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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT'S BRIEFING BOOK
KEY QUESTIONS



HEARST NEWSPAPERS INTERVIEW

THE ROOSEVELT ROOM

FEBRUARY 24, 1976

BRIEFING PAPER

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS

HEARST NEWSPAPERS

Tuesday, February 24, 1976

11:00 a.m. (60 minutes)

Roosevelt Room

From: Ron Nessen *RN*

I. PURPOSE

To present the President's position and answer questions on key national issues to the senior officials of the Hearst Corporation and the publishers and editors of Hearst Newspapers.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: The Hearst publishers meet every three months in various cities around the country. The group will be holding its sessions at the Mayflower Hotel on February 23 and 24. The request for the Presidential briefing was sent by Joseph Kingsbury-Smith, National Editor of Hearst Newspapers; and Robert E. Thompson, Publisher, Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

You have not met before with these media representatives as a group. In April of 1974, as Vice President, you addressed the American Newspaper Publishers Association at the Waldorf Astoria in New York and most of the Hearst publishers were in the audience. Also, a few of the editors have attended regional media breakfasts with you in the past. Nine of their wives and one daughter were guests of the White House this morning for a special White House tour.

The interview will be published in Hearst papers in most major cities.

B. Participants:

William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Editor-in-Chief;
Frank Bennack, Jr., Executive Vice President of the Hearst Corporation and General Manager of Hearst Newspapers;
George Hearst, Jr., Publisher of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner and Trustee of the Hearst Corporation;
Joseph Kingsbury-Smith, National Editor of the Hearst Newspapers and Trustee of the Hearst Corporation;
and 18 other Hearst publishers and editors (22 total). A complete list is attached at Tab A.

Also sitting in on the meeting from the White House will be:

Alan Greenspan
Ron Nessen
Margita White
Randy Woods

C. Press Plan: The meeting will be on-the-record. A transcript will be made available to the participants following the meeting and to members of the White House Press Corps a day or so later.

A White House photographer will take pictures and send them to the participants as a memento of the occasion.

III. TALKING POINTS

A briefing book on the substantive issues has been prepared and presented to you. You may wish to make a few brief opening remarks.

Attachment



HEARST EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS

William Bellamy
Publisher
San Antonio Light
San Antonio, Texas

Frank A. Bennack
Executive Vice President
The Hearst Corporation and
General Manager, the Hearst
Newspapers
New York, New York

Robert C. Bergenheim
Publisher
Boston Herald American
Boston, Massachusetts

Sam Bornstein
Executive Editor
Boston Herald American
Boston, Massachusetts

Kenneth R. Byrd
Managing Editor
San Antonio Light
San Antonio, Texas

Mark Collins
Publisher
Baltimore News American
Baltimore, Maryland

Robert J. Danzig
Publisher
Albany Times Union and
Knickerbocker News
Albany, New York



Charles C. (Jack) Doughty
Editor
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Seattle, Washington

Thomas Eastham
Executive Editor
San Francisco Examiner
San Francisco, California

Robert G. Fichenberg
Executive Editor
Knickerbocker News
Albany, New York

Donald Goodenow
Managing Editor
Los Angeles Herald Examiner
Los Angeles, California

John Hall
Washington political writer for
the Hearst Newspapers
Washington, DC

George R. Hearst
Publisher
Los Angeles Examiner
Los Angeles, California

William Randolph Hearst
Editor-in Chief, The Hearst Newspapers

Joseph Kingsbury-Smith
Vice President and Director
The Hearst Corporation
National Editor
The Hearst Newspapers
Washington, DC

John Leary
Executive Editor
Albany Times Union
Albany, New York

Marianne Means
Washington Columnist for Hearst
Newspapers and King Features Syndicate
Washington, DC

John R. (Reg) Murphy
Publisher
San Francisco Examiner
San Francisco, California

John O'Connell
Executive Director
The Hearst Newspapers

Robert E. Thompson
Publisher
Seattle Post Intelligencer
Seattle, Washington

John P. Wallach
Diplomatic Correspondent
Hearst Newspapers

Thomas J. White
Executive Editor
Baltimore, News American
Baltimore, Maryland

EDITORIAL PROFILE

EDITORIAL PROFILE OF SELECTED HEARST NEWSPAPERS

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Indians: Senator Abourezk's bill appropriating \$600,000 to survivors of 146 Sioux Indians killed at Battle of Wounded Knee in 1890 - could unloose a flood of claims going back to Revolutionary War.

Concorde: After 16-month trial, it is likely to expire of its own shortcomings. Editorial salutes British and French pertinacity, but looks like they put money on the wrong bird.

Nixon trip to China: Peking wants the U.S. as an ally in its own distrust and fear of the Soviet Union. Nixon's visit emphasizes Peking's wishes for closer relation than Mr. Ford seemed willing to grant. Japan gets along well with Peking and Taiwan. So can we, if we maintain our leverage and stop being so apprehensive about what Kremlin might do.

Social Security: Ford's proposal for increased taxes: sums not great; Social Security paying out more than it collects; system must be financed on sound basis.

Marianne Means: (1) Ford Staff: Bunbling & mediocre; example: Ford sending Seidman to Dallas meeting of business executives to celebrate selection of 10 corporate moguls to Hall of Fame for Business Leadership sponsored by Fortune. Seidman not up to sophistication of audience. Ford should have sent Simon, Greenspan or V.P. Ford needs support of influential businessmen. (2) Abortion & GOP Convention: Appearance in U.S. by Pope might stimulate battle to get an anti-abortion plank placed in the Republican platform and could make GOP convention scene of emotional excess.

Reg Murphy: USA - No nation in history has offered so much criticism of itself as USA. We must understand that over the past 200 years, the nation has meant a great deal and has maintained a democracy longer than any other nation now in existence -- a heritage anybody could be proud of.

John P. Roche: Moynihan -- Relationship between Moynihan and Kissinger was difficult. Ford has been overshadowed in area of foreign policy by Kissinger; Ford may have turned to Moynihan cleverly to create a counterweight to the Secretary of State, which would have been wise until Kissinger organized bureaucratic death. Moynihan no good at fighting this, pulled out.

Jim Bishop: "The Unspeakable List" - those who would maintain Government in case of atomic attack. The only people to be saved are those who got us into it.

Vincent Halloran: Western world sorely needs leaders of stature today. Ranks Ford with Harding and Coolidge -- Ford a great guy, though, a fine skier and swimmer. We believe in detente, but doubt Kissinger is leader to achieve it. One thing leaders have in common, is ability to rally people in times of great need.

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN

Baltimore Busing: Comment on Maryland legislature proposal that Jr. High pupils be denied free transportation if they live within a mile and $\frac{1}{2}$ of school in effort to cut expenses. But state regulations provide transportation in hazardous areas without regard to distance between home and school.

Charitable Organization Regulation: Bill proposed in Maryland requires registration and regulation of charities in the state. Committee adopted amendment to provide registration and regulation with no exemption for charitable organization that mails out more than 500,000 solicitations. This would bring the Pallottine Fathers under bill and this makes for a good bill.

Concorde: Coleman acted with wisdom and executive responsibility in his decision -- fair and wise decision. We should give the Concorde the highly restricted testing period.

BOSTON HERALD AMERICAN

B-1 Aircraft: No decision from Administration or Congress until after election. B-1 is tremendous advance over B-52's, expensive, but makes better sense than remodeled 747's. We should give up some luxury for sake of our own self-protection. Kremlin has a fleet of over 24 Backfires.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER

Shelby Scates: Supports Gov. Evans recommendation that James Dolliver be appointed to federal bench. Dolliver has been making state government run as efficiently and progressively as possible as Evans's first and only AA.

Campaign Reform Act: Supreme Court created a large loophole for wealthy contributors by allowing unlimited spending by groups not part of candidates formal campaign organization. Chaos could result from having law on the books with no independent agency to enforce it. Commission has been clumsy, ill-informed. 1976 election will avoid some abuses in past years. Campaign Act has partly changed financing of Presidential campaigns. Court decision is partial victory to insure the system operates in the public interest.

Abortion: Most Presidential contenders have tried to avoid the issue, with exception of Ford. Abortion really a fringe issue that has been raised to national attention because of strong feelings it evokes. It is divisive to raise this strictly private issue to a level of national controversy. Reasonable citizens will recognize necessity of getting back to real concerns of the country.

Congress: Ford's loss in Congress on health, education and welfare bill signals a nationwide yearning to tackle more domestic problems.

Lockheed Scandal: Congress must find means to bring an end to shoddy practices of some American businessmen operating in foreign countries to insure that honesty between nations remains a two-way proposition.

