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EQUAL TREATMENT FOR WATERGATE DEFENDANTS

QUESTION: Is it an unjust denial of equal treatment to refuse to pardon the others?

ANSWER: The situation of former President Nixon is very different from that of the Watergate defendants. The Nixon situation is unique.

1. Previous Official Determination. Richard Nixon has already been found unanimously by the House Judiciary Committee to have engaged in substantial misbehavior.

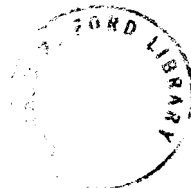
2. Punishment Already Suffered. To resign from the Presidency is a disgrace in history and in the eyes of the people. To be raised to this office, especially by a landslide vote, is to be honored extraordinarily. To leave it under the circumstances in which Richard Nixon did, is to be punished more than any American leader has. To be sure, there is punishment in any fall from grace, but the depth of Richard Nixon's fall is unique.

3. Public Contribution. In dispensing mercy we should look not only to a man's transgressions but also to his contributions to the public welfare. There may not be unanimous acclaim for Richard Nixon's policies, but perhaps even his severest critics admit that some of his policies advanced the public interest and contributed to world peace. Such contributions are a matter of degree, but Richard Nixon's situation is unique.

4. Public Distress or Polarization. Many Americans would be distressed over the indictment and the appearance "in the dock" of a former President. */ Because, moreover, a substantial number of Americans would feel strongly alienated from any such proceedings, the possibility of political polarization is real.

The overall cumulative effect is indeed to make Richard Nixon's situation unique.

*/ Some might think that such distress would reflect an excessive and unwise mystique surrounding Presidents and former Presidents, but it seems to be a fact.



PARDONING WATERGATE DEFENDANTS

QUESTION: Will you pardon the Watergate defendants?

ANSWER: The normal processes of justice will be followed.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Does that mean you have decided against any future clemency for (a) those already convicted who have either completed or are now serving their sentences, or (b) those who may be convicted in the future?

ANSWER: The only thing I have decided is that the usual processes should be followed. If I point out that those normal processes include published regulations on Presidential clemency, please do not infer that I am contemplating future clemency.



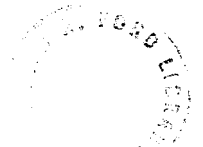
"THE STUDY"; FUTURE PROCEDURE

QUESTION: You said that pardon for Dean and other Watergate defendants is being considered. Did you consider blanket pardoning? If not, what was being studied? Is the study complete? What is the result?

ANSWER:

1. I never contemplated blanket pardons and certainly no general pretrial clemency.
2. The Nixon case is unique. (See elaborated answer on this point.)
3. I did want an examination of proper procedures for processing any clemency petitions that are in fact received.
4. The proper procedure is that any convicted person may apply through the Department of Justice in the manner provided by its published regulations.

See follow-up Q and A's on normal clemency procedures.



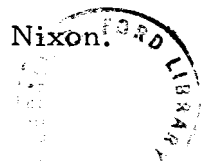
GETTING THE FACTS OUT

QUESTION: Does the pardon mean that the people and the history will never know the full facts about Richard Nixon's possible crimes or other misbehavior in office? * Is the pardon another coverup?

ANSWER:

1. The American people already know a great deal about the Nixon Presidency.
2. The House Judiciary Committee has published its official findings on Richard Nixon's behavior in office.
3. The pardon does not itself preclude any report on all matters within the Special Prosecutor's jurisdiction, at a time and in a manner consistent with his responsibilities.
 - (a) The Special Prosecutor already has the materials related to the Watergate coverup.
 - (b) Any other needed information may well be available in connection with other proceedings.
 - (c) It is possible that other arrangements for access to the Nixon files might be worked out. I myself have long urged and will continue to urge full disclosure by Mr. Nixon.

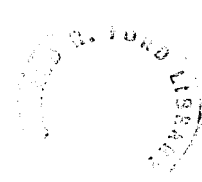
* They might also be referring to Nixon or Agnew preaccusations of innocence.



REVISIONISM; COX

QUESTION: Do you agree with former Special Prosecutor Cox that "the guilt or innocence of a high official charged with crime, especially a President, should be determined once and for all by the established procedures of justice in order to lay to rest claims of political vendetta. To short circuit the process invites endless uncertainty and division."

ANSWER: See "Getting the Facts Out"



KNOWING WHAT WAS PARDONED

QUESTION: Was it wise to pardon Richard Nixon without knowing what, if any, offenses he might have committed?

ANSWER: The Watergate coverup charges are pretty well known and I did have information from the Special Prosecutor's office that not even probable criminal guilt could ~~now~~ be established with respect to an additional 10 specified allegations concerning Mr. Nixon. Those 10 topics seem to include all the major allegations that had been ^{publicly} made against him.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Does that mean that evidence of crime in these or any other now - unspecified matters might not turn up in the future?

ANSWER: One can never be certain what will appear in the future.

Note: This is a very troublesome point. It would be unwise to make any predictions or estimates that additional and significant improprieties might not yet appear.



PARDON SCOPE (E.G., TAX)

Question: A pardon for Watergate can be understood to serve a national purpose, but why a pardon that covers possible tax fraud as well? Wouldn't the nation be better served by a demonstration that even a President cannot cheat on his taxes?

Answer: What really mattered was Watergate and the resulting harassment of the former President. Anything less than a full pardon would have left open the door to continued attacks and would have defeated my purpose which is to put this whole affair behind us.



JUDICIAL DETERMINATION OF STANDARDS

Question: Doesn't the pardon mean that the courts will never have the occasion to define appropriate standards of conduct for Richard Nixon and ~~any~~ other President?

Answer: 1. The courts may have occasion to consider such standards in other cases.

2. The House Judiciary Committee has already made historically significant determinations of this sort.

3. The proper standards of behavior seem quite clear with respect to most Watergate related matters.



TIMING

Question: Why did you grant the pardon when you did? Wouldn't it have been better to wait (1) until indictment, if any, and trial of Nixon, (2) until wider consultation with Congress and the public, or (3) until the jury in the Watergate trials is sequestered.

Answer:

1. Once I had decided that Mr. Nixon should, as an act of mercy, be spared any imprisonment, there seemed to be no reason to open him and the American people to the distress of a trial.^{*/} Under these circumstances, a trial seemed unnecessarily harassing and vindictive toward him and pardon

NOTE: See separate answers on

- getting the facts out.
- getting a judicial determination of standards.
- what was pardoned.

2. More consultation might have been preferable, but I never doubted the wide diversity of views on this subject. Consensus did not seem possible.

Some may think that
3. ~~Understand the reasons why~~ a pardon for Nixon

before the jury is sequestered in the Watergate trials might ^{possibly} be thought prejudicial to the defendants, but that is a matter for the courts to decide. Accordingly, further comment on this point by me seems inappropriate.

*/

Does not explain failure to wait for an indictment.



INTEGRITY OF THE LAW

Question: Doesn't the pardon mean that significant personages violate the law with impunity while the more humble suffer the law's full rigors?

Answer: This concern is understandable but

1. To pardon is to forgive and not ^{to} excuse the conduct that may have been involved.
2. It is a unique act of mercy for a man
 - (a) whose conduct has already been found unacceptable but
 - (b) who has already suffered greatly
 - (c) who has surely contributed to the public interest in some respects, and
 - (d) whose trial would have distressed many of the public.



