I think they have been right. I have had to veto some bills that had good labels, some had substance, but they were too expensive at the time. We had the tough decision to make, as an example, New York City. It was popular in some areas, not very popular in metropolitan New York City.

But when you make hard decisions, you inevitably antagonize individuals. They don't perceive at that time the beneficial results that will accrue from a right decision. But as you move along and the correctness of those judgments becomes more evident, I think you will see a change in public sentiment. And the real test comes not in late December of 1975 but in the months ahead.

CRITICISM OF PRESIDENTIAL DECISIONS ON SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Q. Mr. President, some of your critics say that you have not been sufficiently humanitarian in your approach to the Presidency, to the poor, the needy, the oppressed, and so on. What is your response to that particular talk?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best way to describe that, Bud [Godfrey M. Sperling, Jr., Christian Science Monitor] is to take an analogy. I have been criticized for vetoing 40-some bills, some of them, as I indicated earlier, had excellent titles and some had good substance, but were too expensive.

Let me use this analogy. If the various mayors of New York City over the last 10 years had managed that city better, had not been as generous in the handling of some of the fiscal problems, wage settlements, pension programs, the city would be a lot better off today. But if those various mayors had vetoed this and been firmer in other areas, those mayors would have been accused of being lacking in compassion. But the city of New York would have been a lot better off in 1975.

I think the decisions that I have made have been hard, that on the surface appear at this time to be lacking in compassion, those decisions, in the long run, are going to be recognized as right. So it is a question of understanding at the moment that you have to take the long view, not the short view, in order to really indicate your compassion. And that is what I have tried to do.

Q. Are you really saying, Mr. President, that it is very difficult for a man who is at least largely viewed as a conservative to be also perceived to be humanitarian?

THE PRESIDENT. In the short run. In the long haul, I think those decisions will be perceived as compassionate. But the impression that comes out immediately could very easily, and in many cases, can be described as lacking in compassion. But I will guarantee you a lot of people in New York City wish there had been stronger leadership in that city because they wouldn't be in the problem they found themselves in 1975 if there had been that kind of leadership.

ANGOLA AND DÉTENTE

Q. Mr. President, in 1972, we and the Russians signed a pledge in Moscow—

THE PRESIDENT. What year was that?

Q. In 1972, we signed a pledge with the Russians, both sides agreeing not to raise tensions anywhere in the world—détente. The Russians say that détente does not mean that the status quo around the world stays the same. We know it isn't the same in Angola. Aren't they breaking the rules on détente there, and how do we stand?

THE PRESIDENT. Both Secretary Kissinger and I have spoken out very strongly against the Soviet activity in Angola, and I reaffirm it today. I think what is being done in Angola by the Soviet Union in conjunction with the Cubans, is not constructive from the point of view of détente.

We couldn't be any firmer publicly than we have been in that regard. But, I think we have an obligation to continue to work within the framework of détente because there are some other benefits that have accrued. I think SALT I was a step forward, and if SALT Two can be negotiated on a mutual basis, it will be constructive within the framework of détente. But, I reaffirm, Angola is an example of where I think détente has not worked the way it should work, and we strongly object to it.

Q. Is it possible, sir, that détente may simply end up being agreements on nuclear weapons and nothing else?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope not. I think it ought to have a far broader implication. I think détente can be helpful, just as an example, in the long run solution in the Middle East. And there are some good signs that it is helping to moderate certain influences in the Middle East.

U.S. POLICY IN AFRICA

Q. Mr. President, your predecessor sat in this office, and in May of 1970 warned against the United States of America becoming a pitiful, helpless giant. In a sense, our speaking out on Angola is about all we can do. The United States, seemingly operating within the framework of détente, seems to be powerless to do anything else other than speak out in offering statements by the President and by the Secretary of State. Have we, therefore, in

effect, reached a kind of a status in the world where we are a pitiful, helpless giant in the continent of Africa?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we are a pitiful, helpless giant in Africa. We have a great many countries that look to us and work with us and, I think, are sympathetic to what we are trying to do in conjunction with them. There are some African states that obviously don't look toward us, but look toward the Soviet Union.

I think we would have been in a stronger position to find a compromise in Angola if the Senate had not taken the action that it took. Nevertheless, despite that setback, we are maximizing the utilization of funds that are available, small as they are. And we are moving as strongly as possible in the area of diplomatic initiatives with the OAU [Organization of African Unity], on a bilateral basis with African states, with other countries throughout the world that have an interest in Africa.

I certainly think, despite the handicap of the Senate action, we are going to do everything we possibly can. And we certainly are not a pitiful giant in this process.

GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

Q. Mr. President, can I follow that one up?

THE PRESIDENT. Surely.

Q. You said you would do everything we possibly can. Would this include the use of—rethinking of the sales of grain as a political weapon or as a diplomatic tool?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the grain sale with the Soviet Union, the 5-year agreement, is a very constructive part of the policy of détente. It certainly is constructive from the point of view of American agriculture. We have a guarantee of six million tons a year with a top limit of some eight million tons. It, I think, over the long haul, will be looked upon as a very successful negotiation. I see no reason at this time, certainly under the circumstances existing today, for any revision of that negotiated agreement.

RELATIONS WITH CUBA

Q. Mr. President, why is it necessary for you to rule out any improvement in our relations with Cuba when what they are doing in Angola is essentially no different than what the Soviet Union is doing, or South Africa is doing. But especially what evil have the Cubans done?

THE PRESIDENT. It is pretty hard for me to see what legitimate interest Cuba has in sending some 6,000 well-equipped, well-trained military personnel to Angola. I just don't see what their interest is. And it certainly doesn't help our relations with Cuba when they know that we think it is in the best interests of the three parties in that country to settle their differences themselves.

Q. You say it is not standing in the way of détente with the Soviet Union, it has not broken off our relations with South Africa and what they are doing there. Why is Cuba singled out for apparently a more strict treatment?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is very simple. We have had a period of what, 13 years of very few, if any, contacts with the Government of Cuba and many, many differences, and there were some prospects—I say were some prospects—for gradual improvement. But when we are trying to resolve differences in Angola, they are seeking to expand the conflict there with active military personnel. It just is such a different view from our own. I don't see how, under those circumstances, we can feel that we can work with them in the future in this hemisphere or elsewhere.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Q. Mr. President, it is quite likely that your proposals to Congress for changes in the CIA will differ quite a bit with what some Members of Congress are proposing. Could you give us a glimpse of what you are thinking about now for any reconstituting of the CIA? How early in the Congressional session will you be sending those to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not personally seen any of the specific recommendations that might be coming from either the Church Committee or the Pike Committee. I have a sizable book on the back of my desk, there, of recommendations, not only from the Rockefeller Commission but from the Murphy Commission, from the various departments in the Government.

Within the next week, I will make my decisions based on these recommendations. And, early in the session, I will submit a comprehensive program to strengthen the intelligence community in our Government, at the same time insisting that the individual rights of citizens within this country will be adequately protected.

ECONOMIC POLICY FOR REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Mr. President, you were talking about your success in dealing with the economy. The unemployment rate has come down slowly, but sticking to about 8½ percent. At the same time, you were talking in terms of your budget for next year, of one that puts a lid on additional domestic spending. How does putting a lid on that, how much does that threaten the improvement you see in unemployment. And is there some point, say if unemployment were still around 7¾ percent in June, would you then feel that we would need more stimulus and more spending of one sort or another?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the 395 spending figure for the budget of 1977 is a constructive effort in continuing the improvement in our economy, not an undercutting of the progress that we are making. I say that because incorporated with the 395 ceiling is a \$28 billion tax reduction, \$10 billion more than Congress passed, if you annualize the tax reduction for the next 6 months in 1976.

So, the 395 will give confidence, in my judgment, to the American people that we are getting a handle on the

growth in Federal spending and, if you incorporate it with the tax reduction proposal, I think the stimulant to the economy will be very significant and healthy. And I don't foresee with this combination—if we can sell the Congress on it—of any need in 1976 for significant increases in any spending area.

Q. Well, is there a point, though, with these forecasts from time to time being wrong—is there a point of progress in unemployment which would be so low that you wouldn't find it tolerable in terms of the progress in the economy and hardship that you talked about when you started?

THE PRESIDENT. That is speculation that I don't think is justified. Our plans are—and we think we have good advice and good statistics—that unemployment will continue downward, as it has, from the high of 9.3 several months ago. On the other hand, if any contingency arises, of course we will meet it. But the program based on the best advice, a program based on the best statistics, doesn't anticipate the kind of circumstances that you have indicated.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Q. Mr. President, could you summarize for us what you believe are the chief obstacles you face in winning the Republican nomination and being elected for a full term in office?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't foresee any serious obstacles. It will be a good struggle, but I think as the public perception of what we have done both at home and abroad comes across, and I think it will, then I think the nomination will be successful.

REACTION TO NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE

Q. If I could just follow up, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Surely.

Q. I am sure you are aware that in the press and other mass media news there is some perception of you as not quite capable of filling this office. And I wonder, sir, what your reaction to this is personally? Some of your aides say it really doesn't bother you at all.

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, I don't think that description is accurate. I think my record in public office disputes it very forthrightly. Some of the things you read or hear or see, you know, it kind of hurts your pride a little bit because you know it isn't true. But I have long felt that if you keep a high degree of composure and don't get rattled and have total confidence in yourself, that things work out pretty well.

I might add this: I was looking at some cartoons over the past year—years, I should say—of American political life, and the ones today are not any sharper than the ones in the past. Presidents have survived that kind of criticism. Those that did had good programs and were right. And I think you have to have a sense of humor about this. You

have to be a little thick-skinned, and I think that comes from some experience.

The main point that I would like to emphasize—and I said it at the outset—is that I don't think they are accurate. I have complete and total confidence in my own capabilities, and the record, I think, proves it.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Q. Mr. President, if you should run into early primary trouble and have some setbacks in New Hampshire and Florida, do you believe it would be good for the Republican Party, for other candidates, men who have been mentioned such as Mr. Richardson, Vice President Rockefeller, some of the others who are mentioned as possible Presidential material, then get in and challenge Ronald Reagan? Or do you believe it should be a two-man race straight to the convention in trying to reach a nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to judge what others might do. I can only say what my intentions are and I reiterate them today. I have said them consistently, that I intend to be in the ball game right down to the convention, I intend to win. I like a good struggle, a good fight, if that is necessary. And any speculation about me quitting in mid-stream is just inaccurate. And as I said yesterday, anyone who forecasts that I am going to quit in midstream doesn't know Jerry Ford.

Q. Mr. President, what is your prediction about New Hampshire and Florida? I think Mr. Callaway has predicted you will not just do well but will likely win those primaries.

THE PRESIDENT. I think we will do reasonably well and I intend to carry on the record that we have in order to convince a majority of the people in New Hampshire that my nomination is a good choice for the Republican Party and for the country.

Q. Well, are you not flatly predicting that you will win those primaries?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to get into a speculative situation there. I am confident that the policies are good. I know we have good people that are executing them. And I believe that the majority of the people in New Hampshire will agree with that. But to speculate beyond that I don't think is beneficial.

Q. Mr. President, this will be the first time that any Chief Executive has taken—first time in modern times—has taken the Presidency into the party primaries. I wonder if you have been able to sort of see in your own mind how this can be done in a way that will protect the dignity of the Presidency, protect the advantage that you gained from the office, and so forth? Do you have any thinking on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that, Charlie [Charles L. Bartlett, Chicago Daily News], is easily answered. Continuing to work in this office and to work on the prob-

lems, to be President, is the best way to ensure that any campaign in any one of the 30 States is conducted in the proper way. And that is the way I expect to do it.

Q. Does that rule out the hand-to-hand kind of thing the "sheriff" campaigning would do?

THE PRESIDENT. We expect to make some appearances, obviously, in various States where there are primaries. But the main responsibility I have and the best way to preserve the dignity of the office and the best way, in my opinion, to convince the people that I ought to be the nominee and the President is to work at the job here.

Q. Why was so much time spent this past year, 1975, on the road in campaigning when in effect you are reversing procedures? In 1975, the year before the election, you were on the road a great deal and traveling, and in 1976, when the campaign begins, you are in the Oval Office?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the circumstances are quite different. In 1974 the Republican Party nationally took a very bad beating. We lost a number of House seats, a number of Senate seats, a number of governorships. The preservation of the two-party system in this country is of maximum importance and the Republican Party in many States, organizationally speaking and financially, was in terrible circumstances. I think a President has an obligation to his party and he certainly has an obligation to the preservation of a two-party system.

And my efforts in 1974-1975, the kind of traveling you are talking about, was aimed at rebuilding the party, maintaining a two-party system. I think that job has been principally accomplished. The party across the Nation is in much better shape, organizationally speaking, financially speaking.

Now we come to 1976 and it becomes more personal because of the primaries for the President. I am going to do the job here. I think that is the best way to convince the people. We will make some appearances obviously, but it won't be on the magnitude that I did in 1974 and 1975.

Q. Mr. President, did you sit down at some point in recent months with your associates and work out any kind of game plan for, first, winning the nomination, or is it sort of a week-to-week improvisation as it sometimes appears?

THE PRESIDENT. Obviously we are in close consultation with Bo Callaway and the people that are associated with Bo on the purely political side.

On the other hand, we have advisers within and without the White House who are laying out policies and programs that are aimed not at the political side but at the nonpolitical side that will be helpful in getting the nomination and in being elected President. So it is a combination, and it has been working over the months. And I think it will produce results.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Callaway says that he has no point of contact here at the White House other than your-

self. Are you thinking of putting in some political operative here at the White House to handle some of this liaison?

THE PRESIDENT. I think he has had good contact with several of the top people on my staff. He does have access to me. I have met with him in the last 6 weeks about once a week. I get periodic reports, as a matter of fact weekly reports, from him. It is possible that we would have somebody of stature, well-recognized, who might be a contact for him as the year 1976 progresses.