2/20/76

EDITORIAL EVALUATION

HEARST NEWSPAPERS

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Angola

The editors point out that during the China trip, the President was repeatedly warned of Soviet expansion. "The stress and extent of the warnings, by implication, showed how gravely concerned Peking is that our world leadership role is being forfeited by self-indulgence and by self-delusion. . . It is urgent that the U.S. and its leadership finally wake up and react emphatically to the grim realities of ever-increasing Soviet expansion. Detente is nothing but a self-serving ruse for the Russians--a screen of words which helps them and weakens us further in our half-measures of response. . . The Soviet Union always has been determined to wrest world leadership from us, and today it may well be succeeding. . . It is far later than most of us think."

12/20/75*

"Our people are in no mood to fight actively in what is happening there. But any diplomatic effort by the U.S. --its best alternative--will be futile in trying to halt Russian moves if we showed no active concern. . . Angola certainly has become a kind of crossroads in our tradition of democratic leadership toward freedom. We should not continue timid retreat from responsibility. This is an international area where the CIA can indeed prove its worth."

12/7/75

Concorde

Wise travelers, booking ahead, will plan on other means of transport, for Concorde still has a number of legal and congressional hurdles ahead. . . Coleman's approval applied only to a 16-month test period. That course really was the only way the secretary could fly. . . We are sorry to say this, but after a 16-month trial in the marketplace, Concorde is likely to expire of its own shortcomings. Our British and French friends have invested time, talent and treasure in Concorde. We salute their pertinacity, but it looks like they put their money on the wrong bird."

2/9/76

*Same editorial with slightly different phrasing appeared in Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 12/12/75.



Nixon's Trip to China

"It is puzzling why the Chinese would take a step they certainly must have known would embarrass and annoy President Ford on the eve of the New Hampshire primary--especially since they may have to deal with Mr. Ford as our chief executive for four more years after November's national election. . . Inviting Nixon for a return visit can be seen as a way of emphasizing Peking's wishes for a closer relation than Mr. Ford seemed willing to grant. . . It seems obvious that China wants the U.S. to maintain its influence in the Far East as a stabilizing influence and a deterrent to what it sees as menacing Russian ambitions. . . Playing Chinese fears against Soviet ambitions through so-called detente with both was Nixon's chief international strategy. It appears still to be working."

The editors of the paper point out that China has softened its demands about incorporating Taiwan into mainland China and they feel we can get along with both--"If we maintain our leverage and stop being so apprehensive about what the Kremlin might do."

2/11/76

Reagan's Candidacy

"Indeed we welcome our former governor's declaration of candidacy and fault him only for the prolonged pretense that he wasn't really running since leaving Sacramento last January. . . Reagan at 64 is the nation's best political speaker. . . If nothing else, Reagan is demonstrating anew that California governors loom large in the scheme of national politics. . . And we can only . . . hope that President Ford does not try to win by out-Reaganing the hardline conservative Reagan. Let the party fight it out."

11/22/75

Tax Cut

"It isn't clear who blinked first. But both sides--President Ford and Congress--backed off from their confrontation over taxes and spending. . . Now Mr. Ford claims a '100 per cent victory' because Congress agreed with him in principle on the need for a tight lid on spending. What he actually got was just a non-binding, face-saving promise. . . At least though, most of us won't suffer a bigger withholding tax bite on New Year's Day. And modest hope for the nation's economic growth is renewed."

12/23/75



Energy Bill

"It's a bad bill. We can't understand why the President's men agreed to it unless, after 10 months of fighting with Congress over the oil pricing issue, they are worn out. Or unless Mr. Ford, like Congress, has succumbed to the folly of letting selfish politics dictate energy decisions. . . As readers know, we have consistently opposed Mr. Ford's desire to remove all oil price controls immediately. . . But we would prefer sudden decontrol, with all its faults, to this politic-ridden bill that seeks to achieve all the wrong things."

"From the beginning the Democratic Congress has been set on a course of coddling consumers as though they were too tender a breed to face the energy reality, while treating the oil industry as a messenger who must be beheaded for bringing bad news. . . Now, it appears, Congress is ^{very} close to achieving these unworthy and economically idiotic goals."

11/19/75

President Ford's Campaign Plans

"President Ford says he will run in every primary to win the Republican nomination next year." This is the kind of tactic ordinarily followed " by dark horses, by candidates whose support within their party is narrow; to broaden it, they appeal to the voters. This is a tactic a candidate from Grand Rapids would take. It is a matter that should be given long second thoughts by a candidate from the White House. . . The advantages of the highest office still accrue to the incumbent, whether he be appointed or elected. . . Mr. Ford ought to reconsider his decision to embrace the primaries and leave himself open to charges by opponents that, to do so, he has abandoned the presidency."

11/17/75

Cabinet Shuffle

While speculating that the public cannot be sure for a long time as to whether the Vice President withdrew from the 1976 ticket on his own (reserving the probability of making "a big political move" later) or at the request of President Ford, ". . . the reasons behind the top level changes in the cabinet seem more obvious. . . Gone is the mild-mannered Jerry Ford, the easy-going ex-congressman from Michigan. A hard-talking man now occupies the White House oval office and he is obviously calling the shots, including the naming of the team players."

11/5/75



Budget

"Bold new programs are ruled out in President Ford's budget. . . How well he does as a candidate of all the people would depend largely on the condition of the economy. . . The White House and Congress have already made known their conflicting views on what can be eliminated without hampering the economic recovery. . . Democrats usually start with the Pentagon. Republicans often complain about the cost of welfare and school aid. . . Republicans will be in deep trouble if the economic conditions fail to brighten by election day. At the moment, the outlook for Democrats isn't so promising either."

2/22/76



SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER

Angola

Position same as that expressed in editorial which appeared in the San Francisco Examiner dated 12/20/75.

Tax Cut

"President Ford's no-compromise stand on federal tax reduction will hurt those who can least afford it--the middle and lower-middle class wage earners. . . While Ford's hard line on spending may be politically sound, it ignores several realities. . . Until the first draft of President Ford's budget is presented to the Democratically controlled Congress in January, members have no way of knowing where cuts can be made. . . If, at that time, President Ford does not agree with the proposed cuts in taxes and spending he can veto them."

12/12/75

Nomination of Justice Stevens

"President Ford displayed exemplary judiciousness in his designation of Chicago Federal Appeals Court Judge John Paul Stevens to fill the Supreme Court seat vacated by ailing William O. Douglas on Nov. 12. . . Thus the President has fully discharged his principle responsibility: to settle upon a nominee whose experience and whose qualities of mind and temperament are commensurate with the role of the court in this society and its importance to the nation's future."

12/2/75

Trip to China

"President Gerald Ford's visit to Peking this week probably will not result in any new diplomatic breakthrough. . . One reason diplomatic gains promise to be minimal is Ford's recent Cabinet shuffle. . . While we can't share the President's optimistic view of his trip as being of 'great significance,' at least the tour can be seen as an effort to continue relations with Pacific rim neighbors."

12/1/75

New York City

"New Yorkers breathed easier on Thanksgiving Day" because of "President Ford's grudging support for limited federal aid. . . . Even so, New York faces a long uphill fight for survival--a struggle made more difficult by the tough terms for assistance imposed by the White House. And it is doubtful whether there is a great deal of hope for New York or any other large metropolitan center unless the Ford administration recognizes and responds to the fiscal crisis faced by urban areas nation-wide."

11/28/75

Lockheed

"In the highly competitive world of international trade, some executives think cash payment to foreign leaders is good business. . . . Where is the line between buying good will and bribery? . . . In many respects Lockheed is a semi-public agency" because of government guarantee of loans in 1971. "When it pays off a foreign official to push sales of its aircraft, it is spending American taxpayers' money. . . . Americans would object strongly if a foreign country gave cash to our political leaders to promote the sale of foreign-produced goods. U.S. elected officials have an obligation to regulate American companies doing business abroad to insure that honesty between nations remain a two-way proposition."

2/12/76

Abortion

". . . real issues of the 1976 campaign are being obscured by a campaign by pro- and anti-abortion forces. . . . So far, most presidential contenders have tried to avoid the issue. . . . An exception is President Gerald Ford's announcement last week. . . . Voters should realize that abortion now stands as a private concern, not a national one. . . . Clearly, it is divisive to raise this strictly private issue to a level of national controversy. Reasonable citizens will recognize the necessity of getting back to the real concerns of the country."

