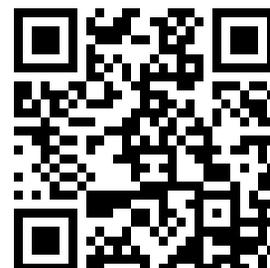
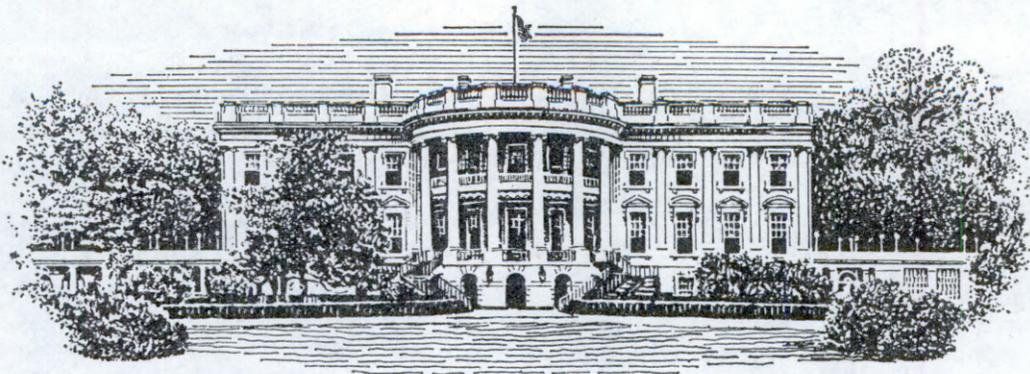

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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, July 8, 1974



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Pages 727-791

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO
BELGIUM AND THE SOVIET UNION

The University
of Michigan
Reference

JUL 17 1974

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Richard Nixon

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, July 6, 1974

The President's Trip to Belgium and the Soviet Union

Remarks¹ of the President Upon Departure From the White House. June 25, 1974

As you probably know the official sendoff will be at Andrews this morning. But I am delighted to see all the members of the White House Staff up bright and early working. [Laughter] And I do want to wish you the very best over the Fourth of July. I hope it is very good weather wherever you are, whether here working or whether some other place where you may go for a vacation. In any event we know that we go on these trips and wish all of you could go along. But you are with us in spirit, and that helps a great deal.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:12 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

The President's Trip to Belgium and the Soviet Union

Remarks¹ of the President at Departure Ceremonies at Andrews Air Force Base. June 25, 1974

Members of the Cabinet, members of the diplomatic corps, and ladies and gentlemen:

I first want to express my appreciation to all of you for taking the time to come off to see us as we take off on another "Journey for Peace." This time, we go first to Brussels, as you know, and then to Moscow.

Our purpose in Brussels will be to meet with old friends and to renew our support of the great NATO Alliance

¹ The remarks are reprinted from last week's issue in order to have complete coverage of the President's trip in this issue.

which for 25 years has been responsible for and indispensable for keeping the peace in Europe. We expect to give new purpose and new direction to that Alliance on the occasion of visiting with the heads of government of most of the NATO countries.

From Brussels, we go on to Moscow. There, we shall have the opportunity to meet again with General Secretary Brezhnev and his colleagues. The purpose of this summit meeting, as was the purpose of the other two—the first in Moscow 2 years ago, and in Washington and in other parts of the United States last year—is threefold:

- first, we expect to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two strongest nations in the world;
- second, we hope to develop areas of cooperation to displace confrontation in other critical areas of the world that might be those places where conflict could develop between the two great powers; and
- third, we hope to make more progress on a goal that we began to achieve and move forward toward in 1972, of limiting both the burden and also the threat of nuclear arms over our two nations and over the world generally.

These are very great goals, and, like all great goals, they are very difficult to achieve, just as was the case of the goals we sought to achieve on our first trip to the Mideast. But we are confident that when we look at these goals, not only must we seek to achieve them but we believe that we can achieve them because when we speak of the two strongest nations, the Soviet Union and the United States, cooperation between these two great peoples is indispensable if we are to build a structure of peace in the world that will last.

And we know that with American strength, American resolve, and, above all, American determination and dedication, that we will be able to make progress on this long but vitally important "Journey for Peace," not only for America but for all mankind.

We have appreciated particularly the messages that we have received before each of these trips from people all over America because your prayers, your good wishes for our success means that the American people, the great

majority, are united behind the efforts we are making to attempt to resolve differences that otherwise would lead to a runaway arms race, that otherwise would lead to confrontation not only between two great powers but all over the world, that otherwise would dash all the hopes and the ideals that Americans have had from the beginning of this country, the ideal of a world of peace so that we can devote the energies of all great peoples to the works of peace and not simply to preparing for war.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:32 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

The White House announced on June 25 that the official party would include:

THE PRESIDENT

MRS. NIXON

HENRY A. KISSINGER, Secretary of State

U.S. Ambassadors:

AMBASSADOR DONALD A. RUMSFELD, U.S. Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

AMBASSADOR LEONARD K. FIRESTONE, U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Belgium

AMBASSADOR AND MRS. WALTER J. STOESEL, JR., U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR., Assistant to the President

RONALD L. ZIEGLER, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary

MAJ. GEN. BRENT SCOWCROFT, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

HELMUT SONNENFELDT, Counsellor of the Department of State

ARTHUR A. HARTMAN, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

Arrival in Brussels

Remarks of the President, King Baudouin I, and NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns at the Welcoming Ceremony at Melsbroek Military Airport.

June 25, 1974

KING BAUDOUIN. Mr. President, because Belgium has for several years been the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, during which time it has also been the host of the European Communities, it is my duty and pleasure to welcome you again this evening on the soil of my country.

You have just completed a tour in the Middle East in the course of which the happy results of untiring diplomacy have been confirmed. We all hope that the efforts made will be the prelude to final peace in that region.

In 2 days' time you will be in Moscow, where you will carry on conversations, the outcome of which is important for us all. Before starting them, you have desired not only to come here to sign the Ottawa Declaration of Atlantic Relations, which again precisely states our convergent objectives, but also to make confident contacts with the heads of the governments of

friendly and allied nations in order to explain your views and obtain their opinion.

We are delighted with the action you have taken. It shows once more that however much times may change, there is still between our peoples the same fundamental understanding based on so many common memories, and so many peaceful contests or deplorably cruel battles waged side by side, and on faith in the same essential values.

Mr. President, throughout the world all men feel increasingly bound together by the same destiny. We know that they eagerly wish hostilities to cease, tensions to be reduced and a just and lasting peace to be established.

We wish you and Mrs. Nixon a cordial welcome and express our hopes for the success of the work we shall carry out together.

THE PRESIDENT. *Your Majesty, Mr. Secretary, and all of our distinguished guests:*

Your Majesty, I wish to express our grateful appreciation for your gracious welcome, and also for your eloquent words with regard to the hopes we all share for building a structure of peace in the world.

And it is indeed an honor for me to join with my colleagues in the Atlantic Alliance in tomorrow reaffirming our dedication to the great principles of that Alliance. What we must all recognize is that the Atlantic Alliance has been indispensable in keeping the peace in Europe for the past 25 years.

As you have noted, this visit to Brussels comes midway between two other visits, the first to the Mideast and the next to the Soviet Union. It is significant that this is the case because this symbolizes the central role that the Atlantic Alliance plays in pursuing our goal of a lasting peace in the world. Without the Alliance, it is doubtful that the détente would have begun, and without continuing a strong alliance, it is doubtful if the détente would continue.

It is also very significant that this meeting will take place in Brussels, now the capital of Europe, and in Belgium, a nation which has suffered so much in two World Wars. And I am sure that all of those attending the meeting tomorrow will have in their hearts these sentiments that we wish that whatever we do there and whatever decisions we make and whatever we say may contribute to the goal we seek, not only for each of our own countries but for all nations in the world, a peace that will last.

SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS. *Your Majesties, Mr. President:*

It is with very great pleasure that I welcome you, Mr. President, on your arrival in Brussels for the forthcoming high-level meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

It is 5 years since you last sat in the Council that was in Washington. Then you spoke of entering into negotiations with the Soviet Union on a wide range of issues on the basis of full consultation and cooperation with American allies.

In the 5 intervening years, aided by your distinguished Secretary of State, you have given dramatic effect to that policy.

As His Majesty has just remarked, you come from the Middle East, where your journey has opened new prospects for the future in that area and for the world at large. You go on to Moscow to take one more step along the road of negotiation with the Soviet Union.

Tomorrow you will consult with your friends and allies and sign with them the Declaration on Atlantic Relations. Your visit will once again mark a page in the history of the Council and of our Alliance.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 8:38 p.m. at Melsbroek Military Airport, Brussels, Belgium. King Baudouin and Secretary General Luns spoke in English.

Declaration on Atlantic Relations

Text of the Declaration Signed at the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels. June 26, 1974

1. The members of the North Atlantic Alliance declare that the Treaty signed 25 years ago to protect their freedom and independence has confirmed their common destiny. Under the shield of the Treaty, the Allies have maintained their security, permitting them to preserve the values which are the heritage of their civilization and enabling Western Europe to rebuild from its ruins and lay the foundations of its unity.

2. The members of the Alliance reaffirm their conviction that the North Atlantic Treaty provides the indispensable basis for their security, thus making possible the pursuit of détente. They welcome the progress that has been achieved on the road towards détente and harmony among nations, and the fact that a Conference of 35 countries of Europe and North America is now seeking to lay down guidelines designed to increase security and cooperation in Europe. They believe that until circumstances permit the introduction of general, complete and controlled disarmament, which alone could provide genuine security for all, the ties uniting them must be maintained. The Allies share a common desire to reduce the burden of arms expenditure on their peoples. But States that wish to preserve peace have never achieved this aim by neglecting their own security.

3. The members of the Alliance reaffirm that their common defence is one and indivisible. An attack on one or more of them in the area of application of the Treaty shall be considered an attack against them all. The common aim is to prevent any attempt by a foreign power to threaten the independence or integrity of a member of the Alliance. Such an attempt would not only put in jeopardy

the security of all members of the Alliance but also threaten the foundations of world peace.

4. At the same time they realize that the circumstances affecting their common defence have profoundly changed in the last ten years: the strategic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union has reached a point of near equilibrium. Consequently, although all the countries of the Alliance remain vulnerable to attack, the nature of the danger to which they are exposed has changed. The Alliance's problems in the defence of Europe have thus assumed a different and more distinct character.

5. However, the essential elements in the situation which gave rise to the Treaty have not changed. While the commitment of all the Allies to the common defence reduces the risk of external aggression, the contribution to the security of the entire Alliance provided by the nuclear forces of the United States based in the United States as well as in Europe and by the presence of North American forces in Europe remains indispensable.

6. Nevertheless, the Alliance must pay careful attention to the dangers to which it is exposed in the European region, and must adopt all measures necessary to avert them. The European members who provide three quarters of the conventional strength of the Alliance in Europe, and two of whom possess nuclear forces capable of playing a deterrent rôle of their own contributing to the overall strengthening of the deterrence of the Alliance, undertake to make the necessary contribution to maintain the common defence at a level capable of deterring and if necessary repelling all actions directed against the independence and territorial integrity of the members of the Alliance.

7. The United States, for its part, reaffirms its determination not to accept any situation which would expose its Allies to external political or military pressure likely to deprive them of their freedom, and states its resolve, together with its Allies, to maintain forces in Europe at the level required to sustain the credibility of the strategy of deterrence and to maintain the capacity to defend the North Atlantic area should deterrence fail.

8. In this connection the member states of the Alliance affirm that as the ultimate purpose of any defence policy is to deny to a potential adversary the objectives he seeks to attain through an armed conflict, all necessary forces would be used for this purpose. Therefore, while reaffirming that a major aim of their policies is to seek agreements that will reduce the risk of war, they also state that such agreements will not limit their freedom to use all forces at their disposal for the common defence in case of attack. Indeed, they are convinced that their determination to do so continues to be the best assurance that war in all its forms will be prevented.

9. All members of the Alliance agree that the continued presence of Canadian and substantial US forces in Europe plays an irreplaceable rôle in the defence of North America as well as of Europe. Similarly the substantial forces

of the European Allies serve to defend Europe and North America as well. It is also recognized that the further progress towards unity, which the member states of the European Community are determined to make, should in due course have a beneficial effect on the contribution to the common defence of the Alliance of those of them who belong to it. Moreover, the contributions made by members of the Alliance to the preservation of international security and world peace are recognized to be of great importance.

10. The members of the Alliance consider that the will to combine their efforts to ensure their common defence obliges them to maintain and improve the efficiency of their forces and that each should undertake, according to the rôle that it has assumed in the structure of the Alliance, its proper share of the burden of maintaining the security of all. Conversely, they take the view that in the course of current or future negotiations nothing must be accepted which could diminish this security.

11. The Allies are convinced that the fulfilment of their common aims requires the maintenance of close consultation, co-operation and mutual trust, thus fostering the conditions necessary for defence and favourable for détente, which are complementary. In the spirit of the friendship, equality and solidarity which characterise their relationship, they are firmly resolved to keep each other fully informed and to strengthen the practice of frank and timely consultations by all means which may be appropriate on matters relating to their common interests as members of the Alliance, bearing in mind that these interests can be affected by events in other areas of the world. They wish also to ensure that their essential security relationship is supported by harmonious political and economic relations. In particular they will work to remove sources of conflict between their economic policies and to encourage economic co-operation with one another.

12. They recall that they have proclaimed their dedication to the principles of democracy, respect for human rights, justice and social progress, which are the fruits of their shared spiritual heritage and they declare their intention to develop and deepen the application of these principles in their countries. Since these principles, by their very nature, forbid and recourse to methods incompatible with the promotion of world peace, they reaffirm that the efforts which they make to preserve their independence, to maintain their security and to improve the living standards of their peoples exclude all forms of aggression against anyone, are not directed against any other country, and are designed to bring about the general improvement of international relations. In Europe, their objective continues to be the pursuit of understanding and co-operation with every European country. In the world at large, each Allied country recognizes the duty to help the developing countries. It is in the interest of all that every country benefit from technical and economic progress in an open and equitable world system.

13. They recognize that the cohesion of the Alliance has found expression not only in co-operation among their governments, but also in the free exchange of views among the elected representatives of the peoples of the Alliance. Accordingly, they declare their support for the strengthening of links among Parliamentarians.

14. The members of the Alliance rededicate themselves to the aims and ideals of the North Atlantic Treaty during this year of the twenty-fifth Anniversary of its signature. The member nations look to the future, confident that the vitality and creativity of their peoples are commensurate with the challenges which confront them. They declare their conviction that the North Atlantic Alliance continues to serve as an essential element in the lasting structure of peace they are determined to build.

NOTE: The President and other NATO leaders signed the declaration in a ceremony at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on June 26, 1974. The declaration had been approved by the North Atlantic Council at a meeting in Ottawa, Canada, on June 19, 1974.

North Atlantic Council Meeting

*Remarks of Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler
Concerning the President's Remarks to the
Brussels Meeting of the North Atlantic
Treaty Organization. June 26, 1974*

The President was pleased and impressed this morning with the discussions of the North Atlantic Council. All of the delegates in various ways spoke of the vitality of the Alliance, of the continued need of a strong common defense while we pursue better East-West relations.

President Nixon found the general harmony of views expressed in the NATO Council this morning most gratifying. He welcomed the support around the table to full and frank consultation on all issues in which the interest of the allies are involved.

President Nixon also noted with interest, as did others who attended the meeting this morning, the remarks of Chancellor Schmidt regarding the importance of economic problems that the NATO countries are facing. The President, incidentally, also referred to this matter, which I will get into in a moment, in his own remarks.

President Nixon appreciated the positive comments around the table as each representative spoke concerning the role that he had played and that Secretary Kissinger played in the Middle East negotiations and also the expressions of confidence and support for our policies in East-West issues on the eve of the Moscow summit.

The President began his remarks following Secretary Luns' opening comments at about 10 minutes after 10. He spoke for about 25 minutes. We will not provide a text of the President's remarks because this was, of course, a consulting session and a private session, but I will pro-

vide to you at this time the general framework of what the President said to the NATO Council and generally the President's views regarding the Declaration that was signed today.

In President Nixon's remarks to the Council, the President, of course, welcomed the signing of the Declaration in this 25th anniversary year of the Alliance, stating to the Council that it lays the groundwork for another quarter century of Atlantic cooperation, solidarity, and security. And the President pointed out that the Declaration forms the foundation for even a brighter future.

The President pointed out that the Declaration signifies that as NATO enters its second quarter century, the Alliance stands stronger and more united than ever before.

In his opening remarks to the Council, the President made the point, which has been made before, that the world we face in 1974 is, of course, very different from the world of 1949. At that time, the President said, peace was in serious jeopardy and the sovereignty of many of the nations of Europe was in jeopardy. The prime need, the President went on to say, was for unity in the common defense so that a period of rebuilding could go forward.

Today, he said that the very success of NATO over the last 25 years provides the security for the pursuit of national, regional, and global interest, but there is no less a need for security and no less a need for unity in pursuing our common objectives.

Indeed, the President pointed out, it is more important than ever to keep before us the recognition of our common objectives, referring to the Alliance, as to reconcile our interests as individual nations with our interests as allies.

Again, referring to the document signed today, the President pointed out that it demonstrates recognition by all members that if we are to successfully pursue our individual national interests, again referring to the Alliance, then we must do so in essential harmony and, above all, remain united in the common defense of every member of the Alliance.

The President also discussed the significance of the Declaration signed today in the context both of his forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union and his recent visit to the Middle East.

The President, again referring to the Declaration, noted that the Declaration reaffirms the foremost purpose of the Alliance, that of assuring the common defense. He emphasized the importance of each Alliance member devoting the efforts and resources necessary to maintain NATO forces at the proper strength.

He said that for the United States part, that he would again, and did, renew our pledge that the United States will maintain and improve our forces in Europe if there is a similar effort by our allies, and the United States will not reduce forces unless there is a reciprocal action by the other side.

The President pointed out that reductions in conventional forces in Europe can have repercussions far out of proportion to the number of men involved and the amount of money saved. They can set into motion, the President said, a chain of reductions whose consequences could be tragic and went on to make the point that the price of peace is continued strength.

He said that defense and détente are essential to each other and that only by strengthening détente can we eventually reduce the defense burden our people must now support, of course addressing the NATO Conference and referring to the nations involved.

Beyond that, he said the United States is encouraged by the direction and pace of recent efforts, as reflected in the Declaration, to give fresh impetus to NATO's partnership.

In particular, he cited the recognition given to the importance of meaningful consultations to the work of the Alliance, and he indicated the United States' full preparedness to consult on matters of Alliance interest.

He pointed out and reiterated the position that Secretary Kissinger stated in Ottawa and again recently in his press conference, that consultation should not be viewed as a legally binding obligation.

That is not the purpose of the Declaration; rather, it is to symbolize a spirit of cooperation within the Alliance which the United States hopes will grow into a recognition that no member of the Alliance should consider taking any actions or action affecting the Alliance without seeking the support and understanding of its members.

He went on to point out—and I am not directly quoting the President but paraphrasing—that while it is true that the legal obligations of the Alliance are confined geographically, events that occur outside the formal area of obligations can affect us all.

This is a point that Secretary Kissinger, as you recall, made in Ottawa, and the United States recognizes this reality and affirms today our determination to consult fully on all matters which affect the interest of the allies.

I call your attention again to Secretary Kissinger's comments and also the pool report last night where reference was made to this point.

The President also said—and this is recognized in the Declaration of our common defense and political association—that these elements of the common defense and political association must be sustained by cooperative and constructive economic relations.

He said that the United States will approach economic issues in a spirit of friendship and in the conviction that the common goal is to benefit all peoples and those of the world at large, including the less developed countries.

A few more concluding comments: The President in his remarks emphasized the importance of the Alliance to the efforts being made toward greater international peace and stability and in this context he cited the importance of

the new Declaration to the current efforts being made to ease East-West tensions and to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

Western cohesion, the President said, provides the basis on which the policy of détente can be conducted in the common interest. He noted, for example, the opportunities to bring the arms race under control and to build a network of East-West cooperative agreements contributing to mutual restraint and expanded contacts between peoples and said that the meeting today of the NATO Council provides significant evidence of Western solidarity and forms a vital backdrop for the upcoming summit in Moscow.

In discussing the upcoming Moscow summit, the President made reference, of course, to the extensive briefing that Secretary of State Kissinger provided to the Foreign Ministers in Ottawa and spoke in general and long-range terms about the summit. Addressing the summit specifically, the President told the Council that he felt there were three aspects to the Moscow summit. He said that we will exchange views on, of course, the major international issues, and that we will have an extensive review of the entire state of our bilateral relations. He said that he expects that a number of agreements will be signed in various cooperative areas and that there was difficult negotiating ahead in relation to arms control, but that he hoped there would be progress also in that area.

He discussed each of these categories, of course, in more detail than I am providing.

In reference to détente and what détente means to the Alliance and what détente means to the United States, he said that it gives us a chance to try to bring the nuclear arms race under control before it can get out of hand.

Secondly, he said it creates an environment in which problems ranging from energy to peace can be addressed outside the context of bipolar confrontation, and third, it builds up a network of East-West trade and cooperative agreements that should reinforce mutual restraint and may gradually ameliorate conditions in the East.

In discussing also the upcoming Soviet talks, the President assured the NATO Council that the United States would continue to consult fully and again made reference to the fact that Secretary Kissinger will return to Brussels on July 4 to consult with our allies.

In discussing the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the mutual balanced force reduction and all other issues in which the interests of our allies are engaged, such as strategic arms limitation talks, he said that American positions will continue to be developed in full consultation and in concert with our allies. He made a point of emphasizing that we will never sacrifice the interest of our allies to achieve agreements.

He talked then, in concluding his remarks, about the Middle East and the recent Middle East trip. He pointed out that the recent crisis there and the first tentative steps toward its resolution have provided the clearest possible

demonstration that all of us have a stake in maintaining peace outside our own boundaries, of course, referring to the countries present in the NATO Council.

He said that because of its unique position—referring to the United States—and the desires of the parties in the area, the United States must continue to play a central role and will continue to play a central role in the process of seeking realistic diplomatic alternatives to war.

He went on to say that at the same time there is no American intention of attempting to exclude anyone from the area, that we, the United States, recognize that our European allies have vital interests there and will wish to play substantial roles of their own, and we hope that our activities in the area, he said, can be coordinated so that we can work together for peace and economic progress.

Then, finally, in summing up, the President feels that this morning's session of the North Atlantic Council provided the President with the occasion to express the very great satisfaction of the United States with the new Declaration on Atlantic Relations which underlines the continuing strength, spirit, and unity of purpose of NATO at a time when the nations of the Alliance are facing major challenges and opportunities.

NOTE: Mr. Ziegler made the remarks at his news conference at the Manhattan Center, Brussels, Belgium, on Wednesday, June 26, 1974. They were not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Luncheon in Brussels

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and King Baudouin I at a Luncheon for Government Leaders Attending the Meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. June 26, 1974

KING BAUDOUIN. *Mr. President, Your Excellencies the heads of governments, and gentlemen:*

It is a great pleasure for me cordially to welcome you to Brussels, the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

You have, this morning, signed the important Declaration, which the Atlantic Council approved a few days ago at Ottawa and have thus, on the occasion of its 25th anniversary, drawn attention to the youth and vigor and cohesion of the Alliance.

On April the 4th, 1949, President Truman declared, when the Washington treaty was signed, that "For us, war is not inevitable. We do not believe that there are blind tides of history which sweep men one way or another. . . . Men with courage and vision can still determine their own destiny."

We, today, who no longer feel afraid, can estimate how much the situation has changed. What was happening 25 years ago now appears to be as far behind us as would the events of a period we had not lived through.

The panic in which our defense was hastily set up so that we might survive has given way to a feeling of security, which goes so far as to make us skeptical about the existence of any danger.

By their determination and by the choices they made, the men with vision, of whom Mr. Truman spoke, have allowed our younger people to have no experience of war. They have also rejected the old rules of political action, under which fixed purpose often took the place of law and power that of ethics.

By entering into a system of collective defense, Belgium has made a fundamental option in order to avoid a recurrence of the wars which, twice within 35 years, had ravaged the country, to participate in the quest for a lasting peace, and to foster the construction of a united Europe.

Owing to the safeguard provided by the solidarity and indivisibility of our defense, it is possible to conduct a policy whose primary objective is peace and, more particularly in Europe, the pursuit of understanding and cooperation with all the countries of the Continent.

To be sure, the Alliance is not altogether identical with defense. Since a few years ago, a correlation has been established between the notions of defense and détente. They had, until then, been separate.

Defense, for its own sake, seemed to exclude détente. The outcome of détente seemed to be to destroy defense. Since then, the delicate threads which bind them together and strengthen the significance of them both have been grasped.

Without defense, there can be no equilibrium of forces, and no coexistence is possible. Without détente, there can be no progress towards peaceful solutions. The Atlantic Treaty, which is an instrument of security, thus appears as a combination of forces tending to peace.

Belgium, moreover, has always hoped that, in the spirit of friendship and solidarity which ought to mark the relations between allies, the progress made as regards the political unification of Europe should favor the establishment of a transatlantic dialogue between two equal partners.

The idea is, in any case, recognized by all, since, in the Ottawa Declaration, we welcomed the beneficial effect that the further stages toward unity, which the member States of the European Community are determined to pass through, will have for the Atlantic Alliance.

From Belgium's point of view, the two choices—European and Atlantic—are complementary. Without the achievement of a genuine European union on the political level, the European states and the European Community will be unable to assume the responsibility imposed on them by their economic success.

Unless they speak with one voice, how can they play a part in diplomacy, make original contributions to more equitable relations between the industrialized states and those that are trying to develop, and, finally, uphold the essential democratic values?

The assertion of that European identity will foster more thorough cooperation and will give the transatlantic dialog the nature of a conversation between equal partners, who take care to show respect for each other and are united in a joint venture.

The Alliance is permanently confronted with the internal problems of states, the loosening of bonds, and the weariness of efforts. But, due to Western solidarity and to the habit of living together, it may be stated—and seems rather paradoxical—that, after adding up the problems before it, the Alliance has always been in better health than might have been feared.

Of course, the Alliance is challenged and, if it were not, anxiety would have to be felt about its vitality. No viable and active institution fails to make headway between the pressures of opposing forces.

Twenty-five years after its establishment, the governments have confirmed the commitments entered into and have placed them in the context of the new requirements. After having justified its existence in the past, the Alliance remains one of the guarantees of our future.

It is with a thought to that future that I request you to join me in raising your glasses to our continued cooperation.

THE PRESIDENT. *Your Majesty, my colleagues from the Atlantic community and distinguished guests:*

Your Majesty, we are all most grateful for your eloquent remarks, and we can think of no more appropriate place or time in which to celebrate what in effect is an anniversary.

As I stand in this place, I think back 5 years when you so graciously hosted a luncheon on my first visit to NATO. I think back over what has happened over those 5 years. It is perhaps safe to say that more profound changes have occurred in the world in those 5 years than have occurred in any peacetime period in this century.

There has been the opening of a dialog between the United States, as well as other nations, but between the United States and the People's Republic of China where one-fourth of all the world's people live. We have substituted for a period of confrontation with the Soviet Union a period of negotiation, and other nations as well in the European and Atlantic community have done so.

The very long and difficult war in Vietnam has ended, and most recently developments have occurred in the Mideast which, while only a first step, are nevertheless a most hopeful step toward a goal that every nation around this table represented has an interest in—the goal of a permanent and just peace in that critically important part of the world.

And as we look over those 5 years of developments, we, of course, can see how much the world has changed. We also can see how much the world can change and be changed in the future provided we continue the strength, the purpose, of this great Alliance without which most

of these great initiatives could not have been undertaken and would not have succeeded.

Today in the brief talks I have had with some of my colleagues in the Atlantic community and also in the meeting this morning, the plenary session, I have heard raised very justifiably, the issues that are on the minds of every leader in the industrial, more advanced nations of the world today—the problem of inflation, the problem of energy, the problem of international monetary matters, balance of payments, economic problems generally.

And, of course, all of us are recognizing the fact that in various nations, in addition to economic problems there are the continuing political problems which will always be present in free societies.

If we look at those problems that we presently confront, by themselves, and at the moment, they seem overwhelming. But today, around this table, we can be thankful that the problems we face today, as distinguished from 5 years ago, are primarily the problems of peace rather than the problems of war. And this is progress.

It is progress, although it does not mean that the task we have as leaders is easier, because in fact, it is more difficult, more difficult because peace is not something that is achieved at a certain time and then signed and sealed by a treaty which brings it into being.

Peace is a process in which agreements and treaties and understandings must continually be made and continually be reaffirmed, whereas in the case of war, once it ends then peace in the sense of absence of war begins as the result of the signing of a document or some other kind of agreement.

And so to those gathered here on this historic occasion, I recognize, as all of you recognize, that the challenges that we confront today in building a structure of peace are as great in their way and in some ways more great because they are more complex than the challenges of leading nations in war.

This is an anniversary, a 25th anniversary, and usually we think of an anniversary as an end of an era; this, I think, we would all rather think of as the beginning of an era.

This great Alliance in its first 25 years came into being and was indispensable for the purpose of saving freedom and preserving the peace in Europe. This Alliance, for the next 25 years, will have a greater goal and a broader one of preserving freedom wherever it exists but also of building a structure of peace not only for Europe and the Atlantic community but for all the world. This is a great goal for an alliance and it is a great goal to which all of us as leaders can be proud that we are dedicated to it.

I think, for example, back 15 years when a very young, but very wise King addressed a Joint Session of the Congress of the United States, when I was then—I thought I was—a young Vice President presiding along with the Speaker over that session. And I remember well what he

said. He said that it takes 20 years of peace or more to make a man. It takes only 20 seconds of war to destroy him.

And so when we think of peace we are thinking not only of ourselves—looking back on the years we have been privileged to serve our nations—but we are thinking of generation upon generation of young people all over this world, young people who have not known a full generation of peace in this century, young people who live in nations who share totally different philosophies from ours, but young people with the idealism, with the hopes, with the drive that is so characteristic of youth wherever they are in whatever nation any place in the world.

And we, in this great community of ours, can be proud that for the past 25 years we have served the cause of preserving peace. For the next 25 years we can broaden that cause, as I have indicated, to serve the cause of peace not only for Europe and the Atlantic community but for all mankind.

When I spoke at the beginning of the new relationships that have been developed between the People's Republic of China and, for example, the United States, between the Soviet Union, where I will be tomorrow, and the United States, I did not intend to leave with this distinguished company, or any others who may listen to these words, any illusions.

We live in a world where there are still deep and basic differences about philosophy. We live in a world however, where whatever those differences are, statesmen must find ways to solve them without resorting to the use of force that could destroy civilization as we know it.

When we negotiate, for example, with the Soviet leaders, we can and will negotiate on such matters as arms control, on troops, on European security, on trade, on health, on the environment, on energy. But there is one thing that is not negotiable, and that is the great principles that are the foundation of the Atlantic community, principles of freedom, of justice, principles which we have inherited in many instances, and some have acquired, but principles which we deeply believe in, must be defended and, we trust, preserved for generations to come.

That does not mean to suggest that those we negotiate with will not have the same determination to stand by their philosophies and their principles as we will by ours.

What it simply does mean is this: that in the world in which we live with the nuclear power that overhangs it, there is no alternative to peace, there is no alternative to negotiation.

And you can be sure that as far as we are concerned, we not only will consult with our allies in this great Alliance before but also afterwards, to make sure that our negotiations serve not only the cause of peace but also the cause of freedom and everything it means to those who are privileged to be members of this great Alliance.

Your Majesty, we are grateful for the hospitality that you have extended to all of us who are members of this community, and consequently, it is for me a very great honor on behalf of all of my colleagues in the Atlantic community to respond to your remarks and to propose a toast. But before doing so, I should like to add one word about the sometimes unsung heroes in this whole area of negotiations, communiques, declarations, and the rest.

When history is written many years from now, it may well be said—it probably will be said—that the leaders of nations were the architects of peace. That may be true; it may not be true. But of this I am sure, and every one of my colleagues in a position of head of a government I am sure will agree: While the leaders and the heads of government may be the architects of peace, the builders of peace are their ministers, the foreign ministers, and all of the others around this table who devote their lives to the art of diplomacy, to carrying out whatever programs or policies will contribute to a goal of peace for not only our time but for all times to come.

And so then, on behalf not only of my colleagues, the architects, but also on behalf of all those who are here, the builders of this new world which we trust will be a world of peace, I ask you to raise your glasses to our host, His Majesty, the King.

To the King.

NOTE: The exchange of toasts began at 2:17 p.m. at the Royal Palace, Brussels, Belgium. King Baudouin began his remarks in French and concluded in English; as printed above, his remarks follow the text of the White House press release.

For the text of the Declaration on Atlantic Relations, see page 729 of this issue.

Dinner in Moscow

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and General Secretary Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev at a Dinner Hosted by Soviet Leaders in Granovit Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace. June 27, 1974

GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. *Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:*

We are glad once again to greet here in the Kremlin as guests of the Soviet Union, the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, as well as the American statesmen accompanying the President.

This is already the third meeting between the leaders of our countries in just a little over 2 years since a cardinal turn became evident in Soviet-American relations towards normalization and the development of peaceful cooperation.

On the firm basis of the fundamental agreements which were signed in 1972 and 1973 and are known all over the world, we have made tangible progress. Probably never before have ties and contacts between the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics and the United States in different areas of political, economic, and cultural activity been as lively as they are today.

Nowadays thousands of people annually travel from America to the Soviet Union and from the Soviet Union to America. Mutual visits of ministers, contacts among businessmen, meetings between scientists and public figures, concert tours, various exhibitions and tourist trips have become customary events. Parliamentary ties are beginning to develop.

We have been glad to welcome in the U.S.S.R. Senators and Congressmen belonging to the two biggest parties of the United States, and a delegation of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet recently visited America.

The material foundation of our good relations is becoming stronger as well. The volume of trade has increased several times over during the last 2 years, and several important long-term contracts have been signed.

At the same time, we all know that much remains to be done here both in the sense of making economic ties more balanced and stable and in the sense of clearly establishing the principles of equality and respect for each other's interests in this area of relations. Credit is certainly due to those farsighted members of the business community of the United States who correctly understood the mutually advantageous nature of the development of economic ties between our countries and their importance for both our peoples and who actively support their government's line in this matter.

The biggest contribution, however, which we, Soviet and U.S. statesmen of the seventies of the twentieth century, can make to the cause of greater well-being and happiness for our peoples and for all mankind is undoubtedly the reduction and subsequently the complete removal of the possibility of war between our two states.

To insure stable peace between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is the chief task in the development of Soviet-American relations and the leaders of both countries are continuing to devote unflagging attention to its solution. For all the useful things that we can achieve in this direction future generations will remember us with kind words.

If we fail to solve this task, however, all other achievements in the development of mutual relations may lose their significance.

The new Soviet-American summit meeting, as it is usually called, is a new step in the great endeavor which we jointly initiated with you, Mr. President, 2 years ago and which we resolutely intend to pursue, for it meets the fundamental interest of the peoples of the two countries and the interests of world peace.

Experience shows that progress along this path requires effort, sometimes quite a bit of it. The relaxation of tension in Soviet-American relations, as in international relations generally, comes up against rather active resistance. There is no need for me to dwell on this subject since our American guests know better and in more detail than we

about those who oppose international détente, who favor whipping up the arms race and returning to the methods and procedures of the cold war.

I just want to express my firm conviction that the policy of such individuals—whether they themselves know it or not—has nothing in common with the interests of the people. It is a policy that attests most likely to the unwillingness or inability of its proponents to take a sober look at the realities of the present-day world.

We are confident, however, that the people also will support those who seek to assure their peaceful future and a tranquil life for millions of people, not those who sow enmity and distrust. That is why we believe that the good results it has proved possible to achieve in Soviet-American relations in the last 2 years shall not be erased, particularly since their improvement has already justified itself and has in many respects given practical proof of its usefulness for both sides and for the world as a whole.

Today the task, as we see it, is to consolidate the successes already achieved and to advance further along the main road that we have jointly chosen to follow. The third round of Soviet-American summit talks has begun. We shall be discussing both the further development of bilateral relations and a number of international problems.

Although we have different viewpoints on several matters, we shall seek, and I feel not unsuccessfully, agreed ways toward the further consolidation of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation. I believe it can definitely be said that our talks will proceed in a business like and constructive spirit. We, for our part, express the hope that this time as well our meeting will be as fruitful as the preceding meetings in Moscow and Washington.

Esteemed Mr. President, I do hope that you and Mrs. Nixon feel well on Moscow soil in the Kremlin residence with which you are already familiar. Soon you will be seeing the southern coast of the Crimea where on the Black Sea shores hundreds of thousands and even millions of our country's workers, farmers, and office employees annually spend their vacations at health resorts. I do hope you like the Crimea. We certainly love it.

For my part, I shall be glad to reciprocate to some extent the hospitality that was accorded to us last summer on the Pacific Coast in San Clemente. I trust that in the Crimea there will be no less comfortable conditions for quiet and productive discussions.

I also hope that the visit to the Hero City of Minsk, the capital of Soviet Byelorussia, will also be interesting for you, Mr. President. This title of honor has been conferred upon the Byelorussia capital for its outstanding feat of arms in the years of our joint struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors.

Of course, we would have liked you to see more of the Soviet Union and to travel around our country, but since you have not been able to make your visit a longer one, I

should like to express the wish that it should prove to be at least as useful and pleasant as possible.

May I propose a toast to the health of the President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, and Mrs. Nixon.

To the health of all the American guests present in this hall.

To peace and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

To lasting peace all over the world.

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. General Secretary Brezhnev, President Podgorny, Premier Kosygin, all distinguished guests:*

To you, Mr. General Secretary, on behalf of all of your American guests, I express our grateful appreciation for not only the hospitality you have extended to us tonight but for the very generous words of friendship you have just spoken.

And I am very gratified that I shall have the opportunity to see more of your great country on this visit, and I trust that on your next visit to the United States next year you will be able to see more of our country as well.

All of us gathered here tonight are fortunate to be present at a moment of great historical significance. Two years ago, in this place, we began the process which has resulted in a profound change in the relations between the two strongest nations in the world.

We have moved in those 2 years from confrontation to coexistence to cooperation. And while, as the General Secretary has correctly pointed out, we have many problems yet to negotiate on, the success of our negotiations to date gives a good indication of the progress we can and will make in this third summit meeting.

To see the extent of the progress that has been made, we can point to the fact that over the past 2 years more agreements have been negotiated and signed between our two countries in those 2 years than in the entire history of the relations of our two countries up to that period.

And it is significant to note the character of those agreements. In part, they have dealt with the concern that both of our nations have with regard to the need to avoid war, and motivated by that desire, the desire to avoid war, we have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms.

And in 1973, we negotiated and signed the historic agreement with regard to the prevention of nuclear war. But that is only one side of the equation as far as our agreements are concerned. We both seek peace, but we seek peace that is more than simply the absence of war. We seek peace because of the positive progress it can bring to both of our peoples.

And that is why we have negotiated a number of agreements in the areas of peaceful progress. They are too numerous to mention, but they cover all fields of human endeavor: health, science, the environment, the peaceful exploration of space, agriculture. Many others could be

added, but together what they mean is that both our great peoples now have a stake in peace from a positive standpoint.

We must still do everything we can to negotiate those agreements that will lessen the burden of armaments and reduce the danger of war. But we must go further and add to this and to give to every individual in each of our countries a positive stake in peace, because it is in this way that two peoples with different systems of government can establish relationships that will not be broken in the future.

And it is also, I think, very worthwhile to note how these agreements were negotiated. They were possible because of a personal relationship that was established between the General Secretary and the President of the United States. And that personal relationship extends to the top officials in both of our governments.

It has been said that any agreement is only as good as the will of the parties to keep it. Because of our personal relationship, there is no question about our will to keep these agreements and to make more where they are in our mutual interests.

And also, we both can say that this new relationship between our two nations is overwhelmingly supported by the people of the Soviet Union and overwhelmingly supported by the people of the United States.

And now, looking to the future, we wonder how history will judge the leaders of these two nations and their people during this period. Too often in the past, history has judged those nations to be great which were engaged in aggressive war and in conquest. But what we are doing is establishing a record where the two strongest nations in the world and their leaders will seek greatness not by what they might accomplish in war but greatness by what they accomplish in the works of peace.

And without the cooperation of these two strongest nations in the world, the cooperation of both their leaders and their people, there can be no lasting peace in the world. And consequently, we believe that these meetings that we have had and those that we will have in the future will lead to our meeting the challenge of history for a strong nation to be remembered as a peace-making nation rather than as a war-making nation.

Let this be our legacy for the generations ahead. And that is why I say that we should raise our glasses to our host, the General Secretary and his colleagues, to peace between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, and to peace for all peoples in the world, the peace to which the relations between our two nations can make such an enormous contribution.

NOTE: The exchange of toasts began at 8:24 p.m., in Granovit Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace, Moscow, U.S.S.R. General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Energy

Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Energy. June 28, 1974

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Attaching great importance to meeting the energy needs of the two countries, with proper regard to the protection of the environment;

Recognizing that the development of cooperation in the field of energy can benefit the peoples of both countries and all mankind;

Desiring to expand and to deepen the cooperation now existing between the two countries in the field of energy research and development;

Recognizing the need to create better mutual understanding of each country's national energy programs and outlook;

Convinced that cooperation in the field of energy will contribute to the overall improvement of relations between the two countries;

In accordance with and in development of the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Fields of Science and Technology of May 24, 1972, and the agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 23, 1972, as well as in accordance with the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy of June 21, 1973, and the General Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation of June 19, 1973;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties will expand and strengthen their cooperation in the field of energy on the basis of mutual benefit, equality and reciprocity.

ARTICLE II

The main objectives of such cooperation under this Agreement are:

a. to use the scientific and technical potential of both countries to accelerate by cooperative efforts research and development in the areas of existing and alternative sources

of energy as well as to increase effectiveness in the use of energy and its conservation, and

b. to achieve a better mutual understanding of each country's national energy programs and outlook.

ARTICLE III

1. Cooperation will be implemented in the following areas:

a. technologies concerning the exploration, extraction, processing and use of fossil fuels, including but not limited to oil, shale, natural gas and coal, and, in particular, new methods of drilling and of increasing the rate of extraction and degree of recovery of oil and natural gas from strata, and of mining, extracting and processing coal and shale;

b. the exchange of relevant information, views and methods of forecasting concerning the natural energy programs and outlooks of the respective countries, including all questions of mutual interest related to production, demand and consumption of the major forms of fuels and energy;

c. technology for developing non-conventional sources of energy, such as solar and geothermal energy and synthetic fuels;

d. energy-related environmental technology; and

e. measures to increase the efficiency of energy use and to restrain demand.

2. Other areas of cooperation may be added by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE IV

1. Cooperation between the Parties may take the following forms:

a. exchange of scientists and specialists;

b. exchange of scientific and technical information, documentation and results of research;

c. establishment of groups of experts for the planning and execution of joint research and development programs;

d. joint work by theoretical and experimental scientists in appropriate research centers of the two countries; and

e. holding joint consultations, seminars and panels.

2. Other forms of cooperation may be added by mutual agreement.

3. Cooperation under this Agreement will be carried out in accordance with the laws and regulations of the respective countries.

ARTICLE V

1. In furtherance of this Agreement, the Parties will, as appropriate, encourage, facilitate and monitor the development of contacts and cooperation between organizations, institutions and firms of the respective countries, including the conclusion, as appropriate, of implementing

agreements for carrying out cooperative activities under this Agreement.

2. To assure fruitful development of cooperation, the Parties will render every assistance for the travel of scientists and specialists to areas of the respective countries appropriate for the conduct of activities under this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI

1. For implementation of this Agreement, there shall be established a US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Energy. Meetings of the Joint Committee will be convened once a year in the United States and the Soviet Union alternately, unless otherwise mutually agreed.

2. The Joint Committee shall take such action as is necessary for effective implementation of this Agreement including, but not limited to, consultations on the energy situation and outlook of the respective countries; approval of specific projects and programs of cooperation; designation of appropriate participating organizations and institutions responsible for carrying out cooperative activities; and making recommendations, as appropriate, to the two Governments. The Joint Committee shall establish the necessary working groups to carry out the programs, projects and exchange of information contemplated by this Agreement.

3. Each Party shall designate its Executive Agent which will be responsible for carrying out this Agreement. During the period between meetings of the Joint Committee, the Executive Agents shall maintain contact with each other, keep each other informed of activities and progress in implementing this Agreement, and coordinate and supervise the development and implementation of cooperative activities conducted under this Agreement.

ARTICLE VII

Nothing in this Agreement shall be interpreted to prejudice or modify any existing agreements between the Parties, except that energy projects within the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Fields of Science and Technology of May 24, 1972 and the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection of May 23, 1972 which clearly fall under this Agreement henceforward will be implemented pursuant to this Agreement.

ARTICLE VIII

Unless an implementing agreement contains other provisions, each Party or participating institution, organization or firm, shall bear the costs of its participation and

that of its personnel in cooperative activities engaged in pursuant to this Agreement.

ARTICLE IX

1. This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and remain in force for five years. It will be automatically extended for successive five-year periods unless either Party notifies the other of its intent to terminate this Agreement not later than six months prior to the expiration of this Agreement.

2. This Agreement may be modified at any time by mutual agreement of the Parties.

3. The termination of this Agreement will not affect the validity of implementing agreements concluded under this Agreement between institutions, organizations and firms of the respective countries.

DONE at Moscow on June 28, 1974, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

N. V. PODGORNÝ

Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet

NOTE: The agreement was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Friday, June 28, 1974.

Housing Construction

Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Housing and Other Construction. June 28, 1974

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Desiring to develop cooperation in the field of housing and other construction;

Realizing that a more effective application of new and traditional building materials and techniques can contribute to more rational utilization of the resources available to both countries;

Desiring to exchange information and techniques in the field of housing and other construction;

Believing that cooperation in the field of housing and other construction offers benefits for both the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Convinced that such cooperation will serve to contribute to the improvement of relations between the two countries;

Noting cooperation already being implemented in these areas under existing agreements, and in accordance with the General Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Contacts, Exchanges, and Cooperation, signed June 19, 1973;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties will develop and carry out cooperation in the field of housing and other construction on the basis of mutual benefit, equality and reciprocity.

ARTICLE II

This cooperation will be directed to the investigation and solution of specific problems of mutual interest in the field of housing and other construction.

Initially, cooperation will be implemented in the following areas:

a. innovative techniques for the improvement of life safety, reliability, quality, and economy of buildings and building materials including: organization and management of construction, new methods and materials, and the improved use of traditional methods and materials;

b. performance criteria for housing and other construction in seismic areas with special consideration of the impact of geophysical conditions;

c. improvement of construction methods in areas of extreme climatic conditions, such as cold and arid regions, including techniques for erection and finishing of buildings under sustained freezing, and foundation construction under unusual soil conditions;

d. Services to housing and other buildings, including water supply, waste disposal, heating, lighting, and ventilation, with special reference to combined utility functions; and

e. planning, design, and construction of new towns. Other areas of cooperation may be added by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE III

Cooperation pursuant to this Agreement may be implemented by the following means:

a. exchange of experts, advanced students and delegations;

b. exchange of scientific and technical information and documentation;

c. conducting joint conferences, meetings and seminars;

d. joint development and implementation of research programs and projects; and

e. other forms of cooperation which may be mutually agreed upon.

Such cooperation shall be conducted in accordance with the constitution and applicable laws and regulations of the respective countries.

ARTICLE IV

In furtherance of the aims of this Agreement, the Parties will, as appropriate, encourage, facilitate and monitor the development of cooperation and direct contacts between agencies, organizations and firms of the two countries, including the conclusion, as appropriate, of implementing agreements for carrying out specific projects and programs under this Agreement.

ARTICLE V

1. For the implementation of this Agreement, there shall be established a US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in Housing and Other Construction. This Committee shall meet, as a rule, once a year alternately in the United States and the Soviet Union, unless otherwise mutually agreed.

2. The Joint Committee shall take such action as is necessary for the effective implementation of this Agreement, including, but not limited to, approval of specific projects and programs of cooperation, designation of appropriate agencies, organizations, and joint working groups to be responsible for carrying out cooperative activities, and making recommendations, as appropriate, to the Parties.

3. Each Party shall designate its Executive Agent which will be responsible for coordinating and carrying out this Agreement, and, as appropriate, in their respective countries, shall assure the cooperation of other participating institutions and organizations. During the period between meetings of the Joint Committee, the Executive Agents will maintain contact with each other and will coordinate and supervise the development and implementation of cooperative activities conducted under this Agreement.

4. Unless an implementing agreement contains other provisions, each Party or participating institution, organization or firm shall bear the costs of its participation and that of its personnel in cooperative activities engaged in under this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI

Nothing in this Agreement shall be interpreted to prejudice other agreements between the Parties or their respective rights and obligations under such other agreements.

ARTICLE VII

1. This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and remains in force for five years. It will be automatically extended for successive five year periods unless either party notifies the other of its intent to terminate this Agreement not later than six months prior to the expiration of this Agreement.

2. This Agreement may be modified at any time by mutual agreement of the Parties.

3. The termination of this Agreement shall not affect the validity of implementing agreements concluded under this Agreement between interested agencies, organizations and firms of the two countries.

DONE at Moscow on June 28, 1974, in duplicate in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

A. N. KOSYGIN

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

NOTE: The agreement was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Friday, June 28, 1974.

Heart Research

Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in Artificial Heart Research and Development.
June 28, 1974

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Reaffirming the importance that medical science has for mankind today;

Realizing the advisability of further uniting the efforts of both countries in resolving the pressing problems of medical science;

Recognizing the great importance of scientific research and the study of heart disease, which is one of the leading causes of mortality in both their countries as well as throughout the world;

Desiring to expand and strengthen common efforts to promote the development of an artificial heart;

Realizing that the development of an effective artificial heart could eventually lead to a reduction in mortality;

In pursuance and further development of the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Cooperation in the Field of Medical Science and Public Health, signed May 23, 1972;

In accordance with the General Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet So-

cialist Republics on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation, signed June 19, 1973;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Both parties undertake to develop and extend scientific and technical cooperation in artificial heart research and development on the basis of equality, reciprocity and mutual benefit.

ARTICLE II

The cooperation will be concentrated in the areas of research on, and joint development and testing of devices, materials, instruments and control mechanisms which will provide cardiovascular support including total heart replacement.

ARTICLE III

The cooperation provided for in the preceding Articles may be implemented principally in the following ways:

- a. exchange of scientific and technical information;
- b. organization of joint conferences, workshops and meetings of experts;
- c. exchanges of specialists and delegations;
- d. preparation of joint publications and technical manuals; and
- e. familiarization with and exchange of technical aids and equipment.

In the course of implementing this Agreement, other forms of cooperation may also be determined by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE IV

The parties will delegate practical implementation of this Agreement to the US-USSR Joint Committee for Health Cooperation. The Committee shall approve the programs of cooperation, designate the participating organizations responsible for the realization of these programs, and periodically review the progress of the cooperation.

ARTICLE V

Cooperation shall be financed on the basis of reciprocal agreements worked out by the Joint Committee, using the resources of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the United States of America and the Ministry of Health of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the resources of those organizations and institutions taking part in the cooperation.

ARTICLE VI

Such cooperation will be carried out in accordance with the laws and regulations of the respective countries.

Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prejudice or modify other agreements concluded between the two parties.

ARTICLE VII

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force for three years after which it will be extended for successive five year periods unless one party notifies the other of its intent to terminate this agreement not less than six months prior to its expiration.

This Agreement may be modified by mutual agreement of the parties.

DONE at Moscow on June 28, 1974, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

The Secretary of State

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

N. V. PODGORNYY

Chairman, Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet

NOTE: The agreement was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Friday, June 28, 1974.

Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation

Long Term Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics To Facilitate Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation. June 29, 1974

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Desiring to promote continuing orderly expansion of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation and the exchange of relevant information to facilitate such cooperation between the two countries and their competent organizations, enterprises, and firms on a long term and mutually beneficial basis,

Guided by the Basic Principles of Relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 29, 1972, the Joint American-Soviet Communique of June 24, 1973, and the principles set forth in the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Regarding Trade dated October 18, 1972,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties shall use their good offices to facilitate economic, industrial, and technical cooperation in keeping with established practices and applicable laws and regulations in the respective countries.

ARTICLE II

Cooperation which shall be facilitated as contemplated in Article I shall include:

- a. purchases and sales of machinery and equipment for the construction of new enterprises and for the expansion and modernization of existing enterprises in the fields of raw materials, agriculture, machinery and equipment, finished products, consumer goods, and services;
- b. purchases and sales of raw materials, agricultural products, finished products, consumer goods, and services;
- c. purchases, sales and licensing of patent rights and proprietary industrial know-how, designs, and processes;
- d. training of technicians and exchange of specialists; and
- e. joint efforts, where appropriate, in the construction of industrial and other facilities in third countries, particularly through supply of machinery and equipment.

ARTICLE III

In order to assist relevant organizations, enterprises, and firms of both countries in determining the fields of cooperation most likely to provide a basis for mutually beneficial contracts, a working group of experts convened by the Commission mentioned in Article V shall meet not less frequently than once a year to exchange information and forecasts of basic economic, industrial, and commercial trends.

ARTICLE IV

To promote the cooperation foreseen in this Agreement the Parties undertake to facilitate, as appropriate, the acquisition or lease of suitable business and residential premises by organizations, enterprises, and firms of the other party and their employees; the importation of essential office equipment and supplies; the hiring of staffs; the issuance of visas, including multiple entry visas, to qualified officials and representatives of such organizations, enterprises, and firms and to members of their immediate families; and travel by such persons for business purposes in the territory of the receiving country.

ARTICLE V

The US-USSR Commercial Commission established pursuant to the Communiqué of May 26, 1972, is authorized and directed to monitor the practical implementation of this Agreement, when necessary jointly with other American-Soviet bodies created by agreement between the Governments of the two countries, with a view to facilitating the cooperation contemplated in this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI

This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of its signature, and shall remain in force for 10 years.

The Parties shall agree not later than six months prior to the expiration of the above period upon measures which may be necessary to facilitate further development of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation.

DONE at MOSCOW on June 29, 1974, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the CPSU

NOTE: The agreement was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Friday, June 28, 1974.

Luncheon in Minsk

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and Fedor Anisimovich Surganov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, at the Luncheon at the Government Guest House. July 1, 1974

CHAIRMAN SURGANOV. *Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:*

Permit me, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, to welcome you, Mr. President, in the capital of our Republic.

We hope that your stay on Byelorussian soil will be pleasant and that it will give you an opportunity to get some idea about our people and their life, about their history and present day successes.

Your visit to the Byelorussian Republic is coinciding with the celebration of a date that is very dear to us, the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Byelorussia from the German fascist invaders, and today we recall the grim days when the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition fought courageously against the common foe, nationalism, which threatened the freedom of the peoples and indeed civilization itself.

The Byelorussian people are well aware and remember what war means, and they cherish the benefits of peace and creative effort.

Every fourth citizen of this Republic perished in the heroic struggle against fascism, about nine and one-half thousand towns and villages were destroyed, and our capital, Minsk, was almost totally devastated, about three million people remaining homeless.

In the past 30 years, thanks to the selfless labor of our people and the paternal assistance of all the peoples of

the Soviet Union, we have not only rehabilitated the war ravaged economy but have also achieved significant new successes in economics and in the development of culture, science and health, and in raising the living standards of the people.

Like other towns and cities in this Republic, the Hero City of Minsk has been reborn out of ruins and is today vigorously developing. Having defended their freedom and independence, the Soviet people, engaged in peaceful creative labor, are vitally interested in preventing war and in strengthening international peace and security.

And that is why they wholeheartedly welcome the favorable changes that are taking place in the international arena and the cardinal turn that has become discernible of late in relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The constructive development of Soviet-American relations, in our firm conviction, meets the interests not only of the Soviet and American peoples, but also the interests of the peaceful future of all mankind. The joint desire of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the United States to live at peace with one another has already found its practical embodiment in concrete deeds which have been registered in a series of joint documents and this has indeed become an important factor of international relations.

Your new visit to the Soviet Union, Mr. President, and your new meetings and discussions with the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, and with other Soviet leaders, are regarded by the Byelorussian people, as they are by all the peace-loving people, as a new and important landmark in Soviet-American relations and as the further concrete embodiment of the line aimed at insuring peace and establishing in international practices the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous and equal cooperation of states.

We are confident that this is the line of the future, regardless of all the efforts made by the forces of the past to reverse the process of international détente.

Permit me to propose a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Nixon, to the health of all the members of the President's party, to peace and cooperation between the Soviet and American peoples, and to the consolidation of peace and international security.

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. President of the Republic, Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr. Secretary of the Party:*

And for those Americans who are here, that translated, in terms of Byelorussian, means Mr. Podgorny, Mr. Brezhnev, and Mr. Kosygin. [*Laughter*]

On behalf of all our American guests, I wish to express our appreciation for this beautiful luncheon. And I want all of you to know that when the General Secretary, Mr.

Brezhnev, picked the city and the Republic in which we would come, I now know why he picked Minsk.

I thought first it might be because Minsk and Byelorussia is famous the world over for a tiny girl, a pert girl, Olga Korbut. [*Laughter*]. But I have found in my conversations with my friends from the right and the left seated here that not only are the women of Byelorussia beautiful, but they are strong and courageous.

It is difficult to know the meaning of war until one has an opportunity to come in contact with it on an individual basis. And I find that both the Secretary on my right and the President on my left have come into contact with war as fighters in the war, but also who know war because they have close relatives and, in their case, their own mothers who were killed in the war.

And the question is why has this city been designated a hero city for the Soviet Union? First, because it suffered so much, along with the whole Republic of Byelorussia. Second, because not only the men but the women fought and were courageous throughout the war. And third, despite the long years of occupation, the city and the Republic has come back until now it is on the way to its greatest years in the period ahead.

And so, this is truly a hero city and a hero republic. And I think General Secretary Brezhnev wanted Mrs. Nixon and me to visit this city in order to help you celebrate this great day in which you complete 30 years since liberation.

How do we best celebrate such a day? With a magnificent luncheon like this, with fine food, good wines, and good company; by a parade yesterday and by visits to memorials that we will be privileged to make later in the afternoon.

But the best way to celebrate a day which marks the ending of a war is to build peace. And the greatest and best memorial that we can build to the one-fourth of all the citizens of this Republic who were killed in World War II is to build a structure of peace so that their children and grandchildren will not die in another war.

As I saw these fine looking young men who served us, this thought crossed my mind: What we who served in World War II have on our hands is the responsibility of determining whether these young men will grow up in a period of peace or whether they, too, will have to go through the horrors of war. And I can assure you that in our first two meetings—the first in Moscow, the next in Washington and other parts of the United States—and the third here in the Soviet Union, that the General Secretary and his colleagues and the members of our party have been devoting our full time toward the great goal to see to it that the two strongest peoples and the two strongest nations in the world will not devote their efforts and waste their young men in war but will work together for peace between themselves and for all people in the world.

And it is very appropriate that in this city and in this Republic that has known war for so many centuries that today we speak in terms of peace and friendship for all people.

May Minsk in the future not be remembered simply where virtually every generation a battle is fought, but as a great city which contributed to prosperity and peace for all the people in this Republic.

So, therefore, I will propose that we raise our glasses to our hosts, the President, the Chairman of the Council of

Ministers, the Secretary of the Party, to the Hero City of Minsk, to all of those brave men and women who died and suffered during World War II, and to the new generation which will grow up in peace because of what we are able to do.

NOTE: The exchange of toasts began at 2:21 p.m. at the Government Guest House, Minsk, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. Chairman Surganov spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The President's Radio and Television Address. July 2, 1974

Dobryy vecher [Good evening]:

Two years ago, at the first of these summit meetings, your Government gave me the opportunity to speak directly with you, the people of the Soviet Union. Last year, at our second meeting, General Secretary Brezhnev spoke on radio and television to the people of the United States. And now, tonight, I appreciate this opportunity to continue what has become a tradition, a part of our annual meetings.

In these past 2 years, there has been a dramatic change in the nature of the relationship between our two countries. After a long period of confrontation, we moved to an era of negotiation, and now we are learning cooperation. We are learning to cooperate not only in lessening the danger of war, but in advancing the work of peace.

We are thereby helping to create not only a safer but also a better life for the people of both of our countries. By reflecting on how far we have advanced, we can better appreciate how strong a foundation we have laid for even greater progress in the future.

At our first summit meeting 2 years ago, we signed the first agreement ever negotiated for the limitation of strategic nuclear arms. This was an historic milestone on the road to a lasting peace—and to mankind's control over the forces of his own destruction.

We have many difficulties yet to be overcome in achieving full control over strategic nuclear arms. But each step carries us closer and builds confidence in the process of negotiation itself.

Our progress in the limitation of arms has been vitally important. But it has not been the only product of our work at the summit. We have also been steadily building a new relationship that over time will reduce the causes of conflict.

In the basic principles for our mutual relations, agreed to in Moscow in 1972, and in the agreement on prevention of nuclear war, signed last year in Washington, we have established standards to guide our actions toward each other in international affairs generally so that the danger of war will be reduced and the possibility of dangerous confrontations will be lessened.

What is particularly significant is that our negotiations have been far wider than the reduction of arms and the prevention of wars and crises. The pattern of agreements reached between us has opened new avenues of cooperation across the whole range of peaceful relations.

For example, we are working together in programs which will bring better health, better housing, a better environment, as well as in many other fields. Trade between our two countries totaled a record \$1.4 billion in 1973. That is more than twice the level of the previous year. This means more goods and a greater choice available for the people of both of our countries.

It was exactly 15 years ago next month when I was here in Moscow as Vice President that I first spoke to the people of the Soviet Union on radio and television. In that speech I said, "Let our aim be not victory over other peoples, but the victory of all mankind over hunger, want, misery and disease, wherever it exists in the world."

The agreements we have reached at these summit meetings—on health, for example, including this year's agreement on artificial heart research—will help us toward that great victory. At the same time, they will give the people of both of our countries a positive stake in peace.

This is crucially important.

Traditionally, when peace has been maintained, it has been maintained primarily because of the fear of war. Negotiators have been spurred in their efforts either by the desire to end a war or by the fear that their failure would begin a war.

The peace we seek now to build is a permanent peace. And nothing permanent can be built on fear alone. By giving both of our nations a positive stake in peace—by giving both of our peoples hope, something to look forward to as the results of peace—we create a more solid framework on which a lasting structure of peace can be built and on which it then can stand strong through the years.

The peace we seek to build is one that is far more than simply the absence of war. We seek a peace in which each man, woman, and child can look forward to a richer and a fuller life. This is what the people of the Soviet Union want. This is what the people of America want. And this is what the people of all nations want.

Our two nations are great nations. They are strong nations, the two strongest nations in the world.

Too often in the past, the greatness of a nation has been measured primarily in terms of its success in war. The time has come to set a new standard for the measure of greatness of a nation. Let our measure of greatness be not by the way we use our strength for war and destruction, but how we work together for peace and for progress for ourselves and for all mankind.

Let us recognize that to be great, a strong nation need not impose its will on weaker nations. A great nation will establish its place in history by the example it sets, by the purposes for which its power is used, by the respect that it shows for the rights of others, by the contribution it makes toward building a new world in which the weak will be as safe as the strong.

In these meetings, we have been seeking to ensure that the power of both of our nations will be used not for war and destruction, but rather for peace and for progress.

Our two nations will continue to have differences. We have different systems. And, in many respects, we have different values. Inevitably our interests will not always be in accord.

But the important thing is that we are learning to negotiate where we have differences, to narrow them where possible, and to move ahead together in an expanding field of mutual interests.

One of the most important aspects of our developing new relationship might be stated this way: Just as a cloth is stronger than the threads from which it is made, so the network of agreements we have been weaving is greater than the sum of its parts. With these agreements, we have been creating a pattern of interrelationships, of habits of cooperation and arrangements for consultation—all of which interact with one another to strengthen the fabric of the new relationship. Thus each new agreement is important not only for itself but also for the added strength and stability it brings to our relations overall.

We have been weaving this fabric of cooperation not just because we are idealistic about peace—and we are—but because we are practical about peace. The words of the agreements we sign are important; even more important is how we carry them out in practice—how we translate the ideal of peaceful cooperation into the practice of peaceful cooperation. In this growing network of agreements, of exchanges, of patterns of cooperation, we are demonstrating not just the ideal of peace but the practice of peace.

In the course of many years, I have visited memorials to the dead of many wars, in many countries. Yesterday, I laid a wreath at one of the most moving memorials I have ever seen—the Khatyn Memorial, outside Minsk. A huge bronze statue of Joseph Kaminsky, the village blacksmith, carrying his 15-year-old dead son in his arms, stands today above the graves of what was the village of Khatyn.

Chimneys stand where the houses were, with a memorial bell in each chimney tolling for the dead, not only for Khatyn but also for the hundreds of other villages that were destroyed and the millions of others who died—a stark reminder to all nations, and for all time, of the terrible cost of war.

As I laid the wreath, I thought of the people of Khatyn, and I thought especially of the children of Khatyn. I reflected on the fact that our efforts now must be directed not against any one nation or group of nations, but against the evil of war itself.

And I also thought of the living memorial that we today must build—the living memorial of a lasting peace, so that the children of those who sacrificed in war, and their children's children, can be spared the tragedy of Khatyn, and can know instead the security of a human brotherhood that reaches across the boundaries of all nations.

When we first met at the summit 2 years ago, both sides were venturing into the untried waters of something new. And we were, perhaps, a bit uncertain, even apprehensive, about where it would lead.

But now, we and the leaders of the Soviet Union have come to know one another. Each of us has a much fuller understanding of the policies of the other country, even where those policies differ.

Thus, we have been able to meet this year, as we will meet again next year in the United States, not in an atmosphere of crisis, but rather in an atmosphere of confidence—confidence that the work we have embarked on is going forward.

In fact, it might be said that the most remarkable thing about this summit meeting is that it is taking place so routinely, so familiarly—as a part of a continuing pattern that would have seemed inconceivable just a few years ago.

Peace is not only a condition; if it is to last, it must also be a continuing process. And these meetings are an example of that process in action.

As allies in World War II, we fought side by side in the most terrible war in all human history. And together with our allies we won the victory. In winning that victory, the people of the Soviet Union and the people of the United States shared a common hope that we also had won a lasting peace. That hope was frustrated, but now we have a new opportunity.

Winning victory in war is difficult. It requires extraordinary courage, stamina, and dedication from every individual citizen in the nation. But in some ways, the building of a lasting peace is even more difficult than waging war because it is more complex. We must bring to the task of building that peace the same kind of courage, of stamina, of dedication that inspired us in our struggle for victory in war.

And the fact that our task of building peace is more complex does not mean that we cannot succeed.

Let me give a striking example which demonstrates that point. In the whole field of modern technology, no mission is more complex than the mission of sending men into space. The joint Soviet-American space mission planned for next year—the joint Soyuz-Apollo mission—is in many ways symbolic of the new relationship we are building between our two nations.

It is symbolic for several reasons—reasons which carry important lessons about that new relationship.

For one thing, the rocket technology developed for war is being used for peace.

And for another, Soviet and American spacemen, starting from their separate countries, will find their way toward one another and join with one another—just as we are doing and must continue to do across the whole range of our relationship.

By standardizing their docking techniques, they will make international rescue missions possible in case future space missions encounter trouble in space; thus they will make space safer for the astronauts and the cosmonauts of both of our countries—just as our new relationship can make life on earth safer for the people of both of our countries.

Finally, and perhaps more important, this joint mission—for which our astronauts are now here in the Soviet Union training alongside your cosmonauts—is being made possible by careful planning, by precise engineering, by a process of working and building together, step by step, to

reach a goal that we share, and this is the way that together we can build a peace, a peace that will last.

One of the greatest of your writers, Leo Tolstoy, once told this story. A very old man was planting apple trees. He was asked: "What are you planting apple trees for? It will be a long time before they bear fruit, and you will not live to eat a single apple."

The old man replied, "I will never eat them, but others will, and they will thank me."

Our two nations bear a shared responsibility toward the entire world. And we, too, must plant now so that future generations will reap a harvest of peace—a peace in which our children can live together as brothers and sisters, joining hands across the ocean in friendship, and ushering in a new era in which war is behind us, and in which together, in peace, we can work toward a better life for our people and for all people.

Spasibo, y do svidaniye. [Thank you and goodbye.]

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:01 p.m. in the Green Room at the Grand Kremlin Palace, Moscow, U.S.S.R. His address was broadcast live on radio and television in the Soviet Union and simultaneously, via satellite, in the United States.