RONALD REAGAN

Q. Mr. President, you, I think yesterday, indicated that Ronald Reagan might be a Vice Presidential candidate. I am wondering if that was in any way an offer to him. Would you be willing to accept him as your running mate. And do you have any indication that he would be willing to accept the Vice Presidential nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I phrased it this way: I said it was premature to make any judgment as to any Vice Presidential candidate. Then a follow-up question came, I believe from Lou or David¹—I can't recall precisely how the question was asked—but I said it was not inconceivable that Ronald Reagan could be a Vice Presidential running mate. It was a straightforward answer to a very direct question.

Q. Well, let me ask it more directly then. [Laughter] He has said, as I recall, that he did not want and would not accept the Vice Presidential nomination. Do you have any reason to think that he might be willing to change his mind?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no reason to go beyond his own words.

MRS. FORD

Q. Mr. President, what do you think of your wife's candid remarks in terms of your election? And do you think that she has helped or hurt you? Are you going to muzzle her or tell her to keep on talking? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. I think she has been doing very well, Helen.

Q. She has been doing well for you?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so. I think she has done an extremely good job as First Lady and her popularity, of course, is reflected in the polls. And the selection of her by Time magazine as one of the 10 [12] outstanding women in 1975—I am very proud of it. And I think she will be helpful. I think she has been over the years as well as in 1975.

¹Lou Cannon and David S. Broder of the Washington Post interviewed the President on board Air Force One on the return flight from Vail, Colo., on December 30. An account of the interview appears in the Washington Post of December 31, 1975.

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

Q. Mr. President, assuming that you get your party's nomination, which Democrat would you rather run against and which one do you think you will run against?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer the last one first. I have said for a good many months I thought the Democrats would end up nominating Hubert Humphrey. And that prediction of better than a year ago looks better and better in December of 1975. I don't really have any choice as to the Democratic nominee. That is a little out of my prerogative so I will let them make that decision.

Q. I know it is out of your prerogative or choosing, but, if you could, who would you prefer to run against? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. I really haven't given it any thought—[laughter]—because I guess when you come right down to it, regardless of the nominee, I think I can win.

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

Q. Mr. President, you have said on several occasions and you said again this morning that the preservation of the two-party system is so important and that you have advised men like Senator Mathias and by indirection Governor Wallace to work for their goals through their party conventions, rather than setting up a third or fourth party candidacy. What can your party as well as the other party do to get back some of these voters who have been discontent, or have been dissatisfied with the system, and have gone the independent route?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I think they have to look at the record of nations where they have had multiple parties and those countries that have had that experience or have it now, don't have a political stability such as we have in America. I think they ought to learn that a two-party system is the best. It has worked well for us and the multiple party system has worked badly for most other countries.

Number two, I think we have to convince these people who have disassociated themselves with both Democratic and Republican parties that they can achieve far more success working within the two parties. I have always found that it is better to be playing the game rather than sitting on the sidelines and I think that is what these people—well-intentioned, dedicated individuals—have to realize. They can do more constructively for their country if they are working within the framework of the two-party system.

And there is enough breadth in the political philosophy of both major parties, I think, to permit most Americans to be a participant, either as a Democrat or a Republican. And I know they can get more done and contribute more significantly.

CABINET MEMBERS' RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned at the beginning your team—how proud you are of it. What if, during this year, some members of your Administration become an issue

themselves and make it more difficult for you to get things through Congress? How would you then assess their value to your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Bonnie [Bonnie Angelo, Time magazine], I don't anticipate that. I think all of the Cabinet members have done an excellent job in their relations with the Congress, considering particularly the fact that the Congress was controlled by a better than two-to-one margin by the opposition party. It is a thought that never entered my mind.

Q. But you don't see Secretary Kissinger's problems on the Hill as being substantive?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't. I think his formulation of foreign policy as Secretary of State, his execution on my behalf of foreign policy has been good. And I do believe that the Congress, as we move in 1976, will appreciate the constructive efforts. And I don't foresee any problem in that regard or any of the other Cabinet people.

PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR 1976

Q. Mr. President, you have repeatedly asked us to look at your record and asked the voter to look at your record. I think on the Hill you generally earned a reputation as a man who thought that the less government there was perhaps the better it was. You have a State of the Union coming up in 2 or 3 weeks. Can we expect any new programs in that State of the Union or do you believe we are at a time in history where a Presidential candidate can run on this theme that the less government, the better government; we are not going to offer new programs, we are going to offer less programs?

THE PRESIDENT. Aldo [Aldo B. Beckman, Chicago Tribune], I think it depends on how you define new programs. If you think I am going to send up a laundry list of liberal, expensive programs that will cost the taxpayers more and expand the Federal Government, the answer is categorically no. On the other hand, if you define a new program as a restructuring of an area within the government, the consolidation, for example, of services rendered by the Federal Government in a more efficient, more effective way, the probability is yes.

And let me give you an illustration. In 1974, on the recommendation of the then Administration, the Congress passed the Community Development Act of 1974 which took, as I recollect, seven categorical grant programs to communities throughout the United States. And those seven programs were combined in one block grant program for municipalities all over the country. That was a new program in concept and it has worked well. It has gotten greater participation among citizens in these communities, it has given more flexibility to the cities to meet their problems, and I think it, on a cost plus basis, has been a good investment, far better than the other program.

I think that is a new program and there is a distinct possibility that in the State of the Union we will recom-

mend certain consolidations in areas where there have been so many categorical programs, so much overlap, so much inefficiency, so much unhappiness by mayors and Governors with the problems that they have with this multiplicity of programs.

If we can consolidate in three or four areas—and I think we can—I think the taxpayer will get a better return and the beneficiaries will get better service.

MR. NESSEN. Mr. President, you have another meeting scheduled fairly soon.

THE PRESIDENT. Can I be the good guy? [Laughter]

MR. NESSEN. And let it go on longer? You always do that.

Q. Mr. President, can I follow that up with one question? Several weeks ago at one of Budge's breakfasts, Mel Laird said that he thought that one thing you had to talk about was national health insurance. That very afternoon Vice President Rockefeller presented his report to you from his various town meetings around the country and there is a paragraph in there that said national health insurance—I believe it said mandatory—it was a very strong word—recommending it. Might you include some discussion of national health insurance in your State of the Union Address?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we will try to improve the Federal part of health care to the American people. But I don't think I will go beyond that at this time, Aldo.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

Q. Mr. President, do you have any ideas how you might fulfill this resolve to strengthen the moral and spiritual values of the country?

THE PRESIDENT. One way that I can do it personally is by my own conduct and to participate with spiritual leaders throughout the country, which I think is important, on a non-denominational basis. I think we are moving in that direction and any inspiration I can give or cooperation that I can contribute, I certainly will do all I can.

ANGOLA

Q. Mr. President, you have hinted at some progress with the Russians on Angola. Is that true? I mean, do you have some undercurrents?

THE PRESIDENT. I can only say that we have presented very forcefully our view that what is being done there is contrary to détente. I think there is a better solution. As I said yesterday and I will repeat today, we are maximizing our effort diplomatically, broadly as well as bilaterally.

RONALD REAGAN'S BUDGET CUT PROPOSAL

Q. Mr. President, could you say more about how decorous the struggle with Ronald Reagan is going to be—

THE PRESIDENT. How decorous?

Q. Yes, how polite?

THE PRESIDENT. I never heard that term used in politics before. [Laughter]

Q. I used it deliberately because Ronald Reagan has proposed a \$90 billion cut in Federal outlays that will retire \$5 billion of the national debt and reduce our taxes 22 percent. He said now there are those who argue that the effect of that, say, would be an enormous increase in property and State and local taxes or a substantial cut in, say, the caliber of schools and teachers' salaries, this sort of thing. That seems to be a legitimate issue and perhaps a difference between Ford and Reagan. Will you take on and detail the possible drawbacks that you see in his proposal to cut Federal revenues by \$90 billion? Does that violate the rule that you will not attack your opponent?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best answer to that is the one I gave the other day. I had met a day or so before with nine Governors, five Democrats and four Republicans, as I recall, and in the course of this 2-hour-plus discussion of the problems of State government, it was very obvious to me that none of them, Democratic or Republican, were very sympathetic to the approach that you mentioned. And after all, they are Governors today and they realize the problems if all of a sudden \$90 billion worth of extra cost was thrown upon their shoulders. And I respect their judgment. And I think their judgment of nine is a reflection of the judgment of 50 Governors. And I think the American people will follow that line rather than—

Q. But you will leave it to Governors to make this argument, or will you say that that's a crackpot scheme? [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. As I said at the very outset, I am going to campaign affirmatively, and, if the Governors that were there and the other Governors raise objection, and I had some evidence that they did, I think that is a valid criticism for them to make of the program.

THE DOMINO THEORY

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned Vietnam at the beginning. I wonder whether we could have one more look back at that war. I am sure history is going to be asking this question. I think it will. Whatever happened to the domino theory which I think you once espoused? Looking back, did it really ever have any validity or does it continue to have a validity?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it can have validity and the situation that developed in Laos, as you well know, the coalition government there has dissolved, been overcome. I know that there are countries in Southeast Asia that were fearful that it might be a reality. We were able to reaffirm our presence at the present time as well as in the future in the Pacific, or Southeast Asia. And thus far we have been able to preclude what I honestly felt might have taken place.

Outside of some weakening in some countries, the domino theory has not taken place and we are fortunate. I am glad that that theory has been disproven, but it took some strong action and I think some leadership by this country to handle the matter.

DISCLOSURE OF HEALTH AND FINANCIAL RECORDS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Q. Mr. President, do you think that all candidates should make public their health records, financial records, and every other record concerning their personal lives?

THE PRESIDENT. Helen, if you go back to the hearings that I had on the Vice Presidential nomination, I think you will find that I had my academic records, my military records, my health records, every record that I could imagine was put on the record. And if you want to go back and look at it, kind of just go and see. I willingly cooperated with the committee. And I think it would be helpful for all candidates to do it in 1976.

I am healthy. I have never felt better, and I think the public has a legitimate interest in that. Now Dr. Lukash has some reservations about that, but as far as I—

Q. He doesn't think that—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he thinks—and I can understand it—that it might establish a bad precedent. But as far as I am concerned, I would throw whatever records are out on the table today. I think it would be a good idea.

Q. Do you think that someone who is not in good health should not run?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is for the American people to decide, not me.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to release—when you get to campaigning next year, do you plan to release formally your health records?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding that some publications or some magazine or newspaper, or AP or UPI, are asking that and we have been asked. I think we should. But I repeat that my medical adviser thinks it is a bad precedent.

Q. Why?

THE PRESIDENT. Well—

Q. He is a doctor. [Laughter]

Q. I mean, why should it be a bad precedent for the American people to know the health of their President?

MR. NESSEN. Dr. Lukash, sir, has a problem with the doctor-patient relationship, not only in this case but in Mrs. Ford's case and previous cases. He believes it violates his medical ethics. But we are still working on the problem. It's the Medical World News which has requested it.

THE PRESIDENT. I think we can solve the problem but, as far as in general, what I did before the Senate committee is the best indication of how I personally feel.

Q. Mr. President, do you think other candidates should release financial records as full as those you released before the committee? And do you plan to update the ones you released then?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my financial records again are on the record up through, let's see, 1973, and I hadn't thought about it, but there hasn't been any significant change. And I would see no reason why I shouldn't, and I think it would likewise be constructive for other candidates.

DISAPPOINTMENTS AS PRESIDENT

Q. Mr. President, looking back on 1975, what has been your greatest disappointment this year, and what would you do differently?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the greatest disappointment was that I couldn't sit in this office and turn a switch and instantaneously stop the rate of inflation, stop the unemployment increases. It is frustrating to find that our society, our industrial society and society as a whole, is so complex that you can't just turn a switch and everything turns from darkness to sunshine.

I think any President—and the ones that I have known during my lifetime—I suspect found that probably the greatest disappointment. I am sure Mr. Roosevelt, who struggled from 1933 until World War II, worked day and night trying to find an answer to the Depression. I am sure that he sat in this very office and wished he could turn a switch and get the 14 to 15 percent unemployment changed. But, it just doesn't happen that way. And that is a hard lesson I think any President runs into. It is a disappointment because you know there is hardship, you know there is disappointment throughout the country. From a personal point of view, that was the most disappointing thing.

Well, any more questions?

DETERMINATION TO WIN ELECTION

Q. May I ask one final question? It goes back to the matter of running. You say that those that think Gerald Ford may drop out of the race before the very end or should you be defeated simply don't know you. But in all your political life, 25 years or so, you have never sought the Presidency. The question goes to whether or not you have, since you have come into office, developed the all-consuming desire and drive it will take to win election. Do you feel that you have that now and the determination to do it?

THE PRESIDENT. No question in my mind. I have a vision of what I want America to be. I think it is a good vision for 215 million Americans—I have said it in one way or another in response to other questions here. At peace with ourselves, peace throughout the world, better economic conditions, the strengthening of individual freedom in this country, the protection of our environment as we try to move forward as a nation economically, con-

trol of the very difficult problem of crime—these are the things that I want done. I happen to believe that they are good for America. I strongly feel that I am qualified to implement and to achieve those goals, that vision.

So, I do have the drive, and I have said repeatedly—and I will say it once more—I get up every morning and can't wait to get to this office to get to the problems. And I never go home at night feeling we haven't made some progress, not as much, but I look forward to the next day because I think we will make more progress in the achievement of these goals and this vision.

May I just say one thing in conclusion. This is the second of these kind of informal, somewhat restricted get-togethers. I know that some in the press have felt that everybody should be here. As we move ahead, if you all like this approach, what I would like to do is to next week or next month, whenever the time comes, to have a different group so that everybody feels they get included and that no one feels they get excluded. So, I say to those who are not here, we will try to get them in the next time around.

Have a good year.

MISS THOMAS. Thank you, and Happy New Year to you.

