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M E E T T H E P R E S S

Produced by Lawrence E. Spivak



SUNDAY, JANUARY 6, 1974

12:30 pm EDT

GUEST:

GERALD R. FORD - The Vice President

MODERATOR:

Lawrence E. Spivak

PANEL:

Clifton Daniel - The New York Times

George F. Will - National Review

David S. Broder - Washington Post

Tom Brokaw - NBC News

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MEET THE PRESS

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1 MR. SPIVAK: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is the
2 Vice President, Gerald R. Ford, the first Vice President in
3 history to be nominated by a President and confirmed by
4 Congress.

5 Mr. Ford served 25 years in the House of Representatives,
6 the last nine as Republican leader. We will have the first
7 questions now from Tom Brokaw of NBC News.

8 MR. BROKAW: Mr. Vice President, did you agree with
9 President Nixon's decision not to release presidential docu-
10 ments to the Senate Watergate Committee, to reject the sub-
11 poena?

12 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: It seems to me, Mr. Brokaw, that
13 this is a decision that requires a great deal of thought and
14 I am sure the thought was given to it by the White House.

15 I happen to agree because the President has cooperated
16 with Judge Sirica; the President has cooperated with Mr.
17 Jaworski, the Special Prosecutor; the President did make a good
18 faith effort to work out an arrangement with the Ervin Com-
19 mittee and it seems to me that this final decision by the com-
20 mittee to demand some 500 documents is a scattergun approach;
21 is an approach that is best described, I think, by the new
22 Attorney General as a fishing expedition.

23 Although I was not in on the final decision by the White
24 House, I do agree with the determination.
25



1 1 MR. BROKAW: But in this environment don't you think
2 the President and the country might have been better served
3 by trying to reach a compromise with the committee instead
4 of setting the stage for still another legal confrontation?

5 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: It seems to me, Mr. Brokaw, that
6 the action by the committee which was so sweeping and doesn't
7 appear to have any relevance to the committee's legislative
8 ambitions or objectives, that the President was right in
9 saying: Under these circumstances, such a broad sweep, such
10 a fishing expedition, was not a proper way to get to the
11 truth, and I hope and trust that as we go down the road
12 perhaps there can be some compromise, but a 500
13 document demand is far too broad, far too much of a fishing
14 expedition.

15 MR. BROKAW: The question, Mr. Vice President, was
16 about the possibility of a compromise and President Nixon
17 apparently closed the door on that possibility. Do you
18 think that that was wise?

19 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: At this point I think, with the broad,
20 sweeping demand by the committee, the President was right in
21 saying that he would not go along with their demand. Now
22 if they are willing to make some refinements in the demand,
23 cutting it down to things that are more relevant to the
24 committee's responsibilities, then I think there may be --
25 and I underline "may be" -- an area of compromise.



1 MR. BROKAW: Would that be your advice to the President?

2 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I would like to study the total
3 demand of the committee first, and it seems to me that
4 if there is such a refinement, it is within the realm of
5 possibility.

6 (Announcements)

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1 MR. DANIEL: Mr. Vice President, in the hearings on your
2 confirmation to be Vice President, you seem to agree with the
3 position that has been taken by Senator Ervin on the point
4 raised a moment ago by Mr. Brokaw, that the concealment of
5 evidence of wrongdoing is not allowed
6 by the Constitution. Have you changed your position on that?

7 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I don't think so. If I recollect
8 accurately what I said in either the House or the Senate Com-
9 mittee hearings involving my confirmation, I said any evidence
10 that involved a criminal action ought to be made available by
11 the White House.

12 I haven't had an opportunity personally to study all of
13 the documents, some 500, that the Ervin Committee has requested.
14 I can't believe that all of those documents involve alleged
15 criminal activity by any person involved at the White House.

16 It does seem to me that when you bear in mind the coopera-
17 tion that the President has shown with Judge Sirica, the compro-
18 mises that he has made with the Special Prosecutor, and the
19 good faith effort that he made with the Ervin Committee at the
20 outset of this heightened controversy does permit some refine-
21 ment, if there is a reasonable area where any criminal involve-
22 ment is concerned.

23 MR. DANIEL: Mr. Vice President, a new poll just published
24 today indicates that 79 per cent of the people may believe that
25 one or more of the serious charges made against President Nixon



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1 is true. Is the public mistaken in that belief?

