The original documents are located in Box 41, folder "8/28/74 - Press Conference: Question and Answer Briefing Sheets (2)" of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

FOR

PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

- Q. Your Press Secretary indicated that you should not be expected to achieve an economic miracle. Was he suggesting that you will be unable to cope with the problem of inflation? If not, how do you plan on dealing with what you have identified as the Nation's No. 1 problem?
- A. Our position is that inflation is a difficult problem that does not have a quick, easy, or painless solution. In that sense, there is no known miracle cure. But that does not mean we will be paralyzed by the problem. We have acted in establishing, with the cooperation of the Congress, a wage and price monitoring agency. We have secured a modest roll back on the General Motors announced price increase. We have commenced planning for the Summit Conference on Inflation which will bring the Executive, the Congress, and the best minds in this country together in a joint effort to discuss the most appropriate steps which can be taken.

- Q. What do you hope to get out of the Summit Conference on Inflation?
- A. The Summit Conference has several objectives. First, to clarify the realities of our present economic condition. Second, to identify the causes of the present inflation. Third, to search for a consensus on the basic policies which should be adopted. Fourth, to listen to new ideas. And fifth, to identify areas of hardship requiring immediate action.

- Q. Is it realistic to expect the Summit Conference on Inflation to reach any type of consensus?
- A. Consensus on an issue as complex as inflation is not easy. However, we are hopeful that there will be areas where there will be some consensus. This, in part, is what the conference is for -- to explore with the best brains in this country their thinking on what should be done to deal with our number one problem.

- Q. Is the Summit Conference going to be a decision-making body? Will your position regarding the economy emerge from the Summit?
- A. The Summit Conference is not designed to be a decisionmaking body. It is designed to provide a forum for the expression of views and new ideas. Furthermore, it is designed as a means of identifying areas where there is consensus on actions which can be taken and, where differences exist, identifying the alternatives and basic decisions which must be made.

Q. How active a role do you envisage for yourself in the Economic Summit?

A. I expect to spend a substantial amount of time at the Summit Conference itself. In addition, I will be attending part of the meetings in early September with the economists and with labor leaders. My interest in the Summit shows the high priority I place on the issue of inflation.

Q. Is there any particular reason you will chair the meeting with the labor leaders rather than Secretary Brennan?

A. We felt it impractical to hold a single meeting with management which is organized much differently than labor. We did feel, however, that a single meeting with labor leaders would be productive and that I should chair that meeting.

- Q. Are we to assume that you don't have any economic program of your own and are using the Summit to get some advice about what you should do?
- A. No. I have some ideas about the best ways of dealing with inflation. But, I have discovered during my years of public service that it is wise to seek views from a variety of sources and to maintain an open and flexible mind. We will earnestly consider the ideas which surface at the Conference. I am a man who likes to listen.

- Q. Inflation is a world-wide problem with many international ramifications. What is being done to coordinate our efforts with other free world countries?
- A. The international aspects of inflation is one problem which will receive considerable attention at the Summit Conference. In addition, we intend to maintain close consulting relationships with our friends and allies on economic and other matters.

- Q. Do you intend to act in dealing with the economy or wait until the Summit Conference is over?
- A. I do not intend to allow any meeting or set of meetings to forestall necessary action. We do not intend to take any precipitous actions in this Administration. On the other hand, problems, economic and otherwise, needing urgent action will receive it.

- Q. Is the Conference going to be primarily a listening device for you or will it be a platform from which to pronounce the Administration's point of view?
- A. We are not orchestrating this Conference. It is a Joint Congressional-Executive enterprise and certainly will not be merely a device for propounding an Administration viewpoint. All opinions will have an opportunity to be expressed at the Summit within the limitations of time available.

•

Q. Who will be selected as head of the new monitoring agency?

A. No decision has been made on that appointment at this time.

FOREIGN TRAVEL

Q:

A:

What plans do you have for foreign travel and meetings with foreign leaders?

I have been in frequent contact with foreign leaders since August 9 and, as you know, I met with King Hussein here last week. I plan a very active program of meetings with world leaders. For example, I will meet with President Leone of Italy in late September and with First Secretary Gierek of Poland in early October. I plan to visit Japan before the end of the year and will also be considering other future travel.

CYPRUS

Why did the United States not act more forcefully to restrain the Turkish actions on Cyprus? What will the US do now to bring peace there?

A:

This Administration has taken every reasonable and appropriate step in our efforts with all parties involved to end the fighting and bring about early negotiations for a constructive solution of the Cyprus problem. We urged both military restraint and diplomatic flexibility to take into account the national dignity and security needs of all parties. In our attempts to bring the parties to the negotiating table, the United States has been willing to take part in any role that accords with the wishes of the parties. We remain willing to do so. The United States greatly values the friendship of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, and it is in this context that we will continue to offer our assistance.