NOTE: The question-and-answer session began at 11:30 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

National Transportation Safety Board

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Webster B. Todd, Jr., To Be a Member and Chairman. December 31, 1975

The President today announced his intention to nominate Webster B. Todd, Jr., of Far Hills, N.J., to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board for the term expiring December 31, 1980. The President also announced his intention to nominate Mr. Todd to be Chairman of the Board for a term of 2 years. He will succeed John H. Reed whose term has expired in both capacities. This is the first time that a person has been nominated to be Chairman as a result of Public Law 93-633, of January 3, 1975.

The President is also designating John H. Reed as Acting Chairman until the confirmation of Mr. Todd.

A native of New York City, Mr. Todd was born December 1, 1938. He received his A.B. degree from Princeton University in 1961. From 1962 to 1963, he was a partner with Basking Ridge Aviation, owner of the Princeton Aviation Corp., from 1963 to 1969, partner with General Aviation Engineering, Somerville, N.J., from 1965 to 1969, and president of the Princeton Air

Research Park Co., in Princeton, N.J., from 1965 to 1969.

Mr. Todd served as an Assemblyman in the New Jersey Legislature from 1967 to 1969. He came to Washington in 1969 as Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board where he served 2 years before going to the White House in 1971 as Executive Director of the White House Conference on Aging. In 1973, he served 4 months as a Consultant to the Secretary of the Department of Transportation.

Mr. Todd is married to the former Sheila Mitchell O'Keefe, and they have three children.

Federal Regional Councils

Executive Order 11892. December 31, 1975

AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11647 RELATING TO FEDERAL REGIONAL COUNCILS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, and as President of the United States of America, in order to include the Department of Commerce and the Federal Energy Administration in the Regional Council System and thus expand interagency cooperation and improve the coordination of services to the States, consistent with Section 401(d) of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 (82 Stat. 1103, 42 U.S.C. 4231(d)), it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Subsection (a) of Section 1 of Executive Order No. 11647 of February 10, 1972, as amended by Executive Order No. 11731 of July 23, 1973, is amended to read as follows:

“(a) There is hereby continued a Federal Regional Council for each of the ten standard Federal regions. The President shall designate one member of each Council as Chairman. Representatives of the Office of Management and Budget may participate in any deliberations of each Council. Each Council shall be composed of the principal regional officials of the following departments and agencies:

- (1) The Department of the Interior.
- (2) The Department of Agriculture.
- (3) The Department of Commerce.
- (4) The Department of Labor.
- (5) The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (6) The Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- (7) The Department of Transportation.

- (8) The Community Services Administration.
- (9) The Environmental Protection Agency.
- (10) The Federal Energy Administration.
- (11) The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.”.

SEC. 2. Section 3 of Executive Order No. 11647 of February 10, 1972, as amended by Executive Order No. 11731 of July 23, 1973, is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 3. *Under Secretaries Group for Regional Operations.* (a) The Under Secretaries Group for Regional Operations is hereby continued and shall be composed of the following:

- (1) The Under Secretary of the Interior.
- (2) The Under Secretary of Agriculture.
- (3) The Under Secretary of Commerce.
- (4) The Under Secretary of Labor.
- (5) The Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- (6) The Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.
- (7) The Deputy Secretary of Transportation.
- (8) The Deputy Director of the Community Services Administration.

(9) The Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

(10) The Deputy Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration.

(11) The Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

(12) An Associate Director of the Domestic Council.

(13) The Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, who shall be Chairman.

“(b) When the Chairman determines that matters which significantly affect the interests of a Federal agency not represented on the Group are to be considered by the Group, he shall invite an appropriate representative of the agency involved to participate in the deliberations of the Group.

“(c) The Under Secretaries Group for Regional Operations shall, consistent with the objectives and priorities established by the President and the Domestic Council, establish policy with respect to Federal Regional Council matters, provide guidance to the Councils, respond to their initiatives, and seek to resolve policy issues referred to it by the Councils. The Under Secretaries Group, under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, shall be responsible for the proper functioning of the system established by this Order.”.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 31, 1975.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:54 a.m.,
January 2, 1976]

New Year's Day, 1976

Message of the President. December 31, 1975

The years that are special in the lives of nations and individuals are those in which imagination produces action—action that offers hope, opportunity, a fresh start, and a vehicle for our optimism.

One of our great national characteristics is optimism. I can't even remember facing a new year with anything less than anticipation—and a few of those new years were difficult ones.

Some of us can remember new years in the great depression when the road to prosperity seemed closed—we can remember other new years spent in the midst of a world war that threatened our very survival.

But I can also remember new years in the late 1940's and throughout the 1950's when the future sizzled with promise and we led the world back to stability and greater achievement than it had ever known before. The road to prosperity was not closed—we had just been on a detour—our resolve, our determination and our ability had been tested—and we were not found wanting.

The new year we are now entering embodies the 200th anniversary of the founding of this great Republic. We look back with pride, but all of our national experience should prove to us that we must also look forward with eagerness to the unfolding years ahead.

We are Americans! We move into the future with the strength and confidence of 200 years of a proud heritage. Liberty is the most precious possession of our past and it is still our greatest promise for the future. The freedoms we have today must be preserved and extended.

I ask you to join me in a 1976 New Year's resolution to cherish and protect what we have achieved in America—and, with God's help, to build upon it in the years ahead.

A very Happy New Year to each of you.

GERALD R. FORD

The Bicentennial Year

The President's Remarks Recorded for Use on Radio and Television. December 31, 1975

Good evening.

We stand tonight at a very important threshold. Within the next few hours, we will usher in not only a New Year, not only the final quarter of the 20th century, but a fresh new chapter in American history, our third century as a nation.

Behind us lie 200 years of toil and struggle, 200 years of accomplishment and triumph. We remain, in Lincoln's words, "the last, best hope of earth." But, what lies ahead? Shall we let the coming year slip into the record books virtually unnoticed and undistinguished except for the fanfare of a gigantic birthday party? Or, shall we make 1976 the beginning of a very special time, a time that sparks a renaissance of the American spirit, a time of rededication to liberty and justice for all Americans, a time that revives and strengthens the universal human yearning for freedom all over the world.

This is the very central question that we face tonight. Let's each of us, in the days ahead, consider what answer we shall give in our own personal lives. Remembering the heritage of 200 years, let us ask what we must do to earn an honored place in the memories of the generations to come.

Then, let us resolve that 1976 shall be the year that Americans reunite in the age old commitment to liberty for ourselves and for the peoples all over the world.

Thank you, and may God bless you with a happy New Year.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at 3:41 p.m. in the Oval Office.

Imports of Meat From Canada

Proclamation 4410. Dated December 31, 1975. Released January 1, 1976

TERMINATION OF TEMPORARY QUANTITATIVE LIMITATION ON THE IMPORTATION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN BEEF AND VEAL FROM CANADA

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

WHEREAS, Proclamation No. 4335 of November 16, 1974, issued pursuant to Section 252(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1882(a)) in response to unjustifiable restrictions imposed by Canada on meat imports from the United States, limited imports into the United States of certain cattle, beef, veal, swine and pork from Canada, and whereas that Proclamation inserted item 945.03 into subpart B of part 2 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS), and

WHEREAS, Canada has now lifted those unjustifiable restrictions on meat imports from the United States, and

WHEREAS, Section 225(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1885(b)) authorizes the President to terminate in whole or in part any proclamation

made pursuant to Section 252 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1882(a)), and

WHEREAS, Proclamation No. 4382 of August 5, 1975, terminated those parts of Proclamation No. 4335 pertaining to the importation of cattle, swine and pork from Canada and

WHEREAS, I deem it necessary and appropriate to terminate the remaining restrictions proclaimed in Proclamation No. 4335, specifically those imposing temporary quantitative limitations on the importation into the United States of certain beef and veal from Canada, in order to encourage trade between the United States and Canada.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, acting under authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, including Section 255(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1885(b)) do hereby proclaim that:

1) Proclamation No. 4335 is terminated.

2) Subpart B of part 2 of the Appendix to the TSUS is amended as follows:

(a) By deleting the superior heading immediately preceding item 945.03.

(b) By deleting item 945.03.

3) This Proclamation is effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption after 12:01 a.m. EST, January 1, 1976.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-five and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundredth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:53 a.m., January 2, 1976]

Public Broadcasting Financing Act of 1975

Statement by the President on Signing H.R. 6461 Into Law While Expressing Concern About Certain of Its Provisions. January 1, 1976

I am pleased to sign H.R. 6461, the Public Broadcasting Financing Act of 1975. This legislation, while not perfect, represents a milestone in the history of public broadcasting. It will help assure that public broadcasting can concentrate on being the effective and innovative source of educational and cultural programing which the American people have come to expect.

I congratulate the Congress for including in this new legislation most of the provisions originally recommended by the Administration. Under the bill, the level of Federal

funding will be keyed to the ability of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the local broadcasters themselves to generate contributions from other sources. In addition, a significant percentage of the Federal contribution to public broadcasting will be required by law to be distributed to local public broadcasting stations. Both of these features ensure that the Federal commitment to public broadcasting will be dependent upon and responsive to the interests and needs of local audiences.

I am also pleased that the legislation provides for a 5-year authorization. Multi-year financing for public broadcasting has been a long-sought objective as a means of insulating this important medium of expression from the possibility of undue governmental control.

I am disappointed, therefore, that the present bill does not include the corresponding 5-year appropriation originally proposed by the Administration.

I am also concerned about the authorization ceilings contained in H.R. 6461. The bill proposed by the Administration contained funding ceilings for a 5-year period ranging from \$70 million in the first year to \$100 million in the fifth year. Unfortunately, the Congress has increased these ceilings significantly, providing for a 5-year authorization ranging from \$88 million to \$160 million. In this time of severe strain on the Federal budget, I consider it essential that the appropriations provided under this bill conform to the limits which I intend to recommend in my fiscal year 1977 budget.

In spite of the deficiencies I have mentioned, I believe the bill I have signed will significantly enhance the ability of the public broadcasting community to continue providing programing of excellence and diversity for the American people.

NOTE: As enacted, the Public Broadcasting Financing Act of 1975 (H.R. 6461) is Public Law 94-192, approved December 31, 1975.

Legislation Concerning Financial Institutions, the National Commission on Electronic Fund Transfers, and Home Mortgages

Statement by the President on Signing S. 1281 Into Law. January 1, 1976

I have signed into law S. 1281. Title I of this bill extends until March 1, 1977, the authority of various Federal agencies to regulate interest rates paid on certain deposits in financial institutions. Title II extends the authorization of the National Commission on Electronic Fund Transfers for 2 years beyond the confirmation date

of its chairperson. I support these two measures. However, I have some reservations about Title III, the "Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975."

This Act will require financial institutions having over \$10 million in assets and operating in large urban "standard metropolitan statistical areas" to comply with a new program of Federal regulation. All of these depository institutions will be required to compile and make available for public inspection, information on the number and total dollar amount of mortgage and home improvement loans, broken down by census tract or zip code. This Federal law will be enforced by several Federal regulatory agencies (the Federal Reserve Board, Federal Home Loan Bank Board and others) and will supersede any inconsistent provisions of State laws. The Federal Reserve Board will have authority to exempt State chartered institutions which are subject to similar State disclosure and enforcement requirements.

In essence, this third title attempts to highlight the problem of mortgage and home improvement loan fund shortages in some parts of large urban areas—often lower income, older neighborhoods—where credit discrimination based upon geographic factors is alleged to occur.

I firmly believe, as do most people, that discrimination on racial or ethnic grounds is a practice which is abhorrent to our American way of life. Our Constitution grants equal liberties to all citizens. Federal, State, and local laws expressly prohibit discriminatory practices. Our courts have continued to uphold the principle that a strong and free nation is one which can, and must, protect any individual's rights, regardless of race or religion. This bill attempts to expose any such discrimination by financial institutions providing housing credit. I strongly support this objective.

While I note that the Congress claims that this legislation is not intended to encourage unsound lending practices or the allocation of credit, I am concerned that this Mortgage Disclosure Act may impose a burdensome and costly requirement for additional recordkeeping and paperwork. Unless this new disclosure program is very carefully administered, the Federal Government will be placing yet another requirement on the private sector—a requirement which will impose substantial costs but will do very little to increase the total availability of mortgage funds in our housing markets.

I trust that the agencies administering Title III of this bill will assess carefully the costs and benefits to both the lenders and borrowers. As presently enacted, this legislation will have a 4-year life. If, within that period, undue burdens result from the implementation of this program, I shall not hesitate to recommend amending legislation.

I also trust that the Congress will join with my Administration in working to solve the capital shortage problem which our country faces. Over the years our expanding capital markets have helped keep the American economy

strong because sufficient capital—for housing, industry, consumer credit, and other purposes—has been available to sustain economic growth. Rather than support capital allocation, my Administration is committed to improve and strengthen the free market mechanisms used for raising and investing capital—particularly for housing. To this end I have urged Congress to enact the Administration's Financial Institutions Act of 1975 (S. 1267), a bill which will permit banks and other thrift organizations to offer competitive yields on savings deposits and a wider range of services to customers and homebuyers. This legislation will offer new incentives to all mortgage lenders and should help alleviate shortages of mortgage money in every housing market of our Nation.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1281) is Public Law 94-200, approved December 31, 1975.

Veto of Legislation Amending the National Security Act of 1947

The President's Message to the Senate Returning S. 2350 Without His Approval. Dated December 31, 1975. Released January 1, 1976

To the Senate of the United States:

I return without my approval S. 2350, a bill "To amend the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, to include the Secretary of the Treasury as a member of the National Security Council."

The National Security Council is one of the most important organizations in the Executive Office of the President. The Council's function, under the law, is to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security. The President, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense are the statutory members of the Council. In addition, the President may, under the law, appoint by and with the advice and consent of the Senate the Secretaries and Under Secretaries of other executive departments and of the military departments to serve at his pleasure. No President has ever exercised this latter authority.

In my judgment, enactment of S. 2350 is not necessary. From its establishment in 1947, each President has invited from time to time additional officers to participate in National Security Council deliberations when matters specifically relating to their responsibilities have been considered. In line with this practice, the President invites the Secretary of the Treasury to participate in Council affairs when issues of substantial interest to the Department of the Treasury are involved. Thus, existing arrangements provide for adequate participation of the Secretary of the Treasury in National Security Council matters.