2/9/76



FEC

"As presently constituted, the commission has not been outstanding. In nine months of operation, the commission has been clumsy, ill-informed and irresolute. . . However, if the body is reshaped as an independent agency, with both congressional and presidential input, commissioners might better fill their watchdog role. . . While the 1974 act obviously still has some real problems, it is an improvement over pre-Watergate politics. . . The 1976 election will avoid some abuses of previous years. Even with its failings the campaign act has partly changed the way presidential campaigns are financed. The Supreme Court decision clearing away doubts surrounding the act is a partial victory for those who have been laboring to insure that the system operates in the public interest."

2/8/76

Override of Veto of HEW Funding Bill

"President Ford's loss in Congress recently on a \$45 billion bill to fund health, education and welfare programs signals a nationwide yearning to tackle more domestic problems. . . The congressional action appears to mean that elected leaders are beginning to pay attention in this re-election year to those issues that touch the voters at home." Congressmen "seem to be hearing from home that the folks there want to get back more for themselves for the dollars they send to Washington, D. C."

2/11/76

Budget

"Last week President Ford prescribed for the nation's ailing economy a federal budget based on the trickle-down theory of economics favored by Herbert Hoover. . . The downward trickle of money in the economy would cause new jobs to bloom. . . However, Ford, to keep inflation checked, would accept having seven out of every 100 workers in the unemployment lines, to keep their wages from firing price hikes."

"In response to Ronald Reagan's proposal to amputate \$90 billion yearly out of federal spending, Ford also would give bloc grants of federal money to states to use as they want for federal health, education and welfare programs."

"In his evangelical way, Sen. Muskie would stimulate the economy in the opposite direction, by using tax money to put people to work on public

jobs. . . Rather than wait for jobs to trickle-down to them, 300,000 persons now unemployed would be put back to work again. . . To break inflation, Sen. Muskie would have the government intervene to inhibit corporations from increasing the prices just to increase profits. And rather than begin bleeding the federal agencies off into state agencies, Sen. Muskie would reform them."

"Unfortunately. . . neither the trickle-down nor the turn-on-the-tap approach has worked well as nostrums for depression or inflation, or as the plague would have it now, depression with inflation. . . Something or someone new is needed at the economic waterworks." During the coming elections, the candidates must put "to public test new ideas for securing the business, jobs and stable dollar that everyone wants."

1/25/76

COLUMNS BY MARIANNE MEANS

Cabinet Shake-up

Ms. Means, in commenting on the Cabinet shake-up, drew the following comparison between the President and former President Woodrow Wilson: ". . . there is an unmistakable similarity in the inexperience and ineffective approach to tough and unpleasant problems. The Presidency is no place for amateurs."

"President Ford simply does not give the impression that he really knows what he is doing. For months, he wasted endless days in traveling around the country, making speeches in which he said so little of value that eventually reporters stopped writing down what he said."

Briefly commenting only about Rumsfeld and Bush--both "look good on paper" but there is "the amateur problem again," Ms. Means went on to say: "Ford's abrupt cabinet shuffle, the awkward way in which it was handled, and his lack of candor in explaining the changes have produced a sharply negative reaction both at home and abroad. He has surrounded himself with a loyal crowd of old cronies from Congress or Michigan who may be jovial on the golf course but who are not equipped to provide him with a broad range of options and opinions."

11/11/75

L. William Seidman

"President Ford has been shaking up his White House setup and making a concerted effort to look more presidential than politician, but he still hasn't gotten it all together. The bungling and mediocre staff work continues. For instance, Ford recently muffed a rare opportunity to make points with probably the most imposing collection of industry giants" by sending William Seidman to address the Hall of Fame for Business Leadership. "Seidman, predictably, bombed. He just wasn't up to the caliber and sophistication of his audience. . . Many thought the President's decision to send Seidman who is no economist, was an insult. . . Ford could have given the assignment to several far more knowledgeable and prestigious figures than Seidman. . . The worst part of Seidman's debacle is that those industry chieftains not only got a bad impression of Seidman but they got a bad impression of Ford."

2/12/76

Farm Issue--Estate Tax

Ms. Means comments that very little is done for the farmer except during a campaign year, and that "President Ford was simply following tradition when he told the American Farm Bureau Federation convention in St. Louis recently that he intended to send Congress a measure to revise family farm estate taxes. . . The estate tax has long been considered by farmers to be particularly unfair to them; (however, President Ford) either didn't know, or thought nobody else would know, that one of his Democratic presidential rivals (Birch Bayh) has been fighting for an estate tax break for small farmers for years."

1/15/76

White House[#] Staff

"The President appears to be trying to streamline his operation to face the Reagan threat by clearing out some of the old cronies he brought to the White House, more for their loyalty than their expertise. . . . The principal target for renewal is the White House speech writing section, directed by former newspaperman Robert Hartmann. The President's speeches, in the eyes of many White House correspondents, are consistently dull and poorly-researched. . . Hartmann is a tough-minded conservative with a reputation for a nasty personality and little imagination. Hartmann is apparently to be downgraded. . . The staff shake-up, however, is not to involve any overall expansion of personnel. The President plans to cite a reduction of his personal staff to set an example of cost-cutting in his budget message to Congress later this month."

1/13/76

"EDITOR'S REPORT" - Recent Columns By
WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, JR.

Portugal - American Tourists Could Help Portugal Maintain Freedom

"Portugal has survived an actual Communist takeover, fought back with amazing success and is working hard at being a practicing democracy in the proper European sense and as a rightful member of the Western World. This is an historical achievement. No other country to suffer the yoke of Communist rule has ever before been able to shake it off. . . Their epic struggle has been overshadowed and unappreciated in the outside world by the trauma gripping Angola--its rich ex-colony in Africa--de-colonized only to be gobbled up by the Russians using Cuba mercenaries. . . The most recent battle has been won. But the war against communism never ends. There's a long way to go. We can help in our own way by coming here on trips abroad. Come on over, you'll have a fine and moderately priced holiday--and in that way you know that you are helping this brave little country help itself in freedom."

2/15/76

New York City - Federal Government Should Ensure Reform On Spending

"Mr. Ford's decision to oppose financial aid to the stricken city and to hold it up to ridicule in talks throughout the country and even abroad, is obviously intended to woo from Gov. Reagan the conservative city-mistrusting supporters in the South, Southwest, Midwest, and West. As readers of this column will recall, I found some logic in President Ford's suggestion that the city be allowed to go bankrupt so that under a federal court it could be completely reorganized with sound economic programs and policies. But this assumed that Mr. Ford had the city's interest at heart and not his forthcoming political campaign. . . The loan guarantee plan probably would cost American taxpayers nothing. Bankruptcy, on the other hand, could cost the federal government billions of dollars. . . This does not even contemplate the damage that default would do throughout the rest of America and to our trading partners abroad. . . There is no denying that New York's leaders in the past have been wasteful and extravagant. . . A good father does not toss his prodigal son out into the cold when he returns home broke and in debt. Instead he exacts a promise that he will reform, puts him on a strict allowance and a tight budget, and shows him the paths of prudence."

11/9/75



New York City - President Playing Political Game

"The nearly eight million people of New York City and the more than 10 million other residents of New York State are being victimized by a vicious political game orchestrated and directed by President Gerald Ford. . . This is small bore politics, born of a small town attitude. It is a blatant attempt to woo conservative Republican voters who are threatening to defect to Ronald Reagan. The former California governor's campaign is gaining so much momentum it is obviously coloring the President's judgment. . . The President's position is patently and purely political. . . He (has) persisted in scornfully referring to federal aid as a "bail out," which he has done in statements from Belgrade to Omaha. . . This is pure deception, since New York asks for no money, but merely a guarantee. . . Mr. Ford is playing politics with New York. One thing he may have overlooked: He can lose with New York, but he can't win without it."

11/23/76

Angola - Detente Isn't Working

"Detente isn't working. Under it, Russia is expanding her colonization in strategic parts of the world, eroding American power and prestige, and creating military bases that have the potential of threatening America's vital supply routes for oil and other essentials. . . Once the Soviets have succeeded in "colonizing" Angola, the Middle East and all of Africa will be completely ringed by Russian naval and air power. And all of this, it must be remembered, has been achieved by the Soviets during our period of detente. . . The pursuit of detente, and of peace, is the proper and morally correct objective of our foreign policy. Peace should be its goal. Peace, but not peace at any price. . . Detente has caused the United States to "halt the arms race," but except in the area of some missiles, it has not slowed down the Soviets. Under detente Russians are gaining territory and military bases in ever-widening areas of the world. . . It's time to take a long, hard look at this thing called detente. It seems to be causing us irreparable harm."