Q:

US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS

Q:

How do you assess the current state of U.S.-European relations, especially in light of the Greek threat to withdraw from NATO?

A: Since I entered the Congress in 1949, I have believed that it is important for the United States to have a strong alliance with NATO and Western Europe. This policy has paid -- and continues to pay -- sizable dividends to all members of the Alliance. I am pleased by the progress made in U.S. -European relations in the last few months. The Atlantic Declaration signed in June marks a renewed spirit of unity and common purpose for the Alliance, and I will continue efforts to broaden and strengthen the partnership that document symbolizes. Further, I will continue the United States' whole hearted efforts to consult and to work with our European friends and allies to guarantee the best possible U.S. -European relationship. This relationship remains fundamental to U.S. foreign policy.

We regret, of course, the Greek announcement of plans to withdraw from military participation in NATO, and hope that this action is only temporary and can be satisfactorily resolved without permanent damage to the Alliance.

CSCE AND POSSIBLE SUMMIT MEETING

- Q: Do you envisage travelling to Europe this fall for a European summit meeting, perhaps in connection with a final meeting of the CSCE?
- A: I have no current plans to visit Europe. The CSCE, which is now in recess, will reconvene in early September. The United States and its allies have taken the position that the level at which the final meeting will take place will depend on the results achieved in the session to be resumed next month.

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

- Q: Some say detente is stalled. How do you see future U.S.-Soviet relations?
- A: I have informed the Soviet leaders that it is my intention to continue the course of Soviet-American relations charted in summit meetings in Moscow and Washington, in agreements reached by our two governments, and in the general spirit of cooperation that has been established. I am firmly committed to that course. My Administration will approach the many negotiations with the USSR already in progress or projected in coming weeks with utmost seriousness and determination to achieve concrete and lasting results -- results in the best interests of the United States and in the interests of improved international stability.

Reports say you have assured the Soviet leaders of extensive efforts to further arms limitation negotiations. Other reports say the US has no agreed SALT position. Where do you plan to go next on SALT?

A:

Q:

We are currently in the process of formulating our position for the next round of SALT negotiations which will resume in Geneva next month. In a message to Party Secretary Brezhnev, I reaffirmed our commitment to further substantive negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms. As agreed at the recent Moscow Summit, the next round of negotiations will focus on an agreement covering the period until 1985.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

- Q: There has been no apparent movement in U.S.-PRC relations in the past year. When do you foresee full normalization and establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC?
- A: I believe it would be wrong to imply that our relations with the PRC have stalemated. The United States has made very rapid progress since 1971 in establishing contact with a country from which we had been completely isolated for two decades. We have set up Liaison Offices in Peking and Washington. We continue to have an active cultural and scientific exchange program with the Chinese. A Congressional delegation, headed by Senator Fulbright, will leave for a two-week tour of China this Saturday. As I indicated in my address to Congress on August 12, I remain committed to the course of improving America's relations with the People's Republic of China as charted in the Shanghai Communique and we look forward to continuing progress in strengthening those relations in the months and years ahead.

Threats of mobilization and war are again being heard in the Middle East. Are you optimistic about the chance for a real peace settlement there? When will the Geneva peace talks reconvene and what role will the Palestinians play?

In recent weeks, we have held a series of consultations with Arab and Israeli leaders to consider further possible steps towards peace in the Middle East, including the resumption of the Geneva talks.

We believe that progress can be made and we have reaffirmed to each party the commitment of this Government to remain actively involved. We did not enter these consultations with a preconceived blueprint. Rather, we are exploring with them their own views on ways in which further progress can be made.

I do not wish to prejudge the outcome on specific issues at this time since our contacts with the parties are still in $proq_{142}$ process.

Q:

A:

The Israelis are reportedly asking the U.S. for \$1.5 billion a year in military aid for the next several years. How will the U.S. respond to this request and will you tie a response to Israeli territorial concessions in the negotiations?

A:

Q:

Military assistance is only one aspect of the long-standing close U.S.-Israeli relationship and is an expression of our commitment to the security and well-being of the State of Israel. Israel's ability to defend itself is essential to stability and to achieving peace in the Middle East and we will not bargain with the security of our friends. We also believe a negotiated peace is essential to the stability and security of all nations in the Middle East. We are committed to maintaining and extending the progress that has been made.