2 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I really can't answer that because
3 I am not a person that has an insight to every individual who
4 was interrogated by the poll. I was also interested, however,
5 that 45 per cent of the people indicated they were against any
6 impeachment action by the Congress, so somewhere in between
7 it seems to me the American people may have some lack of
8 full faith in every action by the President, but, on the other
9 hand, they are not in favor -- at least the majority are not
10 in favor of the impeachment action that is contemplated by
11 some in the House of Representatives.

12 MR. DANIEL: Apparently they thought impeachment would be
13 too disruptive, but those who were questioned in the poll
14 seemed to be most concerned about the withholding of informa-
15 tion, official secrecy. You have long been an advocate of
16 openness in government. Do you share the public's concern
17 about secrecy?

18 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: Well, I am concerned, and I have so
19 expressed my desire that the White House not only initiate,
20 but also expand its Operation Candor. I did favor the
21 President going out to meet the people as he did prior to the
22 Christmas holidays. I was very much in favor of the President
23 disclosing his income tax returns, as well as his financial
24 situation and I hope and trust, despite what I understand
25 is some reluctance at the present time, that the President



1 will continue with Operation Candor, with a full disclosure,
2 or a white paper involving the ITT matter, and the so-called
3 Milk Fund Contribution.

4 MR. WILL: Mr. Vice President, have you heard any of the
5 Watergate tapes?

6 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I have not, sir.

7 MR. WILL: Would you like to?

8 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: Well, I would just as soon get a
9 written summary or an honest appraisal by an objective person.
10 I don't think it is essential for me to sit and listen to the
11 tapes. I would think it just as wise or just as helpful if
12 I had a summary put together by an objective group of indi-
13 viduals.

14 MR. WILL: Mr. Vice President, when Operation Candor
15 began, Mr. Nixon was below thirty per cent in the approval
16 rating. Today he is still below thirty per cent. Why did
17 Operation Candor fail?

18 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: In the first place, it hasn't been
19 concluded. I think there are some other things that can and
20 should be done as I mentioned a moment ago. It seems to me they
21 ought to release the white papers involving IT&T allegations.
22 I am convinced that the President is absolutely free and clear
23 of any wrongful actions as far as ITT is concerned.

24 I am absolutely certain, Mr. Will, that the President was
25 acting properly and practically at the time of the increase in



1 the parity price for milk because some 130 members of the
2 House and I think 28 members of the Senate were demanding that
3 the parity price be increased far greater than what the Presi-
4 dent proposed.

5 I think the White House ought to get these documents out
6 and make them available to the public. I think it will
7 increase public support for his position above that at the
8 present time.

9 MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, I am surprised at what
10 you are saying about Operation Candor because official White
11 House spokesmen have been clearly indicating for the last
12 week that that is a closed book. Do you have some reason to
13 think that that decision is still open.

14 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I am simply saying, Mr. Broder,
15 that in my opinion the course of action which was initiated
16 a month or so ago, which I think was a wise one, ought to be
17 continued and I hope it is.

18 MR. BRODER: Have you been consulted on this question of
19 whether they are going to continue or shut down Operation
20 Candor?

21 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I have not for the last week or so.

22 MR. BRODER: What would you say the reaction among the
23 Republican members of Congress would be if, as the White House
24 spokesmen suggest, Operation Candor is finished?

25 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I think most Republican members of



1 the Congress will react somewhat like myself. They believe
2 that the President should do those things that he initiated
3 sometime early in December, as I recall the date, and I think
4 they were beneficial and it is my judgment that comparable
5 actions along this line will be helpful in the future.

6 MR. BRODER: Could I ask you a general question that goes
7 to your role? You have suggested now a course of action on dis-
8 closure of these documents. You suggested earlier to Mr.
9 Brokaw that there may be an area of compromise possible on the
10 question of the subpoenaed documents. Are you in the kind of
11 contact with the President or his lawyers that allows us
12 to take you as a sort of a spokesman for the President on these
13 questions?

14 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: In the last two weeks, while I have
15 been on a family vacation, I have talked to the President
16 five or six times personally by telephone. We have not dis-
17 cussed this particular issue in any depth. I do have my own
18 firm convictions which I think have been indicated in the
19 past and I reiterate them now.

20 It seems to me that the President ought to maximize his
21 effort to reestablish the good rapport that he had with the
22 American people and Operation Candor is one way of doing it.