12/7/75



Intelligence Review - Need Responsibility

Some segments of the media in league with some liberal politicians have been enjoying such a gleeful and irresponsible field day with this nation's vital Central Intelligence Agency that there is the distinct possibility its effectiveness has been nullified for some time to come. . . The American people can only hope that the full membership will approach the assignment with a great deal more responsibility than was displayed by either of the investigative committees of the Senate or House. . . It is possible to understand over-zealousness in politicians; many of them are merely vote-seekers instead of statesmen. It is less possible to understand what has happened to the media under the guise of the 'new journalism'. . . After members of Congress has either willfully shot down the CIA, or tacitly permitted it to be neutralized, both the Senate and the House, this past week, knocked down a plea from the White House and State Department to provide financial support to pro-Western troops in Angola. . . All of this leaves some of us bewildered. If the Russians are so well-intended, if they mean us no harm, and if they are not, indeed competing with us on a global basis, then perhaps we should do away with the CIA entirely. Perhaps, in addition, we should inform the Angolans who do not want to be Sovietized that they had best lay down their arms, because under detente what's good for Russia is O.K. with the U.S.A. Is this the message we are to get out of all the current nonsense in Washington?"

2/1/76

PARTICIPANTS'
BIOGRAPHIES

PARTICIPANTS' BIOGRAPHIES

Mr. William Butler Bellamy

BELLAMY, WILLIAM BUTLER, newspaper editor; b. Little Rock, Nov. 28, 1920; s. William B. and Eva (Lee) B.; student Tulane U., 1939-41; m. Carolyn Wright, May 12, 1943; children—William B. III, Linda Carol, Russell Wright. With Express Publishing Co. 1946; sports editor San Antonio News, 1947-49; sports dir., 1949-52; Express mng. editor, 1952; News mng. editor, 1953-56; exec. adminstr. news, Express Publishing Co.; KENS, television and radio, 1956-57; asst. to pres., 1957-62; asst. mng. editor San Antonio Light, 1962-67; mng. editor, 1967—. Commnr. Fiesta San Antonio Assn. Bd. dirs. San Antonio 200, San Antonio Boy Scout Council, San Antonio Livestock Show, Mental Health Assn., 1962; Council on Alcoholism, 1963; bd. gov. S.W. Found. for Research and Edn. Served as test pilot USAAF, 1941-45. Named San Antonian of Year, Jr. C. of C., 1950; recipient Latin-Am. Good Neighbor award, 1950; San Antonio Bar Assn. award, 1969; named most outstanding young Texan, Texas Jr. C. of C., 1956. Mem. San Antonio Air Force Assn. (squadron commander), Am. Athletic Union (1st v.p. S. Tex.), Express-News Athletic Assn. (pres. 1948-63), Sigma Delta Chi, Christian Ch. (elder 1961-64). Clubs: Kiwanis (dir.), San Antonio Breakfast (pres. 1955); San Antonio Exchange (pres. 1961, dist. gov. 1962), San Antonio Press (trustee 1963). Home: 185 Terrell Rd San Antonio TX 78209 Office: Light Pub Co San Antonio TX 78209

Mr. Mark Francis Collins

COLLINS, MARK FRANCIS, newspaper pub.; b. Mechanicville, N.Y., Oct. 15, 1913; s. John Joseph and Elizabeth (Farley) C.; A.B., U. Ala., 1935; student Union Coll., Schenectady, 1936-37; m. Olive Jackson, Aug. 9, 1943; children—Joseph J., Judith, Mark II, David. Reporter, Saratoga, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., 1939-41; mem. advt. Schenectady Gazette, 1941-50; advt. mgr. Albany (N.Y.) News-Union, 1950-54; asst. pub. advt. dir., 1955-59; advt. dir. Boston Post, 1954-55; asst. pub. advt. dir. Boston Record Am., 1959-64; pub. Balt. News Am., 1964; v.p., dir. Hearst Consol. Publs., Hearst Pub. Co. Bd. dirs. Greater Balt. Good Will Industries, Bur.

Advt. Am. Newspaper Pubs. Assn., Balt. Conv. Bur.; Md. regional bd. Nat. Conf. Christians and Jews; adv. bd. Md. Higher Edn. Com. Served to 1st lt. USMCR, World War II. Mem. Balt. Assn. Commerce (dir.), Advt. Club Balt. (gov.), Md.-Del.-D.C. Press. Asso. Press. C. of C. Met. Balt. (dir.). Clubs: Merchants, Balt. Country, Center (Balt.). Home: 211 Wendover Rd Baltimore MD 21218 Office: Balt. News American Lombard and South Sts Baltimore MD 21203

Mr. Frank Anthony Bennack, Jr.

BENNACK, FRANK ANTHONY, Jr., newspaper publisher; b. San Antonio, Feb. 12, 1933; s. Frank Anthony and Lita W. (Connally) B.; student U. Md., 1954-56, St. Mary's U., 1956-58; m. Luella M. Smith, Sept. 1, 1951; children—Shelley, Laura, Diane, Cynthia, Julie. Advt. account exec. San Antonio Light, 1950-53, 56-58, adv. mgr., 1961-65, asst. pub., 1963-67, pub., 1967—; dir. sales, advt. Jorrie Furniture Co., San Antonio, 1958-61; dir. Alamo Nat. Bank, San Antonio. Vice chmn. bd. San Antonio Symphony. Trustee Our Lady of Lake Coll. hon. trustee Witte Meml. Mus. Served with AUS, 1954-56. Mem. Tex. Daily Newspaper Assn. (bd. dirs. 1969—), Am. Newspaper Pubs. Assn., Greater San Antonio C. of C. (v.p. 1969—), Rotarian (bd. dirs. Antonio). Home: 401 Squires Row San Antonio TX 78213 Office: J Broadway S; San Antonio TX 78205

Mr. Thomas Eastham

EASTHAM, THOMAS, newspaper editor; b. Attleboro, Mass., Aug. 21, 1923; s. John M. and Margaret (Marsden) E.; student English, Northwestern U., 1946-52; m. Berenice J. Hirsch, Oct. 12, 1946; children—Scott Thomas, Todd Robert. With Chgo. American, 1945-56, asst. Sunday editor, 1953-54, feature writer, 1954-56; news editor San Francisco Call Bull., 1956-62; exec. editor San Francisco News-Call Bull., 1962-65, San Francisco Examiner, 1965—. Served with USMCR, 1941-45. Mem. Am. Soc. Newspaper Editors, Am. Soc. Newspaper Editors, Sigma Delta Chi. Home: 10 Panorana Ct Hillsborough CA 94010 Office: 10 Mission St San Francisco CA 94119

Mr. Robert Carlton Bergenheim

BERGENHEIM, ROBERT CARLTON, publisher; b. Boston, Jan. 19, 1924; s. Carl O. and Thyra (Granting) B.; student Boston U., 1941-43, 46-53; Nieman fellow, Harvard, 1953-54; m. Elizabeth Darling McKee, Aug. 30, 1947; children—Richard, Carol, Roger, Robert, Christine, Ronald. Copyboy, Christian Sci. Monitor, Boston, 1941-43, Boston City Hall reporter, 1948-57, New Eng. news and city editor, 1957-60, asst. mgr. Christian Sci. Pub. Soc., 1960-69, mgr., 1969—. Active Big Brother Assn. Mem. Gov. Mass. Com. Study Free Press and Fair Trial, 1969-70. Served with USNR, 1943-46. PTO. Mem. Boston U. Alumni Assn., Boston Bar-Press Com. Home: Canoe Tree Way Marshfield Hills MA 02051 Office: 1 Norway St Boston MA 02115

Mr. Robert Gordon Fichenberg

FICHENBERG, ROBERT GORDON, newspaper editor; b. Phila., Jan. 1, 1920; s. Samuel Harrison and Katherine (Gordon) F.; B.S., Syracuse U., 1940; m. Ruth Pollard, Sept. 14, 1947; children—Ruth Ann, Kathryn Leigh. City editor Adirondack Daily Enterprise, Saranac Lake, N.Y., 1940-42; reporter, copy editor, asst. city editor Binghamton (N.Y.) Press, 1942-57; mng. editor Knickerbocker News, Albany, N.Y., 1957-66, exec. editor, 1966—. Served to 1st lt. Signal Corps, AUS, 1942-46; to capt. U.S. Army, 1951-52. Mem. Am. N.Y. State (pres.) socs. newspaper editors. A.P. Mng. Editors Assn., N.Y. State A.P. Assn. (past pres.), Sigma Delta Chi. Home: Bullock Rd Singerlands RD NY 12159 Office: 24 Sheridan Av Albany NY 12201