Furthermore, additional mechanisms exist to assure that the President receives advice which takes into account the proper integration and coordination of domestic and international economic policy with foreign policy and national security objectives. Both the Economic Policy Board and the Council for International Economic Policy provide the President with high level advice on economic matters. The Secretary of the Treasury is the Chairman of these two bodies on which the Secretary of State also serves.

I believe that S. 2350 is undesirable as well as unnecessary. The proper concerns of the National Security Council extend substantially beyond the statutory responsibilities and focus of the Secretary of the Treasury. Most issues that come before the Council on a regular basis do not have significant economic and monetary implications.

Moreover, a large number of executive departments and agencies have key responsibilities for programs affecting international economic policy. From time to time these programs influence importantly our foreign policy and national security decisions. The Treasury Department does not and could not represent all those interests. Extending full statutory membership on the National Security Council to the Secretary of the Treasury would not achieve the purpose of bringing to bear on decisions the full range of international economic considerations.

For these several reasons, I am concerned that increasing the statutory membership of the Council might well diminish its flexibility and usefulness as a most important advisory mechanism for the President.

In sum, S. 2350 is unnecessary, since adequate arrangements for providing advice to the President on the integration of economic and foreign policy already exist, and it is undesirable because the proposed arrangement is inconsistent with the purposes of the National Security Council and would lessen the current and desirable flexibility of the President in arranging for advice on the broad spectrum of international and national security policy matters.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 31, 1975.

The Bicentennial Year

Proclamation 4411. Dated December 31, 1975. Released January 2, 1976

*By the President of the United States of America
a Proclamation*

In the year 1776, the people of our land dedicated themselves in word and deed to the principles of liberty, equality, individual dignity, and representative govern-

ment. It was a hectic but heroic beginning of a process which led to the creation of a great Republic symbolizing then, as it does today, the hope of the future.

The year 1776 was a year of revolution, not merely in the rejection of colonial rule, but in the thoughtful, eloquent, and enduring expression of a government to foster and perpetuate the development of a free and independent people.

Now, two hundred years later, we have settled our continent and turned our vision to the limits of the universe. We are the richest nation in the world—rich in our resources, rich in our creativity, rich in our strength, and rich in our people—from our Native Americans to those who have come from every country on earth to share in the hope, the work, and the spirit of our Republic.

The challenges faced by our forebears were not only to their physical capabilities but also to their faith in the future. Their response to these challenges affirmed their deep belief that by their actions they could create a better world for themselves and those that would follow. As we enter America's third century, let us emulate in word and deed, their resolve and vision.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-six as The Bicentennial Year. Let 1976 be a year of reflection, a year of sharing, and foremost, a year of achievement.

I urge all Americans to reflect, from time to time during this Bicentennial Year, on the historic events of our past, on the heroic deeds of those whose legacy we now enjoy, and on the compelling visions of those who helped shape our constitutional government.

I call upon educators, clergy and labor, business and community leaders, as well as those in the communications media, to review our history and publicize the shaping events, people, and ideas of our historic beginnings.

I call upon every man, woman, and child to celebrate the diversity of tradition, culture and heritage that reflects our people and our patrimony. Let each of us resolve to cherish and protect what we have achieved in the United States of America and to build upon it in the years ahead, not by words alone, but by actions which bespeak a continuing commitment to a heritage of individual initiative, creativity, and liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundredth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 5:03 p.m.,
January 2, 1976]

Transfer of Functions to the Office of Management and Budget

Executive Order 11893. Dated December 31, 1975. Released January 2, 1976

TRANSFERRING CERTAIN FUNCTIONS FROM THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION TO THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, particularly by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921, as amended, the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950, as amended, Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1970; and section 5317 of title 5 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. There are hereby transferred to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget all policy functions that were transferred to the Administrator of General Services by Section 1 (1) of Executive Order No. 11717, dated May 9, 1973, and Executive Order No. 11867, dated June 19, 1975.

SEC. 2. The Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall continue to perform policy formulation and general oversight functions with regard to the other transfers made by Executive Order No. 11717 and Executive Order No. 11867. No function vested by statute in the Administrator shall be deemed to be affected by the provisions of this order.

SEC. 3. So much of the personnel, property and records attendant to the functions transferred by this order as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall determine, shall be transferred to the Office of Management and Budget, at such times as the Director shall specify.

SEC. 4. Executive Order No. 11717 of May 9, 1973, and Executive Order No. 11867 of June 19, 1975, are hereby superseded to the extent that they are inconsistent with this order. Any circulars, directives, or regulations issued pursuant to functions transferred by this order shall remain in effect until modified or rescinded by the Office of Management and Budget.

SEC. 5. Section 2 of Executive Order No. 11861 of May 21, 1975, as amended, placing certain positions in level V of the Executive Schedule, is further amended by deleting "(9) Associate Administrator for Federal Management Policy, General Services Administration."

SEC. 6. This order shall be effective as of December 31, 1975.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 31, 1975.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 5:04 p.m.,
January 2, 1976]

International Atomic Energy Agency

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Galen L. Stone To Be Deputy United States Representative. January 2, 1976

The President today announced his intention to nominate Galen L. Stone, of the District of Columbia, to be Deputy United States Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency. He will succeed Dwight J. Porter, who has resigned.

In May 1975, Mr. Stone was nominated to the position of Ambassador to Laos, but did not assume the post. Prior to his nomination, he was Deputy Chief of Mission, Paris, France. From 1969 to 1973, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in New Delhi. During 1968-69, he was Political Counselor in Saigon. From 1965 to 1968, he was Special Assistant, Counselor of Political-Economic Affairs, New Delhi. He was Deputy Director, Office of West European Affairs, from 1962 to 1963, after having served as Officer in Charge of Swiss-Benelux Affairs during 1961-62. He was a Personnel Officer in 1958 and later became a Supervisory Placement Specialist, serving until 1961.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1947, Mr. Stone was assigned as an Economic Officer in Munich. He served from 1950 to 1954 as an Economic Officer in Kiel and later was assigned as Political Officer in Paris for SHAPE.

Mr. Stone was born on July 4, 1921, in Brookline, Mass. He received his B.A. degree from Harvard University in 1946. He served with the United States Army as a captain from 1942 to 1945.

Mr. Stone is married to the former Anne Brewer, and they have five children.

Veto of Common Situs Picketing Bill

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 5900 Without His Approval. January 2, 1976

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning without my approval H.R. 5900, commonly known as the Common Situs Picketing Bill.

The bill before me represents a combination of H.R. 5900, which would overturn the United States Supreme Court's decision in the Denver Building Trades case and the newly proposed Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Bill, S. 2305, as amended. During the development of this legislation, I stipulated that these two related measures should be considered together. The col-

lective bargaining provisions have great merit. It is to the common situs picketing title that I address my objections.

I had hoped that this bill would provide a resolution for the special problems of labor-management relations in the construction industry and would have the support of all parties. My earlier optimism in this regard was unfounded. My reasons for this veto focus primarily on the vigorous controversy surrounding the measure, and the possibility that this bill could lead to greater, not lesser, conflict in the construction industry.

There are intense differences between union and non-union contractors and labor over the extent to which this bill constitutes a fair and equitable solution to a long-standing issue. I have concluded that neither the building industry nor the Nation can take the risk that the bill, which proposed a permanent change in the law, will lead to loss of jobs and work hours for the construction trades, higher costs for the public, and further slowdown in a basic industry.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
January 2, 1976.

NOTE: For a statement by the President announcing his intention to veto the bill, see page 1393 of volume 11 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue.

December 24

The President sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Richard Welch on the death of her husband, the U.S. official who was slain in Athens, Greece, on December 23.

December 26

The President has redesignated John E. Robson as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board for the period of calendar year 1976.

December 27

The President has waived certain restrictions concerning burial at Arlington National Cemetery in order that Richard Welch can be buried there.

December 28

Following the death of Sir Patrick Shaw, Australian Ambassador to the United States, the President sent letters of condolence to Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and Mrs. Shaw.

December 29

The President designated Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, to be his personal representative to meet the Air Force plane bearing the body of Richard Welch when it arrived at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., on December 30.

December 30

Following his return to the White House from Vail, Colo., the President met with Secretary of Transportation Coleman, FAA Administrator McLucas, Deputy Attorney General Harold Tyler, and Deputy Director James Adams of the FBI to discuss the progress of the investigation of the December 29 bombing incident at LaGuardia Airport in New York City and also to consider steps to reinforce airport and airplane security.

The President telephoned Fran Tarkenton, quarterback of the Minnesota Vikings football team, to express his condolences on the death of Mr. Tarkenton's father, Dallas Tarkenton, Sr.

December 31

Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel, has accepted President Ford's invitation to visit the United States from January 27 to February 4.

The President has accepted the resignation of Jacob Seidenberg as a member and Chairman of the Federal Service Impasses Panel, effective December 31, 1975.

The President today thanked Adm. Louis Thayer, who had earlier resigned, for agreeing to continue as a member of the National Transportation Safety Board pending the appointment and qualification of his successor. Admiral Thayer had originally resigned effective today.

January 2

The President has accepted the resignation of James H. Falk as Associate Director of the Domestic Council, effective December 31, 1975.

The President sent a get-well message to former First Lady Mamie Eisenhower at Walter Reed Army Medical Center.

The President met at the White House with Secretary of Transportation Coleman, FAA Administrator McLucas, and Deputy Attorney General Tyler to receive an updated report on the investigation of the bombing incident at LaGuardia Airport.

ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT

Approved December 26, 1975

H.R. 8121..... Public Law 94-180
Public Works for Water and Power De-
velopment and Energy Research Appro-
priation Act, 1976.

Approved December 27, 1975

H.R. 6874..... Public Law 94-181
An act to amend the Small Reclamation
Projects Act of 1956, as amended.

Approved December 31, 1975

H.J. Res. 749..... Public Law 94-186
Joint resolution to provide for the begin-
ning of the second session of the Ninety-
fourth Congress and for other purposes.

H.R. 3474..... Public Law 94-187
An act to authorize appropriations to the
Energy Research and Development Admin-
istration in accordance with section 261 of
the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended,
section 305 of the Energy Reorganization
Act of 1974, and section 16 of the Federal
Nonnuclear Energy Research and Develop-
ment Act of 1974, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4016..... Public Law 94-189
An act to provide for the disposition of
funds appropriated to pay certain Indian
Claims Commission judgments in favor of
the Sac and Fox Indians, and for other
purposes.

H.R. 4073..... Public Law 94-188
Regional Development Act of 1975.

H.R. 4287..... Public Law 94-191
An act to provide for additional law clerks
for the judges of the District of Columbia
Court of Appeals.

H.R. 4573..... Public Law 94-183
An act to amend chapter 83 of title 5,
United States Code, to establish time limi-
tations in applying for civil service retire-
ment benefits, and for other purposes.

H.R. 5541..... Public Law 94-190
Small Business Emergency Relief Act.

ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved December 31, 1975—Continued

H.R. 6461..... Public Law 94-192
Public Broadcasting Financing Act of 1975.
H.R. 7862..... Public Law 94-184
An act to amend the Farm Credit Act of
1971 relating to credit eligibility for co-
operatives serving agricultural producers,
and to enlarge the access of production
credit associations to Federal district
courts.

H.R. 8304..... Public Law 94-194
An act to amend the national reading im-
provement program to provide more flexi-
bility in the types of projects which can
be funded, and for other purposes.

H.R. 8631..... Public Law 94-197
An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of
1954, as amended, to provide for the
phaseout of governmental indemnity as a
source of funds for public remuneration in
the event of a nuclear incident, and for
other purposes.

H.R. 10035..... Public Law 94-193
An act to establish the Judicial Confer-
ence of the District of Columbia.

H.R. 10284..... Public Law 94-182
An act to amend title XVIII of the Social
Security Act, and for other purposes.

H.R. 10792..... Private Law 94-27
An act for the relief of Jana Hlavaty.

H.R. 11016..... Public Law 94-185
An act to extend the Renegotiation Act of
1951 for nine months.

H.R. 11172..... Public Law 94-195
An act to insure that the compensation
and other emoluments for any person fill-
ing the vacancy on the Federal Maritime
Commission caused by the resignation of
Commissioner George Henry Hearn shall
be those which were in effect on January
1, 1975, and for other purposes.

H.R. 11184..... Public Law 94-196
An act to amend title 3, United States
Code, to provide for foreign diplomatic
missions, to increase the size of the Ex-
ecutive Protective Service, and for other
purposes.

ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved December 31, 1975—Continued

S. 322..... Public Law 94-199
An act to establish the Hells Canyon Na-
tional Recreation Area in the States of
Oregon and Idaho, and for other purposes.

S. 1281..... Public Law 94-200
An act to extend the authority for the
flexible regulation of interest rates on de-
posits and share accounts in depository
institutions, to extend the National Com-
mission on Electronic Fund Transfers, and
to provide for home mortgage disclosure.

S.J. Res. 157..... Public Law 94-198
Joint resolution to provide a 2-month ex-
tension of the exemption for loans made
to finance the acquisition of previously
occupied residential dwellings from the
prohibition against financing by Federally-
related financial institutions for property
located in communities not participating
in the national flood insurance program.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE
PRESS RELEASES

The following releases of the Office of the
White House Press Secretary, distributed
during the period covered by this issue, are
not included in the issue.

Released December 24, 1975

Informal remarks to reporters after skiing
at Vail, Colo.

Released December 31, 1975

Advance text: remarks concerning the
American Revolution Bicentennial Year

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED
TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned *sine die*
on Friday, December 19, 1975, no nomi-
nations were submitted to the Senate dur-
ing the period covered by this issue. The
second session of the 94th Congress will
begin on Monday, January 19, 1976.