Dinner Honoring Soviet Leaders

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and General Secretary Brezhnev at a Dinner at Spaso House Hosted by the President and Mrs. Nixon. July 2, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. General Secretary Brezhnev, President Podgorny, Prime Minister Kosygin, and all of our distinguished guests from the Soviet Union and our guests from the United States:*

Mr. General Secretary, it is difficult to express in words how much we have appreciated the hospitality, the boundless hospitality, you have extended to all of us from our American party. And we are honored to have you in this house tonight.

As we look back over the last 5 days, we have many unforgettable memories, the magnificent dinner the first night in the Kremlin, the superb performance at the Bolshoi Theater which, in effect, allowed us through music, through dance, and through song to visit virtually all of the Soviet Union, and then the first opportunity that most of us have had, and certainly the first opportunity I have had, to go to the Crimea, to Oreanda, and then yesterday the visit to Minsk.

The difficulty with our position at this point is that your hospitality has been so great we do not know how to equal it when you make your next visit to the United States just a year from now. But I can assure you that you will be received warmly and that we expect next year to continue on the path of progress which began just 2 years ago on my first visit as President to Moscow in 1972.

Tomorrow we will sign the final documents of our meetings. Altogether with the other documents that we

have agreed to, they will add up to a very significant progress in Soviet-American relations, progress toward our common goals of reducing the danger of war and increasing the hopes for and actually the products of peace, the benefits of peace for all of our people.

Yesterday, when I visited the famous memorial at Minsk, many thoughts went through my head. I referred earlier in the television address to the village blacksmith, Kaminsky, holding his dead 15-year-old son in his hands.

I thought of many things, but above all, what that young boy whose life was snuffed out at such an early age might have been if he lived. Possibly there was a great scientist, one who could possibly have composed great music, or created beautiful works of art, or one who in the field of medicine might have found an answer to the problem of cancer or one of the other dread diseases which afflict all of mankind.

And as I think of our work together with you and your colleagues, I realize that we are working for the future of our children, our grandchildren, and for all of those who live throughout the world.

Our goal will not be accomplished in one meeting or two or even three. But by continuing our close consultation, by continuing our meetings, we will make definite progress toward our goal of a permanent peace between our two nations and for all people.

None of this would have been possible in the past or will be possible in the future unless it was supported, as it is, by a majority of our people. I know from my visit to the Soviet Union that your policies are supported by the great majority of the Soviet people, your policies looking toward the reduction of the dangers of war and increasing the opportunities for peace. And I can assure you, Mr.

General Secretary, that our policies, looking toward closer relations and friendship, not only with the Soviet people but with the leaders of this government has the support of the great majority of the American people.

And finally, I would say that the progress that we have made and will make in the future, not only was possible and will be possible because of the support of our people, it is possible and will be possible because of the initiative taken by the leaders of both countries.

And all of us who have had the opportunity to meet with you and members of your government have valued the personal relations and the personal friendship that has been established by these meetings. And whatever our differences, we must recognize they could never be solved unless we met as friends.

And so, tonight, in proposing the health of the General Secretary, the President, President Podgorny, Prime Minister Kosygin, and to all of our Soviet guests, I do so in the spirit of friendship that has developed over these past 2 years.

We raise our glasses to you because of your official capacities, but more important, we raise our glasses to you because we are friends and because we know that that friendship and that personal relationship that we have at all levels will continue toward the lasting peace that the peoples of both of our countries want so much.

And so, to the health of General Secretary Brezhnev and all of our other distinguished Soviet guests, to friendship between the Soviet people and the American people, and to peace for all peoples which that friendship can help create, I ask all of you to rise and raise your glasses.

GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

First of all, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for your friendly words and wishes addressed to our country and its people. The Soviet people, on their part, entertain feelings of respect and friendship for the American people. We are sure that these mutual good feelings will grow and strengthen as the relations between our countries develop further along the road of peace and cooperation.

Your visit, Mr. President, as well as our talks, are drawing to a close. You and we already have every reason to say that the results of this meeting, like the outcome of the two previous ones, can be described as constructive and weighty. I am referring first of all to the new steps in a field which may rightfully be called central in Soviet-American relations, the field of lessening the risk of war and restraining the arms race.

The signing of several important agreements and of the joint communique on the talks between the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is still to come. Without anticipating the concrete content of those documents, I

should just like to stress that agreement on such matters as a new considerable limitation of the antiballistic missile system of the two countries, the agreed limitation of underground nuclear tests, new efforts aimed at the further limitation of strategic offensive arms, and several other measures all mean a substantial advance along the jointly charted path of consolidating peace and mutual confidence.

This complex could perhaps have been still broader but what has been agreed upon this time tangibly strengthens and deepens the relaxation of international tension and serves the cause of peace throughout the world.

A further progressive development of Soviet-American relations is also betokened by the agreements on expanding commercial and economic and scientific and technological cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. signed during our meetings.

Ahead lie new horizons and new spheres of cooperation to the benefit of both our great peoples and of peace-loving people in the entire world. In large scale economic projects and in the development of new sources of energy, on transportation lines, in scientists' laboratories and in architects' designing rooms, everywhere new shoots of a fruitful mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries will spring forth in the name of peace and a better life for man.

I trust you will agree with me, Mr. President, that these days have once more convincingly proved the significance that meetings at the highest level have for the development of Soviet-American relations in a good constructive direction. They facilitate the possibility of approaching on a broader basis and with due account of the historical perspective and the lasting interests of the peoples, the solution of many problems, including the most difficult and complicated ones, and they give an impetus to all the links of state machinery and to the representatives of both sides at different levels.

In this connection, I feel we should express our gratitude to all the officials of our diplomatic, foreign trade, and other departments, agencies and organizations who on the instructions of their superiors took part in the great and painstaking work to prepare this meeting and the appropriate agreements.

I would like to say a few words more about our talks on international problems. As during our previous meetings with President Nixon, they were thorough, quite frank and useful. Given all the differences of views and positions of our two countries on a number of specific questions, both the Soviet and, evidently, the American participants in the talks have treated and continue to treat as a matter of paramount importance joint or parallel efforts by the Soviet Union and the United States to

strengthen universal peace and create conditions for the peaceful cooperation of all states in the spirit of the well-known principles of peaceful coexistence and the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

The last 2 years have already shown the useful influence that the improvement of Soviet-American relations may have in this sense. It has certainly played a positive role in ending the war in Vietnam and in creating conditions for certain progress towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East and in convening the European conference.

Now, the task, as we see it, is successfully to complete what has been started and to ensure that the development of Soviet-American relations continues to be beneficial for universal peace and for the security of nations.

I feel it will be no exaggeration to say that the political results of our talks will be a new confirmation of the determination of both sides to go on developing and deepening ties and cooperation between our two countries in many fields and to act on the international scene in favor of détente and peace.

This is exactly what we expected from the talks, and that is why we express our satisfaction with their results.

We appreciate the contribution that you have made, Mr. President, to the achievement of these results, and we wish you and the entire Administration and the Congress of the United States every success in giving effect to the good initiatives of peace, growing mutual confidence, and useful cooperation embodied in the documents signed in the days of this meeting, as well as in those Soviet-American documents that were signed last year and the year before last.

You may rest assured that the leadership of the Soviet Union, fully supported by the entire Soviet people, will do all in their power in this direction. We are glad, Mr. President, that Mrs. Nixon and you have returned from your trip to the Crimea and to Byelorussia with good impressions.

For my part, I want to say that I remember with gratification my stay in the United States last summer, and I thank you, Mr. President, for the invitation to pay a new visit to the United States next year.

Availing myself of this occasion, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the coming national day of the United States, Independence Day, and to wish the American people peace, happiness, and well-being.

I propose a toast to the health of the President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, and Mrs. Nixon, to the further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and American peoples, to a lasting peace between all people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:24 p.m. at Spaso House, the American Ambassador's residence in Moscow, U.S.S.R. General Secretary Brezhnev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems

Protocol to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems.
July 3, 1974

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Proceeding from the Basic Principles of Relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed on May 29, 1972,

Desiring to further the objectives of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems signed on May 26, 1972, hereinafter referred to as the Treaty,

Reaffirming their conviction that the adoption of further measures for the limitation of strategic arms would contribute to strengthening international peace and security.

Proceeding from the premise that further limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems will create more favorable conditions for the completion of work on a permanent agreement on more complete measures for the limitation of strategic offensive arms,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. Each Party shall be limited at any one time to a single area out of the two provided in Article III of the Treaty for deployment of anti-ballistic missile (A.B.M.) systems or their components and accordingly shall not exercise its right to deploy an ABM system or its components in the second of the two ABM system deployment areas permitted by Article III of the Treaty, except as an exchange of one permitted area for the other in accordance with Article II of this Protocol.

2. Accordingly, except as permitted by Article II of this Protocol: the United States of America shall not deploy an ABM system or its components in the area centered on its capital, as permitted by Article III(a) of the Treaty, and the Soviet Union shall not deploy an ABM system or its components in the deployment area of intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) silo launchers permitted by Article III(b) of the Treaty.

ARTICLE II

1. Each Party shall have the right to dismantle or destroy its ABM system and the components thereof in the area where they are presently deployed and to deploy an

ABM system or its components in the alternative area permitted by Article III of the Treaty, provided that prior to initiation of construction, notification is given in accord with the procedure agreed to by the Standing Consultative Commission, during the year beginning October 3, 1977, and ending October 2, 1978, or during any year which commences at five year intervals thereafter, those being the years for periodic review of the Treaty, as provided in Article XIV of the Treaty. This right may be exercised only once.

2. Accordingly, in the event of such notice, the United States would have the right to dismantle or destroy the ABM system and its components in the deployment area of ICBM silo launchers and to deploy an ABM system or its components in an area centered on its capital, as permitted by Article III(a) of the Treaty, and the Soviet Union would have the right to dismantle or destroy the ABM system and its components in the area centered on its capital and to deploy an ABM system or its components in an area containing ICBM silo launchers, as permitted by Article III(b) of the Treaty.

3. Dismantling or destruction and deployment of ABM systems or their components and the notification thereof shall be carried out in accordance with Article VIII of the ABM Treaty and procedures agreed to in the Standing Consultative Commission.

ARTICLE III

The rights and obligations established by the Treaty remain in force and shall be complied with by the Parties except to the extent modified by this Protocol. In particular, the deployment of an ABM system or its components within the area selected shall remain limited by the levels and other requirements established by the Treaty.

ARTICLE IV

This Protocol shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. It shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification and shall thereafter be considered an integral part of the Treaty.

DONE at Moscow on July 3, 1974, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the CPSU

NOTE: The protocol was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Wednesday, July 3, 1974.

Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests. July 3, 1974

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Declaring their intention to achieve at the earliest possible date the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to take effective measures toward reductions in strategic arms, nuclear disarmament, and general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

Recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water in its Preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, and to continue negotiations to this end,

Noting that the adoption of measures for the further limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests would contribute to the achievement of these objectives and would meet the interests of strengthening peace and the further relaxation of international tension,

Reaffirming their adherence to the objectives and principles of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water and of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. Each Party undertakes to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any underground nuclear weapon test having a yield exceeding 150 kilotons at any place under its jurisdiction or control, beginning March 31, 1976.

2. Each Party shall limit the number of its underground nuclear weapon tests to a minimum.

3. The Parties shall continue their negotiations with a view toward achieving a solution to the problem of the cessation of all underground nuclear weapon tests.

ARTICLE II

1. For the purpose of providing assurance of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall use national technical means of verification at its disposal in a manner consistent with the generally recognized principles of international law.

2. Each Party undertakes not to interfere with the national technical means of verification of the other

Party operating in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article.

3. To promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of this Treaty the Parties shall, as necessary, consult with each other, make inquiries and furnish information in response to such inquiries.

ARTICLE III

The provisions of this Treaty do not extend to underground nuclear explosions carried out by the Parties for peaceful purposes. Underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes shall be governed by an agreement which is to be negotiated and concluded by the Parties at the earliest possible time.

ARTICLE IV

This Treaty shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. This Treaty shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification.

ARTICLE V

1. This Treaty shall remain in force for a period of five years. Unless replaced earlier by an agreement in implementation of the objectives specified in paragraph 3 of Article I of this Treaty, it shall be extended for successive five-year periods unless either Party notifies the other of its termination no later than six months prior to the expiration of the Treaty. Before the expiration of this period the Parties may, as necessary, hold consultations to consider the situation relevant to the substance of this Treaty and to introduce possible amendments to the text of the Treaty.

2. Each Party shall, in exercising its national sovereignty, have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests. It shall give notice of its decision to the other Party six months prior to withdrawal from this Treaty. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events the notifying Party regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

3. This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

DONE at Moscow on July 3, 1974, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE LIMITATION OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties, Having agreed to limit underground nuclear weapon tests,

Have agreed as follows:

1. For the Purpose of ensuring verification of compliance with the obligations of the Parties under the Treaty by national technical means, the Parties shall on the basis of reciprocity, exchange the following data:

a. The geographic coordinates of the boundaries of each test site and of the boundaries of the geophysically distinct testing areas therein.

b. Information on the geology of the testing areas of the sites (the rock characteristics of geological formations and the basic physical properties of the rock, i.e., density, seismic velocity, water saturation, porosity and depth of water table).

c. The geographic coordinates of underground nuclear weapon tests, after they have been conducted.

d. Yield, date, time, depth and coordinates for two nuclear weapons tests for calibration purposes from each geophysically distinct testing area where underground nuclear weapon tests have been and are to be conducted. In this connection the yield of such explosions for calibration purposes should be as near as possible to the limit defined in Article I of the Treaty and not less than one-tenth of that limit. In the case of testing areas where data are not available on two tests for calibration purposes, the data pertaining to one such test shall be exchanged, if available, and the data pertaining to the second test shall be exchanged as soon as possible after a second test having a yield in the above-mentioned range. The provisions of this Protocol shall not require the Parties to conduct tests solely for calibration purposes.

2. The Parties agree that the exchange of data pursuant to subparagraphs a, b, and d of paragraph 1 shall be carried out simultaneously with the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty, as provided in Article IV of the Treaty, having in mind that the Parties shall, on the basis of reciprocity, afford each other the opportunity to familiarize themselves with these data before the exchange of instruments of ratification.

3. Should a Party specify a new test site or testing area after the entry into force of the Treaty, the data called for by subparagraphs a and b of paragraph 1 shall be transmitted to the other Party in advance of use of that site or area. The data called for by subparagraph d of paragraph 1 shall also be transmitted in advance of use of that site or area if they are available; if they are not available, they shall be transmitted as soon as possible after they have been obtained by the transmitting Party.

4. The Parties agree that the test sites of each Party shall be located at places under its jurisdiction or control

and that all nuclear weapon tests shall be conducted solely within the testing areas specified in accordance with paragraph 1.

5. For the purposes of the Treaty, all underground nuclear explosions at the specified test sites shall be considered nuclear weapon tests and shall be subject to all the provisions of the Treaty relating to nuclear weapon tests. The provisions of Article III of the Treaty apply to all underground nuclear explosions conducted outside of the specified test sites, and only to such explosions.

This Protocol shall be considered an integral part of the Treaty.

DONE at Moscow on July 3, 1974.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

NOTE: The treaty and protocol were signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Wednesday, July 3, 1974.

Dangers of Environmental Warfare

U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Statement Concerning Future Discussions on the Dangers of Environmental Warfare. July 3, 1974

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Desiring to limit the potential danger to mankind from possible new means of warfare;

Taking into consideration that scientific and technical advances in environmental fields, including climate modification, may open possibilities for using environmental modification techniques for military purposes;

Recognizing that such use could have widespread, long-lasting, and severe effects harmful to human welfare;

Recognizing also that proper utilization of scientific and technical advances could improve the inter-relationship of man and nature;

1. Advocate the most effective measures possible to overcome the dangers of the use of environmental modification techniques for military purposes.

2. Have decided to hold a meeting of United States and Soviet representatives this year for the purpose of exploring this problem.

3. Have decided to discuss also what steps might be taken to bring about the measures referred to in paragraph 1.

Moscow, July 3, 1974

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

NOTE: The joint statement was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Wednesday, July 3, 1974.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Text of the Joint United States-Soviet Communiqué Issued at the Conclusion of the President's Visit. July 3, 1974

In accordance with the agreement to hold regular US-Soviet meetings at the highest level and at the invitation, extended during the visit of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev to the USA in June 1973, the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Richard Nixon paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from June 27 to July 3, 1974.

During his stay President Nixon visited, in addition to Moscow, Minsk and the Southern Coast of the Crimea.

The President of the United States and the Soviet leaders held a thorough and useful exchange of views on major aspects of relations between the USA and USSR and on the present international situation.

On the Soviet side the talks were conducted by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the

USSR Supreme Soviet; A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Accompanying the President of the USA and participating in the talks was Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, US Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Also taking part in the talks were:

On the American Side: Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., American Ambassador to the USSR; General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President; Mr. Ronald L. Ziegler, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary; Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department of State; and Mr. Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs.

On the Soviet Side: A. F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the USA; A. M. Aleksandrov, Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; L. M. Zamyatin, Director General of TASS; and G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

The talks were held in a most businesslike and constructive atmosphere and were marked by a mutual desire of both Sides to continue to strengthen understanding, confidence and peaceful cooperation between them and to contribute to the strengthening of international security and world peace.

I. PROGRESS IN IMPROVING US-SOVIET RELATIONS

Having considered in detail the development of relations between the USA and the USSR since the US-Soviet summit meeting in May 1972, both Sides noted with satisfaction that through their vigorous joint efforts they have brought about over this short period a fundamental turn toward peaceful relations and broad, mutually beneficial cooperation in the interests of the peoples of both countries and of all mankind.

They emphasized the special importance for the favorable development of relations between the USA and the USSR of meetings of their leaders at the highest level, which are becoming established practice. These meetings provide opportunities for effective and responsible discussion, for the solution of fundamental and important bilateral questions, and for mutual contributions to the settlement of international problems affecting the interests of both countries.

Both Sides welcome the establishment of official contacts between the Congress of the US and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. They will encourage a further development of such contacts, believing that they can play an important role.

Both Sides confirmed their mutual determination to continue actively to reshape US-Soviet relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and equal security, in strict conformity with the spirit and the letter of the agreements achieved between the two countries and their obligations under those agreements. In this connection they noted once again the fundamental importance of the joint documents adopted as a result of the summit meetings in 1972 and 1973, especially of the Basic Principles of Relations Between the USA and the USSR, the Agreement on the Pre-

vention of Nuclear War, the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

Both Sides are deeply convinced of the imperative necessity of making the process of improving US-Soviet relations irreversible. They believe that, as a result of their efforts, a real possibility has been created to achieve this goal. This will open new vistas for broad mutually beneficial cooperation, and for strengthening friendship between the American and Soviet peoples, and will thus contribute to the solution of many urgent problems facing the world.

Guided by these worthy goals, both Sides decided to continue steadfastly to apply their joint efforts—in cooperation with other countries concerned, as appropriate—first of all in such important fields as:

- removing the danger of war, including particularly war involving nuclear and other mass-destruction weapons;

- limiting and eventually ending the arms race especially in strategic weapons, having in mind as the ultimate objective the achievement of general and complete disarmament under appropriate international control;

- contributing to the elimination of sources of international tension and military conflict;

- strengthening and extending the process of relaxation of tensions throughout the world;

- developing broad, mutually beneficial cooperation in commercial and economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, equality and noninterference in internal affairs with a view to promoting increased understanding and confidence between the peoples of both countries.

Accordingly, in the course of this summit meeting both Sides considered it possible to take new constructive steps which, they believe, will not only advance further the development of US-Soviet relations but will also make a substantial contribution to strengthening world peace and expanding international cooperation.

II. FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS AND OTHER DISARMAMENT ISSUES

Both sides again carefully analyzed the entire range of their mutual relations connected with the prevention of nuclear war and limitation of strategic armaments. They arrived at the common view that the fundamental agreements concluded between them in this sphere continue to be effective instruments of the general improvement of US-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole. The USA and the USSR will continue strictly to fulfill the obligations undertaken in those agreements.

In the course of the talks, the two Sides had a thorough review of all aspects of the problem of limitation of strategic arms. They concluded that the Interim Agreement on offensive strategic weapons should be followed by a new agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. They agreed that such an agreement should cover the period until 1985 and deal with both quantitative and qualitative limitations. They agreed that such an agreement

should be completed at the earliest possible date, before the expiration of the Interim Agreement.

They hold the common view that such a new agreement would serve not only the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States but also those of a further relaxation of international tensions and of world peace.

Their delegations will reconvene in Geneva in the immediate future on the basis of instructions growing out of the summit.

Taking into consideration the interrelationship between the development of offensive and defensive types of strategic arms and noting the successful implementation of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems concluded between them in May 1972, both Sides considered it desirable to adopt additional limitations on the deployment of such systems. To that end they concluded a Protocol providing for the limitation of each Side to a single deployment area for ABM systems instead of two such areas as permitted to each Side by the Treaty.

At the same time, two protocols were signed entitled "Procedures Governing Replacement, Dismantling or Destruction and Notification Thereof, for Strategic Offensive Arms" and "Procedures Governing Replacement, Dismantling or Destruction, and Notification Thereof for ABM Systems and their Components." These protocols were worked out by the Standing Consultative Commission which was established to promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of the Treaty and the Interim Agreement signed on May 26, 1972.

The two Sides emphasized the serious importance which the US and USSR also attach to the realization of other possible measures—both on a bilateral and on a multilateral basis—in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

Having noted the historic significance of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, concluded in Moscow in 1963, to which the United States and the Soviet Union are parties, both Sides expressed themselves in favor of making the cessation of nuclear weapon tests comprehensive. Desiring to contribute to the achievement of this goal the USA and the USSR concluded, as an important step in this direction, the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests providing for the complete cessation, starting from March 31, 1976, of the tests of such weapons above an appropriate yield threshold, and for confining other underground tests to a minimum.

The Parties emphasized the fundamental importance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Having reaffirmed their mutual intention to observe the obligations assumed by them under that Treaty, including Article VI thereof, they expressed themselves in favor of increasing its effectiveness.

A joint statement was also signed in which the US and USSR advocate the most effective measures possible to overcome the dangers of the use of environmental modification techniques for military purposes.

Both Sides reaffirmed their interest in an effective international agreement which would exclude from the arsenals of states such dangerous instruments of mass destruction as chemical weapons. Desiring to contribute to early progress in this direction, the USA and the USSR

agreed to consider a joint initiative in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with respect to the conclusion, as a first step, of an international Convention dealing with the most dangerous, lethal means of chemical warfare.

Both Sides are convinced that the new important steps which they have taken and intend to take in the field of arms limitation as well as further efforts toward disarmament will facilitate the relaxation of international tensions and constitute a tangible contribution to the fulfillment of the historic task of excluding war from the life of human society and thereby of ensuring world peace. The US and the USSR reaffirmed that a world disarmament conference at an appropriate time can play a positive role in this process.

III. PROGRESS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

In the course of the meeting detailed discussions were held on major international problems.

Both Sides expressed satisfaction that relaxation of tensions, consolidation of peace, and development of mutually beneficial cooperation are becoming increasingly distinct characteristics of the development of the international situation. They proceed from the assumption that progress in improving the international situation does not occur spontaneously but requires active and purposeful efforts to overcome obstacles and resolve difficulties that remain from the past.

The paramount objectives of all states and peoples should be to ensure, individually and collectively, lasting security in all parts of the world, the early and complete removal of existing international conflicts and sources of tension and the prevention of new ones from arising.

The United States and the Soviet Union are in favor of the broad and fruitful economic cooperation among all states, large and small, on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit.

The United States and the Soviet Union reaffirm their determination to contribute separately and jointly to the achievement of all these tasks.

Europe

Having discussed the development of the situation in Europe since the last American-Soviet summit meeting, both Sides noted with profound satisfaction the further appreciable advances toward establishing dependable relations of peace, good neighborliness and cooperation on the European continent.

Both Sides welcome the major contribution which the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is making to this beneficial process. They consider that substantial progress has already been achieved at the Conference on many significant questions. They believe that this progress indicates that the present stage of the Conference will produce agreed documents of great international significance expressing the determination of the participating states to build their mutual relations on a solid jointly elaborated basis. The US and USSR will make every effort, in cooperation with the other participants, to find solutions acceptable to all for the remaining problems.

Both Sides expressed their conviction that successful completion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would be an

outstanding event in the interests of establishing a lasting peace. Proceeding from this assumption the USA and the USSR expressed themselves in favor of the final stage of the Conference taking place at an early date. Both Sides also proceed from the assumption that the results of the negotiations will permit the Conference to be concluded at the highest level, which would correspond to the historic significance of the Conference for the future of Europe and lend greater authority to the importance of the Conference's decisions.

Both Sides reaffirmed the lasting significance for a favorable development of the situation in Europe of the treaties and agreements concluded in recent years between European states with different social systems.

They expressed satisfaction with the admission to the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

Both Sides also stressed that the Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971, must continue to play a key role in ensuring stability and detente in Europe. The US and USSR consider that the strict and consistent implementation of this Agreement by all parties concerned is an essential condition for the maintenance and strengthening of mutual confidence and stability in the center of Europe.

The USA and the USSR believe that, in order to strengthen stability and security in Europe, the relaxation of political tension on this continent should be accompanied by measures to reduce military tensions.

They therefore attach importance to the current negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe, in which they are participating. The two Sides expressed the hope that these negotiations will result in concrete decisions ensuring the undiminished security of any of the parties and preventing unilateral military advantage.

Middle East

Both Sides believe that the removal of the danger of war and tension in the Middle East is a task of paramount importance and urgency, and therefore, the only alternative is the achievement, on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 338, of a just and lasting peace settlement in which should be taken into account the legitimate interests of all peoples in the Middle East, including the Palestinian people, and the right to existence of all states in the area.

As Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, the USA and the USSR consider it important that the Conference resume its work as soon as possible, with the question of other participants from the Middle East area to be discussed at the Conference. Both Sides see the main purpose of the Geneva Peace Conference, the achievement of which they will promote in every way, as the establishment of just and stable peace in the Middle East.

They agreed that the USA and the USSR will continue to remain in close touch with a view to coordinating the efforts of both countries toward a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

Indochina

Both Sides noted certain further improvements in the situation in Indochina. In the course of the exchange of views on the situation in Vietnam both Sides emphasized that peace and stability in the region can be preserved and strengthened only on the basis of strict observance by all parties concerned of the provisions of the Paris Agreement of January 27, 1973, and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam of March 2, 1973.

As regards Laos, they noted progress in the normalization of the situation as a result of the formation there of coalition governmental bodies. Both Sides also pronounced themselves in favor of strict fulfillment of the pertinent agreements.

Both Sides also stressed the need for an early and just settlement of the problem of Cambodia based on respect for the sovereign rights of the Cambodian people to a free and independent development without any outside interference.

Strengthening the Role of the United Nations

The United States of America and the Soviet Union attach great importance to the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining peace and security and the expansion of international cooperation. They reiterate their intention to continue their efforts toward increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations in every possible way, including in regard to peacekeeping, on the basis of strict observance of the United Nations Charter.

IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In the course of the meeting great attention was devoted to a review of the status of and prospects for relations between the USA and the USSR in the commercial and economic field.

Both Sides reaffirmed that they regard the broadening and deepening of mutually advantageous ties in this field on the basis of equality and nondiscrimination as an important part of the foundation on which the entire structure of US-Soviet relations is built. An increase in the scale of commercial and economic ties corresponding to the potentials of both countries will cement this foundation and benefit the American and Soviet peoples.

The two Sides noted with satisfaction that since the previous summit meeting US-Soviet commercial and economic relations have on the whole shown an upward trend. This was expressed, in particular, in a substantial growth of the exchange of goods between the two countries which approximated \$1.5 billion in 1973. It was noted that prospects were favorable for surpassing the goal announced in the joint US-USSR communique of June 24, 1973, of achieving a total bilateral trade turnover of \$2.3 billion during the three-year period 1973-1975. The Joint US-USSR Commercial Commission continues to provide an effective mechanism to promote the broad-scale growth of economic relations.

The two Sides noted certain progress in the development of long-term cooperation between American firms and Soviet organizations in carrying out large-scale projects including those on a compensation basis. They are convinced that such cooperation is an important element in the

development of commercial and economic ties between the two countries. The two Sides agreed to encourage the conclusion and implementation of appropriate agreements between American and Soviet organizations and firms. Taking into account the progress made in a number of specific projects, such as those concerning truck manufacture, the trade center, and chemical fertilizers, the Sides noted the possibility of concluding appropriate contracts in other areas of mutual interest, such as pulp and paper, timber, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, natural gas, the engineering industry, and the extraction and processing of high energy-consuming minerals.

Both Sides noted further development of productive contacts and ties between business circles of the two countries in which a positive role was played by the decisions taken during the previous summit meeting on the opening of a United States commercial office in Moscow and a USSR trade representation in Washington as well as the establishment of a US-Soviet Commercial and Economic Council. They expressed their desire to continue to bring about favorable conditions for the successful development of commercial and economic relations between the USA and the USSR.

Both Sides confirmed their interest in bringing into force at the earliest possible time the US-Soviet trade agreement of October 1972.

Desirous of promoting the further expansion of economic relations between the two countries, the two Sides signed a Long-Term Agreement to Facilitate Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation between the USA and the USSR. They believe that a consistent implementation of the cooperation embodied in the Agreement over the ten-year period will be an important factor in strengthening bilateral relations in general and will benefit the peoples of both countries.

Having reviewed the progress in carrying out the Agreement Regarding Certain Maritime Matters concluded in October 1972 for a period of three years, and based on the experience accumulated thus far, the two Sides expressed themselves in favor of concluding before its expiration a new agreement in this field. Negotiations concerning such an agreement will commence this year.

V. PROGRESS IN OTHER FIELDS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

Having reviewed the progress in the implementation of the cooperative agreements concluded in 1972-1973, both Sides noted the useful work done by joint American-Soviet committees and working groups established under those agreements in developing regular contacts and cooperation between scientific and technical organizations, scientists, specialists and cultural personnel of both countries.

The two Sides note with satisfaction that joint efforts by the USA and USSR in such fields of cooperation as medical science and public health, protection and improvement of man's environment, science and technology, exploration of outer space and the world ocean, peaceful uses of atomic energy, agriculture and transportation create conditions for an accelerated solution of some urgent and complicated problems facing mankind.

Such cooperation makes a substantial contribution to the development of the structure of American-Soviet relations, giving it a more concrete positive content.

Both Sides will strive to broaden and deepen their cooperation in science and technology as well as cultural exchanges on the basis of agreements concluded between them.

On the basis of positive experience accumulated in their scientific and technological cooperation and guided by the desire to ensure further progress in this important sphere of their mutual relations, the two Sides decided to extend such cooperation to the following new areas.

Energy

Taking into consideration the growing energy needs of industry, transportation and other branches of the economies of both countries and the consequent need to intensify scientific and technical cooperation in the development of optimal methods of utilizing traditional and new sources of energy, and to improve the understanding of the energy programs and problems of both countries, the two Sides concluded an agreement on cooperation in the field of energy. Responsibility for the implementation of the Agreement is entrusted to a US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in Energy, which will be established for that purpose.

Housing and Other Construction

The two Sides signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of housing and other construction. The aim of this Agreement is to promote the solution by joint effort of problems related to modern techniques of housing and other construction along such lines as the improvement of the reliability and quality of buildings and building materials, the planning and construction of new towns, construction in seismic areas and areas of extreme climatic conditions. For the implementation of this Agreement there will be established a Joint US-USSR Committee on Cooperation in Housing and Other Construction which will determine specific working programs.

For the purpose of enhancing the safety of their peoples living in earthquake-prone areas, the two Sides agreed to undertake on a priority basis a joint research project to increase the safety of buildings and other structures in these areas and, in particular, to study the behavior of pre-fabricated residential structures during earthquakes.

Artificial Heart Research

In the course of the implementation of joint programs in the field of medical science and public health, scientists and specialists of both countries concluded that there is a need to concentrate their efforts on the solution of one of the most important and humane problems of modern medical science, development of an artificial heart. In view of the great theoretical and technical complexity of the work involved, the two Sides concluded a special agreement on the subject. The US-USSR Joint Committee for Health Cooperation will assume responsibility for this project.

Cooperation in Space

The two Sides expressed their satisfaction with the successful preparations for the first joint manned flight of the American and Soviet spacecraft, Apollo and Soyuz, which is scheduled for 1975 and envisages their docking and mutual visits of the astronauts in each other's spacecraft. In accordance with existing agreements fruitful cooperation is being carried out in a number of other fields related to the exploration of outer space.

Attaching great importance to further American-Soviet cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, including the development of safety systems for manned flights in space, and considering the desirability of consolidating experience in this field, the two Sides agreed to continue to explore possibilities for further joint space projects following the US-USSR space flight now scheduled for July 1975.

Transport of the Future

Aware of the importance of developing advanced modes of transportation, both Sides agreed that high-speed ground systems of the future, including a magnetically levitated train, which can provide economical, efficient, and reliable forms of transportation, would be a desirable and innovative area for joint activity. A working group to develop a joint research cooperation program in this area under the 1973 Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Transportation will be established at the Fall meeting of the Joint US-USSR Transportation Committee.

Environmental Protection

Desiring to expand cooperation in the field of environmental protection, which is being successfully carried out under the US-USSR Agreement signed on May 23, 1972, and to contribute to the implementation of the "Man and the Biosphere" international program conducted on the initiative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), both Sides agreed to designate in the territories of their respective countries certain natural areas as biosphere reserves for protecting valuable plant and animal genetic strains and ecosystems, and for conducting scientific research needed for more effective actions concerned with global environmental protection. Appropriate work for the implementation of this undertaking will be conducted in conformity with the goals of the UNESCO program and under the auspices of the previously established US-USSR Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection.

Cultural Exchanges

The two Parties, aware of the importance of cultural exchanges as a means of promoting mutual understanding, express satisfaction with the agreement between the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City and the Ministry of Culture of the USSR leading to a major exchange of works of art. Such an exchange would be in accordance with the General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation signed July 19, 1973, under which the parties agreed to render assistance for the exchange of exhibitions between the museums of the two countries.

Establishment of New Consulates

Taking into consideration the intensive development of ties between the US and the USSR and the importance of further expanding consular relations on the basis of the US-USSR Consular Convention, and desiring to promote trade, tourism and cooperation between them in various areas, both Sides agreed to open additional Consulates General in two or three cities of each country.

As a first step they agreed in principle to the simultaneous establishment of a United States Consulate General in Kiev and a USSR Consulate General in New York. Negotiations for implementation of this agreement will take place at an early date.

Both Sides highly appreciate the frank and constructive atmosphere and fruitful results of the talks held between them in the course of the present meeting. They are convinced that the results represent a new and important milestone along the road of improving relations between the USA and the USSR to the benefit of the peoples of both countries, and a significant contribution to their efforts aimed at strengthening world peace and security.

Having again noted in this connection the exceptional importance and great practical usefulness of US-Soviet summit meetings, both Sides reaffirmed their agreement to hold such meetings regularly and when considered necessary for the discussion and solution of urgent questions. Both Sides also expressed their readiness to continue their active and close contacts and consultations.

The President extended an invitation to General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, to pay an official visit to the United States in 1975. This invitation was accepted with pleasure.

RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States of America

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee CPSU

NOTE: The joint communique was signed at a ceremony in St. Vladimir Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace on Wednesday, July 3, 1974.

United States-Soviet Summit Meeting

Remarks of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger at His News Conference at the Conclusion of the President's Visit to the Soviet Union. July 3, 1974

I thought I would give you a brief summary of the summit as we see it, and I think the best way to start is to look at it in terms of the press conference in which I tried to explain the purposes of the meeting.

I pointed out that there are three fundamental purposes in these summit meetings. One, for the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to exchange ideas and to check assessments about international affairs in general. The necessity for this arises because as the two nations capable of destroying humanity, they have a special obli-

gation to prevent conflicts caused by inadvertence, by miscalculation, by misassessment of each other's motives, examples of which history is replete.

The second is to see whether they can, by meeting the needs of their peoples and of mankind, construct a network of positive relationships that will provide an incentive for moderation and for a beneficial and humane conduct of foreign policy.

The second large objective is to prevent the nuclear arms race and the arms race in general from dominating international affairs, and I want to stress again that this objective is no mean goal and one that will occupy American administrations in the absence of comprehensive agreements for as far into the future as we can see.

It is not only the complexity of the weapons and their destructiveness, it is also the justifications that will have

to be used in each country to sustain large armament programs that will, over a period of time, present a major obstacle to the humane or even safe conduct of foreign policy.

And the third general goal is to identify those areas of common interests, either produced by the nonmilitary aspects of technology or by others or by the nature of modern life in which the Soviet Union and the United States can cooperate and thereby create a perspective on world affairs that recognizes the interdependence of events and the fact that isolation and confrontation are, over a period of time, inimical to progress and inconsistent with human aspirations.

Now, in terms of these three objectives, a great deal of time was spent by the two leaders in reviewing the international situation, and I will get into details when I go through the various documents.

There were the most extensive discussions at that level of the arms race that have ever taken place and with a frankness that would have been considered inconceivable 2 years ago, indeed with an amount of detail that would have been considered violating intelligence codes in previous periods.

So, on the issue of SALT, for example, on which I will have more to say in a few minutes, the words of the communique, that far-reaching and deep conversations took place, are of very profound significance, and in the next phase of the discussions, difficulties cannot be caused by misapprehensions about each other's general intentions and general perceptions of the nature of the strategic environment.

And thirdly, there were a series of agreements, about most of which you have already been briefed, in the field of cooperative relationships.

Now, let me speak for myself about the two areas of arms control and the general review of the international situation.

With respect to arms control, let me cover first the agreements that have been made and then let me talk about the strategic arms limitations talks.

With respect to the agreements that have been made, there are three. The agreement that neither side will build the second ABM site, the agreement on the limited threshold test ban, and thirdly, the agreement to begin negotiations on environmental warfare.

With respect to the first agreement in which both sides forgo the second ABM site, you remember that the permanent agreement on defensive weapons, signed in Moscow in 1972, permitted each of the two countries to maintain two ABM sites, one to defend its capital, the second to defend an ICBM field, provided that field was no closer than 1,300 kilometers to the capital.

The United States at that time opted for a defense of an ICBM field. The Soviet Union opted for a defense of its capital. There were provisions of the number of in-

terceptors and radars that could be maintained at each site, but there is no point in going through these.

The United States and the Soviet Union have now decided to forgo that second ABM site and to maintain only the one ABM site that each currently has which is Moscow for the Soviet Union and an ICBM field for the United States. However, because it was thought desirable to keep some flexibility with respect to which area could be defended, each side is permitted at one time during the course of the agreement and once in a 5-year period, to alter its original decision.

In other words, if the United States should decide that it would prefer to defend Washington rather than the ICBM site, we have the option once in a 5-year period to move from the ICBM site to Washington and equally the Soviet Union has the option of moving once in that 5-year period from Moscow to an ICBM site.

That option, having once been exercised, cannot be exercised the second time. In other words, countries cannot shuttle their ABM sites back and forth between the capital and an ICBM field. Each side, in short, has the option once to reverse its original decision and it may do so once in any 5-year period when the treaty comes up for automatic review.

The significance of this agreement is that it reenforces the original decision implicit in 1972, in fact, explicit in 1972, that neither side would maintain ABM defenses. It makes it even more difficult, if not impossible, to break out of the agreement rapidly, and, in turn, the decision to forgo ABM defenses has profound strategic consequences which are sometimes lost sight of.

You must remember that the original impetus for the multiple warheads derived from the desire or the necessity to overcome ABM defenses and to make sure that the required number of missiles would get through.

In the absence of ABM defenses, the extraordinary number of foreseeable multiple warheads will create a situation in which such terms as superiority should not be lightly thrown around because they may be devoid of any operational meaning.

The notion of nuclear sufficiency of what is necessary under conditions of no ABM defenses requires careful correlation with the number of available warheads. For present purposes, I want to say that any idea that any country can easily achieve strategic superiority is almost devoid, under these conditions, of any operational significance and can only have a numerical significance.

The ABM agreement reenforces the element of strategic stability that was inherent in the original ABM agreement made in 1972. The second agreement on the threshold test ban prohibits underground nuclear explosions above 150 kilotons and will therefore have the tendency to concentrate that competition in the ranges of the lower yield weapons. The date for its going into effect has been put into the future because a number of additional agreements remain to be worked out.

There remains to have an agreement on the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions in which adequate assurance will be given that they will not be used to circumvent the intention of the agreement, and there is an agreement in principle that the inspection of peaceful nuclear explosion, among other things, will involve prior notification, precise definition of the time and place, and the presence of observers which is a major step forward in our discussions.

The second subject that will require further discussion is the exchange of geological information which is needed for the adequate verification of this threshold test ban.

The third area in which an agreement was reached was to begin discussions on the dangers of environmental warfare from the point of view of overcoming these dangers. This is a form of warfare that is in its infancy, the nature of which is not properly understood and which obviously, by definition, can have profound consequences for the future of mankind.

The United States and the Soviet Union, in the near future, will open discussions on this problem of environmental warfare.

In addition to these three agreements, two protocols will be signed on the Standing Consultative Commission, and we will certainly make diplomatic history because it will be the first time that secret agreements are publicly signed. The agreements are being kept secret at the request of the Soviet Union because they involve dismantling procedures for replacement missiles under the interim agreement and the ABM agreement. However, they will be submitted to the appropriate Congressional committees upon our return to the United States.

Let me say a word about the Standing Consultative Commission. The Standing Consultative Commission was created in the 1972 agreement in order to implement the provisions for replacement or destruction of weapons under the two agreements on defensive and offensive weapons.

There is a protocol for defensive weapons, because the United States will have to dismantle some deployments that have taken place at a site which under the agreement we can no longer maintain and the Soviet Union will have to dismantle 15 ABM launchers and associated radars on their test ranges.

Secondly, there is a protocol for offensive weapons which discusses dismantling and replacement procedure under the provisions of the interim agreement where all land-based missiles can be traded in for modern sea-based missiles and where older submarine-launched nuclear missiles can be traded in for newer submarine-launched sea-based missiles.

These are the two protocols that have been the subject of illuminating exchange that took place just before I left the United States.

It must be understood that it was the assignment from the beginning of the Standing Consultative Commission to

work out precise provisions for replacement and dismantling, that for that purpose they had to go into greater technical detail than was the case in the agreement, and that two protocols will be signed, one to implement the defensive provisions, the other to implement the offensive provisions.

They break no new ground, they change no provisions. If I may say so, they close no loopholes, they deal only with the technical implementation of agreements previously reached. They will be submitted to Congressional committees. They are not policy documents. They are technical documents, in implementation of the 1972 agreement, and they are being signed now as a result of work extending over a period of 18 months because it is only now that the replacement provisions are becoming effective due to the fact that the missiles, the ICBM's, did not have to be dismantled until the submarines containing the 741st missile on the Soviet side underwent sea trial.

Now these are the agreements that have been reached.

Now let me say a word about strategic arms limitation talks. As I pointed out prior to our coming here, the Administration considers the problem of strategic arms limitation one of the central issues of our time. It is one of the central issues because if it runs unchecked the number of warheads will reach proportions astronomical compared to the time when Armageddon seemed near, when there were something less than 1,000 warheads on both sides.

It is important because a perception may grow that these warheads will provide a capability which will not be sustained by any systematic analysis, but because in any event they bring about a gap between the perceived first and second strike capabilities which in itself will fuel a constantly accelerating arms race.

Now the problem we face in these discussions is that under the interim agreement the Soviet Union possesses more missiles, though if you add together the total number of launchers, that is to say, strategic bombers, there is no significant gap, and after all, it was not the Soviet Union that made us build bombers, that was our own decision, and therefore, an attempt has been made to establish a correlation between the number of MIRV missiles and the number of launchers in which perhaps to some extent the larger numbers of missiles on one side can be offset by a larger number of MIRV's on the other.

The difficulty with this approach has been the limited time frame within which it was attempted to be implemented so that during the maximum deployment period it would not be clear whether any of these limitations would not simply be to provide a base for a breakout when the agreement lapsed.

Therefore, the two leaders have decided that the principal focus of the discussions would not be on a brief extension of the interim agreement tied to an equally brief MIRV agreement, but to see whether the three factors,

time, quantity of launchers, and quantity of warheads cannot be related in a more constructive and stabilizing fashion over a longer period of time, that is to say, by 1985.

And in the context, some of the difficulty of relating the various asymmetries in number can be taken care of and a stability can be perhaps achieved in deployment rates that would remove, to a considerable extent, the insecurities inherent in an unchecked arms race.

As the communique says, the two sides will reconvene their delegations in Geneva on the basis of this approach and on the basis of instructions growing out of the summit meeting.

With respect to the review of the international situation implicit in the communique, I think I will confine myself to a few observations and primarily answer your questions.

The basic purpose of this review was, as I have pointed out, to attempt to avoid miscalculation and where possible, bring about cooperative action.

In Europe, the principal focus were two subjects: the European Security Conference and the mutual balanced force reductions.

With respect to the European Security Conference, the United States repeated its position, which is that we are prepared to have that security conference end at the summit level if the results of the conference warrant it, and that we would believe that such a conference, with adequate results, could make a contribution to European security.

That phrase has been used by Western statesmen now for 2 years, and it will not in itself advance matters until we can define for ourselves what results we constitute

justifying a summit conference. We have put that question to our European allies at Ottawa, discussions of it have begun in Brussels, and we hope to be able to have at least a Western answer to this in the relatively near future.

[At this point, the Secretary read the Middle East section of the communique, printed on page 758.]

Finally, the communique lists the area of bilateral relations that have already been covered in previous briefings on which separate agreements were signed. In addition to the ones that have been signed, there will be additional cooperation in space and technology of high-speed transportation and in the area of environmental protection where both sides will create biosphere areas, that is, areas which are kept free of the encroachment of modern technology to use for purposes of comparison with areas in which major environmental problems are posed.

Now, these are the main outlines of the conference and of the agreements that have been signed. They should be seen in the context of what is now and what will remain for the decades ahead, the problem of preserving the peace, namely, that the United States and the Soviet Union make every honorable effort to avoid the catastrophe of war, and every endeavor to improve the lot of humanity, and that for this purpose the regular meeting of their leaders—which the communique points out can be supplemented for special occasions between the yearly intervals that have been set—performs an essential role.

NOTE: Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler introduced Secretary Kissinger at 10:10 a.m. at the Intourist Hotel, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Following his opening remarks, Secretary Kissinger answered reporters' questions. The White House press release also included the question-and-answer session.

REPORT TO THE NATION

The President's Remarks at Loring Air Force Base, Maine, Following His Return From Belgium and the Soviet Union, With Welcoming Remarks by the Vice President. July 3, 1974

THE VICE PRESIDENT. *Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:*

It is a very high honor and a very great privilege for me to welcome you home again and to say what better way could the American people celebrate our 198th Fourth of July than with the assurance that you bring our world a little safer and a little saner tonight than it was when you left.

You know, Mr. President, that it was my life-long goal to be Speaker of the House of Representatives until you upset it last October. The great State of Maine has given us two very distinguished Republican Speakers during the 19th century, and I would like to recall something Speaker Tom Reed said almost prophetically here in 1885, and I quote, "The reason why the race of man moves so slowly," Speaker Reed said, "is because it must move all together."

From your first mission to Moscow, Mr. President, in the days that you had the job that I now have, you have seen the global dimension of peace and pursued it with patience, preparation, and performance.

As our President, you have not only demonstrated the truth of Speaker Reed's observation but you have permitted us to see much of mankind moving slowly, but perceptibly, all together in the direction of peace.

Your strategy for peace, Mr. President, has been bold but never rash, courageous but never foolhardy, tough but never rude, gentle but never soft. One by one, from China through Southeast Asia, through the Middle East, through the Soviet Union, through the NATO Alliance, you have emplaced the building blocks of a solid foundation for a better understanding of international relations than we have had in our lifetime and perhaps in the history of our country.

Permit me to say, Mr. President, and say particularly to Mrs. Nixon, who has been your faithful partner throughout literally millions and millions of miles of air travel, and sometimes on her own, that she has charmed and captivated both the officials and the citizens of every country she has visited and surely is entitled to be saluted in her own right again as First Lady of the World.

Mr. President, I wished you Godspeed last week and urged all of our countrymen to pray for you, for your safety and success on this historic mission. My prayers, and those of our fellow countrymen, have been answered many-fold. I cannot escape the conclusion that the Biblical injunction, "Blessed are the peacemakers," has again been confirmed.

Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Vice President, I want to express appreciation not only on my own behalf but also on Mrs. Nixon's behalf for your very gracious and generous words.

Governor Curtis and Mrs. Curtis and to all of our friends here in Maine, I want to thank you for giving us such a splendid welcome as we return.

I know that as I see cars parked what a real effort it is to come out to an air base. It took a lot of time, and we appreciate that effort, and we thank you very much.

To each and every one of you, and to perhaps millions who are listening on television and radio, I can assure you of one thing, and that is, it is always good to come home to America. That is particularly so when one comes home from a journey that has advanced the cause of peace in the world.

We left Moscow earlier today, and as we did there were hundreds of United States and Soviet flags flying side by side, and I thought of the fact that tomorrow millions of Americans will be flying the flag from their homes on the Fourth of July. And you will be flying those flags proudly because of what it means in your own lives and in our lives and also because of what our flag means in the world. We can be very proud of the American flag all over the world today.

I thought also of how much more that flag means to the world because of the role the United States has been playing in building a structure of peace from which all nations can benefit, a role which was symbolized so dramatically by those flags flying side by side in the Soviet Union.

Our generation, which has known so much war and destruction—four wars in this century—now has an opportunity to build for the next generation a structure of peace in which we hope war will have no part whatever.

This is the great task before us, and this is the greatest task in which any people could be summoned. In the past month, Mrs. Nixon and I have traveled over 25,000 miles visiting nine countries in Western Europe and the Middle East, as well as, of course, the Soviet Union. The visit to each of these areas had a separate purpose but in a larger sense all of these visits were directed toward the same purpose, and they are all interacted and interconnected.

Among the nations of the Middle East, among those of the Western Alliance, and between the United States and the Soviet Union, new patterns are emerging, patterns that hold out to the world the brightest hopes in a generation for a just and lasting peace that all of us can enjoy.

In the Middle East a generation of bitter hostility, punctuated by four wars, is now giving way to a new spirit in which both sides are searching earnestly for the keys to a peaceful resolution of their differences.

In the Western Alliance, 25 years after NATO was founded, there has been given a new birth, a new life to that organization as embodied in the Declaration on Atlantic Relations that we signed 7 days ago in Brussels at the NATO heads-of-government meeting before going on to Moscow. In the series of United States-Soviet summits that we began in 1972, we have been charting a new relationship between the world's two most powerful nations, a new relationship which is designed to insure that these two nations will work together in peace rather than to confront each other in an atmosphere of distrust and tension, which could lead, if it were not corrected, to war.

At this year's summit, we advanced further the relationship that we began two years ago in Moscow and that we continued at last year's summit in the United States. In the communique we issued earlier today in Moscow, both sides committed themselves to this goal, the imperative necessity of making the process of improving United States-Soviet relations irreversible.

This sums up what the whole broad pattern of our expanding range of agreements is designed to achieve, to make the improvement not just a one-day headline, not just a one-day sensation, but a continuing, irreversible process that will build its own momentum and will develop into a permanent peace.

At this year's meeting, we reached a number of important agreements both in the field of arms limitation and also in the field of peaceful cooperation. In the field of arms limitation, three of the agreements we reached are of special note. One of those involves the exceedingly difficult question of offensive strategic nuclear arms, and this base, as we know, is involved in that particular kind of operation.

Two years ago we signed an interim agreement on offensive strategic weapons covering the 5-year period until 1977. This year we decided that this interim agreement should be followed by a new agreement to cover the period until 1985. We agreed that this should deal with both quantitative and qualitative aspects of strategic nuclear weapons, that it should be concluded well above and well before, I should say, the expiration of the present agreement.

We also agreed that the extensive work we have already done toward hammering out such a long-range agreement should go forward at Geneva in the immediate future on the basis of instructions growing out of our talks at the highest level during the past week.

Now, the two sides have not yet reached a final accord on the terms of an agreement. This is a difficult and a very complex subject, but we did bring such an accord significantly closer, and we committed both sides firmly to the resolution of our remaining differences.

The second important arms control agreement that we reached deals with the anti-ballistic missile systems. You will recall that 2 years ago we agreed that each country should be limited to two ABM sites. The agreement we signed earlier today in Moscow strengthens and extends the scope of that earlier measure by restricting each country to one ABM site.

And then the third arms limitation agreement deals with underground testing of nuclear weapons. It extends significantly the earlier steps toward limiting tests that began with the 1963 test-ban treaty. That original treaty barred the signatories from conducting tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater. Today, we concluded a new treaty that for the first time will also cover tests underground. It will bar both the Soviet Union and the United States, after March 31, 1976, from conducting any underground test of weapons above a certain explosive power, and it will also require both countries to keep tests of weapons below that power to the very minimum number.

This is not only another major step toward bringing the arms race under control, it is also a significant additional step toward reducing the number of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions in the world.

Now, arms limitations, of course, are enormously and crucially important, but the work of these summit meetings is much broader, just as the nature of the new United States-Soviet relationship is much broader. This year, the important new agreements we reached in the area of peaceful progress included new programs for cooperation between our two countries in energy, in housing, in health, and also an agreement on long-term economic cooperation designed to facilitate increasing mutually beneficial trade between our two countries.

The significance of these agreements goes beyond the advances each will bring to its particular field, just as the significance of our summit meetings goes beyond the individual agreements themselves. With this growing network of agreements, we are creating new habits of cooperation and new patterns of consultation, and we are also giving the people of the Soviet Union, as well as our own people in the United States, not just a negative but a positive stake in peace.

We are creating a stable new base on which to build peace, not just through the fear of war but through sharing the benefits of peace, of working together for a better life for the people of both of our countries.

The United States-Soviet agreements at the summit contribute importantly to the structure of peace we are trying to build between our two countries and in the world. The continued strength of the Western Alliance is also an essential and major element of that structure and, so too,

is the development of a new pattern of relationships and a new attitude toward peace in areas of tension such as the Middle East.

The fact that the NATO meeting in Brussels came midway between the trip to the Middle East and the one to the Soviet Union is symbolic of the central role that the Western Alliance must play in building the new structure of peace.

It is clearly understood by the leaders of the Soviet Union that in forging the new relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, we will not proceed at the expense of traditional allies. On the contrary, the continued strength of the Western Alliance is essential to the success and to the process in which we are engaged of maintaining and developing the new relationship to the Soviet Union.

The development of that new relationship provides an opportunity to deepen the unity of the Western Alliance. We must not neglect our alliances, and we must not assume that our new relationship with the Soviet Union allows us to neglect our own military strength. It is because we are strong that such a relationship that we are now developing is possible.

In his first annual message to the Congress, George Washington said, "To be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace." That statement is true today as it was then, and that is why all of you who are serving in our Armed Forces today are actually serving in the peace forces for America and the world. We thank you for your service.

We are prepared, we in the United States, to reduce our military strength but only through a process in which that reduction is mutual and one that does not diminish the security of the United States of America. It is to that end that we have been working.

Twenty-five years ago when the NATO Treaty was signed, it was called "an act of faith in the destiny of Western Civilization." That description was prophetic as well as accurate, and now, 25 years later, we might well say the new structure of peace we are building in the world is an act of faith in the destiny of mankind. Like anything built to be permanent, that structure must be built step by careful step. It must be built solidly. It must be such a structure that those who use it will preserve it because they treasure it, because it responds to their needs, and because it reflects their hopes.

Two years ago in my report to the Congress on returning from the first of the United States-Soviet summits, I expressed the hope that historians of some future age will write of the year 1972, not that this was the year America went up to the summit and then down to the depths of the valley again, but that this was the year when America helped to lead the world up out of the lowlands of war and on to the high plateau of lasting peace.

And now, 2 years, two summits later, the realization of that hope has been brought closer. The process of peace is going steadily forward. It is strengthened by the new and expanding patterns of cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is reinforced by the new vitality of our Western Alliance and bringing such encouraging results as the new turn toward peace in the Middle East.

In all of our travels, to which the Vice President has referred, one message has come through more clearly than any other. We have seen millions and millions of people over these past few weeks, and, from their faces as well as the words of those we have seen and the thousands we have met in every part of the world, this is the message, and that is, that the desire to end war, to build peace is one that knows no national boundaries and that unites people everywhere.

Something else also comes through very loud and very clear: The people of the nations that we visited—and we saw them, as I have indicated, not only by the thousands but by the millions—want to be friends of the American people and we reciprocate. We want to be their friends, too.

In the early years of our Nation's history, after America had won its independence, Thomas Jefferson said: We act not just for ourselves alone but for the whole human race.

As we prepare tomorrow to celebrate the anniversary of that independence, the 198th anniversary, we as Americans can be proud that we have been true to Jefferson's vision and that, as a result of America's initiative, that universal goal of peace is now closer, closer not only for ourselves but for all mankind.

Thank you very much and good evening.

NOTE: The Vice President spoke at 7:37 p.m. at Loring Air Force Base, Maine. The welcoming ceremony and the President's address were broadcast live on radio and television.

Death of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr.

Statement by the President. June 30, 1974

The President and Mrs. Nixon were most distressed to learn of the tragic death of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., the death of one of her parishioners, and the wounding of another.

It is a terrible irony that a family whose devotion to non-violence has so greatly advanced the cause of social justice in the United States should have two of its own members struck down in this fashion.

The President's prayers are with Dr. King, Sr., in this hour of his bereavement, and with the members of the Ebenezer Baptist Church upon whom this tragedy falls with a special force.

NOTE: Mrs. King, 69, was slain by an assailant during services at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ga., on Sunday, June 30, 1974.

The White House later announced that the President had designated Stanley S. Scott, Special Assistant to the President, as his personal representative at funeral services for Mrs. King in Atlanta, Ga., on Wednesday, July 3, 1974. Other members of the official delegation included H.R. Crawford, Assistant Secretary for Housing Management, HUD, and John H. Powell, Jr., Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The statement was released at Washington, D.C., and Oreanda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Juan Domingo Peron

Statement by the President on the Death of the Argentine President. July 1, 1974

Mrs. Nixon and I on behalf of the American people have sent a message of condolence to the wife of former President Peron. We are saddened by the death of the President of the Argentine Republic, Juan Domingo Peron, who was a source of inspiration to his countrymen. At a time when others would have been content to retire from public life he accepted the challenge to return to his country to guide and assist the Argentine people. He dedicated the last years of his life to this task.

NOTE: Juan Domingo Peron was President of the Argentine Republic from 1946 to 1955, and from September 1973 until his death in Buenos Aires on July 1, 1974, at the age of 78.

The White House later announced that the President had designated Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, at funeral services for President Peron in Buenos Aires on Thursday, July 4, 1974. The delegation also included Robert C. Hill, U.S. Ambassador to Argentina, and Jack B. Kubisch, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

The statement was released at Washington, D.C., and Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Supreme Court Case

*Reply Brief Filed by Attorneys for
the President. July 1, 1974*

In the Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1973

Nos. 73-1766 and 73-1834

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PETITIONER

v.

RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
ET AL., RESPONDENTS

RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
CROSS-PETITIONER

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, RESPONDENT

ON WRITS OF CERTIORARI BEFORE JUDGMENT TO THE UNITED
STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
CIRCUIT

REPLY BRIEF FOR THE RESPONDENT, CROSS-PETITIONER
RICHARD M. NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION

The vitally important considerations that must control decision of this case, and that require reversal of the district court, were expressed in the opinion of Chief Justice Chase, for a unanimous Court, in *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 4 Wall. (71 U.S.) 475, 500-501 (1867).

The Congress is the Legislative Department of the government; the President is the Executive Department. Neither can be restrained in its action by the Judicial Department; though the acts of both, when performed, are, in proper cases, subject to its cognizance.

The impropriety of such interference will be clearly seen upon consideration of its possible consequences.

Suppose the bill filed and the injunction prayed for allowed. If the President refuse obedience, it is needless to observe that the court is without power to enforce its process. If, on the other hand, the President complies with the order of

the court and refuses to execute the acts of Congress, is it not clear that a collision may occur between the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government? May not the House of Representatives impeach the President for such refusal? And in that case could this court interfere in behalf of the President, thus endangered by compliance with its mandate, and restrain by injunction the Senate of the United States from sitting as a court of impeachment? Would the strange spectacle be offered to the public wonder of an attempt by this court to arrest proceedings in that court? These questions answer themselves.

It will not do to say, as the Special Prosecutor does, that "the President is the *head* of the Executive Branch. . . ." (S.P.Br. 79) (emphasis in original).¹ Instead, as the Court said in *Johnson*, "the President is the Executive Department." Or, as Chief Justice Taft, also speaking for a unanimous Court, said in *Ex parte Grossman*, 267 U.S. 87, 120 (1925): "The executive power is vested in a President."

Johnson is important also for its recognition of the utter impropriety of this Court becoming involved in the constitutional process of impeachment. Surely this Court can judicially notice the fact that proceedings are underway in the House Judiciary Committee looking to possible impeachment of the President. The late Thomas Reed Powell is said to have defined the legal mind as a mind that can think of one of two things that are inescapably interrelated without thinking about the other. Only those who would accept this cynical view of the legal process would suppose that this case and the investigation in the Judiciary Committee are wholly unrelated, or that this Court can render a decision in this case without that decision having a heavy impact, one way or the other, in the impeachment process that is so clearly committed exclusively to the House and the Senate.

We shall contend, as we did in our initial brief, that, as it was so powerfully put by Judge Wilkey in his dissent in *Nixon v. Sirica*, 487 F. 2d 700, 763-799 (D.C. Cir. 1973), the critical issue is "Who Decides?", and that this Court should affirm the proposition, not seriously challenged for the first 184 years of our constitutional history, that it is for the Chief Executive,

¹"Pres. Br." refers to the President's brief filed with this Court on June 21, 1974. "S.P. Br." refers to the Special Prosecutor's brief filed on the same date. "P.S.A." refers to the President's Sealed Appendix. These references are followed by appropriate pagination.

not for the judicial branch, to decide when the public interest permits disclosure of Presidential discussions.

It was and is the President's right to make that decision initially, and it is the American people who will be the judge as to whether the President has made the right decision, i.e., whether it is or is not in the public interest that the papers (tapes) in question be furnished or retained. If his decision is made on visibly sound grounds, the people will approve the action of the Executive as being in the public interest. If the decision is not visibly on sound grounds of national public interest, in political terms the decision may be ruinous for the President, but it is his to make. The grand design has worked; the separate, independent Branch remains in charge of and responsible for its own papers, processes and decisions, not to a second or third Branch, but it remains *responsible* to the American people. (487 F. 2d at 797) (emphasis in original).

The central point at issue here is not whether the President's judgment in this particular instance is right or wrong, but that it is his judgment. In exercising the discretion vested in him, and in him alone, the President may make a mistaken assessment of what best serves the public interest—but courts also on occasion make mistakes. The President in this exercise of discretion may make a decision that is unpopular—but if so he must suffer the political consequences. The President may even take such action that would constitute a high crime or misdemeanor, but to quote again from Chief Justice Taft in *Ex parte Grossman*, 267 U.S. 87, 121 (1925): "Exceptional cases like this, if to be imagined at all, would suggest a resort to impeachment rather than to a narrow and strained construction of the general powers of the President."

These are the themes we will develop in the balance of this Reply Brief.²

² Having already submitted a 137-page brief, we regret burdening the Court with so lengthy a reply. We have endeavored so far as possible to avoid repetition, and do not, by failing to renew all of the points made in our initial brief, withdraw any of those. But the case is both important and unique, and because of the briefing schedule ordered by the Court this is the first opportunity we have had to respond to the arguments of the petitioner.

We agree with the statement of the Special Prosecutor (Supplemental Brief, June 21, 1974 at 5) that the application of *Brady v. Maryland*, 373 U.S. 83 (1963) to privileged materials not in the prosecutor's possession is not properly before this Court. See Sup. Ct. Rule 23(1)(c); *Andrews v. Louisville &*

I. THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR HAS FAILED TO ESTABLISH ANY BASIS FOR THE JURISDICTION OF THE DISTRICT COURT

In our initial submission we argued that the courts lack jurisdiction over an internal dispute of a co-equal branch of government (Pres. Br. 27-44) and that such an intra-branch dispute is preeminently a political question and outside the scope of Article III. (Pres. Br. 44-48).

Primarily, the Special Prosecutor appears to allege jurisdiction on two grounds: (1) that this is not an intra-branch dispute, for in all criminal proceedings, the Attorney General does not represent the executive branch but rather the United States as a sovereign entity; and (2) even if the Special Prosecutor is an inseparable part of the executive branch, the delegation of authority and independence given to him by Acting Attorney General Bork is, in itself, sufficient to create jurisdiction in this matter. (S.P. Br. 24-47). As we now show however, both arguments fail to withstand analysis.

In an attempt to negate the intra-executive nature of this dispute, the Special Prosecutor repeatedly asserts that he, as the alter ego of the Attorney General, does not represent the President or the executive branch in a criminal proceeding but rather the United States as a distinct sovereign entity. (S.P. Br. 27-29).³ Such an argument is without merit for there is no sovereign entity distinct from the three recognized branches of the government. Nor, as a practical matter, is the Attorney General unique in his capacity to act in the name of the United States, for most, if not all federal actions are performed in the name of "the United States," the ultimate symbol of this nation's sovereignty. To suggest that a governmental action is not a judicial, executive or legislative action, simply because it is taken in the name of the United States, is to confuse the basic symbol of the government with the functional divisions of its authority. The term

Nashville R. Co., 406 U.S. 320, 324-325 (1972); *Namet v. United States*, 373 U.S. 179, 190 (1963); *Mazer v. Stein*, 347 U.S. 201, 206 n. 5 (1954); see generally R. Stern & E. Gressman, *Supreme Court Practice* 297-298 (4th ed. 1969).

³ This argument is premised upon 28 U.S.C. 516 which provides:

Except as otherwise authorized by law, the conduct of litigation in which the United States, an agency, or officer thereof is a party, or is interested, and securing evidence therefor, is reserved to officers of the Department of Justice, under the direction of the Attorney General.

"United States" does not refer to a separate entity but is a composite description of the three independent and co-equal branches of the government. Within their respective roles, each coordinate branch acts in the name of the United States. Thus, it is of no distinguishing consequence that the Attorney General or the Special Prosecutor invokes the name of the United States in conducting a criminal prosecution. Nor does this invocation divest the Attorney General or the Special Prosecutor of their status as subordinate officers within the executive branch of government.⁴

To accept the Special Prosecutor's position that there is, in essence, an independent branch of the government known as the United States, would make meaningless the delegation of authority and balance of power existing between the three branches, and destroy the tripartite form of government established by the Framers. It would create an additional fourth branch of the government with its own independently derived authority, entitled to its own representation in court and responsible to none of the other branches. Such a proposition is without logical or constitutional merit.

Alternatively, by tracing the statutory authority of the Attorney General, the Special Prosecutor at pp. 27-29, 35-36, 40-42 of his Brief appears to be suggesting to this Court that there may be some legislative basis for his authority akin to a legislative regulatory agency,⁵ which would nullify the claim that the present dispute is intra-executive in nature. He summarizes his position as follows: in discharging his responsibilities, "the Special Prosecutor does not act as a mere agent-at-will of the President. He enjoys an independent authority derived from constitutional delegations of authority by the Congress to the Attorney General and from the Attorney General to him . . ." (S.P. Br. 34).

⁴ The Special Prosecutor's assertion that he acts not "in the President's name or at his behest" (S.P. Br. 34) is effectively negated in his own statement of facts where he acknowledges that on October 26, 1973, the President announced that a new Special Prosecutor would be appointed and emphasized that he, the President, had no greater interest than seeing that the Special Prosecutor has the independence he needs to prosecute the guilty and clear the innocent. (S.P. Br. 10)

⁵ *United States v. Interstate Commerce Commission*, 337 U.S. 426 (1949). This case has been fully discussed by us (Pres. Br. 37-38) and that discussion is equally applicable to *Secretary of Agriculture v. United States*, 350 U.S. 163 (1956), which also involves a suit by an executive department against the Interstate Commerce Commission.