Mr. Sam Bornstein

BORNSTEIN, SAM, newspaper editor; b. Boston, Dec. 3, 1913; s. Harry and Anna (Phillips) B.; B.S. in Journalism, Boston U., 1935; m. Ruth Novogroski, Jan. 4, 1938; children—Marjorie, Harold. Engaged as a reporter with Boston Am., 1936-38; city editor Boston Sunday Advertiser, 1938-42, mng. editor, 1942-71; exec. editor Boston Record Am. and Sunday Advertiser, 1971—. Mem. Sunday Editors Assn., Am. Soc. Newspaper Editors, A.P. Mng. Editors Assn., Boston U. Alumni Assn., Sigma Delta Chi. Home: 780 Boylston St Boston MA 02199 Office: 5 Winthrop Sq Boston MA 02106

Mr. Donald Irving Goodenow

GOODENOW, DONALD IRVING, newspaper editor; b. Berkeley, Cal., Apr. 16, 1920; s. Harold and Mildred (Barcus) G.; student U. Cal. at Los Angeles, 1938-42; m. Grayce Stedman Van Tress, June 30, 1944; children—Guy Donald, Georgi Ann. Mem. editorial dept. Los Angeles Examiner, 1942-62; with Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, 1962—, mng. editor, 1964—. Mem. prof. journalism adv. com. U. Cal. at Los Angeles. Served with AUS, 1942-43. Mem. Am. Soc. Newspaper Editors. Club: Los Angeles Press. Office: 1111 S Broadway Los Angeles CA 90054

Mr. Randolph Apperson Hearst

HEARST, RANDOLPH APPERSON, pub. exec.; b. N.Y.C., Dec. 2, 1915; s. William Randolph and Millicent (Wilson) H.; student Harvard, 1933-34; m. Catherine Campbell, Jan. 12, 1938; children—Catherine, Virginia, Patricia, Anne, Victoria. Asst. to editor Atlanta Georgian, 1934-38, asst. to pub. San Francisco Calif. Bull., 1938-41, exec. editor, 1946—, pub., 1950-53; pres., dir., chief exec. officer Hearst Consol. Pubis., Inc.; pres. Hearst Pub. Co., Inc., 1953-64; The Hearst Corp., 1965—; trustee Hearst Found. Served as capt., Air Transport Command, USAAF, 1942-45, Roman Catholic. Clubs: Piedmont Driving (Atlanta), Burlingame Country, Pacific Union; Press (San Francisco). Home: 225 W Santa Inez Av Hillsborough CA 94010 Office: Hearst Bldg San Francisco CA 94103

Mrs. Marianne Hansen Means

MEANS, MARIANNE HANSEN, polit. columnist; b. Sioux City, Ia., June 13, 1934; d. Ernest Maynard and Else Marie Johanne (Andersen) Hansen; B.A., U. Neb., 1956; m. Edward H. DeHart, Copy editor Lincoln (Neb.) Jour., 1955-57, woman's editor No. Va. Sun, Arlington, 1957-59; Washington bur. corr. Hearst Headline Service, 1959-61, White House corr., 1961-65; polit. columnist King Features Syndicate, 1965—, Mem. D.C. Woman's Savs. Bond Com., 1959-62, Recipient Front Page award N.Y. Newspaper Women, 1962, Mem. White House Corrs. Assn., Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Delta Delta, Theta Sigma Phi, Kappa Tau Alpha, Gamma Alpha Phi. Club:

Woman's National Press. Author: The Woman in the White House, 1963. Home: 1521 31st St NW Washington DC 20007 Off.: Pennsylvania Av Washington DC 20006

Mr. George Randolph Hearst

HEARST, GEORGE RANDOLPH, Jr., newspaper exec.; b. San Francisco, July 13, 1927; s. George and Blanche (Wilbur) H.; m. Mary Thompson, Apr. 23, 1951 (dec. Dec. 1969); children—Mary, George Randolph III, Stephen T., Erin; m. 2d, Patricia Ann Bell, Nov. 30, 1969. Pvt. bus., 1946-48; staff Los Angeles Examiner, 1948-50, San Francisco Examiner, 1954-56; with Los Angeles Evening Herald-Express, 1956—, bus. mgr., 1957—, pub., 1969—; pub. Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, 1962—; dir. Hearst Corp. Trustee Hearst Found. Served with USNR, 1945-46; with AUS, 1950-54, Mem. V.F.W. Clubs: Burlingame Country, Jonathan, Riviera. Home: 318 N Rockingham Av Los Angeles CA 90049 Office: 1111 S Broadway Los Angeles CA 90015

Mr. Reg Murphy

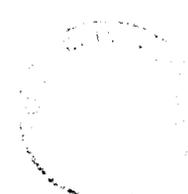
MURPHY, REG, newspaper editor; b. Hoschton, Ga., Jan. 7, 1934; s. John Lee and Mae (Ward) M.; student Mercer U., 1950-54; Nieman fellow, Harvard, 1959-60; m. Virginia Grace Rawls, Dec. 23, 1954; children—Karen Leigh, Susan Virginia. With Macon Telegraph & News, 1953-60; polit. editor Atlanta Constn., 1961-65; editor, 1966—, free lance writer, mag. editor Atlanta Mag., 1965-68, Mem. Atlanta Press Club, Sigma Delta Chi, Club: Griffin (Ga.) Country. Home: 1325 N Decatur Rd Atlanta GA 30306 Office: 10 Forsyth St Atlanta GA 30302

Mr. Joseph Kingsbury-Smith

KINGSBURY-SMITH, JOSEPH, journalist; b. N.Y.C., Feb. 20, 1908; s. William Barstow and Maria (Jordan) S.; educated privately and at St Francis Xavier, N.Y.C., 1918, St. Joseph's Sch., 1923, Friend's Prep. Sch., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1926, U. London, 1928; m. Eileen King, July 20, 1940; children—Eileen Jordan, Diane. Copy boy, cub reporter, Internat. News Service, 1924-26; fgn. cable desk, United Press, 1926-27; reporter London Bur., Internat. News Service, 1927-31, covered U.S. Senate, 1931-32, State, War, Navy Deps., 1932-36, mgr. London Bur., 1936, exec. asst. dir. fgn. service, 1940, State Dept., 1941-44; became European gen. mgr. Internat. News Service and Internat. News Photos; v.p., dir. Hearst Corp., gen. mgr. Internat. News Service, Internat. News Photos, 1955-58, now v.p.,

European dir. Hearst Corp., chief fgn. writer Hearst Newspapers and King Features Syndicate, 1966—; became v.p., dir. Hearst Consol. Pubs., Inc., 1953; pub. N.Y. Jour.-Am. Trustee Fordham U., Hearst Estate, Recipient George R. Holmes Meml. award, 1941-49, Nat. Headliners' Club award, 1941, 47, 50; Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service award, 1949; L.I.U. George Puik award, 1950; Chevalier Legion of Honor, 1950; Pulitzer prize for distinguished internat. reporting, 1956; Knight of Malta; knight comdr. Order St. Denis of Zante; U.S. Govt.'s Distinguished Service award, 1961. Club: Brook. Home: Via Dei Foraggi 86-A Rome Italy

Who's Who In America
1972 - 1973 Edition



DOMESTIC

VETOES HURT...

- Q. Many of your vetoes are of programs that are calculated to help the unemployed, handicapped, the sick, and the elderly. How can this be justified?
- A. The problem is that the bills I vetoed that were "calculated" to help needy groups were miscalculated. In the first place, it is usually these very groups that are hurt most when the economy goes awry. I don't veto a bill for the benefit of some abstraction called "the economy."

I veto bad bills -

- . Because excessive government spending creates an inflation which raises prices out of the reach of the retired elderly on fixed incomes.
- . Because such an inflation raises the cost of medical care so the sick may be forced on welfare.
- . Because an unstable economy leads to further recessions and even higher unemployment. In such situations the disadvantaged and handicapped have greater difficulties than others in finding jobs.

In the second place, many of these vetoed bills have serious flaws - aside from the amount of money - which would keep them from concentrating help on those most in need.

2-12-76

POSITIVE APPROACH

- Q. The United States has, perhaps more than any other nation in history, been highly self-critical. Last week, Vice President Rockefeller said we have been through four years of negativism. How would you go about emphasizing the good points about the United States?

(NOTE: This was the subject of a recent column by Reg Murphy)

- A. Self-criticism can be very helpful. It prevents complacency and enables you to correct deficiencies and move forward toward your goals.

But I do feel that we have in recent years been so negative in our criticism of ourselves and our society that many people have come to feel that we can't do anything right, that the institutions of our society and its leaders are incompetent.

I think the best way to change that is by example - by doing our jobs well.

I also think that most Americans are tired of this type of criticism. We have a great country and we are making it greater.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Question: Governor Reagan has suggested the possibility of investing money from the Social Security trust fund in industrial stock as a way to increase revenues for the fund. Do you believe this is a viable alternative?