23 I add, however, that in the long run, as well as perhaps
24 in the short haul, the President, by concentrating on the
25 solution of problems, the energy crisis, the Middle East



1 controversy, and other matters of real substance, will increase
2 his personal support by the American people, even more quickly
3 and more importantly than by Operation Candor.

4 MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Vice President, may I ask you one more
5 question on Watergate? In a recent U. S. News interview,
6 you said: "I am positive the President is innocent of any
7 involvement in Watergate."

8 Can you tell us why you are positive? Have you seen
9 evidence that the rest haven't seen?



10 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I haven't seen concrete evidence,
11 but I have talked to the President about it and I have been in
12 many meetings where it was discussed by the President and with
13 others, and I am absolutely certain that if you go back and
14 reflect on the circumstances in 1972 -- here the President had
15 just come back from China. Historic action on the part of
16 our government. The President was in the process of negotiating
17 with the Soviet Union. The President was trying to end the war
18 in Vietnam. I am sure he turned to those running the re-election
19 campaign and said, "I have these major matters that involve the
20 national security and the well being of the American people,
21 and you run the campaign."

22 Unfortunately, those that ran, some of them apparently ran
23 it badly, but I am convinced that the President was preoccupied
24 with these very important matters and therefore I am convinced
25 he had nothing whatsoever to do with Watergate.

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MR. SPIVAK: May I take you away from Watergate and take you to the energy crisis which is the other more serious problem the country faces. Secretary of State Kissinger announced the other day that the President will make a personal effort to persuade major oil producing and oil consuming nations to get together to ease the energy crisis. Do you know what he has in mind? Has he in mind a summit meeting of those nations?

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VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I would imagine that something of that sort would materialize if there is the cooperation both by the producers and the consumers, but I have not seen the final plans and I doubt at this moment there is any organizational structure, or finalization of those plans. But it does seem to me that neither the producing nations nor the consuming nations are anxious to have an energy problem create an economic depression throughout the world and therefore it is in the best interests of both the producers and the consumers to sit down and find an answer. But of course this answer may have to come with some solution of the problems of the Middle East.

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MR. BROKAW: Mr. Vice President, I am curious, as was Mr. Broder, about your relationship with the President. You have just now indicated you don't know the final plans or much of the planning for the President's new initiatives on energy. You indicated a moment ago the President did not ask you

2 1 specifically about his plans for Watergate defense. Does
2 he ask you for your advice, or does he just keep you posted
3 on what he is doing when you have those telephone conversations?

4 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: Well, prior to going on a family
5 vacation, I was in daily contact with the President, either
6 attending meetings where he started out as the chairman and
7 I took over as the chairman when he had to go to some other
8 responsibility. I talked to him on the phone. We had a good
9 two-way responsibility and I am sure that that fine responsibility
10 or relationship, I should say, will continue once the
11 President is back from San Clemente and I am here, in
12 preparation for the resumption of the Congress.

13 MR. DANIEL: Mr. Vice President, you said a moment ago
14 that some in the House of Representatives wanted to impeach
15 the President. You have spent 25 years in the House, nine of
16 them as Minority Leader. You must be pretty good at counting
17 noses up there. Do you think the Judiciary Committee in the
18 House will vote to impeach the President?

19 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I don't think the committee will,
20 based on the evidence that is currently available under the
21 definition of impeachment under the Constitution. The
22 Constitution says, in the case of a President, a President
23 may be impeached for treason, bribery and other high crimes
24 and misdemeanors. In my judgment, Mr. Daniel, there is
25 no current evidence that I am familiar with that falls within



the definition of impeachment under the Constitution.

Therefore I don't believe that a majority of the Members of the House Committee on Judiciary, Democrats and Republicans, will vote an impeachment resolution. Now if it becomes a partisan issue, it might, but on the basis of substantive evidence, there is no likelihood, in my opinion, that any such action by the the House Committee on the Judiciary.

MR. BROKAW: But when you were seeking the impeachment of Justice Douglas, you said that grounds for impeachment were what the House said they should be. Is that not the case with the President?

|| VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I think that is true, but I think one should quickly point out that the definition for impeachment for a federal judge is a different definition of an impeachment for the President. A federal judge is appointed "during good behavior," and there is no further definition in the Constitution. So good behavior is pretty much what the Congress decides. But the definition for impeachment of a President is very specific, and I don't think that a majority of the Members of the House, even of that committee, unless it comes a purely partisan issue, will find any evidence for the impeachment of a President, that falls within the specific definition under the Constitution.