We do not contest the Special Prosecutor's assertion that his authority is derived from the Attorney General, but it is precisely this derivation of authority that conclusively establishes the executive nature of the office he holds. The Attorney General can only delegate to a subordinate officer the same authority and status he himself possesses. Thus, even as the alter ego of the Attorney General in a particular matter, the Special Prosecutor is necessarily vested with the same executive status, and no more. To assert that either the Attorney General, an executive cabinet member, or any subordinate officer within the Department of Justice, acts in a legislative or even quasi-legislative capacity when conducting a criminal prosecution is so contrary to the settled law as not to warrant further comment. It remains only to be said that all executive departments exist with some statutory basis, but this does not in anyway alter the exclusively executive nature of their duties and responsibilities. As we pointed out at the beginning, "the President is the Executive Department." The Attorney General is but "the hand of the President." *Ponzi v. Fessenden*, 358 U.S. 254, 262 (1922). He is the agent of the President, and any direction given by him is but a direction by the President. *Confiscation Cases*, 7 Wall. (74 U.S.) 454 (1869). Article II, section 3, imposes on the President the duty to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed," and though the President ordinarily acts through the Attorney General and his subordinates, they are acting for the President, not for the legislative branch.⁶ Con-

⁶ In *Runkle v. United States*, 122 U.S. 543, 557 (1886), this Court stated:

There can be no doubt that the President, in the exercise of his executive power under the Constitution, may act through the head of the appropriate executive department. The heads of departments are his authorized assistants in the performance of his executive duties, and their official acts, promulgated in the regular course of business, are presumptively his acts. That has been many times decided by this court. *Wilcox v. Jackson*, 13 Pet. 498, 513; *United States v. Eliason*, 16 Pet. 291, 302; *Confiscation Cases*, 20 Wall. 92, 109; *United States v. Farden*, 99 U.S. 10, 19; *Wolsey v. Chapman*, 101 U.S. 755, 769.

In addition, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in *Smith v. United States*, 375 F. 2d 243, 246 (5th Cir. 1967) stated:

The President of the United States is charged in Article 2, Section 3, of the Constitution with the duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed. . ." The Attorney General is the President's surrogate in the prosecution of all offenses against the United States.

sequently, the Special Prosecutor, like the Attorney General, must be considered an executive officer engaged in the exclusive performance of an executive function, namely the prosecution of individuals charged with criminal activities. Thus, neither under the legislative theory nor the sovereign entity theory proposed by the Special Prosecutor has he demonstrated that the present dispute is anything more than an intra-executive dispute beyond the jurisdiction of the district court.⁷

Finally, the Special Prosecutor alleges that the delegation of authority to him by Acting Attorney General Bork, combined with the repeated assurances that he would be free to carry out his responsibilities, confers jurisdiction upon the court to resolve the instant dispute.⁸ Such an argument fails for three fundamental reasons. First, the Judiciary has never had jurisdiction to review or determine what evidence the executive branch shall or shall not use in the furtherance of its own case in a criminal proceeding. See, e.g., *United States v. Cox*, 342 F. 2d 167 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 381 U.S. 935 (1965). The responsibility for making this determination has always been within the executive branch, and includes the power to balance and determine what confidential governmental materials would, if disclosed, be detrimental to the public interest. A decision by the executive branch not to use a particular document, even one which tends to support its own burden of proof in a criminal prosecution, has not been and is not a proper subject for judicial review. (Pres. Br. 39-41).

Second, such a decision is exclusively within the duties and responsibilities delegated by the Constitution to the Chief Executive, for he alone was vested

⁷ The Special Prosecutor erroneously cites this Court's decision in *Sampson v. Murray*, 414 U.S. 904 (1974), for the proposition that the district court has jurisdiction to intervene in an intra-branch dispute. That case is however totally inapplicable for it involved a suit by a private citizen against the United States Civil Service Commission alleging that the individual had been erroneously discharged from federal employment.

⁸ The Special Prosecutor correctly asserts, at some length, that a federal regulation has the force and effect of law and is therefore binding upon the parties. *Accardi v. Shaughnessy*, 347 U.S. 260, 266-267 (1954). However, by raising the question of the jurisdictional basis for the district court's action, Counsel for the President cannot be said to be acting in violation of the Special Prosecutor's rights under 38 Fed. Reg. 30, 738 (1973), nor interfering with the independence granted to the Special Prosecutor to carry out those responsibilities delegated to him, for both parties are under an independent obligation to this Court to discuss the jurisdictional aspects of the present proceeding.

with the obligation to see "that the Laws be faithfully executed." U.S. Const. Article II, section 3. Unless the President has delegated his authority to a subordinate officer, the President's decision in such matters is final, and an improper subject for judicial review.⁹

Third, there has been no delegation of this responsibility by the President to the Attorney General or the Special Prosecutor in the instant case.¹⁰ Nor has the Attorney General attempted to delegate this authority to the Special Prosecutor.¹¹ This conclusion is fully supported by the brief filed by the Special Prosecutor before this Court, for there is a notable absence of any claim by the Special Prosecutor that he was, in fact, delegated the President's responsibility to weigh the public interest in determining what presidential material shall or shall not be used in this proceeding. Since this responsibility was retained by the President, there can be no basis for a claim that the President acted beyond the scope of his constitutional authority in determining not to use certain presidential material in this case. In so doing, as Professor Bickel pointed out, he is simply "exercising the lawful powers of his office, which he may do until removed upon impeachment and conviction." *New York Times*, June 3, 1974, p. 30. Because this decision is clearly within the prosecutorial discretion vested in the executive branch, and in particular in the Chief Executive, the district court is without jurisdiction to review this determination.

The district court's lack of jurisdiction was not altered, as the Special Prosecutor suggests, merely because he may "determine whether or not to contest the assertions of executive privilege or any other testimonial privilege." 38 Fed. Reg. 30, 738 (1973). In this suit, the Special Prosecutor is merely asking this

⁹ There is no merit to either the contention that the President is without authority to direct or control the actions of a subordinate officer or that his control is limited to his ability to discharge an executive employee. (S.P. Br. 35). Even the authority relied upon by the Special Prosecutor, 2 Op. Att'y Gen. 483 (1831) acknowledges the President's right to direct the actions of a subordinate officer.

Upon the whole, I consider the district attorney as under the control and direction of the President, in the institution and prosecution of suits in the name and on behalf of the United States; and that it is within the legitimate power of the President to direct him to institute or to discontinue a pending suit, and to point out to him his duty, whenever the interest of the United States is directly or indirectly concerned. 2 Op. Att'y Gen. 487 (1831).

¹⁰ See Pres. Br. 29 n. 14.

¹¹ See Pres. Br. 43 n. 31.

Court to determine whether the Chief Executive was correct in determining that certain executive materials should not, in the public interest, be used to further this prosecution. However, neither the President, the Attorney General, or the Special Prosecutor, by agreement or otherwise, can foist upon the courts the executive branch's own responsibility for determining the advisability of using certain executive materials in the furtherance of its own case. Nor, through judicial review, can the executive branch compel the court to resolve or determine the wisdom of a discretionary decision made by the Chief Executive when it is within the bounds of his constitutional authority. Therefore, not even through the mechanism of a lesser official like the Special Prosecutor, can the executive or the legislative branch confer jurisdiction upon the courts to review any discretionary determinations, solely within their respective spheres. In this regard, even the Special Prosecutor is forced to concede that neither "the President nor the Department of Justice could confer jurisdiction on the courts when such jurisdiction is constitutionally impermissible." (S.P. Br. 42). In all circumstances it is constitutionally impermissible for a district court to review a decision by the executive branch, especially the Chief Executive, that it will not use a particular document even to the benefit of its own case. Accordingly, the Special Prosecutor has failed to establish any basis for the district court's jurisdiction to intervene in this intra-branch dispute for the purpose of reviewing a prosecutorial decision made by the Chief Executive in the course of a criminal proceeding.¹²

II. A CONSTITUTIONAL ASSERTION OF A PRESIDENTIAL PRIVILEGE IS NOT REVIEWABLE BY THIS COURT

We deem it important to emphasize three points: (1) The issue at stake is presidential privilege, founded in

¹² We find no necessity to repeat our position as to the power of the Court to entertain and determine a political question. (Pres. Br. 44-48). However, there is one point that must be emphasized. Since *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 4 Wall. (71 U.S.) 475 (1867), this Court has correctly been reluctant to intervene in political questions involving discretionary decisions that are properly the sole prerogative of a coordinate branch of government. No dispute could more clearly entangle this Court in a "political question" than the present dispute, which unquestionably affects the ongoing impeachment inquiry, and thus would be an intrusion by the Judiciary on the Legislature as well as the Executive. Only last week the Court refused to "distort the role of the Judiciary in its relationship to the Executive and the Legislature. . . ." *Schlesinger v. Reservists Committee to Stop the War*, — U.S. —, No. 72-1188, Slip Op. p. 19 (June 25, 1974).

the Constitution, relating to conversations of the President with his closest advisers, not the concept of executive privilege as it may be generally applicable to persons in the executive branch and under other circumstances; (2) The resolution of this issue lies in an analysis of the design of our government as a whole and its development, including but not limited to that of judicial precedents¹³ (Pres. Br. 54-68); and (3) We repeat: "Significantly, the precise issue of the 'absoluteness' of executive privilege, as applied to presidential communications, has never been squarely confronted and definitely resolved by this Court." (Pres. Br. 51). To the extent there exists relevant judicial precedent, it supports the President's position. (Pres. Br. 74-82).

Because of the nature of the privilege asserted by the President, the bald statement of the Special Prosecutor that ". . . this Court has squarely rejected the claim that the Executive has absolute, unreviewable discretion to withhold documents from the courts" (S.P. Br. 18) is unsound. The mainstay of the Special Prosecutor's position, *United States v. Reynolds*, 345 U.S. 1 (1953), sustained, without the necessity of judicial inspection, a claim of privilege made on national security grounds by the Secretary of the Air Force.¹⁴ Regardless of what principles may be extracted from that case, one thing is clear: the Court did not decide any constitutional issues. In summarizing *Reynolds*, (S.P. Br. 54), the Special Prosecutor omitted the language of Chief Justice Vinson, which reveals the true nature of the case:

Both positions have constitutional overtones which we find it unnecessary to pass upon, there being a narrower ground for decision. . . .

. . . Since Rule 34 compels production only of matters 'not privileged,' the essential question is whether there was a valid claim of privilege under the Rule. . . . We think it should be clear that the term 'not privileged' as used in Rule 34, refers to 'privileges' as that term is understood in the law of evidence. (345 U.S. at 6).

¹³ See Winter, *Watergate and The Law* 54-55 (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research 1974)

¹⁴ It should also be noted that the Court felt the necessity for the evidence sought was dubious. 345 U.S. at 11. In circumstances strikingly similar to those of the present case, it was noted that the Government had offered to make available, for testimony, the flight crew whose written statements were a prime object of the plaintiffs' discovery motions.

With the exception of *Committee for Nuclear Responsibility, Inc. v. Seaborg*,¹⁵ 463 F. 2d 788 (D.C. Cir. 1971), the other cases relied upon by the Special Prosecutor are for the same reason not relevant to this Court's disposition of the present dispute.

Roviaro v. United States, 353 U.S. 53 (1957), turned on the nature of the "informer's privilege," a government privilege arising out of an interest in effective law enforcement. *Carr v. Monroe Manufacturing Company*, 431 F. 2d 384 (5th Cir. 1970), a racial discrimination case against private and state defendants, dealt with an absolute privilege claim based on a state statute.¹⁶ *Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. v. United States*, 157 F. Supp. 939 (Ct. Cl. 1958), a breach of contract case, involved a claim of executive privilege by the Administrator of the General Services Administration. In language echoing that of this Court in *Reynolds*, the court defined the privilege claimed solely in terms of the law of evidence, with its foundation in custom or statute.¹⁷ The *Seaborg* case involved an attempt by environmentalists to enjoin the explosion of a nuclear underground test by the Atomic Energy Commission. In response to discovery efforts to ascertain whether the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act had been met, the government, through five agency heads, asserted a claim of executive privilege based on constitutional grounds. That claim was summarily rejected by the court of appeals without reference to any judicial precedent or historical analysis.¹⁸ That fact, coupled with the realization that presidential communications were not involved, deprives the holding of that case from exerting any meaningful influence on the precisely-drawn issue which is before this Court.

Our position, contrary to that apparently assumed by the Special Prosecutor (S.P. Br. 49-50), is not at odds with this Court's decision in *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 (1952). The touchstone of that holding was that President Truman's action in directing the seizure of the steel mills

¹⁵ In *Seaborg*, the court stated that in *United States v. Reynolds*, *supra*, the issue of executive privilege based, on the constitutional doctrine of separation of powers, had been noted, but not decided. 463 F. 2d at 793.

¹⁶ The court utilized *Reynolds*, as an analogy, to buttress its decision against absolute privilege. 431 F. 2d at 388.

¹⁷ In *Kaiser*, the court held, without judicial review of the documents requested, that no production was required.

¹⁸ 463 F. 2d at 793. Three of the judges of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit who were part of the majority in *Nixon v. Sirica*, 487 F. 2d 700 (D.C. Cir. 1973) comprised the unanimous Court *Seaborg*.

was not supported by any statutory or constitutional provision or concept; it exceeded all express and inherent power of the Presidency. In contrast, President Nixon's action, i.e., his assertion of executive privilege, is based squarely on the Constitution.¹⁹ All the foregoing cases are examples where the Judiciary has reviewed, in varying degrees, claims of privilege exerted by lesser officers in the executive branch of government. Although, as we have shown, they are readily distinguishable from the case at bar, we recognize that a court will necessarily be confronted with similar issues and must review and determine them. In fulfilling its duty to resolve all the issues before it, a court, at times, must exercise its authority in a manner consistent with competing interests, e.g. a claim of privilege against self-incrimination.²⁰ However, in this case the court's duty and authority of review is complete when it determines that the President of the United States has asserted privilege.

Environmental Protection Agency v. Mink, 410 U.S. 73 (1973), deserves comment because of the Special Prosecutor's allusion to it. There the controversy centered around the government's asserted right of non-disclosure of certain documents under a provision of the Freedom of Information Act, a statute exempting from disclosure non-factual intra-agency advisory material. This Court fashioned a method of examination whereby the trial court could separate factual data from exempt material.²¹ In remanding the case, in

¹⁹ See *Soucie v. David*, 448 F. 2d 1067, 1071 n. 9 (D.C. Cir. 1971); (Pres. Br. 49-50). We call the Court's attention to S.P. Br. 57 n. 43, where the Special Prosecutor notes Professor Wright's summary of commentators' skeptical attitude toward the belief that executive privilege is rooted in the Constitution. This Court should be aware of the actual setting of that observation. Professor Wright, in the text, was discussing governmental privileges covered by the proposed Rules of Evidence. He observed: "There [in the proposed rules] is no mention of the general executive privilege and it is to be abolished except to whatever extent it may be required by the Constitution. 8 Wright & Miller, *Federal Practice and Procedure: Civil* § 2019 at 175 (1970) (emphasis added). The footnote that elaborates that textural statement and that encompasses the language cited by the Special Prosecutor has the following remark as its initial thrust:

The Supreme Court has said that the claim of an executive privilege has "constitutional overtones." *U.S. v. Reynolds*, 1953, 73 S. Ct. 528, 531, 345 U.S. 1, 6, * * *

²⁰ See discussion in *United States v. Reynolds*, 345 U.S. 1, 8-9 (1953).

²¹ It also held that certain documents could not be subjected to any "in camera" inspection. 410 U.S. at 81-85. As to documents concerned with national defense, Justices Marshall and Brennan felt the need for secrecy was a decision solely for the Executive. 410 U.S. at 99-100.

part thereby reversing the decision of the court of appeals for the plaintiffs, this Court held that "in camera inspection" was not automatic since the agency may be able to show, by affidavit, that the items sought are, in fact, exempt. 410 U.S. at 93. The Special Prosecutor has attempted to utilize this case for the proposition that "the constitutional separation of powers does not give the Executive any constitutional immunity from judicial orders for the production of evidence." (S.P. Br. 61). In this regard, Justice Stewart at the outset of his concurring opinion noted that no constitutional claim was involved, and there was no issue regarding the nature or scope of executive privilege. 410 U.S. at 94. The second point to be noted in the *Mink* case is that no one was compelled to do anything. The Court did not discuss what might legally occur if the claim of privilege was ultimately rejected and noted the difficulty in analogizing Freedom of Information Act cases to ordinary litigation because of the non-availability of the option to dismiss or strike a defense which exists in the latter.

Lastly, *United States ex rel. Touhy v. Ragen*, 340 U.S. 462 (1951), has been cited in support of the Special Prosecutor's contention that the Judiciary has the power to compel production of evidence from the executive. (S.P. Br. 63). This case, once again, involved a decision in which the production of documents was not ordered. This Court upheld the validity of a Department of Justice regulation, which constituted the basis for the FBI agent's refusal to comply with a subpoena *duces tecum*. In the holding, this Court specifically stated:

Petitioner challenges the validity of the issue of the order under a legal doctrine which makes the head of a department rather than a court the determinator of the admissibility of evidence. In support of his argument that the Executive should not invade the Judicial sphere, petitioner cites Wigmore, Evidence (3 ed.), § 2379, and *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137. *But under this record we are concerned only with the validity of Order No. 3229.* The constitutionality of the Attorney General's exercise of a determinative power as to whether or on what conditions or subject to what disadvantages to the Government he may refuse to produce government papers under his charge must await a factual situation that requires a ruling. (340 U.S. at 468-469) (emphasis added).

Immediately following his reference to *Ragen*, the Special Prosecutor quotes (S.P. Br. 63) certain language from a work of Professor Wright in an attempt to emphasize his contention concerning the judicial power of enforcement in this case. The entire text of the partially quoted statement of Professor Wright now follows:

In private litigation refusal of a government officer to comply with a court order overruling a claim of executive privilege and ordering disclosure could lead to conviction of contempt,²² but there is a natural reluctance to invoke this sanction and the extraordinary writs of mandamus and prohibition have been held available to review contempt citations. If the government is a party, the court may penalize it for its failure to comply with a disclosure order by invoking any of the sanctions set forth in Rule 37(b)(2). In this way the court can achieve fairness in the case before it without actually compelling production of the information that the government is determined to keep confidential. 8 Wright and Miller, *Federal Practice and Procedure: Civil*, § 2019, at 172-173 (1970).

When holdings, as opposed to random language, command our attention, it becomes evident that such judicial precedent as does exist in fact supports the President's concept of executive privilege rather than that urged by the Special Prosecutor.

The Special Prosecutor cites *Conway v. Rimmer*, [1968] 1 All E.R. 874, in support of his argument that the Executive cannot be given unreviewable discretion in these matters. (S.P. Br. 56 n. 41). *Conway*, far from supporting the Special Prosecutor's view, is in fact wholly consistent with the position we are advancing. It is true that in *Conway* the House of Lords overruled what had been the English rule that a claim of privilege, no matter how routine or unimportant the document, is binding on the courts. Their Lordships, however, were at great pains to distinguish the kind of low-level routine papers there involved from papers at the highest level of government. Every one of the speeches drew this distinction and made it clear that when high-level documents, of the sort we have in the present case, are sought, the court must accept the Executive's claim of privilege without further inquiry. Thus in the principal speech Lord Reid said that "there are certain classes of documents which ought

²² The Special Prosecutor's recitation of Professor Wright's language ends here.

not to be disclosed whatever their content may be." He then referred to "cabinet minutes and the like" as an example of a class of documents that ought not to be disclosed until they "are only of historical interest." [1968] 1 All E.R. at 888. Lord Hodson instanced "cabinet minutes, despatches from ambassadors abroad and minutes of discussions between heads of departments" as among those that are absolutely protected by a claim of Crown privilege. [1968] 1 All E.R. at 902, and see also his remark at 905. Lord Pearce said:

Obviously, production would never be ordered of fairly wide classes of documents at a high level. To take an extreme case, production would never be ordered of cabinet correspondence, letters or reports on appointments to offices of importance and the like; but why should the same yardstick apply to trivial documents and correspondence with or within a ministry. [1968] 1 All E.R. at 910.

The observation of Lord Upjohn was in a similar vein:

No doubt there are many cases in which documents by their very nature fall into a class which requires protection such as, only by way of example, cabinet papers, foreign office despatches, the security of the State, high-level inter-departmental minutes and correspondence, and documents pertaining to the general administration of the naval, military and air force services. . . . So, too, high-level inter-departmental communications, to take, only as an example on establishment matters, the promotion or transfer of reasonably high-level personnel in the service of the Crown; but no catalogue can reasonably be compiled. The reason for this privilege is that it would be quite wrong and entirely inimical to the proper functioning of the public service if the public were to learn of these high-level communications, however innocent of prejudice to the State the actual contents of any particular document might be; that is obvious. [1968] 1 All E.R. at 914-915.

Only Lord Morris of Borth-Y-Gest did not attempt to specify particular kinds of documents that are absolutely privileged, but he too noted that "[i]n many cases it will be plain that documents are within a class of documents which by their very nature ought not to be disclosed." [1968] 1 All E.R. at 901.

This recognition that there are some kinds of documents on which the decision of the Executive must be final, and not subject to review by the courts, is wholly consistent with what was held in *United States v. Reynolds*, 345 U.S. 1, 10 (1953), and indeed the *Reynolds* opinion was quoted in the principal speech in *Conway* of Lord Reid. [1968] 1 All E.R. at 887. It is consistent also with this Court's disclaimer in *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch (5 U.S.) 137, 170 (1803) of any judicial power to order "an intrusion into the secrets of the cabinet. . . ."

The distinction insisted upon so vigorously by all of the judges in *Conway* is the distinction that should control here. Decisions concerning material in the lower echelons of government or material of a routine, everyday nature, are not in point. The subpoena here in issue calls for recordings and notes of conversations between the President of the United States and his closest advisers.

We referred in our initial brief to "[t]he velocity with which the confidentiality of presidential communications has eroded. . . ." (Pres. Br. 133). Demands for presidential recordings or papers or even for presidential testimony have come from judges and defendants all over the country, both state and federal.²³ In his letter of July 23, 1973, to Senator Ervin, the President observed that "the tapes could be accurately understood only by reference to an enormous number of other documents and tapes, so that to open them at all would begin an endless process of disclosure and explanation of private Presidential records. . . ." The accuracy of that observation is now a matter of common knowledge. Initially Special Prosecutor Cox subpoenaed tapes and notes of nine conversations. His successor has been furnished all existing material covering those conversations and the President has voluntarily given Special Prosecutor Jaworski tapes of many other conversations. Now the Special Prosecutor seeks to require production of 64 more conversations. Should he be successful in that attempt, only a very foolhardy person would dare to predict that this would be the end of the matter and that the demand for private presidential material would not continue to grow insatiably.

All that we have said on this point was succinctly put by a distinguished constitutional lawyer, Charles

²³ See Pres. Br. 68 n. 51.

L. Black, Jr., who has observed that refusal to disclose communications of the kind involved in this litigation is not only the President's lawful privilege

but his duty as well, for it is a measure necessary to the protection of the proper conduct of his office, not only by him but, much more importantly, by his successors for all time to come.

* * * * *

It is hard for me to see how any person of common sense could think that those consultative and decisional processes that are the essence of the Presidency could be carried on to any good effect, if every participant spoke or wrote in continual awareness that at any moment any Congressional committee, or any prosecutor working with a grand jury, could at will command the production of the verbatim record of every word written or spoken. Black, "Mr. Nixon, the Tapes, and Common Sense" *New York Times*, August 3, 1973, page 31.²⁴

Although the Presidency will survive if the lower court's decision is allowed to stand, it will be different from the office contemplated by the Framers and occupied by Presidents, from George Washington through today.

III. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGE HAS NOT BEEN WAIVED

The Special Prosecutor purports to offer the Court an easy solution to the hard problems of this case when he says:

the Court must use its process to acquire all relevant evidence to lay before the jury. In the present context it can do so with the least consequences for confidentiality of other matters and future deliberations of the Executive Branch by ruling that there has been a waiver with respect to this entire affair. (S.P. Br. 123).

The Court is offered three theories on which the Special Prosecutor thinks a holding of waiver can be justified. These are the President's statement of May 22, 1973, authorizing his aides to testify about Watergate-related matters (S.P. Br. 119), the President's release to the public of transcripts from 43 Watergate-related Presidential conversations (S.P.

Br. 119),²⁵ and the fact that H. R. Haldeman has been permitted to hear tapes of selected conversations (S.P. Br. 122). Neither singly nor together do any of these waive the President's privilege not to disclose other conversations that are still confidential.

It is of course a truism that ordinary evidentiary privileges can be waived, as the cases discussed by the Special Prosecutor indicate. (S.P. Br. 117-121). But the separation-of-powers notions that underlie what is commonly referred to as "executive privilege" are such that ordinary common law notions of waiver are wholly inapplicable here. The privilege refers to the power of the President to decide whether or not the public interest permits disclosure of particular information. Because the President determines that the public interest permits making public certain information or because he determines that it is in the public interest to disclose other information to those persons in and out of government in whom he has confidence and from whom he seeks advice, he is not thereby precluded from determining that still other information must, in the public interest, be kept in confidence. The matter was well put by Professor Alexander Bickel:

Again, the issue is not whether the President has waived his privilege to keep the tapes secret. To the extent that it exists and with respect to matter that it covers, I do not see how the privilege can be waived. Naturally, if a document or a tape is no longer confidential because it has been made public, it would be nonsense to claim that it is privileged, and nobody would trouble to subpoena it either, since it would be available.

But nature and reason of the privilege are rather to repose in the President and in him alone the subjective judgment whether to maintain privacy or release information—and which, and how much, and when, and to whom. Far from being waived, the privilege, it seems to me, is as much exercised when information is released as when it is withheld. Bickel, "Wretched Tapes (cont.)," *New York Times*, August 15, 1973, p. 33.

A constitutionally-based privilege, which exists only so that the President, like the courts and like Congress,

²⁴See the fuller expression of Professor Black's view in Cong. Rec. E5320-E5322 (daily ed. August 1, 1973); see also Carr, Bernstein, Morrison, Snyder, & McLean, *American Democracy in Theory and Practice* 609-610 (1956); Winter, *Watergate and The Law* 55 (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research 1974).

²⁵The President stated in his Formal Claim of Privilege (J.A. 48a) that he advanced no claim of privilege with respect to those portions of 20 tape recorded conversations for which transcripts have been made public. Accordingly, those portions of the 20 tapes are not at issue in this case as the President has no objection to judicial authentication.

can function effectively hardly vanishes because, in Professor Black's phrase, "little mousetraps of 'waiver' are sprung." Letter of Prof. Charles L. Black, Jr., Cong. Rec. E5320, E5323 (daily ed. August 1, 1973).

Nor is there any merit in the argument that by allowing his aides to testify on Watergate matters, the President waived privilege as to tape recordings. There is an inherent distinction between testimonial evidence and tape recorded conversations. This distinction is emphasized and evidenced by the very existence of the present dispute. It should be obvious—and the published transcripts that have been released vividly confirm—that recordings are the raw material of life. By their very nature they contain spontaneous, informal, tentative, and frequently pungent comments on a variety of subjects inextricably intertwined into one conversation. It is precisely with that distinction in mind, and with a strong desire that the truth about Watergate be brought out, that the President has not asserted a presidential privilege with regard to *testimony* about possible criminal conduct or discussions of possible criminal conduct. But testimony can be confined to the relevant portions of the conversations and can be limited to matters that do not endanger other privileged matters. Recordings cannot be so confined and limited, *Alderman v. United States*, 394 U.S. 165, 182 (1969), and thus the President has concluded that to produce recordings would do serious damage to presidential privacy and to the ability of that office to function effectively.

The distinction between testimonial evidence and other forms of tangible evidence is not only recognized by the executive branch, as there is a common congressional practice in waiving congressional privilege and authorizing oral testimony by congressional staff members in court, but refusing to permit submission of related tangible material. See *Nixon v. Sirica*, 487 F. 2d 700, 772 (D.C. Cir. 1973) (Wilkey, J., dissenting), citing *United States v. Brewster*, 408 U.S. 501 (1972), and 118 Cong. Rec. S. 16,766, 92nd Cong. 2d Sess. (October 4, 1972) See also S. Res. 338, 120 Cong. Rec. 4973, 93rd Cong., 2d Sess. (daily ed., June 12, 1974).

The distinction has been recognized also in this Court. Indeed the short answer to the Special Prosecutor's claim of waiver with regard to the materials now sought may be found in *United States v. Reynolds*, 345 U.S. 1 (1953). In that case the United States re-

fused to produce an Air Force investigation report of an airplane crash as well as written statements by the survivors of the crash. It offered to allow the survivors to give depositions and to testify as to all matters except those of a "classified nature." The Supreme Court sustained the claim of privilege with regard to the documents sought. The offer to allow the witnesses to testify, far from being a waiver of privilege as to the documents, was expressly relied on by the Supreme Court as a reason for upholding the claim of privilege. 345 U.S. at 11. Similarly, the court of appeals in *Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities v. Nixon*, No. 74-1258 (D.C. Cir., May 23, 1974), regarded an identical waiver argument, offered by the plaintiffs in that case, as so lacking in substance that it did not merit discussion in the opinion.

Finally, there is much weight in a point made by Judge MacKinnon in his dissent in *Nixon v. Sirica*, 487 F. 2d 700, 758-759 (D.C. Cir. 1973). He wrote:

There has been no waiver. This conclusion rests upon three factors: the strict standards applied to privileges of this nature to determine waiver; the distinction between oral testimony and tape recordings; and, most important, considerations of public policy that argue persuasively for a privilege that permits the Chief Executive to disclose information on topics of national concern without that which properly ought to be withheld in the public interest.

Like Judge MacKinnon, we think that the most important of these points is the one last stated. Plainly the country is best served when there is the maximum disclosure possible from the Executive, consistent with the requirements of the public interest. This President, like his predecessors, has always acted on that principle. Disclosure has been the rule and claim of privilege the rare exception. But if this Court were to accept the Special Prosecutor's beguiling suggestion that this case can be decided on a narrow ground of waiver, the inevitable long-term consequence must be less disclosure, not more, since Presidents will be reluctant to make public even those things that can be released without harm to the public interest, if by doing so they may be held to have waived their constitutional privilege to withhold related information that the nation's interests require be kept confidential.

IV. THE SPECIAL NATURE OF THE PRESIDENCY

The Special Prosecutor states an obvious and important truth when he reminds us that "in our system

even the President is under the law.” (S.P. Br. 68) (emphasis in original). A fundamental error that permeates his brief, however, is his failure to recognize the extraordinary nature of the Presidency in our system and that the Framers, who fully understood this, provided an extraordinary mechanism for making a President subject to the law.

The President is not merely an individual, to be treated in the same way as any other person who has information that may be relevant in a criminal prosecution. He is not, as the Special Prosecutor erroneously suggests, merely “the *head* of the Executive Branch.” (S.P. Br. 79) (emphasis in original). Instead, as we pointed out at the beginning of this brief, it was announced by this Court more than a century ago, and since reiterated, that “the President is the Executive Department.” *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 4 Wall. (71 U.S.) 475, 500 (1867). So much is apparent from the Constitution itself. Article II begins with the simple but sweeping declaration: “The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America” (emphasis added). In addition, the President, as this Court has recognized, is, more than any other officer of government the representative of all of the people. *Myers v. United States*, 272 U.S. 52, 123 (1926). Chief Justice Taft went on to say that

as the President is elected for four years, with the mandate of the people to exercise his executive power under the Constitution, there would seem to be no reason for construing that instrument in such a way as to limit and hamper that power beyond the limitations of it, expressed or fairly implied.

It was no mere happenstance that all executive power was vested in a single person, the President. This was a subject of recurring debate at the Constitutional Convention. Suggestions of a multi-member Executive were repeatedly pressed and as repeatedly rejected. It was seen, as Dr. Franklin said, as “a point of great importance.” 1 *Farrand* 65.

In this respect the Executive differs from the other two great branches of government. The legislative power is vested by Article I in “a Congress of the United States,” divided into two bodies and composed now of 535 members. The judicial power is, by Article III, spread among the nine Justices of this Court and the hundreds of judges of the inferior courts that Congress has seen fit to ordain and establish. But one

person, and one person alone, is entrusted by Article II with the awesome task of exercising the executive power of the United States. “The President is the Executive Department.” This difference, as we shall develop below, has important consequences. It serves to distinguish many of the cases relied on by the Special Prosecutor, involving as they do individual members of the legislative and judicial branches. Specifically, the particular position the President occupies in our constitutional scheme means that the courts cannot issue compulsory process to compel him to exercise powers entrusted to him in a certain way, that, so long as he is President, he is not subject to criminal process, and that, as a logical corollary, he may not, while President, be named as an unindicted co-conspirator.

Of course, as we have already pointed out (Pres. Br. 52 n. 45), the Framers did not want a king, and Hamilton devoted all of the 69th *Federalist* to demonstrating that the Presidency, as created in the Constitution, bore no resemblance to the monarchy from which the colonists had successfully rebelled. The term of the President is limited to four years. The legislative branch controls the national purse strings, the war power, and the general policy direction of government. The President is given only a limited veto, subject to being overridden, over legislative acts. He is given no role whatever in the process of constitutional amendment. Finally, and most important for present purposes, the President may be removed from office by conviction on impeachment, and after he has left office, either through expiration of his term or by conviction on impeachment, he is subject to prosecution for crimes that he may have committed.

We have already developed in detail the process by which the impeachment provisions of the Constitution took form. (Pres. Br. 95–104). The language of Article I, section 3, clause 4, can hardly be read in any other way than that indictment of a President can only follow his conviction on impeachment. This was certainly the understanding of the delegates at Philadelphia, of the contemporary expositors of the Constitution, and of students of constitutional law from 1787 until today.

There is nothing in *United States v. Isaacs*, 493 F. 2d 1124 (7th Cir. 1974), *cert. denied* — U.S. —, (June 17, 1974), that is contrary to what we have just said. A judge of a court of appeals is not the judicial branch. He is a part of that branch, but the Judiciary

can function uninterrupted during those rare occasions when a single judge is forced to stand trial on a criminal charge. The Presidency cannot function if the President is preoccupied with the defense of a criminal case, and the thought of a President exercising his great powers from a jail cell boggles the mind.²⁶

The President, as we have noted, is the Executive Department. If he could be enjoined, restrained, indicted, arrested, or ordered by judges, grand juries, or marshals, these individuals would have the power to control the executive branch. This would nullify the separation of powers and the co-equality of the Executive.

The conclusion that the President is not subject to indictment while in office is consistent also with a proper ordering of government. When this principal national leader, elected by all of the people, is to be removed, it is proper that the removal be considered and accomplished only by a body that, like the President, is politically representative of the whole Nation. Impeachment is a process designed to deal with the problem of criminal conduct by the President and yet still preserve the majoritarian character of the Republic. Criminal indictments or judicial orders cannot provide the tools to remove or limit a whole branch of government, and were not contemplated by the Founders for such a purpose. Only the branch of government that represents the people who elected the President, the legislative branch, can take actions that will in any way remove or tend to remove a President from office. This is the function of Congress, not of a grand jury.

For reasons that we have already fully developed (Pres. Br. 107-115), it follows *a fortiori* from the non-indictability of an incumbent President that he cannot be named as an unindicted co-conspirator, and that the action of the grand jury in this case must be ordered expunged. The ability of a President to function is severely crippled if a grand jury, an official part of the judicial branch, can make a finding that a President has been party to a criminal conspiracy and make this in a form that does not allow that finding

²⁶ It is also worthwhile noting that at the Convention the discussion of impeachment was wholly in terms of a remedy against the President. Berger, *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems* 100 (1973). The inclusion in Article II, section 4, of the "Vice President, and all Civil Officers of the United States" was made without discussion in the closing hours of the Convention. 2 *Farrand* 575.

to be reviewed or contested and disproved.²⁷ To allow this would be a mockery of due process and would deny to Presidents of the United States even those minimal protections that the Constitution extends to prison inmates subject to disciplinary proceedings. *Wolff v. McDonnell*, — U.S. —, No. 73-679 (June 26, 1974).

If the grand jury had before it evidence, competent or otherwise, *United States v. Calandra*, 414 U.S. 338 (1974), that led it to think that the President had been party to a crime, its only permissible course of action was to transmit that evidence to the House Judiciary Committee, rather than to make a gratuitous, defamatory, and legally impermissible accusation against the President.

Presumably the Special Prosecutor advised the grand jury to make this finding, and did so with the thought that it would strengthen his hand in litigation such as the present case (P.S.A. 8). If the President could be considered a co-conspirator, then all of his statements would arguably come within the exception to the hearsay rule and would meet the requirement of Rule 17(c) that subpoenaed material must be evidentiary in nature. In addition, this impermissible finding is relied on by the Special Prosecutor for his argument (S.P. Br. 90-102) that executive privilege vanishes if there is a *prima facie* showing of criminality. But even if the grand jury were empowered to make this finding—and as a matter of law it cannot—we have already shown that an allegation of criminal activity does not overcome the assertion of presidential privilege (Pres. Br. 82-86), and that a grand jury finding, based as it is only on a showing of probable cause, falls far short of the *prima facie* showing of criminality that is required to defeat even the usual evidentiary privileges. (Pres. Br. 115-122.)²⁸

²⁷ And to suggest that the naming of a President as a criminal co-conspirator, even if unindicted, is not an "impeachment" of the President is, we submit, to play games with common words and common sense.

²⁸ The cases relied on by the Special Prosecutor (S.P. Br. 98) are not to the contrary. Such cases as *Ex parte United States*, 287 U.S. 241, 250 (1932), *Ewing v. Mytinger & Casselberry*, 339 U.S. 594, 599 (1950), and the others cited stand only for the proposition that a grand jury indictment conclusively establishes that there is probable cause to hold the person named for trial. They do not hold that the grand jury's action is an evidentiary showing of a *prima facie* case.

Again the Special Prosecutor is not helped by *United States v. Aldridge*, 484 F. 2d 655, 658 (7th Cir. 1973); *United States v. Bob*, 106 F. 2d 37 (2d Cir. 1939), *cert. denied*, 308 U.S. 589

The Special Prosecutor makes the surprising suggestion that the President enjoys no privileges or immunities.

One might infer quite plausibly from the specific grant of official privileges to Congress that no other constitutional immunity from normal legal obligations was intended for government officials or papers. (S.P. Br. 77).

But it is quite clear that the privileges given to individual members of the legislative branch by Article I, section 6, were given them for a specific and well-understood purpose. This was to protect the legislators "against possible prosecution by an unfriendly executive and conviction by a hostile judiciary . . ." *United States v. Johnson*, 383 U.S. 169, 179 (1966). It was "designed to assure a co-equal branch of government wide freedom of speech, debate, and deliberation without intimidation or threats from the Executive Branch." *Gravel v. United States*, 408 U.S. 606, 616 (1972).

The Executive needed no protection from himself. As chief of state, chief executive, commander-in-chief, and chief prosecutor, he had no need to fear intimidation by a hostile executive or prosecution by an unfriendly executive. In addition, he was protected further by the elaborate procedure for impeachment, and by his immunity from criminal process until he had been convicted on impeachment. Thus the Constitution says nothing about immunities of the Executive comparable to what it says about members of the legislative branch because to have done so would have been to guard against an evil that could never come to pass.

Even members of the executive branch do have to fear damage actions brought by private citizens, and this Court has not been slow to read into the Constitution an implied immunity to protect the Executive in this situation. The leading case is *Spalding v. Vilas*,

(1940); or the other cases he cites with regard to attorney-client privilege. In those cases the privilege was held to vanish only after the government by proof at trial, had made a *prima facie* showing of criminal involvement.

Finally, the Special Prosecutor's heavy reliance on *Clark v. United States*, 289 U.S. 1 (1933) (S.P. Br. 95-97, 100-101, 108-109), is misplaced. Quite aside from the very different nature of the "privilege," or, more properly, rule of competency, there in issue, Justice Cardozo was quick to point out that "[i]t would be absurd to say that the privilege could be got rid of merely by making a charge of fraud," 289 U.S. at 15, and that "there must be a showing of a *prima facie* case sufficient to satisfy the judge that the light should be let in." 289 U.S. at 14.

161 U.S. 583 (1896), frequently relied on in this Court and always with approval. E.g., *Barr v. Matteo*, 360 U.S. 564, 570 (1959);²² *Scheuer v. Rhodes*, 413 U.S. 919, 927 n. 8 (1974).

The Special Prosecutor would have the Court believe that the discretion about production of documents, which it has always been recognized that Presidents have, shrinks to a mere ministerial duty to produce what is demanded whenever a court disagrees with the Chief Executive's assessment of what the public interest requires. The argument seems little more than a play on words, intended to avoid the decisions, from *Marbury* on, that the courts may compel ministerial acts but that they cannot interfere with discretionary decisions of high executive officers.

Nothing could be clearer than that the decision to disclose or to withhold the most intimate conversations of the President with his chief advisers involves the gravest and most far-reaching possible considerations of public policy. Who can say what the long term, or even short term, public effects of the President's decision to make public transcripts of tapes of his conversations about Watergate will be? It was a difficult and monumental decision, and no man living can predict with assurance how ultimately the history of this country, and indeed of the world, may be influenced by it. It was a discretionary decision in the most important sense, and it is nonsense to call such a disclosure

²² In the *Barr* case this Court relied heavily, in discussing immunity for executive officers, on the well-known opinion of Judge Learned Hand in *Gregoire v. Biddle*, 177 F. 2d 579 (2d Cir. 1949), where judicial immunity was at issue. Several of Judge Hand's insights in that case are applicable here. Thus he says:

it can be argued that official powers, since they exist only for the public good, never cover occasions where the public good is not their aim, and hence that to exercise a power dishonestly is necessarily to overstep its bounds. A moment's reflection shows, however, that that cannot be the meaning of the limitation without defeating the whole doctrine. What is meant by saying that the officer must be acting within his power cannot be more than that the occasion must be such as would have justified the act, if he had been using his power for any of the purposes on whose account it was vested in him . . . (177 F. 2d at 581).

Again Judge Hand observed that "[t]here must indeed be means of punishing public officers who have been truant to their duties . . ." 177 F. 2d at 581. But the Constitution provides three sanctions against a truant President. He is subject to the political sanction of being defeated for reelection and to the legal sanctions of conviction on impeachment and of criminal punishment after he has been removed from office.

“ministerial” merely because the final action of disclosure can be accomplished by a messenger.

A presidential decision to release the confidential tapes or written memoranda of his meetings with his advisers involves the same basic discretion as his initial decision to make such records. Surely neither the courts nor Congress could require Presidents to make such recordings on the ground that they would then be available should there be charges of misconduct against aides to some future President.

This case must be viewed in the light that the President is the executive branch, co-equal to the multi-membered legislative and judicial branches. If that co-equality is to be preserved, the President cannot be subject to the vagaries of a grand jury nor deprived of his power to control disclosure of his most confidential communications. If he misuses his great powers, he must be proceeded against by the remedy that the Constitution has provided.

V. THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR HAS NOT DEMONSTRATED A UNIQUE AND COMPELLING NEED FOR THIS MATERIAL

The Special Prosecutor makes the casual suggestion that “[t]here is a compelling public interest in trying the conspiracy charged in *United States v. Mitchell*, et al., upon all relevant and material evidence.” (S.P. Br. 107). Doubtless every prosecutor in history has thought the same thing. The genius of the law, happily, has rejected that course, and in this case the Special Prosecutor’s suggestion begs every important question before the Court. A prosecutor has the right to every man’s evidence “except for those persons protected by a constitutional, common-law, or statutory privilege.” *Branzburg v. Hayes*, 408 U.S. 665, 688 (1972). If, as we have argued, the materials at issue are subject to a valid privilege, based both on the Constitution and on the common law, the Special Prosecutor may not have them, no matter how relevant or material he thinks they may be, any more than he could require the defendants in this case to produce relevant and material evidence based on what they told their attorneys or based on confidential communications with their wives.

Our argument, of course, has been that the great question is, as Judge Wilkey put it, “Who Decides?”, and that the answer to that question is that the President decides. But even if we are wrong on that, and the courts play a limited role under unusual circum-

stances, as held by the majority in *Nixon v. Sirica*, 487 F. 2d 700 (D.C. Cir. 1973), the showing made by the Special Prosecutor falls far short of the requirements that the court of appeals announced in that case. The court there used the terms “critical,” 487 F. 2d at 706, “peculiarly necessary,” 487 F. 2d at 717, and evidence “for which no effective substitute is available,” 487 F. 2d at 717, to describe the grand jury’s need for the tapes there under subpoena. We predicted in our initial submission that the Special Prosecutor could make no similarly compelling showing in this case (Pres. Br. 86-95), and his brief has confirmed that fact. There is not one statement in the Special Prosecutor’s Brief that suggests or even implies that if he is unable to obtain the material sought, the prosecution of this case will not be successful.³⁰

The Special Prosecutor claims “that the ‘unique’ circumstances which led to the rejection of the President’s claim of privilege in the context of a grand jury investigation have continued applicability.” (S.P. Br. 107-108) He, of course, finds it convenient to ignore other salient portions of the opinion in *Nixon v. Sirica* that are adverse to his position. It must be remembered that the court of appeals went to great lengths in that case to limit its holding “strictly to that required by the precise and entirely unique circumstances of the case,” 487 F. 2d at 705, and specifically acknowledged that “we have attempted to decide no more than the problem before us—a problem that takes its unique shape from the grand jury’s compelling show of need.” 487 F. 2d at 722.

The Special Prosecutor cites *Committee for Nuclear Responsibility v. Seaborg*, 463 F. 2d 788 (D.C. Cir. 1971), to illustrate the possible consequences of not overcoming a privilege. (S.P. Br. 108). For “[o]therwise the head of an executive department would have the power on his own say-so to cover up *all* evidence of fraud and corruption when a federal court or grand jury was investigating malfeasance in office, and this is not the law.” 463 F. 2d at 794. (emphasis added).

³⁰ It is significant that on June 3, 1974, Charles W. Colson pleaded guilty to the felony of obstructing justice, 18 U.S.C. § 1503, in the case of *United States v. Ehrlichman, et al.*, (D.D.C. Cr. No. 74-116) and subsequently all other charges against him were dismissed. Thus, assuming *arguendo* the Special Prosecutor does have a need for the subpoenaed items, the fact that Colson is no longer a defendant, certainly diminishes considerably, if not obviates completely, any need the Special Prosecutor may have ever had for subpoenaed items numbered: 1, 4, 5, 6, 13 and 17.

But such a consequence is obviously not possible in our present situation³¹ where the President has already permitted his closest aides and advisors to give public and grand jury testimony. In addition, voluminous documents and materials have been submitted to the Special Prosecutor, to the congressional committees investigating Watergate, and to the public at large. As a result, grand jury indictments have been returned, and a number of convictions have already been obtained. There can be no valid assertion that if the privilege is not overcome in the present case, the consequences stated in *Seaborg* would result. The *Seaborg* case, rather than supplying reasons for overcoming the privilege in this case, illustrates the absence of any reason for doing so.

We have previously argued that the Special Prosecutor has failed to satisfy the requirements of Criminal Rule 17(c) for subpoenaed material. (Pres. Br. 122-133). We continue to believe that. Although in general we do not disagree with the propositions of law advanced by the Special Prosecutor on this issue,³² we take serious issue with his application of the law to the facts of this case, and particularly to his attempt, implicit in his discussion of the facts, to shift the burden on the issue of relevancy to the President. The Special Prosecutor is seeking the materials. He must show that the documents are evidentiary and relevant. It is not for the President to prove that they are not.

³¹ This fact is conceded by the Special Prosecutor, who in order to support his waiver theory freely admits that the President has "authorized voluminous testimony and other statements concerning Watergate-related discussions and his recent release of 1216 pages of transcript . . ." (S.P. Br. 116-117), and that "there has been extensive testimony in several forums concerning the substance of the recorded conversations now sought for use at the trial in *United States v. Mitchell, et al.*" (S.P. Br. 118-119).

³² We do take issue with the suggestion that the subpoena upheld in *Bowman Dairy Co. v. United States*, 341 U.S. 214 (1951), was much less particular than the subpoena in the present case. (S.P. Br. 126). The subpoena in *Bowman* was specifically limited to the documents, books, records, and objects "which were either presented to the grand jury or would be offered as evidence at trial." 341 U.S. at 217. This was a much more particularized showing of relevance and admissibility than the Special Prosecutor has made.

His reference to *United States v. Carter*, 15 F.R.D. 367, 371 (D.D.C. 1954), for the proposition that Rule 17(c) reaches materials useful for impeachment (S.P. Br. 128) is misleading, since that case, and many others we have cited (Pres. Br. 130), hold that impeachment materials cannot be obtained in advance of trial and one must wait to see if the person in question actually testifies.

But even if there is enough in the Special Prosecutor's conclusory statements to turn the color of legal litmus paper with regard to Rule 17(c), in its application to ordinary documents, he has failed to show the critical and compelling need that is required to overcome a claim of presidential privilege even under what we think to be the too permissive standard of *Nixon v. Sirica*.

CONCLUSION

Two years of Watergate have left their mark on America. Apart from its impact on the lives of the many men and women involved in the events, Watergate will affect practices, attitudes, and values in our political life in ways that are diverse and lasting and, it is to be hoped, for the good. Without the passage of another law or the imposition of another sentence Watergate will have wrought a great change in American life. But the processes of the law that have been set in motion by that set of events must run their course. What remains to be seen is whether the tides that surge about Watergate will alter the relationship among the branches of government; whether, in short, the complex and sensitive balance of our constitutional structure will be impaired.

Our last word is therefore essentially a neutral one. In choosing this closing note we do not abandon our expectations for success or our conviction that we are right. We simply recognize that there has been enough argument about the powers and privileges of particular individuals who happen to occupy high office in the three branches and exercise their authority temporarily and in a representative capacity. For in the final analysis it is the Constitution we are all analyzing, arguing, expounding, and, in a sense of mutuality, undertaking to protect for the long life of the Nation.

In this setting the terminal question is: What decision best defends the constitutional structure of American government? What decision lifts the resolution of this case above the passions of this moment in history and safeguards the strengths and integrity of the Constitution against the exigencies of an unknown and unknowable future? There is no doubt about the power, indeed the responsibility, of the Court to answer justiciable questions that are appropriately posed about the meaning of the Constitution. Nor, in our submission, is there any question but that the central idea of the Constitution is the distribution of power among the separate branches and the resolution of

controversy and disagreement by accommodation rather than confrontation. A constitution is a way of governing, not a set of codified specifications for the resolution of disputes among the sovereign branches. There are blank spaces on the constitutional canvas that must be left untouched if the Constitution is to bear the same creative relation to our future that it has to our past.

In our briefs, we and the Special Prosecutor have cited *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 (1952), to support conflicting arguments. We quote the opening words of Mr. Justice Frankfurter's concurring opinion, confident in the knowledge that they reflect beliefs we and the Special Prosecutor hold in common:

Before the cares of the White House were his own, President Harding is reported to have said that government after all is a very simple thing. He must have said that, if he said it, as a fleeting inhabitant of fairyland. The opposite is the truth. A constitutional democracy like ours is perhaps the most difficult of man's social arrangements to manage successfully. Our scheme of society is more dependent than any other form of government on knowledge and wisdom and self-discipline for the achievement of its aims.

* * * * *

Rigorous adherence to the narrow scope of the judicial function is especially demanded in controversies that arouse appeals to the Constitution. The attitude with which this Court must approach its duty when confronted with such issues is precisely the opposite of that normally manifested by the general public. So-called con-

stitutional questions seem to exercise a mesmeric influence over the popular mind. This eagerness to settle—preferably forever—a specific problem on the basis of the broadest possible constitutional pronouncements may not unfairly be called one of our minor national traits. An English observer of our scene has acutely described it: 'At the first sound of a new argument over the United States Constitution and its interpretation the hearts of Americans leap with a fearful joy. The blood stirs powerfully in their veins and a new lustre brightens their eyes. Like King Harry's men before Harfleur, they stand like greyhounds in the slips, straining upon the start.' *The Economist*, May 10, 1952, p. 370.

The path of duty for this Court, it bears repetition, lies in the opposite direction. (343 U.S. at 593-594).

Respectfully submitted,

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July 1, 1974

Council on International Economic Policy

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William D. Eberle To Be Executive Director. July 1, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William D. Eberle to be Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy. He will succeed Peter M. Flanigan, who has resigned to return to private life. Mr. Eberle has been Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, with the rank of Ambassador, since November 1971, and he will continue in that position.

He is Chairman of the interagency trade organization established by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and is the chief representative of the United States in trade agreement negotiations. He is also a member of the Council on International Economic Policy.

Mr. Eberle was born on June 5, 1923, in Boise, Idaho. He received his A.B. degree from Stanford University in 1945 and his M.B.A. from Harvard University Graduate School of Business in 1947.

He was a partner in the Boise, Idaho, law firm of Richards, Hago & Eberle from 1950 to 1960, when he became vice president of Boise Cascade Corp. in Boise. In 1966, he was named president of American Standard, Inc., in New York City. He was chairman of American Standard when he was named Special Representative for Trade Negotiations in 1971.

Mr. Eberle has been co-chairman of the Urban Coalition, a director of the National Industrial Conference Board and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and a trustee of Stanford University and the Committee on Economic Development.

He is married to the former Jean Quick of New York City. They have four children.

Energy Conservation

Statement by the President After Receiving Reports on Energy Savings by the Federal Government and Business and Industry. July 2, 1974

The energy crisis in America has passed, but the energy challenge is as great as ever. Our goal must be to develop the capacity for self-sufficiency in energy, and to achieve this goal we must continue our efforts to both expand energy supplies and conserve energy.

In June of last year, I directed the Federal departments and agencies to reduce their anticipated energy consumption by at least 7 percent over the succeeding 12-month

period. At the same time, I appealed to consumers, to industry, and to other organizations to join in a nationwide, voluntary campaign of energy conservation.

John C. Sawhill, the Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration, has now reported to me on the progress of the Federal effort. The achievements are impressive. During the third quarter of the Federal program, savings in the nondefense agencies amounted to 19 percent of anticipated energy usage, while savings by the Defense Department rose to 31 percent. The composite savings of 30 percent for the quarter exceed the records of 20 and 26 percent, respectively, achieved during the first and second quarters of fiscal year 1974. Figures for the fourth quarter are not yet available, but when they are, we are confident that the Federal Government will have far exceeded our original goals for the year.

The total savings for the first 9 months of the Federal program represent the equivalent of 75 million barrels of oil or approximately \$600 million in reduced costs to the taxpayer for energy.

I am also pleased by a report I have received from the Secretary of Commerce, Frederick B. Dent, on the progress made by business in response to the voluntary program I asked him to undertake with the business community. He reports that energy consumption in the industrial sector was reduced by 5 percent per unit of output during the period of October 1973 through January 1974. This rate of savings, which the Secretary expects will be maintained or exceeded in 1974 by all of commerce and industry, represents an annual savings of the equivalent of 425 million barrels of oil. He indicates that 8,000 chief executives have pledged to undertake energy management programs and that some individual companies are reporting savings in excess of 20 percent. Many companies are also reporting that improved energy management is reducing their costs and increasing productivity. Since private industry accounts for approximately 65 percent or two-thirds of our country's energy consumption, these savings will have a significant impact upon our national consumption levels.

We learned last winter that all of us can contribute to energy conservation. Voluntary actions by millions of Americans were a critically important factor in bringing our Nation through the oil crisis. The continuing accomplishments of the Federal Government and of business and industry should serve as a splendid example of the way that further savings can be achieved and, as part of Project Independence, will advance us toward our ultimate goal of self-sufficiency in energy.

I welcome this opportunity to commend the Federal departments and agencies as well as private industry for their fine leadership. In the final analysis, of course, their efforts alone are not enough. Every American must join in this cause. Our ability to achieve energy independence will depend heavily upon the conservation efforts of all segments—consumers, business, and government.

Federal Energy Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Robert E. Montgomery, Jr., To Be General Counsel. July 2, 1974

The President is announcing his intention to nominate Robert E. Montgomery, Jr., of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Federal Energy Administration. Mr. Montgomery has been serving as Assistant General Counsel of the Federal Trade Commission since March 1973.

Mr. Montgomery was born on March 15, 1939, in Pittsburgh, Pa. A Rhodes scholar, he received his B.S. degree from the United States Military Academy in 1960 and his M.A. from Magdalen College, Oxford University, England in 1963. He received his J.D. from the University of California School of Law in 1969, where he was editor-in-chief of the California Law Review.

He served as a captain in the U.S. Army from 1963 to 1969. In 1969, he became Assistant to the General Counsel, Department of the Army, at the Pentagon. In 1971, he became General Counsel in the Office of Consumer Affairs before his appointment as Assistant General Counsel of the Federal Trade Commission.

Mr. Montgomery is a resident of Alexandria, Va., and is married to the former Sandra Jennings. They have three children.

Federal Energy Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Roger West Sant To Be Assistant Administrator for Conservation and Environment. July 2, 1974

The President is announcing his intention to nominate Roger West Sant, of California, to be an Assistant Administrator (Conservation and Environment) of the Federal Energy Administration. Since 1971, Mr. Sant has been the vice president for planning and development of the Saga Administrative Corp. in Menlo Park, Calif.

Mr. Sant was born on May 24, 1931, in Los Angeles, Calif. He received his B.S. degree from Brigham Young University in 1955 and his M.B.A. with distinction from Harvard University Graduate School of Business in 1960. He was the recipient of the Donald Kirk David Fellowship as the outstanding student from the Northwest.

He served as a financial analyst with the Hewlett Packard Co. from 1960 to 1961 before becoming controller-treasurer and chief financial officer and a member of the board of directors of Williams Instrument and Research in 1962. In 1965, he was named vice president for finance

and controller of the Syntex Laboratories of Palo Alto, Calif. He was a lecturer in finance at the Stanford Graduate School of Business in 1968 before joining the Saga Corp. in 1971.

He is married to the former Victoria Post. They have four children.

Railway Labor-Management Dispute

Announcement of Report of Emergency Board No. 185 Investigating the Dispute Between Certain Railroads and Sheet Metal Workers. July 2, 1974

Emergency Board No. 185, appointed on May 21, 1974, by Executive Order 11783, has submitted its report to the President.

The Board was created pursuant to the President's authority under Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act to avert a potential work stoppage against the Nation's railroads by some 5,300 sheet metal mechanics represented by the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, AFL-CIO.

The issues in the dispute included the union's proposal for a 16 percent wage increase and a cost-of-living escalator clause to be included in its new agreement. These proposals, considerably larger in magnitude than those agreed upon during 1973 by the unions representing the overwhelming bulk of organized railroad employees, were based upon the rapid inflation in consumer price levels that have taken place since other key railroad settlements were made nearly a year ago. The Sheet Metal Workers also proposed changes and clarifications in several of the working rules affecting their craft.

The Board recommended that the association accept the pattern railroad settlement of a 4 percent wage increase effective January 1, 1974, and recommended that the association withdraw its proposal that a cost-of-living escalator clause be included in this current agreement. The basis for the Board's recommendations was that the combination of the proposed general wage increase and the carrier pickup of a substantial proportion of employees' former contributions into the railroad retirement fund approximated a 10 percent increase in employee net spendable income during 1973-74. The Sheet Metal Workers' spendable income would therefore remain equal with inflation during their current contract. The Board noted that the Sheet Metal Workers will participate in the negotiations for the next round of railroad collective bargaining that are about to begin. The Board also recommended a modified approach to the emergency force reduction rule

which applies when employees are temporarily furloughed because of storms, floods, or work stoppages against a railroad carrier.

NOTE: The 16-page "Report to the President by Emergency Board No. 185, Appointed by Executive Order 11783, Dated May 21, 1974, Pursuant to Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, as Amended" was made available with the release.

For Executive Order 11783, see page 535 of this volume of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.

Independence Day, 1974

Statement by the President. July 3, 1974

The Fourth of July is a uniquely American holiday. But it is also a holiday that echoes the hopes and aspirations of people throughout the world. In each of my trips abroad, I have seen tangible evidence of people's basic belief in the value of the principles that underlie our Republic, and outpouring of affection and respect for the Nation that Abraham Lincoln called "the last, best hope of earth".

On this Independence Day, as we celebrate our Nation's birth, let us pledge that by our example, we will continue to carry to the people of other lands the basic American message of independence, liberty, and human dignity.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

June 25

Following their arrival in Brussels, Belgium, the President and Mrs. Nixon called on King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola at the Royal Palace. The President then met at the Royal Palace with Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindermans and Foreign Minister Renaat Van Elslande.

June 26

The President held separate meetings with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany, Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Great Britain, and Prime Minister Mariano Rumor of Italy at the residence of the United States Ambassador to Belgium.

The President hosted a reception at the U.S. Ambassador's residence for delegates to the NATO meeting, senior NATO staff members, senior Belgian officials, and U.S. officials in Brussels.

June 27

The President and Mrs. Nixon left Brussels and flew to Moscow, where they were greeted at Vnukovo II Airport by General Secretary Brezhnev, President Podgorny, Premier Kosygin, Foreign Minister Gromyko, and Ambassador Dobrynin.

June 28

During his visit to Moscow, the President went to the Aleksandrov Gardens to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The President and Mrs. Nixon, in the evening, attended a performance at the Bolshoi Theater.

June 29

The President and General Secretary Brezhnev left Moscow and went to Oreanda in the Ukraine where they continued their discussions.

June 30

The President and General Secretary Brezhnev went for a cruise on a Soviet naval yacht on the Black Sea.

July 1

The President and Mrs. Nixon left Oreanda and went to Minsk. During his visit to Minsk, the President participated in wreath-laying ceremonies at the Victory Monument in Minsk and at the Khatyn Memorial near the city.

The President and Mrs. Nixon returned to Moscow.

July 3

Following departure ceremonies at Vnukovo II Airport, the President and Mrs. Nixon returned to the United States. Upon arrival at Loring Air Force Base, Maine, the President reported to the Nation on his trip. The President and Mrs. Nixon then continued on to their home in Key Biscayne, Fla.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Senate being in recess, no nominations were submitted during the period covered by this issue.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released June 26, 1974

News conference: on the President's upcoming summit meeting with Soviet leaders—by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State

Released June 28, 1974

News conference: on meetings between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and L. M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS

Fact sheet: U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on cooperation in the field of energy

Fact sheet: U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on cooperation in the field of housing and other construction

Fact sheet: U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on cooperation in artificial heart research and development

News conference: on U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreements on energy, housing construction, and heart research—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released June 29, 1974

Fact sheet: U.S.-U.S.S.R. long term agreement to facilitate economic, industrial, and technical cooperation

News conference: on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. long term agreement to facilitate economic, industrial, and technical cooperation—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, L. M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS, and Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State

Released June 30, 1974

News conference: on meetings between President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev at Oreanda, Ukrainian S.S.R.—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and L. M. Zamyatin, Director General, TASS.

Released July 1, 1974

Statement: on House Judiciary Committee procedures—by Dean Burch, Counsellor to the President

Released July 2, 1974

Advance text: the President's radio and television address to the people of the Soviet Union

Released July 3, 1974

Fact sheet: Protocol to the ABM treaty

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved June 30, 1974

H.J. Res. 1056..... Public Law 93-328
Joint resolution to extend by thirty days the expiration date of the Defense Production Act of 1950.

H.J. Res. 1057..... Public Law 93-327
Joint resolution to extend by thirty days the expiration date of the Export Administration Act of 1969.

H.J. Res. 1061..... Public Law 93-321
Joint resolution making further urgent supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, for the Veterans Administration, and for other purposes.

H.J. Res. 1062..... Public Law 93-324
Joint resolution making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1975, and for other purposes.

H.R. 8586..... Public Law 93-330
An act to authorize the foreign sale of the passenger vessel steamship Independence.

H.R. 14354..... Public Law 93-326
National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Act Amendments of 1974.

H.R. 14434..... Public Law 93-322
Special Energy Research and Development Appropriation Act, 1975.

H.R. 14832..... Public Law 93-325
An act to provide for a temporary increase in the public debt limit.

H.R. 14833..... Public Law 93-329
An act to extend the Renegotiation Act of 1951 for eighteen months.

S. 411..... Public Law 93-328
An act to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to certain rates of postage, and for other purposes.

Editor's Note

Note Concerning the Closing Time of This Issue

The President was in Florida at the cutoff time of this issue. Releases issued there but not received in time for inclusion in the issue will be printed next week.

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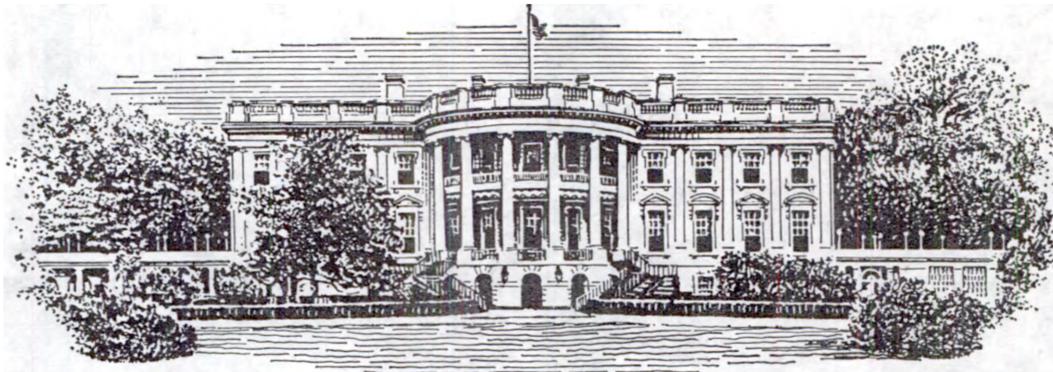
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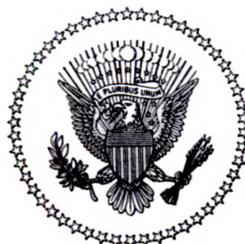


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of Michigan
Reference

Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, July 15, 1974

JUL 24 1974



Volume 10 • Number 28

Pages 793-804

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Richard Nixon

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, July 13, 1974

Foreign Claims Settlement Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate J. Raymond Bell for Reappointment as a Member and Chairman of the Commission. July 9, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Raymond Bell, of the District of Columbia, for reappointment as a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission for a term of 3 years. The President also announced that Mr. Bell would be redesignated Chairman of the Commission upon his confirmation and reappointment.

Mr. Bell has held this position since November 1, 1973, and has served as Chairman of the Commission since his designation on November 11, 1973. He is serving a term as member expiring October 21, 1974.

He was born on January 7, 1908, in New Orleans, La. Mr. Bell is a graduate of the Atlanta Law School and has been admitted to the bars of Georgia, New York, and the District of Columbia. Before his appointment in 1973, he had been associated with the Washington office of the California based law firm of Wyman, Bautzer, Rothman and Kuchel. For 24 years until December 1972, Mr. Bell was with Columbia Picture Industries, Inc., and was vice president for corporate and government relations when he left the firm. Earlier he was an executive of Capital Airlines, and a reporter with the Atlanta Georgian-American and the Detroit Times.

The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission has jurisdiction to determine claims of the United States nationals against foreign governments for compensation for losses and injuries sustained by them, pursuant to programs authorized under the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949 and the War Claims Act of 1948. Available funds have their sources in international settlements, or liquidation of foreign assets in this country by the Departments

of the Treasury or Justice, and from public funds when provided by Congress. The Commission was established by Reorganization Plan 1 of 1954 and consists of three members serving terms of 3 years.

World Population Year, 1974

Proclamation 4299. July 9, 1974

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

One of the most pressing challenges in the last third of the twentieth century is to find ways of meeting the basic needs of the world's burgeoning population.

The causes of population growth are well known: death rates have been cut dramatically by welcome advances in medical science and health services while birth rates have not declined. As a result, according to estimates by the United Nations, some 80 million people will be added to the world's population this year and, if current trends continue, the world's total population of more than 3.8 billion could double by the first decade of the twenty-first century.

While the causes are clear, the solutions are not. Many tough choices will have to be made. The United States has no interest in imposing solutions upon other countries, but it does seek to help in a way which maintains our traditional respect for human freedom and dignity. The concern of all nations should remain with the human and physical environment of all of our fellow men and in seeking together ways in which mankind can discover new paths to partnership and progress.

As many of the developing countries have already discovered, it is urgent that acceptable solutions be found to this challenge. The United Nations has designated 1974 as World Population Year, and has called upon all governments and peoples to participate in its observance. In

August of this year, the United Nations will convene a World Population Conference in Bucharest, Romania. The United States Government welcomes the declaration of World Population Year as an historic opportunity for all nations to study their own and world patterns of population growth and distribution.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate and proclaim the year 1974 as World Population Year in the United States. I call upon the Congress and officials of our Federal, State and local governments, educational institutions, religious bodies, private organizations, the information media, and the people of the United States generally to join this year in promoting a better understanding of the magnitude and consequences of world population growth and its relation to the quality of human life and in renewing our commitment to human dignity and social justice.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:27 p.m., July 9, 1974]

United Nations Day, 1974

Proclamation 4300. July 9, 1974

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

Americans are increasingly aware of the interdependence of all nations, large and small. We, our allies, and our adversaries are increasingly aware that many of the problems which affect us mutually can only be solved within a global context. It is with this fact in mind that we observe United Nations Day on October 24, 1974. The relevance and promise of this forum have been demonstrated repeatedly during the past year. True to its Charter, the United Nations has made historic contributions to the peace of the world.