Answer: I would be very much opposed to any such proposal. Secretary of Commerce Richardson commented the other day that in the United Kingdom this very approach was dismissed as being too socialistic. There is no question that such a program would seriously disrupt the stock market and place the United States government in the position of controlling the major industrial firms in the United States. This proposal by Governor Reagan is totally inconsistent with the fundamental support which this Administration has for the free market system.

SOCIAL SECURITY

- Q. Your tax increase proposal does not address the long-term financing problem of the Social Security system. How do you propose to solve this larger problem?
- A. The Social Security system is facing both short-term and long-term financing difficulties. I am submitting to the Congress legislative proposals to deal with both the short and long term problems.

My immediate proposal, sent to the Congress this past week, is designed to deal with the short-fall in income that Social Security is now experiencing through a modest tax rate increase. I ask you to join me in urging the Congress to adopt my recommendation.

I will shortly be sending legislation to the Congress that addresses the long term problem and proposes changes to correct a flaw in the Social Security law. If left unchanged this could lead to unstable benefit levels in the future. My long-term proposal would generally stabilize future benefit levels in relation to future wage levels and, in so doing, would reduce the estimated long term problem by nearly one-half.

With regard to the rest of the long term financing problem -- most of which does not arise until after the turn of the century -- I am recommending that action be taken only after public policy makers in both the Administration and the Congress have had an opportunity to evaluate the situation in the light of the legislation that is adopted and to assess fully the long range implications of emerging economic and demographic trends.

SCM
2/12/76

SOCIAL SECURITY

- Q. If Congress does not increase the Social Security tax paid by employees and employers, what will you do to keep the Social Security trust fund from going bankrupt?
- A. You must realize that the Social Security System is not in immediate danger of going bankrupt. But we do need to act now to prevent the potential of future bankruptcy. That is why I have proposed a modest increase in the Social Security tax rate for employees and employers (0.3%, each) to deal with the shortfall of income that Social Security is experiencing. I ask you to join with me in urging the Congress to act promptly on this proposal so that social security monthly payments in the future will be assured.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Q. What is your position with regard to increasing the outside earning limitation placed on Social Security recipients?

A. First, let me point out that the annual amount that Social Security beneficiaries can earn and still receive all of their benefits now rises automatically each year to take account of increases in general earnings levels. I would not favor at this time any additional increases in the earnings limitation.

Proposals which significantly raise the annual amount that beneficiaries can earn and still get all of their benefits are extremely costly to the program. Yet they benefit only a small minority of Social Security recipients. I do not believe that this sort of proposal, particularly at a time when the cost of the Social Security program is higher than the revenue it takes in, is in the best interest of the beneficiaries or the public.

NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS

- Q. Should a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants be declared? If not, how do you propose to alleviate public and scientific concern regarding the safety of these plants?
- A. No, there should not be a moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants. Progress toward our goal of an adequate and dependable supply of energy requires expanded use of both coal and nuclear energy, at least until newer and better sources of energy can be developed.

We already have more than 50 commercial nuclear power plants in operation providing dependable, safe, clean and economical sources of energy.

We have created an independent Nuclear Regulatory Commission to regulate and assure the continued safety, reliability and environmental acceptability of nuclear facilities. An extensive study recently completed by a group of non-government safety experts concluded that nuclear power plants are very safe. (In fact, they concluded that the chance of any member of the public being killed in a nuclear plant accident is one in 5 billion -- which is slightly less likely than the chance of being struck by a meteor and over 2,000 times less likely than being struck by lightning.)

Expanding the production of electricity from nuclear power is so important to our energy independence and economic strength that I believe we must take all reasonable steps to assure further the safety of nuclear power and to answer questions that might be of concern to the public.

ENERGY PROGRESS

Q. How do you feel about your progress in energy?

A. As you know, last year I submitted to the Congress a comprehensive set of measures to conserve energy, increase domestic energy production, and provide for strategic reserves and standby authorities in the event of another embargo. The legislation I proposed would achieve energy independence for the U.S.

After a year of prodding, the Congress passed and I signed the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975, which contains several of my policy objectives:

- A national strategic petroleum reserve to provide a stockpile for future embargoes.
- Standby allocation, rationing, and other authorities for use in the event of another embargo.
- An oil pricing formula that provides for decontrol.
- Conservation measures setting energy efficiency targets and requiring energy labels on appliances and automobiles.
- Extension of the Federal Government's ability to mandate utility and industrial conversions to coal from oil and gas.

Four of the thirteen titles I proposed last January are now law and four more have passed at least one House (Naval Petroleum Reserve; thermal standards for new buildings; weatherization program for the poor and elderly; and deregulation of natural gas.) Higher prices have reduced demand and we consumed about one million barrels per day less last fall than previously projected.

But we have a long way to go. We cannot let Presidential politics wreak havoc on our energy future. I urge Congress to enact the rest of my energy proposals.



DEFENSE BUDGET

Q. How can you justify increasing the Defense Department budget in fiscal year 1977 when you have called for restraint in the growth of federal spending?

A. Let me put the Defense increase in perspective.

First, I do not believe there is any informed American who believes we do not need the security of a strong military establishment to enable us to preserve and build on the type of society our forefathers envisioned 200 years ago.

Second, we are working on all fronts to relax world tensions. One tool we must have is a strong and effective military. This is a policy of "peace through strength."

Finally, while our military is second to none, in recent years, our military spending -- in constant dollars -- has dropped. (Using 1977 dollars, it has gone from \$150 billion in 1968 to \$105 billion in 1976.) We need now to reorganize and strengthen our forces, especially in view of increasing Soviet military capacities. We will do that by buying new weapon systems, improving the readiness of existing forces, and increasing selected combat forces.

But at the same time I have insisted that there be no waste at the Defense Department, that the Pentagon share in the general restraint on spending. We also are reducing programs which do not affect combat capability, as part of the general restraint on spending which is affecting the entire executive branch.

BACKGROUND

The FY '77 Defense budget request of \$112.7 billion in total obligational authority is an increase of \$14.4 billion over the \$98.3 billion approved by Congress for FY '76. But only \$7.4 billion of that increase represents real growth; the rest covers inflation.

BUREAUCRACY

- O. Many presidential candidates this year seem to be running against the Federal Government. You yourself have criticized the federal bureaucracy for being too unresponsive to the needs of the people it serves, particularly in the regulatory field. What specifically have you done as President to improve the operation of the Federal Government. not only in federal regulation but in all areas?
- A. If you look at my record in Congress and since I came to the White House you will see that I have argued for a long time that the Federal Government is becoming too big and unresponsive to the needs of our citizens. My Administration has initiated a program of regulatory reform to review all Federal regulatory activities in order to eliminate obsolete and inefficient regulation. For example, I proposed repeal of the fair trade laws and revitalized railroad regulation. Recently, the Congress passed and I signed fair trade and railroad legislation. Also, we are actively working to reduce unnecessary Government paperwork requirements and to assess the economic impacts of all new regulation. My recent budget proposals are designed to reduce the growth of Government and to simplify my grant programs through "block grants."

I have made clear to the people in my Administration that they are servants of the people, working for the best interests of the people.

And, finally, I believe the government must not undermine the peoples' trust by promising more than it can deliver. My policy is to deliver on what I promise and not to promise more than I can deliver.

WELFARE

- Q. When Caspar Weinberger resigned a few months ago as your Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, his parting shot was a call to end the present welfare mess before it bankrupts the country. In place of the present chaotic and costly system, he urged adoption of a new program of case grants which would be tied to a work requirement for everyone in need. His proposal was essentially the same as the Family Assistance Plan advocated by former President Nixon and Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Do you support that kind of welfare reform? Do you think Congress will go along with a total overhaul of the present system? Wouldn't this be one way to ease the fiscal pressure and avert the danger of bankruptcy in New York and other cities and states where welfare costs have gone out of control?

- A. It is clear to everyone that the current welfare system is in a mess, and one of our prime objectives must be a sweeping overhaul -- hopefully before the end of the decade.

For a number of reasons, however, I do not believe that 1976 is the proper year to enact a major new welfare program. We will be approaching national elections soon, and it would not be fair to turn the futures of millions of disadvantaged Americans into a political football. Moreover, we are still in the early stages of economic recovery, and we must not take a major detour.

Given those considerations, I think that 1976 can nonetheless be a year of substantial progress.

I believe that in 1976 we must concentrate on making improvements in the existing programs. Specifically, I have sent to Congress proposals for reform of the Food Stamp program so that benefits can be concentrated on the truly needy. In addition, I will be sending to Congress a proposal to enable the President with approval of Congress to tighten up rules to make programs of assistance more equitable and efficient.