1 MR. WILL: Mr. Vice President, a recent poll of the
2 the
3 American people concerning/1976 election showed you beating
4 the two principal Democratic candidates, Senators Kennedy and
5 Jackson. Do you agree with the American people that you are
6 presidential material?

7 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: Well, let me put it this way, Mr.
8 Will: I saw that poll and I guess I am human and I was
9 pleased, but, as I reflected on it I hope it meant that the
10 American people, in the short time that I have had this job,
11 thought I had been handling my responsibilities constructively
12 in all the ways that I could.

13 I don't want that poll to change my point of view that
14 I have repeated many, many times, that I have no intention of
15 being a candidate in 1976.

16 MR. WILL: That is your current intention, but if you
17 continue to lead the polls, would you deny the American people
18 their desires?

19 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: Well, things fluctuate a good bit,
20 Mr. Will, and I honestly believe that I can do a far better
21 job by telling you and telling the others on this panel and
22 those who might be watching that I should not be a candidate.

23 MR. WILL: Does that mean you won't campaign in 1974 for
24 Republicans?

25 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: No, not at all. I will handle my
responsibilities as a Vice President for the Republicans just
as my predecessors have, just as Hubert Humphrey did, just as



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1 Vice President Nixon did in the time when he was Vice Presi-
2 dent to President Eisenhower. A Vice President for a political
3 party does have latitude and a responsibility to campaign for
4 candidates of his particular party. I will do that. But I
5 repeat, I have no intention of being a candidate in '76.

6 MR. SPIVAK: Gentlemen, we have less than four minutes.

7 MR. BRODER: Mr. Vice President, this is wrap-up time on
8 the budget for next year. Can you say whether the Administra-
9 tion now regards the main problem facing the economy as being
10 the threat of renewed inflation or the threat of recession?

11 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I don't believe the Administration
12 feels the main problem is a recession. Even with the oil
13 problem, the energy crisis, the predictions are not dire; they
14 are not serious as to the economy. You get some mixed views
15 on this, but even with the current energy problem I think you
16 will have growth in the economy. You may have some slight
17 increase in unemployment, but, as you look at the broad
18 economic circumstances of this country, we are in pretty good
19 shape.

20 Now, the Administration does have stand-by programs to
21 meet any of these contingencies that might develop, that would
22 indicate some economic problems. There are plans, I should
23 say, to increase our public service employment in those
24 selected areas where the energy crisis may/hit the hardest.
25 There are other plans to help meet individual economic crises,



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1 so I think that we are looking down the road at a pretty good
2 year in 1974, one that is not as bad as some of the
3 prophets of doom forecast; not as good as some of the oracles
4 who think we are going real well. But the Administration has
5 contingency plans either way.

6 MR. BRODER: A voter down in Tennessee I interviewed the
7 other day asked me to ask you this question: She wants to know
8 how much of the present inflation in your judgment is the
9 result of past government decisions interfering with the opera-
10 tions of the free economy? Things like price controls and
11 all these various allocation schemes and so on.

12 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I would hesitate to make a definitive
13 answer to that. I think some of our budgetary problems over
14 the last ten years have contributed to the current inflation.
15 I think there are other policies of the federal government that
16 have contributed to some of the shortages. So the government
17 is to some extent responsible and by the government I mean the
18 Congress and the White House. I hope that in the next session
19 we can find some better answers working together.

20 MR. SPIVAK: Mr. Vice President, last year Congress ad-
21 journed without passing the Energy Bill because of the controversy
22 over taxing windfall profits by oil companies. How important
23 do you think it is for them to pass an energy bill quickly?

24 VICE PRESIDENT FORD: I think it is mandatory that they
25 pass at least two energy bills; one giving to the new energy



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1 czar, Mr. Simon, ample authority to meet these various problems.
2 No. 2, there should be an energy research program, at least
3 what the President has proposed, a \$10 billion program over a
4 five-year period, maybe more so, and if the Congress acts
5 quickly on these two measures, I think we can be well on our
6 way to self-sufficiency in the energy field.

7 MR. SPIVAK: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up.
8 Thank you, Mr. Vice President, for being with us today on
9 MEET THE PRESS.