We are all grateful to the Secretary General of the United Nations, to the Security Council, and to the United Nations Emergency Force for their part in halting the fighting in the Middle East, hopefully opening the way for a lasting settlement there.

We are grateful, too, for the United Nations' initiatives in fostering global economic and social progress. In the wake of the world energy crisis, the General Assembly and other United Nations bodies have turned their attentions

to the problems of raw materials and development. The pioneering Law of the Sea Conference, in which all nations are represented, has convened to address the complex questions of regulating human activities on the high seas and protecting the marine environment. The United Nations is preparing now for Conferences later this year on World Food and on World Population. Both will address basic problems affecting the very quality of life on this planet.

By these endeavors, the United Nations manifests vividly its unique role as the one international instrument of action to which virtually all nations subscribe. For this role, for past accomplishments, and as a standard bearer for future world peace and prosperity, the United Nations deserves the appreciative recognition and continuing support of all Americans.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday, October 24, 1974, as United Nations Day. I urge the citizens of this Nation to observe that day with community programs that will promote understanding of and support for the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

I have appointed Frank Cary to be United States National Chairman for United Nations Day and, through him, I call upon State and local officials to encourage citizens' groups and all agencies of communication to engage in appropriate observances of United Nations Day in cooperation with the United Nations Association of the United States of America and other interested organizations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:27 p.m., July 9, 1974]

NOTE: The White House also announced on July 9 that the President had appointed Frank Cary, of Armonk, N.Y., as United States National Chairman for United Nations Day, 1974.

White Cane Safety Day, 1974

Proclamation 4301. July 9, 1974

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

More than a million Americans have severe visual disabilities. A few years ago most of these individuals would have been condemned to a life of dependence upon others. But a simple device—a White Cane—has given most of them mobility and with it, independence.

If those blessed with the gift of good eyesight do their part, those who are denied this blessing may still enjoy the independence they must have to work and support themselves and, not infrequently, their families. They can enjoy the independence they need to be fulltime partners in the life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which more fortunate Americans enjoy.

We should be constantly aware of the significance of the White Cane and, without hesitation, extend every courtesy to those who carry it. In this way we can respect the privacy and independence of our visually disabled while, at the same time, assuring that we do nothing to hinder their ability to shape and pursue a productive and fulfilling life.

In recognition of the significance of the White Cane, the Congress, by a joint resolution of October 6, 1964 (78 Stat. 1003), authorized the President to proclaim October 15 of each year as White Cane Safety Day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 15, 1974, as White Cane Safety Day.

I urge all Americans to mark this occasion by giving greater consideration to the special needs of the visually handicapped, and particularly by learning to heed the White Cane in order that our visually handicapped may use our streets and public facilities with maximum safety.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:28 p.m., July 9, 1974]

Deputy Assistant to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Sidney L. Jones. July 9, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Dr. Sidney L. Jones as Deputy Assistant to the President. Dr. Jones will serve as Deputy to the Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy, Kenneth Rush.

Dr. Jones, from April 1972 to March 31, 1973, was Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs in the U.S. Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels.

From August 1969 to August 1971, Dr. Jones was with the Council of Economic Advisers, serving as a Senior Staff Economist until March 1970, when he became Special Assistant to the Chairman. From 1965 to 1969 and dur-

ing 1971-72, he was professor of finance in the University of Michigan's Graduate School of Business Administration. From 1960 to 1965, he was assistant professor, then associate professor of finance at Northwestern University. He has also been a director of Bradley Woods and Co., an investment advisory firm in New York, N.Y., and Washington, D.C.

He was born on September 23, 1933. Dr. Jones was valedictorian of the 1954 graduating class from Utah State University. He served as an officer in the U.S. Army from 1954 to 1956, and received his M.B.A. (1958) and Ph. D. degrees from Stanford University.

He is married to the former Marlene Stewart. They have five children and live in Potomac, Md.

Earl Warren

Statement by the President on the Death of the Former Chief Justice of the United States. July 9, 1974

I am deeply saddened at the death of former Chief Justice Earl Warren. America has lost one of her finest public servants. He was a man to whom the public trust was a sacred trust. Few men have been called upon to do so much in the service of their nation, and few have performed with such distinction. Even in retirement, Earl Warren repeatedly gave his talents to the service of his countrymen.

County District Attorney, State Attorney General, Governor of California, candidate for Vice President of the United States, and Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Warren gave each task his full energy and ability. Much honor was paid him, and he gave much honor in return.

Earl Warren not only rendered outstanding service to our country, but he was a distinguished figure in the Republican Party. In all things he was never a partisan of political advantage, but always a partisan for America.

He was an articulate spokesman for the ideals he cherished. He did not invite controversy, but neither did he shun it; he fulfilled his duty as he saw it.

Mrs. Nixon joins me in extending to the Warren family our sincere condolences. While Mr. Warren's death deprives us of a good and able American, his service to America will continue to shape the course of American life for generations to come, and will reflect the highest purposes of America forever.

NOTE: Earl Warren, 83, died at Georgetown University Hospital, Washington, D.C., on July 9, 1974. He was Governor of California from 1943 to 1952 and served as Chief Justice of the United States from 1953 to 1969.

On Friday, July 12, the President attended funeral services for Mr. Warren at the Washington Cathedral.

Secretary of Agriculture

Executive Order 11793. July 10, 1974

DESIGNATION OF CERTAIN OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE TO ACT AS SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 3347 of title 5 and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. In case of the absence, sickness, resignation, or death of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Under Secretary of Agriculture, an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture or the General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture, in such order as the Secretary of Agriculture may from time to time prescribe, shall act as Secretary of Agriculture. If no such order of succession is in effect at that time, they shall act as Secretary in the order in which they shall have taken office as Assistant Secretary or General Counsel.

SEC. 2. Executive Order No. 10481 of August 15, 1953, entitled "Designation of Certain Officers of the Department of Agriculture to Act as Secretary of Agriculture", is hereby revoked.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 10, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:53 p.m.,
July 10, 1974]

International Coffee Agreement

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the Operations of the Agreement. July 10, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the International Coffee Agreement Act, as extended and amended, I transmit herewith my annual report on the operations of the International Coffee Agreement in 1973.

The overproduction and surpluses in coffee which prevailed when the 1962 and 1968 coffee agreements were negotiated no longer existed when the 1968 agreement expired on September 30, 1973. In fact, the agreement's price-quota provisions had lapsed nine months earlier and it was clear that producers and consumers would be unable to reach agreement on similar provisions in a new coffee agreement. The 1968 agreement, therefore, was extended for two years effective October 1, 1973, but without its operative economic clauses.

A decade of international cooperation on coffee as represented by the 1962 and 1968 agreements should not be ignored. The prevailing atmosphere has not been conducive to agreement on the terms of any new coffee agreement containing operative economic provisions. However, it has been felt desirable to keep together the experienced secretariat staff of the International Coffee Organization to serve as a competent authority for the collection and dissemination of coffee statistics and other information on world production, trade and consumption while maintaining a framework in which consultations on coffee and negotiations for a new agreement could take place.

In the absence of operative economic provisions in the extended agreement and with a view to effecting some control over prices, a number of the producing nations have been attempting to concert their efforts to support coffee prices. We have repeatedly emphasized, during the negotiations for the modified extension of the 1968 International Coffee Agreement and on other occasions, our strong view that such unilateral producer actions are incompatible with the concept of international producer-consumer cooperation on coffee problems.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 10, 1974.

NOTE: The report, entitled "1973 Annual Report to the Congress on the International Coffee Agreement" (12 pp., plus annexes), was published by the Department of State.

French Gift for the American Bicentennial Celebration

Exchange of Remarks Between the President and French Ambassador Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet on Plans for a Sound and Light Spectacle at Mount Vernon. July 10, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. This is a splendid thing that your government in France is doing.

AMBASSADOR KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET. Yes, Mr. President. In 1976, the American people will be celebrating the Bicentennial of the independence of their Nation. Of course, the Bicentennial is an American commemoration. That is also an anniversary for France, the anniversary of our relations between our two countries, the anniversary of our participation in the Independence War, and the celebration of a friendship, devoted, which has never failed for all of history and has been filled with comments, and advice, and mutual achievements.

And because the people of France are committed to the Bicentennial of the independence of the United States, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing asked me to remit to

you a letter presenting the American people with the sound and light spectacle, which in '76 will take place at Mount Vernon on the site of the historical mansion of George Washington.

And we think it was a proper time to make this announcement in the week between Independence Day and Bastille Day.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Ambassador, I want to express appreciation on behalf of all of the American people for this splendid gesture on the part of the French people and the French Government.

And would you express my personal appreciation to your President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, for his interest in this?

I would say that any historian knows that had it not been for the support of France, the United States would not be independent today, and that special relationship is one that we Americans have never forgotten.

We have always stood by France, and France has always stood by us, and it will continue in the future.

Also, with regard to the sound and light programs, I think you should know that in 1963 I took a trip with my family through various parts of Europe and the Middle East, and I saw a sound and light program in three different places: one in Rome, one also in Athens, and another one in Cairo at the Pyramids. It is a splendid concept.

And I know that it is primarily due to those French who participated in developing the concept that those programs have been put on and to have one during our Bicentennial year, to have it at Mount Vernon, I think, is as fine a gift—we will call it that—that you can make, you and your people, to the United States.

I think hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Americans will come there to see it, and they will be reminded not only of our independence but of the part that France has played in gaining the independence and also of the continued French-American friendship, which is as strong today as it was that day, and will remain so.

AMBASSADOR KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET. Thank you, Mr. President. I will see President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing next week. I can bring your messages to him.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I will look forward to seeing him sometime in the future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Accompanying Ambassador Kosciusko-Morizet were: Administrator John W. Warner of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, Anne L. Armstrong, Counsellor to the President, and Mrs. Thomas Turner Cooke, regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association.

For the text of the letters exchanged between President Nixon and President Giscard d'Estaing, see the following item.

French Gift for the American Bicentennial Celebration

Exchange of Letters Between President Nixon and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing on Plans for a Sound and Light Spectacle at Mount Vernon. July 10, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I was greatly pleased to receive your letter of June 20 informing me that the people of France will present the people of the United States with a Sound and Light Spectacle for Mount Vernon in commemoration of the Bicentennial of the United States. It is especially fitting that this particular art form, which has been perfected in France for the purpose of dramatizing your country's great historical treasures, be utilized to dramatize one of America's most cherished symbols of its struggle for independence.

In acknowledging this generous gift on behalf of the American people, I join you, Mr. President, in a tribute to the bonds of friendship which have joined our two nations since the 18th Century, and which will continue to link them as we act together to forge a structure of peace in the years to come.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

My dear President,

The forthcoming celebration of the Bicentennial of the United States stirs in France a popular and loud echo.

We treasure the memory of the historical events which associated closely our nation to the birth and the independence of the United States of America. The friendship which links our two peoples and which has been sustained and strengthened by so many ordeals we have been through side by side originated on the land and sea battlefields of the War of Independence.

As a token of this friendship, I am pleased to let you know that we have decided to offer to the American people a "sound and light" spectacle which would take place from the year 1976 onwards, in Mount Vernon, on the site of the historical mansion of George Washington, which numerous French people, including myself, have visited.

Please accept, my dear President, the assurances of my very high consideration.

VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING

NOTE: For the exchange of remarks between President Nixon and French Ambassador Kosciusko-Morizet concerning the gift, see the preceding item.

Disaster Assistance for Ohio

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Heavy Rains and Flooding. July 11, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Ohio as a result of heavy rains and flooding, beginning about June 22, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will include temporary housing accommodations for families whose homes were destroyed or seriously damaged, debris removal, emergency protective measures, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Ohio will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Robert E. Connor, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region 5, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Civil Defense Medical and Food Stockpiles

Executive Order 11794. July 11, 1974

REVOKING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10958, RELATING TO THE CIVIL DEFENSE MEDICAL AND FOOD STOCKPILES

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1958, and as President of the United States of America, Executive Order No. 10958 of August 14, 1961 is hereby revoked.

Nothing in this order shall be deemed to modify or diminish the civil defense and emergency preparedness planning functions assigned to the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare by Executive Order No. 11490 of October 28, 1969, those

assigned to the Secretary of Defense by that order and Executive Order No. 10952 of July 20, 1961, or those assigned to the Administrator of General Services by Executive Order Nos. 10952, 11051 of September 27, 1962, 11490, or 11725 of June 27, 1973.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 11, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:07 p.m.,
July 11, 1974]

National Commission for the Observance of World Population Year, 1974

Announcement of Appointment of 20 Members and Designation of Chairman and Vice Chairmen. July 11, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of 20 persons as members of the National Commission for the Observance of World Population Year, 1974. They are:

- CLIFFORD M. HARDIN, of St. Louis, Mo., vice chairman, Ralston-Purina Co., St. Louis.
- MRS. NORMAN C. ARMITAGE, of Alexandria, Va., president, National Federation of Republican Women.
- SPRAGUE H. GARDINER, of Indianapolis, Ind., professor of obstetrics/gynecology, Indiana University School of Medicine, Indianapolis.
- EDWARD N. COLE, of Bloomfield Hills, Mich., president and chief operating officer, General Motors Corp., Detroit, Mich.
- CHARLES H. CRUTCHFIELD, of Charlotte, N.C., president, Jefferson-Pilot Broadcasting Co., Charlotte.
- LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, of Alexandria, Va., professor of economics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
- MRS. CECIL G. GRANT, of the District of Columbia, public schools coordinator of Youth Serving Youth tutoring program, and part-owner, Colour Graphic Inc., Washington, D.C.
- REV. DEXTER L. HANLEY, of Scranton, Pa., president, University of Scranton.
- MRS. JACK A. DROWN, of Rolling Hills, Calif., civic leader.
- MILDRED F. JEFFERSON, of Boston, Mass., assistant clinical professor of surgery, Boston University School of Medicine, Active General Surgery, University Hospital, Boston University Medical Center.
- JOSEPH M. SEGEL, of Yeadon, Pa., president of the Franklin Mint, Inc., Yeadon, Pa.
- FRANK W. NOTESTEIN, of Princeton, N.J., visiting senior research demographer, office of population research, Princeton University, and president emeritus, the Population Council of New York.
- AIDA CASANAS O'CONNOR, of Orangeburg, N.Y., attorney, New York State division of housing and community renewal, New York, N.Y.
- LEAHSENETH O'NEAL, of the District of Columbia, professional track star and director of tenant relations, Savage-Fogarty Companies Inc., Washington, D.C.
- FRANK A. PALUMBO, of Vienna, Va., secretary-treasurer, International Association of Fire Fighters, Washington, D.C.

EDWARD J. PISZEK, of Fort Washington, Pa., president and owner, Mrs. Paul's Kitchen, Philadelphia, Pa.
 JODY ELMER SMITH, of Ayrshire, Iowa, mayor of Ayrshire.
 ELVIS J. STAHR, JR., of Greenwich, Conn., president, National Audubon Society, Audubon House, New York, N.Y.
 ARTHUR R. TAYLOR, of Summit, N.J., president, CBS, New York, N.Y.
 NICOLAS PALEN THIMMESCH, of Chevy Chase, Md., syndicated columnist, Los Angeles Times Syndicate, Washington, D.C.

The President also announced the designation of Clifford M. Hardin to serve as Chairman and the designations of Mrs. Norman C. Armitage and Sprague H. Gardiner to serve as Vice Chairmen of the Commission.

The Commission was established by Executive Order 11763 of January 17, 1974, and consists of not more than 20 members appointed by the President from among citizens in private life. Members serve at the pleasure of the President and without compensation.

The purpose of the Commission is to promote the appropriate observance in the United States of 1974 as World Population Year. The Commission will conclude its work by the end of the year 1974 and make a report to the President on its work within 30 days thereafter, at which time the Commission shall be terminated.

Disaster Relief Functions

Executive Order 11795. July 11, 1974

DELEGATING DISASTER RELIEF FUNCTIONS PURSUANT TO THE DISASTER RELIEF ACT OF 1974

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Disaster Relief Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-288; 88 Stat. 143), section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. (a) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is designated and empowered to exercise without the approval, ratification, or other action by the President, all of the authority vested in the President by the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, hereinafter referred to as the "act", except: (1) the authority vested in the President by section 301 of the act to declare emergencies and major disasters, by section 313 of the act to prescribe time limits for granting priorities for certain public facilities and certain public housing assistance, by section 401 of the act to provide for the repair, reconstruction, restoration, or replacement of Federal facilities, by section 412 to provide legal services, and by title V to provide for economic recovery, which are hereby reserved to the President; (2) the authority vested in the President by that part of section 202(c) of the act concerning the utilization and availability of the Federal civil defense communications

system for the purpose of disaster warnings which the Secretary of Defense is empowered to exercise by this order; and (3) the authority vested in the President by section 409 of the act concerning food coupons and distribution, which the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered to exercise by this order.

(b) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development may delegate or assign to the head of any agency of the executive branch of the Government, subject to the consent of the agency head concerned in each case, any authority or function delegated or assigned to the Secretary by the provisions of this section. Any such head of the agency may redelegate any authority or function so delegated or assigned to him by the Secretary to any officer or employee subordinate to such head of the agency.

(c) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall prepare a plan for the implementation of the provisions of section 412 of the act, relating to legal services, and shall submit that plan to the President through the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of Defense is designated and empowered to exercise, without the approval, ratification, or other action of the President, the authority vested in the President by section 202(c) of the act concerning the utilization and availability of the Federal civil defense communications system for the purpose of disaster warnings.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of Agriculture is designated and empowered to exercise, without the approval, ratification, or other action of the President, all of the authority vested in the President by section 409 of the act concerning food coupons and distribution.

SEC. 4. This order shall be effective as of May 22, 1974, and all actions taken by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development pursuant to the act prior to the date of this order are, to the extent such actions would be authorized and under this order, ratified.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
 July 11, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:26 a.m.,
 July 12, 1974]

Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974

*The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony
 at the White House. July 12, 1974*

On this occasion, I would like to speak briefly about the significance of this bill. The major problem facing

the country today, whether it is abroad or at home, is the problem of inflation. This bill deals with that problem, and that problem is one that affects every American.

There are many causes for inflation, as we know, but a major cause for inflation is overspending by government, when government spends more than it takes in in revenues. And this bill addresses that particular part of the problem because as we work together to keep down the cost of government, it means that we can help keep down the cost of living for every American.

I should say that one of the reasons we have had difficulties in the past in this respect—and I speak not only of this Administration but all administrations, Democrat and Republican—is that too often the Congress has been, and both sides in this respect, and the executive have appeared to be at odds.

But fighting inflation is everybody's battle. It is not a Republican battle or a Democratic battle. It isn't the executive's battle or the Congress' battle. Everybody must fight together.

What this bill is is the most significant reform of budget procedures since the Congress and this country began. What this bill does is to provide a means whereby the Congress and the executive, not only now but in administrations to come, will work together to keep the budget from getting out of control.

And by working together, it means that by keeping down the cost of government, as I have already indicated, we can help every American family balance their family budgets.

I want to express particularly the appreciation that is due to the members of the committee who have worked a long time, as you can see from the size of this bill, to develop it. I want to commend the bipartisan spirit which motivated it throughout. And I would say finally that that same spirit of bipartisanship, that same spirit of cooperation, not only between parties but between the Congress and the executive, will enable us to achieve two goals: one, to see that the '75 budget in which we are currently working does not go beyond the amounts that we proposed when we first submitted it, and two, to achieve a goal in the 200th year of this Nation's history that we all want to achieve, of a balanced budget in 1976.

That is our goal; we are out to achieve it. We believe this battle can be won, but it can only be won by the Congress and the President working together.

That is why I pledge, certainly, my cooperation in this respect, and I know, from having signed this bill and the work that went into it, that we will have the cooperation of Congress.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:25 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. As enacted, the bill (H.R. 7130) is Public Law 93-344, approved July 12, 1974.

For a statement by the President on the bill, see the following item.

Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. July 12, 1974

I take special pleasure today in signing H.R. 7130, the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. I commend the Congress for this landmark legislation, and I pledge the full support of the executive branch in helping fulfill the great promise of this bill.

In each of my five Budget Messages I have urged the Congress to review and reform its procedures for considering the Federal budget and pledged the support and cooperation of this Administration in achieving this vital national goal. During the past year, the Congressional committees concerned worked energetically and effectively with this in mind. H.R. 7130 is the result.

Under this legislation, the Congress will, for the first time, focus on overall budget totals early in the legislative process and then relate individual appropriation items to each other within a general set of spending priorities.

Budget committees in the House and Senate, assisted by a new Congressional Budget Office, will be established to develop overall spending levels and priorities.

A tight timetable is established for Congressional action on authorizing legislation and appropriation bills, and a reconciliation process is provided to bring appropriation bills into line with prescribed overall budget totals.

In short, this bill will allow the Congress to step up to full and equal responsibility for controlling Federal expenditures.

Prior to the enactment of this bill, the Congress has had to consider a large number of separate measures with no system for establishing priorities relating to an overall spending goal. This system did not impose sufficient disciplines on the Congress to stop the passage of pork-barrel legislation or to resist the pressure of special interest groups seeking a disproportionate share of the tax dollar. Costly programs could be enacted without adequate consideration of their added burden to the taxpayer. This lack of discipline in Congressional procedures has been one of the major factors behind the sizable increases in Federal spending over the past decade.

The Congress has wisely recognized these weaknesses and taken steps to correct them through the passage of this legislation.

There are provisions in this bill I hope will be simplified if the requirements imposed by them prove to be restrictive. The impoundment control provisions, in particular, may well limit the ability of the Federal Government to respond promptly and effectively to rapid changes in economic conditions.

Nevertheless, this bill represents a major step toward reform of the Congressional budgetary system. Its enactment is especially timely because an excessive rate of inflation makes the need for careful consideration and control over Government spending more crucial than ever. Already the Congress has enacted, or has pending, programs which could add some \$4 billion to our 1975 budget proposals of \$305 billion. I will have no choice but to veto bills which substantially exceed my budget.

The 1976 budget also gives us the opportunity to work together to face our fiscal responsibilities. In the near future, I will send to each department and agency their preliminary budget guidance for 1976. It will reflect a balanced budget in 1976. To achieve this balance, I plan to propose a broad range of legislation which will be needed to cut back individual programs.

I am confident that the Congress will assist me in this effort to keep spending from exceeding my proposed budget levels. H.R. 7130 will permit the high level of cooperation which will be required to achieve this critical goal.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 7130) is Public Law 93-344, approved July 12, 1974.

For the President's remarks at the bill signing ceremony, see the preceding item.

Captive Nations Week, 1974

Proclamation 4302. July 12, 1974

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

Consistent with the principles upon which this Nation was founded, we believe that democratic liberties are among the basic human rights to which all men are entitled. We do not seek to impose our beliefs upon others, but we do not hide our sympathies towards the desires of those who, like us, cherish liberty and self-determination. In support of this sentiment, the Eighty-Sixth Congress on July 17, 1959, by a joint resolution, authorized and requested the President to proclaim the third week in July in each year as Captive Nations Week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 14, 1974, as Captive Nations Week.

I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge rededication to the cherished ideal of freedom for all.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen

hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:49 p.m., July 12, 1974]

Wushu Troupe From the People's Republic of China

The President's Remarks to Members of the Martial Arts and Acrobatic Troupe During Their Visit to the White House. July 12, 1974

Mr. Ambassador, we want to express our appreciation to the performers who have been here today at the White House, and I only wish that we could see the entire performance. From what I have heard, it has been an enormous success at the Kennedy Center on Wednesday night.

This is another of a series of visits between our two countries that began in the year 1972. And what we think is important is that this is another demonstration of the basic friendship between the Chinese people and the American people.

We believe that the Chinese people are a great people. We believe the American people are a great people. And we believe that our two peoples have always been destined to be friends and never enemies. And we know that as you travel through the United States that you will certainly make many friends for the Chinese people, and we know, too, that as we have an opportunity to welcome you that you will convey to our friends in the People's Republic of China our warm good wishes to Chairman Mao, to Premier Chou En-lai, and all our good friends we met in 1972.

Normalization of relations between our two countries continues to be a major goal of American foreign policy, and while this, of course, is primarily an entertainment group, I can assure you that this symbolizes the evidence that both of our governments are making to bring our two countries closer together and our two peoples closer together.

And I would simply say finally that if I ever need a bodyguard, I will just take these three with me [*referring to the three youngest members of the troupe*].

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The 48-member troupe was in Washington for performances at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Ambassador Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China in Washington, accompanied the troupe.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

July 7

The President went by helicopter to Palm Beach, Fla., to visit the Mar-A-Lago estate which was bequeathed to the Federal Government upon the death of Marjorie Merriweather Post as a temporary residence for visiting foreign dignitaries and heads of state. He then returned to Key Biscayne.

The President returned to Washington from his home in Key Biscayne, Fla.

July 8

Vice President Ford met with the President in the Oval Office at the White House to review the President's trip to Belgium and the Soviet Union and to discuss domestic legislation.

On behalf of the President, Special Counsel James D. St. Clair presented oral argument in the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *United States v. Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, et al.*, and *Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States v. United States*.

HEW Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger met with the President at the White House to discuss current legislation pending before the Congress.

The President met with Counsellors Anne L. Armstrong, Dean Burch, and Kenneth Rush.

July 9

Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon met with the President at the White House to discuss the Secretary's upcoming trip to the Middle East and Europe.

The President met with a group of economic advisers. Participating in the meeting were: Counsellor to the President Kenneth Rush, Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, and Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Ambassador James D. Hodgson called on the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as U.S. Ambassador to Japan.

Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, met with the President to discuss the domestic economy and the budget.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton and Under Secretary John C. Whitaker met with the President at the White House.

July 10

The bipartisan Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House. The President and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger briefed the leaders on the President's meetings in Brussels and the Soviet Union.

Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan met with the President to discuss the problem of unemployment and Labor Department programs.

The President today accepted, with the deepest gratitude for his distinguished service, the resignation of Maj. Gen. Charles L. Southward as Commanding General of the District of Columbia National Guard, effective August 2, 1974.

The President today accepted, with appreciation for his contributions, the resignation of John Ellis O'Neill as a member of the National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services, effective today.

The President today submitted to Judge Gerhard A. Gesell sworn response to written interrogatories in the case of *United States of America v. John D. Ehrlichman, et al.*

Ten Congressmen were the President's guests for dinner on board the Presidential yacht *Sequoia*.

July 11

The President held a breakfast meeting at the White House with House Republican leaders John J. Rhodes and Leslie C. Arends and Vice President Ford. They discussed the legislative calendar for the remainder of the year.

The President met with the Cabinet to discuss the problem of inflation.

The President met with a group of business leaders and economists to discuss the state of the economy.

The President today accepted, with deep gratitude for his service, the resignation of Eugene E. Berg as Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics, effective July 15, 1974.

The President transmitted to the Congress the fourth annual report of the Secretary of Transportation on hazardous materials control, as required by the Hazardous Materials Transportation Control Act of 1970.

Senate Republican leaders Hugh Scott and Robert P. Griffin and Vice President Ford met with the President to discuss the legislative calendar for the remainder of the year.

Senator Carl T. Curtis of Nebraska and Representative LaMar Baker of Tennessee met with the President.

July 12

The President met with Dana Mead of the Domestic Council who is leaving the White House Staff to join the faculty of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.

The President met with Roy Goodearle who is leaving his position as Associate Director of the Oil and Gas Division in the Department of the Interior.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz met with the President at the White House.

The President announced his intention to nominate Joseph W. Keene, of Shreveport, La., for reappointment as United States Marshal for the Western District of Louisiana for a term of 4 years.

The President left Washington for a stay at his home in San Clemente, Calif.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved July 4, 1974

S.J. Res. 218..... Public Law 93-331
Joint resolution to extend by thirty days the expiration date of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945.

Approved July 8, 1974

H.R. 1376..... Private Law 93-77
An act for the relief of J. B. Riddle.
H.R. 8747..... Public Law 93-334
An act to repeal section 274 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the District of Columbia, requiring compulsory vaccination against smallpox for public school students.

H.R. 8823..... Private Law 93-78
An act for the relief of James A. Wentz.
H.R. 9800..... Public Law 93-336
An act to amend sections 2733 and 2734 of title 10, United States Code, and section 715 of title 32, United States Code, to increase the maximum amount of a claim against the United States that may be paid administratively under those sections and to allow increased delegation of authority to settle and pay certain of those claims.

H.R. 12412..... Public Law 93-333
Foreign Disaster Assistance Act of 1974.
H.R. 12799..... Public Law 93-332
An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to extend the authorization for appropriations, and for other purposes.

H.R. 15124..... Public Law 93-335
An act to amend Public Law 93-233 to extend for an additional twelve months (until July 1, 1975) the eligibility of supplemental security income recipients for food stamps.

Approved July 9, 1974

H.R. 5266..... Private Law 93-79
An act for the relief of Ursula E. Moore.

Approved July 10, 1974

S. 3490..... Public Law 93-338
An act providing that funds apportioned for forest highways under section 202(a), title 23, United States Code, remain available until expended.

S. 3705..... Public Law 93-337
An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide a ten-year delimiting period for the pursuit of educational programs by veterans, wives, and widows.

H.R. 8660..... Public Law 93-340
An act to amend title 5 of the United States Code (relating to Government organization and employees) to assist Federal employees in meeting their tax obligations under city ordinances.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved July 10, 1974—Continued

H.R. 8977..... Public Law 93-341
An act to establish in the State of Florida the Egmont Key National Wildlife Refuge.

H.R. 13221..... Public Law 93-342
An act to authorize appropriations for the saline water program for fiscal year 1975, and for other purposes.

H.R. 14291..... Public Law 93-339
An act to amend the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Act of 1950 to permit United States participation in international enforcement of fish conservation in additional geographic areas, pursuant to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, 1949, and for other purposes.

H.R. 15296..... Public Law 93-343
An act to authorize the Commissioner of Education to carry out a program to assist persons from disadvantaged backgrounds to undertake training for the legal profession.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted July 8, 1974

ROBERT EVERARD MONTGOMERY, Jr., of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Federal Energy Administration (new position).

ROGER WEST SANT, of California, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration (new position).

STEPHEN S. GARDNER, of Pennsylvania, to be Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, vice William E. Simon, elevated.

RICHARD R. ALBRECHT, of Washington, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury, vice Edward C. Schmults, elevated.

Submitted July 9, 1974

J. RAYMOND BELL, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term of 3 years from October 22, 1974 (reappointment).

JAMES C. HILL, of Georgia, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Georgia, vice Sidney O. Smith Jr., resigned.

A. ROBY HADDEN, of Texas, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Texas for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted July 9, 1974—Continued

ARTHUR F. VAN COURT, of California, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of California for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

JOHN A. BIRKES, JR., of Massachusetts, to be United States Marshal for the District of Massachusetts for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Submitted July 10, 1974

WILLIAM D. EBERLE, of Connecticut, to be Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy (new position).

Submitted July 11, 1974

MURRAY I. GURFEIN, of New York, to be a United States Circuit Judge, Second Circuit, vice Paul R. Hays, retiring.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released July 8, 1974

News conference: on current legislation pending in Congress—by Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

Released July 9, 1974

News conference: on the President's meeting with a group of his economic advisers—by Kenneth Rush, Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy

Released July 10, 1974

Fact sheet: French Bicentennial gift

Released July 11, 1974

News conference: on the President's meeting with a group of business leaders and economists—by Kenneth Rush, Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy

Statement: on White House tapes—by James D. St. Clair, Special Counsel to the President

Released July 12, 1974

Fact sheet: Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974

News conference: on the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974—by Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Editor's Note

Note Concerning the Closing Date of This Issue

The President left Washington on Friday, July 12, for a stay at his home in San Clemente, Calif. Releases issued there but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be published next week.

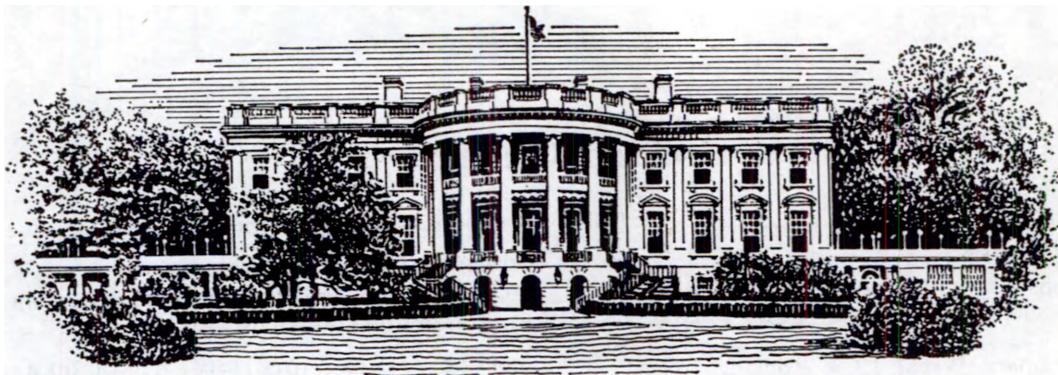
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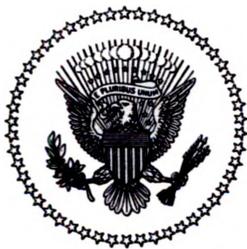


JUL 29 1974

The University
of Michigan
Reference

Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, July 22, 1974



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Pages 805-818

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Richard Nixon

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, July 20, 1974

United States Space Week, 1974

Proclamation 4303. July 13, 1974

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

Just five years ago, two Americans thrilled the world when they took man's first steps on the moon.

The heavens have intrigued and mystified man for all of recorded history. In that single journey five years ago, man's knowledge of our universe, diligently gathered over the centuries, resulted in a spectacular leap away from the earth.

That leap was more than a tribute to man: it was also a tribute to America, for it would never have been possible without a concerted, cooperative effort joining Government, industry and science. Organized and led by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and supported by our citizens, the Apollo program showed what America can do when our people agree on a goal and follow through to achieve it.

The knowledge to be gained from space will lead to scientific, technological, medical and industrial advances which cannot be fully perceived today. In time man may take for granted in the heavens such wonders as we cannot imagine—just as superhighways across America would amaze the Puritans of 1620 or transatlantic flights would astound those who passed on the legend of Icarus. But we know that a beginning has been made that will affect the course of human life forever.

It is entirely fitting that we should commemorate the beginnings of man's journey into his universe on the anniversary of that first landing on the moon by the men of Apollo 11.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period July 16 through July 24, 1974, as United States Space Week and urge the people of the Nation to mark this period in ways that express their pride in the leading role our Nation has played in the exploration and use of space which can contribute so greatly to a better land and a better world.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:40 a.m.,
July 15, 1974]

NOTE: The text of the proclamation was released at San Clemente, Calif.

For a related release, see p. 815 of this issue.

Disaster Assistance for Minnesota

*Announcement of Disaster Declaration and
Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Storms
and Flooding. July 13, 1974*

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Minnesota as a result of severe storms and flooding, beginning about June 18, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will include disaster unemployment assistance for eligible individuals, debris removal, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the

Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Minnesota will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Robert E. Connor, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region 5, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Robert L. DuPont, Jr., To Be Administrator. July 15, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert L. DuPont, Jr., of Chevy Chase, Md., to be Administrator of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-282 of May 14, 1974.

Dr. DuPont has served since June 12, 1973, as Director of Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention. From 1970 to 1973, he was administrator of the Narcotics Treatment Administration of the District of Columbia government's Department of Human Resources.

He was born on March 25, 1936, in Toledo, Ohio. Dr. DuPont attended high school in Colorado, received his B.A. from Emory University in 1958 and his M.D. from Harvard Medical School in 1963. His post-graduate training includes medical intern, Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital (1963-64); psychiatric resident and teaching fellow, Massachusetts Mental Health Center, Harvard Medical School (1964-66); clinical associate, National Institutes of Health (1966-68).

Dr. DuPont, from 1968 to 1970, was a research psychiatrist and acting associate director for community services of the District of Columbia Department of Corrections. He is a consultant to the Veterans Administration, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Special

Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention. He is also a member of the National Advisory Council on Drug Abuse Prevention, the Drug Abuse Task Force of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, and the Advisory Board of the National Drug Abuse Training Center. Dr. DuPont was the recipient of the 1971-72 Melvin C. Hazen Award, presented to the outstanding young man in the D.C. government by the Downtown Jaycees.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Securities and Exchange Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Philip A. Loomis, Jr., for Reappointment as a Member of the Commission. July 15, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Philip A. Loomis, Jr., for reappointment as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1979.

Mr. Loomis has been with the Securities and Exchange Commission since 1954 and has been a member of the Commission since August 13, 1971. From 1963 to 1971, he was General Counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission, after serving from 1955 to 1963 as Associate Director (1955), then Director (1955-63), of the Division of Trading Exchanges (now Trading and Markets).

In his capacity as General Counsel to the Commission, Mr. Loomis drafted the 1960 amendments to the Investment Advisory Act of 1940 and had the primary staff responsibility for the legislation which became the Securities Acts Amendments of 1964. He also supervised the staff work on the legislation which became the Securities Investor Protection Act of 1970.

He was born June 11, 1915, in Colorado Springs, Colo. Mr. Loomis earned his A.B. at Princeton University in 1938 with highest honors. He is a 1941 cum laude graduate of Yale Law School. Mr. Loomis received the Career Service Award of the National Civil Service League in 1964, the SEC Distinguished Service Award in 1966, and the Justice Tom C. Clark Award in 1971. He is a member of the American Bar Association, Federal Bar Association, and Los Angeles Bar Association.

Mr. Loomis and his three daughters reside in Chevy Chase, Md., and maintain legal residence in Pasadena, Calif.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

General Carl A. Spaatz

Statement by the President on the Death of the First U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff. July 15, 1974

As a pioneer Army aviator, as the leader of the largest single air command in the history of military aviation, and as the first U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, Gen. Carl Spaatz served his country with courage, honor, and ability and earned for himself a place in history.

No individual deserved more credit than General Spaatz for creating the proud, independent tradition of the U.S. Air Force and for building America's supremacy in the air.

Mrs. Nixon and I join with all our fellow citizens in extending our sympathy to his wife and family, and in mourning the passing of a great patriot and a great military leader.

NOTE: Carl A. Spaatz, 83, died at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Washington, D.C., on July 14. He served as first Air Force Chief of Staff from September 1947 until his retirement in 1948.

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

National Security Investigations and Wiretaps

Text of the President's Letter to Chairman J. William Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Dated July 12, 1974. Released July 15, 1974

Your letter of June 25 has been brought to my attention, and I welcome this opportunity to affirm my public statement of May 22, 1973, as quoted in your letter, and to add the following comments.

You appreciate, I am sure, the crucial importance of secrecy in negotiations with foreign countries. Without secret negotiations and essential confidentiality, the United States could not have secured a ceasefire in South Vietnam, opened relations with the People's Republic of China, or realized progress in our relations on the SALT negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The circumstances that led to my decision to direct the initiation of an investigative program in 1969 are described in detail in the May 22 statement. I ordered the use of the most effective investigative procedures possible, including wiretaps, to deal with certain critically important national security problems. Where supporting evidence was available, I personally directed the surveillance, including wiretapping, of certain specific individuals.

I am familiar with the testimony given by Secretary Kissinger before your Committee to the effect that he performed the function, at my request, of furnishing information about individuals within investigative categories that I established so that an appropriate and effective investigation could be conducted in each case. This testimony is entirely correct; and I wish to affirm categorically that Secretary Kissinger and others involved in various aspects of this investigation were operating under my specific authority and were carrying out my express orders.

NOTE: The text of the letter was made available by the White House Press Office at San Clemente, Calif. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Office of Economic Opportunity

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Bert A. Gallegos To Be Director. July 16, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bert A. Gallegos, of Denver, Colo., to be Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. He will succeed Alvin J. Arnett, who has held the position since September 20, 1973, and who has resigned effective July 31, 1974.

Mr. Gallegos has served since March 10, 1972, as Assistant Director and General Counsel of the Office of Economic Opportunity. From 1950 to 1972, he was engaged in the private practice of law in Denver, and he served in the Colorado State Legislature from 1956 to 1964. Mr. Gallegos was a member of the Denver school board from 1971 until he assumed his current position.

He was born on September 19, 1922, in Santa Fe, N. Mex. Mr. Gallegos received his B.A. (1942), LL.B. (1945), M.P.A. (1972), and Ph. D. (1972) degrees from the University of Colorado.

Mr. Gallegos resides in Falls Church, Va.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Imports of Brandy

Proclamation 4304. July 16, 1974

TERMINATION, IN PART, OF THE SUSPENSION OF BENEFITS OF TRADE AGREEMENT CONCESSIONS AND ADJUSTMENT OF DUTY ON CERTAIN BRANDY

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

1. WHEREAS, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States

of America, including section 252(c) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1882(c)) and section 350(a)(6) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1351(a)(6)), the President, in response to certain unreasonable import restrictions on poultry from the United States maintained by the European Economic Community (the EEC), suspended, by Proclamation No. 3564 of December 4, 1963, the application of the benefits of certain trade agreement concessions;

2. WHEREAS, the President has determined that it is in the interest of the United States to restore, in part, the application of the benefits of trade agreement concessions suspended by Proclamation No. 3564 in order to encourage the resolution of outstanding trade disputes between the United States and the EEC, including the removal of unreasonable import restrictions on poultry from the United States maintained by the EEC;

3. WHEREAS, section 255(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and section 350(a)(6) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, authorize the termination, in whole or in part, of a proclamation issued pursuant to title II of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, respectively.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States of America, including section 255(b) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, in order to restore the application of the benefits of trade agreement con-

cessions on certain brandy valued over \$9 per gallon, suspended by Proclamation 3564 of December 4, 1963, do hereby proclaim—

(1) the termination of such part of Proclamation 3564 of December 4, 1963 as proclaims a rate of duty inconsistent with that provided for in the amendment made by paragraph (2) of this proclamation; and

(2) the amendment of subpart B of part 2 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States to read as follows:

Item	Article	Rates of duty	
		1	2
945.16	Brandy, valued over \$17.00 per gallon provided for in items 168.20 and 168.22.	\$5 per gal.	No change

The rates provided for in the amendment made by paragraph (2) of this proclamation shall be effective as to all articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on and after July 1, 1974.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:33 a.m., July 17, 1974]

NOTE: The text of the proclamation was released at San Clemente, Calif.

GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVE DEVELOPMENT

The President's Message to the Congress Proposing Enactment of Programs To Improve Training and Selection of Government Executives. July 17, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

Over the past four decades as the Federal Government has grown larger and more powerful, the people it serves have expressed widespread dissatisfaction that the Government has also grown increasingly unresponsive to their needs.

One of the foremost objectives of this Administration has been to reverse that trend, restoring the original vitality of the federal system and returning the traditional power of the people over their governing bodies.

At the centerpiece of our efforts has been the concept of New Federalism and the many programs such as General Revenue Sharing which help to carry out its principles.

Through revenue sharing programs, we are seeking to channel funds, authority and responsibility to those governments that are best able and willing to serve the needs of the people. General Revenue Sharing is

already providing States and localities with a predictable amount of Federal funds with a minimum number of restrictions and controls. In a similar vein, State influence has been increased through our grant program for law enforcement assistance, and we have sought to replace a score of categorical grants for manpower programs with a block grant approach. The next steps along this road should be the establishment of block grants for community development, enactment of the Unified Transportation Act, and enactment of the Responsive Governments Act.

Supporting these New Federalism initiatives has been a concurrent effort to rationalize and streamline the organization of Government departments and agencies. We have created an independent United States Postal Service, and we have established the Environmental Protection Agency, the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Federal Energy Administration as well as other new organizations. I have also proposed to the Congress and continue to support a fundamental realignment of the executive departments.

In addition, we have established regional boundaries and Federal regional councils to harmonize activities of the principal agencies disbursing grants-in-aid, and we have greatly improved Federal consultation with State and locally elected officials on the administration of federally assisted programs.

IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT

Yet we recognize that even as we work to change basic relationships among Federal, State and local governments through our New Federalism efforts, it is also vitally important to ensure that the people who manage the institutions of government become as efficient and responsive to human needs as possible.

To improve general management of the Federal Government, I launched an intensive effort last year to establish clear objectives for Federal agencies and departments and to measure our progress toward meeting those objectives—not by producing a thinly veiled display of activity or by rearranging work processes but by producing specific program results. Each major department and agency has been working with me in developing objectives to be achieved throughout the year, and they are measuring specific results by specific deadlines. These commitments are continually reviewed and help to guide day-to-day operations until the objectives are met.

Today I call upon the Congress to join me in carrying forward our program of managerial reform by enacting and otherwise supporting a comprehensive series of changes to improve the quality of management at all levels of government.

Specifically, I ask the support of the Congress for my proposals to begin a large-scale effort aimed at upgrading the training and education of government executives and to institute reforms in the personnel system by which Federal executive manpower is managed. These two initiatives should contribute substantially to the achievement of fundamental, long-term improvements in the capacity of governments to manage their programs more effectively.

EDUCATING CAREER EXECUTIVES

I propose that we give first attention to improving the means by which our current managers and executives learn the art of public management. Such learning comes from both work experiences and formal education and training. Because of the lack of appropriate emphasis, many of our career managers and executives have not had the benefit of recent education or training in modern methods of management. American business and industry have proved that education and training in management improves the capacity of people to lead more effectively. The level of investments in this type of training made by progressive private employers greatly exceeds public sector investments for the same purpose. It is time that government caught up.

Therefore, I am taking three related actions:

First, I am instructing the Civil Service Commission to establish a Program Management Fellowship with selected colleges and universities for postgraduate educational programs for Federal executives. I shall recommend to the Congress an appropriation of \$10 million for the first 250 Federal participants in this program. This sum will pay for both tuition and salaries of those in the program. In this program our best career employees will increase their managerial perspective and expertise and will learn more effective ways of administering significant governmental activities such as delivery of health care, transportation, and community development.

Special program emphasis of this kind, when coupled with curriculum offerings in up-to-date management, will equip our public executives to meet the demands of highly complex programs so that they will deliver what they promise to the American people. To support the planning, installation, and continuing conduct of these special educational programs and to ensure that the best candidates are selected on a competitive basis, I propose that they be centrally financed and administered by the Civil Service Commission.

Second, I propose to increase the management capability of State and local program managers through additional postgraduate education. Under the authority of the Intergovernmental Personnel Act, State and local government personnel will have the opportunity to collaborate with their Federal colleagues in the Program Management Fellowship if they so choose. Having key leaders from Federal, State, and local governments learn together about management as it applies to their program responsibilities should improve the program delivery capability at all levels of government. To support this new program, to increase the level of short-term management training available to State and local managers, and to continue to improve personnel management will require amending the Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA) and a doubling of the current \$15 million appropriation request for the IPA Program. With these funds it will be possible to educate, through long-term programs alone, approximately 250 State and local managers a year, while paying a portion of their salaries. I hope this approach will encourage State and local governments to increase their own development and training of executives.

My third proposal is to accelerate the management development of career Federal executives through short-term training courses. I am asking the Civil Service Commission to move promptly to acquire a perma-

ment facility for the Federal Executive Institute on the professional and graduate grounds of the University of Virginia. The Federal Executive Institute has already demonstrated its value. Now it is time to enlarge its capability. The Institute would be enlarged and have its functions expanded to handle the knowledge and skill needs of our future executives. The Federal Government looks forward to cooperating with the State of Virginia in this effort.

IMPROVING CAREER EXECUTIVE PERSONNEL SYSTEMS

Executive performance in the Federal government is currently hampered by a cumbersome, fragmented personnel system, by weak selection procedures, and by the absence of financial incentives for career employees. To rectify these conditions, I am taking four actions.

Federal executives are employed under a number of appointing authorities which make the effective management and utilization of this valuable resource very difficult. There can be no comprehensive, periodic review of each agency's total need for positions by either the Civil Service Commission or the Congress. Further, the manner in which a majority of these people are classified and paid is unreasonably inflexible and provides limited opportunity to recognize differences in individual performance and ability.

The Congress has given preliminary consideration and provided advice on the first proposal the Administration made to reform the executive manpower management system. I soon will be sending to the Congress new legislation which incorporates earlier Congressional views. The new Executive Personnel System I propose will:

1. Provide flexibility to assign senior career executives where they are most needed;
2. Compensate on the basis of individual capability within broad salary bands;
3. Remove the current, inflexible quotas and other statutory allocations applicable on the number in the highest three grades, but maintain a responsible oversight on the total number;
4. Recognize the distinction between the executives with career commitments and those temporarily working for the Government; and,
5. Improve the overall management of our total executive resources by providing for a comprehensive annual analysis and review by the Congress and the executive branch.

Enactment of this legislation would provide the means to build and maintain an effective and responsive Federal executive work force. I urge early and favorable consideration by the Congress.

Second, I strongly urge prompt congressional action on the recommendation for pay increases for Federal executives that I submitted on May 7, 1974. The failure of the Congress to approve higher salaries for the executive, legislative, and judicial branches has created a severe problem within the Government that needs to be remedied quickly. Some 10,000 executives are now paid the same salary. This pay compression denies fair increases in compensation and the incentive to seek greater responsibility. For many of the top staff within the Government, it has

become financially more rewarding to retire than to remain in the Federal service. Failure to relieve this situation may well lead to a serious decline in the quality of our management capability.

Third, to insure that those individuals entering our executive ranks in the future are managerially fit, I have asked the Civil Service Commission to improve the criteria by which individuals are judged for those positions. There must be assurance that these individuals have been adequately prepared to handle their new responsibilities. While technical competence will remain a factor in filling executive positions with leadership responsibilities, demonstrated managerial capability will be more heavily weighed in the future.

Finally, I am calling for and supporting new and original efforts to reward outstanding performance among our executives. We do not offer our executives strong personal incentives to be aggressive and achieve results. Often our most deserving and promising civil servants leave the Government in search of employers who are better able to recognize and reward their ability. We cannot afford to lose such people.

Therefore, I am directing that the Incentive Awards Program be more widely utilized to recognize outstanding managerial performance. There will be experimentation with group awards that executives can selectively use to reward subordinate managers who are especially effective. But awards for outstanding individual executive performance will also continue. We must overcome traditional reluctance to use these legislative authorities to reward executive excellence.

BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE

Both the Congress and the President must act responsibly to create an executive work force at the national level that is second to none. There is no more demanding nor vital career than executive management in the Federal service. We should act now in order to achieve the long term reforms that build and maintain an executive corps capable of dealing with the policy and management complexities of the future.

The new initiatives I am taking and the legislation I am proposing are designed to build upon the efforts made by this Administration over the past five years to reform the management of government programs. Within the past year, significant progress has been made to make the investments necessary to develop our finest career managers and executives. We must not imperil the future by failing in our duty to prepare career executives to carry out their responsibilities with skill and wisdom.

What I am proposing is an essential part of my efforts to enable governments, at all levels, to deliver what they promise. Not everyone can manage the public's business. The measures I am today proposing will develop those who can.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 17, 1974.

NOTE: The text of the message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Death of Dizzy Dean

Statement by the President. July 17, 1974

To my generation of Americans, Dizzy Dean will always be remembered as the blazing young fastballer who led the Gashouse Gang of St. Louis to the pinnacle of baseball glory. To the young, Dizzy will also be remembered as the sportscaster who brought an extra touch of excitement and color to every game he covered. Dizzy Dean was indeed a man for all generations, and America is saddened today by his death.

Mrs. Nixon and I join sports fans everywhere in mourning the loss of this legendary figure.

NOTE: Dizzy Dean, 63, died at St. Mary's Hospital in Reno, Nev., on July 17, 1974. He was a pitcher with the St. Louis Cardinals from 1930 to 1938 and was elected to the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum in 1953.

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency

The President's Telephone Remarks to Members of the Committee Meeting in Washington. July 18, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Rabbi Korff.

RABBI KORFF. Mr. President, good evening, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. It is good to hear your voice.

RABBI KORFF. Thank you so much, Mr. President.

If I may, just for a moment before you proceed, read to you the sentiments of this assembly.

Dear Mr. President, those who have admired you since your political youth can now only paraphrase Robert Frost: We do not find you changed from him we knew, only more sure of all you thought was true. Sure that your country has both the will and the resources to sustain its freedom at home and share its bounty abroad. Sure that any government of the people must be close to their supervision, bound by their frugality, and limited to their purpose. Sure that the people's rights can be protected only by a Constitution plainly read and strictly interpreted. Certain, despite your detractors, that history is shaped by the stalwart and vindicates the brave. Indeed, in your case, history's verdict is already clear.

Now, Mr. President, we are all ready to listen to you.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first I want to extend to you, Rabbi Korff, and all of our very distinguished friends tonight, our appreciation not only for your warm words, but also to each of you for attending this dinner.

I regret that Mrs. Nixon and I were unable to attend the Second Citizens' Congress, but I can assure you that the Nixon family will be well represented, because I talked

to Julie a little earlier in Indianapolis, and she is flying in from her job there, and will be there to represent the family.

And I think you will agree, all of you, after you hear Julie, that no President could have a better personal representative than Julie.

Your efforts to build a grassroots organization, Rabbi Korff, with 2 million members, reminds me of something that General de Gaulle once said, it is one of my favorite quotations. He said that France is never her true self unless she is engaged in a great enterprise. That was true of France, of any great nation.

Here in America, we have all been guided by that same sense of national purpose and what has made America the great nation it is today is that our people have always devoted themselves to great enterprise, enterprises greater than themselves.

In these difficult times, when world peace depends so fundamentally upon the strength and the unity of America, you have joined together, Democrats and Republicans, to support an office which is bigger than any party, the office of the Presidency of the United States.

And I know that each one of you has made a personal sacrifice to further that great enterprise. I realize, from having talked to Rabbi Korff, that caravans have come all the way from California, from States in the Mountain States, the Midwest, the Northeast, and I am very grateful for the fact that all of you have done this on your own expense because you believe in something.

I am particularly indebted to you for personal reasons. But others will follow me in this office beginning in 1977, when I shall have finished my term of office to which I was elected. And those future Presidents will thank you, all of you in this group tonight, and your hundreds of thousands of colleagues across the Nation, for rallying behind the office of the Presidency at this crucial time.

You have persisted under the most adverse and sometimes the unfairest sort of criticism. You have never wavered. You have not lost your faith when many would like to see you do so, and you have not quit when quitting might have been easier, and you are not going to quit because we are going to continue until we win.

As long as you have this kind of strength in fighting for a cause you believe in, a cause bigger than yourselves, as long as America has this kind of strength, we shall never fail to remain, in Lincoln's words, the last best hope of earth.

I also want to express my appreciation for the tribute you are paying tonight especially to members of the White House Staff and others within the executive branch. The men and women you are honoring deserve the praise of all Americans, for they are unstinting but often unsung in their service to the country, service that most of them render at great personal sacrifice. And by your support for them and for the office of the Presidency, you make

it possible for all of us to carry out our responsibilities more effectively.

While I know Rabbi Korff would not want me to have this personal reference, I do think that all of those with whom he has worked will appreciate it, as I do. Rabbi Korff's eloquence, his intelligence, his dedication have been a great source of strength to me and all of us in these difficult times.

I want to thank each and every one of you for your friendship and support. I just wish I could be there to shake hands with each of you and to thank you personally.

And I say in conclusion, let us continue to work together, because together we shall keep America on its great mission of bringing a new era of peace with justice for the world and progress and opportunity for every American at home.

Thank you very much.

RABBI KORFF. Would you listen, Mr. President, to the response of the people.

(*Crowd chanting "We love Nixon."*)

Mr. President, I am happy to tell you that more delegates than we expected have arrived and the overflow had to be accommodated in additional ballrooms. We are very grateful for the spirit that unites us and very grateful for the leadership you have given us, and we love you dearly.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't tell you again how very much I have appreciated all the work that has gone into not only this dinner but also the hours and hours and days and days of work that have gone into all of your efforts to date. And you can be sure that I shall do everything that I can to be worthy of your trust. And you can be sure I shall not let you down.

RABBI KORFF. Mr. President, may I, with your kind permission, as you pointed out your White House Staff, I would like to read to you our resolution in recognition of your staff. May I, Mr. President?

Without the slightest apology to those who have already preempted the phrase and distorted it, we honor all the President's men, especially those who for performing their duty with loyalty and courage have provoked the wrath of all his enemies. These men, and the women, too—as I look at Anne Armstrong—it should be noted, have defended not only their chief, but also the prerogatives and independence of his office.

In so doing, they have aided both Mr. Nixon and his successors to the Presidency, whoever they may be. As the future generation recalls with horror this year's assault upon our Constitutional heritage, it will remember, too, that the President was not alone in his ordeal but was well and faithfully served by the young, and not so young, in civilian and military dress with accent Southern or Yankee or even more exotic.

As the President's bold determination strikes our admiration so their steadfast sense of purpose must provoke our emulation.

Mr. President, may we take leave of you now?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and our very best to everybody who is there again, and we will be hoping to see you all personally.

RABBI KORFF. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:31 p.m., P.d.t., from San Clemente, Calif., to the second congress of the National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency meeting at the Shoreham Americana Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Rabbi Baruch Korff, chairman of the committee, introduced the President.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Joint Declaration of Principles Between the United States and Spain

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Joint Declaration. July 19, 1974

I am very pleased to sign today this important document which highlights the close relations which the United States and Spain have had for over 20 years.

This Declaration articulates the fundamental principles which govern the cooperation between our two countries in many fields and proclaims our intention to continue this cooperation in the future. It also recognizes that the other nations of the North Atlantic area have benefited from our cooperation, especially in the field of security where our mutual endeavors have strengthened the cause of peace.

This Declaration not only outlines our successful efforts in the past to work together for the security of both countries, but it addresses also the challenges of the future. In this regard our two countries are determined to expand our cooperation across broad ranging areas of mutual interest—such as the fields of scientific, economic, technical, and cultural cooperation—as well as in the collective defense effort.

I feel that the signing of this Declaration, which was initialed last week in Madrid by Foreign Minister Cortina and Secretary Kissinger, marks an important milestone in the cordial relations between the United States and Spain. As friendly partners, we believe that our close association will benefit the peoples of both our countries and that our common effort will be of benefit to all who desire peace and progress in the world.

NOTE: The President signed the joint declaration at a ceremony in his office at the Western White House. Present at the ceremony were: Joaquin Cervino, Chargé d'Affaires of the Spanish Embassy in Washington, Andre Drake, Spanish Consul General in Los Angeles, and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. Prince Juan Carlos y Borbon, interim Chief of State of Spain, signed the joint declaration at a ceremony in Madrid.

The President's statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

United States Space Week, 1974

Exchange of Remarks Between the President and Former Astronaut Neil Armstrong on the Fifth Anniversary of the First Manned Landing on the Moon. July 19, 1974

MR. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, you have proclaimed this week to be United States Space Week in conjunction with the fifth anniversary of our first successful landing on the Moon. It is my privilege to represent my colleagues, the crewmen of Projects Mercury, Gemini, Apollo, and Skylab, and the men and women of NASA and the hundreds of thousands of Americans from across the land who contributed so mightily to the success of our efforts in space in presenting this plaque which bears the names of each individual who has had the privilege of representing this country in a flight above the surface of the Earth.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Neil.

It is hard to realize that 5 years ago we had the dinner in Los Angeles honoring the crew of which you were the captain, but in that period of time, there have been so many more who have gone to the Moon and who are now participating, of course, in the new projects which will culminate in the joint Soviet-American enterprise in 1975.

Five years ago, I don't think we would have anticipated that would happen, although I know you expressed at that time, you and your colleagues, the hope that what we were doing in space would be shared with other people throughout the world. And that is exactly what we are doing.

I think it is also very generous of you, but very appropriate to point out that there are the names of a very few, very courageous and able and intelligent people, including of course yourself, on this plaque. They could not have done what they did without the backing of some 400,000 people who have, at one time or another, been engaged in the space program.

And so this plaque will represent the efforts of all of those who have made our program possible, who have made the United States first in the exploration of space.

We will put it in an appropriate place in the White House so that thousands of visitors who come through there will be able to be reminded, particularly in this next week or 2 weeks, of what we have done in the field of space.

And finally, I would say this: That there are those who might wonder was it worth it? We are now finding that in terms of even practical application, apart from exploration, that it was worth it.

As you were telling me just a few moments ago in the office, the areas of geology, of topography, predictions with regard to the weather, and needless to say in communications, all of these have received a tremendous

input that they would not have had unless we had had the space program.

In addition, there is the fallout technologically which cannot be estimated in terms of money, technologically, because of the contribution of the space program. But most important, I think the greatest contribution of this program is not exploration and it is not the technology, where we are getting benefits that are material, but it is the spirit that you and your colleagues in the program have had the opportunity to demonstrate to the American people all over the world.

We are proud of the men who have gone to space, we are very proud of all of those who helped you make it possible to go into space. Without a great challenge you can't be a great person, and we have demonstrated through this program, and we congratulate you again 5 years later, you and your colleagues, for all that you have done.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 12:25 p.m. at the Western White House.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

For the text of the proclamation, see p. 805 of this issue.

Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Herbert Stein Upon Mr. Stein's Resignation. July 19, 1974

Dear Herb:

I have your letter of July 1, and though I have known of your plans for some time, it is nevertheless with reluctance and the deepest personal sense of regret that I accept your resignation as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, effective on a date to be determined.

With your departure, I am losing an immensely valued economic adviser who has served this Administration with unqualified dedication, and who for nearly three years has guided the Council with great distinction as its Chairman. It has been a period of exceptional challenge but also unusual opportunity for economic policy, and I believe we have accomplished much in relation to the size of the problems which have confronted us. Your participation in the crucial decisions during this time has clearly left its imprint on our economic policies and, I am confident, it will leave a favorable mark on the Nation's economic history.

Through your regular reports, I have been kept well informed about the economy, and the analyses you and the

Council have provided me have given valuable insights into complex economic issues. I have especially admired the skill, clarity and substance with which you have been able to carry out the difficult but essential responsibility of explaining the economy and our policies to the public. I know your many friends and colleagues throughout government join me in saying your sound counsel and experienced leadership on economic matters will be greatly missed.

As you assume your new position at the University of Virginia, I welcome this opportunity to express not only my appreciation for your outstanding contributions to the well-being of our Nation, but also my thanks for the loyalty and dedication you have given me personally. This has meant a great deal. You may be certain we will take advantage of your proximity to call upon your talents in the future. In the meantime, Pat joins me in extending to Mildred and you our heartfelt good wishes for every success and happiness in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

Dear Mr. President:

My departure having been delayed three times, the day is approaching when I must leave the Chairmanship of your Council of Economic Advisers to take up my professorship at the University of Virginia at the beginning of September. I want on this occasion to thank you for the consideration you have shown me and the confidence you have placed in me. No CEA Chairman could want a more supportive and understanding President than you have been.

You have been responsible for conducting U.S. economic policy during a turbulent period, when the whole world was swept by storms of inflation. Your policy has been firm and decisive. The results have surely not been all we would have liked, but there has been no serious recession, inflation is less violent than in most other developed countries, and the U.S. has a good prospect for reducing its inflation rate. The real incomes of the American people are higher now than they have ever been except briefly in 1973, and will undoubtedly move on to new heights. You have taken steps toward reforms of many aspects of policy, domestic and international, that will strengthen the American economy and the world economy in the future. If there is support for persisting on your present anti-inflationary path the record of your terms will stand high in objective histories of the American economy. You will be recognized as a world leader in the fight against the economic disease of democracies—inflation, just as you are a world leader in the fight against the political disease of nations—wars.

To serve you has been a pleasure and a privilege. It is with deep regret that I shall leave the stimulating life in the Executive Office and the group of dedicated men and women in the Administration who are assembled to serve the Nation under your guidance.

Please be assured of my continued best wishes and support.

Sincerely yours,

HERBERT STEIN

NOTE: The text of the letters was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Special Assistant to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Fernando E. C. DeBaca. July 19, 1974

The President today announced that he would appoint Fernando E. C. DeBaca, of Albuquerque, N. Mex., as Special Assistant to the President. He will serve as deputy to Counsellor to the President Anne Armstrong, for Hispanic Affairs.

Since January 1972, Mr. DeBaca has served as Regional Director for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in San Francisco, Calif. He was appointed by the President in March 1973 to serve as Chairman of the Federal Regional Council in Region IX, in addition to his HEW responsibilities. Federal Regional Councils are the top regional coordinating bodies of the Federal Government and are composed of the regional heads of the major domestic grant-making agencies. From January 1971 to January 1972, Mr. DeBaca was with the U.S. Civil Service Commission as Director of the Sixteen Point Program for Spanish Speaking Americans, a program designed to improve opportunities in the Federal career service for Hispanic Americans.

He was born on January 20, 1938, in Albuquerque, N. Mex. Mr. DeBaca received his B.A. degree from the University of New Mexico in 1961 and served in the U.S. Army from 1962 to 1964. He was with the New Mexico State government from 1968 to 1971 as State manpower coordinator, assistant State personnel director, regional tax director, and as commissioner of the New Mexico Department of Motor Vehicles. From 1964 to 1967, he was Special Agent in Charge, Nevada Test Site/Hawaii Test Range, Intelligence and Security Directorate, Defense Atomic Support Agency.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Federal Aviation Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate James E. Dow To Be Deputy Administrator. July 19, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate James E. Dow, of Fairfax, Va., to be Deputy Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. He will succeed Kenneth M. Smith, who has resigned.

Mr. Dow has served since August 1972 as Associate Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration. He has been with the FAA and predecessor agencies since 1943. From 1967 to 1972, he was Director of the FAA's Office of Budget after serving as Director of the National Airspace System Program Office (1965-66), Chief of the Plans Division of the Air Traffic Service (1964-65), and Chief of the Systems Management Division, Research and Development Service (1963-64). Prior to his Washington assignments, Mr. Dow held air traffic control positions in Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; Willow Run, Mich.; Olathe, Kans.; and Kansas City, Mo.

He was born on March 15, 1921, in East Machias, Maine. Mr. Dow received his B.S. degree from the University of Maine in 1943 and during 1966-67 studied at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Mr. Dow is married to the former Shirley Ruth Gardner. They have three daughters and reside in Fairfax, Va.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered

by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

July 13

Vice President Ford met with the President at the Western White House.

July 15

The President and members of the First Family went to Palm Desert, Calif., where they remained overnight at the home of Walter H. Annenberg, U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

July 16

Rabbi Baruch Korff called on the President at the Western White House to present him with a copy of his book entitled "The Personal Nixon; Staying at the Summit."

The President has accepted the resignation of Alvin J. Arnett as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

July 17

The White House announced that, at the recommendation of the Secretary of State, the President has decided to send Under Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco to London for talks on Cyprus with British and Turkish officials.

July 19

The President met at the Western White House with a group of his economic advisers. Participating in the meeting were: Kenneth Rush, Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy, Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted July 15, 1974

JOSEPH W. KEENE, of Louisiana, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of Louisiana for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Submitted July 16, 1974

ROBERT L. DUPONT, JR., of Maryland, to be Administrator of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (new position).

PHILIP A. LOOMIS, JR., of California, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1979 (reappointment).

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released July 13, 1974

News conference: following his meeting with the President—by Vice President Gerald R. Ford

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released July 16, 1974

News conference: following his meeting with the President—by Rabbi Baruch Korff, chairman, National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency

Released July 17, 1974

Fact sheet: on Government executive development

Released July 19, 1974

News conference: on the economy—by Herbert Stein, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

Remarks: on the House Judiciary Committee proceedings—by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved July 12, 1974

H.R. 29----- Public Law 93-349
An act to provide for payments by the Postal Service to the Civil Service Retirement Fund for increases in the unfunded liability of the Fund due to increases in benefits for Postal Service employees, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3534----- Private Law 93-80
An act for the relief of Lester H. Kroll.

H.R. 7089----- Private Law 93-83
An act for the relief of Michael A. Korhonen.

H.R. 7128----- Private Law 93-81
An act for the relief of Mrs. Rita Petermann Brown.

H.R. 7130----- Public Law 93-344
Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

H.R. 7397----- Private Law 93-82
An act for the relief of Viola Burroughs.

H.R. 7724----- Public Law 93-348
National Research Act.

H.R. 9281----- Public Law 93-350
An act to amend title 5, United States Code, with respect to the retirement of certain law enforcement and firefighter personnel, and for other purposes.

H.R. 11105----- Public Law 93-351
An act to amend title VII of the Older Americans Act relating to the nutrition program for the elderly to provide authorization of appropriations, and for other purposes.

S. 2137----- Public Law 93-345
An act to amend the Act of October 15, 1966 (80 Stat. 953, 20 U.S.C. 65a), relating to the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, so as to authorize additional appropriations to the Smithsonian Institution for carrying out the purposes of said Act.

S. 3458----- Public Law 93-347
An act to continue domestic food assistance programs, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 202----- Public Law 93-346
Joint resolution designating the premises occupied by the Chief of Naval Operations as the official residence of the Vice President, effective upon the termination or service of the incumbent Chief of Naval Operations.