Equal Treatment for Watergate Defendants
Pardoning Watergate Defendants
"The Study"; Future Procedure
Getting the Facts Out
Revisionism; Cox
Knowing What was Pardoned
Pardon Scope (e. g., Tax)
Judicial Determination of Standards
Timing
Integrity of the Law

Your credibility
Change of Mind
Deal
Deal II

Dating your Decision
Unfair Distinctions Within a Single "Conspiracy"
Agony Prolonged
Nixon Health: Prepare the Public
Consultation with Justice
Public Reaction

Outside Review
Rely on Special Prosecutor
Normal Procedure too Lenient
Normal Procedure too Harsh
Normal Pardon Procedure
Usual Commutation Procedure
Usual Waiting Period
Personal Review
Usual Clemency Procedure
Pardon for One is Pardon for All



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/13

Phil —

our basic memo —
discussed this morning. And
a copy of my memo to
Anne Armstrong (and Dean Burch)

Phil



Although many Americans believe that Richard Nixon should not have to face imprisonment, doubts have been expressed about the wisdom of the President's pardon of him. */ Several of these doubts are noted below.

1. More Cover-up; Fear of Future Revisionism. The pardon of Richard Nixon means that a court will not have occasion to make a definitive determination of whether Richard Nixon committed any criminal acts. Without such a determination, it is feared, the Watergate book will never be closed. Without such a definitive determination, a future generation may wonder whether Richard Nixon was "unfairly hounded from office."

Such concerns and fears seem exaggerated. First, there have been published findings by the House Judiciary Committee on Richard Nixon's behavior in office. Second, President Ford has long urged and continues to urge full disclosure by Mr. Nixon. Third, the pardon does not itself preclude a final report on all matters within the Special Prosecutor's jurisdiction, and at a time and in a manner consistent with his responsibilities.

By eliminating the possibility of Nixon's prosecution, however, the pardon does make it more difficult for the Special Prosecutor to obtain access to the Nixon files. But the degree of incremental difficulty is not necessarily significant. First, the Special Prosecutor already has the materials related to the Watergate cover-up. Second, information related to the other 10 matters listed in the Special Prosecutor's office memorandum of September 3 may well be available in connection with appropriate civil or criminal investigations or possible indictments of other persons. Third, it is possible that other arrangements for access to the Nixon files might be worked out.

2. No Judicial Definition of Proper Conduct. The pardon means that the courts will not have the occasion to define the precise respects in which Richard Nixon's behavior did or did not exceed proper legal standards.

*/ There is considerable agreement that a pardon in advance of indictment or trial is, although unusual, consistent with the Constitutional authorities. That issue is not addressed here.



This is true, but the questions in issue seem to be more questions of fact than of appropriate standards. The proper standards of behavior seem quite clear with respect to most Watergate-related matters. Furthermore, the House Judiciary Committee did in fact make historically significant determinations of this sort.

3. Premature Decision. The actual pardon is thought premature by many who think that a pardon would ultimately have become appropriate. This timing issue has three distinct components.

First is the belief that trial itself would have served the useful purposes already discussed. Second, the pardon might be thought premature in that it was taken without extensive consultation in Congress and elsewhere. Such consultations might have been preferable, but there never was any doubt about the wide diversity of views on this subject. Consensus did not seem possible. Third, a pardon before the jury is sequestered might be thought to prejudice the Watergate trials. */ But that is a matter for the courts to decide. Accordingly, further comment on this point would seem inappropriate.

4. Unwise Precedent or Unjust Inequality. It has been suggested that granting a pardon to Richard Nixon is unjust unless further pardons are granted to all the Watergate defendants and perhaps to every future office holder who gets into trouble. There are, however, important distinctions between his situation and that of the Watergate defendants as discussed in Part II of this memorandum. Indeed the Watergate related events are themselves unique.

5. Law's Integrity Impaired by Excusing the Powerful. The pardon might indicate to some that significant personages may violate the law with impunity, while the more humble suffer the full rigors of the law. This concern is understandable, but it should be remembered that to pardon is to forgive but not to excuse the conduct that was or may have been involved. It is a unique act of mercy for a man whose conduct has been found unacceptable but who has already suffered greatly, who has surely contributed to the public interest in at least some respects, and whose trial would have distressed many of the public.

*/ Note that several opposing claims of prejudice might be asserted. The pardon might prejudice the defense by implying that the President and his aides are guilty or by adding generally to pre-trial publicity. It might prejudice the prosecution by inducing the jury to find the defendants innocent, not because they were but because their principal had been pardoned.



6. A Deal. A few have expressed the fear that the pardon arose from some "deal" made at the time Mr. Ford was appointed Vice President or at the time Mr. Nixon resigned. There was no deal. Indeed, if there had been any such deal, President Ford would not have indicated in his August 28th press conference that a pardon was unlikely before legal process had been undertaken in Mr. Nixon's case.

II

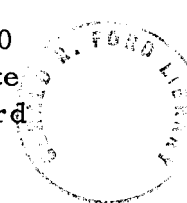
It has been questioned whether the pardon for Richard Nixon compels a similar pardon for the Watergate defendants either those who are awaiting trial or those who are serving or who have served sentences -- in order to achieve equality of treatment before the law. Richard Nixon's case is distinguishable from the others on at least four grounds. */

1. Previous Official Determination. Richard Nixon has already been found unanimously by the House Judiciary Committee to have engaged in substantial misbehavior. To be sure, this is not a judicial determination, but it does serve as an official public determination of major issues concerning Richard Nixon, a partial definition of the parameters of proper behavior, and a condemnation of specific improper conduct. Richard Nixon's situation thus differs from that of the Watergate defendants whose cases are unresolved.

2. Punishment Already Suffered. To resign from the Presidency is a disgrace in history and in the eyes of the people. To be raised

*/ Two other distinguishing grounds were noted on September 8th:
 (a) Fair Trial: There has been considerable pre-trial publicity about the Watergate affair. Richard Nixon has been the obvious and sustained focus of this public attention, expressions of his guilt from many quarters, and the formal findings of the House Judiciary Committee. Richard Nixon's situation seems unique. (b) Speedy Trial: The factors just stated have led the Special Prosecutor's office to the conclusion that any trial for Richard Nixon would have to be delayed some 9 or 10 months. This would make an ultimate result far more remote in his case than for those whose trials are imminent. Richard Nixon's case is thus somewhat distinguishable.

Although these matters are usually and properly left for the courts to decide, the difficulties do seem greater for Richard Nixon than for Watergate defendants awaiting trial.



to this office, especially by a landslide vote, is to be honored extraordinarily. To leave it under the circumstances in which Richard Nixon did, is to be punished more than any American leader has been. To be sure, there is punishment in any fall from grace, but the depth of Richard Nixon's fall is unique.

3. Public Contribution. In dispensing mercy we should look not only to a man's transgressions but also to his contributions to the public welfare. There may not be unanimous acclaim for Richard Nixon's policies, but perhaps even his severest critics admit that some of his policies advanced the public interest and contributed to world peace. Such contributions are also a matter of degree. Again, however, Richard Nixon's situation is unique.

4. Public Distress or Polarization. Many Americans would be distressed over the indictment and the appearance "in the dock" of a former President. Some might think that such distress would reflect an excessive and unwise mystique surrounding Presidents and former Presidents, but it seems to be a fact. Because, moreover, a substantial number of Americans would feel strongly alienated from any such proceedings, the possibility of political polarization is real. Again, this might seem a matter of degree. After all, other trials in our recent and remote history have also produced a certain polarization. But, again, Richard Nixon's situation is unique.