CUMULATIVE INDEX TO PRIOR ISSUES

Fourth Quarter, 1975

[See Index of Contents for Documents in this Issue]

Note: This Index should be retained until the Annual Index to Volume 11
(1975) is available. Users should also retain the Semiannual Index, covering the
first two quarters, and the Third Quarter Index (both separately printed).

Beginning with the issue dated January 12, 1976, the Cumulative Index to
Prior Issues will be limited to documents published in Volume 12 of the Weekly
Compilation of Presidential Documents.

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INVESTIGATION OF PROSPECTIVE
VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

Question

Mr. President, you recently stated that you would make available facilities of the FBI at the request of the Democratic Presidential nominee to investigate a prospective Vice Presidential nominee prior to the decision. Is this your present position?

Answer

The idea of such an investigation was recently raised by a reporter at which time I stated that I saw no objection to an investigation, to the extent permitted by law, as long as it was requested in writing by the Presidential nominee with the written concurrence of the Vice Presidential nominee. On the basis of my experience during my Vice Presidential confirmation process, I am not personally troubled by the thought of such an investigation. However, the Department of Justice has recently concluded that present law does not permit the FBI to undertake such investigations even with the consent of the subject and Governor Carter has so been informed by the Department of Justice.

I believe this is a matter that deserves further study. There are numerous practical problems that must be considered, such as the length of time to complete investigations of this magnitude, as well as policy considerations concerning individual privacy and investigations by the Government of potential political candidates. We must not get into a situation where the Federal Government screens who are to be our political candidates. I do not believe that such a study could be completed in time for this year's Conventions.

*Press Conf.
on Nixon-Lewis
1/76*

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the Justice Amendment which we are proposing would require that all delegates vote according to the laws under which they were selected and I think that is a very proper amendment to carry out the wishes of the people that supported those individuals at the time they were chosen.

QUESTION: Can I follow up, sir? Do you have an indication from the Reggan people that they will not try and change the Justice Amendment?

THE PRESIDENT: To my knowledge, we have not consulted with them.

QUESTION: Mr. President, how many Vice Presidential possibilities do you have in mind?

THE PRESIDENT: Quite a few.

QUESTION: Like maybe a half dozen, a dozen?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not going to get into the numbers game. We have a fine, fine array of talent in the Republican Party and maybe elsewhere, and so we will just keep that open until we make the final choice.

QUESTION: When will you make that choice?

THE PRESIDENT: You heard me correctly.

QUESTION: Do your comments on the Vice Presidency here today rule out any possibility you will declare the nomination open and let the Convention in Kansas City decide the Vice Presidential selection?

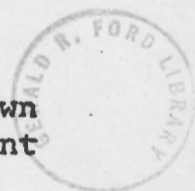
THE PRESIDENT: I will certainly make a recommendation and I hope the Convention would follow my recommendation.

QUESTION: Mr. President, since you have known all of the people involved as a potential Vice President so long and so well, is it possible you have made your decision and are delaying the announcement until the Convention?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at all.

QUESTION: Mr. President, can you tell us what his answer is?

MORE



July 19⁷⁶ Press Conf # 35

Page 7

QUESTION: Mr. President, what do you feel your major problems are now to hold the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT: Getting a few more delegates.

QUESTION: Where specifically are the problems?

THE PRESIDENT: There are around 100 uncommitted delegates on a pretty wide geographical basis. Of course, Hawaii has 18, Mississippi has 30, and the others are spread through a number of other States. So, we are going to make a maximum effort to convince individual delegates who are uncommitted, as well as those two major States that have not yet committed themselves.

QUESTION: Mr. President, a question on international trade. The American textile industry is very concerned about the increase in imports of textiles from the People's Republic of China. They would like you to negotiate a bilateral agreement with Peking. What is your view on that? Are you doing anything about it?

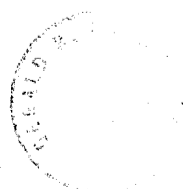
THE PRESIDENT: I made a statement about three months ago that fully covers that. If you will refer back to that, it will give you a detailed answer.

QUESTION: Mr. President, can you tell us some of the criteria that you will be using in selecting a Vice President? You have said here today that you will consider the Vice Presidential nominee only on his basis to become President should something happen to you, but will there be other criteria as well?

THE PRESIDENT: That is the principal one, of course, and any other criteria would have to be secondary to that. But, other criteria might be age, compatibility with my own philosophy, the experience both in domestic and international affairs. There are a whole raft of potential criteria that I think have to be put into the formula.

QUESTION: Let me ask you, if I can, then, about the process. As you know, Jimmy Carter had a well-publicized audition, if you will, of various candidates. Will you ask the people you have in mind to meet with you either here at the White House or a place of their choice so you can discuss with them their philosophy of Government and any personal differences you may have?

MORE



NESSEN

WR009

D W

PM-VEEP 7-20

BY RICHARD H. GROWALD

UPI SENIOR EDITOR

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- JIMMY CARTER MADE PICKING A RUNNING MATE A NATIONAL SPORT. THERE IS EVIDENCE PRESIDENT FORD NOW IS TAKING HIS TURN AT BAT.

THE PRESIDENT TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE UNDER THE ELMS ON THE WHITE HOUSE FRONT LAWN MONDAY HE MIGHT SELECT HIS RUNNING MATE -- TAKING FOR GRANTED HE DEFEATS RONALD REAGAN FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION -- FROM THE GOP OR, AS HE PUT IT, "ELSEWHERE."

"YOU HEARD ME CORRECTLY," FORD SAID WHEN QUESTIONED BY A REPORTER. THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS CORPS IMMEDIATELY BEGAN EXPLORING "ELSEWHERE." PRESSED FOR AN ELABORATION, THE PRESIDENT GRINED AND SAID, "USE YOUR IMAGINATION."

USING IMAGINATION, HERE'S A LIST OF POSSIBLE FORD RUNNING MATES FROM "ELSMHERE," ALL OF WHICH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE DENIED. AS ANY WHITE HOUSE REPORTER KNOWS, A POLITICAL DENIAL IS HALF A CONFIRMATION.

-- IF FORD WANTS A SOUTHERNER, JIMMY CARTER'S MOTHER, MISS LILLIAN ALREADY HAS LOTS OF MEDIA EXPOSURE, A GRITS IMAGE AND FOREIGN EXPERIENCE. BESIDES, DAUGHTER ANY CARTER IS TOO YOUNG.

-- IF THE PRESIDENT SEEKS AN INDEPENDENT, THERE IS SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER. KISSINGER IS NONPARTISAN, LIKE THE LATE CHARLES DE GAULLE, WHO, WHEN ASKED IF WAS TO THE LEFT OR RIGHT OR CENTER, SAID HE WAS ABOVE.

-- IF FORD SEEKS TO PLEASE WOMEN VOTERS, OF COURSE THERE IS HIS WIFE BETTY. THE PRESIDENT TIME AND AGAIN HAS SAID HER POLLS ARE BETTER THAN HIS.

-- FROM LABOR, ALTHOUGH THE AFL-CIO LEADERSHIP ENDORSED THE DEMOCRATS MONDAY, THERE IS TEAMSTERS PRESIDENT FRANK FITZSIMMONS. LABOR SECRETARY W. J. USERY SAID ONLY LAST MONTH THAT HE WAS ON THE TEAMSTERS' TEAM.

-- IF FORD WANTS A TEXAN, BUT NOT JOHN CONNALLY, HE ALREADY HAS THE ENDORSEMENT OF COACH TOM LANDRY OF THE DALLAS COWBOYS.

-- IF FORD WANTS A CALIFORNIAN, WHO BETTER THAN BOB HOPE? HOPE HAS BEEN IN THE WHITE HOUSE SO OFTEN AND STAYED IN THE LINCOLN BEDROOM SO FREQUENTLY THE PAST 40 YEARS THAT HE SAID EARLIER THIS MONTH, "AH, YES, THE LINCOLN BED MATTRESS, I KNOW IT WELL -- FOURSORE AND SEVEN LUMPS."

-- AND IF ALL "ELSEWHERE" FAILS, SIX MEN HAVE ALREADY BEEN CHECKED OUT FOR THE JOB: DEMOCRATS EDUND MUSKIE, JOHN GLENN, FRANK CHURCH, HENRY JACKSON, ADLAI STEVENSON III, AND PETER RODINO.

UPI 07-20 09:42 AED

HERE, THE BUREAU EDITED OUT A PGH WHICH HAD YOU CALLING ME "MAD." AH, DESKERS

-DKK
growald



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file



LAW OFFICES
HERRICK, LANGDON, BELIN, HARRIS, LANGDON & HELMICK
2000 FINANCIAL CENTER
SEVENTH AND WALNUT
DES MOINES, IOWA 50309

ALLAN A. HERRICK
HERSCHEL G. LANGDON
DAVID W. BELIN
CHARLES E. HARRIS
RICHARD G. LANGDON
ROBERT H. HELMICK
PHILIP C. LOVRIEN
JOEL D. NOVAK
JEFFREY E. LAMSON
EDGAR H. BITTLE
FREDERICK C. BLACKLEDGE
CURT L. SYTSMAN
DAVID L. CLAYPOOL

TELEPHONE
(515) 244-1116
COUNSEL
DWIGHT BROOKE
LAWRENCE E. POPE

July 28, 1976

COPY

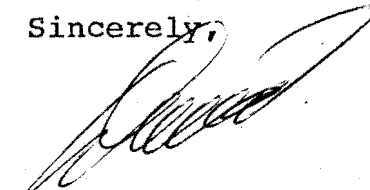
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Earlier this year, I was asked to outline my thoughts concerning the selection of a Vice Presidential running mate. Enclosed is my basic strategy paper No. 9 for July entitled, "Choosing the Republican Vice Presidential Candidate."

Best regards.

Sincerely,



David W. Belin

DWB:cs

Encl.

c.c. Richard Cheney
c.c. Robert Hartmann
c.c. Ron Nessen ✓

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 9 - JULY, 1976

David W. Belin

Choosing the Republican Vice Presidential Candidate

The two most important considerations in choosing the Republican Vice Presidential candidate are obvious: (1) The election of someone with overall ability, experience and integrity necessary in the event the Vice President would step into the position of the Presidency; (2) the selection of a candidate who would be able to contribute most to the election of the Republican Presidential candidate at a time when public confidence in Washington in general and Congress in particular is at an all-time low. Jimmy Carter has capitalized on this anti-Washington national mood in winning the nomination of his Party and will undoubtedly continue this strategy in the fall campaign.

This paper discusses the six people most often mentioned as the Republican Vice Presidential running mate with President Ford: Nelson Rockefeller, Robert Ray, Ronald Reagan, Howard Baker, Elliot Richardson and John Connally. The major strengths and weaknesses of each candidate are analyzed in the frame of reference of a Carter-Mondale ticket.

The Wall Street Journal states that Carter is confident of winning the old Democratic "Solid South" (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina) plus the border Southern states of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia plus the heavily Democratic states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Hawaii, plus Minnesota (Mondale) for a total of 111 of the 270 electoral votes needed for election.

The Wall Street Journal also reports Carter forces as seeing Republican victory likely in Arizona, Idaho, Kansas, Utah, Vermont and Wyoming with 27 electoral votes. To this should be added Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota and Oklahoma, all of which were strong Republican states in the most recent analogous election (1968) which would add 19 electoral votes, or a total of 46 electoral votes which are relatively safe Republican votes.

This means that the battle for victory in November will depend upon the following key swing states with their respective electoral votes:

Alaska	3
California	45
Colorado	7
Connecticut	9
Delaware	3
Florida	17

Illinois	26
Indiana	13
Iowa	8
Maine	4
Maryland	10
Michigan	21
Missouri	12
Nevada	3
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	17
New Mexico	4
New York	41
North Carolina	13
Ohio	25
Oregon	6
Pennsylvania	27
South Dakota	4
Texas	26
Virginia	12
Washington	9
Wisconsin	11

The basic strength of Carter is in the South. The basic weakness of Carter is in the Midwest and Northeast. Every successful politician knows that when you want to win elections, you concentrate in the areas of the opponent's weaknesses and not in the opponent's strengths.

For purposes of this discussion, I will assume that all of the people named as potential Republican Presidential running mates are qualified to be President. The question then becomes, at a time of a general anti-Washington national public mood, which candidate would best help exploit the weakness of the Carter-Mondale ticket and also build strength for the Republican ticket?

A. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller

The person that ranks first among all candidates is Nelson Rockefeller, for four basic reasons:

1. He is the most qualified person to be Vice President of the United States because of his overall background, ability and experience, which includes having served as Vice President these past two years and also having served as Governor of the State of New York for four terms. The fact that President Ford picked Nelson Rockefeller to be Vice President is ample testimony to his qualifications.

2. He is a superb campaigner and knows how to win elections in a swing state. His four gubernatorial election victories in New York are ample testimony to this.

3. Vice President Rockefeller is not in any way associated with Richard Nixon and, therefore, is removed from the problems of Watergate. This is particularly important in light of the fact that Democrats are raising the pardon issue and the whole spectrum of Watergate.

4. Nelson Rockefeller would add the necessary ingredient of philosophical balance which is essential in order to attract the Independent swing vote in the Northeast, in the Midwest, and the other swing states.

It has been argued that Nelson Rockefeller will not win much support in the South. There are two basic fallacies with such an argument: (1) No matter who the Vice Presidential candidate is, the Republican Party is not going to do well in the South, with their first native son running for President. Any so-called Southern strategy is doomed to failure and, furthermore, flies in the face of the political axiom that you do not concentrate your efforts in the areas of your opponent's greatest strengths. (2) In any event, the ability of Nelson Rockefeller to help to win electoral votes in key swing states such as New York (41), Pennsylvania (27), and New Jersey (17) more than offsets any potential weakness he might have so far as the South is concerned.

The basic disadvantage of Nelson Rockefeller is that he is part of the Washington establishment. This leaves the Republican ticket open to the Carter attack against big government in Washington. However, the foregoing advantages of Vice President Rockefeller and particularly the fact that he has already served as Vice President on the whole outweigh this basic disadvantage.