10 (Next week: Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.))
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Jan 6 Speech
file



M E E T T H E P R E S S

America's Press Conference of the Air

2660 Woodley Road, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008

December 12, 1973

The Vice President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I was glad to see you at Godfrey Sperling's breakfast, and I am delighted that you are willing to appear on MEET THE PRESS the first Sunday in the New Year, January 6, which I think ought to be a good date for us.

As I understand it, you will be back in Washington from your vacation on the day before, January 5. As you asked me to, I talked to Paul Miltich about it and he, too, marked it down.

Cordially,

Lawrence E. Spivak

Lawrence E. Spivak



cc: Paul Miltich



M E E T T H E P R E S S

America's Press Conference of the Air

2660 Woodley Road, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008

January 7, 1974

Mr. Paul Miltich
Press Secretary
Office of the Vice President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Paul:

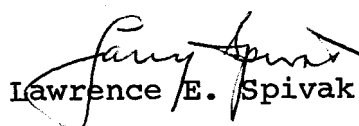
My thanks for your cooperation in arranging things in connection with our interview with the Vice President. As I wrote him, I thought it went off very well, and I'm glad you did too.

I'm delighted that he is agreeable to appearing on the special we will do on the Sunday before the Republican convention, and I have marked it on my calendar. As I'm sure you know, we have done these specials the Sunday before the conventions for many years, and they have gotten important audiences.

I hope, however, that we will have an opportunity to interview the Vice President again many times before 1976.

With personal regards,

Cordially,


Lawrence E. Spivak

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The National Broadcasting Company Presents



MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON
Democrat, Washington

VOLUME 17

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JOHN W. FINNEY, *The New York Times*
ROBERT GORALSKI, *NBC News*

Moderator: LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. SPIVAK: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat from the State of Washington, one of the most powerful members of Congress. Senator Jackson has played an important role in some of the most critical issues facing the country today. He was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972 and is considered a leading possibility for 1976.

We will have the first questions now from Robert Goralski of NBC News.

MR. GORALSKI: Senator, with crises swirling around us, there are growing demands for the President's resignation or impeachment. Purely from the perspective of a Senate Democrat, what are your views?

SENATOR JACKSON: I believe that we have reached the point where the President must appear before an appropriate forum and lay his cards on the table. The American people are no longer willing to have a continuity of crises which we have had now all of this year.

The real issue is whether or not there is enough confidence left for the President to govern this nation. I believe that an appropriate forum would be the Watergate Committee. This view, I think, is being shared now by more and more members of the Senate. For example, Senator Goldwater feels that this would be an effective course of conduct.

We just can't litigate for the next three years of his office all of the issues that have been raised and are being raised daily.

We have reached the point where a lot of my friends don't want to turn on TV. They don't want to pick up the morning newspaper because of the bad news. We can't afford, I think, the continuity of these crises.

MR. GORALSKI: With the President invoking executive privilege in turning over the tapes, it is certainly unlikely he would appear before the Watergate Committee. What do you propose if he does not do that?

SENATOR JACKSON: If he does not, he is going to face, I think, an unchallengeable demand on impeachment or the possibility of a direct request for resignation, and I think the push will come from the Republican leadership, not just from Democrats.

(Announcements)

MR. FINNEY: Senator, in responding to Mr. Goralski's question, you said there was a question as to whether there was enough confidence in the President for him to continue governing effectively. I wonder if we could consider that in terms of the Middle East crisis. Would you not agree that in that instance the President did function effectively and did succeed in bringing about a cease-fire in that case?

SENATOR JACKSON: Mr. Finney, the end result was good, but bear in mind that it was a fait accompli when it was presented to the President. All of the steps that had to be taken in connection with the setting up of the machinery and putting it into motion was done not by the President, it was done by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, his staff, presented to him, and he okayed it. I don't think the President had enough time to deal with that issue in the way he would normally be doing.

Secondly, I would point out that during the entire Nixon administration they have never been confronted with the problems at home and abroad that they have at this very, very moment: an energy crisis of unprecedented proportions, a threat in the Mediterranean which at this hour is greater than it was at the time the Strategic Air Force was put on full alert. How in the world can the President really handle these problems when he is obviously spending virtually all of his time trying to deal with tapes that are missing, trying to deal with a new charge. With each delivery of the morning paper, when it arrives—when you can get it; you can't get it here today in this town—there is a new problem.