In order to determine our proper response to the issue of pardon procedures for Watergate defendants, we must first consider the ultimate procedures available to us.

I

If and when a petition for clemency -- either a pardon or a commutation of sentence -- is filed we must consider the best way to handle it. The options are three.*

1. Utilize Special Prosecutor. One possibility would be to encourage the Special Prosecutor to process such applications for the President. This would have the virtue of utilizing the detailed knowledge possessed by that office of the varied behavior of the several defendants. It would also be a source without ties of any sort to the defendants.

The disadvantages are two: their prosecution function may be inconsistent with the clemency function. Further, that task is not now within the Special Prosecutor's charge, 28 CFR Section 0.37 (Appendix), and it is my informal understanding that the Special Prosecutor's office would not welcome such a task.

2. Prestigious Outside Advisers. The President could appoint one or several prestigious outsiders to process any Watergate clemency petitions. Alternatively, the Attorney General could do so in the exercise of his present advisory powers. In any event, such an outside group would be without any political or other ties to the Watergate defendants. If sufficiently prestigious, moreover, such outside recommendations could be adopted by the President without much review or reconsideration; the responsibility would thus be shared with the outsiders. The administrative problems in providing outsiders with access to prosecution files would have to be considered but could probably be overcome.

The disadvantages of this approach are two. First, it would constitute another departure from normal governmental machinery and would imply that the ordinary Justice Department procedures do not yet deserve public trust, even in this new administration. Second, the appointment of outsiders would carry a subtle -- or perhaps not so subtle -- suggestion that clemency for the Watergate defendants should be approached with greater receptivity than is customary.

3. Utilize Regular Procedures. The regular procedure under 28 CFR Section 1.1 calls for the submission to the Attorney General of petitions for

* There is a fourth option of handling these requests at the White House in the first instance. But this would clearly be unwise.



executive clemency. Such petitions are customarily handled by a "Pardon Attorney" who is subordinate to the Deputy Attorney General. To follow this procedure has the great advantage of regularity and of initial consideration that takes proper account of clemency precedents. And the Jaworski office can and should be consulted.

It has two disadvantages. First, the public might regard any clemency recommendations from the Pardon Attorney to be contaminated by the prior association between present Justice Department officials and one or more of the Watergate defendants. (I note that the present Pardon Attorney was appointed in 1969.) Second is the opposite fear: that Justice Department procedures and precedents are unduly unreceptive and unduly inflexible. Some might also fear that in leaning over backwards to avoid favoritism, the Justice Department might give insufficient compassion to these petitions. And 28 CFR 1.3 precludes the filing of a pardon petition earlier than 3 or 5 years subsequent to release from prison. This second difficulty is not an insurmountable bar to use of the ordinary procedures: (i) Commutation petitions are not precluded by any waiting period. Thus any Watergate defendant seeking an early release by commutation is free to apply. (ii) The ordinary Justice Department instincts with respect to clemency may well be appropriate. If not, the Attorney General could instruct the Pardon Attorney to give particular attention to harmonization of sentences administered by different judges to different defendants. (iii) If the three-year waiting period is thought unwise, the Attorney General is free to make a general change in the regulations.

4. Tentative Conclusion. Among the several unsatisfactory choices, regularity seems best.

II

We are not compelled to resolve the ultimate question until confronted with a petition for clemency. The "study" being made in response to Mrs. Dean's request might mean that we are considering (1) all the facts in the Dean case, (2) the proper procedure for handling such requests, or (3) whether the pardon for Richard Nixon compels pardon for John Dean (etc.) in order to achieve equal treatment before the law.

We are not equipped nor desirous of doing the first. The considerations necessary for the second judgment are outlined above. The only utility in delaying our conclusion is the opportunity for additional reflection and perhaps a different conclusion. The third "study" has been completed. We are in all events obliged to state our conclusion on the third issue.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: ANNE ARMSTRONG
DEAN BURCH

FROM: PHILLIP AREEDA

The questions posed in Anne Armstrong's September 11 memoranda might be answered as follow:

1. President Ford changed his mind in response to further reflection that persuaded him that mercy was appropriate.
2. The situation of former President Nixon is very different from that of the Watergate defendants.
 - (a) He and not the others has already been officially found by the House Judiciary Committee to have engaged in substantial misbehavior.
 - (b) The punishment of Richard Nixon's fall from the Presidency is very severe.
 - (c) The grant of mercy may properly consider one's contribution to the public welfare, and Richard Nixon's policies have undoubtedly advanced the public's interest in some respects.
 - (d) Many Americans would be distressed by the indictment and trial of a former President.
 - (e) The combination of these facts makes Richard Nixon's situation unique.
3. The fact of a pardon does not prevent the facts about Mr. Nixon from coming out:
 - (a) The public already knows a great deal about his Presidency.



- (b) His behavior in office has been the subject of official findings published by the House Judiciary Committee.
 - (c) The Special Prosecutor has the materials related to the Watergate cover-up.
 - (d) Any other needed information may be available in other proceedings.
 - (e) The Special Prosecutor is free to report on all matters in his jurisdiction, and at a time and in a manner consistent with his responsibilities.
4. We cannot speak for Mr. Jaworski, but presumably he thinks it unnecessary to speak about a matter that has been definitively determined.
 5. Excessive pre-trial publicity may require the postponement of a trial in the effort to obtain a jury free of pre-trial impressions about Nixon's guilt. Indeed, it might be a very long time before that was possible in view of the fact that Richard Nixon has been the obvious and sustained focus of public attention about Watergate, of expressions of his guilt from many quarters, and of the formal findings of the House Judiciary Committee.
 6. Richard Nixon is a private citizen who may be required to appear as a witness in the same manner as every other citizen. To be sure, the former President can have the benefit of any claim of privilege that a court sees fit to allow.
 7. The privilege against self-incrimination is not available where the possibility of incrimination has been definitively precluded by a pardon. A claim that one might incriminate himself under State law would not be affected by a Federal pardon.
 8. The pardon will not affect liability for any Federal offense, including contempt, committed after August 9, 1974.
 9. Subpoenaed tapes or documents can be introduced in evidence, except insofar as protected by a recognized claim of privilege.
 10. The grant of and the acceptance of a pardon before indictment would imply that indictment was thought probable and a conviction possible.



11. Draft dodgers and deserters present different issues.
(See #2 above.)

12. Once President Ford decided upon a pardon, there was no compelling reason for delay.

13. It is not for us to interpret Jaworski's freedom to discuss the Watergate matter. The fact is, however, that Jaworski did not publicly discuss his ten-point memorandum. Nor did he disclose it to the White House for purposes of release. Mr. Buchen's statements about that memorandum were subsequently made on his own responsibility in the effort to explain fully the background of the pardon, as urged by many members of Congress and others.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: JOHN W. HUSHEN

Attached is a copy of a transcript of my briefing today with the pages numbered in which questions were asked about why the President changed his mind regarding a pardon for the former President.

Also attached is a copy of a memo that I sent to Bob Hartmann, an editorial page column from the Washington Post, a UPI story which says the President has not yet revealed all the reasons for his "controversial decision" and, finally the statement by Dr. Walter Tkach regarding the health of the former President.