B. Governor Robert D. Ray

Next to Nelson Rockefeller, the person who would add most to the national Republican ticket is Governor Ray of Iowa. Five key strengths stand out in discussing Governor Ray:

1. Bob Ray is not saddled with any burdens of Washington and public lack of confidence in Washington in general and Congress in particular. With Jimmy Carter running a counter-Washington campaign, if Vice President Rockefeller is not selected then it would be almost suicidal for the Republican Party to have both people on the national ticket be part of the Washington establishment. Because of Governor Ray's position as Chairman of the National Governors Conference, he would be able to capitalize on the anti-Washington feeling in the country, particularly if President Ford runs a Harry Truman-type campaign against the Democratic-controlled Congress.

2. Bob Ray has a phenomenal approval rating from the public. The most recent statewide Iowa poll showed 82% favorable, 10% undecided, and only 8% unfavorable. In large part, this is a result of a record of absolute integrity, unblemished by any taint of improper contributions or conflicts of interest, coupled with an outstanding record of achievement and administrative experience including four terms in office with a state budget surplus of more than \$200 million and with no tax increases during that period--Republican fiscal integrity at its best.

3. Bob Ray has outstanding capabilities and demonstrated judgment in knowing how to win elections. Bob Ray has been more successful in statewide election campaigns in a "swing" state than any other Republican in the country. There are more registered Democrats than Republicans in Iowa. Yet, in the post-Watergate 1974 election with Democratic victories across the country, Bob Ray was reelected to a fourth term with nearly 60% of the vote in a state that elected a Democratic Senator and five out of six Democratic Congressmen. One of the greatest needs for the President Ford Committee is expertise in how to run successful election campaigns, and no one in this country has demonstrated more expertise in this area than Governor Ray.

4. As Chairman of the National Governors Conference, as Chairman of the Platform Committee, as a person whom one of the leading political writers, David Broder, calls a man qualified to be President, Bob Ray commands the respect of those who know him best. He is young (47) and vigorous and is blessed with a fine family. Picking a fresh face who is thought of to be highly qualified for the job could very much enhance the overall stature of President Ford.

5. Bob Ray offers political balance to a national ticket. His overall views represent the middle-of-the-road--moderate Republican whose support is necessary to win in November. Bob Ray also has been extremely sensitive to the needs of cities and could be of substantial help in winning the Independent vote in the Northeastern part of the country. At the same time, Bob Ray's record of achievement and traditional Republican fiscal responsibility coupled with his integrity would have strong appeal among the Independent voters of the small states who have been more traditionally Republican.

He also would buttress a crucial area of Republican unrest--the Midwestern farmers and cattlemen who are still unhappy with the administration's grain embargo and the meat imports problem.

The crucial need for philosophical balance is evidenced by Carter's selection of Mondale. Furthermore, since Governor Ray is known as a conservative in fiscal matters and is in the middle-of-the-road of the political spectrum, his selection as a running mate by President Ford would not run into the kind of outcry from conservatives that has greeted the announcement by Governor Reagan that the liberal Senator Schweiker would be a running mate for Governor Reagan, were he to get the nomination. (No other comments will be made concerning Senator Schweiker.)

Bob Ray would offer particular help in winning the moderate Republican-Independent vote in the Midwest with agricultural votes as well as Independent urban votes in states such as Illinois (26), Indiana (13), Iowa (8), Michigan (21), Missouri (12), Ohio (25) and Wisconsin (11). This represents 126 electoral votes and the selection of Mondale as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate was in part motivated because of a desire to appeal to the Midwest.

The criticism most often levied against Governor Ray is that he does not provide enough "geographic" balance to the ticket. To be sure, he does not offer the geographic balance of any of the other candidates. However, the contribution that Governor Ray would make in providing a middle-of-the-road philosophical balance and also in helping overcome the unhappiness in the crucial Midwestern farm vote as a result of the grain embargo far outweighs the old-style politician's view of the need for geographic balance. (In addition, there are hundreds of thousands of transplanted and retired Iowans living in California where Bob Ray could be particularly helpful.)

In any event, the old-style concerns of geographic "balance" are insignificant when compared to the national anti-Washington mood and the need to have someone on the national Republican ticket who is not connected with Washington.

C. Governor Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan has several distinct advantages which must be given consideration:

1. First and foremost is his tremendous ability on the television screen. Governor Reagan is second to none in this area.

2. As a Vice Presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan would be certain to keep the Party together so far as his own supporters are concerned. However, there could be a very substantial offset of loss of moderate Republican support in the large industrial states, such as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio. Naming Governor Reagan as a Vice Presidential running mate to replace Nelson Rockefeller could result in a great revolt among moderate Republicans in crucial states in the Northeast and Midwest where moderate Republicans have been elected to statewide office.

3. Ronald Reagan should make a major contribution towards winning Texas and California. He will not have much added contribution on the smaller Rocky Mountain states that will go Republican, anyway, nor will he be able to make any substantial dent in the hold of Jimmy Carter on the South.

4. Ronald Reagan is not part of the Washington establishment, and this should be a plus in this 1976 campaign. However, he is not a young face to balance the youth in the Carter-Mondale ticket.

There are several disadvantages involved in having Governor Reagan as a running mate, in addition to the lack of philosophical balance and a possible moderate Republican revolt. For instance, there could be great embarrassment if the Democrats use the President Ford Committee commercial which was used in the California primary depicting Ronald Reagan as too "trigger happy". Another major disadvantage is that selecting Governor Reagan in 1976, after a hotly contested primary campaign, would not be accepted by the American people the way there was acceptance of President Johnson when he was selected by John Kennedy. There is an entirely different American public mood today which is demonstrated in the lack of confidence the public has in Congress as well as in the national leadership.

Finally, there would be a credibility problem in having Governor Reagan on the ticket after he has stated so unequivocally in past weeks that under no circumstances would he accept the Vice Presidential slot on the ticket.

D. Senator Howard Baker

Howard Baker would bring to the Republican ticket an opportunity to win Tennessee and possibly Kentucky. He is also relatively young and a successful campaigner. On the other hand, although his base is in the South, he would not be able to overcome the hold of Carter on the other Southern states and thus would add relatively little to the ticket so far as the crucial swing states of the Midwest and Northeast are concerned.

A major disadvantage of Baker is that he is part of the Washington establishment. Moreover, he is a United States Senator and this would cut down the effectiveness of the Republican national ticket to campaign against the Democratic-controlled Congress the way President Truman successfully did in 1948 when he ran against the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. Selecting a Senator as a running mate could undermine one of the greatest advantages that President Ford might have in the 1976 Presidential campaign.

Finally, there is a problem concerning Gulf Oil money that was delivered for the Baker campaign. Although there have been explanations given for this, William Safire among others has noted that this could be devastating and in any event is an area of potential problems to try and explain in a heated Presidential campaign. This is particularly true with the issues

of Watergate, Richard Nixon and the pardon looming in the background of the Democratic campaign. Gulf Oil coupled with the anti-Washington mood of the public constitute two big strikes against Senator Baker.

E. Secretary of Commerce Elliot Richardson

Elliot Richardson has two major advantages:

1. He would offset in large part the campaign of the Democrats against Watergate.
2. He would also make a major contribution in the industrial Northeastern states, in attracting the Independent voter.

The major disadvantages of Elliot Richardson are that he has been part of the Washington establishment for many years, including the Nixon administration years, and he also has had no experience in recent years in winning statewide elections. (These are the same disadvantages faced by William Simon who is also campaigning for the Vice Presidency.)

Other disadvantages include the fact that Secretary Richardson would do little as far as the agricultural vote is concerned in the Midwest, and the Republican Party has some major problems in this area which Mondale undoubtedly will attack. Also, at a time when the Carter-Mondale ticket is appealing to the masses in a Populist manner, the appearance and bearing of Secretary Richardson may seem too elitist in character for many voters.

F. Governor John Connally

Last, and least desirable, is John Connally, although his name is better known than either Governor Ray, Senator Baker or Secretary Richardson. Perhaps the major disadvantage of John Connally is that he is too closely associated with the Nixon years. Even though he was acquitted of criminal charges, he is certainly not "Mr. Clean". Furthermore, to many Republicans, as well as Independents, he is too opportunistic. He would be able to make a contribution in winning Texas and possibly help in Tennessee or Kentucky, but he would have little value so far as the Midwest and the larger industrial states of the East are concerned.

Although many people believe John Connally to be extremely capable, he has ties to big oil which could greatly undermine an effective campaign at a time when the average American has little sympathy for the oil companies. In addition, there are many Americans who still have an unfair, but still nevertheless existing, distaste for Texas as a result of the administration of Lyndon Johnson. A Texan as a running mate for the President would undoubtedly be looked upon with favor in Texas but not in many other places in the country, particularly when that Texan has been part of the Washington establishment in the Nixon cabinet.

One cannot underscore the potential risks of having the whole Watergate issue be painted across a Republican Presidential campaign with Governor Connally and his milk fund and other Nixon-associated problems as a part of that national Republican ticket.

In summary, the most important thing to understand in determining who should be the Republican Vice Presidential candidate is that we are living at a time of great distrust on the part of the public in Washington in general and Congress in particular. Jimmy Carter has capitalized on this mistrust. He has selected Senator Mondale to provide the necessary ingredient of philosophical balance for his ticket. Therefore, it is imperative for the Republican Party to consider as a Vice Presidential candidate someone who will be able to provide that philosophical balance, just as it is vital for the Republican Party to consider the general anti-Washington mood if the Vice Presidential running mate is someone other than Vice President Rockefeller who already has two years experience in office.

Finally, the Republican Party must recognize the fact that the strength of Jimmy Carter is in the South and one of the worst mistakes the Republican Party could make would be to abandon the traditional political principle that you do not try and attack a candidate in his areas of major strength.

For the reasons outlined, Nelson Rockefeller is the first choice. However, if he is not selected, then the choice should be Governor Robert Ray, assuming he is willing to undertake the commitment to run for Vice President. Governor Ray has the least negatives among all of the candidates, and he has the plusses described in this paper, the most important of which is the fact that he is not saddled with any burdens of Washington, he has a phenomenal approval rating from the public, philosophical balance for the ticket and a demonstrated outstanding ability in knowing how to campaign and win elections. In addition, he would have a direct appeal in helping overcome unhappiness in crucial Midwestern farm vote areas. For the reasons outlined, Governor Ray would be better than Governor

Reagan, and these three candidates are far ahead of the last three: Senator Baker, Secretary Richardson and John Connally.

July 28, 1976

David W. Belin
2000 Financial Center
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

August 2, 1976

VICE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The President Ford Committee today is mailing the letter requesting recommendations for Vice Presidential nominees to 4,518 delegates and alternates to the Republican National Convention.

The questionnaire will go on the President's personal stationery with a 13-cent stamp on the outside envelope. Enclosed will be a letter from the President and a return envelope which will be addressed to President Ford Delegate Questionnaire, The White House, Washington, D. C. The return envelope does not have a stamp.

All expenses, of course, are paid by the President Ford Committee.

The President is asking that these recommendations be returned to him by August eleventh. The letters, when they arrive at the White House, will be brought unopened to Dick Cheney's office. There the recommendations will be compiled and presented to the President.

The President, as you know, is consulting others. These include Senator Scott and Representative Rhodes, who are gathering recommendations from members of Congress. This is due Tuesday.

In addition, the President is contacting Republican governors, officials of the Republican National Committee, state PFC officials, and other leading Republicans and Administration officials. This will be due also on August eleventh.

I have no timetable for a decision nor any details on how he will announce his Vice Presidential choice.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE VIRGINIA DELEGATION 8/4/76

Q-- My assumptions are sort of domino-ish. The first is that your mind is still open on a Vice Presidential candidate?

The President: That is correct.

Q: And then it follows up your comments of a moment ago, concerning the majority sex in this nation and that is that you would consider a female as a Vice Presidential running mate?

The President: You're exactly right. First, I have made no decision. As I'm sure many of you know, we have written a letter to every delegate, every alternate, asking for your recommendations -- a list of five -- on a priority. That material, if gotten back by August 11th, will be re-recorded -- and we have the system set up for the method by which those recommendations will be tallied. In addition, I have asked the Republican leaders in the House and Senate, Senator Scott and Congressman John Rhodes, to solicit recommendations from their members in the House as well as in the Senate. Those will be brought down and tallied. In addition, we have asked the National Committee, across the board, through Mary Louise Smith, to do the same. In addition, I ask people who come into the Office what their observations -- recommendations, are. There is no commitment. And it is very interesting, some views change from day to day. And I ask a lot of questions. But nobody on my staff, even the most intimate advisers, know to this minute what way I am tilting. I'll say this as to qualifications: One, the individual has to be totally qualified to be President of the United States. Secondly, the person that I select has to have an ideological compatibility. I say that, because I wouldn't want to turn the Presidency over to a person -- after having won an election -- a person who had a totally different ideological view on issues, or problems. I just wouldn't feel comfortable with that, not even for the purpose of broadening the base, to get votes. I think we can win without that kind of effort. And so, it will be a person that's compatible, ideologically, and personally. And it does include a woman -- or several women are being actively suggested. And it does include a wide range of people, geographically, and age-wise, in and out of government. So, the field's open as far as I'm concerned. And I do not intend to make the announcement until after the nomination for the Presidency.

X (

Intention,

see no reason to break traditional manner."

VEEP SWEEPSTAKES

8-11-76

Here is what Dorothy Downton says:

Total tabulated to date	687
Received yesterday	150
Received today	<u>155</u> _
 TOTAL	 1,092

The President received his first report yesterday. It included a sheet with names and total number each person received. It was also broken into categories--delegates, governors, mayors, etc. (She does not think it wise to give returns in categories.)

She will continue to tabulate and give the President a final report on Friday or Saturday. Those letters which come in between now and the final tally will be included in the tally. The letters are presently kept on file.