MR. FINNEY: But are you suggesting the President was just a figurehead throughout the Middle East crisis?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, I am not suggesting that. I am suggesting that the President can't possibly deal with these twin on-going crises in this kind of atmosphere, and what is needed in order for the administration to be able to govern is a restoration of confidence. I am suggesting he bring this to a head, come up to the Ervin Committee, lay his cards on the table: "Gentlemen, I am here now. Ask the questions and I will respond." Otherwise it is going to be litigation going on for too long a time.

MR. FINNEY: Do you see any indication that the President's hand has been so weakened by all these problems that he was

forced to make concessions to the Soviet Union in the Middle East crisis?

SENATOR JACKSON: I don't have the particulars, but I know that he has not been able to give it the attention in that area and in the energy area that he should be—

MR. BRANDON: During the Middle East crisis, separate crises developed between the United States and her European allies, and Dr. Kissinger was very critical of the refusal of the European allies to cooperate during the crisis because the Europeans were more concerned with safeguarding their oil supplies from the Middle East. I wonder how you feel about it?

SENATOR JACKSON: I am very unhappy with the attitude of our NATO partners. They didn't say so, but they had been blackmailed, no doubt about it. If one hesitates to speak out when one should, then one has been denied, really, the right of free speech, and that is exactly what happened. They didn't speak out. They wouldn't cooperate with us in certain areas, but I am also unhappy at the same time with the failure of the administration to consult and to advise our allies when we went on a full alert. We put forces on alert in NATO without the leaders of the government knowing about it until they watched it on television or picked it up in the morning newspapers. So I say there is a plague on both sides of the house.

MR. BRANDON: What do you think will be the long-range effect on the Alliance?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think the Alliance is in deep trouble right now over the one issue, and that is petroleum supply and how they are going to face up to it. They have not been too good on their side. I have talked with representatives of the OECD earlier this year, warned them of a possible cut-off—shouldn't we have a cooperative arrangement to share the burden? They get eighty per cent of their oil from the Middle East. We get something like eight or nine per cent. Japan gets ninety. They showed no interest. So now they are in the soup. Now also, because they did play footsie, because they were blackmailed, they are getting the same treatment. They are cut off too. I don't think it was handled well on either side.

MR. NOVAK: Senator Jackson, until now you, as an attorney and a former prosecutor, have contended that there is no impeachable ground against the President. That is to say he is not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. What suddenly has changed your mind when you talk today about an unchallengeable demand for impeachment if he doesn't testify before the Ervin Committee?

SENATOR JACKSON: What I am talking about here is something very simple, the inability to govern.

MR. NOVAK: Is that a high crime and a misdemeanor?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, but it is a very realistic problem with the nation in crisis at home and abroad. I don't claim that there are impeachable grounds now, but there is the ground to raise a question that must be raised, and that is, can he govern? That is what we are really talking about. How do you handle it? I am not trumping up a charge. I am just speaking of the reality. This is what is bothering people all over the nation. How long can this go on? Can the President govern? They are asking me, how can we handle the energy crisis; how can we handle the crisis in the Middle East with the President going off to Biscayne unannounced with a small group; all these mysterious developments; rumors out there is about to be a big announcement in a day or two that something drastic is going to happen?

MR. NOVAK: There are people at the White House who feel there is an effort under way by the Democrats to undo the results of the 1972 election, where your party lost 49 states, by getting rid of Mr. Nixon and having a Democrat, Speaker Albert, take office. Would you feel there should be an impeachment or resignation while Speaker Albert is next in line to succession?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, I don't want to be a party to anything that would be labeled a counter-coup. I think the American people expect the Democrats to act in a responsible way at a time when responsibility is the key to the ongoing success of our nation.

All I am saying is that the President now, as a condition precedent to any further action, has an opportunity to come before the Congress—something which the people understand—and lay his cards on the table.

The tape issue is just one issue of many, but here we have been arguing and the country has been in a constitutional uproar over the tape issue. We find one-fourth of the subject matter is missing and has been known to be missing since September 29th on the part of the White House.

MR. NOVAK: Senator, what I am asking you is do you think Congressman Ford should be approved as Vice President by the Congress before there is any impeachment or resignation?