Attachments

JWH:jcg



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO BOB HARTMANN

FROM: JOHN W. HUSHEN

The question of what "triggered" the President's decision to pardon the former President is the one point where almost all of the newsmen are stumbling in their attempts to understand the pardon.

Most of them seem to think that it was the matter of the President's health. Behind that, of course, is their belief that there's nothing medically wrong with the former President and that phoney stories were circulated in an attempt to convince the President that the pardon was virtually a matter of life and death for Nixon.

I know I'll be asked again today, so any help that I can get in this area will be welcome.

JWH:jcg



Pg 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
15

This Copy For _____

N E W S C O N F E R E N C E

#28

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH JACK HUSHEN

AT 11:54 A.M. EDT

SEPTEMBER 13, 1974

FRIDAY

MR. HUSHEN: Good morning.

We have posted the President's schedule for today.

This morning, he met with a number of staff members, including General Haig, Secretary Kissinger, General Scowcroft, Bob Hartmann and myself.

Q All separately?

MR. HUSHEN: No, General Scowcroft was, I believe, in with Secretary Kissinger, and Bob Hartmann and I were in together.

At about 10:45, as you know, the President dropped in to the meeting in the Cabinet Room of the black Republican leaders from throughout the Nation. A list of those attending that session has been posted. The President asked Stan Scott, who is Special Assistant to the President and who serves as liaison with minority groups, to arrange this and other similar meetings to provide the President an opportunity to hear the views of these individuals on problems facing black Americans and their proposed solutions.

In that regard, the President has asked these individuals to provide their ideas to him in writing through Stan Scott.

We hope to have two members of that group come up here and brief you when I conclude.

At noon today, as you know, Prime Minister Rabin will be meeting with the President and Secretary Kissinger. We expect to have a report on that meeting when it concludes.

In addition to that, we are going to have open coverage of his departure by car from the South Lawn. We will arrange that at the proper time.

MORE

#28



Q A communique?

MR. HUSHEN: Helen, I am just not sure: I think just a report.

The President is meeting now with Graham Martin, the United States Ambassador to South Vietnam. Secretary Kissinger is also attending that meeting. The Ambassador is in Washington for official consultations and today's meeting did provide an opportunity for the President and the Ambassador to review the situation in South Vietnam and for the Ambassador to receive the President's guidance before he returns to Saigon.

This afternoon at 2:30 the President will meet with Roy Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to discuss the message the President will be sending to Congress, hopefully early next week, on budget deferrals and recissions. As you may recall, this was one of the priority items the President listed in his message to Congress yesterday.

At 3 o'clock, the President will meet with Counsellor Kenneth Rush and L. William Seidman to continue their regular discussions of the economic summit and the meetings leading up to it.

Then, at 3:30, the President will meet with Governor Winfield Dunn, Chairman of the Republican Governors Association, to discuss the gubernatorial campaigns for this fall.

At the conclusion of that, he will meet briefly with 11 Republican gubernatorial candidates, whose names we will post. I think all of these individuals are challengers. There are no incumbents in this list.

Q Will they brief us following?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't think so.

Q Is that just for pictures?

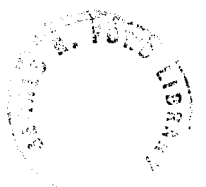
MR. HUSHEN: Well, I know that is part of the meeting. I don't know if it is just for pictures.

I expect the President to be in the office tomorrow. Maybe we can give you a schedule later today.

That is about all I have to say on those announcements.

MORE

#29



Q Will you go back to the announcements, or do you want to go ahead?

MR. HUSHEN: Go ahead. I don't think I have any more announcements.

Q Well, Jack, to go back to Graham Martin, isn't the President satisfied with the way Martin has been performing and does this session today suggest there will be any change in the way Martin operates out of the embassy?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't give you any guidance on that until they get out of the meeting.

Q Was he called home to see the President, specifically?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't think he was.

Q When does he go back?

MR. HUSHEN: Next week, but we don't have an exact date set.

Q Jack, why is the Ford Administration asking the American taxpayer to pay the salary for former President Nixon's valet and maid?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, it isn't just former President Nixon's valet and maid, although that is a part of the package. President Ford believes that it is proper for the White House to carry the load for the time being until Congress enacts that supplemental request.

Q Why does it go to personal servants as distinguished from people who may conceivably be performing some Government function, such as Mr. Ziegler?

Q Who said he is?

Q I said conceivably, giving him the benefit of the doubt.

MR. HUSHEN: I said the President felt that it was proper for this White House to carry the load until Congress enacts the supplemental request.

Q Well, does the White House carry the load in terms of buying the former President some new clothes if he needs it? I mean, what is the standard? This is personal service. What is the point of it? You can say "carry the load" six or eight times, but it doesn't explain it, Jack.

MR. HUSHEN: Well, these are people who are on the White House staff who are detailed to San Clemente.

Q Does the President feel it is proper to carry those personal servants of the President on the National Park Service payroll?

MR. HUSHEN: It is my understanding that is the way they are carried.

Q Does he think that is proper?

MR. HUSHEN: It is my understanding they are budgeted through the National Park Service for administrative purposes.

Q Well, what would happen if Congress does not pass this, or if they trim that thing considerably, would they just still be on the White House payroll, or would that end, or how would that work?

MR. HUSHEN: At the time Congress acts, then those decisions would be made.

Q When will a new Press Secretary be appointed?

MR. HUSHEN: I can give you no information on that.

Q Is Jerry Warren being considered?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know.

Q Is Ron Ziegler a Press Secretary, because I cannot get a phone call to him at all? He never returns any. Is there a spokesman for the President out there?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know if there is a spokesman for the former President or not.

Q Well, you are paying them off the White House payroll. You ought to have some idea of what they are doing.



MR. HUSHEN: Well, they are detailed out to assist the former President.

Q Does the White House expect that special appropriation to pass in its present form, \$850,000?

MR. HUSHEN: That was the GSA request which we transmitted to the Congress. They are the experts on it.

Q They sure are.

MR. HUSHEN: I cannot say whether we expect it to pass in toto or not.

Q In view of the fact that Mr. Sampson was a Nixon appointee, did the White House consider sending anybody else to look into that routine?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know whether that kind of consideration was given or not.

Q Jack, what does the White House know about the former President's state of health?

MR. HUSHEN: The President has asked Dr. Lukash, who is his personal physician, to keep him generally informed of the former President's health.

Q Is there anything to report now?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, we wouldn't be making any medical report from this room about the former President's health.

Q Jack, this morning the Washington Post strongly recommended that Nixon aides not only be removed from the White House but also be retired to private life rather than promoted to new positions in Government. Has the President seen this editorial and commented?

MR. HUSHEN: I do not know.

Q Following that up, if I may, and without mentioning the name of any priest, do you have any message for us about the definitive statements, because he told the Providence Journal that he is going to leave sooner rather than later.

I just wonder if there is going to be any farewell ceremony. I would like to cover it. Is there any information? You said you would try to get us definitive information.



MR. HUSHEN: I certainly concur in what Father McLaughlin said.

Q Do you have any date?

MR. HUSHEN: Sooner rather than later.

Q Jack, you say Ron Ziegler has been detailed to the former President -- is that the term you used?

MR. HUSHEN: That is the term.