Editor's Note

Note Concerning the Closing Time of This Issue

The President was in San Clemente, Calif., at the cut-off time of this issue. Releases issued there but not received in time for inclusion in the issue will be printed next week.

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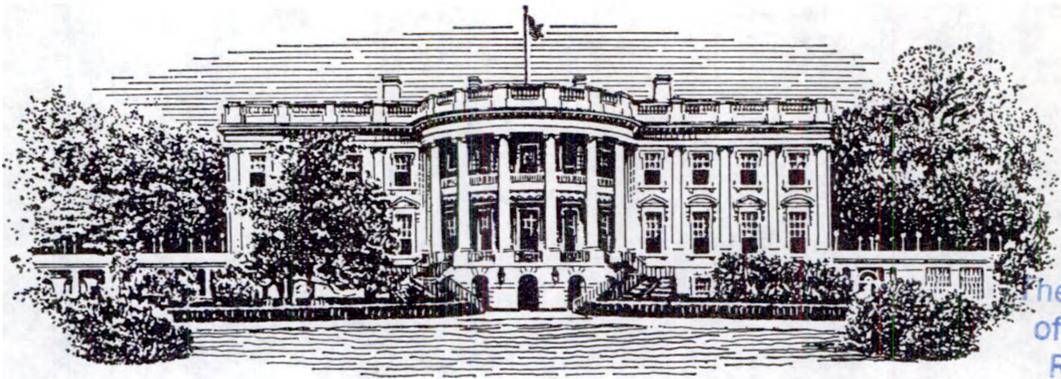
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Richard Nixon

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, July 27, 1974

House Judiciary Committee Impeachment Inquiry

Brief Submitted to the Committee by the Office of the Special Counsel to the President. Dated July 19, 1974. Released July 20, 1974

Editor's Note

The brief, as submitted to the House Judiciary Committee, has been reproduced in facsimile as a supplement to this issue, beginning on p. 840. Corrections announced by the White House Press Office have been incorporated in this reproduction.

Dinner at the Home of Roy L. Ash

The President's Remarks at a Dinner in His Honor at the Home of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. July 21, 1974

Roy, Mrs. Ash, and all of our very distinguished friends:

I am very grateful, certainly, for those words that the Director of the Office of Management and Budget has just spoken. And I speak not only for myself but for Pat and for Tricia and Ed, for his remembering them as well.

And I am particularly grateful that he gave us the opportunity on this trip to California to meet a number of people who we have known for a great many years. In fact, most of you are about as old as I am. [*Laughter*] And when I think of the campaigns going back 27 years, I see some who were even here then, I realize how long we have worked together and fought together for good causes.

I want you to know, too, that the only regret I have on such an occasion like this is that we can't have the opportunity to sit and chat with each of you as we have here at this table. But when there are 150 people, you can have only one table for eight, and consequently, that opportunity is denied.

And I suppose that many of you out there, all of whom, of course, we met in the receiving line, wonder what we talked about.

I would normally say that on such an occasion that when you see the President of the United States and his wife at a table with six other people, well, they talk about the very things you are talking about—what happened at the Bohemian Grove before you came down—you wonder whether that swimming pool is really there under you or not, and you hope the boards don't break because that is a swimming pool you are all sitting on there, you know.

And you wonder about the fact that Roy Ash is probably the only person in this great city or in this Nation, who has his own tent.

He owns the tent. I mean, he doesn't rent it, he owns it himself, he constructed it. That, among many other reasons, is one of the reasons we made him Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

But tonight, it would be of interest for you to know that as we saw two or three members of the White House Staff come up and speak to me, that we have had some very serious international problems over the last few hours, I should say the last several days.

And at this time, it appears that there are some very hopeful signs and that a very positive announcement will be made, perhaps before we finish this dinner, be made from Washington at the State Department.

I will not indicate to you what the nature of that announcement is except to say this: That in this rather tragic struggle, it could have been much more tragic and would be if it were to be allowed to continue between two friends and allies of the United States, arising over Cyprus.

This struggle is one that could only be averted by the leadership of the United States of America. This is true in all parts of the world today. American leadership is the

key to whether or not nations that could be at swords' point, nations that could be engaged in a war against each other, may find a way to get along, to avoid war, and in this instance, of course, our goal has been, as you have noted, to attain a cease-fire between Greece and Turkey before it exploded between these traditional enemies in times past, but two nations that have been friends and NATO partners over the last 27 years. This certainly is a goal that we were rightfully dedicated to, both from the standpoint of the great NATO Alliance but also from the standpoint of two nations involved.

So, I hope that this announcement which will be made in Washington in the next few minutes, is one that will be followed by the action that we all desire, a cease-fire and then the process of developing again a friendly relation between two nations who are our allies and our friends and, of course, are essential to the whole great NATO Alliance which is the cornerstone of America's foreign policy and the free world's foreign policy in all of Western Europe.

Now, so much for the seriousness that we talked about. There were many other things as well, but since we are off on this track for a moment, just let me say as I look back over the 5½ years that Roy has referred to—and as a matter of fact, he really counts those days, I hadn't realized that it is just 2½ years, but you see he keeps the budget, and he knows all about this sort of thing—but I realize as we look at America's role in this potentially explosive struggle between Turkey and Greece, the role that we are playing and will continue to play, that looking back over the past 5½ years that all of us, as Americans, regardless of our partisan affiliation, can be proud of the role America, our country, has played in making this world a safer and better place for all people on it not just for ourselves.

I don't refer just to the event that means the most to most Americans, because it—our friends and our families and so forth, I mean the ending of the war in Vietnam, the fact that our young people are not being drafted, these are things that we all understand. But difficult, long, arduous as that terrible struggle was, we have to realize that other developments have occurred over the past 5½ years that will have far more lasting and far greater effect in terms of building a peaceful world than simply ending that war on the kind of a just and honorable basis that was essential if we were able to continue to play the role of world leader.

I refer, for example, to events that didn't seem possible 5½ years ago, the new relationship with those who rule over one-fourth of all the people of the world, the People's Republic of China; the new relationship with the Soviet Union in which we now have had three summit meetings, a fourth one to be scheduled next year, and in which while we still recognize that with the Soviet Union, as with the People's Republic of China, we have great philosophical differences, differences that are not going to be

changed by any kind of agreement that we may enter into, that nevertheless we have been able to develop and are developing means whereby peoples with different governments, different systems of government, different principles, different ideals, can settle those differences peacefully and can work together rather than against each other to build a more peaceful world.

I could refer also to more recent events. Many of you followed the trip to the Middle East. And I think most Americans perhaps were rather surprised to see the great outpouring of real friendship for the United States of America that was apparent every place that we went, not just with Egypt, Cairo, and Alexandria, where in the space of 2 days, there were perhaps 6 to 6½ million people by most estimates out, but in all the other capitals that we visited, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Damascus, the oldest inhabited city in the world that has been inhabited continually, and of course, Jerusalem, and then finally in Amman, Jordan.

The fact that an American President—and here it was not just the man, it was more than that, it was the United States of America as the leader of the free world—that we have after so many years of difficulty with many of these nations were received in that way, tells us something about America's role in the world.

Let me put it quite bluntly. We have made our mistakes in foreign policy over the years. Looking at this century, when we consider the four wars in which we have been engaged, we can be proud that the United States has always fought to defend freedom and never to destroy it.

We have always fought to keep the peace, to bring peace, and never to break the peace. And consequently, the United States, in all parts of the world, is respected. The United States, in most parts of the world, is not only respected but there is real affection for the American people and for our government. And, in any event, we are not feared, not feared in terms insofar as any fear that the United States would use its great power and its great wealth for the purpose of conquest or destruction or breaking the peace.

As we look back over those events and as we look at the current problem that we have in the Mediterranean, I would only suggest this: that we Americans are a very impatient people. We like to think that there is an instant solution to every problem, and we are impatient when we get a war over with. Peace, isn't it wonderful; we can just take it for granted.

We must recognize that for the balance of our lives, for the balance of this century, and perhaps well into the next century—and no one can look further than that, but certainly well into the next century—a strong responsible United States of America is indispensable if peace is to be kept in the world. There is no one else that can play that role. There is no other nation in the free world that can take up that great responsibility, and so we have that responsibility.

We believe over the past 5½ years that we have met it and met it reasonably well. We think more progress has been made in that period for building a peaceful world than has been made in any similar period, certainly in this century, and probably in this period of modern civilization.

There is a very real chance that due to the profound changes that have been made—the new relations with the People's Republic of China, the new relationship with the Soviet Union, the beginning of a peaceful era in the Middle East—that as a result of these profound changes the chance for peace to survive on a world basis is better now than it has been at any time in this century.

And yet, any time that we say that, when we have an incident like the one that has occurred over the past few days involving America's friends and allies, it shows us how fragile that structure is. It shows us how much it needs constantly to be tended. It shows us how important it is that not only the United States of America but particularly the leadership of the United States of America assume the responsibility of world leadership which is ours, and never back away from it because that might be the easier course.

It also explains something else that I think is very important that Roy has touched upon tangentially, at least, and that is apart from the man, the office of the Presidency must never be weakened because a strong America and a strong American President is something which is absolutely indispensable if we are to build that peaceful world that we all want.

This brings me to one other point that I want to mention here tonight, particularly in Roy's presence and in the presence of so many other people in the Administration who are out here with me, and it is very simply this: That in order for the United States to play the role it does in the world, we not only need the military strength, we not only need the diplomatic skill, but essential to that role is an America that maintains the position of world leadership, and this we have without any question.

We can argue about whether we are number one or number two in this or that or the other area, but economically the United States is the wonder of the world. We can say that despite the problems we have—the energy crisis through which we have passed and are still passing to an extent, the problem of inflation, which is a world problem incidentally—and having met with most of the world leaders recently, I can assure you that I wouldn't trade their problems for ours any time, as difficult as ours are. But in order to maintain that strong economy, it is necessary to have responsible leadership, and it is necessary to make some very hard decisions.

Roy Ash is one of those men who has to make a lot of them. He is a man who has to say no, no to a spending

program that might help some of the people, but would raise the cost of living for all of the people. And when we have to make, as we will, some very hard budget decision in the next few weeks and months, it will be necessary for us to veto some spending bills that the Congress is inevitably going to pass far exceeding our budget, just remember we do that not because we like to say no to some good cause, but because the greater cause is the whole problem of inflation which affects every person in this country. We are out to win that battle, and we can't win it unless we start right with the Government of the United States itself.

I can assure you that with the leadership of men like Roy Ash and Herb Stein, who is here tonight, and the rest, we are going to set the example in Washington of fighting the battle of the Federal budget so that people can win the battle of the family budget at home.

And Roy, we thank you for your leadership and all that you have meant in this respect. Before you cheer too long, you must remember that you may be writing Roy a letter one of these days saying, "Why did you cut this program or that one?" Remember, we told him to, and you applauded it here tonight. But he will not do anything, you can be sure, unless I am backing him, and I will back him all the way, just as he backs the Administration.

Let me just conclude with two personal thoughts. One, as we stand here in this beautiful home in Bel Air, I think of the sacrifice that men like Roy Ash and his wife and family have made to come to Washington to serve there. Obviously it is a financial sacrifice but also it is a personal sacrifice. I haven't been to the Ash home in Washington, but I can't imagine it is like this. It is probably very nice, but it couldn't be like this.

And I think, too, of the dedication of people who have done that. There are many in this room who I could mention who have served in this Administration: Dave Packard over here, Bob Finch, Herb Klein, Charlie Thomas, Fred Russell, and others. They are legion. But what is vitally important for us all to remember is this—we think in terms of those who hold the highest office, the Presidency of the United States and all the glory, even though it has sometimes many very great burdens, burdens which we assume without any complaining about them, because that is part of the job—but we have to remember that for this government of ours to work effectively, it takes men and women of great dedication willing to sacrifice a great deal, willing to take a lot of unfair criticism, which they do, if they do anything worthwhile, to come to Washington and do a job.

And I just want to say that I have been very proud of the people we have had in our Administration for their dedication. I have been proud of the hard work they

have put in. When people say look at our record in the field of foreign policy, or look at what we have accomplished in this or that or the other area, I can just assure you this: It isn't done simply by one individual; it is done because there are hundreds of people in top leadership and, of course, thousands throughout the Administration, many of whom I never get a chance to meet and thank personally, who are also working.

So, I pay a tribute not only to Roy, to his family, but to all of the other Administration families who are here tonight, and my thanks to them.

And finally, to all of you. I mentioned that we go back a number of years. I look around here, and I don't see any of you looking a bit older. And I remember when I campaigned the old 12th Congressional district out through San Marino in that area, and some who live there, I remember. And when I campaigned the State of California, for the United States Senate and I met most of you then if I hadn't met you before, in 1950, and then of course, the Presidential campaigns, the Vice President campaigns and the rest.

You wonder sometimes, and I am often asked, you know, how do you really take the burden of the Presidency, particularly when at times it seems to be under very, very grievous assault. Let me say it isn't new for us to be under assault because since the time we came into office for 5 years we have had problems. There have been people marching around the White House, when we were trying to bring the war to an end, and we have withstood that, and we will withstand the problems of the future.

People wonder, how does any individual these days, when we have very high-pressured campaigns in usually the media and the rest, to taking on public figures, how does an individual take it, how does he survive it, how do you keep your composure, your strength and the rest?

Well, there are a number of factors. First, you have got to have a strong family, and I am very proud of my family. But second, you have got to have also a lot of good friends, people that you have known through the years, people who write you, who call you, or who see you and say, "We are sticking by you." I can assure you that no man in public life—and I have studied American history rather thoroughly—has ever had a more loyal group of friends, has never been blessed with certainly a more loyal group of friends who have stood by him through good days as well as tough days than I have.

I am just very, very proud to be here among our California friends and to say from the bottom of my heart for all the years past and for all the years to come, thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:27 p.m. at the home of Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget in Bel Air, Calif.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

House Judiciary Committee Impeachment Inquiry

*News Conference of Special Counsel to the President
James D. St. Clair. July 22, 1974*

MR. ST. CLAIR. Thank you all for coming.

I have, at the request of the President, reported to him this morning regarding the conclusion of the investigation and the evidence phase of the investigation, in any event, and have reviewed with him the events that transpired over the past, I guess, 9-odd weeks, reviewed with him the proposed charges that have been prepared by the staff for purposes of discussion, and concluded and advised him that in my judgment, if all the evidence were viewed objectively, it would not sustain any one of those charges.

Now, during the last 8 or 9 weeks, it has been inappropriate, I thought, to answer questions that you all have had, from time to time. Now that the committee has voted to go public, so to speak, with the hearings, and publish the entire record, I felt it not inappropriate to answer such questions as would be pertinent to the inquiry at this stage and would be glad to do so now.

Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. St. Clair, when the book of White House tapes first came out, we were told they contained all the relevant material relating to Watergate, and we had that assurance from you and the President.

Last week, you came up with a fragment of another tape which hadn't been in the original. Why did it take so long for this to surface?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Mr. Cormier, the situation was this: That when the original White House submission of some 1,240 pages of transcript were prepared, based on the information we then had, we felt this did tell all of the Watergate story. As often happens, however, during the course of a hearing, witnesses sometimes change their testimony, and in this event, one witness did seem to me to shift his testimony from what he testified on a previous occasion.

Therefore, this additional tape, or portion of a tape, became relevant, whereas before, in my view, it was simply repetitious or redundant. This particular portion of the tape made it quite clear as of the day after the payment at the earliest, the President was still of the view that blackmail could not be paid, that he would not pay it. And it seems to me very important, in the light of the change in testimony of one of the witnesses, to make it quite clear the President could not have known or authorized a payment when the day after the payment he is still talking about it and that is the situation with respect to that piece of tape.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, are you appearing this afternoon in anticipation of a Supreme Court decision tomorrow?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I have no basis for anticipating a decision tomorrow.

Q. A second related question, if I may. Would you be appearing at this hour and this place if the networks had not agreed to carry your appearance?

MR. ST. CLAIR. You are talking about a subject I know very little about. I am pleased to be here and answer such questions as I can. I believe this is an appropriate time to do so because I think the American people are interested in this subject matter.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, we haven't been able to get an answer in past weeks to this question. Perhaps you can do it now.

MR. ST. CLAIR. I will try.

Q. Okay. Will the President obey the Supreme Court no matter what they say this week?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I am sorry to have to disappoint you. The same basis for my declining to answer, I think, in the past has to be adhered to now. To answer the question so it will not be misunderstood would require a speculation on my part and lead to other questions as to whether the Court would say this and whether the Court would say that.

I think most lawyers would recognize that it is highly improper to discuss a case that is pending before a court that is under consideration by that court. And therefore, I feel it inappropriate until such time as the Court decides the matter to not inject my view as to what that decision either will or ought to be.

Q. If I may follow that, we are not really asking you to inject yourself into the case at all, to discuss it one way or another. We are asking you if you, as the President's lawyer, will assure us he will obey the highest court in the land, no matter what it decided?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Again I must insist, I feel to answer the questions would inject my view as to what the decision ought to be. And therefore, I have consistently and will continue to consistently continue to not answer.

Q. Is there precedent for the President refusing to say he would obey the highest court in the land?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't know of any. I haven't actually researched it, although I do think Thomas Jefferson, in the Aaron Burr case, made some comments as to whether or not he was going to abide by Justice Marshall's decision, but I think it is really appropriate to let the Court decide the matter without any pressure from the media by reason of any interrogations or answers by me.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, you are a sworn officer of the court, sworn to uphold the law of the land. Would you continue to defend the President if he disobeyed a Supreme Court ruling?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I am sorry, I think that is substantially the same question.

Q. I don't think it is at all.

Q. How did you find the President's mood? Is he very concerned or very confident?

MR. ST. CLAIR. To me, he seems quite confident. Of course, he is engaged in other matters at this moment,

involving the foreign policy of the country, but I spent approximately 2 hours with him today reviewing the entire matter, and from my observation, he seems quite confident.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, last week Counsellor Burch suggested that the House Members are not grand jurors but political jurors and should consider the effect on the country as well as what the President might accomplish if he is allowed to continue to serve. How much weight do you think the Members should put on the evidence and how much on the political question Mr. Burch raised?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I would not want to start advising the Members as to what they ought to do. But to answer your question, it seems to me impeachment inquiries are essentially political proceedings. In fact, the framers of the Constitution, I think, fully intended this result. Therefore, realistically speaking, I think the members of the committee are bound to apply political considerations to their decision, but I do not believe this would necessarily mean they would ignore the evidence.

I think they would have to, and I am sure most of them, at least, would apply factors both in the political and in the trial features of the matter.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, in your 150-page brief, you frequently cite the testimony of Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, and Mr. Mitchell. Since these men have been indicted on several counts of perjury, do you have any independent verification of what they say or why should anyone believe them?

MR. ST. CLAIR. First of all, sir, I hope that we haven't come to a point in this country where the charge of a crime constitutes a conviction of it. Mr. Mitchell, for example, was charged with perjury in the trial in New York and acquitted of it. So I don't think we ought to presume because they are charged with perjury that they are guilty of it.

But I think the record is replete with confirmation of what in fact they said. For example, when you get all said and done with the Watergate matter, the alleged coverup, you find that I think seven of the principal aides of the President are under indictment.

Now, it is very difficult to conclude, as I view it, that that result could have come about if the President were in effect interfering with the administration of criminal justice. Of course, we contend in our brief that the President did not interfere, but in fact sought to solve the problem and sought to bring these matters to the grand jury. But when it is all said and done, the administration of criminal justice has proceeded in accordance with our understanding of how it should.

So, if you ask me for confirmation on it, I say let's take a look at the pudding, and the eating is the proof of it.

Q. How did the President know on March 22 that one of the defendants would be sentenced to 35 years when the sentence did not come down until the next day?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Sir, that seems to me to not be hard to understand. First of all, the President is a busy man.

During the previous months, starting as early as February, there had been rather constant speculation that Mr. Liddy would receive the maximum, at least a provisional sentence. It seems to me that if the President had waited until March 23, or thereafter, to have this conversation he would have referred to the actual sentence that Mr. Liddy got, namely, I think 6 years and 8 months minimum.

So that 35 years obviously reflects the President's belief that a preliminary sentence had been given to Mr. Liddy, as in fact it had been given to others.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, Ron Ziegler, in commenting on the proposed articles of impeachment, called the tactics of the committee and the committee counsel, specifically John Doar, a violent breach of justice. Now, either this could be rhetoric or it could be a prelude to a legal or political countermove by the White House or by Mr. Garrison, the minority counsel, or by someone somewhere in the impeachment process.

Would you comment on which?

MR. ST. CLAIR. First of all, Mr. Ziegler is obviously referring to what I thought was the rather abrupt change in attitude of Mr. Doar and Mr. Jenner and the staff. It had always been my understanding they had been employed by the committee to act as an impartial adviser to the committee developing such facts, both pro and con, as existed. For reasons best known to Mr. Doar and Mr. Jenner however, very recently, I think just a few days ago they have abandoned that role of impartiality admittedly and have now assumed the role of prosecutor.

I think, under these circumstances as a prosecutor or advising the committee, one raises a question of what kind of advice is this committee going to get.

Q. May I follow that up, sir?

MR. ST. CLAIR. If your brethren don't mind.

Q. The President once said he would abide by a definitive ruling of the Supreme Court. You now indicate that is in abeyance, or you won't affirm that here. You said before the Supreme Court that the President was indeed subject to the laws of the land but through the impeachment process. Now you question that process. Are you in fact saying that unless you have an automatic win situation you do not intend to play the game, or you will only play it by your rules?

MR. ST. CLAIR. The answer to your question, if I understand it, is clearly no. We are going to play the game. We have always played the game. One reason I am here is because I felt it inappropriate to answer questions during the executive session of the committee. Beyond that, I am not too sure I understand what you are saying. I think the impeachment process is the only way that a President can be dealt with, and that is essentially a process involving the Congress of the United States and not the courts.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, what did the President mean on March 21, 1973, in discussing the payment of hush money to E. Howard Hunt when he told John Dean, "For Christ sake, get it"?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Well, I will answer that directly by saying that obviously refers to the immediately preceding sentence that has to do with the words, "He ought to be sent a signal." Mr. Dean has testified to the signal being something other than money. I would say this, however: This and all other tapes have to be read in their totality. You can take any phrase, any sentence, or even any paragraph out of the total context and distort the ultimate meaning. And as I have suggested before, a reading of the full text of this and other tapes gives a comprehensive picture that does not support, in my view, a charge of impeachment of the President of the United States.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, isn't the signal a signal to pay hush money?

MR. ST. CLAIR. No, Mr. Dean testified it was something other than money.

Q. What, other than money?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't really know what he had in mind, to be honest with you. I do know this: That the President made it quite clear and explicitly stated that he could not pay blackmail, that if you did so, you were bound to lose, "It would look like a coverup and that we cannot do."

Q. Mr. St. Clair, in all your defense arguments, it seems you have focused a great deal of attention on the narrow issue of whether or not the President paid hush money. Two questions, sir: Why have you focused on such a narrow issue, and do you think you have been successful in your efforts to keep it to this narrow issue?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think, essentially, the answer to the last question is yes. I think essentially the Congress will hone in on and review the matter on this narrow issue, and I think the American people will.

I think it should be done this way for the simple reason that is really what this is all about. If it hadn't been for the allegations relating to the payment of money to Mr. Hunt for his attorney's fees, I doubt very much if we would all be here today.

Q. Rabbi Korff, in his conversation with the President, told us he once told him, last December I think it was, if he had been the President he would have made a bonfire and burned the tapes. The President replied, according to Rabbi Korff, "Where were you 8 months ago." Can you assure the country that the tapes that have been subpoenaed by the Special Prosecutor are in fact intact and have not been destroyed?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think I can assure you they haven't been burned or otherwise destroyed. This should not be construed as a representation that every tape ever referred to existed in the first place. Our experience has taught us sometimes conversations take place and under circumstances they were not recorded.

For example, the afternoon of Sunday, April 15 of last year. It is quite clear the tape ran out and conversation thereafter was not recorded. So they weren't destroyed, they just never existed.

Q. Wouldn't it be better to have these issues resolved, since there are so many great differences, not in a news conference, or in the corridors of the House of Representatives, or even possibly a partisan debate on the floor of the House, but in the carefully constructed confines of a Senate trial? Wouldn't that be best for your client and the country?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't think so. I think the responsibility of the House of Representatives is to not bring that burden on the American people unless the evidence is clear. If there is substantial doubt or no evidence, as I suggest is the case, the House of Representatives ought not to simply pass the matter on to the Senate. They ought to assume that responsibility.

The Constitution assumes they will do so. They have an alternative of voting to impeach or not to impeach. There is no provision, if there is a finding of probable cause, to impeach. They have to decide whether or not to impeach, and I think they ultimately will assume that responsibility.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, following up a previous question on narrowing the issues, you have stated, I think, consistently that Watergate is the issue. Would you not concede that other matters such as ITT, and the milk fund, and wire-taps, and the Internal Revenue Service might be relevant to impeachment?

MR. ST. CLAIR. They might be, but very frankly, I doubt if we would be here today if that were the only issues or allegations that were made. I am sure you all understand my view that the evidence doesn't even come close to supporting any charges of misconduct regarding any of these issues. And ultimately, I expect that the House of Representatives will agree.

Q. Do you also support the "kangaroo court" since you seem to be upholding what we have been hearing all week, the attack on Doar and Rodino?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Let me say this, if I may: An impeachment process is a unique proceeding. It is not a trial in a courtroom. It is a unique proceeding. It has, as I have indicated before, not only legal issues, but also political issues. Now, whatever adjectives you want to apply in the political field, I am not really competent. I am employed to deal with the legal issues, and you are free to apply them or not, as you see fit, of course.

Specifically, I am sure Mr. Ziegler was pointing out the fact that the heretofore impartial staff employed by the whole committee for the purpose of assisting the committee has suddenly now assumed a prosecutorial role and has presumed upon the committee to advise it how it should vote and here you have the adviser to the committee advising the ultimate decision.

I hope and trust that the committee will realize its responsibility to decide this and not its staff. But it does present a rather unusual situation.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, what is the difference between the role that Mr. Doar assumed and the role that you or any other lawyer or counselor assumes? He was instructed

by the majority of the committee to prepare this testimony, and he did so as counselor to that committee.

MR. ST. CLAIR. And he prepared a very large mass of materials basically, I think, in a format of being impartial, but within the last few days, he admittedly has abandoned any views of impartiality and has stated explicitly that he feels that the committee must vote to impeach the President. I just suggest that is not his function.

Q. He did that under their orders.

MR. ST. CLAIR. I have not heard anyone say they instructed him to advise the entire committee how they should vote, and I think it is inappropriate.

Q. How do you view the roll of Mr. Garrison now in connection with that?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Mr. Garrison has been pushed into a very difficult position, essentially, at the last minute. Mr. Jenner has been discharged from his functions and has joined the majority staff, as I understand it, where I felt he has always been to begin with, and Mr. Garrison is left to do the very best he can. And I believe he will do the best he can. But you have to recognize that this sudden shift in the posture of the majority staff leads one to wonder whether or not it is a proper way for them to proceed.

Q. What do you plan to do about it? You have called Mr. Doar's action inappropriate. Mr. Ziegler called it a violent breach of justice. Do you plan any countermoves, or will you accept, even on this basis, an ultimate decision by the committee to issue articles of impeachment?

MR. ST. CLAIR. First of all, I have written to Mr. Doar requesting that if he is going to participate in the public hearings I think it only fair that I be allowed to on behalf of the President. I don't know what answer I will get to that request. I hope it is in the affirmative.

Obviously, I have no control over the House committee. I have no way of enforcing my views regarding it, but I am quite prepared to let the American people judge this.

Q. If the Supreme Court decides that President Nixon should give up the tapes requested by Mr. Jaworski, would it be legally possible to have the President plead the fifth amendment and withhold the tapes?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't know whether it would be legally possible or not, but I can assure you he will not plead the fifth amendment.

Q. The legal definition of an issue is a question that can be answered yes or no. With respect to the case before it, is there any decision of the Supreme Court that is not definitive?

MR. ST. CLAIR. The word "definitive" is not a word I have used, and no matter how the question is put, I feel it quite inappropriate to put the Supreme Court under any pressure from me regarding their decision, and I am just not going to discuss, on any basis, what their decision is or might be.

Q. I want to know if you have heard the tapes, and how many of them?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I have not listened to them all. I wouldn't have time to do so. In fact, I am a rather poor listener. I have spotchecked, from time to time, to see—

Q. What about March 21 when you suggested them bringing it in.

MR. ST. CLAIR. March 22?

Q. Yes.

MR. ST. CLAIR. The President authorized that and under the circumstances that I reported to him. He is the only one, incidentally, that can authorize the release of any Presidential conversation. I, as his lawyer, cannot, and even if I wanted to, and he said do whatever you want, I wouldn't do it. He is the only one. There is only one person who can release a Presidential conversation and that is the President himself.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, the March 22 transcript that you have given the committee was a very small portion of a long meeting. The committee does not have the tape, the White House refuses to give them the tape. They have no way to independently check the accuracy—

MR. ST. CLAIR. Yes, they do. They have been invited to come up just as on the other tapes. The chairman and ranking minority member have been invited to come up.

Q. Not the entire committee?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Nor does the entire committee ever do this. The ranking minority member and the chairman are the ones who have made decisions with respect to what portions of the tapes they have are going to be published, and they have done so. We are simply making it available to them on that same basis.

Q. The committee has access to the tapes and all the members of the committee have heard a number of tapes; is that correct?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't know, frankly, whether all the members have. I would doubt it very much.

Q. Well, you know they have heard certain tapes.

MR. ST. CLAIR. No I don't, because they do not confide in me.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, the question has to do with the so-called Huston Plan, a plan which outlined a rather wide program of secret surveillance which the President was told in advance was illegal. The President, so we are told, issued, or had issued in his name, a memoranda approving this plan. The memoranda were later withdrawn. The question is: Do you have any proof that the President actually rescinded his orders that the plan go into effect?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think the evidence is quite clear on that point, Mr. Rather. No one contends that the plan ever was effectuated, and the evidence is quite clear on the advice of the Attorney General it was withdrawn.

Q. That the plan was withdrawn, not just the memos?

MR. ST. CLAIR. The plan. It was never effectuated, and I think the evidence is quite clear on it.

Q. I am sorry, sir, but to follow up, I thought the evidence indicated that the plan was in fact in effect for 5 days?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Well, legally, it may have been on paper, but there is no evidence whatsoever that any aspect of it was put into effect, and upon the advice of the Attorney General, it was withdrawn, and I think properly so.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, you have been not reluctant at all in the past to define what is an impeachable offense.

MR. ST. CLAIR. I am still not reluctant.

Q. On the matter of the Supreme Court, is it in your judgment an impeachable offense for a President not to abide by a ruling of the Supreme Court?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Well, I hate to keep trying not to answer this question. I will say this: An impeachable offense in my view—and we have filed an extensive brief on this subject—must constitute a major or serious crime committed by the President.

I don't think the American people would accept anything else as the basis for removing the President. Beyond that I think it inappropriate to discuss the Supreme Court ruling which is expected in any day, and I don't want to be the kind of a lawyer that second guesses judges before they decide.

Q. Can you tell us, Mr. St. Clair, at least whether the President has made a decision as to whether he would comply with an adverse ruling?

MR. ST. CLAIR. No, and I don't see how he can until he gets the decision, reads the opinion, and consults his counsel.

Q. Then he will decide whether or not he is going to obey the law of the Court? Is that what you are saying?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think I have said all I am going to say on the subject.

Q. To go back to the March 22 meeting, the White House has said this is conclusive proof that the President would not pay and did not approve blackmail. You can read that testimony to say that the President quibbled only over the word blackmail but authorized the payment of money under other words.

MR. ST. CLAIR. There is all the difference in the world between payment of blackmail on the one hand to keep somebody quiet and to pay it for humanitarian reasons. A fair reading of that is a payment for humanitarian reasons would be proper. It doesn't mean that it was paid for that purpose, but it is very clear that he did not know of nor approve of any payment of blackmail for the purpose of keeping anyone quiet, and that is the allegation.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, to follow that last question, sir, is it not possible from the reading of that tape that the President was merely searching for a euphemism for blackmail?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't think so. You have to remember these are unstructured conversations in the presence of Mr. Haldeman only. I doubt very much if they were playing games. It is quite clear he used the word "blackmail" in the sense, we all understand it.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, during your argument before the Supreme Court, you stated, I believe toward the end of the argument, that the very least you asked for the Court was to stay its hand, in your phrase, until the impeachment proceeding was completed. Is that still your hope, the least of your hopes and expectations?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I still hold to that view, yes.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, to follow up the questions on the discussion about money, in the March 22 meeting the President said when people are in jail there is every right for people to raise money for them. These are gentlemen who refused to disclose how the Watergate burglary had come about. They were convicted by the court to be tried. Why would the President be discussing such a matter in the Oval Office?

MR. ST. CLAIR. It is my view that that conversation clearly indicates a hypothetical basis upon which he would believe, and I think most people would agree, payments could be lawful. But he was making it very clear that that is not what Mr. Hunt was suggesting. Mr. Hunt was suggesting that he would do certain things unless he was paid; the President called that blackmail, and he said in no uncertain words: "That is going too far."

Q. On the same point, Mr. St. Clair, if I understand you, you have said that when the President told Dean, "get it," it did not refer to money, and you said it referred to a signal, but you don't understand what the signal was for. Are you saying you don't know what the President meant when he told Dean, "get it"?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think that is a fair statement, yes. And I think you have to read these tapes in their entirety. If you take a section out of here, a section out of there, you are going to get an incomplete and perhaps an inaccurate picture.

Q. Have you asked the President what he meant when he said that?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't recall that I have in fact.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, that March 22 portion is only two and one-half pages long, and it, too, was taken out of context of a longer conversation. Have you heard that full conversation yourself? Is the whole thing in context?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Well, the portion of this conversation that relates to the payment of blackmail is offered only for that purpose. It is obviously a small part of a lot longer tape.

Q. But it, too, is still ambiguous because the word "blackmail" as suggested can also be taken in different ways. It could be a euphemism if you didn't know the full context of the conversation.

MR. ST. CLAIR. I don't think any fair reading of that word would indicate it was used as a euphemism.

Q. Considering the differences in the transcripts between what the President offered and what the committee ended up with, is there a justification that the people might feel that the President hasn't come forward with all of the evidence that pertains to the case?

MR. ST. CLAIR. If you read the 1,240-odd pages of transcript and you are familiar with the facts, it seems to me hard to come to a conclusion that anything of significance that contributed to this end result has been left out. It is a comprehensive story that in my view makes it quite clear that the President fully acquitted himself in his obligation to carry out the law.

Q. In this question of blackmail and hush money for Hunt, we are talking about money that was contributed to a political campaign for the President. Are there circumstances in which you feel it is appropriate to use campaign contributions to pay money for burglars and their families?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think the answer is no.

Q. In view of your answer just a minute ago, does this mean you have no more evidence that you could present in support of the President, and if that is the case, do you think now the overriding consideration, as Mr. Garrison said today, should be not so much whether the President appeared guilty of complicity in a crime, but whether his impeachment would be in the public interest?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think that I don't agree with Mr. Garrison. I think that the evidence does not demonstrate complicity in any crime on the part of the President, and if viewed objectively and fairly you can come out in my judgment with only that conclusion.

As I say, Mr. Garrison, of course, is entitled to his point of view. I don't happen to agree.

Q. Mr. St. Clair, one of the elements is that at times the President was aware that the tape machine was operating. Are you fully personally satisfied that the tape was not being used by the President at any time during these transcripts to establish a defense?

MR. ST. CLAIR. I think that is ultimately clear from the context of the conversations. I frankly don't think he was aware it was running. Obviously, let's face it, if he thought it were, I am sure the conversations might have been far less ambiguous.

Q. Could you tell us why you haven't asked the President what he meant when he said, "For Christ sake, get it"?

MR. ST. CLAIR. Frankly, it had not occurred to me. I don't look at these tapes in terms of what this word means or that word means. I look at them in their totality and in their juxtaposition with other events as I understand them. I can understand how people can say, "What does this word mean and what does that word mean," but I think that is not the proper way to look at them.

Maybe I should have asked him, but I just didn't. I know that the testimony is by Mr. Dean that that did not involve the payment of money.

Q. I was going to say, sir, isn't that a pretty explicit and direct order? The language is pretty blunt.

MR. ST. CLAIR. What was the end result? That seems to me where you have to come out. How did the matter end up? Clearly no one authorized the payment, no one in fact paid it. Mr. Haldeman didn't. He had nothing

to do with the chain of events that resulted in the payment.

Mr. Dean didn't make the payment. It is quite clear now that Mr. Dean was the one who initiated the chain events that resulted in the payment before he met with the President.

So as I stated in my brief, if the meeting with the President had never taken place on the morning of March the 21st, it is quite clear this payment of Hunt's attorney's fees would have been made in any event.

So, therefore, it is very difficult for me to see how anyone can accuse the President of authorizing and directing the payment of blackmail to Mr. Hunt.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. St. Clair.

NOTE: Mr. St. Clair's news conference was held at 4:31 p.m. at the Surf and Sand Hotel, Laguna Beach, Calif. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Council of Economic Advisers

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Alan Greenspan To Be a Member and of His Designation as Chairman of the Council. July 23, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alan Greenspan, of New York, N.Y., to be a member of the Council of Economic Advisers. The President also announced that Mr. Greenspan will be designated Chairman of the CEA upon his confirmation and appointment as a member. As both member and Chairman he will succeed Herbert Stein, who has resigned.

Since 1959, Mr. Greenspan has been president and member of the board of directors of Townsend-Greenspan & Co., Inc., economic consultants. He is also a consultant to the Council of Economic Advisers, the Department of the Treasury, and the Federal Reserve Board, and a member of the GNP Review Committee of the Office of Management and Budget. Mr. Greenspan is a member of Time magazine's board of economists, senior adviser to the Brookings Institution panel on economic activity, director of the National Economists Club, vice chairman of the Conference of Business Economists, and past president (1970) and fellow of the National Association of Business Economists.

He was born on March 6, 1926, in New York, N.Y. Mr. Greenspan received his B.S. degree, summa cum laude, and his M.A. degree from New York University, and has done advanced graduate work at NYU and Columbia University. In addition to his current activities, he has also been a member of the Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force (1969-70), the Commission on

Financial Structure and Regulation (1970-71), the Task Force on Economic Growth (1969), the Economic Advisory Board of the Secretary of Commerce (1971-72), and the Securities and Exchange Commission's Central Market System Committee (1972).

Mr. Greenspan joined Townsend-Greenspan & Co., Inc., in 1953 as a consulting economist after serving from 1948 to 1953 as an industrial economist with the National Industrial Conference Board. He currently holds directorships with the following: General Cable Corp., Sun Chemical Corp., Trans-World Financial Co., Dreyfus Fund, Dreyfus Special Income Fund, Dreyfus Liquid Assets, Inc., Standard & Poor's/Inter-Capital Income Securities, Inc., the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, and the Bowery Savings Bank.

NOTE: On July 23, 1974, Mr. Greenspan participated in a meeting with the President at the Western White House of economists and business, financial, and labor leaders.

The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Emergency Assistance for the Virgin Islands

Announcement of Emergency Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Impact of Drought. July 23, 1974

The President today declared an emergency for the territory of the Virgin Islands because of the impact of a drought on livestock. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the territory.

Dry conditions, which have existed in the Virgin Islands for the past 2 years, have reached a critical stage this year with a severe lack of rainfall. The major impact of the drought has been on livestock, as the pastures in the territory have been dying out because of the lack of moisture. The President's declaration of an emergency will provide a Federally-funded program of survival livestock feeding in order to maintain the herds in the territory.

Federal relief and recovery activities in the Virgin Islands will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the territory eligible for Federal assistance.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region 2, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the territory in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Disaster Assistance for New York

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Storms and Flooding. July 24, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of New York as a result of severe storms and flooding, beginning about July 3, which caused damage to public and private property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in New York will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region 2, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Supreme Court Decision

Remarks of Special Counsel to the President James D. St. Clair, Together With a Statement by the President Announcing Full Compliance With the Court Decision Requiring Production of Presidential Tape Recordings. July 24, 1974

I have reviewed the decision of the Supreme Court with the President. He has given me this statement, which he has asked me to read to you. I quote:

"My challenge in the courts to the subpoena of the Special Prosecutor was based on the belief it was unconstitutionally issued and on my strong desire to protect the principle of Presidential confidentiality in a system of separation of powers.

"While I am of course disappointed in the result, I respect and accept the Court's decision, and I have instructed Mr. St. Clair to take whatever measures are necessary to comply with that decision in all respects.

"For the future, it will be essential that the special circumstances of this case not be permitted to cloud the rights of Presidents to maintain the basic confidentiality without which this office cannot function. I was gratified, therefore, to note that the Court reaffirmed both the validity and the importance of the principle of executive privilege—the principle I had sought to maintain. By complying fully with the Court's ruling in this case, I hope and trust that I will contribute to strengthening rather than weakening this principle for the future—so that this will prove to be not the precedent that destroyed the principle, but the action that preserved it."

As we all know, the President has always been a firm believer in the rule of law. He intends his decision to comply fully with the Court's ruling as an action in furtherance of that belief.

In accordance with his instructions, the time-consuming process of reviewing the tapes subject to the subpoena and the preparation of the index and analysis required by Judge Sirica's order will begin forthwith.

NOTE: Mr. St. Clair spoke at approximately 4 p.m. at the Surf and Sand Hotel, Laguna Beach, Calif. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television; they were not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Federal Regional Councils

Announcement of Appointment of Chairmen of the 10 Councils. July 25, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of the chairmen of the 10 Federal Regional Councils for fiscal year 1975.

- DAVID W. HAYS, Regional Representative of the Secretary of Transportation, Region I, Boston.
- S. WILLIAM GREEN,* Regional Administrator, Housing and Urban Development, Region II, New York.
- DANIEL J. SNYDER III, Regional Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, Region III, Philadelphia.
- JACK E. RAVEN,* Regional Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, Region IV, Atlanta.
- GOV. NORMAN A. ERBE,* Regional Representative of the Secretary of Transportation, Region V, Chicago.
- ED FOREMAN, Regional Representative of the Secretary of Transportation, Region VI, Dallas.
- ELMER E. SMITH,* Regional Administrator, Housing and Urban Development, Region VII, Kansas City.
- SAMUEL MARTINEZ, Regional Director, Department of Labor, Region VIII, Denver.
- WEBSTER OTIS, Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of the Interior, Region IX, San Francisco.
- BERNARD KELLY,* Regional Director, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Region X, Seattle.

Federal Regional Councils are located in the 10 regional headquarter cities and are composed of the regional heads of the nine major Federal grantmaking agencies: Department of Agriculture; Department of Health, Education,

*Reappointed.

and Welfare; Department of Housing and Urban Development; Department of the Interior; Department of Labor; Department of Transportation; Environmental Protection Agency; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration; and Office of Economic Opportunity. A chairman is designated by the President each year from among the regional heads sitting on each Federal Regional Council.

The three primary missions of Federal Regional Councils are: improving intergovernmental relations, coordinating interagency programs, and delivering unique services in response to special problem situations.

During the next year Federal Regional Councils will be paying particular attention to coordinating Federal planning assistance and enhancing the capability of State and local governments to plan and manage Federal programs.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Department of State

Announcement of Appointment of Joseph Z. Taylor To Be Assistant Inspector General, Foreign Assistance. July 25, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Joseph Z. Taylor, of Alexandria, Va., to be an Assistant Inspector General, Foreign Assistance. He succeeds Paul J. Bridston, who has resigned.

Mr. Taylor has been with the Central Intelligence Agency since 1966. From 1963 to 1964, he was Special Assistant to the Administrator of the Agency for International Development for Internal Defense, and from 1965 to 1966, he was Deputy Director, then Director of AID's Office of Vietnam Affairs.

He was born on June 10, 1927, in East Greenwich, R.I. Mr. Taylor received his B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy and his M.A. from American University. From 1949 to 1962, he served as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps.

Mr. Taylor is married and has three sons and two daughters.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

President's Commission on White House Fellowships

Announcement of Appointment of Three Members of the Commission and of the Resignation of One Member. July 25, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of three persons as members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. They are:

D. C. BURNHAM, of Pittsburgh, Pa., chairman, Westinghouse Electric Corp.

KENNETH R. COLE, JR., Assistant to the President and Director of the Domestic Council.

LEVI A. JACKSON, of Detroit, Mich., urban affairs manager, Ford Motor Co.

The President also announced the acceptance, with deep appreciation, of the resignation of Robert V. Hansberger as a member of the Commission. He held the position from November 17, 1969.

The Commission was established in 1964 for the purpose of annually recommending to the President a group of outstanding young persons from which he might select White House Fellows. Those selected are appointed to serve for a period of 12 months beginning on September 1 of the year in which they are selected. They serve on the White House Staff, Office of the Vice President, or in the offices of Members of the Cabinet.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

INFLATION

The President's Address to the Nation at a Conference on the Economy in Los Angeles, California. July 25, 1974

Mr. Smith, all of the very distinguished guests on the podium and in this audience, and all of the millions listening on television and on radio:

I want to discuss today the major problem confronting America—inflation.

And I want to discuss where we are in the fight against inflation, how we got here, and what we are going to do about it.

Let me begin by touching briefly on the nature and causes of the inflation we have been experiencing.

Basically, we and the other industrialized nations have had a generation of inflation because governments all over the world, for a long period of time, have permitted and encouraged the demand for goods and services to outrun the capacity to meet that demand with rising production.

Governments have repeatedly increased their own spending more than taxation. They have added to demand without making a balancing cut in private spending. They have created new money to finance more borrowing and investment than people were willing to finance out of their savings. Now, all this has added to the upward pressure on prices.

The great worldwide surge of inflation in the past year and a half was caused by three exceptional circumstances coming at once.

One was a decline in the world grain production as a result of bad weather in many areas of the world. Another was the oil embargo, together with the action of the oil exporting countries in suddenly quadrupling oil prices. And the third was a simultaneous economic boom in the industrialized nations, which increased demand for goods far beyond the capacity to produce them in those nations.

Now fortunately, although other inflationary pressures continue, food production now has increased. The oil embargo has ended. World oil prices have leveled off. The worldwide economic boom has slackened.

And so, these particular inflationary forces are no longer propelling the inflationary spiral upward to the same extent that they were. We must recognize, however, that the higher price levels that have been reached by oil and other raw materials will continue to exert strong upward pressures for a time as they work their way through the economy.

We are also now feeling the effect of last year's surge of prices in the form of an understandably strong drive for large wage increases, as workers try to catch up with earlier cost of living increases.

Confronted with an unacceptable level of inflation on the one hand and with a temporary slackening of economic activity on the other, many voices have lately been raised in America demanding some swift, spectacular action. Some ask for reimposing wage and price controls. Others recommend that we wring out the economy with higher taxes or sharply restrictive monetary policies, even at the cost of a severe recession. And then, on the other hand, there are those who urge that we should lower taxes in order to pump up the economy more rapidly. And still others suggest that we should simply give up—that we should accept a rampant inflation as a mysterious and incurable disease and concentrate on learning to live with it.

Well, we are not going to do any of these things. Let me tell you why not, and let me tell you what we will do instead.

If experience teaches anything, it is that economic policies aimed exclusively at short-term relief too often bring long-term grief.

We must learn to think less in terms of programs and more in terms of policies: policies of respect for the basic laws and forces of the market place and of recognition that in those policies lie the keys to our economic future.

And so, let me tell you first what we are not going to do.

We are not going to resort to the discredited patent medicine of wage and price controls. To return to controls now for temporary relief would

only create new distortions, and thus intensify our long-term difficulties, and lead in the end to even more inflation when the controls came off.

We are not going to respond to the short-term slack in the economy by priming the pumps of inflation with new deficit spending or with a new easing of credit or with tax cuts that would only make inflation worse. These actions would be like pouring gasoline on a raging fire.

And neither will we administer the shock treatment of a sudden drastic "wringing out" of inflation, the cost of which in terms of increased unemployment for millions of Americans would be unacceptable.

Now, let me tell you what we are going to do.

Our aim is to control inflation while continuing to produce more, so that people can live better. The key to this lies in keeping our eye squarely on the long-term—and keeping it there even as we actively manage our short-term difficulties. It lies in choosing a sensible, realistic course and sticking to it, whatever the pressures. And that is exactly what we shall do.

We will continue to monitor every sector of this economy. And I can assure you that we will take what actions are necessary to prevent undue hardship in any sector of the economy. But we will not react either to general or to specific needs with gimmicks or emotionalism, and we will continue steadily on our basic anti-inflationary course.

A policy to check inflation is fundamentally a policy to curb the growth of demand relative to the growth of supply. In the short run, attention must focus on holding down the increase in demand, because with few exceptions, increasing supply takes a considerable amount of time.

There are exceptions, however, where changes in Government policy can result in rapid expansions of supply. Examples on which we have already acted include the turning back into production of tens of millions of acres of farmland which had previously been kept idle, and the sale of excess Government stockpiles of certain raw materials.

In the longer run, we can focus more on increasing the growth of output—on producing more rather than on demanding less. So our strategy must have two elements—mainly restraining demand in the short run and expanding supply in the long run.

Let's turn now to the Federal Government. The most obvious thing the Federal Government can do to restrain demand is to hold down its own spending. For the current fiscal year, expenditures under the budget I submitted in February would be \$305 billion. A variety of forces, the most important being pending congressional legislation in excess of the budget, threaten to raise this to \$312 billion—over \$7 billion over the budget I submitted in January. Undoubtedly, more spending proposals will be pressed in Congress in the months ahead.

I will not accept this inflation of the Federal budget. On the contrary, I am determined to cut below the \$305 billion. I submitted in January toward a goal of \$300 billion. I intend to veto congressional actions that would raise that spending above the budget. And beyond this, I have directed the heads of all Federal departments and agencies—without exception—to trim already-programmed Federal spending toward the goal of \$300 billion.

I have also ordered a reduction of 40,000 in the number of Federal employees provided for in the budget for the current year. This alone will save \$300 million.

For the 1976 fiscal year—in which we are now preparing the budget, a year which begins in just 11 months—I shall submit a budget that will not only be in balance, but that will actually reduce the rate of growth of Federal spending so that the increase from 1975 to 1976 will be less than the increase from 1974 to 1975 rather than more. And when necessary, in proposing this budget, I shall propose repeal of existing legislation that makes spending mandatory.

Now, 2 weeks ago, I signed the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. For the first time in our Nation's history, this law provides a mechanism for the Congress to consider the whole budget comprehensively, not just its parts. It will be essential that this law be used effectively with the clear, continuing objective of reducing or eliminating expenditures that would help some of the people, but cause higher prices for all of the people.

We have to understand one fact. The President alone cannot cut the cost of Government. This new law provides a means by which the Congress and the President can work together to accomplish that goal.

And I am confident that a majority of the Members of the Congress will support the efforts of the President to balance the Federal budget so that millions of Americans will have a chance to balance their family budgets.

The other principal weapon in the Government's arsenal to control inflation is monetary policy—that is, the control over the expansion of money and credit.

It is the function of the Federal Reserve system to maintain an adequate supply of money and credit but to prevent that supply from rising too fast. The Federal Reserve is doing so. Holding down money and credit in the face of a rapid inflation causes high interest rates, which nobody likes. But allowing more rapid monetary expansion would soon cause even more rapid inflation and even higher interest rates. And therefore, the course of the Federal Reserve, the course it is on, is the necessary route to less inflation and lower interest rates.

Like any other part of the anti-inflation program, monetary restraint can be overdone. It has not been overdone up to this time, and it will not be overdone. We shall provide the expansion of money and credit necessary to support moderate growth of the economy at reasonable prices. Chairman Burns, of the Federal Reserve, has assured me of the intention of the Federal Reserve to avoid extremes of restriction in the effort to conduct an effective anti-inflationary monetary policy—an effort which every American should endorse. There will not be a credit crunch in which the money for essential economic activity becomes unavailable.

And so, as far as the Federal Government is concerned, we will cut the growth of Federal spending. We will hold down the growth of money and credit to check private spending. And I call on State and local governments, and on businesses and consumers, to hold down their own spending and increase their own savings as their contribution in the fight against higher prices.

I recognize that some Americans cannot cut their spending without real hardship. And I recognize that some expenditures by business cannot be cut without cutting production now or in the future and thereby increasing unemployment. But most families could reduce or defer some expenditures—building their savings instead—without hardship. And

every business has some fat in it, just as every Federal agency has. And State and local governments, whose spending has been rising rapidly, should follow the lead of the Federal Government in cutting unnecessary spending.

Now, there are cynics who will say that such an appeal to the public spirit of the American people is futile. Well, I don't believe that. We saw how the American people saved during World War II. And just last winter, we saw how the American people conserved gasoline and fuel oil and avoided, as a result, gas rationing and all the consequences that would have flowed. In my recent meetings to discuss the economy and in my mail, I have had abundant evidence of the willingness of the American people not only to cooperate but to join actively in the battle against inflation.

Less spending means less pressure on prices today. More saving means more investment in new housing and new production, and therefore, lower prices tomorrow. And the consumer—and that is everybody—wins both ways.

I referred earlier to the significance of a \$12 billion difference in the Federal budget. A cut of only 1½ percent in personal consumption expenditures—that would mean like putting away 15 cents for every \$10 spent—would make a similar difference in the fight against inflation.

How rapidly we succeed in cutting inflation will also depend on business and labor. If they continue pushing prices and wages rapidly forward, this will continue the inflationary pressures. But sales will suffer, because consumers will resist paying higher prices, and employment will also suffer, and no one in the end will be better off.

And, therefore, in their own interest as well as in the Nation's, it is essential that business and labor act responsibly in their price and wage demands. As I have said, we shall not return to price and wage controls. But I intend to use every influence of the Presidency and of the Federal Government to bring about helpful voluntary restraint on the part of both business and labor in this critical area.

In the short run, as I have said, we must focus on measures to restrain demand. But to achieve prosperity without inflation in the long run, we must focus above all on producing more so that we can have more goods and services without higher prices.

To assure a vigorous growth of supplies in the longer run, a number of critical measures are necessary.

A good example is agriculture, where today less than 5 percent of our population feed all of America and help feed much of the rest of the world as well. We must keep our agricultural programs focused on a policy of abundance as they now are, rather than on a policy of scarcity.

We have seen vividly the importance of energy supplies and energy prices in the U.S. economy over these past few months. We must now take all necessary steps to assure ourselves of reliable supplies of energy at the lowest possible cost. That is the essence of Project Independence on which we are now moving steadily forward. Let us take whatever steps are necessary to make sure that the United States will never again be hostage to a cut-off of vital energy supplies by any foreign country. And here is another area where the President alone cannot do the job. We need the cooperation of the Congress on many pieces of legislation in this area which await action.

We need to assure adequate long-term supplies of capital for investment, another area we have discussed at great length in recent weeks.

In May, I directed the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to undertake a special study of long-range capital needs to provide for the continued growth of our economy and how to ensure that these needs may be met.

Too often today the creative energies of our economic system are stifled by burdensome overregulation based on policies designed for an earlier era. For example, Government regulations often require trucks to run empty. This wastes fuel, and it raises the cost to the consumer of everything these trucks carry. That is just one example. Many others could be cited. And consequently, I have directed a sweeping review of these policies with the objective of recommending these changes needed to bring the regulatory agencies and regulatory policies in line with the needs of a new era when increasing productivity must be a primary means of achieving our primary economic goals.

And where regulatory agencies, because of obsolete rules, have the effect of restricting production rather than encouraging it, those rules need to be changed. And they will be changed.

Some of the most important regulations from this standpoint are not Federal, but State or local, such as obsolete building codes. Therefore, this review will encompass the reforms needed at all levels. At the same time, I again urge the Congress to enact the regulatory reforms that I have already proposed—with respect to transportation and financial institutions, for example—in order to make our economic system more productive and less inflationary.

And now we come to a very sensitive political point. It is time for us to reevaluate the trade-off between increasing supplies, increasing production, and certain other objectives that are worthwhile, such as improving the environment and increasing safety. Those goals are important, but we too often recently have had a tendency to push particular social goals so far and so fast that other important economic goals are unduly sacrificed. And consequently these policies must be reevaluated and adjusted to the new needs.

Congress should enact the trade reform bill so that negotiations to reduce trade barriers can begin. This sometimes sounds like an esoteric subject of interest only to those who are in international trade. But competition from abroad can be a powerful force toward increasing productivity in the United States, creating more jobs, making more supplies available for American consumers, and in holding down prices.

Finally, and most important, we must restore the idea in America that the way to have more is to produce more. This is true of a nation, it is true of individuals. Too many countries are in extreme difficulty because their people have come to believe that the way to get more is to have the Government spend more, even though no more is produced. That has often been true in this country.

It is often said that we have worldwide inflation because people demand more. That is just a half-truth. We have worldwide inflation because people's demand for more is not matched by a willingness and ability on their part to produce more. The demand too often is translated into a supply of votes, not a supply of work, saving, initiative, and innovation.

In America—and may it always be this way—the power of Government is the power of the people. And, therefore, the most important responsibility of each American in fighting inflation is your responsibility—those of you in this room, and the millions listening on television and

radio. I can assure you that your Government will take firm measures, measures that will be unpopular with many special interest groups. The voice of the people in support of sound anti-inflation policies needs to be heard in Washington above the voices of the special interests.

In fact, we need in this country the one lobby we don't have—an anti-inflation lobby. This should not be a lobby with plush Washington offices and high paid officers. And I am not reflecting on any of the people who may be lobbyists here. This lobby should have an office in every home in America and every citizen should be an officer in it. When every Government official—whether in the executive branch, in the Congress, or in State and local governments—knows that this anti-inflation lobby will reward anti-inflationary action and punish inflationary action, the fight against inflation will be won.

We have looked, as we should, at many of the troubles in the American economy today, but we must also recognize that despite its troubles the American economy today is the envy of the rest of the world. One needs only to travel, as I have in recent months and over the years, to other nations, particularly industrial nations, to realize the truth of that statement.

Painful as our own inflation is, it is less than that of France, of Italy, of Great Britain, of Japan, and less than that of most of the industrial nations of the world.

In fact, time and again I have found in recent months the leaders of other countries marveling at the great economic strength of America and wishing that they could exchange their economic difficulties for ours.

And consequently, as we look at the troubles in our economy today, we must not overlook its strengths. We have the strongest economy in the world by far, and we can win any economic battle that we determine to win. We are out to win the battle against inflation, and with our strong economy we have the resources to do it.

As we look at the strengths of that economy, we have more jobs in America today than ever before, and those jobs pay higher wages, real wages, than in any other country in the world, even in the area of food costs, which we all know is one that really strikes home to whoever keeps that family budget. A smaller percentage of the wage earner's income goes to food in the United States than in any country in the world.

Young Americans today are finding work rather than facing the draft, and we can be thankful for that. And if our unemployment, which is holding lower than we had earlier predicted, if it is higher than we want—and it is—let us be thankful that those who may be unemployed are not facing the draft and not serving in any war overseas.

In fact, we can be thankful that our problems today are the problems of peace rather than the problems of war.

We will win the fight against inflation, but we are going to win it not by a single set of dramatic actions, but by the cumulative effect of actions that in themselves are often undramatic, actions that may not make headlines in the morning newspapers, but that will be the right actions to take.

In economic policy, impatience is the great enemy of sound policy. If you look at the history of inflation in America, more than anything else it can be laid at the doorstep of impatience: impatience to spend money we have not yet earned, or to spend taxes we have not yet collected; impatience to satisfy all of our social wants at once, without regard to the

fact that we cannot afford everything at once; impatience with the short-term dislocations that often are part of long-term adjustments needed to keep the economy growing in a healthy rather than an unhealthy way.

The key to fighting inflation, therefore, is steadiness. The steadiness that accepts the need for hard decisions, for occasional unpleasant statistics and even a measure of sacrifice in the short run in order to ensure stable growth without inflation for the long run, the steadiness that stands fixed against the clamor to take dramatic action just to create an appearance of action, and the kind of steadiness that rejects demagogery, that rejects gimmickry, and that gives the enormous creative forces of the marketplace in America a chance to work. That is our strength, the free marketplace in America, and we must keep it free.

And so I say to you that we are on the right road toward our goal, a goal of full prosperity without war and without inflation. We are going to stay on that road.

We will be steadfast in holding down Federal spending, in slowing the growth of the Federal budget.

We will have moderate but firm restraint on the growth of the money supply.

We will work creatively with other nations to deal with inflation in its worldwide dimensions.

We will take new measures to encourage productivity, and this is perhaps the most important long-term objective we can set for ourselves—to encourage productivity and to increase supplies of scarce resources. And in particular, we are going to press vigorously forward in increasing supplies of energy and food—the biggest components of the recent inflationary surge.

We shall stand firm against efforts to turn us aside from the steadiness of course that is necessary.

We intend to devote the full energies of the Federal Government to the fight against inflation. And I ask for your support, for the full support of the American people in this great cause.

In 1976, America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a Nation.

Let our goal for that anniversary be an America at peace with every nation in the world, a peace that we helped to bring about, and here at home, let our goal be an economy of prosperity without war and without inflation.

That is a great goal. It will require the united efforts, the dedication of Government, of business, of labor, and of individual Americans all over this country.

What you do, each and every one of you, will matter.

As you play your part in this great crusade, you can be confident that your Federal Government will play its part. And together, we can achieve the goal that all of us want: the goal of full prosperity without war and without inflation, for ourselves, for our children, and for America's future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:32 p.m. in the Los Angeles Room at the Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif. The conference on the economy was sponsored by the California Chamber of Commerce, the California Manufacturers Association, the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. In his opening remarks, the President referred to William French Smith, president of the California Chamber of Commerce. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

Emergency Livestock Credit Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law While Expressing Certain Reservations About Its Provisions. July 26, 1974

I am signing today S. 3679, the Emergency Livestock Credit Act of 1974.

Through a carefully controlled program of loan guarantees, this bill will provide emergency assistance to livestock producers who have been caught in a recent cost-price squeeze. When production costs soared above sales levels in recent months, many producers—especially in the beef industry—began operating at a loss, and some still face the threat of bankruptcy. Without some form of assistance as provided in this bill, there might ultimately be a reduction in the number of producers, which would in turn lead to reduced supplies and higher prices for the consumers.

I am keenly aware, however, that this bill also presents some dangers. The assistance provided by this bill should not be used to bail out short-term speculators who are normally not engaged in livestock production, nor should it be used to refinance debt unrelated to recent market conditions or to offset potential losses by banking institutions which are in a position to absorb some loss as a normal business risk. Instead, it should be used only in those cases where it can make the critical difference between a producer's ability to sustain continued meat production and a forced reduction in his production that in the long run would hurt the general consumer as well as the producer.

Accordingly, I am asking the Secretary of Agriculture to administer this act with deliberation and selectivity to ensure that it is used only by the bona fide producer of livestock who is critically affected by short-term changes in market conditions and whose continued production would be severely jeopardized in the absence of such assistance.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3679) is Public Law 93-357, approved July 25, 1974.

The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Department of the Interior

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Jack W. Carlson To Be Assistant Secretary for Energy and Minerals. July 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jack W. Carlson of Potomac, Md., to be an As-

sistant Secretary of the Interior for Energy and Minerals. He will succeed Stephen Alan Wakefield, who has resigned. Mr. Carlson has served as Assistant to the Director, Office of Management and Budget, since 1972.

Mr. Carlson joined the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1966 serving as Senior Staff Economist, and in 1968 he became Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget, where he served until appointment to his current position.

A native of Salt Lake City, Utah, Mr. Carlson was born November 20, 1933. He received his B.S. and M.B.A. (business administration) degrees from the University of Utah in 1957 and M.P.A. (public administration) and Ph. D. (economics) degrees from Harvard University in 1963. He was a fellow of the School of Public Administration at Harvard University in 1968.

Mr. Carlson was a member of the United States Air Force from 1957 to 1966, serving as an Assistant to the Secretaries of the Air Force and Defense (1964-1968) and as professor of economics or management at several universities at various times.

He is married to the former Renee Pyott, and they have seven children.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Department of the Interior

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Lynn Adams Greenwalt To Be Director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. July 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lynn Adams Greenwalt, of Rockville, Md., to be Director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-271 of April 22, 1974. Since 1971, Mr. Greenwalt has served as Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife at the Department of the Interior.

Mr. Greenwalt was born March 15, 1931 in Reno, Nev. He received his B.S. degree (1953) from the University of Oklahoma and an M.S. degree (1955) from the University of Arizona. He was a member of the United States Army from 1955 to 1957. During this period, he also served as a fellow of the Arizona Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit.

Mr. Greenwalt joined the Department of the Interior Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife in 1957 and has served in the following capacities: Refuge Manager (1957-62), Regional Refuge Planner (1962-63), Assistant Regional Supervisor (1963-68), Refuge Manager (1968-70), Supervisory U.S. Game Management Agent (1970-71), and Chief, Division of Wildlife Refuge

from 1971 until appointment to his current position in October 1973.

Mr. Greenwalt is married to the former Judith A. Cunningham, and they have three children.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Federal Energy Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William W. Geimer To Be Director of Intergovernmental and Regional Relations. July 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William W. Geimer, of Chicago, Ill., to be Director of Intergovernmental and Regional Relations in the new Federal Energy Administration.

Mr. Geimer served from October 1971 to December 1973 as Assistant to the Director of the Cost of Living Council and has served since January 1974 as an Executive Assistant at the Federal Energy Office. During 1969, he was Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in the Department of Commerce. In 1970, he was Special Assistant to the Chairman of the White House Conference on Children and Youth. During 1970-71, he was with the Office of Economic Opportunity as Deputy Director of VISTA and Chairman of the Office of Program Development's Planning Committee.

He was born August 18, 1937, in Chicago, Ill. Mr. Geimer was graduated from Marquette University in 1959 and Northwestern University in 1963. He is a member of the American Bar Association and the Illinois Bar Association.

From 1963 to 1967, Mr. Geimer served as an attorney with the firm of Brown, Jackson, Boettcher & Dienner in Chicago and was an executive attorney with the National Association of Community Counsel in Chicago from 1967 to 1969.

Mr. Geimer is married to the former Maureen Daly. They have four children and reside in Bethesda, Md.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

Foreign Claims Settlement Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Wilfred J. Smith To Be a Member of the Commission.

July 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Wilfred J. Smith, of Alexandria, Va., to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term of 3 years. He will succeed Kieran O'Doherty whose term has expired.

Prior to his retirement in 1972, Mr. Smith served as Deputy AID Mission Director in Nepal. He was a consultant for the Rand Corporation and a short-term consultant for AID in Vietnam in 1965. He served as research director in Thailand (1966-1968) and program manager in Iran (1968-1969) for the Philco-Ford Corp. He also served as a Senior Research Analyst for the Department of Defense from 1965 to 1966.

Mr. Smith was born in China on March 21, 1909. He received A.B., A.M., and Ph. D. degrees from the University of Michigan. He served in the United States Air Force from 1942 to 1964, retiring as a colonel. He has written and published a number of materials and received several military decorations.

Mr. Smith is married and has two children.

The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission was established by Reorganization Plan 1 of 1954 for the purpose of determining claims of United States nationals against foreign governments for losses and injuries sustained by them. The commission consists of three members, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate for staggered terms of 3 years. J. Raymond Bell is Chairman of the commission.

NOTE: The announcement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY

Brief Submitted to the Committee by the Office of the Special Counsel to the President. Dated July 19, 1974. Released July 20, 1974

EDITOR'S NOTE: The brief, as submitted to the House Judiciary Committee, has been reproduced in facsimile below. Corrections announced by the White House Press Office have been incorporated in this reproduction.

The page numbers on the table of contents refer to pages in the original brief.

INTRODUCTION

This Brief is submitted in response to the areas of inquiry reviewed in depth by the Committee on the Judiciary. The Brief neither reflects our belief as to the significance of the areas highlighted nor concedes the relevancy of any areas not addressed. It is offered to provide the Committee on the Judiciary with the most complete record possible under the available time frame. Should the Committee desire any additional submissions, the Special Counsel to the President would welcome the opportunity to respond to any particular request.

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I. WATERGATE

A. No Evidence Has Been Presented To Show The President Had Prior Knowledge Of The Plans to Burglarize The Democratic National Committee

On May 22, 1973, the President in a national radio and television address said:

The burglary and bugging of the Democratic National Committee headquarters came as a complete surprise to me. I had no inkling that any such illegal activities had been planned by persons associated with my campaign. . . (9 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 696, May 22, 1973, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 15a, p. 133).^{1/}

The Special Staff of the House Committee on the Judiciary has not produced a single shred of evidence showing that the President's statement is untrue. In fact, all of the evidence corroborates the President's statement.