SENATOR JACKSON: The Ford issue is separate from any impeachment action, from any resignation action. I believe we ought to act independently. That provision was put in the Constitution to give the President and the Congress a right to act. I believe we ought to act independently on the merits, on the Ford issue.

MR. SPIVAK: Senator, may I ask you a question: A minute ago I think you said that the threat in the Mediterranean is greater than it ever was, greater than at the time of the alert.

Secretary Kissinger and the President seem to indicate that the crisis has been lessened. What do you base your statement upon that the threat in the Mediterranean today is greater than it ever was?

SENATOR JACKSON: Mr. Spivak, as of this morning they have 25 per cent more ships—

MR. SPIVAK: They?

SENATOR JACKSON: The Soviet Union has 25 more ships in the Mediterranean—25 per cent more than they did at the peak of the confrontation. They have 95 naval vessels in the Mediterranean. We have 60. But the new development, and the significant development is that for the first time in the long imperial history of Russia, they have naval infantry aboard ships in the Mediterranean, probably equivalent to a battalion, with landing craft offshore at this very hour.

To me this is not indicative of détente. It is not indicative of cooperation. I think it is indicative of trouble, and we have more trouble ahead of us. They are going to use this ongoing local power to move in whenever they feel they are not getting their way in connection with setting up a cease fire line or some other move. That is what it means, and the submarine force in the Mediterranean fleet is particularly ominous.

MR. SPIVAK: Senator, as one who has expert knowledge in that field, are you satisfied that we are strong enough today to meet any Soviet threat?

SENATOR JACKSON: Our local forces are not adequate in the Mediterranean. We need, I think, as a result of this experience, to have, shall we say, a Monday morning review of what went on during the crisis. It is clear now we were deficient in many areas from the military point of view, and I think this is something the Congress and the administration must work out very shortly, so that we can be in a better posture to deal with the local danger.

MR. GORALSKI: Senator, you said earlier that you thought the Republican leadership would be leading the drive for the President's resignation, but it seems the Democrats are still the most insistent. How can you divide partisanship from your crisis of confidence in the government?

SENATOR JACKSON: It is hard, but I, for one, am not asking—I make it very clear—for his resignation. I am asking him to come to the Congress and bring an end to this indeed protracted conflict.

You have them on both sides, but may I point out I think the Detroit [News], several newspapers, various people who

had been on the side of the President, are now calling for his resignation. I think this accelerates and escalates the problem that we face in trying to restore the confidence necessary to govern. That is what is at issue here. Can the President govern?

MR. GORALSKI: But how has the administration been crippled? What are they not doing that you would like to see done?

SENATOR JACKSON: In the energy area, alone, the President has been unable to focus on this problem. He hasn't been able to focus fully on the crisis in the Middle East. There is the appearance of focusing on it, but not the reality of it.

MR. FINNEY: Let's pursue that energy problem, Senator. For some months now it has been evident that we are getting into a fuel shortage situation where the President would have to be given certain legislative authority to allocate, to control the use of different fuels. You have come up with proposals and the President has come up with counterproposals and nothing has happened.

Are we just going to shiver here while you politicians play a game?

SENATOR JACKSON: Mr. Finney, we have been working on this problem for a long time, as you know. I have been warning for the last two years of what was going to happen, and may I just say that the immediate problem I think is being faced up to finally by the administration.

We now have a bipartisan working relationship which will bring out emergency legislation to deal with the immediate crisis, which is for real, and I would hope, however, in the meantime, that the administration would take certain steps. I would hope that the President would outline specific moves that could be taken to save the necessary petroleum supplies until we get more rationing worked out, which will take a little while because of the bureaucratic problems.

For example, I would like to see the President order the closing of all gas stations from 12 noon on Saturday until Monday morning—this is the biggest part of fuel consumption—until we can get the necessary machinery working to have an equitable system.

The last ship from the Middle East is less than three weeks away. We are draining the pipeline. All of a sudden it is going to come down on us, and they are going to say, "Why didn't you do something?"

MR. FINNEY: If I understand what you are saying, you are satisfied with what the administration has done thus far, you think they should do other things?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, no. Look, I am pointing out that way last spring we said: Move on mandatorial allocations. They

said they were not necessary. We passed the bill in the Senate. It was held up in the House; they got into a long fight. We are going to finish that legislation this week. We are coming out with a long range research and development program this week. We are coming out with the emergency program which involves conservation, conversion from oil to coal, a long list of things, and we are passing the Alaska pipeline. It is a mixture of the immediate and the long term legislation all in one week. The Congress has taken the initiative, and I don't think frankly, in all candor, the President has had the time to address himself to these issues. I have talked with people in the administration, and they have not been able to get to the President on matters that they need to talk directly with him.