- Q: Do you support the proposed economic aid to the Middle East -- \$250 million for Egypt and \$100 million Special Requirement Fund (Syria) -- presently under Congressional consideration?
- A: I strongly support the proposed legislation authorizing the extension of economic assistance in the Middle East. My Administration considers that the \$250 million for aid to Egypt and \$100 million for a Special Requirement Fund are important to our continued encouragement of closer more cooperative ties with the Arab world. We believe this can be an important contribution in stimulating economic development which will bring benefits to the people of the area and encourage them in following a path of negotiation to reduce the tensions in the area.

Q: Has the U.S. agreed to give military aid to Egypt? Does it intend to?

A:

As I told Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmi earlier this month, we are prepared to be helpful in a wide range of economic and cultural areas on which the U.S.-Egyptian Joint Commission will focus. With regard to military assistance, there are no plans for this.

THE U.S. ROLE IN INDOCHINA

- Q: Many in Congress oppose further U.S. aid to Vietnam and Congress has severely cut U.S. assistance programs there. What do you see as the proper U.S. role in Indochina?
- A: I believe that the proper American role in Vietnam today -- as it has been throughout our involvement -- is to achieve a reasonable opportunity for the Vietnamese people to decide their future for themselves. I believe that the Paris agreements -- if respected. -- establish a satisfactory framework for that process to take place. Our military aid, extended in accordance with the Paris agreements, provides the minimal level of support necessary to maintain the security of South Vietnam. Our economic aid is a key ingredient in rebuilding the economic infrastructure of Vietnam and in getting on with the vital process of nation-building. Americans have never broken faith with an ally before and I, for one, don't. intend to start now.

A NEW HANOI OFFENSIVE

- Q: Do you anticipate a new Hanoi offensive against South Vietnam? Will U.S. forces have to help defend South Vietnam?
- A: We do not know if they will launch another country-wide offensive as they did in 1968 and 1972. We do know that the North Vietnamese have sent over 100,000 men and massive quantities of military equipment into South Vietnam over the last year and a half. A number of heavy attacks have recently been launched. Fortunately, the spirit and capability of the South Vietnamese armed forces is high and they have been able to contain these attacks and to retake many positions that had been overrun.

I would not try to predict in advance what the U.S. would do in the event of a North Vietnamese massive offensive against South Vietnam. Any action would, of course, be fully in accordance with our Constitutional processes.

AID TO SOUTH VIETNAM

Q:

What will be the net effect of the situation in Vietnam if the levels of aid, currently under discussion on the Hill, are approved?

A: On the military side, we have asked for minimum amounts to assure adequate replacement of equipment on a one-for-one basis, as provided in the Paris Agreement, and to cope with increased levels of fighting. Any cuts from the levels requested will obviously reduce their ability to defend themselves. I am very disappointed with the moves in Congress to cut military assistance so drastically, and I intend to ask the Congress to reconsider its actions.

Our request for economic aid has thus far been cut about in half by Congressional action. Such an amount would fail even to maintain the status quo. We would hope to be able to help in the vital reconstruction process and to give South Vietnam an opportunity[•] to build a viable, self-sufficient economy. Over the long run that would mean less American aid.

CAMBODIA

Q: Is there any hope of a settlement in Cambodia?

A: We hope so. The other side has failed in its efforts to take Cambodia by military force. I hope that they will soon realize that the time has come for negotiations.

We believe negotiations should take place. The war has gone on too long. We think it is time for the Cambodians to get together to resolve their differences. I would point out that the Cambodian government has recently called for unconditional negotiations -- the United States fully supports that move.

However, unless and until there is a settlement, we will continue to support and assist our friends.

LATIN AMERICA

Q:	Will you	comment	on U.S.	policy towards	Latin America?
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A: Over the past year the U.S. has given careful attention to its relations with the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Together we have been working to broaden and deepen our relations and important progress has been made toward establishing a frank, open dialogue and regular consultations on a broad range of subjects. Periodic conferences of the Foreign Ministers have been established to facilitate this development. We have also made significant progress toward resolving some longstanding bilateral problems in the region. There are, of course, problems remaining, but I am sure with a continuing spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation, our efforts to resolve them and to further strengthen Hemispheric relations will be productive. I assure you the efforts of my Administration will be directed toward this end.

- Q: What will be your Administration's policy toward Latin America, especially in regard to Cuba following Panama's unilateral resumption of relations?
- A: Our policy toward Cuba is based on sanctions voted by the Organization of American States (OAS). We continue to attach the highest importance to that Organization and to support its resolutions relating to Cuba. We hope and believe that other OAS members will continue to do the same until such time as the OAS may decide through the collective action of its members that the conditions which gave rise to those resolutions no longer obtain. [i.e., that Cuba no longer poses a threat to the peace and security of the Hemisphere.]