Q I wonder who is Mr. Ziegler's boss right now?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, I think it would be the person to whom he was detailed, and I presume that is the former President. That is standard Government practice to detail people from one operation to another.

Q He is not on the Park Service payroll, is he?

MR. HUSHEN: No, no. He is on the White House paryoll.

Q Jack, we have asked now -- we are in the sixth day since the pardon was proclaimed, and we have asked each day what transpired between August 28 and August 30 when in the first instance the President indicated that a pardon would be considered when the matter was brought to him, and on August 30 when he directed Mr. Buchen to make certain researches into the law on pardons.

Have you been able to get us an answer on that question?

MR. HUSHEN: Nothing more than I have given you in the past.

Q Following on that, yesterday, Jack, you indicated you would go back to Mr. Ford and try to find out for us to what extent or what role the former President's health played in the timing of the announcement of the pardon and you indicated then after the session was over that you would have something for us at this 11:00 today. What did he say?

MR. HUSHEN: I said I would try.



Q Did you try?]

MR. HUSHEN: One thing I have learned here is don't make any unconditional statements.

I can say that the President is, of course, concerned about the former President's health. But, as he said in his statement, the health of the Nation was more important than the health of any one man, and that is his paramount concern.

Q What, more specifically, did you discuss with him? What we discussed with you or tried to get from you yesterday is the role that the condition of Mr. Nixon's health played in the decision-making process of the President in the timing of this pardon.]

MR. HUSHEN: I can't give you anything more on that --

Q Did you ask him --

MR. HUSHEN: -- except to say that I think you will probably have a chance to address those questions to him in the near future.]

Q When?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't give you a firm date.

Q Does the President think the Nation is more healthy now as a result of the pardon? I don't understand what you mean by the "Nation's health".

Q How does that apply, Jack?

MR. HUSHEN: I think, if you read his statement, you will see what he means and exactly what he said.

Q Does he still believe that?

MR. HUSHEN: Yes, he does.

Q Jack, yesterday you were asked a number of times about what was the trigger of the timing, whether it was health or something else. Did you ask him about what it was and do you have any answer for us?]

MR. HUSHEN: Nothing other than what I have said at this podium or what he has said in his statement on Sunday, or the brief statement on Wednesday.--

Q Does he have any plans for a press conference to discuss this?

MR. HUSHEN: -- but there is nothing more I can give you beyond that.

Q Jack, you said that the President was being kept advised by Dr. Lukash. Is Dr. Lukash examining the former President or conferring with his physician?

MR. HUSHEN: Dr. Lukash is not examining the former President. What information Dr. Lukash gets is coming to him from other people.

Q Has Dr. Lukash gotten a report from Dr. Tkach or somebody else in San Clemente?

MR. HUSHEN: It is my understanding he has some information. From whom it came, I can't say for sure.

Q To take it one step back, was it Dr. Lukash who asked General Tkach to fly to San Clemente today to examine the former President?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't think so.

Why would Dr. Lukash do it?

Q Well, a Major General in the Air Force generally gets some sort of an assignment from a Lieutenant General in the Air Force or General in the Air Force.

MR. HUSHEN: Well, Dr. Tkach was the former President's personal physician, and if there is a need for his services, I don't know why Dr. Lukash would be making the assignment.

Q Well, because you indicated that President Ford had requested Dr. Lukash to monitor and keep him informed of Mr. Nixon's health. In that context, Jack, how long has this instruction been in place? Was Dr. Lukash providing this monitoring in this information service as long ago as last week, say?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't think so. I think it has just been this spate of stories about the former President's health --

Q That would just be this week, then?

MR. HUSHEN: I believe so.



Q Jack, do you have any updated statements from the President of the continuing lopsided counts in reaction to the pardon both to the White House and Capitol Hill?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, lopsided counts, in terms --

Q I am talking of against the pardon.

MR. HUSHEN: The telegrams ran that way.

Q And the mail.

MR. HUSHEN: And the mail, which we are still counting. I don't know how many pieces we have. The phone messages, as I gave you yesterday, were more pro than con, and they have virtually dropped off now.

I think, to go back to what I said yesterday, I don't have any better reason than to think that the initial decision prompted a lot of people to write immediately and then on reflection, when they thought better of it or changed their opinion or wanted to support the President, they started calling.

Q Jack, some of us suspect that Rabbi Korff's organization may be responsible for a lot of those phone calls. Before President Nixon resigned, he had his organization flood the White House with telephone calls to such an extent that you couldn't even get the operators to answer. Do you know if that is being done this time, if that was the result of the decisions being different, if that explains the difference between the telephone calls and the telegrams?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, I have absolutely no information to that effect.

Q But has it been checked out, because I suspect that it has.

MR. HUSHEN: Has it been checked out?

Q I don't know, I haven't checked it out, but I suspect that that is what is happening.

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know, but I think we ought to see if we can find something out about that.

Q Did you ask Herschenson what he was doing meeting with Rabbi Korff, who I saw out here?



MR. HUSHEN: Yes, as a matter of fact --

Q What did he say?

MR. HUSHEN: If you will bear with me, I will tell you what he reported to us.

According to Mr. Herschenson, he and, of course, Rabbi Korff, had worked together over the past several months, and he said it was purely a courtesy call.

Q How long was the courtesy, Jack?

MR. HUSHEN: About 30 minutes.

Q 30 minutes to exchange courtesies?

Q Jack, yesterday you said you believed the President agreed with Senator Scott about not granting or considering pardons to anyone before trial. You said you would check further to see if flat out that was his position. Can you give us anything on that?

MR. HUSHEN: No, I didn't check it. I am sorry.

Q So you don't know for sure if that is how he feels about it, right?

MR. HUSHEN: That is solid.

Q You said you believe that was his position, and I asked you in the briefing --

MR. HUSHEN: I will stay right where I was yesterday.

Q Well, where were you, though? That is what I don't understand.

MR. HUSHEN: I believe that is his position.

Q Are there any requests for pardons?

MR. HUSHEN: None that I know of.

Q Jack, there is a story in the Christian Science Monitor attributed to a source and discussed the matter of the President, saying he opposed any pardons for anyone involved in the Watergate scandals except Mr. Nixon, that is, those serving time or those about to face trial.

Is that true?



MR. HUSHEN: I can't answer that. All I could say is that he draws a definite distinction between the pardon of the former President and any other activities concerning Watergate defendants, as he said in that statement that we put out on Wednesday.

If you would like me to restate that, I will restate it.

He said then his pardon of the former President, under the unique circumstances stated by me in granting it, is not related to any other case which is or may be under study, but it is a unique decision.

Q Jack, does the President have any definitive feelings about the Wholesale Price Index?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, I think he is disappointed to see it go up, or to see the statistics. He believes it makes it more emphatic to continue the efforts to control inflation. He certainly didn't need to see the Wholesale Price Index to know that inflation was a problem.

Q Was he shocked by the increase? After all, it is one of the largest in post-war history.

MR. HUSHEN: Well, the word he was using was "disappointed", more than shocked.

Q I really don't want to belabor this, but I want to make sure I quote you accurately. Are you saying you really are not sure what his position is on the granting of pardons?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't give you any further guidance on that beyond what I gave you yesterday.

Q What you told us was you believe that is his position, right? You believe he agrees with Senator Scott?]

MR. HUSHEN: Yes.

Q But you are not sure? I mean, you are no more sure of that than you were yesterday?]