NEW YORK CITY

- Q. Mayor Beame and Gov. Carey admitted last week that New York City was not living up to the three-year financial plans on which current federal loans are based. They have said they may ask Congress to expand permanent aid. Would you now support such aid? And do you feel that New York City may have misled you into supporting aid for them last Fall?
- A. Neither the Mayor nor the Governor stated that New York City was not living up to its financial promises. What they did say is that New York City's deficit would be \$300 million higher than previously forecast. The plan is not immutable, nor is it tied to a specific deficit level. The only thing fixed about the plan is that, under state law, it must result in a balanced budget by fiscal year 1978.

I was heartened that Mayor Beame recognized this in his press conference last week. He said, "The law says three years and I will obey the law." To my knowledge, the Mayor is committed to carrying out his part of the bargain and has not urged any form of permanent Federal financing. I, of course, would not support such a proposal.

We were not misled last November. We knew the challenge was enormous. We knew that a maximum effort by all parties would be required to reach a satisfactory solution. And we were willing to participate to the extent that, and only for so long as, the taxpayers' interests were fully protected.

February 20, 1976



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OK

DETENTE

Q. What is our national interest in terms of detente? Is detente working in our favor or the Russians?

A. In recent months there has been a tendency to look at Soviet-American relations very narrowly, to focus on the continuing differences between us, to oversimplify a complex relationship and to overlook what has been achieved. In my view, a proper understanding of this Government's policy toward the Soviet Union requires that it be seen in the context of our broader and determined effort to create a more peaceful and more stable world.

The advancement of U.S. interests and the safeguarding of this nation's security form the bedrock of U.S. foreign policy. We implement this foreign policy in concert with our allies. Since taking office, I have pursued these objectives through close and continuing consultations with our friends and Allies -- at the NATO summit and through scores of summit meetings here and abroad -- and through negotiations with our competitors. My policy is aimed at safeguarding and advancing the interests of all Americans.

In recent years, the United States and its colleagues, particularly in Europe, have engaged the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on an important range of issues aimed at lessening the chances for war and improving the opportunities for cooperation. This effort to achieve a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union expresses the continuing desire of the vast majority



of the American people for easing international tensions while at the same time safeguarding our vital interests and our security.

Such an improved relationship is in our real national interest.

We have no illusions in this process. The suspicions and rivalries of more than a generation cannot be swept away with documents or summit meetings. Political rivalries and military competition between us continue.

In light of these realities, a strong defense is the only sure foundation for peace and America, in concert with its allies, must maintain a defense second to none. We must and shall firmly defend our own vital interests and those of our friends. At the same time, through a combination of firmness and flexibility, we have laid the basis for a more stable relationship with the USSR based on mutual interest and mutual restraint. We have made important progress -- for example, the Berlin Agreement of 1971, the Vladivostok accords of 1974. I believe the agreements reached so far represent a historic and positive change in the nature of the competition between our systems -- a competition that certainly will continue.

We have reached a new plateau in our relationship. If the pace in some areas has slowed, we must bear in mind what has already been achieved and acknowledge that the issues now are becoming more complex and their implications more significant.

The state of Soviet-American relations can no longer be arithmetically gauged by the number of agreements reached or by the frequency of summits. It is essential that we and the Soviet leaders understand each other's positions clearly. The United States cannot be indifferent to Soviet actions on the international scene that are destabilizing and inconsistent with the principles of coexistence signed in 1972. This is the case in Angola. Continuation of the Soviet intervention there would have to be taken into account in our own policy.

Because we are ideological competitors, the contacts inherent in our current relationship with the Soviet Union permit frank discussions on international issues where our views do not coincide. While we do not agree, we each come away from these exchanges with a clearer understanding of the other side's views and therefore a greater chance of avoiding miscalculation or misunderstanding.



January 20, 1976

USSR, ANGOLA & SALT

Q: Mr. President, in light of Soviet actions in Angola, is it not inconsistent for the Administration to continue working with the USSR -- to send Secretary Kissinger to Moscow -- to negotiate an agreement on strategic arms?

A: There are two points to be made in answering your question.

First, as I have said on previous occasions, the United States considers Soviet actions in Angola to be incompatible with a genuine relaxation of tensions, a more constructive relationship which, in our view, must be based on mutual restraint, mutual avoidance of attempts to obtain unilateral advantage, and mutual concern for our respective interests. Soviet actions in Angola, if continued, are bound to affect the general relationship with the United States.

At the same time, we must remember that the effort to limit strategic arms is not a favor we grant to the Soviet Union but an objective that is in our national interest -- our interest in capping the strategic arms race and in increasing the prospects for a secure and peaceful world. The United States has participated now for over six years in talks to limit strategic arms, through the ups and downs of our day-to-day relations with the USSR. We have made important, historic progress that has safeguarded and advanced our national security interests. We are continuing this effort with the current talks in Moscow.

SALT

Q: With Secretary Kissinger's visit to Moscow it appears that we have reached a critical turning-point in the SALT negotiations. Would you take this opportunity to give us your personal view on the importance of these negotiations?

A: Further limitations on nuclear arms are clearly an essential part of our efforts to secure stable and orderly relationship with the Soviet Union.

I am personally convinced that a resumption of unrestrained competition in strategic arms would seriously undermine that relationship and inevitably increase the risk of nuclear war. Such an outcome would also place an enormous burden on the economies of both our countries while offering little prospect of a significant strategic advantage to either side. For this reason, I am committed to achieving a new SALT agreement. I believe this is clearly in our interest and in the best interest of all other countries as well. I have instructed Secretary Kissinger to conduct his current negotiations in that spirit.

I would like to mention some of the specific, long-term consequences of a failure in the SALT negotiations. The Soviet Union could:

- build additional ICBMs without restrictions;
- build more ballistic missile submarines without having to dismantle their old ICBMs; and



-- since there would be no aggregate ceiling of 2400 central systems they could build additional strategic bombers without restriction.

The last point is perhaps most important. Without the Vladivostok understanding that both sides should have equal numbers of strategic systems, there would again be unrestrained competition between the U. S. and USSR in strategic arms. This could result in one of two undesirable alternatives:

-- Either we would have to accept large additional expenditures in strategic arms;

-- Or we would have to accept a perceived inequality in strategic forces with its adverse political implications.

The latter alternative is clearly unacceptable while the former is clearly undesirable. Therefore our objective is to negotiate an agreement that achieves strategic equality for the United States with specific provisions that can clearly be defended as being in our national interest.



U. S. COMMITMENTS AT THE UN

Q: Secretary Kissinger's speech at the Seventh Special Session of the UN last September made a major US commitment to work with the Third and Fourth World nations to find solutions to their economic problems. What are your plans for meeting this commitment?

A: Secretary Kissinger's UN Special Session speech represented an important US commitment to find ways of dealing with the major North/South issues in a realistic and constructive manner. In the speech we offered a number of specific proposals which we believe can serve the interests of developing and industrialized countries alike in a more orderly and prosperous world economy.

I have made it clear to Administration officials that I expect these proposals to be carried out promptly and vigorously. In the Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Geneva we have made a number of specific proposals to improve the export opportunities of developing nations. And we have joined other industrialized countries in improving access to our markets for a wide range of developing country exports through a system of generalized tariff preferences. At the recent IMB meetings in Jamaica there was agreement to the implementation of a key element in the speech -- a Development Security Facility in the IMF to reduce the impact of export shortfalls of developing nations.

Beyond this we have taken a leadership role in bringing about an improved North/South dialogue to seek solutions to issues between the developed, developing and oil exporting nations. In mid-December we participated in the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) in Paris. That meeting, attended by ministers from developed, developing and OPEC nations, formally launched four commissions: energy, raw materials, development and financial issues. These should serve as centers of initiative in the search for mutually beneficial solutions to problems in those areas. The proposals in Secretary Kissinger's speech will be important elements on the agendas of these Commissions.

In our view the key issues for the Commissions should be:

- the price and security of supply of oil as they affect the international economy;
- the serious balance of payments problems of the developing countries;
- the conditions of international investment;
- the issues of key commodity markets, especially food;
- the problems of trade;
- the urgent needs of the poorest countries.

Finding better ways of dealing with issues must be a high priority for us in the coming decade:

-- It is in the best moral and historical tradition of the US to assist the poorer nations in their development efforts.

-- It is in our economic interest that these nations, which account for over one-fourth of our exports, and vital imports, and which wield an increasingly important financial and commercial influence, assume an appropriate share of the responsibilities for and benefits from an orderly and prosperous world economy. Just as we insist that they be responsive to our concerns, so must we find ways of responding to theirs.