I personally want to reiterate that the U.S. has said it would be prepared to consider changing its policy toward Cuba whenever Cuba changes its own policies. Any change, however, would be undertaken only after full consultation with the other governments of the Hemisphere.

AFRICA

In your August 11 speech to Congress you failed to mention Africa. What would be your Administration's policy toward Africa?

A:

Q:

African interests will be respected in the foreign policy of my Administration. I met with the Black Caucus August 21 and discussed with them United States policy toward Africa and toward the member states of the Organization of African Unity. We want to increase our understanding of the problems and aspirations of Africa and will look for new ways in which we can be helpful. As a first step, and at my request, Secretary Kissinger met with the Ambassadors of the Black African nations the day after my inauguration. There he emphasized our desire to look more closely at their concerns and asked to meet with them again soon to discuss in depth issues of common interest.

TRADE BILL PROSPECTS

How do you assess the prospects for achieving a trade bill this year? Can you reach a compromise with Senator Jackson on MFN for the Soviet Union?

A:

Q:

I think that the prospects for getting a trade bill this year are good. In my address to the Congress on August 12, I attached particular importance to passage of the Trade Reform Bill. With regard to Title IV, trade with Communist countries, I am aware of sentiment in the Congress for linking trade concessions to assurances of freer emigration from the Soviet Union. We are making every effort with members of the Congress to reach a mutually acceptable formula. I believe that with this spirit of compromise and cooperation we can reach agreement on a bill that will find general support in the Congress and will serve the national interest.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

For the past several years U.S. foreign policy has been attacked for being insensitive to human rights issues in Greece, Korea, Chile and elsewhere. Do you contemplate any change in this approach to policy?

A:

Q:

As Americans, we can never acquiesce in the suppression of human liberties. Many Americans have fought and died to preserve freedom in foreign lands. We will continue to adhere firmly to the human principles and rights stated in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights -- not only in international forums, but also in our exchanges with other governments.

We want people everywhere to be free and we will use our influence to encourage respect for human rights, but we cannot refuse to deal with other states on grounds that they do not meet our standards.

I assure you we will continue to work for human rights in the manner we judge to be most effective in enhancing those rights.

TURKISH OPIUM

- Q: Is the United States going to do anything about the Turkish decision to resume opium production?
- A: Continuation of efforts to control the flow of illicit narcotics is a priority objective of my Administration. In this regard, we regret very much Turkey's decision to resume opium production. We plan to enter into discussions with the Turkish Government and United Nations agencies concerning the need for the design and implementation of a stringent and effective control system. I am confident we will receive the full cooperation of the Turkish Government.

DEFENSE BUDGET

- Q: You have said that the Defense budget is not sacrosanct but we still need a strong defense. What is your reaction to the Senate's \$5 billion cut in the Defense Appropriations Bill?
- A: Our military strength is fundamental to the preservation of peace, and underwrites our diplomatic efforts. I am confident that the House-Senate Conference Committee will arrive at a compromise on the FY 1975 Defense budget which will be acceptable to both houses and sufficient for our national security needs.

For the FY 1976 Defense program which is now being formulated, I intend to review the program personally in the near future, paying particular attention that it supports our overall national security policies. I want to emphasize that we will not save money in the long run by weakening our national defense. Peace can only be built on the clear ability and will of the American people to protect our interests whenever and wherever they may be threatened.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

- Q: The international economy is seriously threatened. What remedy do you propose to achieve lower oil prices, international monetary stability, and expanded balanced trade patterns?
- A: The magnitude of the oil price increases has placed a great burden on the international monetary system. Lower oil prices, effective reinvestment of oil incomes and expanded international trade will serve to strengthen the world economy. We have not yet seen a decline in oil prices, but we believe mutual understanding and cooperation between producers and consumers and continued efforts at conservation can lead to progress. We are also working within the international financial system to provide a means to make the oil income surpluses available to nations whose balance of payments are seriously threatened. We also expect the trade reform act to provide opportunities for expanded world trade through the reduction of tariffs and other artificial barriers.

There is still another measure which is essential. That is the avoidance of nationalistic policies whereby each nation attempts to protect itself at the expense of others. The international economy can be strengthened only through international cooperation, with each nation accepting its share of the burden in meeting our common difficulties.
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

- Q: At a time of increasing economic difficulties and food shortages at home, the Administration is requesting large foreign assistance budgets. What will be your attitude toward foreign aid and PL-480 food programs?
- A: Two points should be made. First, increasing economic difficulties, including food shortages, are world-wide and not restricted to the United States. Second, in times of shared adversity the worst policies are those in which each nation tries to protect itself at the expense of others.