Q Would you list the possibilities as likely, unlikely, very unlikely --

MR. HUSHEN: The reason I can't go any further is that it was not a specific question we discussed. I just want to stay right where I am on it. I can't give you any further guidance on it.

Q Based on your statement yesterday, most people went out of here and wrote stories suggesting that you knew what you were talking about. Did you have reason to object to any of those stories which, in effect, took it for granted that you were reflecting the President's view?



MR. HUSHEN: No.

Q You think that is the President's view, but you can't tell us for sure that is his view. In other words, you didn't check with him after the briefing, because I specifically asked you that and put in a query in the afternoon.

MR. HUSHEN: No.

Q He hasn't objected to any of the stories, has he, or taken issue with any of the stories?

MR. HUSHEN: No.

Q I don't want to keep coming back to this, but why is it that we cannot find out or that you cannot find out from the President what factor or factors caused him to change his position on this pardon when obviously this is at the root of the telephone calls and telegrams and the root of this big attendance here and the root of our question.

Did he offer a reason why he couldn't answer this question?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't think what you referred to as the shortness of time between the two events is at the root of all the telephone calls. I think the decision might be causing a little more outpouring.

Q We won't argue that point. The point is that the President made a change in direction that came as a shock to a large number of Americans, and they are reflecting this shock. What bothers me is why we cannot get an answer.

When you put the question to him -- which I assume that you can, since it has been asked here every day for six days -- did he give you any explanation of why he chooses not to respond to this question?

MR. HUSHEN: My response to that question is that you may get a chance to ask that question directly of the President shortly.

Q Can you tell us when?

Q In what specific time frame? Next week?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't go beyond that.

Q Jack, can you give us some specific guidance here on when we are going to have a chance to ask about this? He is deciding to hold a news conference a little earlier?



MR. HUSHEN: That is the same question that Saul just asked me, and I cannot give you any specific guidance.

Q Back on the question of what triggered the President's change of mind on the pardon, you will agree, won't you, that his statement at the news conference was to the effect that the course of law should take -- it should go to the courts -- and then he would decide on a pardon for the former President, and then two days later apparently he changed his mind.

Do you agree that that is the case? He changed his position from --

MR. HUSHEN: I am not going to argue what he said at the press conference.

Q As acting Press Secretary, what I am trying to get, can't you tell him that that is the biggest question everybody has, and we would really like an answer. As someone said, it has been six days now.

Q Jack, the President said last night that he had thought a long time about a pardon for Nixon. A long time, in my opinion, is not a month. Was the President thinking of a pardon for former President Nixon before Nixon resigned?

MR. HUSHEN: Are you sure that was --

Q He said, "I thought about it a long time; it was not precipitous."

MR. HUSHEN: Well, yes, in response to your question, which I presume was, why did he act so hastily or precipitously?

Q I didn't ask the question, but I am glad it was asked.

MR. HUSHEN: Who asked it?

No, I can't go beyond that. He obviously gave it thought. There is no question about that.

Q Jack, was there an intervening or extenuating circumstance that triggered the final decision?

MR. HUSHEN: There is nothing more that I could say about that.



Q Answer Helen's question. As far as you know, did he give any thought to a pardon before he became President?]

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know.

Q Would you ask that question? We would like to have the answer.

MR. HUSHEN: I will take your question.

Q Let me follow up on that for a minute and just ask something of your modus operandi. When you go in for your meeting with Mr. Ford, do you bring a list of the things in there, or does he tell you what he wants to unburden himself with for the day for our benefit to us? How does that work? Do you question him in some respect? Does he question you, or give you questions?]

MR. HUSHEN: We have a general discussion. That consists of --

Q The reason I ask is because several times it has come up, would you ask, did you ask, or will you ask, and it occurred to me, are you allowed to ask?

MR. HUSHEN: I certainly am. Sometimes he will ask me, or sometimes I will ask him. Sometimes we just generally discuss certain issues.

Q Are you suggesting there will be a news conference tomorrow?

MR. HUSHEN: No.

Q Can you rule one out for the week, Jack? Please rule one out. (Laughter)

MR. HUSHEN: I think I can.

Q Can you rule one out for the rest of the day?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't want you to go out of here thinking there is going to be a press conference today, and I think you should not go out of here thinking there will be a press conference today.

Q How about tomorrow?

MR. HUSHEN: For your guidance only, I don't think there will be one this week, Saturday or Sunday.

Q Can you rule one out for Sunday morning?

MR. HUSHEN: Yes.

Q Is the President being kept informed about the health of other Watergate figures? (Laughter)

I ask specifically because one man you worked for at one time, John Mitchell -- there are occasional reports that he is suffering various sorts of nervous disorders based on his problems, and there have been reports of other figures.

So, that being one of the considerations in the President's pardon of the former President, is he being kept informed of these people's health?

MR. HUSHEN: To the best of my information the answer to that question is no, but I would refer you back, again, to the end of his statement that he made Wednesday about the difference between the President's case and any others.

Adam has a question over here.

Q Jack, we heard a good deal a month ago about keeping the public informed from the White House. I just wonder, when you read this transcript today, if you do, if you will count the number of times you have managed to give a direct answer to a question and then reflect on whether this is not exactly what it used to be two months ago in the previous Administration.

MR. HUSHEN: As to how many direct answers I have given to questions, there is only one question I really haven't given you a direct answer to. As I said, I cannot give you a direct answer to that question. That is something that is going to have to come from the President himself.

Q Jack, here's one where you may be able to give a direct answer. To the best of my knowledge, former President Nixon stripped former Vice President Agnew of his Secret Service protection after six months. In the light of this and recognizing a difference between Agnew and Nixon, are you suggesting to us that the President, if the Congress doesn't pass that \$850,000, is going to continue to pay for Nixon's valet?

MR. HUSHEN: I am not saying that.

Q Is the President concerned about former Vice President Agnew's health, or not?

MR. HUSHEN: We are in a transitory stage here where President Ford felt that the White House ought to carry the load for staffing assistants for the former President up until the time that Congress enacts the supplemental appropriation.



Q He won't continue providing him a valet if they don't pass this \$850,000, right?

MR. HUSHEN: I am not addressing myself to that. That will be crossed at the appropriate time.

Q Jack, Bill Seidman and others said before that there might be some action by the President on the housing problem prior to the conclusion of the summit. In light of some of the remarks being made down in Atlanta about the dreariness of the industry now, is the President contemplating any time soon action?

MR. HUSHEN: As you know, Mr. Rush and Mr. Seidman are meeting with the President today, and maybe we can get some idea after that meeting if there is anything contemplated.

Q Jack, when do you expect a statement on war resisters' amnesty?

MR. HUSHEN: When do I?

Q Yes, in the near future?

MR. HUSHEN: Yes.

Q When?

MR. HUSHEN: The only date that I have given so far is before the end of the month. That certainly looks good to me. We have had several meetings on it. A lot of the decisions have been made. I just can't go beyond that.

Q Jack, can you tell us why the tapes are going to be destroyed after ten years without the public looking at them, historians looking at them? I am not talking about people who have subpoenas, but --

MR. HUSHEN: Just people who want to look at them?

Q That is right, after ten years, why are they going to be utterly destroyed? Why is this going to be blotted out of history? Why is history going to be rewritten, or a blank space, not rewritten.

MR. HUSHEN: I think Mr. Buchen handled that.