MR. BRANDON: At the height of the Middle Eastern crisis there was a danger that the Soviet Union would send troops into Egypt. By the—negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union finally prevented this from happening, but if it had been impossible to prevent, would you have been in favor of sending American troops into Israel?

SENATOR JACKSON: I want to keep super-power troops out of the Mediterranean, that is, American and Russian troops. The Russian message that I termed "brutal" at the time—it was brutal, and I think when it is made public will corroborate that statement—was for us to go in, demanding that we go in and they go in. Whether we will have to go in will be another matter. The Israelis don't want it. We have got one ally here, and this needs to be emphasized, that has never asked for a single American soldier. The problem relates directly to the drive on the part of the Soviet Union to get primacy, not occupation, but primacy over the Middle East, because this is the jugular of the western world, not just the United States, but it is of Europe and of Japan, and if they can get primacy over the Middle East like they have achieved primacy over central Europe, as they have achieved primacy over Finland, then they will achieve their goal. This is the problem. It is Soviet imperialism in the Middle East. The Israeli-Arab conflict is a minor part in terms of the larger problem, Mr. Brandon, as I see it.

MR. SPIVAK: We have less than four minutes.

MR. NOVAK: Senator, one of your colleagues, Senator Saxbe of Ohio, has been nominated for Attorney General. Since his nomination he has expressed confidence in President Nixon's innocence and all matters affecting Watergate and has endorsed President Nixon's refusal to turn over the tapes in response to subpoenas. Does that in your mind raise questions whether Senator Saxbe should be confirmed as Attorney General.

SENATOR JACKSON: First, Mr. Saxbe served as Attorney

General of his state for a number of years. His professional qualifications, I think, are good. I will reserve judgment on questions in which he would indicate that he will not support an undertaking and an effort to get the critically needed papers, because I am fed up with all of the arguments about executive privilege and all those other things. The confidence of the government of the United States is at stake, and I think we ought to be thinking on how to do the job. I shall reserve judgment to see how he answers those questions. I would want to vote for him. It is my intention to vote for him unless he takes an intransigent position on things that go to the heart of the ability of the Executive Branch to function.

MR. NOVAK: Do you think that the Senate should delay confirmation of Senator Saxbe until it is decided that the new Special Prosecutor, Mr. Jaworski, is doing a good job?

SENATOR JACKSON: No. The first thing to be settled in order of priority is the Special Prosecutor. We need the on-going continuity which we must have, and then move on to the question of the confirmation of the Attorney General.

MR. SPIVAK: Senator, after Prime Minister Golda Meir met with the President at one time she said she was reassured of continued American support. President Sadat of Egypt on the other hand says that the President is following a constructive policy in the Middle East. Are you reassured of our policy towards Israel?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, I am not. I am concerned about what our policy is. For example, I think the immediate objective of the Soviet Union—I have been saying this for years, and it is more apparent than ever—is to get control of the Suez Canal, re-open it, so they will be able to move their fleet at will through the Canal into the Persian Gulf, where we have 70 per cent of the oil reserves of the world.

I am concerned that our government may well support that policy, which I think is adverse to the interests of the western world. It gets way beyond the subject of Israel and the Arab countries, and I believe that there needs to be greater reassurance from the administration. The administration, after a week's delay, did a good job in moving supplies, but I am now worried whether they are going to withhold supplies.

MR. SPIVAK: We have less than a minute.

MR. GORALSKI: Senator, very briefly there has been some concern about the President being able to get additional defense appropriations through Congress because of his troubles. Are you satisfied with the amount we are spending for defense today?

SENATOR JACKSON: I believe we are going to have to re-

examine the budget in light of the experience in the Middle East. I believe that we will find ourselves in a need for additional assistance in the areas represented by the problem of the Middle East.

MR. GORALSKI: How much more do you think we will need?

SENATOR JACKSON: I don't know, but the first thing we need to do is get all the parties up there and find out.

MR. SPIVAK: On that note I am afraid we must end. I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up. Thank you, Senator Jackson, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.



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