In his March 21, 1973, meeting with the President, John Dean told the President there was no White House involvement in the planning of the burglary:

D. Uh, I honestly believe that no one over here (at the White House) knew that (there were plans to break-in the DNC). (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 87).^{2/}

^{1/} Presidential Presentation refers to the "Statement of Information Submitted on Behalf of the President," Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, May-June, 1974.

^{2/} The citations to Judiciary Transcripts, included in this brief are from "Transcripts Of Eight Recorded Presidential Conversations," Hearings Before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, pursuant to H. Res. 803, Serial No. 34, May-June, 1974.

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After Dean had for the first time told the President some of the details of the Watergate burglary and the cover-up thereof, Dean again told the President that this was new information of which the President was unaware:

D. . . . you're not involved in it . . .

P. That is true

D. I know, sir, it is. Well I can just tell from our conversations that, you know, these are things that you have no knowledge of. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 100).

Both Haldeman and Ehrlichman testified before the Senate Select Committee that they did not believe the President had prior knowledge of the break-in plans. (Haldeman 7 SSC 2883, Ehrlichman 6 SSC 2769, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tabs 5a-5b, pp. 54-55).^{3/}

In a conversation with the President on March 21, 1973, Ehrlichman further elaborated that the White House had no advance knowledge of the break-in:

E. The, the only thing that we can say is for Ziegler to say, 'Look, we've investigated backwards and forwards in the White House, and we're satisfied on the basis of the report we have that nobody in the White House has been involved in a burglary; nobody had notice of it, knowledge of it, participated in the planning, or aided or abetted it in any way.'

^{3/} Citations to SSC refer to the printed transcripts of the Hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

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P. Well, that's what you could say.

E. And it happens to be true. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, p.m., p. 145).

Mitchell is the only close advisor alleged to have advance knowledge of the burglary, but Mitchell stated he never discussed this subject with the President. (Mitchell 4 SSC 1628, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 6a, p. 58). Mitchell believed the President did not know of either the burglary plans or the cover-up because, as Mitchell said:

I know the . . . [President] . . . , I know his reactions to things, and I have a very strong feeling that during the period of time in which I was in association with him and did talk to him . . . , I just do not believe that he had that information or had that knowledge; otherwise, I think the type of conversations we had would have brought it out. (Mitchell 4 SSC 1628, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 6a, p. 58).

Finally, Richard Moore, a close associate of the President confirmed the fact that the President had no prior knowledge. Moore testified before the Senate Select Committee:

As I sat through the meeting of March 20 with the President and Mr. Dean in the Oval Office, I came to the conclusion in my own mind that the President could not be aware of the things that Dean was worried about or had been hinting at to me. . . . It seemed crystal clear to me that he knew of nothing that was inconsistent with the previously stated conclusion that the White

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House was uninvolved in the Watergate Affair, before or after the event. (Moore 5 SSC 1944, 1945, see also 2067, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 6b, p. 59).

The Special Staff has failed to produce any evidence to demonstrate that the President had foreknowledge of the burglary plans.

The evidence clearly establishes that after the second meeting in Mitchell's office on February 4, 1972, the modified Liddy plan (\$250,000) was turned down and Dean concluded that the plan was at an end. (Dean 3 SSC 931, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 7a, p. 64). Dean later met with Haldeman and described the meetings in which the Liddy plans were considered. Dean advised Haldeman that the White House should have nothing to do with any such activity. Haldeman agreed. (Dean 3 SSC 930, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 7b, p. 65).

Subsequently, Magruder reported by telephone to Strachan that a "sophisticated political intelligence gathering system" had been approved, as one of approximately thirty items under consideration. Magruder did not elaborate and Strachan dutifully repeated this information, practically verbatim, in a three line paragraph in his Political Matters Memo #18 directed to Haldeman. Attached to this Memo under Tab H were reports identified by the

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code name "Sedan Chair" as examples of the type of information being developed. These reports did not disclose the character of the source of the information. (Strachan 6 SSC 2441, 2452, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 8a, p. 68).

There is no reason to believe that Haldeman knew the "intelligence gathering" system referred to in Strachan's memo was, in fact, illegal. Magruder testified that the original concept of intelligence gathering was "simply one of gathering . . . information through sources in the opposition's committee." (Magruder 2 SSC 810, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 8b, p. 70). Sedan Chair was such an activity. Magruder and Reisner testified that Sedan Chair involved a disgruntled campaign worker from the Humphrey Pennsylvania organization who passed information to CRP. (Magruder 2 SSC 848, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 8b, p. 70) (Reisner 2 SSC 499, 500, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 8c, p. 72). Ehrlichman and Porter described a similar operation using a Muskie campaign courier to photograph documents he was delivering. Porter deemed this activity surreptitious but not illegal. (Ehrlichman 7 SSC 2768) (Porter 2 SSC 670-671, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 8d, p. 74).

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Dean in discussing this matter with the President on the morning of March 21, 1973, stated that: ". . . Bob (Haldeman) was assuming, that they (CRP) had something that was proper over there, some intelligence gathering operation that Liddy was operating." (Emphasis added) (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 84). In referring to a Sedan Chair-type operation, Dean told the President that there is "nothing illegal about that." (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 85).

The instruction from Haldeman to Strachan to transfer the intelligence "capabilities" from Muskie to McGovern, does not establish that Haldeman knew the activities were illegal. The evidence presented by the Special Staff only shows that Haldeman may have known of the lawful intelligence gathering activities. (Strachan 6 SSC 2476). Strachan suspected that it involved such things as the Muskie driver. (Strachan 6 SSC 2470).

There is no evidence to show that Haldeman ever discussed intelligence gathering with the President. The Senate Select Committee testimony discloses that the Political Matters Memo #18 was prepared by Strachan on March 31, 1972, and submitted to Haldeman. It was returned to Strachan with a check mark opposite the paragraph relating to intelligence gathering. According to Strachan, this mark indicated that Haldeman had seen the matter. (Strachan

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6 SSC 2452, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 10a, p. 82). Four days later Strachan prepared a talking paper to Haldeman to use in a meeting that he was having that day with Mitchell -- not with the President. (Strachan 6 SSC 2452, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 10a, p. 82). After Haldeman met with Mitchell, the talking paper was returned and filed with Memo #18. According to Strachan, the subject of intelligence gathering was never raised again by Haldeman, and Strachan only assumed Haldeman discussed it with Mitchell. (Strachan 6 SSC 2454, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 10a, p. 82). Strachan never testified that Haldeman discussed intelligence gathering with the President. In fact, Strachan testified that any memo discussed with the President bore the letter "P" in the upper right hand corner with a check mark through the "P." Strachan is quite certain that none of his Political Matters Memos had this marking. (Strachan 6 SSC 2488, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 10a, p. 82).

Haldeman testified that Strachan did not know what transpired at the April 4, 1972 meeting and that Strachan's suggestion that intelligence gathering was discussed is "far-fetched." Haldeman indicated that he and Mitchell did not discuss intelligence gathering activities with the President, but only reviewed matters relating to the ITT-Kleindienst hearings and assignments of regional campaign

responsibilities. The notes Haldeman took during this meeting show that no other matters were discussed. (Haldeman 7 SSC 2881, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 11a, p. 86). The transcript of the April 4, 1972 meeting of the President with Haldeman and Mitchell fully confirms Haldeman's testimony that no reference was made to any intelligence gathering system. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 11b, p. 87). Mitchell confirmed this in his recent testimony before the House Judiciary Committee. (Mitchell HJC 3372), ^{4/}

If there remains any doubt that the President had no advance knowledge of the Watergate burglary, his recorded and spontaneous statements of shock and surprise upon first learning of the break-in would seem conclusive. On February 28, 1973, at a meeting with Dean, the President reacted to the burglary saying:

P. Good G-- almighty. I mean, of course, I'm not dumb, and I will never forget when I heard about this G-- damned thing [unintelligible] J---- C-----, what in the hell is this? What's the matter with these people? Are they crazy? I thought they were nuts. (Judiciary Transcript, February 28, 1973, a.m., p. 45).

^{4/} Citations to HJC are taken from the Report of Proceedings of the Committee on the Judiciary during its Impeachment Inquiry.

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The President first learned of potential White House involvement in the planning and execution of the break-in on March 13, 1973, when Dean told him Strachan knew about the break-in plans in advance. The President expressed his surprise at this revelation and to make sure he heard correctly, asked again and again.

P. Did Strachan?

D. Yes.

P. He knew?

D. Yes.

P. About the Watergate?

D. Yes.

* * * (continued later)

P. But he knew? He knew about Watergate?
Strachan did?

D. Uh huh.

P. I'll be damned. . . .
(Judiciary Transcript, March 13, 1973, p.m.,
p. 71).

On March 13, the President again characterized the break-in saying, "What a stupid thing. Pointless." (Judiciary Transcript, March 13, 1973, p.m., p. 72).

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On March 21, 1973, when the President finally learned substantially all of the details of the White House involvement from Dean, the President said:

- P. Why (unintelligible) I wonder? I am just trying to think as to why then. We'd just finished the Moscow trip. I mean, we were --
- D. That's right.
- P. The Democrats had just nominated McG-, McGovern. I mean, for C----- sakes, I mean, what the hell were we-I mean I can see doing it earlier but I mean, now let me say. I can see the pressure but I don't see why all the pressure would have been around then. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 86).

Finally in the conversation of the President, Haldeman and Ehrlichman on March 27, 1973, the following exchange again demonstrates the President's lack of knowledge:

- H. O'Brien raised the question whether Dean actually had no knowledge of what was going on in the intelligence area between the time of the meetings in Mitchell's office, when he said don't do anything, and the time of the Watergate discovery. And I put that very question to Dean, and he said, "Absolutely nothing."
- P. I would -- the reason I would totally agree-- that I would believe Dean there (unintelligible) he would be lying to us about that. But I would believe for another reason -- that he thought it was a stupid damn idea.
- E. There just isn't a scintilla of hint that Dean knew about this. Dean was pretty good all through that period of time in sharing things, and he was tracking with a number of us on --

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P. Well, you know the thing the reason that (unintelligible) thought -- and this incidentally covers Colson -- and I don't know whether --. I know that most everybody except Bob, and perhaps you, think Colson knew all about it. But I was talking to Colson, remember exclusively about -- and maybe that was the point -- exclusively about issues. . . .

* * *

P. Right. That was what it is. But in all those talks he had plenty of opportunity. He was always coming to me with ideas, but Colson in that entire period, John, didn't mention it. I think he would have said, 'Look we've gotten some information,' but he never said they were. Haldeman, in this whole period, Haldeman I am sure -- Bob and you, he talked to both of you about the campaign. Never a word. I mean maybe all of you knew but didn't tell me, but I can't believe that Colson -- well -- (White House Transcript, March 27, 1973, 11:00 a.m. - 1:30 p.m., pp. 328-330).^{5/}

Thus, a full and fair analysis of all the available evidence conclusively demonstrates that the President had absolutely no prior knowledge of the Liddy plans.

5/ The White House transcripts are taken from the Submission of Recorded Presidential Conversations to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives by President Richard Nixon, dated April 30, 1974.

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B. There Is No Evidence That The President Had Knowledge Prior To March 21, 1973, Of An Alleged Plot To Obstruct Justice With Respect To The Break-In At The Democratic National Committee

An objective analysis of the evidence before this Committee will reaffirm the fact that the President had no prior knowledge of an alleged plot to obstruct justice by such means as the attempted use of the CIA to thwart the FBI's Watergate investigation, the destruction of evidence, the subornation of perjury, and the payment of "hush money."

The allegation that John Dean informed the President of an illegal cover-up on September 15, 1972, is based exclusively on the testimony of Dean. In his testimony before the Senate Select Committee Dean stated that he was certain after the September 15 meeting that the President was fully aware of the cover-up. (Dean 4 SSC 1435, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 3a, p. 46). However, in answering questions of Senator Baker, he modified this by stating it "is an inference of mine." (Dean 4 SSC 1475, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 3a, p. 47). Later he admitted he had no personal knowledge that the President knew on September 15th about a cover-up of Watergate. (Dean 4 SSC 1482, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 3a, p. 48).

The tape of the conversation between the President and Dean on September 15, 1972, does not in any way support Dean's testimony that the President was "fully aware of the cover-up." The tape of September 15, 1972, does indeed contain a passage in which the President does congratulate Dean for doing a good job:

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- P. Well, the whole thing is a can of worms. As you know, a lot of this stuff went on. And, uh, and, uh, and the people who worked (unintelligible) awfully embarrassing. And, uh, and, the, uh, but the, but the way you, you've handled it, it seems to me, has been very skillful, because you-putting your fingers in the dikes every time that leaks have sprung here and sprung there. . . . (Judiciary Transcripts, September 15, 1972, p. m., p. 7).

This was said in the context not of a criminal plot to obstruct justice as Dean alleges, but rather in the context of the politics of the matter, such as civil suits, counter-suits, Democratic efforts to exploit Watergate as a political issue and the like. The reference to "putting your finger in the leaks" was clearly related to the handling of the political and public relations aspect of the matter. At no point was the word "contained" used as Dean insisted had been the case in his testimony. (Dean 4 SSC 1476-1477).

This is an example of what the President meant when he said that the tapes contain ambiguities that someone with a motive to discredit the President could take out of context and distort to suit his own purposes.

If Dean did in fact believe that the President was aware of efforts illegally to conceal the break-in prior to March 21, 1973, it is strange that Dean on that date felt compelled to disclose to the President for the first time what he later testified the President already knew. After some preliminary remarks concerning the Gray confirmation hearings, Dean stated the real purpose for the meeting:

- D. Uh, the reason, I thought we ought to talk this morning is because in, in our conversations, uh, uh, I have, I have the impression that you don't know everything I know.

P. That's right.

- D. and it makes it very difficult for you to make judgments that, uh, that only you can make

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P. That's right.

D. on some of these things and I thought that -
(Emphasis added) (Judiciary Transcript,
March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 80).

He then proceeded to detail for the President what he believed the President should be made aware of, first in the "overall."

Dean stated, "We have a cancer-within-close to the Presidency, that's growing," and "people are going to start perjuring themselves. . . ." (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m. p. 81). He described the genesis of the DNC break-in; the employment of Liddy; the formulation of a series of plans by Liddy which Dean disavowed, as did Mr. Haldeman; the belief that the CRP had a lawful intelligence gathering operation and the receipt of information from this source; and the arrest at the DNC on June 17, 1972. He then informed the President of a call to Liddy shortly thereafter inquiring ". . . whether anybody in the White House was involved in this" and the response "No, they weren't." (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 86).

Dean next laid out for the President what happened after June 17. He informed the President "I was under pretty clear instructions (laughs) not to really investigate this . . . I worked on a theory of containment - to try to hold it right where it was," and he admitted that he was "totally aware" of what the FBI and grand jury were doing. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 88). Throughout these

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disclosures the President asked Dean a number of questions such as:

- P. Tell me this: did Mitchell go along?
(White House Transcript, March 21, 1973,
a.m., p. 175). ^{6/}
* * *
- P. That could be - Colson know [sic] what they were
talking about?
* * *
- P. Did Colson - had he talked to anybody here?
- D. No. I think this was an independent -
- P. Did he talk to Haldeman?
* * *
- D. . . . Strachan. Some of it was given to Haldeman. uh,
there is no doubt about it. Uh-
- P. Did he know what it was coming from?
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973,
a.m., pp. 84-85).

Altogether, the President asked Dean more than 150 questions in the course of this meeting.

Dean then described to the President the commencement of what he alleges was a cover-up involving himself and others. Implicit in these revelations, of course, is that the President was not involved but rather he was learning of these allegations for the first time. In fact, later in the conversations, Dean said:

6/ The Judiciary Transcript at p. 82 notes that this line is unintelligible.

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D. I know, sir, it is. Well I can just tell from our conversations that, you know, these are things that you have no knowledge of. (Emphasis added)
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 100).

This evidence demonstrates that the President was not aware of any plot to obstruct justice with respect to the break-in at the Democratic National Committee. This fact is further illustrated by an analysis of each of the categories through which obstruction of justice by some persons has been alleged to have occurred: the interjection of CIA into the investigation; destruction of evidence; perjury and subornation of perjury; and payments to the "Watergate seven" defendants.

(a) The Interjection of CIA into the Investigation

The evidence of the President's role with respect to CIA and the investigation is clear, uncontradicted and totally exculpatory.

The theory that the CIA might have been involved, somehow, in the break-in of the Democratic National Committee originated not in any political circle, but within the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The theory was ostensibly based on some intrinsic evidence, although the previously deteriorated relationship, and, indeed, the antagonistic competition between the CIA and the FBI could have well enhanced the acceptability of the theory within the FBI. The testimony of L. Patrick Gray establishes that the origin of the CIA involvement theory was in the FBI and that Gray communicated the theory to Dean on the

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- afternoon of June 22, 1972. Gray testified:

I met again with Mr. Dean at 6:30 p.m. the same day to again discuss the scheduling of interviews of White House staff personnel and to arrange the scheduling of these interviews directly through the Washington field office rather than through FBI headquarters. At this meeting I also discussed with him our very early theories of the case; namely, that the episode was either a CIA covert operation of some sort simply because some of the people involved had been CIA people in the past, or a CIA money chain, or a political money chain, or a pure political operation, or a Cuban right wing operation, or a combination of any of these. I also told Mr. Dean that we were not zeroing in on any one theory at this time, or excluding any, but that we just could not see any clear reason for this burglary and attempted intercept of communications operation. (Gray 9 SSC 3451, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 13a, p. 122).

Dean's testimony confirms that Gray informed him on June 22, 1972, that one of the FBI theories of the case was that it was a CIA operation, and that Dean reported this information to Haldeman and Ehrlichman on June 23. Dean testified:

It was during my meeting with Mr. Gray on June 22 that we also talked about his theories of the case as it was beginning to unfold. I remember well that he drew a diagram for me showing his theories. At that time Mr. Gray had the following theories: It was a setup job by a double agent; it was a CIA operation because of the number of former CIA people involved; or it was someone in the reelection committee who was responsible. Gray also had some other theories which he discussed, but I do not recall them now, but I do remember that those I have mentioned were his primary theories.

* * *

On June 23 I reported my conversation with Gray of the preceding evening to Ehrlichman and Haldeman. (Dean

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3 SSC 943, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I,
Tab 13a, p. 123).

Haldeman's testimony confirms that Dean reported to him the FBI's concern about CIA involvement, and that he in turn reported it to the President, who ordered Haldeman and Ehrlichman to meet with the CIA officials. Haldeman testified:

There was a concern at the White House that activities which had been in no way related to Watergate or to the 1972 political campaign, and which were in the area of national security, would be compromised in the process of the Watergate investigation and the attendant publicity and political furor. The recent public disclosure of the FBI wiretaps on press and NSC personnel, the details of the Plumbers operations, and so on, fully justifies that concern.

As a result of this concern and the FBI's request through Pat Gray to John Dean for guidance regarding some aspects of the Watergate investigation, because of the possibility of CIA involvement, the President directed John Ehrlichman and me to meet with the Director and Deputy Director of the CIA on June 23. We did so and ascertained from them that there had not been any CIA involvement in the Watergate affair and that there was no concern on the part of Director Helms as to the fact that some of the Watergate participants had been involved in the Bay of Pigs operations of the CIA. We discussed the White House concern regarding possible disclosure of non-Watergate-related covert CIA operations or other nonrelated national security activities that had been undertaken previously by some of the Watergate participants, and we requested Deputy Director Walters to meet with Director Gray of the FBI to express these concerns and to coordinate with the FBI, so that the FBI's area of investigation of the Watergate participants not be expanded into unrelated matters which could lead to disclosures of earlier national security or CIA activities. (Haldeman 7 SSC 2884, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 14a, p. 126).

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The President's statement of May 22, 1973, completes the evidence of this transaction, and verifies the circumstances which led to the meeting of Haldeman and Ehrlichman with the CIA officials on June 23, 1972. The President stated:

Within a few days, however, I was advised that there was a possibility of CIA involvement in some way.

It did seem to me possible that, because of the involvement of former CIA personnel, and because of some of their apparent associations, the investigation could lead to the uncovering of covert CIA operations totally unrelated to the Watergate break-in.

In addition, by this time, the name of Mr. Hunt had surfaced in connection with Watergate, and I was alerted to the fact that he had previously been a member of the Special Investigations Unit in the White House. Therefore, I was also concerned that the Watergate investigation might well lead to an inquiry into the activities of the Special Investigations Unit itself.

In this area, I felt it was important to avoid disclosure of the details of the national security matters with which the group was concerned. I knew that once the existence of the group became known, it would lead inexorably to a discussion of these matters, some of which remain, even today, highly sensitive.

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I wanted justice done with regard to Watergate; but in the scale of national priorities with which I had to deal -- and not at that time having any idea of the extent of political abuse which Watergate reflected -- I also had to be deeply concerned with ensuring that neither the covert operations of the CIA nor the operations of the Special Investigations Unit should be compromised. Therefore, I instructed Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman to ensure that the investigation of the break-in not expose either an unrelated covert operation of the CIA or the activities of the White House investigations unit -- and to see that this was personally coordinated between General Walters, the Deputy Director of the CIA, and Mr. Gray of the FBI. It was certainly not my intent, nor my wish, that the investigation of the Watergate break-in or of related acts be impeded in any way. (9 Weekly Compilations of Presidential Documents 693) (May 22, 1973, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 15a, p. 133).

From the evidence, it is thus clear that the President, stimulated by the FBI's theory of possible CIA involvement, which had been relayed to him through Dean and Haldeman, on the morning of June 23, 1972, directed Haldeman that Haldeman and Ehrlichman meet with CIA officials to ensure that the FBI investigation not expose an unrelated covert operation of the CIA.

There is absolutely no evidence of any other action by the President with respect to the FBI's investigation as it related to the CIA.

It is relevant to note that the uncertainty regarding the possible uncovering of CIA activities was recognized in a memorandum dated June 28, 1972, from Helms to Walters that stated that it was still the CIA's position:

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that they [FBI] confine themselves to the personalities already arrested or directly under suspicion and that they desist from expanding this investigation into other areas which may well, eventually, run afoul of our operations. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. II, Vol. 3, Tab 41.1, p. 472).

Moreover, it was not until July 6, 1972, that the CIA categorically informed the FBI that it had no objections to an unlimited Watergate investigation. The President, also on July 6, 1972, clearly indicated to Gray that he did not want a cover-up, for he told Gray, "Pat, you just continue to conduct your aggressive and thorough investigation." (Gray 9 SSC 3462, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 15b, p. 135).

It is also clear that Dean's subsequent attempts to involve the CIA in a "cover-up" were independent of and subsequent to the President's instructions to Haldeman on the morning of June 23, 1972.

Dean testified that he met with John Mitchell, Robert Mardian and Fred LaRue either on Friday afternoon, June 23 or on Saturday morning, June 24. (Dean SSC 944). Dean testified that at this meeting he told the others about the FBI theory of CIA involvement, and that it was suggested that CIA "could take care of this entire matter." (Dean 3 SSC 945-46). It was the conversation on the afternoon of June 23, 1972 or the morning of June 24 that led to Dean's approach to CIA Deputy Director Walters on Monday, June 26, 1972. (Dean 3 SSC 946).

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It is clear from all the evidence that even the idea that the CIA "could take care of this entire matter" originated subsequent to the President's instructions to Haldeman, and subsequent to the meeting of Haldeman and Ehrlichman with CIA officials on June 23, 1972. There is not the slightest hint in the evidence that the President was aware that subsequent to his legal and entirely appropriate precautionary action on the morning of June 23, 1972, Dean, at the instigation of others undertook to directly involve CIA in a "cover-up."

(b) Destruction of Evidence

The President was unaware that political evidence had been destroyed and it should be noted that neither Dean nor any of the other participants had ever alleged that the President was aware of this; moreover, it is pure speculation to suggest the contrary. It is evident, for example, that the President was not aware that Gray had destroyed documents found in Hunt's safe until April of 1973. On April 17, Petersen explained to the President what had occurred:

HP. Yes sir - I'll tell you what happened. He said he met with Ehrlichman - in Ehrlichman's office - Dean was there and they told him they had some stuff in Hunt's office that was utterly unrelated to the Watergate Case. They gave him two manilla envelopes that were sealed. He took them. He says, they said get rid of them. Dean doesn't say that. Dean says I didn't want to get rid of them so I gave them to Gray. But in any event, Gray took

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them back, and I said Pat where are they,
and he said I burned them. And I said -

- P. He burned them? (Emphasis added) (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p. 1098, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 16a, p. 138).

Nor was the President aware until Petersen informed him on April 16, 1972, that two notebooks were missing from Hunt's office, and both, even then, were unaware that Dean had destroyed this evidence.

HP. By the way Mr. President, I think that.

- P. (Inaudible) evidence -- not evidence?
(Inaudible) explain that the evidence
was not evidence -- is that right?
The stuff out of his safe?

HP. Well -- that's.

- P. What would you get after him on this--
destruction of evidence?

HP. Well you see the point of it is -- there
are two other items that -- according to
the defense -- Hunt's defense -- that were
missing. Both of which were notebooks.

- P. Hunt's notebooks?

HP. And we can't find those notebooks. Dean
says, Fielding says, and Kehrli says,
they have no recollection of those notebooks.

- P. Yeah.

HP. Hunt says they were there, and --

- P. So --

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HP. So only to the extent that the notebooks are missing which Hunt says they're germane.

P. (Inaudible) does he tell us very much, huh?

HP. No sir. (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, p.m., p. 910).

Dean did not disclose this fact even in his Senate testimony.

It was not until November 5, 1973, when he appeared before the court and admitted for the first time destroying this evidence. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk II, Vol. 3, Tab 45.6, p. 512).^{7/}

There is no information which would even tend to show that the President knew of the destruction of evidence until many months after the fact.

(c) Knowledge of Perjury

The President was also unaware prior to March 21, 1973, that Magruder and Porter perjured themselves by stating to a grand jury that Liddy was authorized to spend up to \$250,000 to gather intelligence information for use in attempting to prevent disruptions at the Republican convention and at political speeches. This was apparent from the President's conversation with Dean on March 21, 1973.

D. Yeah. Magruder is totally knowledgeable on the whole thing.

P. Yeah.

^{7/} Special Staff Presentation refers to the "Statement of Information" of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, May-June, 1974.

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- D. All right, now, we've gone through the trial. We've -- I don't know if Mitchell has perjured himself in the Grand Jury or not. I've never --
- P. Who?
- D. Mitchell. I don't know how much knowledge he actually had. I know that Magruder has perjured himself in the Grand Jury. I know that Porter has perjured himself, uh, in the Grand Jury.
- P. Porter? [unintelligible]
- D. He is one of Magruder's deputies. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., pp. 86-87).

All the evidence shows conclusively that the President was not even aware until March 21, 1973 of the fact that Magruder and Porter had committed perjury.

Indeed, the President's warning to Ehrlichman and to Haldeman to avoid perjury belies any allegation that the President would countenance it.

- P. You better damned well remember being -- The main thing is this, John, and when you meet with the lawyers -- and you, Bob, and I hope Strachan has been told -- believe me -- don't try to hedge anything before the damned Grand Jury. I'm not talking about morality, but I'm talking about the vulnerabilities. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p.m., p. 1022).

(d) Payment of Hush Money

At no point in the exhaustive presentation of information by the Special Staff is there any indication that the President was aware

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of any hush money paid the Watergate defendants prior to March 21, 1973. It was not until Dean meets with the President on that morning that the President was informed for the first time of allegations of the payment of hush money. At that time Dean disclosed these events to the President for the first time. He told the President:

D. Uh, Liddy said, said that, you know, if they all got counsel instantly and said that, you know, 'Well, we'll ride this this thing out.' All right, then they started making demands. 'We've got to have attorneys' fees. Uh, we don't have any money ourselves, and if -- you are asking us to take this through the election.' All right, so arrangements were made through Mitchell, uh, initiating it, in discussions that -- I was present -- that these guys had to be taken care of. Their attorneys' fees had to be done. Kalmbach was brought in. Uh, Kalmbach raised some cash. Uh, they were obv--, uh, you know, (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a. m., pp. 89-90).

Dean then advised the President that in his opinion these payments constituted an obstruction of justice by saying:

- D. the most troublesome post-thing, uh, because (1) Bob is involved in that; John is involved in that; I am involved in that; Mitchell is involved in that. And that's an obstruction of justice.
- P. In other words the fact that, uh, that you're, you're, you're taking care of witnesses.
- D. That's right. Uh,
- P. How was Bob involved?

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- D. well, th--, they ran out of money over there. Bob had three hundred and fifty thousand dollars in a safe over here that was really set aside for polling purposes. Uh, and there was no other source of money, so they came over here and said. 'You all have got to give us some money.'
- P. Right.
- D. I had to go to Bob and say, 'Bob, you know, you've got to have some -- they need some money over there.' He said 'What for?' And so I had to tell him what it was for 'cause he wasn't about to just send money over there willy-nilly. And, uh, John was involved in those discussions, and we decided, you know, that, you know, that there was no price too high to pay to let this thing blow up in front of the election. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 90).

Mitchell, Ehrlichman and Haldeman all dispute Dean's allegations of obstructing justice, but there is no information that even remotely connects knowledge of the payments to the President prior to March 21, 1973.

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**C. The Evidence Establishes That The President
Did Not Authorize The Payment of Howard
Hunt's Attorney Fees**

On March 1, 1974, a federal grand jury returned an indictment against seven individuals charging all defendants with one count of conspiracy in violation of Title 18 U.S.C. Sec. 371 and charging some of the defendants with additional charges of perjury, making false declarations to a grand jury or court, making false statements to agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and obstruction of justice.

It has recently been disclosed that the grand jury voted to name the President as one of the unindicted co-conspirators referred to in the conspiracy count (count one) of the indictment of March 1, 1974. It is apparent from an analysis of the indictment that the grand jury vote with respect to the President was related to the implications of a series of overt acts numbered 40 through 44 alleged in the indictment as follows:

40. On or about March 21, 1973, from approximately 11:15 a.m. to approximately noon, HARRY R. HALDEMAN and John W. Dean, III, attended a meeting at the White House in the District of Columbia, at which time there was a discussion about the fact that E. Howard Hunt, Jr. had asked for approximately \$120,000.

41. On or about March 21, 1973, at approximately 12:30 p.m. HARRY R. HALDEMAN had a telephone conversation with JOHN N. MITCHELL.

42. On or about the early afternoon of March 21, 1973, JOHN N. MITCHELL had a telephone conversation with Fred C. LaRue during which MITCHELL authorized LaRue to make a payment of approximately \$75,000 and for the benefit of E. Howard Hunt, Jr.

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43. On or about the evening of March 21, 1973, in the District of Columbia, Fred C. LaRue arranged for the delivery of approximately \$75,000 in cash to William O. Bittman.

44. On or about March 22, 1973, JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN, HARRY R. HALDEMAN, and John W. Dean, III, met with JOHN N. MITCHELL at the White House in the District of Columbia, at which time MITCHELL assured EHRLICHMAN that E. Howard Hunt, Jr. was not a 'problem' any longer.

It is clearly the intended implication of these allegations that the President, at the meeting with Dean, subsequently joined by Haldeman, at 11:45 a.m. on March 21, 1973, authorized a payment of money to E. Howard Hunt, Jr. (alleged overt act No. 40) and that thereafter H. R. Haldeman communicated that authorization by telephone to John N. Mitchell (alleged overt act No. 41), who in turn communicated the authorization to Fred C. LaRue (alleged overt act No. 42); and that Fred C. LaRue, acting upon the authorization, arranged for the delivery to William O. Bittman, attorney for E. Howard Hunt, Jr. of approximately \$75,000 in cash (alleged overt act No. 43).

The implication of the indictment was further buttressed by the dramatically staged circumstances involved in the return of the indictment into court, during the course of which the Assistant Special Prosecutor, in open court attended by representatives of virtually all the major media, handed up a sealed envelope to the Judge together with

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a briefcase stated to contain grand jury materials and with a statement that the grand jury requested that the material be submitted to the House Committee on the Judiciary.

Coincidentally therewith, stories appeared in the media clearly recognizing the implications of the indictment and stating that the material handed up to the Judge in open court charged the President with commission of a crime.

The evidence before the Grand Jury, which was transmitted by the Grand Jury to the Committee, not only fails to support, but indeed, contradicts the allegation by the Grand Jury that the President was a co-conspirator with respect to count one of the indictment. It is contradictory also to the implication of the alleged overt acts 40 through 44 of the indictment.

The clear implication of alleged overt act No. 40 is that the President, during his meeting with Dean and Haldeman authorized the payment of money to Hunt. The evidence is to the contrary.

Among the alternatives considered during the meeting were the payment of money generally and the payment of the amount demanded by Hunt, specifically. The mechanics of these alternatives, such as how the money could be raised and delivered, were explored.

Throughout the earlier, broadly exploratory part of the conversation, the President repeatedly expressed one view and then the

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opposite on the question of meeting Hunt's reported demand, throwing each in turn out for examination and discussion.

At one point in the conversation the President discards the suggestion entirely by saying:

- P. That in the end, we are going to be bled to death, and it's all going to come out anyway, then you get the worst of both worlds. We are going to lose, and people are going to --
- H. And look [unintelligible].
- P. And we're going to look like we covered up. So that we can't do.
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 114).

The inherent wisdom of this observation is such that an ultimately contrary decision would not be possible.

At another point, he inquired as to whether or not the money should be paid:

- P. that's why your, for your immediate thing you've got no choice with Hunt but the hundred and twenty or whatever it is. Right?
- D. That's right.
- P. Would you agree that that's a buy time thing, you better damn well get that done, but fast?
- D. I think he ought to be given some signal, anyway, to, to --
- P. Yes
- D. Yeah -- You know.

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P. Well for C----- sakes, get it in a, in a way that, uh -- Who's, who's going to talk to him? Colson? He's the one who's supposed to know him.
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 121).

This obviously refers to Dean's suggestion that Hunt should be given some "signal" not money.

However, this was not the President's final word on the matter.

Later, we find the President saying to Dean:

P. But, but my point is, do you ever have any choice on Hunt? That's the point.

D. [Sighs]

P. No matter what we do here now, John,

D. Well, if we --

P. Hunt eventually, if he isn't going to get commuted and so forth, he's going to blow the whistle. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 125).

Further on, the entire conversation takes a major turn. This turn becomes highly significant in light of the fact that the urgency of Hunt's immediate demand stemmed solely from the fact that his sentencing and imprisonment was two days away, and he reportedly was insisting on getting his financial affairs in order before he went to prison -- so that meeting his immediate demand was at first seen as the only way to buy the time needed even to consider alternative courses; and of the further fact that the President saw Hunt's principal threat in terms not of Watergate disclosures, but rather of disclosure of the national security matters Hunt had been involved in as a member of the Plumbers.

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As the conversation continues, Dean introduces a theme that the President immediately seizes on, and that increasingly comes to dominate the discussion: The possibility of calling a new grand jury. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m., p. 119).

Initially, the discussion centers on the advantages of a new grand jury as a preferable alternative to having the White House staff appear before the Ervin Committee, and as a means by which the President could seize the initiative in launching the new investigation.

As the discussion develops, however, two other crucial advantages emerge -- advantages which make the payment to Hunt unnecessary.

First, the President concludes that national security matters -- his primary concern in connection with Hunt -- would not have to be disclosed in a grand jury setting in contrast to a public hearing:

- P. Including Ehrlichman's use of Hunt on the other deal? [the Ellsberg situation].
- D. That's right.
- P. You'd throw that out?
- D. Uh, well, Hunt will go to jail for that too -- he's got to understand that.
- P. That's the point too. I don't think that -- I wouldn't throw that out. I think I would limit it to -- I don't think you need to go into every G-- damned thing Hunt has done.
- D. No.
- P. He's done some things in the national security area. Yes. True. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a.m. pp. 125-126).

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The other, and very important, factor that emerged was that institution of a new grand jury proceeding could be used to delay sentencing -- and thus to take the heat out of the Hunt demand, in effect mooting it, and making the immediate payment unnecessary as a means of buying time:

P. You see, the point is, the reason that time is of the essence, we can't play around with this, is that they're going to sentence on Friday. We're going to have to move the G-- damned thing pretty fast. See what I mean?

D. That's right.

P. So we've got to act, we really haven't time to [unintelligible].

D. The other, the other thing is that the Attorney General could call Sirica, and say that 'The government has some major developments that it's considering. Would you hold sentencing for two weeks?' If we set ourself on a course of action.

P. Yep, yep.

D. Say, that 'The sentencing may be in the wrong perspective right now. I don't know for certain, but I just think there are some things that, uh, I am not at liberty to discuss with you, that I want to ask that the, the Court withhold two weeks sentencing.'

H. So then the story is out: 'Sirica Delays Sentencing Watergate For --'

D. I think, I think that could be handled in a way between Sirica and Kleindienst that it would not get out.

P. No.

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D. Sirica tells me, I mean Kleindienst apparently does have good rapport with Sirica. He's never talked to him since this case has developed,

H. or P. Why not?

D. but, uh --

P. That's helpful. Kleindienst could say that he's, uh he's working on something and would like, like, like to have a week. I wouldn't take two weeks. I would take a week.
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a. m., pp. 127-128).

Clearly, this was seized on by the President as a preferable alternative to paying the hush money, a payment he saw the dangers of and saw as ultimately futile: and this is demonstrated conclusively in his final instructions as the meeting ended -- instructions not to pay the money, but rather to move on the grand jury idea, to convene the meeting among Haldeman, Mitchell, Ehrlichman and Dean, and in that meeting to consider the various means of proceeding:

P. Why doesn't the President -- could, could the President call him in as Special Counsel to the White -- to the, to the White House for the purpose of conducting an investigation, represent -- uh, you see, in other words -- rather than having Dean in on it.

D. I have thought of that. I have thought of that.

P. I have him as Special Counsel to represent to the Grand Jury and the rest.

D. That is one possibility.

P. Yeah.

H. On the basis that Dean has now become a principal, rather

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- P. That's right.
- H. than a Special Counsel.
- D. Uh huh.
- P. That's right.
- D. Uh huh.
- P. And that he's a --
- D. And I, and I could recommend that to you.
- P. He could recommend it, you could recommend it, and Petersen would come over and be the, uh - And I'd say, 'Now --'
- H. Petersen's planning to leave, anyway.
- P. And I'd say, 'Now, '
- D. Is he?
- P. 'I want you to get -- we want you to (1) -- '
We'd say to Petersen, 'We want you to get to the bottom of the G-- damned thing. Call another Grand Jury or anything else.' Correct? Well, now you've got to follow up to see whether Kleindienst can get Sirica to put off -- Right? If that is, if we -- Second, you've got to get Mitchell down here. And you and Ehrlichman and Mitchell and let's -- and -- by tomorrow. (Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, a. m., pp. 128-129).

Not once, from the time it first was suggested that the new Grand Jury proceedings could permit delay of sentencing and thereby make consideration of Hunt's demand no longer urgent, was there any suggestion that Hunt's demand be met.

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The conclusion of the meeting is clear in its recognition that the blackmail and the cover-up cannot continue:

- H. John's point is exactly right, that the erosion here now is going to you, and that is the thing that we've got to turn off, at whatever the cost. We've got to figure out where to turn it off at the lowest cost we can, but at whatever costs it takes.
- D. That's what, that's what we have to do.
- P. Well, the erosion is inevitably going to come here, apart from anything, you know, people saying that uh, well, the Watergate isn't a major concern. It isn't. But it would, but it will be. It's bound to be.
- D. We cannot let you be tarnished by that situation.
- P. Well, I [unintelligible] also because I -- Although Ron Ziegler has to go out -- They blame the [unintelligible] the White House [unintelligible].
- D. That's right.
- P. We don't, uh, uh, I say that the White House can't do it. Right?
- H. Yeah.
- D. Yes, sir.
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973,
a. m. , p. 130).

Neither of the other participants in the meeting came away with any impression that the President has authorized payments to Hunt. Haldeman concluded that the President rejected payment to Hunt. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p. m. , p. 1034), Presi-

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dential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 21b, p. 162). Significantly, at no point in his testimony either before the Senate Select Committee or before the grand jury did even John Dean accuse the President of having authorized any payment to Hunt. Dean testified: "The money matter was left very much hanging at that meeting. Nothing was resolved." (Dean 4 SSC 1423, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 21b, p. 163). Although Dean's testimony changed slightly before the Judiciary Committee, the transcript of the meeting on the morning of March 22 with Haldeman and the President confirms that the payment of blackmail was out of the question.

P. Damn it -- when people are in jail there is every right for people to raise money for them. (inaudible) and that's all there is to it. I don't think we ought to (inaudible) -- there's got to be funds -- I'm not being -- I don't mean to be blackmailed by Hunt -- that goes too far, but for taking care of these people that are in jail -- my God they did this for -- we are sorry for them -- we do it out of compassion, yet I don't (inaudible) about that -- people have contributed (inaudible) report on that damn thing -- there's no report required (inaudible) what happens. Do you agree? What else (inaudible)

H. That's why I -- it seems to me that there is no real problem on obstruction of justice as far as Dean is concerned, and, I think, it doesn't seem to me we are obstructing justice.

P. Yeah.

H. People have pled guilty.

P. Yeah.

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- H. When a guy goes and pleads guilty are you obstructing justice? (inaudible) His argument is that when you read the law that uh
- P. Yeah -- but Dean didn't do it. Dean I don't think - I don't think Dean had anything to do with the obstruction. He didn't deliver the money -- that's the point. I think what really set him off was when Hunt's lawyer saw him at this party, and said Hunt needs a hundred and twenty thousand dollars -- well that was -- kind of very (inaudible) -- that was a shot across the bow. You understand that that would look like a straight damn blackmail if Dean had gotten the money (inaudible). You see what I mean?
(Emphasis added). (Excerpt of Meeting: The President and H. R. Haldeman, EOB Office, March 22, 1973. (9:11 - 10:35 a.m.), delivered for the Record of the Judiciary Committee Hearing, July 18, 1974).

These statements, made by the President after the delivery of the \$75,000 to Hunt's attorney, make it crystal clear that not only did the President not authorize the payment to Hunt but also that he did not know that the money had already been delivered. Moreover, if Haldeman had some role in the delivery of the money to Hunt he certainly did not tell the President.

The conversations of the President with Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Dean in the afternoon of March 21, 1973, is further evidence that the President had not authorized any payment to Hunt earlier in the day. During this conversation the President asks Dean for advice as to what should be done about Hunt's demand:

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P. So then now -- so the point we have to, the bridge you have to cut, uh, cross there is, uh, which you've got to cross, I understand, quite soon, is whether, uh, we, uh, what you do about, uh, his present demand. Now, what, what, uh, what [unintelligible] about that?

D. Well, apparently Mitchell and, and, uh, uh,

Unidentified . LaRue.

D. LaRue are now aware of it, so they know what he is feeling.

P. True. [Unintelligible] do something.

D. I, I have, I have not talked with either. I think they are in a position to do something, though.

P. It's a long road, isn't it? I mean, the way you look back on that, as John has pointed out here is that that's a, that's a, that's a long road.

D. It sure is.
(Judiciary Transcript, March 21, 1973, p.m., p. 133).

It is inconceivable that the President would be asking for such advice if he had authorized the payment several hours earlier.

Any implication, therefore, of the allegation contained in count 40 of the indictment that the President authorized any action with respect to payments for Hunt are in conflict with the evidence.

Count 41 of the indictment alleges that H. R. Haldeman had a telephone conversation with John Mitchell about 12:30 p.m. on March 21, 1973. By the sequencing of this allegation, an implication

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is created that the question of a payment to Hunt was the subject of this conversation.

There is no evidence of any description that the subject of a payment to Hunt was discussed by Haldeman and Mitchell and there is substantial evidence that it was not. It is true that shortly after the meeting of the President with Haldeman and Dean, Haldeman did call Mitchell. However, this was not to request Mitchell to authorize the payment of Hunt's legal fees, as implied in the indictment, but rather to invite Mitchell to attend a meeting with him, Ehrlichman and Dean the next morning as the President had requested be done. Dean confirms that this was the purpose of the call. (Dean 3 SSC 1000, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 23c, p. 176).

The Grand Jury minutes disclose repeatedly unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Assistant Special Prosecutor to establish that Haldeman had talked to Mitchell on that phone call about this payment, as indicated by Haldeman's testimony:

- Q. Now following that meeting did there come a time when you had a conversation with John Mitchell who was then in New York City on the telephone?
- A. Yes, I am sure there did. Let's see -- March 21st. Yes.
- Q. Can you give us the best of your recollection of the time of the telephone conversation and the substance of it?

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A. I don't have -- I should qualify my previous answer. I am sure that there was a telephone conversation because one of the results of one of the outcomes of the March 21st meeting with Mr. Dean and the President was a request by the President that Mr. Dean, Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Mitchell and I meet that day or the following day to discuss some of these questions and then to report back to the President.

I feel sure that I called Mr. Mitchell to request his coming down for such a meeting.

Q. What do you recall of the conversation between yourself and Mr. Mitchell?

A. That's about all I recall. I am really assuming that there was such a call. I think I called him. It is possible that someone else called him. My general recollection now would be that I had called him and said that the President wanted us to meet and asked him to come down.

Q. It is not the case that you discussed with more particularity the problems about which the President suggested you meet in your conversation with Mr. Mitchell?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. Is it your testimony that you do not recall saying to Mr. Mitchell in substance that the President requested that you meet as to how to deal with Mr. Hunt's demand for substantial cash payments?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. Is it your testimony that you do not recall saying to Mr. Mitchell in substance that the President's requested that you meet as to how to deal with Mr. Hunt's demand for substantial cash payments?

A. Yes. I have no recollection of that being discussed.

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Q. It is your testimony that -- is it your testimony that in the telephone conversation with Mr. Mitchell you did not allude in any way to the subject matter about which you would be meeting the following day?

A. My recollection is that the subject matter about which we would be meeting was the general subject of how to deal with the overall - what has now become called the Watergate situation, as it stood at that time.

I don't recall the point that you raised as being the specific subject for the meeting.

Q. I'm sorry but your answer is not responsive to my question, most respectfully. I asked whether you did not recall alluding to the subject matter in your telephone conversation with Mr. Mitchell.

A. I don't recall alluding to the subject matter. My recollection would be that if I discussed the subject matter it would be in the context that I have just described. The purpose of the meeting was, as I recall it, to review the Watergate situation.

Q. Is it not a fact, Mr. Haldeman, that in your telephone conversation with Mr. Mitchell you stated to him in substance, or you asked him in substance, whether he was going to take care of Mr. Hunt's problem?

A. I don't recall any such discussion, no.

Q. When you say you do not recall any such discussion, that would be something you would recall, would it not, if you had such a discussion?

A. I would think so but I don't see that as having been the major point of discussion either at the time of the phone call to set up the meeting or at the meeting which took place on the 22nd.

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Q. You're talking now again about Mr. Hunt's specific request, is that correct?

A. Yes.
(Special Staff Presentation, Bk. III,
Vol. 5, Tab 68.2, pp. 1121-23).

During the course of the hearings Congressman Wiggins inquired of Special Counsel John Doar as to whether there was any evidence that Haldeman did discuss this payment with Mitchell during that telephone call, and Mr. Doar responded that there was no such evidence. In regard to this point, testimony before the Judiciary Committee indicated:

St. Clair. . . . During the course of that conversation did Mr. Haldeman in any form of words discuss the payment or prospective payment of monies to Mr. Hunt or his attorney for legal fees?

Mitchell. No. sir. (Mitchell HJC 3373).

Count 42 of the indictment alleges that in the early afternoon of March 21, 1973, John Mitchell had a telephone conversation with Fred C. LaRue to make a payment of approximately \$75,000 to and for the benefit of E. Howard Hunt.

Again the sequencing of the allegations raises the implication that Mitchell called LaRue to pass on an authorization he received from Haldeman. Any such implication is in stark conflict with the evidence.

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First, the undisputed evidence is that Mitchell did not call LaRue, but that LaRue called Mitchell.

Mitchell's testimony before the Judiciary Committee about this conversation was:

Mitchell. It is my testimony, Mr. St. Clair, that I had received a telephone call from Mr. LaRue, which to the best of my strong recollection was before I talked to Mr. Haldeman and whether it was on the 21st or prior to that time I am not certain.

* * *

St. Clair. As I understand it, you have examined your telephone records and are satisfied that you did not place a call to Mr. LaRue on March 21, is that correct?

Mitchell. There is no record on the basis of the toll charges furnished by the telephone company which shows any call from my office to Mr. LaRue on March 21.

St. Clair. There are records that would show calls placed from your office to Mr. LaRue on other occasions, are there not?

Mitchell. Many.

* * *

St. Clair. Is it your best memory that the call or that the discussion you had with Mr. LaRue on the 21st, or as you say perhaps earlier, was initiated by Mr. LaRue and not by you?

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Mitchell. Yes, sir.
(Mitchell HJC 3373-74; See also 4 SSC
1630-31, Presidential Presentation,
Bk. I, Tab 24c, p. 183).

LaRue's testimony before the House Judiciary Committee
was consistent with Mitchell's:

LaRue. My best memory is that I placed the call
in the morning. Whether I was successful or
what time I was successful in getting Mr.
Mitchell on the phone I just do not recall.

St. Clair. Didn't you tell us that it was your best
memory that you got him on the phone when
you placed the call but you could not be
certain about it? Or words to that effect?

LaRue. I do not recall, Mr. St. Clair, when I
actually talked to Mr. Mitchell. My best
recollection is, as I state, that I placed
that call to him in the morning.

St. Clair. And you received the authority that you
were seeking from Mr. Mitchell as a
result of that call?

LaRue. Yes sir.

St. Clair. Then following that, you placed a call to
Mr. Bittman, did you not?

LaRue. Correct.
(LaRue HJC 2914-5; See also Special Staff
Presentation, Bk. III, Vol. 5, Tab 71, pp.
1194-95).

The evidence relating to the telephone call from LaRue to
Mitchell on the morning of March 21, 1973, belies any implication of
any initiative by Mitchell with respect to payments to Hunt. (LaRue
HJC 2888, Mitchell HJC 3300, 3295, 3373).

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Not only are the implications of the sequencing of the allegations of Counts 40-44 of the indictment unsupported by the evidence but, in addition, the evidence before the grand jury and the Judiciary Committee demonstrates the chain of events which actually did take place.

Prior to LaRue's call to Mitchell, and probably on the early morning of March 21, Dean called LaRue. Both Dean and LaRue confirm the time and substance of this conversation. Dean testified before the Judiciary Committee:

Dean. When Mr. LaRue arrived in my office, he asked me what I was going to do about these demands and I told him that I didn't plan to do anything, that I was not in the money business.

He said, what do you think I should do?

And I said, I think you ought to get hold of John Mitchell.

St. Clair. And what did he then say?

Dean. He said fine and left the office.
(Dean HJC 3601; See also Special Staff Presentation, Bk. III, Vol. 5, Tab 71.7, p. 1235).

LaRue testified:

LaRue. Mr. Dean told me that there was a need for money, or that Mr. Hunt had a need for a rather large sum of money. As I recall, the figure was \$60,000 for family support and \$75,000 for his attorneys' fees. Mr. Dean told me that he was getting out of the money operation, that he did not want to have anything else to do

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with it and that he was just passing this information along to me for whatever use of it I wanted to to Mr. Bittman or through Mr. Bittman.

(LaRue HJC 2890-91; See also Special Staff Presentation, Bk. III, Vol. 5, Tab 71.1, pp. 1193-94).

From the evidence, it is clear that the initiative for the discussion of payments to Hunt between Mitchell and LaRue came from LaRue, because Dean had told LaRue, in Dean's words, "I was out of that business," or, in LaRue's words, "that he was not going to have any further involvement, contact, in the deliveries of monies to the Watergate defendants. . . ." (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. III, Vol. 5, Tab 71.7, p. 1235 and Tab 71.1, p. 1194).

The sequence of events which is supported by the evidence, therefore, is that Dean informed LaRue that he and the White House would have nothing to do with paying Hunt, and LaRue, acting on his own initiative, called Mitchell and sought Mitchell's advice. LaRue's testimony also demonstrates that it was LaRue, on his own, who was making decisions on the subject. LaRue decided to limit the payment to Hunt to \$75,000 for attorneys fees and to ignore the amount demanded for maintenance. LaRue testified, "I think this was a decision I made myself." (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. III, Vol. 5, Tab 71.1, p. 1195, LaRue HJC 2893). LaRue asked Mitchell's advice and Mitchell answered, "If I were you, I would continue and make the payment." (Mitchell HJC 3300).

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Thus, LaRue, after soliciting and obtaining Mitchell's advice, himself made the decision to make the payment to Hunt, just as he had made the decision to ignore the demand for an additional amount for maintenance.

This entire sequence -- up to and including the authorization of the payment by Mitchell -- took place independently of Haldeman's call to Mitchell; therefore, there is no way in which the Haldeman call could have been part of the chain authorization. As further evidence, the entire discussion among the President, Haldeman and Dean centered on the \$120,000 figure, not the \$75,000 -- and it was the \$75,000, the amount discussed earlier between LaRue and Mitchell, that was paid, not the \$120,000. Quite clearly, therefore, there is no basis whatever for implicating the President in the chain of events that led to the payment.

We see, therefore, that the indictment in U.S. v. Mitchell, et. al. was artfully contrived in order to suggest a pattern, or chain, of events that is belied by the evidence -- in order, that is, to fashion an apparent chain beginning at the morning meeting among the President, Haldeman and Dean on the morning of March 21, 1973, running from the President to Haldeman, from Haldeman to Mitchell, and from Mitchell to LaRue, and culminating in the payment of \$75,000 by LaRue that night, and thus providing a basis for

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a grand jury vote that the President was a co-conspirator in the crime alleged by the indictment. The fact, as we have seen from the evidence which the prosecutor had, is that the chain of events leading to the payment was quite separate: that it was initiated separately from Dean and Haldeman's meeting with the President, that it proceeded on an entirely separate track, that in fact it did not in any way involve the President and in fact was concealed from the President. Dean himself stated as much when he admitted to the President on April 16, 1973:

D. I, I have tried, uh, all along to make sure that anything I passed to you myself didn't cause you any personal problems. (Judiciary Transcript, April 16, 1973, a. m. , p. 195).

Moreover, although Dean had set in motion the chain of events that led to the delivery of the \$75,000 to Hunt's lawyer, he at no time on March 21, 1973, informed the President that he had directed LaRue to Mitchell for approval of the payment to Hunt. If on March 21 Dean was as interested in ending the cover-up as he would have the Committee believe he might have informed the President that perhaps LaRue was implementing the delivery of the money while the President was in the process of deciding not to make the payment.

The indictment, therefore, is not only unsupported but is actually contradicted by the evidence. Like a composite photograph,

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the individual parts of this portion of the indictment may be literally correct; but the artful language and distorted juxtaposition of the parts resulted in a total impression that is grossly distorted insofar as the imputed involvement of the President in the Watergate cover-up is concerned.

It has been alleged that on the afternoon of March 22, 1973, during a conversation with Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Mitchell and Dean, the President indicated a desire to continue a cover-up. Nothing could be farther from the truth. During this conversation the President and his aides were discussing whether or not executive privilege should be asserted at the Senate Select Committee hearings. Even a cursory reading of the transcript of this conversation reveals that the President was being advised that a broad assertion of executive privilege in the Senate would give the appearance of a cover-up and that this should be avoided. The only rational interpretation of this conversation is that the President was attempting to decide how to avoid charges that he was affecting a cover-up and not urging that a cover-up be implemented. In fact, at one point in the conversation, after raising the possibility of a "stonewall" position at the Senate Select Committee, the President tells Mitchell that it was his preference that it not be done that way. (Judiciary Transcript, March 22, 1973, pp. 147, 164, 183).

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Ultimately the President did waive executive privilege and all of his aides were permitted to testify freely before the Senate Select Committee and the Grand Jury.

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**D. The Evidence Establishes That The President
Carried Out His Constitutional Responsibility
To See That The Laws Were Enforced**

Dean disclosed for the first time on March 21, 1973, that he had been engaged in conduct that might have amounted to obstruction of justice and allegations that other high officials and former officials were also involved. These matters were thoroughly probed by the President in his talk with Dean, with the President often taking the role of devil's advocate; sometimes merely thinking out loud.

Having received this information of possible obstruction of justice having taken place following the break-in at the DNC the President promptly undertook an investigation into the facts. The record discloses that the President started his investigation the night of his meeting with Dean on March 21st, as confirmed by Dean in his conversation with the President on April 16, 1973:

P. And it was that time that I started my investigation.

D. That's right. . .

* * *

P. . . . That is when I became interested. I was -- I became frankly interested in the case and I said, 'Now G -- damn it I want to find out the score' And I set in motion Ehrlichman, Mitchell and -- not Mitchell but a few others. (Judiciary Transcript, April 16, 1973, a. m., p. 197).

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At the meeting with Mitchell and the others on the afternoon of March 22nd, the President instructed Dean to prepare a written report of his earlier oral disclosures:

H. I think you (Dean) ought to hole up -- now that you -- for the weekend and do that.

P. Sure.

H. Let's put an end to your business and get it done.

P. I think you need a -- that's right. Why don't you do this? Why don't you go up to Camp David. And, uh --

D. I might do that; I might do that. A place to get away from the phone.

P. Completely away from the phone and so forth. Just go up there . . . once you have written it, you will have to continue to defend [unintelligible] action. (Judiciary Transcript, March 22, 1973, p.m., pp. 157-58). (Emphasis supplied).

Later during this same conversation the President said:

P. . . . I feel that at the very minimum we've got to have the statement and, uh, let's look at it, whatever the hell it is. If, uh, it opens up doors, it opens up doors, you know. (Judiciary Transcript, March 22, 1973, p.m., p. 179).

The recording of this conversation in which the President instructed Dean to go to Camp David to write a report should be compared with Dean's testimony in which he stated:

He (the President) never at any time asked me to write a report, and it wasn't until after I

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had arrived at Camp David that I received a call from Haldeman asking me to write the report up. (Dean 4 SSC 1385, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 26a, p. 194). (Emphasis supplied).

Dean in fact did go to Camp David and apparently did some work on such a report but he never completed the task. The President then assigned Ehrlichman to investigate these allegations.

By as early as March 27, just six days after Dean's disclosures, the President met with Ehrlichman and Haldeman to discuss the evidence thus far developed and how it would be best to proceed.

Again the President stated his resolve that White House officials should appear before the grand jury:

P. . . . Actually if called, we are not going to refuse for anybody called before the Grand Jury to go, are we, John? (White House Transcript, March 27, 1973, p. 315).

The President then reviewed with Haldeman and Ehrlichman the evidence developed to that time. They stated that they had not yet talked to Mitchell and indicated this would have to be done. They reviewed what they had been advised was Magruder's current position as to what had happened and compared that with what Dean had told them. They reported that Hunt was before the grand jury that same day. It is interesting to note that neither the President, Haldeman nor Ehrlichman say anything that indicate surprise in Hunt's testifying

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before the grand jury. If in fact he had been paid to keep quiet, it might have been expected that someone would have expressed at least disappointment that he was testifying before the grand jury less than a week later.

They confirmed to the President, as Dean had, that no one at the White House had prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in.

Ehrlichman said, "There just isn't a scintilla of a hint that Dean knew about this." (White House Transcript, March 27, 1973, a. m., p. 329). The President asked about the possibility of Colson having prior knowledge and Ehrlichman said, "...his response... was one of total surprise. ... He was totally non-plussed, as the rest of us." (White House Transcript, March 27, 1973, p. 331). Ehrlichman then reviewed with the President the earlier concern that they had for national security leaks and the steps taken to find out about how they occurred.

It was decided to ask Mitchell to come to Washington to receive a report of the facts developed so far and a call was placed to him for that purpose. (White House Transcript, March 27, 1973, p. m., pp. 360-361). It was also decided that Ehrlichman should also call the Attorney General and review the information on hand with him. It was during this meeting that the possibility of having a commission

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or a special prosecutor appointed in order to avoid the appearance of the Administration investigating itself and a call was placed to former Attorney General Rogers to ask him to meet with the President to discuss the situation. (White House Transcript, March 27, 1973, pp. 352, 354-56, 363).

The next day Ehrlichman, pursuant to the President's direction given the previous day, called Attorney General Kleindienst and among other things advised him that he was to report directly to the President^{8/} if any evidence turns up of any wrongdoing on the part of anyone in the White House or about Mitchell. (White House Transcript, March 28, 1973, p. 383). Kleindienst raised the question of a possibility of a conflict of interest and suggests that thought be given to appointing a special prosecutor. (White House Transcript, March 28, 1973, p. 385).

On March 30, 1973, consideration was given to the content of a press briefing with respect to White House officials appearing before the grand jury. As a result thereof, Mr. Ziegler stated at the Press briefing that day:

With regard to the grand jury, the President reiterates his instructions that any member

^{8/}Petersen was also told to report directly to the President on the discovery of any wrongdoing in the White House. (Petersen HJC 4053). This direct reporting procedure utilized with Kleindienst and Petersen was in keeping with the President's effort to personally investigate the Watergate affair without disclosing this information to those White House personnel potentially involved in the cover-up.

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of the White House staff who is called by the grand jury will appear before the grand jury to answer questions regarding that individual's alleged knowledge or possible involvement in the Watergate matter.

Even prior to the completion of Ehrlichman's investigation, the President was taking steps to get the additional facts before the grand jury. On April 8, 1973, on the airplane returning to Washington from California, the President met with Haldeman and Ehrlichman and directed they meet with Dean that day and urge him to go to the grand jury -- "I am not going to wait, he is going to go." (Ehrlichman 7 SSC 2757). Haldeman and Ehrlichman met with Dean that afternoon from 5 to 7. At 7:33 p.m. Ehrlichman reported the results of that meeting to the President by telephone:

P. Oh, John, Hi.

E. I just wanted to post you on the Dean meeting. It went fine. He is going to wait until after he'd had a chance to talk with Mitchell and to pass the word to Magruder through his lawyers that he is going to appear at the Grand Jury. His feeling is that Liddy has pulled the plug on Magruder, and that (unintelligible) he thinks he knows it now. And he says that there's no love lost there, and that that was Liddy's motive in communicating informally. (White House Transcript, April 8, 1973, p.m., p. 401, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 28b, p. 201).

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Indeed, Dean did, in fact, communicate his intentions to Mitchell and Magruder not to support Magruder's previous testimony to the Grand Jury. (Dean 3 SSC 1006, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 29a, p. 204). This no doubt was the push, initially stimulated by the President, which got Magruder to go to the U.S. Attorneys on the following Saturday, April 14, and change his testimony and Magruder and Dean's testimony were critical:

St. Clair. Now, Sir, to go back, what was it that to your knowledge, well, 'broke the case?' Was it Mr. Magruder's coming in and offering to change his testimony?

Petersen. Well, I think it was a combination of factors. It was one, Mr. Magruder coming in, and Mr. Dean coming in, and while the negotiations with Mr. Dean stumbled for a period of time, not only while we had the case, but after it was turned over to the Special Prosecutors, nevertheless, that was a fact of shattering import, coupled with Mr. Magruder's statement. And Mr. Magruder at or about the time he came in went about making his apologies, I am informed, to his erstwhile companions, and that was a factor which added to the momentum, tended to bring in Mr. LaRue. And Mr. LaRue indicated that in effect the jig was up. He was quite prepared to plead. All of these things developed, you know, in a matter of days in a very rapid fashion. (Petersen HJC 3921-22).

On the morning of April 14, 1973, the President met again with Haldeman and Ehrlichman to discuss the Watergate matter. This was an in-depth discussion lasting more than two and one-half hours.

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The obvious purpose was to review the results of three week's investigation on the part of Ehrlichman and Haldeman and determine what course of action they would recommend.

Several conclusions were reached at that meeting by the President. From Ehrlichman's report on what Ehrlichman called "hearsay" facts, the President concluded, with regard to Mitchell:

P. I'm not convinced he's guilty but I am convinced that he ought to go before a Grand Jury. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, a.m. p. 445, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 30a, p. 208).

There was a discussion as to who would be the appropriate person to talk to Mitchell and tell him that continued silence did not well serve the President. Ultimately, it was decided that Haldeman should call Mitchell to come to Washington and that Ehrlichman should talk to him.

With respect to Magruder, the President said:

P. We've come full circle on the Mitchell thing. The Mitchell thing must come first. That is something today. We've got to make this move today. If it fails, just to get back our position I think you ought to talk to Magruder.

H. I agree.

P. And you tell Magruder, now Jeb, this evidence is coming in you ought to go to the Grand Jury. Purge yourself if you've perjured and tell this whole story.

H. I think we have to.

P. Then, well, Bob, you don't agree with that?

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H. No, I do. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, a.m., pp. 477-478, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 30b, p. 209).

The President instructed Ehrlichman to see Magruder, also, and tell him that he did not serve the President by remaining silent.

The President's decision to urge Mitchell and Magruder to go to the grand jury was based on his recognition of his duty to act on the body of information Ehrlichman had reported to him:

E. Here's your situation. Look again at the big picture. You now are possessed of a body of fact.

P. That's right.

E. And you've got to -- you can't just sit here.

P. That's right.

E. You've got to act on it. You've got to make some decisions and the Dean thing is one of the decisions that you have to make . . . (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, a.m., pp. 488-489).

At another point in the discussion, the same point was reiterated:

E. Well, you see, that isn't, that kind of knowledge that we had was not action knowledge, like the kind of knowledge that I put together last night. I hadn't known really what had been bothering me this week.

P. Yeah.

E. But what's been bothering me is --

P. That with knowledge, we're still not doing anything.

E. Right.

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- P. That's exactly right. The law and order. That's the way I am. You know it's a pain for me to do it -- the Mitchell thing is damn painful. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, a.m., p. 499).

A decision was reached to speak to both Mitchell and Magruder before turning such information as they had developed over to the Department of Justice in order to afford them "an opportunity to come forward." The President told Ehrlichman that when he met with Mitchell to advise him that "the President has said let the chips fall where they may. He will not furnish cover for anybody." (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, a.m., p. 507, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 30c, p. 210).

The President summed up the situation by stating:

- P. No, seriously, as I have told both of you, the boil had to be pricked. In a very different sense -- that's what December 18th was about. We have to prick the boil and take the heat. Now that's what we are doing here. We're going to prick this boil and take the heat. I -- am I overstating?
- E. No, I think that's right. The idea is, this will prick the boil. It may not. The history of this thing has to be though that you did not tuck this under the rug yesterday or today, and hope it would go away. (White House Transcripts, April 14, 1973, a.m., p. 509).

The decision was also made by the President that Ehrlichman should provide the information which he had collected to the Attorney General. Ehrlichman called the Attorney General, but did not reach him.

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Mitchell came to Washington that afternoon and met with Ehrlichman. Immediately following that meeting, Ehrlichman reported to the President, stating Mitchell protested his innocence, stating:

You know, these characters pulled this thing off without my knowledge. . . I never saw Liddy for months at a time. . . I didn't know what they were up to and nobody was more surprised than I was. . . (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p. m. , p. 525).

Ehrlichman said he explained to Mitchell that the President did not want anyone to stand mute on his account; that everyone had a right to stand mute for his own reasons but that the "interests of the Presidency . . . were not served by a person standing mute, for that reason alone." (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p. m. , p. 525).

Ehrlichman said that he advised Mitchell that the information that had been collected would be turned over to the Attorney General and that Mitchell agreed this would be appropriate. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p. m. , p. 532).

Even later on April 14, Ehrlichman finally was able to reach Magruder and met with Magruder and his lawyers for the purpose of informing him that he should not remain silent out of any

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misplaced loyalty to the President. Ehrlichman found, however, that Magruder had just come from a meeting with the U.S. Attorneys where he had told the full story as he knew it. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p.m., p. 630; see also, Magruder 2 SSC 808, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 29b, p. 205). Magruder told Ehrlichman what he had told the U.S. Attorney, which Ehrlichman duly reported to the President. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p.m., p. 582).

During this meeting with the President, Ehrlichman's earlier call to the Attorney General was completed, and Ehrlichman spoke to the Attorney General from the President's office. Ehrlichman told the Attorney General that he had been conducting an investigation for about the past three weeks for the President as a substitute for Dean. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p.m., p. 629). He also told him that he had reported his findings to the President the day before and that he had advised people not to be reticent on the President's behalf about coming forward. He informed the Attorney General that he had talked to Mitchell and had tried to reach Magruder, but that he had not been able to meet with Magruder until after Magruder

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had conferred with the U.S. Attorneys. He offered to make all of his information available if it would be in any way useful. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p. m., p. 635).

Following the telephone call, Ehrlichman said that the Attorney General wanted him to meet with Henry Petersen the next day regarding the information he had obtained. During the course of the conversation relating to Magruder changing his testimony the President stated:

P. It's the right thing. We all have to do the right thing. Damn it! We just cannot have this kind of business, John. Just cannot be. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p. m., p. 607).