We are always examining our foreign assistance budgets to ensure that our best interests are being served. At the same time, we must also ensure that we and others are sharing a common burden of humanitarian and development assistance equitably.

ARMS SALES

Q: The U.S. is the world's largest supplier of arms around the world, including both conventional cash sales and military grant programs. Do you believe that arming the world, including dictatorships, serves the cause of peace?

A: U.S. arms sales serve the cause of peace and reflect U.S. security interests by maintaining strong allies and friends while reducing direct U.S. involvement around the world. At the same time, U.S. military assistance does not mean that we always fully approve of the internal policies of a country with which we share a common defense objective. Given the legitimate right of all states to arm for self-defense and the availability of alternate sources of arms, we cannot expect that a change in our arms policy would alter the internal policies of other governments.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

- Q: What is your policy toward nuclear proliferation in the wake of the Indian test and reports that Brazil, Argentina, Israel, and others may be considering developing nuclear explosives?
- A: Our policy regarding proliferation of nuclear weapons is clear.
 It is in our interest and the best interest of the world community
 to limit the spread of nuclear explosive devices and technology.

We oppose the development by non-nuclear weapons states of nuclear weapons or any nuclear explosive devices, since the two are not distinguishable. Our support of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the system of international safeguards for nuclear technology and materials is firm.

[FYI: Should the subject of prospective U.S. sales of nuclear reactors to Egypt and Israel arise, you may wish to note that this step must be put in the perspective that nuclear power is an important source of energy for the future and will be used by many nations. The U.S. has made nuclear technology available to a large number of nations under <u>stringent safeguards</u>, beyond the requirements of the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency). It should also be noted that there are alternative supplies of nuclear reactors, so that this is not a situation where a U.S. refusal to provide the reactors would prevent their acquisition by the countries concerned.

CHAIN OF COMMAND - THE NUCLEAR FOOTBALL

- Q: News reports have indicated that President Nixon took with him the "Black Box" of nuclear codes; other reports claim it was left in your custody. Who did have control of our nuclear weapons on that fateful day?
- A: All I want to say on this subject is that never was there an instant when control of nuclear weapons was not under full constitutional control and the chain of command totally intact and operating.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR:

J. F. TER HORST

PAUL A. MILTICH

SUBJECT:

FROM:

Rockefeller's Position on Abortion

Governor Rockefeller stands on the Supreme Court decision on abortion. Urged to do so by Rockefeller, the New York Legislature in 1970 adopted an Abortion Law Reform Act which provided that an elective abortion could be legally performed in New York State during the 24 weeks following conception. In 1972 the New York Legislature voted to repeal the Abortion Law Reform Act. Rockefeller vetoed that legislation. A copy of his veto message is attached. After the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, Senator Buckley introduced a constitutional amendment designed to overturn the court ruling. Rockefeller issued a statement taking issue with Buckley and supporting the Supreme Court decision. The Rockefeller statement is attached.

####

and Martin State Abortion Reform Law - Senate 8556, Assembly Print 1.000

chapter 127 of year 1970
Passed by Legislature - April 10, 1970
Vote: Assembly - 76-73
 Senate - 31-26
Signed by Governor Rockefeller - May 11, 1970

<u>Senate 10527</u> - submitted to legislature with Special Message to the Legilature by Governor Rockefeller - legislation to reduce from 24 weeks to 18 weeks the time following conception during which an elective abortion may be legally performed. The bill did not pass either house.

Amendment to Repeal 1970 Abortion Law - Assembly Bill 2774 Passed by Legislature - May 9, 1972 Vote: Assembly - 79-68 Senate - 30-27 Vetoed by Governor Rockefeller - May 13, 1972 (Veto #8) There was no vote by the legislature on the veto because the repeal bill was presented to the Governor after the Legislature

adjourned sine die. He did not use a pocket veto but affirmatively vetoed the bill.

Governor Rockefeller's Public Comments on Abortion

The Governor's strongest public statement is contained in his veto of the repeal bill. A copy is attached, together with his statement on Abortion Law Reform from the Governor's 1970 Message to the Legislature.

Also enclosed is the pertinent portion of a radio interview on April 10, 1970.

The Governor made a statement in response to Senator Buckley's proposed constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. The statement, dated February 4, 1973, is attached.