Q He didn't really give an answer.

MR. HUSHEN: That is a problem for the lawyers. I couldn't enlighten you any more.

Q Was Mr. Ford happy with that? Wasn't President Ford unhappy with that?

MR. HUSHEN: He didn't indicate any emotion one way or another about it. It was a very complicated subject reaching that agreement between the former President, the General Services Administration and the White House to get the tapes and documents out of the White House, but still in safekeeping.

Q Jack, have you been able to determine why the President authorized you to say last Tuesday that that entire matter is under study in answer to a question about pardons for other Watergate figures?

MR. HUSHEN: Yes, but I am not going to have anything further to say about it.

Q Jack, can you explain why the President would use an emissary who is under investigation in the Justice Department for such a delicate negotiation, something that means so much to the American people?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, you are still innocent until you are proven guilty.

Q Was he aware of the investigation?

MR. HUSHEN: I believe when Mr. Becker first came to the attention of President Ford, it was to assist in the confirmation hearings as Vice President, and at that time, I believe --

Q Jack, that was the second time.

MR. HUSHEN: All right, the second time, then.

Let me just finish this. Mr. Buchen told me that Mr. Becker said that he had had some problems, most of which had been resolved satisfactorily. The only remaining one was a question of a tax deduction, and he had given the necessary documentation and had heard nothing furthermore on it and just assumed that that matter was closed. I think, you know, we were generally aware of it.



Q Jack, how close is the President to making his choices for the board of the new Legal Services Corporation?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know.

Q Is that matter now before him? The law has been passed, and he should select the 11 members.

MR. HUSHEN: I just can't give you anything until I check it.

Q Jack, does the President support the idea of Democrats on the Judiciary Committee yesterday that in view of the pardon, Jaworski should be asked to put out into public light all the information he has against Mr. Nixon?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know whether he does or not.

Q Could you check on that?

MR. HUSHEN: I haven't raised that question with him.

MORE



Q Jack, you suggested that maybe Mr. Seidman and Mr. Rush would have something to say after the meeting with the President. Do you mean to bring them in here to talk to us or what?

MR. HUSHEN: What I meant in trying to answer that question was maybe something would come out of there which would result in either myself or possibly someone else giving an answer to that question.

Q But not this afternoon?

MR. HUSHEN: We do not plan to have them brief, no.

Q According to some press reports from Boston, it appears there have been some violations of the U.S. Code with respect to civil rights statutes in the stoning of children being bused to school. In view of the President's ultimate responsibility for enforcement of the U.S. Code, has he issued any instructions to the appropriate agencies of Government to look into that matter, or be prepared to take any action?

MR. HUSHEN: I think you probably will find that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department is closely watching that situation and, if there is an indication of violation of civil rights, the Federal Bureau of Investigation would investigate.

Q Can you say at whose orders Tkach did fly out to California?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't think I know at whose orders. I think it was a request from San Clemente.

Q He can just call up a Major General and say, "Come out"?

Q What was the question?

MR. HUSHEN: At whose orders did Dr. Tkach fly to San Clemente, and I cannot answer that.

Q Jack, the Star has in its hands documents which show or say that Haldeman appealed for a pardon before Nixon left office and he tied it to amnesty. Did President Ford have President Nixon in mind when he offered conditional amnesty to the Vietnam resisters?

MR. HUSHEN: There is no way I can answer that question. That is something again that you would have to address to the President.



Q Jack, aside from Mrs. Dean's letter, are there any other applications or requests for pardons that have come into the White House?

MR. HUSHEN: None that I am aware of.

Q Jack, do you know whether President Ford has heard the actual tapes or read the transcripts of the tapes which have been sent over in response to subpoenas from Judge Sirica's court?

MR. HUSHEN: I do not.

Q I wondered, does he know what the contents of those are yet?

MR. HUSHEN: As far as I recall, the President was not listening to those tapes.

Q He said he had no time prior to taking over the office.

MR. HUSHEN: He certainly has less.

Q I was wondering whether the contents of those tapes may have prompted timing of the pardon for President Nixon?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't have anything I can tell you on that.

Q Jack, does the President still intend to try to secure a place in the military for General Haig?

MR. HUSHEN: That question is still being looked at. No decisions have been made and you know, of course, of General Haig's desire and interest to return to the military. Beyond that, I have nothing I can say.

Q Jack, before we close here, without meaning to change the subject actually, I want to get back to Chile. I raised the question yesterday about the President's awareness of the stories over this week of U.S. efforts by the CIA to destabilize the Chilean government and whether or not the President was aware of it, and whether that was going to be his policy.

Did you have an opportunity to discuss that with the President?



MR. HUSHEN: I did not. But I would again say what I said to you yesterday, that the State Department is adequately equipped to handle those questions.

Q This is a major policy question on what the CIA does in terms of foreign governments. It is not the State Department. The President makes the foreign policy so I think the question is legitimate here.

MR. HUSHEN: All right.

Q In addition to that, there has now been raised the question of perjury on the part of Administration officials who have testified before Congressional committees about Chile and denied that there was any intervention in the affairs of the Chilean government.

Now it rises to the level of Presidential concern as to whether people in the Administration have told the truth and will tell the truth in the future. So I wish you could get some response from the President about that.

MR. HUSHEN: All right, I will make an attempt.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Jack.

END

(AT 12:35 P.M. EDT)

* * *

1:31 P.M. EDT

MR. HUSHEN: I can give you a brief report now that the meeting with President Ford and the Israeli Prime Minister is concluded.

As you know, the meeting was in the Oval Office. It lasted approximately 30 minutes.

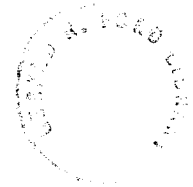
In addition to the President and Mr. Rabin, those attending for the American side were Secretary of State Kissinger, and General Brent Scowcroft, and our Ambassador to Israel, Ken Keating.

On the Israeli side, their Ambassador Dinitz and the Director General of the Prime Minister's Office, Mordechai Gazit.

As you know, the President and the Prime Minister met for 40 minutes on Tuesday and then again yesterday for an hour and 15 minutes, so they spent quite a bit of time together.

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In the meeting today, they again discussed in depth the issues involved in shaping the course of negotiations over the next few months, and to review bilateral relations between our two countries.

The President was pleased to become reacquainted with Prime Minister Rabin and the talks were described as friendly and useful to both sides.

Both leaders reaffirmed the importance of maintaining the momentum of negotiations on a genuine peace settlement in the Middle East. And they made progress in moving toward an understanding of how these negotiations might proceed.

The President reaffirmed the long-standing friendship for Israel and also reaffirmed the continuing U.S. support for the security and well-being of that country. The President welcomed the increasing commercial contacts between the United States and Israel in keeping with the close ties between the two countries.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the ongoing U.S. military supply relationship and the President reaffirmed the continuity of that relationship.

That is the end of our statement.

I might be able to give you a little more help, but we can't go too much beyond that.

Q Can we start with the last sentence; what does that actually mean?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, it means what it says.

Q What does it say?

Q Does that mean he is going to continue to supply arms at the present levels that have existed in the past without any change?

MR. HUSHEN: Well, all I can say is that it is an ongoing relationship. I can't enlighten you as to whether or not there is going to be any changes.

Q Jack, can you translate it in terms of dollars or military hardware?

MR. HUSHEN: I cannot.