Late on the evening of April 14th, after the White House Correspondents' dinner the President spoke by telephone first with Haldeman and then with Ehrlichman. The President told each that he now thought all persons involved should testify in public before the Ervin Committee. (White House Transcript, April 14, 1973, p. m., p. 646, 648).

On the morning of Sunday, April 15th, the President talked with Ehrlichman and told him that he had received a call from the Attorney General who had advised him that he had been up most of the night with the U.S. Attorney, and with Assistant Attorney General Petersen. (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, a. m., p. 669). The Attorney General had requested to see the President, personally, the

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President told Ehrlichman, and the President had agreed to see him after church. The President and Ehrlichman again reviewed the available evidence developed during Ehrlichman's investigation and the status of relations with the media.

In the early afternoon of April 15, the President met with Attorney General Kleindienst. (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p. m., p. 696 et seq.). Kleindienst confirmed to the President that the U.S. Attorneys had broken the case and knew largely the whole story as a result of Magruder's discussions with them and from disclosure made by Dean's attorneys, who were also talking to the U.S. Attorney. The Attorney General anticipated indictments of Mitchell, Dean and Magruder and others, possibly including Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Kleindienst indicated that he felt that he could not have anything to do with these cases especially because of his association with Mitchell, Mardian and LaRue. The President expressed reservations about having a special prosecutor:

P. First, it's a reflection -- it's sort of an admitting mea culpa for our whole system of justice. I don't want to do that.
(White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p. m., p. 712).

The President then suggested that Kleindienst step aside and that the Deputy Attorney General, Dean Sneed, be placed in charge of the matter. The President expressed confidence in Silbert doing a thorough job.

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Kleindienst pointed out that even if he were to withdraw, his deputy is still the President's appointee and that he would be "in a tough situation. . . ." (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p. m., p. 715). Kleindienst recommended that a Special Prosecutor be appointed and a number of names were suggested. The President's reaction to the idea of a Special Prosecutor was negative:

P. . . . I want to get some other judgments because I -- I'm open on this. I lean against it and I think it's too much of a reflection on our system of justice and everything else. (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p. m. p. 742, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 31a, p. 212).

Following a further review of the evidence, Kleindienst raised the question about what the President should do in the event charges are made against White House officials. The President resisted the suggestion that they be asked to step aside on the basis of charges alone:

P. . . . the question really is basically whether an individual, you know, can be totally, totally -- I mean, the point is, if a guy isn't guilty, you shouldn't let him go.

K. That's right, you shouldn't.

P. It's like me -- wait now -- let's stand up for people if there -- even though they are under attack. (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p. m., p. 724).

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Further discussion on this subject included the suggestion that Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen might be placed in charge rather than the Deputy Attorney General. Kleindienst pointed out, "He's the first career Assistant Attorney General I think in the history of the Department."

Shortly after this, the tape at the President's office in the Executive Office Building ran out. It is clear, however, from a recorded telephone conversation between the President and Kleindienst that he and Henry Petersen met later in the afternoon with the President. This was verified by Petersen's testimony before the Senate Committee. It was during this meeting that the President assigned the responsibility for the on-going investigation to Petersen and instructed Petersen to do what had to be done to get at the truth. (Petersen HJC 3862). It should be noted that at this meeting Petersen recommended that the President not name a Special Prosecutor, because that would be tantamount to a confession that the Department of Justice was unable to competently perform this assignment. (Petersen HJC 3860).

At his meeting with the President, Assistant Attorney General Petersen presented to the President a summary of the allegations which related to Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Strachan, and that the summary indicated no case of criminal conduct by Haldeman and Ehrlichman at that time. (Petersen 9 SSC 3632, Exhibit 147, 9 SSC 3875-76, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 31b, p. 213).

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The President, on the afternoon of April 15, 1973, had every reason to believe that the Department of Justice was moving rapidly to complete the case. He continued to attempt to assist. He had four telephone conversations with Petersen after their meeting. In the afternoon, having been told that Liddy would not talk unless authorized by "higher authority," who all assumed was Mitchell, the President directed Petersen to pass the word to Liddy through his counsel that the President wanted him to cooperate. Subsequently, the President told Petersen that Dean doubted Liddy would accept the word of Petersen, so Petersen was directed to tell Liddy's counsel that the President personally would confirm his urging of Liddy to cooperate. The President stated:

P. I just want him (Liddy) to be sure to understand that as far as the President is concerned everybody in this case is to talk and to tell the truth. You are to tell everybody, and you don't even have to call me on that with anybody. You just say those are your orders. (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p.m., p. 769, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 31c, p. 216 ; see also Petersen 9 SSC 3650).

The President continued to seek additional facts and details about the whole matter. However, while the President wanted Petersen to report directly to him about the unfolding developments in this case the President did not want Petersen to inform him about the grand jury proceedings even though Petersen believed the President was entitled to this information, because the President believed this would be improper. Petersen stated:

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Doar. Did you have any discussion with the President during that ten day period with respect to the use of grand jury material?

Petersen. In the course of the conversation, the President indicated that he wanted to be advised of the scope of matter of these things, but that he did not want grand jury information. Implicit in that, I think, was perhaps at least a thought in his mind that he was not entitled to grand jury information. I don't believe that is the law. I think the President as Chief Executive is entitled to grand jury information, at least to the extent that the prosecutor feels it appropriate to make that information available in the course of, in furtherance of his duties. Which is almost the language of Rule 6(e). (Petersen HJC 3887-88).

On April 16, 1973, the President learned from Petersen that LaRue had admitted his role in the cover-up and indicated that he was talking freely with the prosecutors about the involvement of others. (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, pp. 966-67).

On April 17, the President instructed Haldeman to make sure that Kalmbach was informed that LaRue was talking freely. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p. 983). The President's purpose was not to suggest that Kalmbach lie to the prosecutors but rather that Kalmbach be made aware that others are cooperating with the prosecutors and that Kalmbach should also tell the truth. It was similar action by the President that resulted in Dean and Magruder cooperating with the prosecutors and the subsequent breaking of the case.

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Thus, any suggestion that the President was using Petersen as an information source in order to perpetuate a cover-up is ridiculous in light of the fact that the President told Petersen not to provide him with what would be the most important information if continuing the cover-up was the President's purpose. Moreover, Petersen never gave the President any grand jury information. (Petersen HJC 3889). Petersen could not reveal the details of the further disclosures by Dean's attorneys, so the President sought Petersen's advice about getting further information from Dean:

- P. Right. Let me ask you this -- why don't I get him in now if I can find him and have a talk with him?
- HP. I don't see any objection to that, Mr. President.
- P. Is that all right with you?
- HP. Yes, sir.
- P. All right -- I am going to get him over because I am not going to screw around with this thing. As I told you.
- HP. All right.
- P. But I want to be sure you understand, that you know we are going to get to the bottom of this thing.
- HP. I think the thing that --
- P. What do you want me to say to him? Ask him to tell me the whole truth? (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p.m., p. 765).

After talking with Dean and reviewing Dean's further information, the President raised the question about when Dean and perhaps Haldeman and Ehrlichman should resign and Petersen responded, "We would like

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to wait, Mr. President." (White House Transcript, April 15, 1973, p.m., p. 774).

On the morning of April 16, the President began a long series of meetings on the entire subject of Watergate resignations. Being uncertain of when the case would become public, the President decided he wanted resignations or requests for leave in hand from those against whom there were allegations. He had Ehrlichman draft such letters, and discussed them with Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

The President then met with Dean and discussed with him the manner in which his possible resignation would be handled. Dean resisted the idea of his resigning without Haldeman and Ehrlichman resigning as well. The President reviewed with Dean the disclosures Dean made to the President on March 21st, and on the evening of April 15th.

The President had some more advice for John Dean on this occasion:

- P. Fine. Thank God, John. Don't ever do it, John. I want you to tell the truth. That's the thing that you're going to -- I have told everybody around here, said 'G-- damn it, tell the truth.' Cause all they do, John, is compound it.
- D. That's right.
- P. That son-of-a-bitch Hiss would be free today if he hadn't lied about his espionage. He could have just said he -- he didn't even have to. He could've just said, 'I -- look, I knew, Chambers. And, yes, as a young man I was involved with some Communist activities but I broke it off many years ago.' And Chambers would have dropped it.
- D. Well --

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- P. But, the son-of-a-bitch lied, and he goes to jail for the lie rather than the crime.
- D. Uh --
- P. So believe me, don't ever lie with these bastards. (Judiciary Transcript, April 16, 1973, a.m., p. 200).

As to the President's action, he told Dean:

- P. No, I don't want that, understand? When I say, 'Don't lie,' don't lie about me either.
- D. No, I won't sir. You're -- I, I'm not going -- (Judiciary Transcript, April 16, 1973, a.m., p. 204).

The President met with Haldeman at noon on April 16th to discuss at length how and when Haldeman should make a public disclosure of his actions in the Segretti and Watergate matters. Haldeman reported that Mr. Garment recommended that he and Ehrlichman resign. (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, p.m., p. 829). Garment had been assigned by the President on April 9 to work on the matter. The President stated that he would discuss that problem with William Rogers that afternoon and asked Haldeman to get with Ehrlichman and fill in Rogers on the facts. (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, p.m., p. 834).

The President met in the early afternoon alone with Henry Petersen for nearly two hours in the Executive Office Building. They discussed the effect the Senate Committee hearings would have on the trials in the event indictments are returned. (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, p.m., p. 846).

The President then asked Petersen what he should do about Dean's resignation:

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HP. Yes. As Prosecutor I would do something different. But from your point of view I don't think you can sit on it. I think we have the information under control but that's a dangerous thing to say in this City.

P. Ah

HP. And if this information comes out I think you should have his resignation and it should be effective. . . (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, p. m., p. 852).

Petersen, however, urged the President not to announce the resignation if the information did not get out, as that would be "counter-productive" in their negotiations with Dean's counsel. Petersen reviewed the status of the evidence at length with the President with a view toward making a press release before an indictment or information was filed in open court.

During the course of the conversation Petersen informed the President that they were considering giving Dean immunity. As for Haldeman and Ehrlichman, Petersen recommended that they resign. The status of the situation was reviewed as follows:

P. Okay. All right come to the Haldeman/Ehrlichman thing. You see you said yesterday they should resign. Let me tell you they should resign in my view if they get splashed with this. Now the point is, is the timing. I think that's it. I want to get your advice on it, I think it would be really hanging the guy before something comes in if I say look, you guys resign because I understand that Mr. Dean in the one instance, and Magruder

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in another instance, made some charges against you. And I got their oral resignations last night and they volunteered it. They said, look, we want to go any time. So I just want your advice on it. I don't know what to do, frankly. (Inaudible) so I guess there's nothing in a hurry about that is there? I mean I -- Dean's resignation. I have talked to him about it this morning and told him to write it out.

HP. (Inaudible)

P. It's under way -- I asked for it. How about Haldeman and Ehrlichman? I just wonder if you have them walk the plank before Magruder splashes and what have you or what not. I mean I have information, true, as to what Magruder's going to do. (Inaudible) nothing like this (inaudible).

HP. Or for that matter, Mr. President.

P. Yeah.

HP. Its confidence in the Office of the Presidency.

P. Right. You wouldn't want -- do you think they ought to resign right now?

HP. Mr. President, I am sorry to say it. I think that mindful of the need for confidence in your office -- yes.

P. (Inaudible) basis?

HP. That has nothing to do -- that has nothing to do with guilt or innocence. (White House Transcript, April 16, 1973, p. m., p. 915-17).

At the end of the meeting with Petersen, the President had every reason to believe that a public disclosure of the entire case

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in court would be made within forty-eight hours and perhaps sooner. The remaining questions for Presidential decision were: (1) What action he should take on the resignation, suspension or leave of Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Dean and whether it should be before or after they were formally charged; (2) what position he should take on immunity for Dean; and (3) what statement they should issue prior to the public disclosure in court.

On the afternoon of April 17, the President discussed the problem of granting immunity to White House officials with Henry Petersen. Petersen pointed out that he was opposed to immunity but he pointed out that they might need Dean's testimony in order to get Haldeman and Ehrlichman. The President agreed that under those circumstances he might have to move on Haldeman and Ehrlichman, provided Dean's testimony was corroborated. The President told Petersen:

P. That's the point. Well, I feel it strongly--I mean-- just understand--I am not trying to protect anybody-- I want the damn facts if you can get the facts from Dean and I don't care whether--

HP. Mr. President, if I thought you were trying to protect somebody, I would have walked out. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p.m., p. 1086).

As for Dean, the President told Petersen:

P. . . . No I am not going to condemn Dean until he has a chance to present himself. No he is in exactly the same position they are in. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p.m., p. 1090).

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The President remained convinced, however, that a grant of immunity to a senior aide would appear as a cover-up:

P. What you say -- Look we are having you here as a witness and we want you to talk.

HP. That is described as immunity by estoppel.

P. I see, I see -- that's fair enough.

HP. That is really the prosecutor's bargain.

P. That is much better basically than immunity -- let me say I am not, I guess my point on Dean is a matter of principle -- it is a question of the fact that I am not trying to do Dean in -- I would like to see him save himself but I think find a way to do it without -- if you go the immunity route I think we are going to catch holy hell for it.

HP. Scares hell out of me. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p. m., p. 1092).

The President went over the draft of his proposed statement with Petersen. Petersen further counseled the President that no discussion of the facts of the case could be made without prejudicing the case and the rights of the defendants.

Later on the afternoon of April 17, the President announced to the public: (i) that he had new facts and had begun his own investigation on March 21; (ii) that White House staff members who were indicted would be suspended, and if they were convicted, they would be discharged; and (iii) that all members of the White House staff would appear and testify before the Senate Committee.

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The President further stated that:

I have expressed to the appropriate authorities my view that no individual holding, in the past or present, a position of major importance in the Administration should be given immunity from prosecution. (13 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 387, April 17, 1973).

In addition he stated that all White House staff employees were expected fully to cooperate in this matter.

After making his public statement, the President met with Secretary of State Rogers, and they were joined later by Haldeman and Ehrlichman. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p. 1137 et seq.). Secretary Rogers reiterated his advice that the President could not permit any senior official to be given immunity. (White House Transcript, April 17, 1973, p. m., p. 1141).

The President had concluded that he should treat Dean, Haldeman and Ehrlichman in the same manner. Petersen had advised the President that action on Dean would prejudice the negotiations of the U.S. Attorneys with Dean's lawyers, and that Dean's testimony might be needed for the case.

On the evening of April 19, the President met with Messrs. Wilson and Strickler, counsel retained by Haldeman and Ehrlichman upon recommendation of Secretary Rogers. Wilson and Strickler made strong arguments that Haldeman and Ehrlichman had no criminal liability and should not be discharged.

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The President continued to struggle with the question of administrative action against his aides. On April 27, Petersen reported to the President that Dean's lawyer was threatening that unless Dean got immunity, "We will bring the President in -- not this case but in other things." (White House Transcript, April 27, 1973, p. 1261). On the question of immunity in the face of these threats, the President told Petersen:

P. All right. We have got the immunity problem resolved. Do it, Dean if you need to, but boy I am telling you -- there ain't going to be any blackmail. (White House Transcript, April 27, 1973, p. 1276, Presidential Presentation, Bk. I, Tab 33a, p. 224).

Later in that same meeting the President was advised by Petersen that the negotiations with Dean's attorneys had bogged down, and action by the President against Dean, Haldeman and Ehrlichman would now be helpful to the U.S. Attorney. (White House Transcript, April 27, 1973, p.m., pp. 1287-1293).

Three days later, on April 30, the President gave a nationwide address. He announced that he accepted the resignation of Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Attorney General Kleindienst and Dean. The President then announced the nomination of Elliot Richardson as the new Attorney General.

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In summary, after the March 21 disclosure the President conducted a personal investigation and, based on the results of this investigation and in coordination with the Department of Justice, took Presidential action and removed several key White House staff members from office. The President's action was a function of his constitutionally-directed power to see that the laws are "faithfully executed" and was well within the wide discretion afforded him under the executive power doctrine. The investigation the President conducted was proper and fulfilled his constitutional duty in every respect. As a consequence every White House official against whom charges were made was removed from office.

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II. NATIONAL SECURITY MATTERSA. There Has Been No Showing That Any
Of The Seventeen Wiretaps Were Illegal

There was clear legal authority for the legality of warrantless national security wiretaps at the time the seventeen wiretaps were conducted. United States v. Clay, 430 F.2d 165 (5th Cir. 1970), reversed on other grounds, 403 U.S. 698 (1971); United States v. Brown, 317 F.Supp. 531 (E.D. La. 1970), affirmed, 484 F.2d 418 (5th Cir. 1973). The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Clay decision held:

No one would seriously doubt in this time of serious international insecurity and peril that there is an imperative necessity for obtaining foreign intelligence information, and we do not believe such gathering is forbidden by the Constitution or by statutory provision. (430 F.2d at 172).

Foreign policy wiretapping has not been affected by the Supreme Court's decision to overrule warrantless domestic security wiretaps. United States v. United States District Court, 407 U.S. 297, 308 (1972) (also known as the Keith case). In the Keith decision, the Supreme Court carefully limited its opinion to domestic security wiretapping, expressing no opinion on national security wiretaps. In his concurring opinion in Giordano v. United States, 394 U.S. 310, 314 (1969), Justice Stewart notes that foreign policy wiretapping is still an open question. Although the constitutionality of foreign policy wiretaps has not been finally resolved by the Supreme Court, former Attorney General

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Elliot Richardson has stated that the Department of Justice is justified in relying on lower court decisions permitting warrantless national security wiretaps. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 27a).

The seventeen wiretaps were legal then and still meet the current legal standards. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals in United States v. Butenko, 494 F.2d 593 (3rd Cir. 1974), has held that warrantless foreign policy wiretapping does not violate the Fourth Amendment provided that the reasons for instituting the wiretap are reasonable. Unlike other Fourth Amendment cases, reasonableness is not judged by a probable cause standard. Instead, the interception of conversations is permissible when conducted solely for the purpose of gathering foreign intelligence information -- particularly when wiretapping is used as a tool for impeding the flow of sensitive information from the government. Butenko, supra, at 601.

The evidence of the circumstances surrounding these seventeen wiretaps demonstrates clearly that they involved national security. The government was faced with massive leaks of sensitive foreign policy information when the President was just beginning to establish policies or future relations with other nations. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 19b).

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These leaks began in the Spring of 1969, when the President was exploring solutions to the Vietnam War. Following a National Security Council meeting on March 28, 1969, the President directed that several studies be conducted on alternative solutions to the Vietnam War, and one alternative to be studied was a unilateral troop withdrawal. The study directive was issued on April 1, 1969, and on April 6, 1969, the New York Times printed a front page article indicating that the United States was considering unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 19a). Similarly in early June 1969, shortly after the decision had been reached to begin the initial withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, The Evening Star and The New York Times reported this decision indicating that it would be made public following the President's meeting with South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tabs 20a and 20b).

These leaks were particularly damaging to the diplomatic efforts being made to end the Vietnam War. In this connection, Henry Kissinger stated:

Each of the above disclosures was extremely damaging with respect to this Government's relationship and credibility with its allies. Although the initial troop withdrawal increment was small, the decision was extremely important in that it reflected a fundamental change in United States policy. For the South Vietnamese government to hear publicly of our apparent willingness to

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consider unilateral withdrawals, without first discussing such an approach with them, raised a serious question as to our reliability and credibility as an ally. Similarly, though in a reverse context, these disclosures likewise impaired our ability to carry on private discussions with the North Vietnamese, because of their concern that negotiations could not, in fact, be conducted in absolute secrecy. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 20c).

Some of the most damaging leaks occurred with regard to the SALT negotiations. On January 20, 1969, when the President first took office, he immediately directed that an overall study be undertaken regarding the United States strategic force posture for the internal use of the government and for use in the SALT negotiations. A fundamental requirement of this study was to determine what programs should be adopted to ensure credibility of our country's deterrent capability. The study included an analysis of five possible strategic options from an emphasis of offensive capabilities to heavy reliance on anti-ballistic missile systems. The costs for the various approaches were included. Notwithstanding the need for secrecy of this study, the May 1, 1969, edition of the New York Times, reported the five strategic options under study with close estimates of the costs for each option. These options were published before they were considered by the National Security Council. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 22a).

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In addition to the above study, the United States Intelligence Board (USIB) had been engaged in an analysis of the Soviet Union's testing of missiles, and in early June of 1969 issued a report setting forth their estimate of the Soviet Union's strategic strength and possible first strike capability. On June 18, 1969, the New York Times published this same official assessment of the first strike capabilities of the Soviet Union. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 23a).

The damaging nature of these disclosures was summed up by Henry Kissinger stating:

Each of these disclosures was of the most extreme gravity. As presentations of the government's thinking on these key issues, they provided the Soviet Union with extensive insight as to our approach to the SALT negotiations and severely compromised our assessments of the Soviet Union's missile testing and our apparent inability to accurately assess their exact capabilities. . . .

[The disclosure of the assessment of the Soviet's first strike capability]. . . would provide a useful signal to the Soviet Union as to the . . . efficacy of our intelligence system. It would also prematurely reveal the intelligence basis on which we were developing our position for the impending strategic arms talks. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 23b).

Finally, the June 3, 1969, edition of the New York Times, reported that the President had determined to remove nuclear

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weapons from Okinawa in the upcoming negotiations with Japan over the reversion of the island. The article stated that the President's decision had not yet been communicated to Japan. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 24a). This disclosure had significant impact on the negotiations the United States was undertaking with Japan as noted by Henry Kissinger:

The consequences of this disclosure, attributed to well-placed informants, in terms of compromising negotiating tactics, prejudicing the Government's interest, and complicating our relations with Japan were obvious, and clearly preempted any opportunity we might have had for obtaining a more favorable outcome during our negotiations with the Japanese. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 24b).

Thus, it can be seen that the leaks which occurred in 1969 were extremely damaging to the national security of the United States. The reasonableness and legality of the wiretaps should be determined by an examination of the circumstances surrounding the institution of the taps rather than the results. In light of the consequences of the leaks, these wiretaps were clearly justified. The reasonableness and legality of the taps is buttressed by the fact that the wiretaps did produce useful information about NSC personnel which were providing national security information to outsiders.

In June, 1973, the FBI completed a background report on the seventeen wiretaps, and reported that the intercepted conversations

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were "replete with details, gossip and loose talk about . . . matters handled by the staff of NSC." (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 26a). Specifically, the FBI reported that several of the NSC staff members had extensive contacts with members of the press. In particular, two former employees, X^{9/} and L, discussed many aspects of the internal workings of the NSC with Y, a newsman. X held extensive discussions on southeast Asian policies with Y and others. Various FBI documents suggest that Y may have aided foreign governments in gathering intelligence information in the past. X, Y and L were three of the subjects of these wiretaps. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 26a).

The records of the FBI indicate that the information obtained was put to good use to prevent further leaks. The FBI reported that the wiretaps had been helpful in "evaluating key persons on the White House staff, and in making a determination as to whether each could be trusted with highly classified information." (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 26a). The FBI documents also reflect that X's employment with the government was terminated as a result of the information gathered through this wiretap. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 26k).

^{9/} Names have been deleted to protect the rights of the individuals.

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Based on the damage being caused by these leaks of national security information, the government was completely justified in using these wiretaps to help stem the flow of critical information out of the government to the front pages of the nation's newspapers. The Department of Justice met all of the legal requirements in undertaking these wiretaps. Certainly, the President committed no illegal act in instituting these wiretaps and, indeed, he would have failed in his constitutional responsibilities if he did not attempt to prevent further disclosure of national security information.

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B. The Special Investigations Unit Was Created
By The President In Response To A Threat
To The National Security And Was Never
Authorized To Commit Illegal Acts

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The record before this Committee establishes beyond any doubt that President Nixon ordered the formation of the Special Investigations Unit, because of a threat to the national security and that, with one notable exception, the Unit performed a legitimate and critical service to the Nation. Moreover, the record also conclusively establishes that the President never explicitly or implicitly authorized anyone associated with this Unit to commit illegal acts and that he never ordered the entry at Dr. Lewis Fielding's office.

The Special Investigations Unit was created by President Nixon to combat the serious danger of unauthorized disclosures of classified information affecting the national security that had reached a critical point on June 13, 1971, with the New York Times publication of the Pentagon Papers. The President naturally was greatly concerned about the implications of this disclosure and he noted that:

There was every reason to believe this was a security leak of unprecedented proportions.

It created a situation in which the ability of the Government to carry on foreign relations even in the best of circumstances could have been severely compromised. Other governments no longer knew whether they could deal with the United States in confidence. Against the background of the delicate negotiations the United States was then involved in on a number

10/ The case of United States v. Ehrlichman, Cr. 74-116 (D. D. C. 1974), is of course relevant and when appropriate we shall also refer to that case.

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of fronts -- with regard to Vietnam, US - Soviet relations, and others -- in which the utmost degree of confidentiality was vital, it posed a threat so grave as to require extraordinary actions. (President Nixon's statement, May 22, 1973, 9 Presidential Documents 695, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. 2, Tab 31. 1).

This threat was acutely compounded by the involvement of Daniel Ellsberg, a former staff member of the National Security Council, and the prospect that Ellsberg might divulge additional information, and the realization that the Soviet Embassy had received a copy of the Pentagon Papers on June 17, 1971 and might be the recipient of additional classified information. As David Young stated in describing this period of uncertainty:

. . . it was in the wake of the Pentagon Papers disclosure, considerable concern as to how serious a problem the leak was becoming, whether or not it was the Pentagon Papers themselves were a part of it, more extensive and wider effort to put out classified material. (David Young testimony, United States v. Ehrlichman, Cr. 74-116 (D.D.C. 1974) at p. 958).

The President therefore appropriately considered the disclosure of the Pentagon Papers and the implications of that disclosure as a matter of paramount importance and he accordingly reacted in a number of ways.

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The President's immediate reaction to this threat was to turn to the court in an attempt to prevent further disclosures of this material that had been taken from the most sensitive files of the Department of State and Defense and the CIA, and to have the FBI investigate this breach of national security. (Special Staff Presentation, Vol. VII, Bk. 2, Tab 31.2-31.5; see also Colson HJC 4453). The President also ordered a security clearance review by each department and agency of the government having authority and responsibility for the classification of information affecting the national defense and security. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. IV, Tab 3a). Colson was also assigned the responsibility of working with Congress in an effort to have a Congressional hearing on the problem of security leaks. (Colson HJC 4449). Moreover, the President devoted a great deal of his time discussing with Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Kissinger, and Colson the deleterious effect the publication of the Pentagon Papers had upon the national security and the effective conduct of our foreign policy. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. 2, Tabs 33.1 - 33.2). As Colson observed this danger and the President's concern was very real:

I was in several meetings with the President in the period following the publication in the Press of the 'Pentagon Papers' in the New York Times, the Washington Post and other papers. . . . During that period . . . the President repeatedly emphasized the tremendous gravity of the leaks and his concern that Ellsberg and/or Ellsberg's associates might continue the pattern. I can remember the President saying on a number of occasions that if the leaks

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were to continue, there could be no 'credible U.S. foreign policy' and that the damage to the Government and to the national security at a very sensitive time would be severe. He referred to many of the sensitive matters that were then either being negotiated or considered by the Administration, e.g., SALT, Soviet detente, the Paris peace negotiations and his plans for ending the war in Vietnam. (He had earlier made me aware of his desire to visit the Peoples Republic of China.) (Charles Colson Affidavit, United States v. Ehrlichman, April 29, 1974, pp. 1-2, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. 2, Tab 33.2; see also Colson testimony HJC 4064 and the memorandum from Colson to Ray Price, July 3, 1971, Presidential Presentation, Vol. VI, Tab 6a).

The President was also concerned that Ellsberg's action would be distorted and would endanger the success of the Vietnamese peace negotiations. Colson stated:

Colson. I don't think those were the President's words so much as they were mine. I think he was concerned that he would become a martyr. He was concerned that he would be a rallying point. He had gotten a lot of national publicity at that point for his role in the Pentagon Papers release -- tremendous national publicity. I think Dr. Kissinger, the President, myself, John Ehrlichman -- we were all very concerned that --

St. Clair. Why did this concern you? I'm sorry I cut you off. I'm sorry.

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Colson. Well, mid-1971, you have to remember that we had a tremendous outburst of domestic turmoil following the Cambodian operation in 1970. In the spring of 1971, the war was winding down, the casualties were down, the Laotian operation kind of brought public attitudes back a little bit, excited the public again a little bit more. But in the summer of 1971, when all of this was going on, there had been kind of a quieting of attitudes and a calming of feelings over the war as it was gradually deescalating and Dr. Ellsberg's actions threatened to turn it into a red hot issue again at a very time when Dr. Kissinger was engaged in the most sensitive negotiations in Paris trying to end the war. It just was a very -- it was a time when we were trying very hard to keep public support for our policies, because that was crucial to, in our view at that time, to the North Vietnamese accepting the peace proposals that we were advancing through Dr. Kissinger in Paris. (Colson HJC 4398-4399).

The President was also concerned that others might follow Ellsberg's example of making unauthorized disclosures of classified information.

(Colson HJC 4401).

While the President wanted to negate these possibilities, the President, however, never asked Colson to disseminate any information that was not true. (Colson HJC 4000-4001).

In light of this danger to the national security which served to highlight the continuing problems of security leaks the President's decision, however, to take additional action to prevent further leaks was clearly necessary and his failure to act would have been a dereliction

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of duty. The creation of the Special Investigations Unit was therefore the result of the President's assessment of the significance of the problem confronting the nation and the determination the most efficacious means to eradicate this problem was to begin an extraordinary national security operation and there is not one iota of evidence in the record to indicate this was anything but a proper and legitimate decision by the President. The President observed:

Therefore during the week following the Pentagon Papers publication, I approved the creation of a Special Investigations Unit within the White House--which later came to be known as the 'plumbers.' This was a small group at the White House whose principal purpose was to stop security leaks and to investigate other sensitive security matters. (President Nixon's statement, May 22, 1973, 9 Presidential Documents 695, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. 2, Tab 31.1).

It is important to emphasize that the Unit was created to function within the government to stop security leaks in an entirely legal manner and that it was not established as a field operative investigative force.

As Krogh stated:

. . . on or about July 15, 1971, affiant was given oral instructions by Mr. John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President of the United States for Domestic Affairs, to begin a special National Security project to co-ordinate a government effort to determine the causes, sources, and ramifications of the unauthorized disclosure of classified documents known as the Pentagon Papers; . . . (Egil Krogh affidavit, United States v. Krogh, May 4, 1973, p. 1; Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 7a; see also John Ehrlichman affidavit, United States v. Ehrlichman, April 26, 1974, p. 6; Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol 3, Tab 47.2 and David Young testimony, United States v. Ehrlichman, Cr. 74-116(D.D.C. 1974) at p. 1107).

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Further, the Unit did, in fact, operate in this manner. For example on July 21, 1971, Young attended a meeting at CIA headquarters to discuss the Pentagon Papers and on July 26, 1971, he attended a meeting at the State Department to discuss this same subject. (Presidential Presentation Bk. IV, Tab 10a and 12a). It must also be remembered that in addition to the Pentagon Papers disclosure and the disclosure on July 23, 1971, by the New York Times of details of our country's negotiating position in the Strategic Arms Limitations (SALT) talks the Unit was also responsible for a number of other projects related to national security. There is nothing in the record that indicates that in these areas the Unit did not operate within the governmental system and in a legal manner. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. 3, Tab 52.1 and Vol. 4, Tab 60.1).

The record also strongly suggests that the Unit would have continued to function in this fashion and never have become a field operative investigative force involved in the entry of Dr. Fielding's office if Ehrlichman, Krogh, and Young were satisfied with the FBI's investigation of the Ellsberg case. Krogh has described this situation in the following manner:

- Q. Did you or Mr. Young discuss this matter of an entry in Dr. Fielding's office to examine these files with anyone else after the discussion with Mr. Young, or between Mr. Young and you and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Liddy?

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A. Yes, I recall meeting, I recall a meeting that we had with Mr. Ehrlichman. I don't remember the precise date but August the 5th is the most reasonable date to me because it happened right about that period of time -- we had scheduled a meeting with him on that date and we reported to him, as best I can recall, that the FBI had been unsuccessful in interviewing Dr. Fielding and that if we were to be able to examine these files then we would have to conduct an operation of our own.

I cannot give you the precise words on that but we were trying to convey to him that we felt that the unit would have to become operational -- in other words, prior to that time the unit's principal or even exclusive responsibility was working through other departments and agencies.

That was the reason for meetings that had been established with the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the director of the CIA -- we had work with the security offices who had been assigned by these departments.

I suppose we were more a coordinating body as well as a body trying to encourage them to make more vigorous investigations.

This was the first time that the unit was going to become operational in the sense that our own employees would be directly involved and, to go beyond that, as I say, that initial franchise, we felt we needed authority to do.

(Egil Krogh, United States v. Ehrlichman, Cr. 74-116 (D. D. C. 1974) at p. 1278-79. See also, United States v. Krogh, May 4, 1973, p. 2, Presidential Presentation, Vol. IV, Tab 7a).

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Ehrlichman indicated he informed the President of Krogh's concern:

Mr. Krogh complained of the FBI's failure to cooperate fully in the Ellsberg investigation. I discussed the problem with the Attorney General. He advised me of a continuing problem with Mr. Hoover. I recall specifically Mr. Krogh complaining that the FBI had not even designated the Ellsberg case as a primary or priority case.

I advised Krogh of my talk with the Attorney General and he recommended that some of the Unit's people be sent out to quickly complete the California investigation of Ellsberg.

I told the President of these conversations, sometime between July 26 and August 5, as nearly as I can now reconstruct it.

He responded that Krogh should, of course, do whatever he considered necessary to get to the bottom of the matter -- to learn what Ellsberg's motives and potential further harmful action might be.

I told Krogh, in substance, that he should do whatever he considered necessary. (John Ehrlichman affidavit, United States v. Ehrlichman, April 26, 1974, pp. 7-8; Presidential Presentation, Vol. IV, Tab 2c. See also Ehrlichman 6 SSC 2625 and Petersen JHC 3880).

However what is critically important to note with respect to this shift in the Unit's modus operandi that culminated in the entry of Dr. Fielding's office on September 3, 1971, is that there is not one scintilla of evidence in the record that indicates that the President was

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aware of the entry let alone that the President authorized this entry.

The President has indicated that while he can understand how this action could have occurred he did not and would not have approved such an operation. President Nixon said:

Because of the extreme gravity of the situation, and not then knowing what additional national secrets Mr. Ellsberg might disclose, I did impress upon Mr. Krogh the vital importance to the national security of his assignment. I did not authorize and had no knowledge of any illegal means to be used to achieve this goal.

However, because of the emphasis I put on the crucial importance of protecting the national security, I can understand how highly motivated individuals could have felt justified in engaging in specific activities that I would have disapproved had they been brought to my attention.

Consequently, as President, I must and do assume responsibility for such actions despite the fact that I, at no time approved or had knowledge of them. (President Nixon's statement, May 22, 1973, 9 Presidential Documents 695, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. 2, Tab 31.1. See also President Nixon's statement, Aug 15, 1973, Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 11b).

Only John Dean has ever suggested the President did authorize the entry into Fielding's office and Egil Krogh clearly refuted Dean's implications when he stated:

It was in this context that the Fielding incident, the break-in into the offices of Dr. Ellsberg's psychiatrist, took place. Doubtless, this explains why John Dean has

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reported that I told him that instructions for the break-in had come directly from the Oval office. In fact, the July 24 meeting was the only direct contact I had with the President on the work of the unit. I have just listened to a tape of that meeting, and Dr. Ellsberg's name did not appear to be mentioned. I had been led to believe by the White House Statement of May 22, 1973, that the President had given me instructions regarding Dr. Ellsberg in the July 24, 1971, meeting. It must be that those instructions were relayed to me by Mr. Ehrlichman. In any event, I received no specific instruction or authority whatsoever regarding the break-in from the President, directly or indirectly. (Egil Krogh statement, January 3, 1974, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VII, Vol. IV, Tab 79.5).

David Young never even discussed the Pentagon Papers or the

Ellsberg break-in with the President:

- Q. Did you have any discussions with the President of the United States about this?
- A. I had no discussions with the President about the Pentagon Papers investigation or this matter here, the Ellsberg-Fielding matter. I had discussions with the President with regard to another leak investigation. (David Young testimony, United States v. Ehrlichman, Cr. 74-116 (D. D. C. 1974) at pp. 1120-21).

Moreover in testimony before this Committee, Colson has indicated not only did he not have any evidence that the President authorized the Fielding entry, but that Ehrlichman told Colson that he had not

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discussed in advance the Fielding entry with the President. (Colson HJC 4458, 4445). It should be noted that Ehrlichman informed Colson of this fact in preparation for Ehrlichman's recent trial before Judge Gesell and at a time when Ehrlichman's defense on the grounds of national security would have been greatly enhanced by Ehrlichman's stating that the President authorized or was aware in advance of the Fielding entry. In fact, as the President has reiterated on many occasions it was not until March 17, 1973, that the President first learned of the break-in at Dr. Fielding's office. (See Presidential Nixon statement, August 15, 1973, 9 Presidential Document 993, Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 11b; President Nixon's letter to Judge Gesell, April 29, 1974; President Nixon's answer to interrogatories, July 1974).

The transcript of the President's conversation with Dean on March 17, 1973, clearly proves that this was the first time he was aware of the Unit's involvement in the Ellsberg break-in.

D. . . . The other potential problem is Ehrlichman's and this is --

P. In connection with Hunt?

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- D. In connection with Hunt and Liddy both.
- P. They worked for him?
- D. They--these fellows had to be some idiots as we've learned after the fact. They went out and went into Dr. Ellsberg's doctor's office and they had, they were geared up with all this CIA equipment--cameras and the like. Well they turned the stuff back in to the CIA some point in time and left film in the camera. CIA has not put this together, and they don't know what it all means right now. But it wouldn't take a very sharp investigator very long because you've got pictures in the CIA files that they had to turn over to (unintelligible).
- P. What in the world--what in the name of God was Ehrlichman having something (unintelligible) in the Ellsberg (unintelligible)?
- D. They were trying to--this was a part of an operation that--in connection with the Pentagon Papers. They were--the whole thing--they wanted to get Ellsberg's psychiatric records for some reason. I don't know.
- P. This is the first I ever heard of this. I, I (unintelligible) care about Ellsberg was not our problem.
- D. That's right. (White House Transcripts, March 17, 1973 1:25 - 2:10 p. m., pp. 157-158).

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Moreover, after being made aware of this fact, the President authorized Attorney General Kleindienst to report the break-in to Judge Byrne, despite the fact there was no legal obligation to report the break-in. (President Nixon's statement August 15, 1973, 9 Presidential Documents 993, Presidential Presentation, Bk. IV, Tab 11b, Petersen HJC 3927-28).

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III. ITTA. The President Did Not Cause A Settlement Of
The ITT Antitrust Cases In Consideration Of
Any Commitment Which ITT Made Toward The
Financing Of The 1972 Republican National Con-
vention By The San Diego Business Community

Two events, separated by over four years, define the beginning and the end of the International Telegraph and Telephone Company (ITT) controversy. In late December, 1968, Richard W. McLaren received from Richard G. Kleindienst and John N. Mitchell a commitment that he would not be interfered with politically, with respect to a vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws, i. e. all cases would be decided on the merits, if he accepted the position of Assistant Attorney General, Anti-trust Division, Department of Justice. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 1). On March 2, 1972, Judge McLaren, after describing that commitment, in response to a question from Senator Eastland told the Senate Select Committee that the commitment had been kept. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Vol. II, Tab 1a, p. 117). The second event, noted in the introductory pages of Volume 1, Book V of the Special Staff's presentation material, was the disclosure of Leon Jaworski, the Special Prosecutor, that:

except as noted below, that part of the investigation relating to allegations of Federal criminal offenses by ITT executives in connection with the settlement of the antitrust cases announced on July 30, 1971, has failed to disclose the commission of any such violations and

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although the investigation is not being closed at this time, it is fair to say that there is no present expectation of a disclosure of such offenses. (May 30, 1974, letter from Leon Jaworski to the Honorable J. J. Pickle, House of Representatives).

McLaren, as Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, was in charge of all aspects of the government's three antitrust merger suits against ITT, including all aspects of the settlement negotiations and procedures. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8b). Because of former Attorney General Mitchell's early self-disqualification from involvement in the cases based on what he apparently perceived to be a potential conflict-of-interest situation, Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst had assumed the administrative responsibilities normally attendant upon the Attorney General in these cases. Although earlier settlement talk had occurred between ITT and Justice Department lawyers (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 7a), it was on June 17, 1971, that the first concrete settlement offer was made to ITT by McLaren. On that date, McLaren, following an April 29, 1971, ITT economic presentation and an independent financial analysis by Richard Ramsden, recommended to Kleindienst that a settlement proposal be made to ITT which would allow that company to retain the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. Kleindienst approved the settlement proposal, relying upon the expertise of McLaren.

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(Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 6b). Between June 17, 1971 and July 31, 1971, the date of the final settlement, the details of the settlement were worked out by staff attorneys at the Department of Justice and ITT attorneys. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 2, Tab 27.2). According to ITT, settlement was reached on July 30, 1971, when the Justice Department agreed that ITT need only divest itself of the Fire Protection Division of Grinnell, a factor which ITT regarded as decisive in the settlement negotiations. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8a). McLaren agreed because he felt the partial divestiture would be a pro-competitive step in the fire protection industry. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8b; McLaren 2 KCH 113)^{11/} McLaren and Solicitor General Griswold thought the settlement to be very favorable. (Griswold 2 KCH 374, 377; McLaren 2 KCH 114). It should be noted that the latter, when authorizing appeal, thought the case (Grinnell) to be very hard. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 4e). His chief assistant, Daniel M. Friedman, Deputy Solicitor General, in recommending the appeal because of no practical alternative, characterized the case as extremely difficult and the chances of winning as minimal. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 4b).

^{11/}KCH refers to the printed record of the Kleindienst Confirmation Hearings.

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At the time of final settlement, neither McLaren nor Kleindienst was aware of any financial commitment by ITT to the San Diego Convention and Tourist Bureau in connection with the hosting of the 1972 Republican National Convention. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8f, 8g; McLaren 2 KCH 116, Kleindienst 2 KCH 100). Both McLaren and Kleindienst testified that John N. Mitchell did not talk with them about the ITT cases. (McLaren-Kleindienst 2 KCH 124-125). Mitchell confirmed their testimony on this point. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8e). In fact, Kleindienst did not talk with McLaren from June 17 until July 30 when McLaren called Kleindienst to tell him a settlement had been worked out by ITT and Antitrust Division lawyers and would be announced the following day. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8c, Kleindienst 2 KCH 142). There is not a scintilla of evidence to rebut McLaren's statement that the "Republican convention site and ITT's contribution had absolutely 100 percent nothing to do with the settlement I made." (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 8g).

There is no evidence, moreover, linking any action of the President to any ITT financial commitment. The only Presidential involvement in the ITT cases occurred on April 19 and 21, 1971, when he directed the appeal be dropped, but then reversed his position.

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Both actions were based upon broad policy considerations, rather than on the merits of the cases. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 1, Tabs 14, 18). Although Peter M. Flanigan, then Executive Director of the Council of Economic Policy, became a focal point of attention during the Kleindienst hearings, his role in the settlement picture was limited to locating at McLaren's request, Richard Ramsden, who made, at McLaren's request, a financial analysis which projected certain economic consequences if a forced divestiture of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company by ITT occurred. Both McLaren and Flanigan described Flanigan's role as that of a conduit only. (McLaren 2 KCH 270; Flanigan 3 KCH 1586)

On May 12, 1971, Harold S. Geneen, President of ITT, discussed with Congressman Bob Wilson (R-Calif.) during the time of the annual ITT shareholders' meeting the feasibility of attracting the 1972 Republican National Convention to San Diego. Because the Sheraton Corporation, an ITT subsidiary, was opening a new hotel in San Diego, Geneen was interested in the convention as a business promotional venture. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 2, Tab 24.1). Included in those discussions was talk of an ITT financial participation if the convention actually materialized in San Diego. The City of San Diego, after retracting its earlier decision not to submit a bid, on June 29, 1971, resolved, in essence, to submit a bid of \$1,500,000 to the Republican National

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Committee, \$900,000 of which was to include contribution of cash and services from non-city sources. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 2, Tab 28.1). (This occurred 12 days after McLaren, with Kleindienst's approval, notified ITT of the Justice Department's settlement proposal). Subsequently, on July 21, 1971, the Sheraton Corporation forwarded a telegram to the San Diego Convention and Tourist Bureau setting forth its financial commitment of, essentially, \$200,000. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 2, Tab 28.9).

Because of the solidarity of evidence supporting the bona fide nature of the final settlement of the ITT antitrust litigation and the absence of any Presidential intervention in the final disposition of the cases and the absence of any evidence of any Presidential intervention as a quid pro quo for value, no assertions of Presidential misconduct should be sustained.

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**B. Neither The Testimony of Richard G. Kleindienst
Nor John N. Mitchell Before the Senate Judiciary
Committee Constitutes A Basis For Concluding
That the President Was Under Some Legal Duty
To Respond To That Testimony**

From the time of the printing of The Washington Post on February 29 1972, until near July 17, 1972, the White House was concerned with the realization that the President and his Administration were the focus of an intense scrutiny as to activities surrounding the settlement of the ITT antitrust cases. Charles Colson, in testimony on June 14, 1973, before the Special Subcommittee on Investigations of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce testified to the White House interest in the matter as follows:

Pickle. Was Mr. Dean working on the case at the same time?

Colson. Several of us were, yes, sir.

Pickle. Several of you, it was a major project at the time, was it?

Colson. It was a major controversy at the time. (p. 204 subcommittee hearings).

Shortly thereafter, he continued:

Colson. We were trying at that point in time to determine whether or not that was in fact

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an authentic memorandum. If you will recall the circumstances at that time the entire thrust of the case that was being built against Mr. Kleindienst, the entire thrust of the case in controversy in the Senate Judiciary Committee turned on the language of that memorandum. The question of whether or not that was in fact an authentic memorandum. The question of whether the facts presented in that memorandum were facts or were not facts were very central to the question of whether Mr. Kleindienst would be confirmed. Those were very serious accusations ostensibly made in Mrs. Beard's memorandum. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 13a).

The preoccupation of top aides such as Ehrlichman, Colson^{12/} and Dean, along with the White House press aides, with the settlement aspect of the ITT episode is explainable by reference to the language of the first paragraph of Jack Anderson's February 29, 1972, article:

We now have evidence that the settlement of the Nixon's administration's biggest antitrust case was privately arranged between Attorney General John Mitchell and the top lobbyist for the company involved. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 2, Tab 34.1).

^{12/}See also Colson HJC 4338-4339.

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In order to place the actions of the White House staff and the President in the first half of 1972 in proper perspective, it must be recognized that in the days immediately following the disclosure of the Dita Beard memorandum, Peter M. Flanigan, a top White House aide, then Executive Director of the Council on Economic Policy, received much attention from the Senate Judiciary Committee, the news media, and the White House staff because of his tangential participation, as described, in one phase of the activity which eventually culminated in the settlement of the ITT cases. At that time, the news media's curiosity was pitched to a possible Kleindienst-Flanigan testimonial contradiction in reference to Kleindienst's White House contacts as illustrated by the following two excerpts from newspaper articles contained in Book V, Volume 3, Tab 52 of the Committee's staff's presentation materials:

The questioning of Kleindienst today, limited to a maximum of 6 1/2 hours by the committee's 5 p.m. deadline for a report to the floor, is expected to focus on the disclosure by White House aide Peter M. Flanigan in a letter Monday in which he said he had several conversations with Kleindienst last year about a settlement of antitrust cases against the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp.

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Flanigan, who gave limited testimony before the committee last week, said in the letter that he passed along ITT's complaints about a proposed settlement to the then deputy attorney general and also informed him when an outside consultant had completed his financial analysis of ITT's arguments.

Kleindienst, testifying last month, said he did not recall discussing the ITT matter at the White House, but suggested there might have been 'casual reference' to it in other conversations there.

(The Washington Post, April 27, 1972).

Again:

Kleindienst testified that he had 'no recollection' of being told by Flanigan last April that ITT was displeased with the Justice Department's original antitrust settlement offer and the next month that the White House aide had received a financial analysis concerning the cases which had been recruited through Flanigan from a New York investment banker.

Flanigan, who answered a limited number of questions put by the committee last week, told of those conversations with Kleindienst in a letter he sent to Eastland on Monday.

In light of Flanigan's letter, Kleindienst conceded, it was 'extremely probable' that he did have the contacts described.

(The Washington Post, April 28, 1972).

The testimony of Charles W. Colson before the House Committee on the Judiciary on July 15 and 16, 1974, is also instructive. He testified that he, not only as a member of the

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special task force, but as its overseer (Colson HJC 4366-4367), had followed the course of the Kleindienst hearings to assess its political impact, rather than for exact content. (Colson HJC 4339-4340, 4369). Although he generally kept the President informed of the political give and take or "punch and counter-punch" that occurred, Colson did not recall telling the President what Kleindienst and Mitchell were actually testifying to though Flanigan's testimony was covered. (Colson HJC 4340). Colson testified he met with the President and Haldeman, probably, on March 24, 1972, at which time the President inquired of Haldeman what he, the President, might previously have said to Kleindienst about the case or antitrust policy. When Haldeman told him any exchange was limited to policy matters, the President said, "Thank God I didn't discuss the case." (Colson HJC 4341-42). The transcript of a June 4, 1972, meeting with Mitchell, the President and Haldeman although replete with references to the ITT matter, is devoid of any remarks relating to Mitchell's or Kleindienst's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee. (Presidential Presentation, Bk. II, Tab 12a).

The essential point to be grasped by references to the settlement and newspaper excerpts and the Colson testimony is that any

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input to the President, whether by White House aides or outside sources, was permeated by the controversies of those times. Along with that, it would be well to remember that no evidence has been produced to warrant a reasonable assumption that more than a handful of advisors knew of the President's call to Kleindienst or of his conference with Mitchell two days thereafter.^{13/} Because of the foregoing, the flow of condensed news to the President would not have, except by happenstance, been geared at Kleindienst's statements in which he stated he could not recollect why the Department of Justice sought an appeal extension in the pending case of U. S. v. ITT (Grinnell) (Kleindienst 2 KCH 204). That event, unrelated to the settlement, was cast as insignificant by those concerned with the heat of the day; purely legal history, having occurred three months before the settlement and then forgotten for all practical purposes.

^{13/} Colson, for example, did not know of the April 19, 1971, telephone call, until near the end of March, 1972. (Colson HJC 4343). Although it would have been thought highly improbable at one time, Ehrlichman and Colson were unaware of the White House tape recording system, although Haldeman knew of its existence.

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Mr. Kleindienst, in an October 31, 1973, statement, reprinted in full at Tab 51.2 of Volume 3, Book V of the Special Staff's presentation materials, stated that his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee was focused, solely, on the negotiations and settlement of the ITT antitrust litigation and Flanigan issues. Mitchell's testimony certainly could be construed as consistent with his conversation with the President of April 21, 1971, in which he voiced political and general policy considerations to the President without discussing the merits of the cases. The Washington Post of March 10, 1972, while bannering the headline "No Nixon Role in ITT Case, Mitchell Says" (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. V, Vol. 3, Tab 52.2), explicitly made it clear in paragraphs 1 and 6 of that story, that the former Attorney General's remarks related to his denial of any Presidential intervention in the settlement of the case.

Finally, and not without weight, is the fact that Kleindienst, on May 17, 1974, pled guilty, with the concurrence of the Special Prosecutor, not to perjury, but to a misdemeanor--namely--one count of "refusing or failing fully to respond to questions propounded to him by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on March 2, 3, 7, and 8, and and April 27, 1972." ^{14/}

^{14/} Mr. Mitchell has not been formally accused of any perjury associated with testimony during the Kleindienst confirmation hearings. He was acquitted, recently of an unrelated perjury charge in New York City.

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IV. DAIRYA. The President Did Not Impose The Import Quotas Sought By The Dairy Industry Nor Were His Actions Influenced By Campaign Contributions Or Pledges Of Contributions

The dairy industry, like many components of the farm economy is the beneficiary of government price support programs legislated by the Congress. With decisions frequently being made within the executive branch on the administration of critical dairy programs and with dairy legislation constantly under review in the Congress, the dairy farmers have organized into an influential political force in recent years. There are now three major dairy cooperatives in the United States: The Associated Milk Producers, Inc., (AMPI), Mid-America Dairies (Mid-Am) and Dairymen, Inc. (DI).

These dairy organizations not only represent in Washington the interests of their members, they also exert influence through the ballot box and through political contributions. Their activities are not unlike the fund raising and contributing activities of special interest groups such as the Committee on Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO.

The President's first contact with members of the dairy organizations was in 1970 when officials of AMPI invited him to speak at their annual convention. Although the President declined the invitation, in a gesture of courtesy, he invited members of the organization to meet with him in Washington and to arrange a meeting of a larger delegation of dairy leaders at a later date. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tabs 1a, 1b, 1c). Harold Nelson, general manager of AMPI, and his special assistant

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David Parr accepted the invitation and paid a courtesy call on the President on September 9, 1970. This meeting was part of a Presidential "Open Hour," lasted less than ten minutes and was devoted to introductions, photographs, and a distribution of Presidential souvenirs.

There is absolutely no evidence which indicates or even suggests that campaign contributions were discussed at any time during this brief exchange. The President did not see a memorandum referring to a campaign pledge by the organization Nelson and Parr represented. Charles Colson did not discuss that or any other contribution or pledge from the dairymen with the President nor was it discussed in the meeting. (Colson HJC 4386, 4387). Neither is there any evidence that the memorandum or any pledge by the dairymen was discussed or mentioned to the President by anyone.

At Secretary of Agriculture Hardin's request, the President on May 13, 1970, directed the Tariff Commission to investigate and report on the necessity for import controls on four new dairy products which had been developed to evade import controls previously established on recognized articles of commerce. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tabs 4a, 5a). After an investigation had been conducted, the Tariff Commission, a body of impartial experts, issued a report in which it unanimously agreed that imports of the four products were interfering with the dairy program. Therefore the Commission recommended zero quotas for three of the items

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and an annual quota of 100,000 pounds for the fourth. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 4b). On October 19, 1970, Secretary Hardin recommended that the Tariff Commission's recommendations be implemented. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 5a). Secretary Hardin on November 30, 1970, in a memorandum to Bryce N. Harlow, Assistant to the President, again pushed for a zero quota on one of the items. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 5c).

Subsequently, on December 16, 1970, Patrick J. Hillings of the law firm of Reeves and Harrison, Washington, D. C., gave Roger Johnson, Special Assistant to the President, a letter addressed to the President requesting that the Tariff Commission's recommendations be adopted. The letter referred to contributions to Republican candidates in the 1970 Congressional election and to plans to contribute \$2,000,000 to the re-election campaign. Mr. Johnson referred the matter to H. R. Haldeman, White House Chief of Staff. John Brown, the Staff Secretary, referred it to "J. C.," who was to check with "E + Colson" regarding whether the letter should be sent to the President. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 6a; Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 1, Tab 12.1).

Charles Colson then obtained the letter and kept it in his safe. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tabs 6b, 6c; Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab

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32.3). This statement is fully supported by the testimony of Charles Colson who testified that the letter bounced around Bob Haldeman's staff system for a few days and then came to him, with a cover message from Larry Higby, an assistant to Mr. Haldeman, saying "What shall we do with the attached?" (Colson HJC 4322). When Colson received the letter it had not gone to the President. (Colson HJC 4322). Colson testified that upon reading it he "hit the roof," called in Hillings, "chewed him out" and told him to withdraw the letter or it would be turned over to the Department of Justice. Hillings agreed to withdraw it. Colson kept the original and gave it to John Dean, Counsel to the President, when documents were being assembled for the Nader v. Butz suit. (Colson HJC 4322-4324). This suit was filed on January 24, 1972.

This testimony of Mr. Colson is fully corroborated by both Hillings and Chotiner. Hillings in fact stated that he had neither expected nor intended that the President see the letter in the first place. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tabs 6b, 6c, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab 32.3).

There are no notations or markings on the letter or any evidence that the President ever saw it. Neither is there any evidence that its contents were ever discussed with the President.

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After reviewing the recommendations of the Tariff Commission, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Task Force on Agriculture Trade of the Counsel of Economic Advisors, the President, on December 31, 1970, by Proclamation Number 4026 ultimately established quotas totalling in excess of 25,000,000 pounds for three of the products and in excess of 400,000 gallons for the fourth. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 7a, Colson HJC 4379, 4380). Despite a report that any modification of the Tariff Commission's recommendation would be viewed by the dairy people as a "slap in the face," (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 7b) the President rejected the zero quota system recommended by the Commission and sought by the dairy organizations. Instead the President took an action which in his view would halt the evasion of existing import quotas without imposing a zero quota restraint on foreign dairy products.

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B. The Milk Price Support Level For 1971-72, Was Increased Due To Economic Factors And Congressional Pressure, Not In Return For A Pledge Of Campaign Contributions

Each year the Secretary of Agriculture announces the price at which the Government will support milk prices for the following year. In 1970, Secretary Hardin had announced that for the marketing year running from April 1, 1970, through March 31, 1971, the Government would support manufacturing milk at \$4.66 per 100 pounds, 85 percent of parity. This figure represented an increase of 2 percent of the parity rate over the year before (1969-1970). As the 1971-72 marketing season approached, inflation had caused the parity level to drop. The question within the Government was whether to continue supporting the milk price at \$4.66 per 100 pounds or to raise the price in order to maintain parity at the previous year's level.

During late 1970 and early 1971 the dairy industry actively sought Congressional support and action in its effort to obtain an increase in the milk price support level. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 8a, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 19.2). In February and March of 1971 approximately 100 Senators and Congressmen wrote the Secretary of Agriculture to urge that the support price be increased. Most of these Congressmen recommended that the price support be raised to 90 percent of parity. Some requested that the price support be raised to at

least 85 percent of parity. (Letters and telegrams to the Secretary of Agriculture transmitted by the White House to the House Judiciary Committee and noted at Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 19).

Some of the letters openly referred to the fact that spokesmen for the dairy cooperatives had written or called upon the Congressmen to ask for support and a number of letters were apparently drafted by these various lobbying groups.

At the same time, many Congressmen took to the floor of the House and Senate to express their concern over the low price support. On March 1, Congressman Robert W. Kastenmeier (D. Wisc.) rose to tell his colleagues: "We need your assistance in persuading the Administration to raise dairy price supports to 90 percent of parity. . ." 117 Cong. Rec. 4310 (1971). His sentiments were echoed by Congressman Les Aspin (D. Wisc.) 117 Cong. Rec. 4311 (1971), and Congressman Vernon Thompson (R. Wisc.) 117 Cong. Rec. 4280 (1971).

Again on March 8, Congressman William Steiger (R. Wisc.) entered into the Congressional Record a letter he had sent to Secretary Hardin calling for 90 percent parity, 117 Cong. Rec. 5400 (1971), and on March 9, Senator Vance Hartke (D. Ind.) called for the 90 percent level and Senator Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.) called for at least 85 percent support and hopefully

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"substantially higher." 117 Cong. Rec. 5518, 5537 (1971). Congressman Robert McClory (R. Ill.) likewise called for a price increase. 117 Cong. Rec. 5678 (1971).

On March 10, Congressman Ed Jones (D. Tenn) argued that even 90 percent would not be a "decent return, but it would help." Congressman Jones urged the Department of Agriculture not to "sit idly by and watch our dairy industry decline into oblivion. Unless dairy price supports are set at a level high enough to guarantee 90 percent of parity, that is exactly what we are inviting." 117 Cong. Rec. 5956-57 (1971). Senator Mondale also called for the 90 percent level on that date. 117 Cong. Rec. 5793 (1971).

On March 17, Congressman David Obey (D. Wisc.) called for an increase to 90 percent. 117 Cong. Rec. 6910 (1971), and on March 19, Senator Harold Hughes (D. Iowa) called for the passage of a bill to set parity at least 85 percent. 117 Cong. Rec. 7223 (1971). The sole opposition voiced to an increase in price was by Congressman Paul Findley (R. Ill.). 117 Cong. Rec. 6870 (1971).

While their colleagues were marshalling support in open floor speeches, senior Democratic leaders in the Congress were expressing their concerns privately to representatives of the Administration. On February 10, the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills, (D. Ark.) arranged a meeting in the office of Speaker Carl Albert, (D. Okla.) to discuss

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the dairy issue. Representatives of the dairy industry had apparently asked for the meeting to plead their case. In attendance were Congressmen Mills and Albert, Congressman John Byrnes, (R. Wisc.); William Galbraith, head of Congressional liaison for the Department of Agriculture; Clark MacGregor, then Counsel to the President for Congressional Relations; and Harold Nelson and David Parr from AMPI. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 19).

Congressional leaders continued to make their views known in several private conversations thereafter. Congressman Mills urged Clark MacGregor on at least six occasions in late February and early March to urge the President to raise the support price, a fact which MacGregor relayed to John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and George Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 9a, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 19.6). Congressman Mills and Speaker Albert also telephoned George Shultz with the same request. Mr. Shultz sent a memorandum to John Ehrlichman at the White House indicating the substance of the Mills request for a rise in the support level. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 9b, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tabs 19, 19.1, 19.3, 19.4).

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On March 12, 1971, Secretary Hardin announced that the support level would not be raised for the 1971-72 marketing year. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 21.2). Intense lobbying began. On March 16, 1971, Richard T. Burress, Deputy Assistant to the President reported to John Ehrlichman that the decision had been hit by partisan attacks, that legislation mandating an increase would have the support of the Speaker and Congressman Mills, and that Congressman Page Belcher, (R. Okla.), was mounting opposition which the White House should support. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 10a).

Despite administration efforts, however, the milk producers' Congressional lobbying efforts made progress. In the House, 28 separate bills with 29 Republican and 96 Democratic sponsors were introduced between March 16th and March 25th to set the support price at a minimum of 85 percent and a maximum of 90 percent of parity. In the Senate, Democratic Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, introduced legislation on March 16, 1971, that would have required support levels at a minimum of 85 percent of parity. Of the bill's 28 sponsors, 1 was a Republican and 28 were Democrats. Three days later, Senator Hubert Humphrey sponsored his own bill seeking a higher parity. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 11a).

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On March 19, 1971, John Whitaker reported to John Ehrlichman that contrary to a previous vote count, Secretary Hardin was convinced there is a 90 percent chance that an 85 percent of parity support bill will be passed by the Congress and that the President should allow himself to be won over to an increase to 85 percent of parity.

(Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 12a, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 24.3).

As the President was subsequently advised, John Ehrlichman, George Shultz, Don Rice, Henry Cashen and John Whitaker met on March 19th with Secretary Hardin and Under Secretary Phil Campbell regarding the entire problem. Their recommendation to the President concerning the scheduled March 23 meeting with dairy leaders was to listen to their arguments and then wait to see if the Democrats could move the bill. Their recommendation was conveyed to the President in a briefing memorandum from John Whitaker concerning the March 23 meeting with dairy leaders. This memo recapitulated the March 12 price support announcement, the status of pending legislation, and briefly noted that the dairy lobby--like organized labor--had decided to spend political money. This memo discussed in much more detail the pressure which was coming from the Congress for higher supports; that the Congress was acting at Speaker Albert's instigation; and that a

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bill for higher supports would probably be passed, thus presenting the President with a very difficult veto situation. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 27.1).

On March 23, 1971, the morning of the dairy meeting, the President called Secretary of the Treasury Connally. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 13b, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 28.2). This is confirmed by Secretary Connally's log (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 13a; Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab. 28.3), and thus a memorandum for the record to the effect that Connally called the President (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 28.4) is incorrect. The primary subject of their brief conversation was an unrelated legislative matter. During the latter part of their conversation, the discussion touched on the fact that the President would be meeting later that morning with a group of dairymen and the potential effect of a support level increase on consumer prices. (Tape recording of the President's statement during telephone conversation between the President and Secretary John Connally, March 23, 1971). While the Secretary's side of the conversation was not recorded, it was later reported in a memorandum for the record that Secretary Connally had suggested that the President announce in the

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meeting that the level would be raised to 85 percent of parity.

(Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 28.4).

Any suggestion that Secretary Connally contacted the President by telephone on March 20 or March 23, 1971, to convey offers of campaign contributions from the milk producers is clearly erroneous, for the logs of both the President and the Secretary show that it was the President who contacted Secretary Connally to discuss various issues and not the reverse. Moreover, the taped conversation confirms the fact that the President did not discuss campaign contributions with the Secretary.

Similarly it has been erroneously suggested by some that Secretary Connally subsequent to March 23, 1971, sought campaign contributions from the dairy producers as a condition precedent to the higher price support. Such an assertion is entirely incorrect and is wholly refuted by the fact that the Secretary advised the President prior to the March 23 meeting to announce the increased price support at that time. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 28.4).

On the morning of March 23, 1971, the President met with 18 dairy representatives in the Cabinet Room of the White House. The

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meeting was also attended by numerous government officials, including OMB Director, George Shultz; Associate Director of OMB, Donald Rice; Assistant to the President, John Ehrlichman; and Deputy Assistants to the President, Henry Cashen and John Whitaker. Representing the Department of Agriculture were Secretary Hardin; Under Secretary Phil Campbell; Assistant Secretaries Clarence Palmby and Richard Lyng; and Deputy Secretary William Galbraith. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 29.2).

Contrary to various allegations, the meeting had been planned and scheduled some months in advance. The President originally invited the dairy leaders over 6 months earlier, during a courtesy telephone call on September 4, 1970, and a courtesy meeting on September 9, 1971. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 14a, 14b). Specific arrangements began in mid-January 1971. The Department of Agriculture obtained a list of the officers and representatives of the major dairy industry groups which was forwarded to the White House by Secretary Hardin on January 26, 1971, with his recommendation that a meeting be scheduled. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 14a). On February 25, 1971, Secretary Hardin was

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informed that the President had approved the meeting and that it had been set for 10:30 a.m. March 23, 1971. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 14c). Thus this meeting was planned and a specific time, date and guest list established at least one month prior to the meeting date, and wholly independent of either of the 1971 price support announcements.

The President opened the meeting by thanking the dairy leaders for their non-partisan support of Administration policies. In this meeting the general problems of the dairy industry were discussed, and in particular the immediate need for higher price supports. No conclusions were reached about the support price, and campaign contributions were not mentioned. (Tape recording of meeting among the President and dairy representatives, March 23, 1971).

With increased pressure from Capitol Hill and following the discussion with the dairymen, the President, met during the afternoon of March 23rd, with seven senior administration officials to explore the situation; Secretary John Connally; Secretary Clifford Hardin, Under Secretary of Agriculture, Phil Campbell; George Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget; John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs; John Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs; and Donald Rice, Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

The meeting opened with Secretary Connally, at the President's request, outlining the situation. He pointed out first that politically the President was going to have to be strong in rural America and that the farmers had many

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problems and that this was one of the few which the President could do anything about; second, that the major dairy groups represented some 100,000 dairymen who were being tapped, labor union style, to amass an enormous amount of money which they were going to use in various Congressional and Senatorial races all over the country to the President's political detriment. Secretary Connally also advised the President twice that he believed a support level increase to be economically sound.

The discussion then centered on the pending legislation which would require a support level increase. The President stated that he believed such a bill would pass. Secretary Hardin expressed the view that a bill forcing an increase was almost certain to pass and told the President that 150 names were on the bill and that Speaker Carl Albert supported it. Secretary Connally stated that Wilbur Mills also supported it and that it would pass the House beyond any question. Secretary Connally said the move would gain liberal support as it would embarrass the President.

A veto was then discussed and ruled out with Secretary Hardin emphasizing that the President would have no alternative but to sign the bill. In addition Secretary Connally stated that on Capitol Hill, the dairymen were arguing that a veto would cost the Republicans the states of Missouri, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Ohio, Kentucky and Iowa in the 1972 election.

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The President then concluded that Congress would pass a bill for higher support levels and that he could not veto it. However, to limit the extent of the price increase and deter any future request by the dairy industry, the President accepted a proposal by Secretary Connally that a promise be sought from the dairymen that they would not seek any further increase in 1972.

Following this decision, it was suggested that the Administration take credit for the increase and at the same time obtain in return the support of Speaker Albert and Congressman Wilbur Mills on other pending legislation. The problem of keeping the decision quiet until Congressmen Albert and Mills could be approached but still obtain the promise from the dairymen not to request an increase in 1972, was then discussed and settled.