Here are the numbers of letters sent (numbers approximate):

Delegates	4,428
Mayors	387
County Execs	150
Governors	13
Senators	38
House Members	186
RNC People	175
PFC Chairman	50

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE

OF

ROBERT HARTMANN

COUNSELLOR TO THE PRESIDENT

THE BRIEFING ROOM

2:10 P.M. EDT

MR. TER HORST: Here, live and in person, is Counsellor Robert Hartmann to answer your questions on the President's selection of his Vice Presidential nominee. Bob?

MR. HARTMANN: Thank you, Jerry. As you can see, I got myself a terHorst pipe. (Laughter.)

It is good to be back here in the press room. Though I never worked in the press room, it is still good to be back and find some people who were here when I last covered the White House about ten years ago; something like that.

I understand there is some interest in the manner or the mechanism by which the President made his decision and I should say at the outset that I am not going to attempt to explore the President's mind or tell you what I think went on there because I don't know, nor does anybody else, except him, and you will in due course have an opportunity to ask that yourself of the President.

But I will try and give you as best I can the things that went on physically by way of supporting him with staff work and helping him in reaching his decision.

Maybe it would be well if I tried to anticipate some of your questions although I am sure I can't anticipate all of them, but I will try to answer a few of the more obvious ones in the beginning.

The first question was when did he reach his decision? The answer to that is that he talked to Governor Rockefeller by telephone on Saturday -- the exact time, I am not sure, but perhaps the Governor told you that -- and asked numerous questions which might very well have aroused the Governor's suspicions that he was one of the candidates, one of the finalists. He did not flatly tell him nor had he flatly made up his mind at the time nor did he tell the Governor that he was asking similar questions of other people, but it certainly was enough to make the Governor, I am sure, feel that he was in the running.

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The actual decision in his mind, he informed me, was made late last night after he had retired upstairs in the Residence.

Q What do you mean "late"?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, between the time he went upstairs and the time he went to sleep. You can find out what the time was he went upstairs. I don't know what time he went to sleep.

Q Governor Rockefeller said he got a call last night about 9:00 o'clock, wasn't it?

MR. HARTMANN: That is correct. He got a call from General Haig last night. He did not get another call from the President. The call from General Haig was simply to tell him to get down here by a certain time this morning.

Q You mean he wasn't told last night why to get here?

MR. HARTMANN: He probably was told by General Haig.

Q We would like to clear that up, because we were told it was a personal call. We would like to know exactly what Haig told him.

Q Senator Scott said that the President had called him at 9:00 o'clock. He said that in the car.

MR. HARTMANN: Senator Scott said the President called Governor Rockefeller at 9:00 o'clock?

Q That is what he said.

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I won't argue with him. Those questions the Press Secretary will probably be able to look up for you. I can only speak to what I know.

Q Is it correct, then, that the decision was made by the President still before 9:00 o'clock last night, if that was the time Haig called Rockefeller and informed him?

MR. HARTMANN: It must have been. I don't know what the time was that Haig called.

Q Well, Rocky says at 9:00. What we want to know is was he told at that time?

MR. HARTMANN: Why didn't you ask Rocky when you had the chance?

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Q Because we have been told all day that you were going to brief.

MR. HARTMANN: Well, mind you I am going to go further back into the process than this. I wasn't the one told to call the Governor so I don't know the exact time sequence.

The question would undoubtedly be asked whether the FBI was asked to make a check of the Governor or other potential nominees. The answer to that is, yes. The Director of the FBI was in last Friday to see the President and alone with the President the President gave him three names to report back if there was any derogatory material about those three names.

This was not, at that point, the full list of possibilities, but they were three of the names on his final list of possibilities that were not elected Members of the Congress.

Q What was the time of that meeting; do you have it?

MR. HARTMANN: That will show on the schedule, I believe.

Q Was Rockefeller on that list?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q Who else?

MR. HARTMANN: The President would rather let you guess.

Q You say they are not elected Members of the Congress?

MR. HARTMANN: They were not elected Members of the Congress. The President felt to ask the FBI to inquire around among associates and so forth of an elected Member of Congress, providing that person was not going to be his nominee for sure, would be a disservice to the Legislative branch.

Q Can we assume that George Bush's name was on the list?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, you can assume it. I am not going to confirm it.

Q I have talked to friends of Don Rumsfeld who have said they were called by the FBI over the weekend.

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MR. HARTMANN: You can put together all the pieces you want, but the President does not wish to specify -- since you now know whom he selected, he doesn't want to be too specific about who was on the semifinals and the finals and all of that.

Q Bob, before we leave that, he felt it was not necessary to have the FBI check into possibly derogatory information on those Members of Congress who were on the list?

MR. HARTMANN: No. Had he wound up with an elected Member of the Congress, a Senator or a Member of the House as his final choice, there would of course have been some kind of a check, but to do this to people who were not going to be his final choice at a point when he didn't know for sure, would have been a disservice to them and probably would have cut across the bounds of separation of powers.

Q Bob, I am still not clear. These three then were not his final three? He did not narrow the list down to three?

MR. HARTMANN: No.

Q There were more on this list?

MR. HARTMANN: There were in the neighborhood of half a dozen at that point.

Q As of last Friday, still half a dozen?

MR. HARTMANN: As of the time he talked to the Director of the FBI.

Q If he had decided to name a Member of the Congress he would have had that one investigated by the FBI?

MR. HARTMANN: He would have added that one, yes.

Q Then by the process of deduction, you would have three Members of Congress on that final list, I would assume, from what you said about the FBI check. Three elected officials?

MR. HARTMANN: Elected people, yes.

Q Excuse me, then, Bob; this exception was not just to Members of Congress but to elected officials that he felt it might not be quite --

MR. HARTMANN: Since I don't know what the list is, I am somewhat at a disadvantage in answering that question, as to what the larger list included, but he did give them three names to begin a quick check on and none of these three names were Members of Congress. That is the fact as I know it.

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Q And one of them was Rockefeller?

MR. HARTMANN: One was Rockefeller.

Q Bob, is this going to be a secret forever kept or something?

MR. HARTMANN: No one, so far as I know, has ever got the story completely straight about the nomination of Gerald R. Ford. There has been a great many verities and I think it would do a disservice to those who were not selected. After all, this was the President's private decision and I didn't know myself until I met with the President first thing this morning who the selection was.

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Q Bob, when is the first time that Mr. Rockefeller was told by the President of the United States that he was the nominee?

MR. HARTMANN: Told by the President?

Q Yes.

MR. HARTMANN: When he came into the White House this morning, came into that little office off the Oval Office.

Q What time was that, 9:45 or so?

MR. HARTMANN: It was certainly before the 8:30 meeting with the legislative leaders.

Q He didn't get there until after 9.

MR. HARTMANN: Pardon me, it was after the meeting broke up. I learned about it before that meeting, but when the meeting in the Cabinet Room broke up, the President went back and they were setting up the TV and all in the Oval Office and went into the small sitting room off the Oval Office and Governor Rockefeller was there, and Mrs. Ford. That was the first time the Governor was told flat out by the President.

Q What time would that have been?

Q 9:30?

MR. HARTMANN: It was shortly before 10, ten or 15 minutes before 10.

Q Well, they had time to call the former President.

MR. HARTMANN: The President placed a call then to President Nixon in California and told him and then put the Governor on the phone, and he spoke also with President Nixon.

Q Was that the first word President Nixon had gotten?

MR. HARTMANN: To the best of my knowledge.

Q He hadn't been alerted by anyone else in the White House?

MR. HARTMANN: Not by me.

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Q Was he consulted on the appointment?

MR. HARTMANN: Not to my knowledge.

Q Were there any other Governors on the list?

MR. HARTMANN: How long a list are we talking about?

Q How about the list of the three names to the FBI?

MR. HARTMANN: We can play this game on the last three names until you know them.

Q Well, five know they weren't selected. Is there really any harm in saying who the six were now that it is over?

MR. HARTMANN: You can ask the President that.

Q You are not authorized to reveal it?

MR. HARTMANN: I am not authorized to do it, and I would rather just go back a little now and tell you how this began.

Q Are you specifically ordered not to reveal them by the President?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I just understand that the President doesn't want it revealed right now.

Q Could we put a question through Jerry to see, or maybe you, to specifically ask the President whether these names can be revealed at some point?

MR. HARTMANN: Sure. Why don't you let me finish what I have to say? I don't want to get into the Press Secretary's role and, of course, you can put a question to the Press Secretary, but he was not present in my discussions with the President about this matter over the last few days, nor in my discussions with the President just recently about this briefing, so he can't answer those questions either right now until he has an opportunity to talk to the President.

Before we have the questions, let me finish just a little play-by-play on this.

When the President started upon this, which was one of the first things he did upon being sworn in, as you know, he asked certain categories of people to submit to him by last Wednesday night their first, second and third choices in sealed envelopes and my personal secretary and I were given custody of those envelopes and he did not see them until Friday evening.

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She tabulated these different categories and the first thing he asked to see were totals without the names of the nominator, but just by categories; that is to say, the Cabinet, the Republican Members of the Senate, the Republican Members of the House, Republican Governors, members of the Republican National Committee, and others.

Q Could you go through those categories one more time?

MR. HARTMANN: Members of the Cabinet and Counsellors, Republican Members of the Senate -- this is, incidentally, in no order of precedence -- Republican Members of the House, Republican Governors, members of the Republican National Committee and others, solicited and unsolicited.

In addition to those categories, as you all know, he asked that certain Members of the Congress and others come in and talk with him about it and, as you know, on Sunday a week ago, I believe it was, there was quite a parade of people in here.

He conferred with a number of leaders in the Congress. I don't have that complete list with me, and in addition to the Congressional people, it included Mel Laird and George Bush and Bryce Harlow. I guess that is all that were not Members of Congress.

When he had seen the tabulations in these groups and the total tabulations, which of course were unweighted; that is to say, a great proportion and total number of votes came from either the House of Representatives or the National Committee; many fewer from Senators and many fewer from Governors. so the grand total was really kind of meaningless.

You found that there was no one who led all the lists, but the Governors, as you might expect, would tend to have a Governor or former Governor as their favorite and the Senators would lean heavily towards somebody who had a background in the Senate or was presently in the Senate.

The House the same way, and the National Committee, of course, had an affinity for someone associated with the National Committee, so that it was much more meaningful for him to study the totals by group than it was a grand total. The grand total was more or less meaningless.

Having done that, he continued to confer with people, sometimes in unscheduled private visits and sometimes here in the office or on the golf course or by the telephone. I can't keep track of all the telephone calls, so don't try to ask me about who those were, except I do know that he did confer with the Speaker and Senator Mansfield and with Mr. Rhodes and Senator Scott.

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I guess Mr. Rhodes and Senator Scott were in to see him on that Sunday, but he did confer with the Democratic leaders of the House and Senate, the Speaker, Mr. O'Neill and Senator Mansfield.

Q This was just this last Friday you are talking about, that he looked at the tabulations, just three days ago?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes. He really started to focus on this at that point, other than the earlier private talks that he had.

From that point, the next step in the process was to ask the Director of the FBI to give him a fast check on certain names of those who were not elected Members of Congress, from which he got back a negative report.

Q When?

MR. HARTMANN: Yesterday.

Q On all three?

MR. HARTMANN: On all three.

Q By negative report, I assume that means there was nothing bad in the report about them?

MR. HARTMANN: No, there was nothing established to be derogatory.

Q Did he also ask for an IRS report?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't believe he did so specifically, but that is part of the FBI report.

Then yesterday, before taking off for Chicago, he asked his counsel, Mr. Buchen, to take a list of five names, or six, as I think I told those of you who were on the pool on the aircraft, to the Special Prosecutor to ascertain if the Special Prosecutor had any charges pending or any derogatory information against any of those names.

Q When was that?

MR. HARTMANN: Before we took off for Chicago yesterday, early in the morning, 8 o'clock, around there.

After he returned, at 5 or 6 o'clock yesterday evening, Mr. Buchen reported back to the President that the Special Prosecutor had assured him that there was no derogatory information directed against any of those names.

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Q Did you say that list was five or six that went to the Special Prosecutor?

MR. HARTMANN: I believe it was five, but it could have been as many as six.

Q What would be considered derogatory?

MR. HARTMANN: If they had any charges against them. The Special Prosecutor part, Watergate-related charges.

Q Had he eliminated at that point one of those under consideration if he sent only five?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. I can't answer that.

Q She means the list, had it dropped from six to five?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I am just unclear as to whether it was five or six that he sent over to the Special Prosecutor.

Q In any event, these were the finalists.

MR. HARTMANN: These were the ones he was going to pick one of them from, yes.

Q Was there any ranking in the tabulations that made any sense that you could look at the tabulations and these were the five or six finalists?

MR. HARTMANN: The tabulations did not necessarily conform -- well, first, let me say, his finalists were never ranked any place but in his own head, as far as I know, but he was, yes, guided by the tabulations. But as you might imagine, Governor Rockefeller did not lead all the categories.

There were those among the finalists who were rather low down in the numerical tabulations.

Q Did he personally call these five or six to put to them the same questions that he put to Rockefeller on Saturday?

MR. HARTMANN: No, sir, he did not.

Q He called on Rockefeller?

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MR. HARTMANN: To the best of my knowledge he personally called only Rockefeller.

Q Earlier you said he was asking Rocky the same questions he asked some of the others.

MR. HARTMANN: He had talked to some of the others many times during his Presidency.

Q Well, was his call to Rockefeller on Saturday caused by the story that was going around town?

MR. HARTMANN: That was one of the reasons for the placing of the call, yes. It wasn't that he called him to tip him off that he had made a decision, because he hadn't at that point.

Q And then having him on the phone he asked him certain questions?

MR. HARTMANN: That is correct.

Q Can you tell us what any of those questions were?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I think you will have to direct those questions to the President.

Q Bob, was Governor Rockefeller then the leading candidate on Saturday, not the only one, perhaps, but the only one that he felt necessary to talk to in person about it at that time?

MR. HARTMANN: No, he was obviously one of those under consideration, and the story broke and the President talked to him.