* The Sub-committee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee is still holding hearings on the Buckley amendment. (SJ Res 119)

STATE OF NEW YORK EXECUTIVE CHAMBER NELCON A. ROCKEFELLER, GOVERNOR Ronald Maiorana, Press Secretary 518-474-8418 (Alberry); 212-JU 2-7030 (NYC) .FOR RELEASE: ABORTION) (N.A.R.A.M., SUNDAY FEBRUARY 4, 1973

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Senator Buckley's decision to introduce a constitutional amendment designed to overturn the recent Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion is no doubt a sincere personal expression, but it has the unfortunate potential of being dangerously divisive when America needs a time of healing.

The U.S. Supreme Court's 7 to 2 decision overruling all State laws restricting abortion during the first three months of pregnancy gives us a national policy in place of numerous and acrimonious state-by-state abortion debates. The decision can have a calming effect on the potential and potent emotionalism this issue inevitably arouses.

The court's decision, like the New York law, does not compel any woman who opposes abortion to undergo one against her beliefs. Abortion remains a matter of individual decision. Nor does the decision force upon our entire society the vision of morality of one group in that society.

Senator Buckley's amendment would feed divisiveness which the Supreme Court's decision has abated.

- 30 -

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, GOVERNOR

STATE OF REW YORK

Konald Malorana, Press Secretary 518-474-8418 (Albany); 212-JU 2-7030 (NYC)

> FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATE PRINT MAY 5, 1972

Governor Rockefeller today sent the following Special Message to the Legislature:

STATE OF NEW YORK EXECUTIVE CHAMBER ALBANY

May 5, 1972

TO THE LEGISLATURE:

With this message, I am submitting to your Honorable Bodies legislation to reduce from 24 weeks to 18 weeks the time following conception during which an elective abortion may be legally performed.

I fully recognize the very difficult and sensitive nature of this issue as it affects each of you personally in your deliberations.

Last week in a public statement on this issue I indicated that if the Legislature enacted a 16 week elective period, I would give it my approval. After further consultation with medical authorities and public health officials, however, it is clear to me that from a medical and social point of view an elective period of 18 weeks would be more desirable. For example, it would help to avoid a period during which medical complications more frequently arise.

You have before you in the Assembly a bill (Assembly Bill 2774) that would repeal the present law and restore the provisions in force prior to 1970, namely, that a legal abortion could be performed only where necessary to preserve the life of the mother or the fetus. The toll in human suffering and family tragedy and the danger to health and welfare from the countless illicit abortions under the old law are matters of record. Those same reasons that impelled me in 1970 to approve the present law would similarly require me to disapprove a return to prior law and thus to veto Assembly Bill 2774 if it comes before me.

Furthermore, in a recent decision by a three-judge Federal district court, a Connecticut statute substantially the same as the old New York law was held unconstitutional. In that case, the court said: "We conclude that the state's interests are insufficient to take from a woman the decision after conception whether she will bear a child, and that she, as the appropriate decision maker, must be free to choose." In the opinion of Attorney General Lefkowitz, Assembly Bill 2774 "would be patently unconstitutional under the law of this case, and if approved would leave New York State in a position where it could very well be left with no restrictions whatsoever on legal abortions".

Your Honorable Bodies have an opportunity to make a positive amendment to the present law, consistent with the most recent court decisions. I sincerely hope you will accept this opportunity and adopt the proposal I have submitted.

(Signed) NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

- 30 -

STATE OF NEW YORK EXECUTIVE CHAMBER NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, GOVERNOR

Ronald Maiorana, Press Secretary 518-474-3418 (Albany); 212 JU-2-7030 (NYC)

Abortion

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATE, SATURDAY MAY 13, 1972

STATE OF NEW YORK EXECUTIVE CHAMBER ALBANY

May 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM filed with Assembly Bill Number 2774, entitled:

"AN ACT to amend the penal law, in relation to justifiable abortional acts and repealing subdivision thre of section 125.05 of such law relating thereto"

#8

<u>NOT APPROVED</u>

The same strong reasons that led me to recommend abortion law reform in my Annual Messages to your Honorable Bodies for 1968, 1969 and 1970 and to sign into law the reform that was ultimately adopted in 1970, now compel me to disapprove the bill just passed that would repeal that reform.

The abortion law reform of 1970 grew out of the recommendations of an outstanding select citizens committee, representative of all affected parties, that I appointed in 1968. Under the distinguished leadership of retired Court of Appeals Judge Charles W. Froessel, the select committee found that the then-existing, 19th century, near-total prohibition against abortion was fostering hundreds of thousands of illegal and dangerous abortions. It was discriminating against women of modest means who could not afford an abortion haven and the often frightened, unwed, confused young woman. It was promoting hypocrisy and, ultimately, human tragedy.