Q Can you say whether it has increased from like four days ago when Rabin was not here?

MR. HUSHEN: I cannot. As you probably all know, he has a press conference scheduled for 2:30 this afternoon.

Q What is this progress in negotiations, progress in understanding on how negotiations will proceed? Does that mean that the President and the Prime Minister decided on who Israel should negotiate with next on withdrawal of Israel forces from Arab lands?

MR. HUSHEN: Would you restate that?

Q You spoke of they made progress in moving toward an understanding on how the negotiations may proceed. I am asking, are you speaking of negotiations on the possibility of further withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab countries.

MR. HUSHEN: I can't get into that specifically, but the next step would be consultations with other parties in the Middle East dispute to resume and, Secretary of State Kissinger will continue these consultations when he meets with the Arab Foreign Ministers at the United Nations General Assembly later this month.

Q Jack, did the President or Secretary of State have any objections to Israel having its negotiations with Egypt about withdrawal in the Sinai Desert?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't give you any help there.

Q Jack, you said the negotiations were described as friendly and useful to both sides. Who made that description?

MR. HUSHEN: That was the consensus of the participants.

Q Should we consider this a joint statement or is this purely a statement from our own Government?

MR. HUSHEN: From our own Government.

Q Will there be a joint communique?

MR. HUSHEN: No.

Q Why not?

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MR. HUSHEN: Because that was a decision reached between the President and the Foreign Minister.

Q Was there any invitation for the President to visit Israel, do you know, or the Middle East in general?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know.

Q Was there any discussion, can you tell us whether there was any discussion about the Palestinian problem?

MR. HUSHEN: Again I can't go into any details of the meeting.

Q When will Kissinger be going, Monday?

MR. HUSHEN: To the United Nations?

Q Do we know?

MR. HUSHEN: Next week.

Q Will he go with the President?

MR. HUSHEN: I would presume he would be going up there with the President on the 18th.

Q Well, the President is thinking up to October 18, which is a long way off.

MR. HUSHEN: Next week, September 18.

Q Jack, was more or less accomplished in these meetings than the President had hoped at their outset?

MR. HUSHEN: I am not in a position to answer that.

Q Jack, can you discuss the extent to which the President described Congressional cut-backs in foreign aid to Mr. Rabin?

MR. HUSHEN: No. There was some general discussion at the bipartisan leadership meeting yesterday morning, but, as to what was discussed on that point with the Prime Minister, I can't answer that. In fact, I can probably be of not very much help regarding details of the meeting.



Q When was the decision made not to issue a communique -- today, yesterday?

MR. HUSHEN: I presume it was made today.

Q Jack, were there any discussions of whether the Secretary is going to the Middle East in October, late October, or so, to continue discussions?

MR. HUSHEN: I don't know. I would refer that question over to the Secretary of State.

Q Could we ask -- maybe Les can answer this -- when you referred to the progress in moving toward an understanding of how these negotiations -- are you speaking of the peace conference, are you speaking of the bilateral negotiations, like one-on-one, Israel with one Arab country? What are we talking about, Jack?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't give you any detail, Helen.

Q Why? The understanding on what negotiation?

MR. JANKA: The negotiations that have been going on, the same way, the consultations that have been going on all summer long and the ones that will proceed in the future.

Q Can you tell us what the progress was? Was any progress made toward a meeting of minds that you read in the statement? What is the progress? Was there any progress in moving towards an understanding?

MR. HUSHEN: I can't go beyond that statement.

Q Can you tell us where the talks broke down?

MR. HUSHEN: No, nor could I even say that they did.

Q Jack, as a matter of principle, don't you think it would be more useful in the future on foreign affairs matters if we had a briefing from somebody who really was familiar with the subjects? It is nothing personal against you.

MR. HUSHEN: I understand that. It is just a decision on how far we are going to go into something.

Q No, it is not that. The guy who would give the briefing would at least know the obvious. Again, it is nothing personal against you, but a briefing on this basis is almost misleading in part.



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MR. HUSHEN: That may be true.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Jack.

END (AT 1:42 P.M. EDT)

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Presidential Words and Deeds

The chemistry of political leadership is so volatile in this age of television that a well-intentioned man, universally acclaimed for his forthright manner, can instantly transform himself into a suspicious character.

It happened to George McGovern as a presidential candidate in 1972. It has

"Like McGovern in the Eagleton affair, Ford prepared people to believe one thing, then abruptly fooled them with his action, the pardon of Mr. Nixon."

the campaign. He even impulsively declared that he was "1,000 per cent" behind Eagleton, a phrase which later was used to mock McGovern's claim of truthfulness. Immediately after this initial posture, McGovern began maneuvering privately to get Eagleton off the ticket, a drama which ended a week later with the Missouri senator's resignation.

Afterward, it was said that Mc-

immediately afterward, he began planning the pardon. Suddenly last Sunday he came forward and did it—without any effort to explain what had changed his mind so abruptly. A variety of explanations are now floating around in the thin air between rumor and fact, some sympathetic and some malign. But, in an era when monumental political lies have become routine, the public has come to believe that a

Wash. Post
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*Jim Keighart calling
on this 2*

UP-149

(FORD)
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- PRESIDENT FORD TODAY TOLD A GROUP OF
REPUBLICAN GOVERNORSHIP CANDIDATES THAT HE HAS NOT YET REVEALED ALL
THE REASONS FOR HIS CONTROVERSIAL DECISION TO PARDON FORMER PRESIDENT
NIXON.

DURING A STRATEGY AND PICTURE-TAKING SESSION WITH 11 GOP
STATEHOUSE CHALLENGERS, BOTH FORD AND HIS CHIEF POLITICAL ADVISER
DEAN BURCH ALLUDED TO STILL-SECRET INFORMATION AND SAID THAT FORD
MIGHT REVEAL IT SOON.

FOLLOWING THE MEETING IN THE OVAL OFFICE, TENNESSEE GOV. WINFIELD
DUNN, SAID FORD TOLD THE GROUP HE "MIGHT BE ABLE TO EXPLAIN IN THE
NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE A NUMBER OF THINGS" ABOUT THE PARDON ISSUE.
DUNN, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION, SAID FORD
DID NOT ELABORATE ON HIS REMARK. BUT BY TWO OTHERS IN ATTENDANCE
VERIFIED THE STATEMENT.

JAY HAMMOND, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR ALASKAN GOVERNOR, SAID FORD
MENTIONED THE CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION FROM
THE GROUP. BUT HE SAID THE SAME TOPIC WAS VOLUNTEERED EARLIER IN A
BRIEFING BY BURCH.

UPI 09-13 06:21 PED



TKOSH

STATEMENT BY DR. WALTER TKACH

I have examined former President Nixon this morning and also consulted regarding the former President's condition with Dr. John Lundgren who examined the former Pres. on Tues. in Palm Springs.

The report of my examination is as follows:

There is a new veinous clot in the former Pres.'s upper left leg. The leg is swollen and painful. The clot from the earlier phlebitis, which is still present, causes the former Pres. periodic pain. Serious consideration was given to hospitalization, but it has been ruled out at this time based on former Pres. Nixon's wishes. The former Pres. will continue to receive medication, and will be under doctor's care, and an evaluation will be made on a weekly basis by Dr. Lundgren and myself.

I have found the former Pres. to be suffering from severe physical strain and physical fatigue, but he is mentally alert and has been working in his office or at home each day.