Q But the Saturday so-called smear story was the immediate reason for the call; is that what you are suggesting?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q Out of that came the general questioning?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, he asked him a bunch of other questions, too, which he would be expected to ask.

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Q Bob, I am a little curious about the real reasons for all these tabulations and soliciting of a wide range of opinion since some finalists figured relatively low, but they were still finalists. Is this actually more of a way of letting the various Republican officials and those around the country and here in Washington feel they are being consulted? They don't appear to have been very significant.

MR. HARTMANN: One, it gave him a feel for the reception which the candidate might receive in his confirmation when you looked at the Senators' choices and the Members of the House choices, and, two, he probably -- and here again I say I am not going to put myself inside his head -- but it certainly gave me, as I looked at them, an idea which candidates had some support in all elements of the party and which were limited to one or two elements.

Q Could I follow that? If Governor Rockefeller did not lead in all categories, focusing on the Senate and the House, did he fare pretty well in each of those chambers and was there any kind of veto, you know, "Anybody but Rockefeller", recommendations out of that body?

MR. HARTMANN: There were none in the form that was sent in on paper. Of course I can't speak as to the private conversations, whether they were both negative and positive.

But I am sure that cut both ways with all the candidates.

Q But we have been told by interviewing people on the Hill that he was not first in the House. Was he in the Senate? Did he rank up there at the top or very high?

MR. HARTMANN: Let me say that he had solid support in all the categories.

Q Bob, could you give us a brief summary of the criteria the President applied to his choice of Vice President?

MR. HARTMANN: I think he answered that himself for you, Pete, when he said he would make a good President.

Q Could you go into more detail, please?

MR. HARTMANN: Again, I am not going to put myself in the President's head. He never laid down any specific criteria to me because he wasn't asking me -- he did include me on his list, I guess of those he wanted to submit ballots, but I didn't submit one. I submitted a guess in a sealed envelope, and said this is not my choice but a guess.

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Q Were you right?

MR. HARTMANN: I won't tell.

Q Was the overwhelming criterion then whether the man could step into the Presidency on a moment's notice?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, sir; I am convinced that it was. You had better ask him again, but I am convinced it was.

Q Let me ask another question in terms of the House and Senate. Did Rockefeller lead in the House, or did he definitely not lead in the House? Did he lead in the Senate or not lead in the Senate?

MR. HARTMANN: If you can poll the Republican Members of the House on it, I suppose their opinions today might be a little different from their ballots and I wouldn't want to embarrass them.

Q You are not going to say he actually led in the House or Senate?

MR. HARTMANN: No I am not.

Q Are you finished with the chronology on how he came to his decision?

MR. HARTMANN: I have a couple of other things I want to add to the story.

Q Can we stick for a minute on the meeting between Buchen and the Special Prosecutor's Office? Was that between Buchen and Jaworski? How long did they meet? Were there any negative reports from Jaworski on any of the people?

MR. HARTMANN: There were no negative reports from Jaworski on any of the people. How long they met, I don't know. I was in Chicago.

Q It was Jaworski?

MR. HARTMANN: That was my understanding from Buchen.

Q To follow up, if the President felt there was something wrong with the FBI investigating people who held legislative office, that this somehow violated separation of powers, why did he think contacting the Special Prosecutor didn't violate separation of powers?

MR. HARTMANN: That is a good question. You know how sensitive Congress is to having the FBI in possession even of

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information about them, and he knows that, and as long as the guy wasn't going to get the apple for sure, he wasn't going to do that until he had to.

I can't answer the other part of your question. Maybe it was just one of those inconsistent situations which most of us sometimes fall into. The Special Prosecutor is a special case. He could not have made his final decision without clearing up this aspect of it because everyone of the finalists was a working member of the Republican Party for the last five and one-half years and you would all have jumped all over us, I am sure, if he hadn't done that.

But he couldn't give the Special Prosecutor just one name, because that would announce his decision.

Q Bob, could I follow up either question on the criteria. Some people at the White House had sort of spread the word that he was looking for a man who would be young enough to serve as Vice President for six years and then be in a position to run himself in 1980. Rockefeller would be 72 --

MR. HARTMANN: I think the President's decision answers that question, Ron. He was not looking for the survival of the Republican Party, but of the Republic if anything happens to him.

Q Well, this raises a question, too. Does this mean he has plans to keep Rockefeller as Vice President for two years instead of six?

MR. HARTMANN: Your guess is as good as mine.

Q Did he trade off his desire to have a younger man for other considerations?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know, Ron, what went on in his head. I only know where it came out. I really don't know what went on in his head. I have done the same kind of speculating in my own mind without any more information than I have now.

Q Before we get away from it, I gather where we left it was that Rockefeller was the only one of the five or six, whatever it was, that he ever talked to personally?

MR. HARTMANN: He wouldn't have talked to any of them, I am sure, if this matter hadn't come up.

Q Why not?

MR. HARTMANN: I mean at that stage of the game.

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Q Did he ever talk to any of the others at any stage?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, as you know, he was talking to some of the others that were prominently mentioned frequently.

Q About other business, but what about this?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. I wasn't there. Maybe he asked them some leading questions about this matter, too. I don't know.

Q You saw the totals. What was the total number of ballots that were submitted?

MR. HARTMANN: It was in the neighborhood of 1,000.

Q How many of those were Rockefeller? You can tell us that, can't you?

MR. HARTMANN: Wait a minute; let me pull that back. When you added firsts, seconds and thirds, you had a total of about a thousand mentions of people. So it was 300 and some individuals heard from.

Q In any category, within place and show?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes.

Q How many mentioned Rockefeller within that thousand, Bob, roughly?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, Rockefeller was up at the top of the list when you did grand totals, yes.

Q Up at the top or close to the top?

MR. HARTMANN: Close to the top.

Q Among these categories what was his average place?

MR. HARTMANN: We have some statisticians here, but as I said, he didn't approach this in a statistical way and knowing that, I didn't fiddle with statistics.

Q Let's go back to chronology.

MR. HARTMANN: Last evening after he received the assurance of Mr. Buchen from Mr. Jaworski that there was nothing in the Special Prosecutor's files that affected any of these five or six people, he then at some point prior to Al Haig's call to Governor Rockefeller, made his decision.

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Now I do not know what that precise moment was.

Q When did you last see him last night?

MR. HARTMANN: You mean yesterday, when did I last see him? Is that what you mean?

Q Yes.

MR. HARTMANN: The last time I saw him last night was at the reception he had over in the Residence for the old Vice Presidential Secret Service detail.

Q Do you know to whom he communicated that decision? Did he call any Congressional leaders? Did he call anybody on it?

MR. HARTMANN: The first communication of that decision other than this phone call from General Haig to Rockefeller, was, I believe, during the legislative leaders' meeting this morning when he informed the bipartisan leadership.

Q Did he tell General Haig why he wanted to see Rockefeller?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know that, but General Haig is a pretty smart fellow and I imagine he got the point.

Q You said at the beginning of this that General Haig told him to be down here this morning?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I don't know if he put it exactly that way. The President would like to see him at 10:30 or something like that.

Q Wasn't there some point when Governor Rockefeller accepted?

MR. HARTMANN: Yes, that must have been about five minutes before we went into the room.

Q You mean he was called down here without the assurance that he would accept?

MR. HARTMANN: I assume that he got that assurance in that Saturday call, but I am assuming that; I don't know.

Q But you are saying to your knowledge Haig did not tell Rockefeller last night over the phone?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't know. I haven't talked to General Haig about this call. All I got was from the President that he asked General Haig to do this.

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Q Can you find out, Bob, a kind of key point here that we don't have? Were there actually six names sent to the Special Prosecutor?

MR. HARTMANN: Does it really make a difference?

Q Yes.

Q Did General Haig suggest that the Governor bring his wife?

MR. HARTMANN: His wife was invited and she was unable to get ready in time, I guess, to get down here that fast.

Q Can you tell us the exact way the President told Rockefeller the word?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I really can't. David Kennerly was in my way snapping pictures. (Laughter.)

Q Do you have any more on the chronology?

MR. HARTMANN: I have one more rather important announcement, I think. This morning just before he brought Governor Rockefeller into the Oval Office, in fact while Governor Rockefeller was talking to former President Nixon, the President called George Bush from another telephone in my office and told him of his decision.

As Chairman of the Party and so forth, he was entitled to a little advance notice.

Q Did he also call Rumsfeld?

MR. HARTMANN: Ambassador Rumsfeld was in the room with the rest of the Cabinet and White House staff that he told after telling the bipartisan leadership and before bringing the Governor into the Roosevelt Room.

Q What was the look on Rumsfeld's face when he told him?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, I wasn't exactly looking at him at the time but he seemed to be very happy about the whole thing afterwards.

Q What did he tell Bush and what did Bush reply?

MR. HARTMANN: I only heard half of his end of the conversation and I haven't seen George.

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Q What did he say to Bush?

MR. HARTMANN: He just said he had made his decision and told him what it was and said it was a very tough decision, and he thought it was best for the country, and I don't know what was said.

Q Did the President talk with Dr. Kissinger about this on a one-on-one basis and to what extent was the foreign policy consideration a factor in this choice?

MR. HARTMANN: I think that is a question you will have to ask Dr. Kissinger or the President. Dr. Kissinger was present in the Cabinet room, and he had been with the President before the President met with Governor Rockefeller.

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Q My question was, did he talk to Dr. Kissinger in advance of making his choice?

MR. HARTMANN: He has been talking to Dr. Kissinger four or five times a day.

Q On this subject?

MR. HARTMANN: About this subject, I do not know. He asked all of the Cabinet to give him their views, and I am sure they all did, but mostly by word of mouth.

Q When he talked to Rockefeller on the phone on Saturday, he put to him questions about the smear, but presumably other questions about potential embarrassment, you know, what we have come to call, if you like, Eagleton questions. Were any similar questions asked of any of these other candidates, direct questions about whether there was anything embarrassing in their background, giving them the impression they might be under consideration?

MR. HARTMANN: Not to my knowledge, but he has talked to some of the other candidates so frequently that I don't know.

Q Bob, at the other end of the process, this chronology, when did he start thinking about a Vice President?

MR. HARTMANN: As soon as he got over the shock of being President. He mentioned the matter the first day, I believe, in one way or another.

Q How did he mention it?

MR. HARTMANN: He said it was one of the first things he was going to do, and he was going to try to do it that first week. But as you know, he didn't get it done that first week.

Q Did you ever hear him talk about it before he became President?

MR. HARTMANN: No.

Q Did Cyprus sidetrack him to any extent from this search?

MR. HARTMANN: That was one of the things that crowded up the time in the past week. As you know, there were many others.

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Q Did the Long report, this statement by Long about Rockefeller, did that have an effect in delaying it until today?

MR. HARTMANN: I don't think that contributed any appreciable delay. The check out by the Special Prosecutor was done rather speedily.

Q It was more Cyprus that delayed it than lies? It was supposed to be a week or ten days.

MR. HARTMANN: Cyprus chewed up an awful lot of his time this past week.

Q Bob, maybe you answered this question, but I want to ask it again. The same questions that he asked Rockefeller on Saturday, did he ask any other man these same questions?

MR. HARTMANN: The answer is, not to my knowledge. He told me of asking some questions of Rockefeller during that Saturday talk. He did not tell me, nor has anyone else told me, that he had asked any other questions.

Q In connection with that, has the President talked to Mr. Rockefeller either on Saturday, or anytime since, about the role he envisions for Rockefeller as Vice President in his Administration? Perhaps that is one of the subjects that was discussed on Saturday or maybe this morning. Do you know anything about it?

MR. HARTMANN: No, I think that is a bridge to be crossed when and if Governor Rockefeller is confirmed and meanwhile, we have a lot of other things to do and worry about.

Q Governor Rockefeller said they did talk about it, but not in any detail.

MR. HARTMANN: That is right. I mean, you know, I want to be all the help I can to you.

Q Since the criterion was fitness or qualification to step in and be President, do we have here a situation where in effect these other men were being measured against Rockefeller's seniority and depth experience?

MR. HARTMANN: If so, it was inside his head, and I can't speak to that.

Let me go back to your question about the role he would play as Vice President. Before that happens, of course, he has to run a very difficult gauntlet, which nobody in the world knows better than the President and about a half dozen or dozen people who assisted the President when he was a Member of Congress in getting through the first test of the Twenty-fifth Amendment route to becoming a Vice President.

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Knowing that this is only the second time this process has occurred under the Constitution and that he and a handful of his friends and staff were the sole possessors of the guidelines for this process from the nominee's point of view, the President, when he met with the Governor after the announcement, offered him the services of all of those of his staff, including me and the others who were with him during the hearings, to assist him in preparing for these hearings to the extent that we can.

Now, specifically, he assigned Richard T. Burress, who has been Assistant to the Vice President during the past eight months in charge of our legislative liaison, to be the liaison man between the White House and Governor Rockefeller and his staff on the preparation for the hearings simply so that he can make available what we know about going this route.

Q That doesn't include Cramer; does it?

MR. HARTMANN: Well, Bill Cramer isn't a member. We can't direct what Bill Cramer does. The Governor is aware and if he wants Bill Cramer's advice, I am sure Bill will be glad to give it to him.

Q Bob, does the President envision a substantive role for the Vice President? Does he expect that he will be in charge of certain parts of the Government without getting entirely specific?

MR. HARTMANN: We haven't talked about that, but you go back and read what he said his vision of the Vice Presidency was, and I suppose it hasn't changed very much.

Q In connection with the Congressional hearings, President Ford, when he was there, made available to the committee a complete financial statement. Do you expect that Governor Rockefeller will do the same thing, make a complete statement of his net worth?

MR. HARTMANN: That is up to Governor Rockefeller and the committee.

Q Does the President have any thoughts about whether this should be done?

MR. HARTMANN: The President has already indicated what he thinks should be done by what he did.

THE PRESS: Thank you, sir.

END (AT 2:55 P.M. EDT)