I supported the majority recommendations of the Froessel committee throughout the public debate of this issue extending over three years, until the Legislature acted to reform the State's archaic abortion law. I can see no justification now for repealing this reform and thus condemning hundreds of thousands of women to the dark age once again.

There is, further, the recent Federal court decision invalidating the Connecticut abortion law, which is substantially the same as the pre-reform New York law. The law of that case, if upheld, would clearly invalidate the old New York law, as well, were the repeal of abortion reform allowed to stand. In such a circumstance, this State would be left with no law on the subject at all.

I fully respect the moral convictions of both sides in this painfully sensitive controversy. But the extremes of personal vilification and political coercion brought to bear on members of the Legislature raise serious doubts that the votes to repeal the reforms represented the will of a majority of the people of New York State.

The very intensity of this debate has generated an emotional climate in which the truth about abortions and about the present State abortion law have become distorted almost beyond recognition.

The truth is that this repeal of the 1970 reforms would not portions. It would only end abortions under safe and supervised end abortions. medical conditions.

(more)

The truth is that a safe abortion would remain the optional choice of the well-to-do woman, while the poor would again be seeking abortions at a grave risk to life in back-room abortion mills.

The truth is that, under the present law, no woman is compelled to undergo an abortion. Those whose personal and religious principles forbid abortion are in no way compelled against their convictions under the present law. Every woman has the right to make her own choice.

I do not believe it right for one group to impose its vision of morality on an entire society. Neither is it just or-practical for the State to attempt to dictate the innermost personal beliefs and conduct of its citizens.

The bill is disapproved.

(Signed) NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 27, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

PA TRICK J. BUCHANAN

Mr. President, I was told explicity a week ago by the Press Secretary that you did not want me or anyone else to prepare a Briefing Book for press conferences in the style and fashion done for the former President -- further, that you preferred to be briefed in verbal, face-to-face sessions with Mr. terHorst and Mr. Hartmann. Ergo, I did not prepare one. This Briefing Memorandum on the "Questions" likely to occur, was done at the request of Al Haig last night. This is usually the final step in the process, not the first and only step. I have marked -- in red -- the questions that I think are the most likely, the Top Ten, as we used to term them.

If the President wishes me to start now drawing out the recommended responses from the White House staff, and NSC staff, etc. I would be more than delighted to get that done as soon as possible. Just let me know.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 27, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

SUBJECT: PRESS CONFERENCE MEMO

The areas of press interest can be narrowed perhaps to half a dozen categories. First among these is economics, where likely avenues of finquiry seem to be as follows:

ECONOMY

I) Mr. President, in light of recent statistics showing inflation running at 15% annually, have you <u>ruled out</u> -- in advance of your economic summit -- all possibility of re-imposing wage and price controls. And if so, can you tell us why this option will not be considered?

2) Mr. President, are you concerned that the extravagant publicity surrounding your "Economic Summit" will raise public hopes for the economy -- that no conceivable set of policy recommendations can produce. In short, aren't you courting the danger of mass public disillusionment -- if this summit brings forth a mouse?

3) Mr. President, is the Government actively considering, as reported a 10-cent gas tax, with concommitant income tax cuts to the poor and middle calss -- to discourage gas consumption. Is anything in the way of tax reform under active consideration in the White House?

4) Mr. President, does the Administration plan to decontrol the price of so-called "old oil" in order to encourage expansion of supply?

5) Mr. President, realistically, what can the Cost of Living Council, which you recently had revived, accomplish without the power of enforcement? 6) Mr. President, since you've been president, the stock market has been in a steady decline, totally -- I am unsure -- almost a hundred points on the Dow-Jones; last month's trade deficit was almost \$800 million; there are economic alarms going up all over the Western World. Can you tell us if you think it is possible for the United States and the West to avoid a serious recession, possibly, even a depression?

7) Mr. President, Can you specify the areas where you anticipate making the cuts in the budget -- to get the FY 1975 figure below \$300 billion?

8) Mr. President, do you agree with Vice President-designate Rockefeller that mass transit fares ought to be frozen and controlled?

9) Mr. President, do you share Secretary Butz's more sanguine view about the price of food <u>not</u> rising 15% in the coming year?

Would anticipate no more than three separate questions on the economy, even thoughtit is the national issue today, and this fall. Most likely, I believe, is question Number 1, on controls. Some of the others can be easily answered or turned aside by indicating that they will certai nly be subjects brought up in the framework of the economic summit, where every voice will be heard, and no point of view will go without an exponent.