-- It is in our political and security interest to resolve the problems between us. Economic confrontation will be harmful to the interests of all countries and to the more peaceful prosperous world we are trying to build.

CONGRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Q: How do you feel about the intrusion of Congress into foreign policy making, an area traditionally and constitutionally associated with the Executive Branch?

A: The question is not whether the Congress has a legitimate and important role to play in the formulation of foreign policy. It clearly does. The real question is whether a body of 535 members can or should attempt a role in the conduct and execution of specific policy issues on virtually a day to day basis.

While the framers of the Constitution designed the separation of powers to protect our individual liberties, they wisely left the President wide latitude in foreign policy making to provide the continuity, decisiveness and flexibility necessary to protect our nation's freedom and security.

After a decade of national turmoil, Congress, not unexpectedly, sought a more active role in foreign policy, an interest I welcomed. As President, I have worked to increase the degree of consultation and interaction with the Congress on major national security issues. I meet frequently with the bipartisan leadership and with other Congressional groups. Members of my Administration as standard practice have briefed relevant Congressional Committees on national security and foreign policy issues as they developed

and have attempted to be responsive to the Committees' needs for specific information.

There is no question the Congress shares responsibility for fundamental decisions about our foreign policy, and both branches must be accountable for their actions and the consequences of their decisions. Unfortunately, when Congress has attempted to dictate the tactics of specific U.S. policies the results have been disturbing, with long range implications for our future. Over the past two years for example,

-- An attempt to pressure Soviet emigration disrupted progress in our economic relations and drastically reduced the flow of Soviet Jews from the USSR.

-- The arms embargo on Turkey has seriously undermined our relations with a key NATO ally and has actually forestalled a solution to the Cyprus problem.

-- In Angola, the Senate voted to prevent effective action by the United States to assist people who were trying to resist domination by outside powers.

-- Investigations of our intelligence agencies resulted in leaks of sensitive information damaging to us and to our allies and demoralized our vital intelligence services.

We must define more clearly the role Congress can and should play in the conduct of our foreign policy. I intend to continue to consult closely with the Congress, and I am hopeful that in the new year we can work to achieve a more constructive and effective partnership, as we must, in strengthening the United States' position in the world.

As I pledged to the American people in my State of the Union Message to seek a "secure, just, and peaceful world", I also pledged to the Congress to work with them to this end. It is equally true, however, that the Congress, for its part, must also work with me.

FOREIGN AID AND TRADE

Q. You recently approved another major purchase of wheat by the Soviet Union, which many consumers fear will add to the price of bread and other commodities sold in America's supermarkets. Wouldn't it have been a better deal if we had swapped our wheat for Russian oil on a quid pro quo basis, which could have lowered the price of petroleum products and made us less dependent on -- and subject to blackmail by -- the Arabs?

A. The United States is extremely fortunate to have the most productive farmers in the world. They not only put food on our tables at prices that are generally more reasonable than food prices elsewhere in the world, but they also sell so much abroad that they keep our balance of trade in the black. Indeed, because of our bumper crop, the price of bread was not adversely affected by grain sales to the Soviets last year.

The problem we have had with the Soviets with regard to wheat is that in the past they entered our markets unexpectedly and with massive unpredictable orders. In 1973, for instance, prices were disruptively forced up for American buyers. I believe the answer to such disruptions is not to shut the Soviets out of the market but to convert them into more regular customers, so that our farmers can plan ahead. That was the purpose of our efforts to negotiate a grain agreement with the Soviets --

an agreement that was successfully concluded in October of 1975. Under this accord, U.S. farmers during the next five years will have a substantial market for their crops, the U.S. consumer need no longer fear disruptive Soviet orders, and our international financial position will be strengthened.

Oil imports from the Soviet Union at a favorable price would make us marginally less dependent on OPEC. Last year we negotiated a letter of intent with the Soviets which may lead to U.S. purchases. Negotiations on this matter resumed late in January.

CUBA

- Q. What are the prospects for improvement in our relations with Cuba in view of its intervention in the Angola conflict?
- A. Cuba's unjustified involvement in the domestic affairs of other nations, such as their encouragement of the Independence movement in Puerto Rico and, particularly, their massive military troupe involvement in the Angola conflict thousands of miles from Havana, is simply incompatible with lessening tensions and improving relations. The Cubans have sent over 10,000 troops to Angola, involving themselves in what should be purely an internal Angolan matter.

I flatly rule out the possibility of any improvement in relations between ourselves and Cuba under these circumstances.



MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT

Q. In the context of moving to solidify our relations with Egypt, is it true that you plan to provide military assistance to Egypt, beginning with C-130 aircraft? And what about our future long-range supply relationship with Egypt?

A. Egyptian interest in military equipment from the U. S. is not a new issue. The subject came up in a general way during President's Sadat's visit here, and he has also discussed his desires in this regard with visiting members of Congress.

We have made it very clear that we would consult with Congress before selling military equipment to Egypt, and whatever is done in this regard would be done in consultation with Congress. This is understood by the Egyptians.

As we have indicated previously, a specific request from Egypt for C-130 aircraft has been received and is being considered. Congress will be consulted before the sale of these aircraft is carried out. These consultations can be expected to begin fairly soon.

As to any future military supply relationship with Egypt, it would have to be seen within the context of our efforts

to assist our friends in the area who are trying to reach a negotiated peace and who have certain legitimate security needs. In the case of Egypt, our emphasis is primarily on assisting in the economic and development areas. We are prepared to discuss purchases of some kinds of equipment but, of course, prior consultations with Congress would be required for any actual sale to take place.

PANAMA

Q. Governor Reagan has expressed his opposition to continuing treaty negotiations with Panama. Do you expect this to become a campaign issue and what are the prospects of concluding this year a new treaty for submission to the Congress?

A. Discussions with Panama relating to continued protection and operation of the Canal have been conducted during the last three Administrations and have had the support of five Presidents. The goal of these negotiations is to reach an agreement which would protect our basic interest in defense and operation of the Canal. At this stage it simply is not possible to predict when agreement might be reached.

I have no intention of proposing to the Congress any agreement with Panama, or with anyone else, that would not assure our vital interests. Naturally, if we conclude a treaty, it will be submitted to the full constitutional process, including Senate approval, and we will be consulting closely with Congress as the discussions continue.

POLITICAL



NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

Q: What effect do you think a loss in New Hampshire today would have on your chances of winning the Republican nomination?

A: Well, first of all, I don't think I am going to lose in New Hampshire. I think we will win there. A couple of weeks ago the polls showed that I was 15 to 20 points behind former Governor Reagan. Since that time momentum has shifted in my direction. We have closed the gap in these last few weeks and I believe we have overtaken former Governor Reagan. He has spent a great deal of time up there, I believe 21 days, while I have spent most of my time, except for 3 days, carrying out my first responsibility which is to be the President. And, of course, with the support of the Governor and the only state-wide newspaper, former Governor Reagan has had considerable advantage over me in New Hampshire.

But regardless of how the New Hampshire primary comes out, it is only the first of 30 primaries. I think we are going to do well in most or all of them. I am going to be in Kansas City and I believe I will be nominated as the Republican candidate for President in Kansas City and I believe I will be elected President in November.

NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

Q: Do you think former President Nixon's trip to China has hurt you in New Hampshire?

A: Well, I can't really say what all the factors are that go into a voter's decision. I don't really think it has helped any and I guess if I had to make a choice, I would say it probably has hurt.

NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA

Q: Former President Nixon has met with Mao Tse-tung and he is the only American who has met so far with the new acting Premier. Aren't you going to call him into the White House and receive a report of his impression of China at this critical time?

A: I have no plans to see or talk to former President Nixon. If he has any information that he considers significant, I would expect that he could pass it on to the State Department.

NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA

Q: What about the Nixon toast the other night which seemed to be critical of your foreign policy concerning detente and the Helsinki agreement?

A: I have had the opportunity to look at the full text of his toast, and I would not interpret it as being critical of U.S. foreign policy.

NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA

Q: What do you think of a former President who left office in disgrace being wined and dined in China and making a major statement about American foreign policy?

A: We have daily diplomatic contacts with the People's Republic of China and that is how we conduct our diplomacy with the PRC.

EFFECT OF ABORTION ISSUE

Q. What impact do you think the abortion issue will have upon the campaign between you and Reagan?

A. I don't know what impact the issue will have. I am taking a moderate position -- one which I have consistently held. I suppose I run the danger of criticism from those who would leave the present laws and rulings unchanged and those who would flatly prohibit all abortions. But my position is one of long and deep conviction and one which I would hope and expect most of the American people to respect if not to completely agree with.