A second area of intense press interest is Personnel & Politics.

PERSONNEL & POLITICS

Vice President

Sir: Can youtell us specifically what role you have in mind in your Administration for Vice President-designate Rockefeller? Reports out of Seal Harbor indicated that he may be designed as over-all coordinator of Administration Economic Policy.

Cabinet

Sir: Any truth to reports that half the Cabinet will be replaced within six months?

Other Posts

Sir: Is former Senator Kuchel being designated as your UN Ambassador as reports had it yesterday?

•Sir: There have been conflicting reports about the role of General Haig in the new Administration. Formally and publicly, he has been designated your chief of staff for the "duration." Privately and informally, top White House aides have said that there will be no chief of staff and Al Haig will be moving on -- after the transition. Can you clarify his role for us?

Campaign Plans

Sir: Can youtell us what, if any, are your campaign plans for Republicans this fall -- and what role you expect the new Nice President to play in the campaign of 1974?

Politics Per Se

Sir: Your press secretary indicated that the GOP Convention will nomiate President Ford -- will it be, the President willing, Ford and Rockefeller in 1976? Do you have in mind a six-year or a two-year partnership with the former Governor of New York?

Sir: Are you at all concerned by the grumbling among the conservatives in your party about what they call your "opening to the left" since taking office. Do you think the problem of a politically serious one -- and do you intend to do anything about it?

Personal Per Se

Sir: After three weeks on it, how do you like the new job?

Sir: Would you stand in the way, if a group of private citizens decide you needed a pool -- and to build it themselves?

THE FORMER PRESIDENT

Sir: Even if the evidence exists to bring in a Grand Jury indictment, do you believe the national interest would be served -- or injured -by the criminal prosecution of the former President of the United States. And, following on that, if the Special Prosecutor brings in an indictment, will you quash that indictment, and shield the former President from prosecution and possible imprisonment -- or will you let that trial go forward? Sir: Do you agree with Governor Rockefeller that the former President has suffered enough -- and should be left alone -- and not criminally prosecuted in the Watergate Affair. Or do you think that equity requires that Mr. Jaworski proceed against him -- as against any of the other Watergate defendants?

Sir: Can you tell us what the White House plans to do with the tapes and public and private papers of former President Nixon? Will you reutrn them to him, and how will the White House respond to a subpoena from the Special Prosecutor to inspect those tapes and papers?

Sir: Have you had any other direct contact with the former President, other than the phone call on the nomination of Governor Rockefeller?

LEGISLATION & ISSUES

Amnesty

Sir: On the matter of amnesty, do you agree with AG Saxbe that there should be no prison sentences for deserters or draft dodgers who come home -- only work options?

Military Precautions

Sir: Can you tell us if you were aware or became asware later of any "special precautions" which the Department of Defense took -against out-of-channels access to the military -- during the last days of the Nixon Administration?

Consumer Protection Agency

Sir: Can you tell us how the White House stands on the filibuster now being conducted against the Consumer Protection Agency in the Senate and will you sign such an authorizing bill if it reaches your desk. That agency is Ralph Nader's "Number 1 issue" this legislative year.

Veterans Legislation

Sir: Have you decided yet on how you will respond to the veterans legislation now moving into the final stages of preparation in the Congress?

Freedom of Information Act

Sir: Can you list your objections to the Freedom of Information Act -- which enjoys wide support in the country and on Capitol Hill?

FOREIGN POLICY

Cyprus

Sir: Can you respond to allegations that the United States -- in the Mediterranean crisis -- "tilted" toward Turkey; and how does the United States intend to repair the gravely damaged relations with the Greek Government?

Sir: What in the judgment of this Government would be the most equitable outcome of the Cyprus crisis, and how does the U.S., diplomatically, intend to achieve it?

Vietnam

Sir: If Hanoi launches an allout offensive against the South, and the Saigon Government, calls for American assistance -- as essential to its survival -- is there any possibility at all that the United States will come, militarily, once again, to the aid of South Vietnam?

Sir: Do you anticipate such an offensive or "high point" in the South -- and has the United States made any contigency plans whatsoever?

Defense

Sir: Are you concerned by the \$5 billion in cuts in the defense legislation voted in the Senate?

Middle East

Sir: In light of the increasingly ominous statements issuing out of Middle Eastern capitals, including Cairo, is the United States apprehensive about a possible renewal of fighting in the area?

Arms Supplies to Turkey

Q: Why has the United States not cut off arms supplies to Turkey as United States law may require?

A: The Secretary of State indicated at his press conference on August 19 that he would need a legal opinion on that question. The legal issues involved are being studied in the Department of State.

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