At the end of the meeting John Ehrlichman mentioned contacting Charles Colson and Bob Dole and the President outlined who was to contact Speaker Albert and Congressman Mills and that he understood Phil Campbell would contact the dairymen about not seeking an increase in 1972. Six facts thus become clear: (1) the announcement of the decision was to be timed in order that a compromise might be worked out with Speaker Albert and Congressman Mills, not an attempt to obtain campaign contributions, (2) the President's understanding of the plan was that Phil Campbell, not Charles Colson, was to contact the dairymen about obtaining a pledge not to seek an increase in 1972,

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not a pledge of campaign contributions, (3) only a vague and passing reference was made regarding Charles Colson which did not include any statement of why Colson would be contacted or what, if anything, his role would be, (4) the President's chief advisers including agricultural expert, Secretary of Agriculture Hardin, recommended and fully concurred in the decision, (5) based on unanimous advice, the President firmly concluded that the mandatory bill would pass and that for political reasons he could not veto it, and (6) contributions to the President's campaign were not mentioned at all. Thus it is clear, that the President did not raise the milk price support level in 1971 as a result of any suggestion or promise of campaign contributions from the dairy industry.

Moreover, subsequent events clearly demonstrate that the support level was not raised due to a promise of campaign donations. Phil Campbell testified in Executive Session before the Senate Select Committee that he did in fact call Harold Nelson after the meeting and asked him whether the dairymen would refrain from asking for further increases if the Administration raised the support level. Mr. Nelson agreed. Campbell did not tell him of the meeting with the President or discuss any other matter with Mr. Nelson. Nor did he suggest that Nelson not boycott a Republican fund raising dinner. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 21a, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab 32.5).

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Similarly following the meeting of March 23, 1971, the President had no contact with John Ehrlichman at any time prior to a meeting between Ehrlichman and Charles Colson later that day. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab 32.2, Colson HJC 4333, 4334). Nor did the President meet or speak with Charles Colson during that time. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab 30.3, 32.3). The President's telephone conversation with Charles Colson on that date was prior to the afternoon meeting. In any event, Colson testified that the President never discussed with him a two million dollar commitment from the dairymen or any campaign contributions relative to the 1972 campaign. (Colson HJC 4382, 4387).

Charles Colson testified that he didn't know whether or not Ehrlichman told him in their meeting on the afternoon of March 23rd that the support level decision was going to be reversed. In any event, Colson did testify that he did not mention that fact to Chotiner in a subsequent meeting that day. Colson further testified that he undoubtedly told Chotiner, as he had previously, that the dairymen should live up to their commitments regardless of Administration policies. (Colson HJC 4332-34, 4383). Colson's conversation with Chotiner dealt with dinner tickets, not with campaign contributions or pledges. (Colson HJC 4381, 4382). In addition, Colson testified that at no time in his discussions with representatives of AMPI, which also includes Chotiner, did he ever indicate that there was a quid pro quo. (Colson HJC 4384, 4385). In fact, Colson stated that the actions of AMPI's representatives had a negative rather than favorable

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effect. (Colson HJC 4377). Colson's actions were consistent with an earlier instruction from Haldeman telling Colson to be sure the dairymen didn't expect anything in return. (Colson HJC 4317).

In this regard, it is interesting to note that the memoranda regarding the Senate staff interviews with Murray Chotiner curiously do not mention whether Mr. Chotiner was asked the seemingly obvious question of whether Colson, Ehrlichman or anyone had told him that campaign pledges and/or contributions were to be obtained from the dairymen as a quid pro quo for a support increase. Rather Chotiner is reported to have said that at an earlier point Colson told David Parr that there could not be a quid pro quo. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tabs 32.3 and 34.3). Colson's testimony corroborates this. (Colson HJC 4316).

Herbert Kalmbach testified that at a meeting on the night of March 24, 1971, Harold Nelson of AMPI reaffirmed a campaign pledge. (Kalmbach HJC 4763). Kalmbach testified that he was unaware of a pending announcement regarding price supports and thus gave Chotiner and Nelson no information regarding price supports and made no promises or predictions of any kind respecting price supports in the meeting. Nothing was said as to whether anything was to happen if the decision was not changed. (Kalmbach HJC 4907-4910). This is consistent with Mr. Kalmbach's testimony before the Senate Select Committee that he had no understanding with Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Nelson, Chotiner, or anyone that the reaffirmation was being made in any way as a condition of the announcement of the price increase.

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(SSC, Draft of Final Report, Part 2, pp. 470, 471).

On this same point, Mr. Chotiner has stated in sworn testimony that he did not know of the decision to increase support levels until it was publicly announced, that he did not discuss campaign contributions in seeking a support level increase on behalf of the dairymen and that he did not talk to the dairymen in the context of contributions in return for favorable action. (Presidential Presentation, Vol III, Tab 22a, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol 3, Tab 34.3). The Senate Select Committee and other testimony of Harold Nelson, the third participant in the March 24 meeting, also contradicts any misinterpretation of Kalmbach's testimony suggesting that the reaffirmation was to have or did have any effect on the decision to increase the support level. (Presidential Presentation, Vol. III, Tab 23c; Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab 34.2). This misconception is also contradicted by the sworn testimony of David Parr and Marion Harrison (Presidential Presentation, Vol.III, Tabs 23d, 23e). Indeed, while Mr. Kalmbach testified that he reported the reaffirmation to Mr. Ehrlichman at noon the next day, there is no evidence that this fact was communicated to the Department of Agriculture before its announcement of the increase.

It is noteworthy that the Senate Select Committee has offered an explanation for the dairymen's fund raising activities between March 23rd and 25th, 1971. Based on the testimony of Harold Nelson of AMPI, the Senate Select Committee posits that Nelson had learned of the pending announcement of a support level increase and that Nelson hoped to induce

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commitments from other dairy leaders by telling them that the increase was only possible rather than definite. (SSC, Draft of Final Report, Part 2, p. 456). In any event, neither the President nor any member of his Administration or his reelection effort sought or accepted a campaign contribution or pledge in return for any Presidential action favorable or unfavorable.

Finally, there are a few considerations that should be mentioned to complete the record. First, Secretary of Agriculture, Clifford M. Hardin, changed his decision regarding the milk price support level as a result of economic factors and traditional political considerations. In a sworn deposition Secretary Hardin pointed out that some of the purposes of the support program are, among others, to assure adequate supplies of milk and dairy products; encourage development of efficient production units and stabilize the economy of dairy farmers at a level which will provide a fair return for their labor and investment when compared with the things that farmers buy. He also stated that increased costs and other economic factors raised by dairymen, the political pressure which precluded a veto of a bill which would set parity at a minimum of 85 percent and possibly as high as 90 percent, the potential threat of production controls which would decrease the milk supply, and the need for an increased supply of cheese were additional factors that caused him to reevaluate and then change his earlier decision, and that the change was based entirely on a reconsideration of the

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evidence on the basis of the statutory criteria. (Presidential Presentation, Vol III, Tab 24a, Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 3, Tab 35.3).

In this regard, the Commodity Credit Corporation Docket MCP 98a, Amendment 1, which implements the Secretary's decision, states that the change was based on a reevaluation of the dairy situation, giving full recognition to increasing labor, waste disposal, and other costs on dairy farms and to increasing demand for cheese. On April 15, 1971, the General Counsel of the Department of Agriculture approved for legal sufficiency the dockets authorization and advised the Board of Directors of the Commodity Credit Corporation that the determination of the support level necessary to meet the statutory criteria was solely within the discretion of the Secretary. On May 12, 1971, the amendment raising the support level to 85 percent of parity was approved by the Board of Directors. (Presidential Presentation, Vol.III, Tab 24b).

Second, when Mr. Kalmbach was asked by the dairymen in 1972 to intercede on their behalf regarding anti-trust suits by the Justice Department, he, as Associate Finance Chairman, refused, abrogated their outstanding commitment and advised them that their funds were not wanted. (Kalmbach HJC 4777, 4911). Mr. Kalmbach advised Mr. Ehrlichman of this fact and Mr. Ehrlichman indicated he felt it was a good judgment. (Kalmbach HJC 4911). Those anti-trust suits are still proceeding in the courts.

Third, any suggestion that contributions by the dairy industry in early 1971 represented "early money" for the 1972 Presidential campaign

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is totally without merit. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 16). The fact is that the President's campaign received no contributions from the dairymen throughout the first half of 1971, the entire period contemporaneous with the milk price support decisions. It is true that contributions during that period were made to committees associated with the Republican National Committee but not to the President's campaign. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VI, Vol. 2, Tab 26, Vol. 3, Tab 33; SSC Draft of Final Report, Part 2, pp. 244, 245, 423, 457, 458). This fact is reaffirmed by the conclusion of the Senate Select Committee that there is no evidence of any transfer of funds from any RNC Committee to the President's re-election organizations in 1971. Specifically with regard to contributions by one of the dairy trusts, ADEPT, the Senate Committee concluded that there is no evidence that any portion of the money benefitted the President's re-election campaign. (SSC Draft of Final Report, Part 2, pp. 422, 527).

In the mass of information presented to this Committee there is not a scintilla of evidence to demonstrate that any action was taken by the President because of any campaign contributions or pledges of contributions made by the dairymen to the President's re-election campaign. Nor is there any testimony by anyone that Administration or re-election officials sought or accepted contributions or pledges in return for any official act. To the contrary, when a dairymen's representative implied such an overture, one Administration official went so far as to consider referral of

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the suggestion to the Department of Justice. The President's only action having favorable consequences for the dairymen was set forth in the tape of the afternoon meeting of March 23, 1971. That tape proves (1) that contributions or pledges to the President's re-election campaign were not discussed nor were they a condition of any Presidential action, (2) that the President did not direct or approve the contacting of Charles Colson or any other person for the purpose of seeking or obtaining any contributions or pledges and (3) that the President was advised and specifically concluded, as he has stated, that Congress would pass a mandatory increase and that for political reasons he could not veto it. To consider the President's decision in raising price supports improper because campaign contributions were subsequently made by various entities affected by the decision would require the President and all other elected officials who may ever run for re-election to either forego contributions or abstain from making decisions that are the Constitutional and statutory responsibilities of their office.

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V. IRSA. There Has Been No Evidence Presented That The President Misused The Internal Revenue Service

All of the materials dealing with the alleged misuse of the Internal Revenue Service by this Administration emphasize the one fundamental point that the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) was not, in fact, misused. The various materials, testimony, and reports of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, and the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation demonstrate and affirm this fact. The evidence consists of memos that claim that someone at the White House asked someone at the IRS to do something that might harass some individual or organization. Nevertheless, the overriding fact remains that these suggestions were not carried out.

On December 20, 1973, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation's staff issued a report, Investigation Into Certain Charges Of The Use Of The Internal Revenue Service For Political Purposes, 93rd Congress, 1st Sess. (December 20, 1973) (hereinafter cited JCR followed by a page number). That committee investigation was based on charges made by Mr. John Dean during the public

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hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities in late June of 1973. According to the Joint Committee's report:

He [Mr. Dean] made several allegations that individuals in the White House attempted to use the Internal Revenue Service for partisan political purposes. Dean alleged that he was asked to stimulate audits on several "political opponents" of the White House and to "do something" about audits that were being performed on friends of President Nixon who felt that they were being harassed by the IRS. In addition, Dean revealed the existence of a special group within the Internal Revenue Service to collect information about extremist individuals and organizations. Since Dean's testimony, there have been several newspaper articles making similar accusations about the IRS. (JCR 1) (emphasis added).

There are two key points to be emphasized in Mr. Dean's basic allegations. First, it is claimed that several individuals in the White House attempted to misuse the IRS for partisan political purposes. It is clear that such an alleged misuse could only succeed if it were supported by the power and authority of the President. On looking at all the evidence available, it is clear that the President took no action to accomplish this objective.

One of the President's most basic functions in relation to the IRS is the appointment of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and

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his superior, the Secretary of the Treasury. During his time in office President Nixon appointed three highly "principled"^{15/} Commissioners of the highest integrity and capability. No one, in all the hearings, allegations, or even newspaper leaks has ever suggested anything to the contrary. The Commissioners were all men of stature and independence. Under these presidential appointments the record of the IRS for fair non-partisan enforcement of the tax laws was exemplary. The records of the Administration's four Secretaries of the Treasury in relation to their responsibilities is equally commendable. Thus, the record reveals a President who has appointed independent Commissioners of Internal Revenue and who has in no way prevented them from resisting any improper political pressure. Concerning the allegation of IRS misuse, the ultimate fact is that the President's appointees did, in fact, resist any improper suggestions for the use or misuse of the agency.

The staff report of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, in going beyond the evidence of "memos" and allegations, tells an important story. When Dean turned over his "enemies" list to Commissioner Johnnie Walters of the IRS on September 11, 1972

^{15/} A characterization in an article critical of the White House relationship with the IRS. Bob Kuttner, "The Taxing Trials of I.R.S.," The New York Times Magazine, January 6, 1974 at p. 64.

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(JCR 3), four days before Dean's meeting with the President on September 15, 1972, Dean asserted "it [the request] doesn't come from the President." (Dean HJC 3697). Most importantly, Dean's request did not result in any political harassment of the individuals on the list. As the report put it:

The staff's investigation paid particular attention to the cases of those individuals mentioned in the press as victims of politically motivated audits. The Joint Committee staff has difficulty in discussing these cases specifically because of the problem this would present in violating the individuals' rights of confidentiality. However, in none of these cases has the staff found any evidence that the taxpayer was unfairly treated by the Internal Revenue Service because of political views or activities. If the staff were freed from restraint as to disclosure of information, it believes the information it has would indicate that these taxpayers were treated in the same manner as taxpayers generally. (JRC 12) (emphasis added).

This conclusion is further supported by the House Judiciary Committee's materials. Commissioner Walters stated in his Affidavit of May 6, 1974, with respect to the list furnished him by Dean:

At no time did I furnish any name or names from the list to anyone, nor did I request any IRS employee or official to take any action with respect to the list.

I removed the list from the safe when I left IRS and thereafter personally kept it in the sealed envelope and locked in my present office. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tab. 22.1, pp. 240-241).

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The absurdity of the charges of Presidential misuse of the IRS against "enemies" is further highlighted by an illustration revealed in the Joint Committee's report when in discussing the audit of Robert W. Greene, a reporter for Newsday, it stated:

In this case, Dean stated that John Caulfield had initiated an audit with an informant's letter. According to statements made by Greene, however, his return was not audited by the Internal Revenue Service but rather by New York State under the Federal/State exchange program. The staff has talked with Mr. Greene, the New York revenue agent who audited Greene's State return, and other people in the New York State Department of Taxation and, as a result, believes that his audit by New York State was unrelated to his being classified as a White House enemy. (JRC 12).

The second key point to be emphasized in Dean's original charges concerns the alleged desire of the White House to "do something about audits that were being performed on friends of President Nixon who felt that they were being harassed by the IRS." (JCR 1) On the face of the statement, there is nothing improper for either the President or any other citizen to be concerned about any other citizen's charge of harassment by a government agency. The President, in fact, has a mandate to prevent such harassment. However, even if we were to assume that this concern, supposedly expressed to Mr. Dean, through

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Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Higby, or the President, in some manner,^{16/} somehow acquires a sinister implication, the actions do not support that implication. The Joint Committee staff report found:

Statements have also been made that on occasion names on the sensitive case list have been seen by those on the White House staff and that requests have been made not to harass or otherwise bear down too hard on cases involving "friends." It is clear from information available that in 2 or 3 of the cases such requests were made by White House personnel. In one case, to demonstrate that there was no harassment, a special study was made by the Internal Revenue Service to show that the returns of others in the same industry were given at least as much attention as was the return of the taxpayer in question. In another case, it is clear that there was a communication from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to a District Director and to the agent working on the return regarding a "friend's" return. On the other hand, in the case of one "friend" an indictment has been obtained, and in another case the audit is continuing. In another situation, the Government did not prosecute a case involving a prominent "friend." Questions may be raised as to whether this was the appropriate action.

^{16/} There appears to be a major discrepancy in Dean's testimony concerning the time sequence on this matter. The Caulfield memo to Dean on Billy Graham was dated September 30, 1971. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tab 11.1, p. 147). Yet Dean claims the presidential request occurred during the September 15, 1972, presidential meeting, one year later. (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tab 11.3, pp. 153-154).

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In reviewing the returns, the staff finds it difficult to "second-guess" the agents who were actually performing the audits. The Staff believes that in three cases there are substantial questions about decisions made by governmental agencies about friends of the White House, but the staff does not have evidence that there was any pressure involved. With the approval of the committee, the staff has requested the IRS to reexamine these cases and to present analyses showing why it believes further action should, or should not, be taken.

While the staff is not as yet satisfied as to some of the cases involving "friends," the staff also believes that a number of "enemies" either were not audited when the staff believes they should have been or were audited too leniently. (JCR 13) (emphasis added).

Thus, there are absolutely no facts to substantiate any charge that the President in any way misused or directed the misuse of the IRS to either harm his "enemies" or to benefit his "friends."

What becomes quite obvious when reviewing the House Judiciary Committee's exhibits is the fact that John Dean was the key actor and, instigator of any apparent efforts to improperly utilize the IRS that did occur in the Nixon Administration. In terms of actually achieving any improper influence, Dean's efforts (mainly carried out through the assistance of Mr. John Caulfield) seem to have achieved nothing.

The thrust of the alleged abuses involved minimal efforts of a very preliminary nature: a suggestion memo (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tabs 5, 18, and 19), a preliminary investigation

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(Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tabs 6, 10, and 15), or a proposed action (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tabs 3, 7, 8, 9, 13 and 16). The only improperly motivated efforts that did occur involved memos from one party to another party urging that something happen. However, a review of all the facts reveals that nothing ever did happen.

In his testimony before the House Judiciary Committee Dean noted that "He [the President] made some rather specific comments to me, which in turn resulted in me going back to [Commissioner] Walters again." (Dean JHC 3523). This testimony implies that the President was attempting to have McGovern campaign supporters on the "enemies" list audited by the IRS, and was attempting to direct Dean to do this. Yet in response to a question by Congressman Railsback: "[a]nd the extent of the President's knowledge about the requested audits?" (Dean HJC 3694) Dean stated:

Mr. Dean. Well, I can't tell you what prompted the discussion of the audit. I can only recall that that launches the President into a -- into an extended discussion about the situation and about the Internal Revenue Service and not using it effectively and from there we immediately went to the fact that we were not using the entire apparatus of the government effectively and the changes that would be made after the election. (Dean HJC 3694).

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Thus, Dean could not say what actually prompted the President's discussion of the IRS matter and Dean also never testified as to content of the President's comments. Dean admits, however, that in the September 11, 1972 meeting with Commissioner Walters he asserted "it [the request] doesn't come from the President," (Dean HJC 3696) and in fact he has also admitted that at the time of the September 11, 1972 meeting he had no personal knowledge of the President's involvement in this matter. (Dean HJC 3696-3697). Yet after all this he implies that the President made some specific comments to him on September 15, 1972, resulting in Mr. Dean renewing his request to Commissioner Walters.

The fact of the matter is that when Dean returned to Commissioner Walters on September 25, he, according to Commissioner Walters, "inquired as to what progress I had made with respect to the list. I told him that no progress had been made." (Special Staff Presentation, Bk. VIII, Tab 26.1, p. 354). Thus, Dean pursued this topic where he had left it on September 11, 1972, before any alleged comments by the President on September 15, 1972. There is no evidence that this request was somehow a newly motivated one resulting from the meeting with the President. Quite the contrary, it was obviously a continuation

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of Dean's admitted efforts, prior to the Presidential conversation of September 15, 1972. When Congressman Railsback inquired as to what happened then and what did the President do as a result of the Dean "failure," Mr. Dean's response was:

Mr. Dean. Well, I have got to be very candid. I was happy it had been turned off. I didn't like it, and I didn't do anything more. I got continual -- one of Mr. Ehrlichman's staff assistants, Mr. Hullin, continued to call me and ask me about it. And I think, I gather from a conversation I had with Mr. Walters that he had also called Mr. Walters and Mr. Walters was a little annoyed about it, but they kept resisting and resisting, so I don't know if the President got back in it or not or I don't know of any audits that were accomplished. (Dean HJC 3696) (emphasis added).

Thus, Dean's claims of presidential direction in Dean's efforts to misuse the IRS are contradicted by the sequence of events that point to no presidential involvement, or interest in this matter. In any event, whatever it was the President said, the crucial fact is that nothing ever happened.

In conclusion, what the record clearly shows is that while some personnel at the White House may indeed have had improper intentions about what the IRS should do, and may in fact, have communicated such intentions to their colleagues at the White House or to some individuals at the IRS, no abuse of the IRS ever occurred resulting from presidential action. No action by the IRS resulted. No involvement of the President has ever been shown to be likely, let alone probable.

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VI. CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons and in light of the complete absence of any conclusive evidence demonstrating Presidential wrongdoing sufficient to justify the grave action of impeachment, the Committee must conclude that a recommendation of impeachment is not justified.

Respectfully submitted,

Office of Special Counsel
To the President

NOTE: Copies of the brief were made available by the White House Press Office at San Clemente, Calif., and Washington, D.C.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

July 21

The President went by helicopter to Bel Air, Calif., to attend a dinner in his honor at the home of Roy L. Ash, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. He then returned to San Clemente.

July 23

The President met at the Western White House with a group of economists and business, financial, and labor leaders.

July 24

The President sent a personal message to Greek Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis congratulating him on the assumption of his new responsibilities and expressing the full support of the United States Government in the effort to reestablish peace on Cyprus and within the Alliance. The President also stated that he is looking forward to close and friendly relations with the new leader of Greek democracy.

July 25

The President announced the designation of Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton to be his Personal Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, at ceremonies marking the 1100th anniversary of the settle-

ment of Iceland to be held in Thingvellir and Reykjavik from July 27 to 30.

The President announced the designation of a delegation to represent him at inaugural ceremonies for Alfonso López Michelsen as President of Colombia in Bogota on August 6 and 7. The members of the delegation are: Viron P. Vaky, U.S. Ambassador to Colombia, as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador; Vernon D. McAninch, U.S. Consul General in Bogota; and Donald A. Johnston, U.S. Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs-designate.

The President today accepted, with deep gratitude for her contributions to the Nation's foreign policy, the resignation of Eileen R. Donovan as Ambassador to Barbados and as U.S. Special Representative to the States of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent.

The President today accepted, with special gratitude for his contributions to the Nation's foreign policy, the resignation of Fred L. Hadsel as Ambassador to Ghana.

The President today accepted, with deep gratitude for his contributions to the conduct of the Nation's foreign policy, the resignation of Richard W. Murphy as Ambassador to Mauritania.

July 26

The President met at the Western White House with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The President met at the Western White House with Herbert G. Klein, former Director of Communications for the Executive Branch.

Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget met with the President at the Western White House to discuss proposals for the fiscal 1976 budget.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved July 23, 1974

H.R. 11385..... Public Law 93-353
Health Services Research, Health Statistics,
and Medical Libraries Act of 1974.

S. 2830..... Public Law 93-354
National Diabetes Mellitus Research and
Education Act.

S. 2893..... Public Law 93-352
An act to amend the Public Health Service
Act to improve the national cancer pro-
gram and to authorize appropriations for
such program for the next three fiscal
years.

Approved July 25, 1974

H.R. 7824..... Public Law 93-355
Legal Services Corporation Act of 1974.

H.R. 11143..... Public Law 93-358
An act to provide for fiscal year 1975 and
succeeding fiscal years for the Committee
for Purchase of Products and Services of
the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped,
and for other purposes.

S. 724..... Private Law 93-84
An act for the relief of Marcos Rojas
Rodriguez.

S. 1803..... Public Law 93-359
An act to authorize the waiver of claims of
the United States arising out of erroneous
payments of pay and allowances to certain
officers and employees of the legislative
branch.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved July 25, 1974—Continued

S. 3311..... Public Law 93-356
An act to provide for the use of simplified
procedures in the procurement of property
and services by the Government where the
amount involved does not exceed \$10,000.
S. 3679..... Public Law 93-357
Emergency Livestock Credit Act of 1974.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released July 20, 1974

News conference: on the House Judiciary
Committee proceedings—by Dean Burch,
Counsellor to the President

Released July 23, 1974

News conference: on the President's meet-
ing with economists and business, finan-
cial and labor leaders—by Kenneth Rush,
Counsellor to the President for Economic
Policy, and Alan Greenspan, Chairman-
designate, Council of Economic Advisers

News conference: on Representative Law-
rence J. Hogan's decision concerning im-
peachment—by Dean Burch, Counsellor to
the President

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released July 25, 1974

Advance text: address to the Nation on the
fight against inflation

Released July 26, 1974

News conference: following their meeting
with the President—by Hans-Dietrich
Genscher, Foreign Minister, Federal Re-
public of Germany, and Dr. Henry A.
Kissinger, Secretary of State

News conference: following his meeting with
the President—by Roy L. Ash, Director,
Office of Management and Budget

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include pro-
motions of members of the Uniformed Ser-
vices, nominations to the Service Academies,
or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted July 22, 1974

JAMES E. DOW, of Virginia, to be Deputy Ad-
ministrator of the Federal Aviation Ad-
ministration, vice Kenneth M. Smith,
resigned.

Submitted July 24, 1974

ALAN GREENSPAN, of New York, to be a mem-
ber of the Council of Economic Advisers,
vice Herbert Stein.

Editor's Note

Note Concerning the Closing Time of This Issue

The President was in San Clemente, Calif., at the cut-
off time of this issue. Releases issued there but not received
in time for inclusion in the issue will be printed next week.

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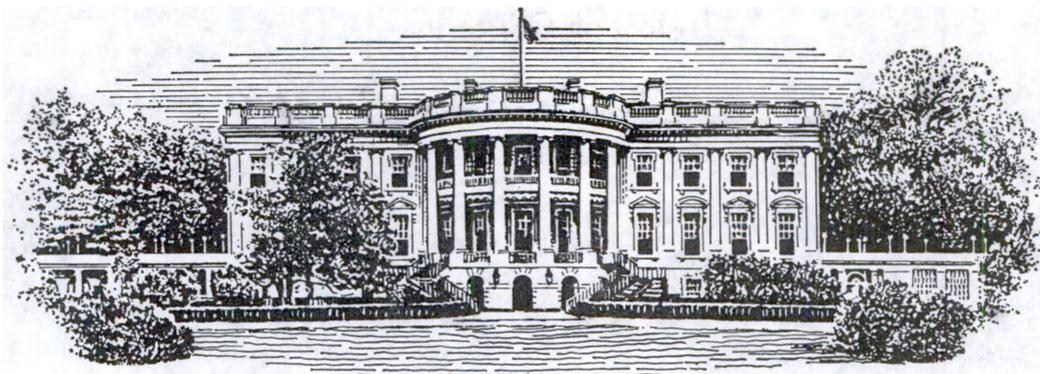
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, August 5, 1974



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of Michigan
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AUG 19 1974

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Administration of Richard Nixon

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, August 3, 1974

Presidential Medal of Freedom for Dr. Charles LeRoy Lowman

The President's Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal to Dr. Lowman in a Ceremony at the Western White House, With Dr. Lowman's Response. July 27, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, we are gathered here today for the purpose of presenting the Medal of Freedom to Dr. Charles Lowman. I shall read a citation in just a moment, but it is very difficult on such an occasion like this not to mention the distinguished career of this very distinguished Californian and distinguished American without going into a little more length than the citation itself.

First, he is 94 years of age and in magnificent health, as you can see. Second, in his 94 years, he has been eminently successful as a doctor, but he has devoted most of his time in that 94 years helping other people, free of charge. He is particularly known for his work in orthopedics and, in that field, especially known for his work with young people.

There are thousands and thousands of children, for example, today in California and in other parts of this Nation who are walking who otherwise would be crippled except for Dr. Lowman. There are thousands and thousands of adults who are standing straighter, feeling better, who do not suffer from the various ailments involved in this kind of medicine because of Dr. Lowman's hard work and also his real genius.

He is, as we know, a distinguished man in his field. He will be remembered by his colleagues for what he has written, for what he has said, for what he has done, for his great technical skill. But he will be remembered by those he has helped and, I think, by his fellow Americans by the millions, because he has a great heart. He is a very fine human being, generous with his time, concerned about those less fortunate than he is, and it is this kind of man

who deserves the Medal of Freedom, the highest recognition that our Government can give to an individual who is not in the Armed Forces of the United States.

I will now read the citation, and we will present the Medal of Freedom.

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AWARDS THIS
PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
TO
CHARLES LEROY LOWMAN, M.D.

A pioneer in medicine, a physician of surpassing skill, and a great humanitarian, Dr. Charles LeRoy Lowman has devoted his life to the service of his fellow man. His good works have enriched the lives of thousands of patients, but none more so than the generations of handicapped children who have been treated at the hospital that he founded in Los Angeles early in this century. The world will long be indebted to this distinguished and noble American.]

DR. LOWMAN. Mr. President, I can't thank you enough. This is probably the crowning achievement of my life, and we shall always remember it. I can't help but feel that in honoring me, you are realizing the background at the Orthopedic Hospital, and all the hundreds who have been my helpers are the ones who are responsible for much of the results of what we have attained today.

We started in with about \$500 and 509 patients, and we moved into an old stable at the Orthopedic Hospital, and we stayed in that stable and held a clinic up until 1929. And we registered, to start with, 509 patients, and I checked the other day and there are pretty close to 207,000 in the Orthopedic Hospital, to say nothing of all the private cases that I have had.

Of course, at my age, I am getting many cases that are 40 and 50 years of followups, which you have to live quite a while to get the types of people I have had.

The most important thing that I call the payoff is the fact that these people, who many of them are adults, that I took care of when they were babies and made them walk again, club-footed children, and then when I realize what they are accomplishing—they are not on the welfare rolls and they are holding down good jobs and having

families and one thing and another, and that is what I call the payoff.

No amount of money can ever give you the satisfaction that that does.

I want to thank you again very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:27 a.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

National Heart and Lung Advisory Council

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Council's First Annual Report.
July 29, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith transmit the First Annual Report of the National Heart and Lung Advisory Council, prepared in accordance with the requirement of Public Law 92-423, the "National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung, and Blood Act of 1972."

It should be noted that funds for the Heart and Lung Institute have been increased greatly in recent years: from \$195 million in 1971 to \$286 million in 1974, to \$309 million proposed for 1975. In short, the Administration's actions on the heart and lung program clearly identify it as an area of very high priority.

While there are recommendations in the Council's report that are at variance with the Administration's views, the Council's Report merits serious consideration and will be closely studied and evaluated. I am forwarding the report so that the Congress may also have it available for its deliberations.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 29, 1974.

NOTE: The report entitled "National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung, and Blood Program—First Annual Report of the National Heart and Lung Advisory Council" was published by the the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

International Maritime Traffic Convention

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting for Advice and Consent to Acceptance an Amended Text to Article VII of the Convention. July 29, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to its acceptance, a copy of an amended text

to Article VII of the Convention on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic, 1965. The amended text was adopted at a brief special conference in London in November 1973 and has been referred to the Contracting Governments for their acceptance. The report of the Department of State concerning the amended text is also transmitted for the information of the Senate.

The purpose of the amended text is to provide a "tacit amendment" procedure for approving changes in the Annex to the Convention. That Annex sets forth the implementing standards and recommended practices for simplifying and making as uniform as possible the documentary and other formalities required of ships on arriving at or clearing ports. These formalities relate to customs, immigration, public health and other requirements imposed on vessels engaged in international voyages.

I recommended that the Senate advise and consent to acceptance of the amended text, which is intended to expedite the making of desirable changes in the agreed formalities.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 29, 1974.

Department of Justice

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Antonin M. Scalia To Be Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel. July 30, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Antonin M. Scalia, of Alexandria, Va., to be Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel. He succeeds Robert G. Dixon, Jr. Since 1972, Mr. Scalia has been Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States.

Mr. Scalia was born on March 11, 1936, in Trenton, N.J. He attended Georgetown University from 1953 to 1957 when he received his B.A. degree summa cum laude. He attended Harvard University Law School from 1957 to 1960 when he received his LL.B. degree magna cum laude. He was admitted to the Ohio State Bar in 1962 and to the Virginia State Bar in 1970.

From 1961 to 1967, Mr. Scalia practiced law with the firm of Jones, Day, Cockley and Reavis in Cleveland, Ohio. Since 1967, he has been a professor at the University of Virginia Law School in Charlottesville. From 1971 to 1972, he was General Counsel of the Office of Telecommunications Policy in Washington, D.C., before assuming his present position as Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States.

Mr. Scalia and his wife Maureen have seven children. They reside in Alexandria, Va.

United States Ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Richard W. Murphy. July 30, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard W. Murphy, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic. The United States resumed diplomatic relations with the Syrian Arab Republic on June 16, 1974.

Ambassador Murphy, a career Foreign Service officer, has served since 1971 as Ambassador to Mauritania after serving from 1970 to 1971 as Country Director, Office of Arab Peninsula Affairs. From 1966 to 1968, he was a Political Officer in Amman, and from 1968 to 1970 he was Personnel Placement Officer and Assistant Executive Director for Personnel in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

He was born on July 29, 1929, in Boston, Mass. Ambassador Murphy received his B.A. degree in 1951 from Harvard University and A.B. in 1953 from Cambridge University and, from 1956 to 1958, attended Johns Hopkins University and the Foreign Service Institute for Arabic language and area training. After serving in the U.S. Army from 1953 to 1955, he was appointed Consular and Administrative Officer in Salisbury. From 1960 to 1963, he was an Economic Officer in Aleppo, and from 1963 to 1966 he was a Political Officer in Jidda. He received the Department of State's Superior Honor Award in 1968 and is fluent in Arabic and French.

Ambassador Murphy is married to the former Anne Cook, and they have three children, Katherine, Elizabeth, and Richard.

Agreement on Cyprus

White House Statement Following the Signing of an Agreement Providing for a Cease-Fire and Negotiations. July 30, 1974

The United States welcomes the announcement in Geneva of the agreement reached by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey. We consider this an important step towards the restoration of peace and stability in Cyprus.

We commend the intensive and patient efforts of the three governments concerned which brought about this achievement. In particular, we wish to pay tribute to the skill and persistence of Mr. Callaghan, the Minister of State of Great Britain, who, as leader of the conference, deserves great credit for its success and to the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey.

NOTE: The statement was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Richard W. Velde To Be Administrator. July 31, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard W. Velde, of Arlington, Va., to be Administrator of Law Enforcement Assistance. He will succeed Donald E. Santarelli. Since August 1973, Mr. Velde has served as Deputy Administrator for Policy Development of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

He was born on December 12, 1931, in Moline, Ill. Mr. Velde received his B.S. degree from Bradley University, and M.A. and J.D. degrees from George Washington University. He served as an officer in the U.S. Air Force from 1953 to 1958.

From 1958 to 1960, he was legislative assistant to Congressman Robert Michel of Illinois. In 1961, he entered the private practice of law in Washington, D.C. In 1965, Mr. Velde became minority counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency before his appointment as an Associate Administrator of Law Enforcement Assistance in 1969.

Mr. Velde is married and has two sons.

Regulation of Exports

Executive Order 11796. Dated July 30, 1974. Released July 31, 1974

CONTINUING THE REGULATION OF EXPORTS

By virtue of the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended (12 U.S.C. 95a), and in view of the continued existence of the national emergencies declared by Proclamation No. 2914 of December 16, 1950, and Proclamation No. 4074 of August 15, 1971, and the importance of continuing (a) to exercise the necessary vigilance over exports from the standpoint of their significance to the national security of the United States; (b) to further significantly the foreign policy of the United States and to aid in fulfilling its international responsibilities; and (c) to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand, it is hereby ordered:

SECTION 1. Notwithstanding the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1969, as amended, the provisions for administration of that act contained in

Executive Order 11533 of June 4, 1970 as continued in effect by Executive Order 11683 of August 29, 1972, shall continue in full force and effect and shall authorize the exercise and administration of export controls, under the authority vested in me as President of the United States by section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended (12 U.S.C. 95a).

SEC. 2. Except to the extent another basis is provided in the second sentence of section 3 of this order, all rules and regulations issued by the Secretary of Commerce, published in title 15, chapter III, subchapter B of the Code of Federal Regulations, parts 368 to 399 inclusive, and all orders, regulations, licenses and other forms of administrative action issued or taken pursuant thereto, shall until amended or revoked by the Secretary of Commerce, remain in full force and effect, the same as if issued or taken pursuant to this order, except that the maximum fine which may be imposed under part 387.1(a)(1) shall not exceed \$10,000 and that the civil penalty provided for under part 387.1(b)(3) will not be applicable to any violation of the regulations under this order.

SEC. 3. The delegations of authority in this order shall not affect the authority of any agency or official pursuant to any other delegation of Presidential authority, presently in effect or hereafter made, under section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended. Those regulations issued under the Export Control Act of 1949, as amended, to implement foreign policy set forth in Executive Orders Nos. 11322 of January 5, 1967 and 11419 of July 29, 1968, shall until amended or revoked by the Secretary of Commerce continue to apply as regulations issued under such orders.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 30, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:47 p.m.,
July 31, 1974]

Report on Federal Facilities in Rural Areas

Executive Order 11797. July 31, 1974

DELEGATING TO THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE THE FUNCTION OF SUBMITTING AN ANNUAL REPORT TO THE CONGRESS CONCERNING THE LOCATION OF NEW FEDERAL FACILITIES IN RURAL AREAS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 901(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1970 (84 Stat. 1383) (as amended by section 601 of the Rural Development Act of 1972 (86 Stat. 674; Public Law 92-419)) and

by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to exercise the authority vested in the President by section 901(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1970, as amended, in all matters relating to reporting criteria and the preparation and submission of annual reports to the Congress concerning the location of new Federal facilities in rural areas, without approval, ratification, or other action by the President. Departments and agencies shall cooperate with the Secretary of Agriculture in the preparation of the annual reports required by section 901(b), as amended.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
July 31, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:48 p.m.,
July 31, 1974]

National Forest Products Week, 1974

Proclamation 4305. July 31, 1974

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

During the decades ahead, as our population continues to grow and we continue to maintain our high standard of living, demands for wood products will increase dramatically.

We can meet those demands. In contrast to the specter of shrinking energy and mineral resources, supplies of timber can be increased. It takes millions of years for the earth to create just one drop of oil or an ounce of metal ore. But foresters can plant seedlings today that will grow into harvestable trees in 10 to 40 years.

Timber is one of the few renewable resources, with the added advantages of being disposable, recyclable, inexpensive, durable, and plentiful. Under intensive management, our forests can produce more than twice the volume of timber being grown today.

Improving our knowledge of the growth, harvesting, and use of wood will require the continued cooperation of Federal and State forestry programs, the forest products industry, private forest landowners, and all who care about the conservation and prudent use of our forest resources. I am confident that as a result of this cooperative effort, wood and forest products will remain readily available at reasonable cost to the American public.

In order to give further recognition and emphasis to the importance of forest resources and forest products to the Nation, the Congress has by a joint resolution of September 13, 1960 (74 Stat. 898) designated the seven-day period beginning on the third Sunday of October in each year as National Forest Products Week, and has requested the President to issue an annual proclamation calling for the observance of that week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby call upon the people of the United States to observe the week beginning October 20, 1974, as National Forest Products Week, with activities and ceremonies designed to direct public attention toward and demonstrate our gratitude for the forest resources with which we have been so abundantly blessed and for their contributions to our material, emotional, and spiritual well-being.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:48 p.m., July 31, 1974]

World Weather Program

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the 1975 Plan for United States Participation in the Program. August 1, 1974

To the Congress of The United States:

A well-known maxim says, "Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it."

The maxim is no longer valid. We are confident that the knowledge of weather we are gaining through studies and experiments carried out under the World Weather Program will give man the understanding, tools and techniques necessary to cope with his atmosphere.

We are continuing to make substantial progress in furthering the goals of this program. These goals are:

- To extend the time, range and scope of weather predictions;
- To assess the impact of atmospheric pollution on environmental quality;
- To study the feasibility and the consequences of weather modification;
- To encourage international cooperation in meeting the meteorological needs of all nations.

The United States will soon begin continuous viewing of storms over much of the earth's surface through the use of two geostationary satellites. These satellites will also relay information from remote observing stations, thereby strengthening our ability to warn of potential natural disasters.

In cooperation with other nations, we expect soon to make five such satellites operational.

Immediate gains in weather predicting are also being made through increased computer power. This increased

computer use will also in time produce long-term gains in both immediate and extended range prediction of global weather conditions and in the assessment of the impact of man's activities upon climate and weather.

During June through September this year a major international experiment will be conducted in the tropical Atlantic. This experiment is expected to provide new information on the origin of tropical storms and hurricanes, and the effects of these storms on global circulation.

In accordance with Senate Concurrent Resolution 67 of the 90th Congress, I am pleased to transmit this annual report describing the current and planned activities of Federal agencies participating in the World Weather Program.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 1, 1974.

NOTE: The report is entitled "World Weather Program, Plan for Fiscal Year 1975" (Government Printing Office, 57 pp.).

Urban Transportation Policies and Activities

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Departments of Transportation and of Housing and Urban Development. August 1, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

The promotion of desirable community development and flexibility in urban transportation policies are principal goals of this Administration.

It is clear that in order to promote the orderly development of urban areas according to local priorities, our efforts should be focused on measures which better integrate and coordinate all modes of transportation in urban areas with other physical and social programs. Moreover, State and local governments should be given greater participation in major decisions in the use of Federal programs affecting community development.

I am pleased to submit to the Congress this report which summarizes the many ways in which the executive branch of the Federal Government is working to effect significant improvements toward that end.

The report was prepared jointly by the Departments of Transportation and of Housing and Urban Development as required by section 4(g) of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966. In particular, it documents the cooperative efforts on legislative proposals, policies and activities that are being taken by this Administration to assure that urban transportation systems most effectively

serve both national transportation needs and the development policies of individual urban areas.

I commend this report to the attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 1, 1974.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Report to the Congress of the United States on Urban Transportation Policies and Activities" (40 pp.).

White House Fellows

Announcement of Opening of 11th Annual Program. August 1, 1974

The President today announced the start of the 11th nationwide search for outstanding men and women to serve as 1975-76 White House Fellows.

Established in 1964, the White House Fellowships program is designed to give rising leaders one year of first-hand, high-level experience with the workings of the Federal Government and to increase their sense of participation in national affairs. The program is open to U.S. citizens from all fields who are no less than 23 and no more than 35 years of age. Employees of the executive branch of the Federal Government are not eligible, with the exception of career military personnel.

Members of the ninth group of White House Fellows are completing their year-long assignments. A 10th group, the 1974-1975 White House Fellows, will begin their duties next month.

In addition to their job assignments with Cabinet Members and White House Staff members, the Fellows participate in an education program that includes formal discussions with top government officials, scholars and journalists, and leaders from other segments of private life. The 169 young men and women who have, to date, been selected as White House Fellows have included lawyers, scientists, engineers, corporate business executives, and independent entrepreneurs, scholars, and academic administrators, writers, and journalists, medical doctors, social workers, architects, and local public officials.

Leadership, intellectual and professional ability, and a commitment to community and nation are the broad criteria employed in the selection process.

Applications for next year's program will be accepted until December 2, 1974. Application forms and additional information can be obtained from the President's Commission on White House Fellowships, Washington, D.C. 20415.

Cost of Living Task Force

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation To Establish the Task Force. August 2, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

Earlier this year, before the expiration of the legislation authorizing the Cost of Living Council, I proposed to the Congress that a residual group within the Executive Office of the President be authorized to monitor wages and prices, as an on-going part of our fight against inflation. The Congress did not act on this proposal.

In my economic address on May 25 of this year, I called for the establishment of a Cost of Living Task Force to monitor wages and prices. Again, no Congressional authorization was forthcoming. While I continue to oppose mandatory wage and price controls, it is essential that wages and prices be carefully watched, that labor and management be constantly aware of public concern in this area, and that Government have the information it needs to persuade labor and management to do their duty in the effort to reduce inflation. We have carried out this monitoring function as best we can with our existing resources, under the leadership of my Counsellor for Economic Policy, Kenneth Rush. The need for a properly authorized group continues, however, and it now appears that many Members of the Congress are prepared to reconsider their earlier opposition to my proposal for such a group. A senate spokesman for the majority party of the Congress is now advocating such a proposal.

Therefore, I am today transmitting a legislative proposal to establish a Cost of Living Task Force. I invite all those who have come to see the need for this proposal to join as bipartisan co-sponsors in this vital step in our fight against inflation.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 2, 1974.

Department of State

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Philip C. Habib To Be Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. August 2, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Philip C. Habib, of California, to be Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. He succeeds Robert S. Ingersoll who is now Deputy Secretary of State.

Ambassador Habib, a career Foreign Service officer, has served since 1971 as Ambassador to Korea after serving from 1969 to 1971 as Senior Adviser, with the personal rank of Ambassador, to the United States delegation at the Paris meetings on Vietnam. In 1967 he was a Political Officer, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and from 1967 to 1969 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

He was born on February 25, 1920, in Brooklyn, N.Y. Ambassador Habib received his B.S. in 1942 from the University of Idaho. In 1945 he attended the University of Paris and in 1952 received a Ph. D. from the University of California. After serving in the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1946, he became a teaching assistant at the University of California in 1947. While serving as a career Foreign Service officer, he was an Assistant Agricultural Attaché, an Economic Analyst, and in 1960 to 1961, he served as the Officer-in-Charge for Under-Developed Areas in the Office of the Under Secretary's Special Assistant for Communist Economic Affairs.

Ambassador Habib is married to the former Marjorie W. Slightam and they have two children, Phyllis and Susan.

Administrative Conference of the United States

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Robert Armstrong Anthony To Be Chairman of the Conference. August 2, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Armstrong Anthony, of Ithaca, N.Y., to be Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States. He succeeds Antonin Scalia who has been nominated to be Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel.

He was born on December 28, 1931, in Washington, D.C. Mr. Anthony received his B.A. from Yale University in 1953 and B.A. Juris from Oxford in 1955. In 1957 he was awarded his J.D. from Stanford University and was admitted to the practice of law in California in that same year. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1971 and the District of Columbia Bar in 1972. He was a Rhodes Scholar from 1953 to 1955 and editor of the Stanford Law Review from 1956 to 1957.

Mr. Anthony currently is professor of law at Cornell University School Law in Ithaca, N.Y. In 1958 he entered the private practice of law in the firm of Pillsbury, Madison, and Sutro in San Francisco. In 1962 he became associated with the firm of Kelso, Cotton and Ernst, also of San Francisco, before becoming an associate professor of law at Cornell University in 1969. In January of 1972, he took a leave of absence from Cornell to serve as

Chief Counsel to the Office of Foreign Direct Investments. In February of 1973, he was appointed Director of the Office of Foreign Direct Investments of the Department of Commerce, serving until August 1973.

United States Court of Military Appeals

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William Holmes Cook To Be an Associate Judge. August 2, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Holmes Cook, of Carbondale, Ill., to be an Associate Judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals for the remainder of the term expiring May 1, 1976. He succeeds William H. Darden who resigned effective December 29, 1973.

Mr. Cook is currently serving as counsel for the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives. From 1948 to 1950, he was engaged in the private practice of law with Judge John T. Kincaid. In 1954 he took a leave of absence to serve as a staff member of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. In 1957 he was named Assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission after having served as an attorney with the Commission from 1954. In 1959 he became Assistant Counsel to the Bureau of Naval Weapons. He was then appointed Associate Counsel for Property and Special Matters of the Bureau of Naval Weapons, before assuming his present position as counsel for the House Armed Services Committee in 1963.

He was born on June 2, 1920, in Carbondale, Ill. He received his B.A. from Southern Illinois University in Carbondale and received his J.D. from Washington University in St. Louis, Mo. In 1947 he was admitted to the Illinois Bar and to practice before the Supreme Court in 1956.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

July 27

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development James T. Lynn met with the President at the Western White House to discuss the housing situation.

July 28

The President returned to Washington from his home in San Clemente, Calif.

July 30

Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon met with the President at the White House to report on his recent trip to the Middle East and Europe.

July 31

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report of the Commodity Credit Corporation for fiscal year 1973.

August 2

The President today accepted with regret the resignation of Anthony T. Augelli as a United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey, effective August 31, 1974.

The President today acknowledged the retirement from active service of Luther Bohanon as a United States District Judge for the Western, Northern, and Eastern Districts of Oklahoma, effective today.

The President today accepted with deep regret the resignation of John W. Weber as Assistant Administrator for Operations, Regulations, and Compliance, Federal Energy Administration, effective September 15, 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved July 26, 1974

- H.R. 8543..... Private Law 93-85
An act for the relief of Viorica Anna Ghitescu, Alexander Ghitescu, and Serban George Ghitescu.
- S. 3203..... Public Law 93-360
An act to amend the National Labor Relations Act to extend its coverage and protection to employees of nonprofit hospitals, and for other purposes.

Approved July 30, 1974

- H.R. 7207..... Private Law 93-86
An act for the relief of Emmett A. and Agnes J. Rathbun.
- H.R. 9440..... Public Law 93-363
An act to provide for access to all duly licensed clinical psychologists and optometrists without prior referral in the Federal employee health benefits program.
- H.R. 11295..... Public Law 93-362
An act to amend the Anadromous Fish Conservation Act in order to extend the authorization for appropriations to carry out such Act, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 15461..... Public Law 93-361
An act to secure to the Congress additional time in which to consider the proposed amendments to the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure which the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court transmitted to the Congress on April 22, 1974.

Approved August 2, 1974

- H.R. 377..... Public Law 93-364
An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to sell certain rights in the State of Florida.
- H.R. 3544..... Private Law 93-87
An act for the relief of Robert J. Beas.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted July 29, 1974

- JACK W. CARLSON, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice Stephen Alan Wakefield, resigned.
- LYNN ADAMS GREENWALT, of Maryland, to be Director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (new position).
- WILLIAM W. GEIMER, of Illinois, to be Director, Intergovernmental and Regional Relations, Federal Energy Administration (new position).

- BERT A. GALLEGOS, of Colorado, to be Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, vice Alvin J. Arnett, resigned.
- WILFRED J. SMITH, of Virginia, to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for a term of 3 years from October 22, 1973, vice Kieran O'Doherty, term expired.

Submitted July 30, 1974

- RICHARD W. MURPHY, of Virginia, a Foreign Service officer of Class one, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Syrian Arab Republic.
- ANTONIN SCALIA, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Attorney General, vice Robert G. Dixon, Jr., resigning.

Submitted July 31, 1974

- RICHARD W. VELDE, of Virginia, to be Administrator of Law Enforcement Assistance, vice Donald E. Santarelli, resigned.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted August 2, 1974

- PHILIP C. HABIB, of California, a Foreign Service officer of the Class of Career Minister, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.
- WILLIAM HOLMES COOK, of Illinois, to be a Judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals for the remainder of the term expiring May 1, 1976, vice William H. Darden, resigned.
- ROBERT ARMSTRONG ANTHONY, of New York, to be Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of 5 years, vice Antonin Scalia.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released July 27, 1974

Fact sheet: Presidential Medal of Freedom Citation: Presidential Medal of Freedom for Dr. Charles LeRoy Lowman
Biographical data: Dr. Charles LeRoy Lowman

News conference: following his meeting with the President—by James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Released July 30, 1974

News conference: following his meeting with the President—by William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury

Released August 2, 1974

Fact sheet: Cost of Living Task Force

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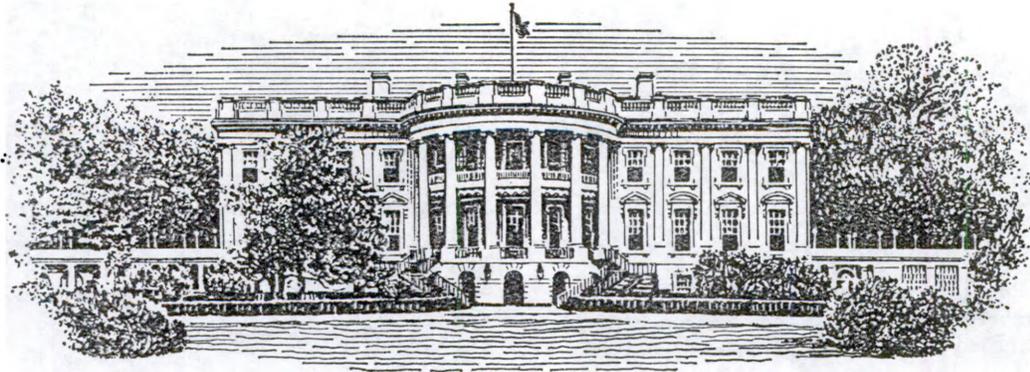
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Richard Nixon

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, August 10, 1974

Department of Defense Appropriation Authorization Act, 1975

*Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into
Law While Expressing Reservations About Certain
of Its Provisions. August 5, 1974*

I am today signing H.R. 14592, the Department of Defense procurement authorization bill for fiscal year 1975.

As I have pointed out on several occasions, a strong America is essential to maintaining world peace. Our military forces deter potential aggressors and, together with those of our allies, serve to assure the continued security of the free world. Without that strength, our adversaries would have no incentive to negotiate the mutual reduction of arms through which it may be possible to limit the rate of growth of military expenditures in the years ahead.

I am pleased that in this bill the Congress has expressed support for our objectives by authorizing \$22.2 billion for military procurement purposes during fiscal year 1975. Funds for research and development and the acquisition of major new weapons systems will help us to maintain our strong military posture, and a military end strength of 2,149,000 will contribute positively to continued force readiness.

There are, however, several unfortunate features in this bill. A number of provisions authorize spending for unneeded equipment and could thus inflate defense spending unnecessarily at a time when we all should recognize the need to avoid waste. I shall monitor this spending closely, and in particular I intend to review the provision that any newly constructed major combatant ship be equipped with nuclear power unless the President advises otherwise. I shall recommend nuclear propulsion for ships only when the added cost of such propulsion is fully justified in the national interests.

Section 709 of this measure authorizes the Congress by concurrent resolution to disapprove a Presidential decision permitting the export of certain goods and technology to specific countries. In my view, this feature provides for an unconstitutional exercise of legislative power. It is regrettable that the Congress has seen fit to add to a bill of such importance to our national security a rider adversely affecting the constitutional separation of powers. However, the compelling subject matter of this bill gives me no practical choice but to sign it notwithstanding my serious reservations.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 14592) is Public Law 93-365, approved August 5, 1974.

Telegraph and Telephone Regulations

*The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the
Regulations for Advice and Consent to
Ratification. August 5, 1974*

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Telegraph Regulations and the Telephone Regulations along with the appendices thereto and a Final Protocol to those Regulations, done at Geneva, April 11, 1973. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Regulations.

These Regulations are simplified, completely revised versions of the 1958 Regulations and will make it easier for the international business system guided by the Regulations to keep pace with rapidly advancing telecommunications.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to both the Telegraph Regulations and the Telephone Regulations and give its advice and consent to their ratification with the declarations proposed in the report of the Department of State.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 5, 1974.

United States Customs 185th Anniversary Year

Proclamation 4306. August 5, 1974

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

July 31, 1974, marked the one hundred eighty-fifth anniversary of the signing by President George Washington of legislation establishing a United States Customs Service.

The first customs officers began to collect the revenue and enforce the Tariff Act of July 4, 1789, on August 1, 1789. Since then, the customhouse and the customs officer have stood as symbols of national pride and sovereignty at ports of entry along the land and sea borders of our country.

Customs and related duties collected by the Department of the Treasury provided the principal revenues for the young Republic and assured its financial stability, from 1789 until the 20th century.

As the 200th birthday of our Nation approaches, it is especially appropriate that we recognize and salute the historic contributions made to the growth of our Republic by the United States Customs Service.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the year 1974 as United States Customs 185th Anniversary Year; and I call upon the United States Customs Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, to plan and participate in appropriate observances recognizing the revenue collection and law enforcement contributions of the Customs Service to the general welfare and economic stability of the Nation.

I also call upon appropriate community organizations to cooperate with the Customs Service in recognizing 185 years of mutually beneficial relationships.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:44 p.m.,
August 5, 1974]

Release of Additional Transcripts of Presidential Conversations

Statement by the President. August 5, 1974

I have today instructed my attorneys to make available to the House Judiciary Committee, and I am making

public, the transcripts of three conversations with H. R. Haldeman on June 23, 1972. I have also turned over the tapes of these conversations to Judge Sirica, as part of the process of my compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

On April 29, in announcing my decision to make public the original set of White House transcripts, I stated that "as far as what the President personally knew and did with regard to Watergate and the coverup is concerned, these materials—together with those already made available—will tell it all."

Shortly after that, in May, I made a preliminary review of some of the 64 taped conversations subpoenaed by the Special Prosecutor.

Among the conversations I listened to at that time were two of those of June 23. Although I recognized that these presented potential problems, I did not inform my staff or my Counsel of it, or those arguing my case, nor did I amend my submission to the Judiciary Committee in order to include and reflect it. At the time, I did not realize the extent of the implications which these conversations might now appear to have. As a result, those arguing my case, as well as those passing judgment on the case, did so with information that was incomplete and in some respects erroneous. This was a serious act of omission for which I take full responsibility and which I deeply regret.

Since the Supreme Court's decision 12 days ago, I have ordered my Counsel to analyze the 64 tapes, and I have listened to a number of them myself. This process has made it clear that portions of the tapes of these June 23 conversations are at variance with certain of my previous statements. Therefore, I have ordered the transcripts made available immediately to the Judiciary Committee so that they can be reflected in the Committee's report and included in the record to be considered by the House and Senate.

In a formal written statement on May 22 of last year, I said that shortly after the Watergate break-in I became concerned about the possibility that the FBI investigation might lead to the exposure either of unrelated covert activities of the CIA or of sensitive national security matters that the so-called "plumbers" unit at the White House had been working on, because of the CIA and plumbers connections of some of those involved. I said that I therefore gave instructions that the FBI should be alerted to coordinate with the CIA and to ensure that the investigation not expose these sensitive national security matters.

That statement was based on my recollection at the time—some 11 months later—plus documentary materials and relevant public testimony of those involved.

The June 23 tapes clearly show, however, that at the time I gave those instructions I also discussed the political aspects of the situation, and that I was aware of the advantages this course of action would have with respect to

limiting possible public exposure of involvement by persons connected with the re-election committee.

My review of the additional tapes has, so far, shown no other major inconsistencies with what I have previously submitted. While I have no way at this stage of being certain that there will not be others, I have no reason to believe that there will be. In any case, the tapes in their entirety are now in the process of being furnished to Judge Sirica. He has begun what may be a rather lengthy process of reviewing the tapes, passing on specific claims of executive privilege on portions of them, and forwarding to the Special Prosecutor those tapes or those portions that are relevant to the Watergate investigation.

It is highly unlikely that this review will be completed in time for the House debate. It appears at this stage, however, that a House vote of impeachment is, as a practical matter, virtually a foregone conclusion, and that the issue will therefore go to trial in the Senate. In order to ensure that no other significant relevant materials are withheld, I shall voluntarily furnish to the Senate everything from these tapes that Judge Sirica rules should go to the Special Prosecutor.

I recognize that this additional material I am now furnishing may further damage my case, especially because attention will be drawn separately to it rather than to the evidence in its entirety. In considering its implications, therefore, I urge that two points be borne in mind.

The first of these points is to remember what actually happened as a result of the instructions I gave on June 23. Acting Director Gray of the FBI did coordinate with Director Helms and Deputy Director Walters of the CIA. The CIA did undertake an extensive check to see whether any of its covert activities would be compromised by a full FBI investigation of Watergate. Deputy Director Walters then reported back to Mr. Gray that they would not be compromised. On July 6, when I called Mr. Gray, and when he expressed concern about improper attempts to limit his investigation, as the record shows, I told him to press ahead vigorously with his investigation—which he did.

The second point I would urge is that the evidence be looked at in its entirety and the events be looked at in perspective. Whatever mistakes I made in the handling of Watergate, the basic truth remains that when all the facts were brought to my attention I insisted on a full investigation and prosecution of those guilty. I am firmly convinced that the record, in its entirety, does not justify the extreme step of impeachment and removal of a President. I trust that as the constitutional process goes forward, this perspective will prevail.

NOTE: Copies of the transcripts of the three conversations were made available with the statement by the White House Press Office.

Enriched Uranium Supplies

*Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren.
August 6, 1974*

The President today is reaffirming that the United States will remain a major supplier of uranium enriching services. Since 1969, the Atomic Energy Commission has contracted to provide such services to 72 U.S. utilities and utilities in 18 foreign countries.

The President wishes to lay to rest uncertainties which have recently arisen concerning the assurance of an adequate supply of enriched uranium.

The Atomic Energy Commission is now signing accumulated pending contracts to enrich fuel for nuclear power reactors in the United States and in 17 different foreign countries. Some of the contracts will, on an interim basis, be of a conditional nature since supply under those contracts from the existing three U.S. enriching plants is dependent on AEC approval of the use of plutonium as fuel for nuclear powerplants. However, the President assures holders of conditional contracts that the United States will, in any event, fulfill the fuel requirements in those contracts from U.S. supply sources.

United States enrichment capacity must be increased to meet its own growing needs for nuclear power. As a matter of U.S. policy, the President stresses his intention that such new capacity be available to meet the contractual needs of future domestic and foreign customers. The President believes it essential that the additional capacity to meet such needs be provided by private industry. He notes that private companies are prepared to provide this additional capacity and that a government monopoly is clearly no longer appropriate. Early and responsible actions on the part of the utility industry, potential suppliers, and the financial community are needed to make private enrichment a reality. The Government is prepared to assist in this effort.

The President affirms that assured and timely availability of enriching services is of paramount importance to those countries, including the United States, that are selecting nuclear power as a major source of energy for the coming decades. Nondiscriminatory access to such services, reliability in supply, and continuing leadership in technology will be essential features of U.S. policy in the future as they have in the past.

NOTE: The statement was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Five Members of the Board of Directors. August 7, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate five persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the terms indicated.

For the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1978:

AMOS B. HOSTETTER, JR., of Boston, Mass., co-founder, executive vice president, treasurer, and director of Continental Cablevision, Inc., Boston. Mr. Hostetter succeeds Theodore W. Braun, who has resigned.

For the term expiring March 26, 1980:

JOSEPH COORS, of Golden, Colo., chairman and chief executive officer, Coors Porcelain Co. and Coors Container Co., executive vice president, Adolph Coors Co., and director, Television News, Inc. Mr. Coors will succeed Albert L. Cole, whose term has expired.

LUCIUS PERRY GREGG, JR., of Evanston, Ill., president, First Chicago University Finance Co., and vice president, The First National Bank of Chicago. Mr. Gregg will succeed James R. Killian, Jr., whose term has expired.

LILLIE E. HERNDON, of Columbia, S.C., president, National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Mrs. Herndon will succeed Frank Pace, Jr., whose term has expired.

JOHN WHITNEY PETTIT, of Potomac, Md., attorney with the firm of Hamel, Park, McCabe and Saunders, Washington, D.C. Mr. Pettit will succeed Robert S. Benjamin, whose term has expired.

The Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting consists of 15 members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Board elects its own Chairman annually.

National Student Government Day, 1974

Proclamation 4307. August 7, 1974

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

One of the foundation blocks in the American democracy is the civic responsibility which every American accepts as part of his heritage and his obligation to his country.

This responsibility—this understanding, appreciation, and involvement in our Government—begins in our Nation's educational institutions. Within these institutions our student government associations play a central role. The learning experience that students obtain as officers, members, and as voters in student government associa-

tions is vital to a clear understanding of our democratic system.

The successful functioning of student government associations reaffirms the essential truth of our democracy: that all people should have a voice in making those decisions that affect their lives. Student government provides this voice for our Nation's students in educational institutions.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 29, 1974, as National Student Government Day. I invite the Governors of the States and of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and other officials at the local level to issue similar proclamations.

I also urge all educational institutions to join in appropriate activities to highlight the importance of student government and to encourage wide participation in its activities. I further urge all students in our country to acquaint themselves fully with their own student government associations and to play a constructive role in contributing to their success.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

RICHARD NIXON

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:46 p.m., August 7, 1974]

Meeting With Republican Congressional Leaders

News Conference of Senator Barry Goldwater, Representative John J. Rhodes, and Senator Hugh Scott Following Their Meeting With the President. August 7, 1974

SENATOR GOLDWATER. Congressman Rhodes and Senator Scott and I have just concluded a visit with the President. He invited us down this afternoon to disclose to him what we feel the actual conditions in the House and the Senate are relative to his situation.

We had a good, thorough discussion, and I think I speak for my two colleagues when I say that we were extremely impressed with the uppermost thought in his mind, which is that whatever decision he makes, it will be in the best interest of our country.

There has been no decision made. We made no suggestions. We were merely there to offer what we see as the condition on both floors.

Congressman John.

CONGRESSMAN RHODES. Actually, I have nothing to add except to say that the President did seem to be in good spirits and good health, and as four old friends, we talked over a situation which, of course, is very painful for all of us.

SENATOR SCOTT. The President made the point very strongly that any decision he makes will be in the national interest, that he had asked us for our evaluation of the situation in the two Houses of Congress, again from the standpoint of the national interest, and the discussion lasted about 35 or 40 minutes.

Q. How do you evaluate that situation?

SENATOR SCOTT. How do we evaluate the situation? Well, we have told him that the situation is very gloomy on Capitol Hill and that it is a very distressing situation, and we gave him further evaluations which I think ought to remain between ourselves.

Q. Did any of you recommend that he resign?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. No, that subject didn't even come up.

Q. Senator Goldwater, what about a report today that you had been telling the Members on the Hill that the President was about to resign and to stick by their televisions?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. Well, I am not allowed to swear, but it is the biggest lie I ever heard in my life. This is the first time I have been at the White House in over 2 weeks, and the last time was to visit with Dean Burch.

The last time I saw the President was flying out to Arizona with him back in early May, and furthermore, NBC stated that I came up here last night and found all the gates bolted and was not allowed in. That also is a g.d. lie. I went home and cooked my dinner, had five or six drinks, and went to bed. [*Laughter*]

Q. Senator Scott, is it your assessment that if the President does not resign, he will be impeached, convicted, and removed?

SENATOR SCOTT. I have made no assessment in discussions with the President, and we have had general discussions in our leadership, and there have been various points of view, and I am not free to discuss them further.

Q. Did you gentlemen request this meeting?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. No, the President invited us. I said that at the outset.

Q. Senator, did you discuss possible immunity for the President if he resigned?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. No, that subject was not touched on.

Q. Senator Goldwater, do you think the President will be convicted if he is impeached?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. If he is impeached by the House?

Q. Yes, will he be convicted by the Senate?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. I have no way of knowing, and we have no way of making nose counts. I myself have not made up my mind, and I think I can speak for most of the Senators that they haven't made up their minds as to the three articles or the 15 points contained therein.

Q. Did the President say when he would make his decision and announce it?

SENATOR GOLDWATER. No, that wasn't even discussed.

Q. Any indication that it would not—

SENATOR GOLDWATER. No, not at all.

Q. Did he say he intended to stay?

CONGRESSMAN RHODES. The President said nothing like that. The discussion was quite general in tone, and as I mentioned before, we were four old friends talking over a very painful situation. There was no time element involved. There was no idea given as to what any final decision might be.

Q. Gentlemen, when you say that the situation was gloomy, that you reported that it was gloomy, what specifically did you mean?

CONGRESSMAN RHODES. Of course, I think everybody knows what I meant. It is well known that the situation on the floor of the House has deteriorated to the extent that impeachment is really a foregone conclusion.

Q. The gentleman in the center.

SENATOR GOLDWATER. Well, he is the leader of the Senate.

SENATOR SCOTT. Well, it is obvious that while there has been no nose count, there has been some erosion of support in the Senate. I would assume the President is aware of that, and certainly we are aware of it, but we have not discussed or taken any counts ourselves as far as I know.

Q. Did he talk about the end of the constitutional process? We have been told at the White House for several days that the President wanted to follow the constitutional process. That has some end point to it.

SENATOR SCOTT. No, that wasn't discussed in that form. The President stressed that his decisions are made and will be made entirely in the national interest.

Q. This "gloomy forecast," what was his mood to the "gloomy forecast"?

SENATOR SCOTT. The President is in entire control of himself. He is serene and he was most amiable, and I assume that he simply accepted our evaluation since he had solicited our views.

Q. Would the House forgo impeachment and the Senate forgo a trial if he offered to resign?

CONGRESSMAN RHODES. Actually, I don't know what would be done by the House or Senate, of course, but the thought strikes me that if there were a resignation—and I don't know whether there will be or not—that the matter would be completely mooted, that there would be no useful purpose to be served if any proceedings were to continue in either body.

Q. And did you not tell the President that?

CONGRESSMAN RHODES. The President did not ask, and I did not tell him that.

REPORTER. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

NOTE: The news conference began at 5:42 p.m. on the North Lawn at the White House.

Meeting With the Vice President

Remarks of Deputy Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren Announcing the Meeting. August 8, 1974

We will be posting some routine information, bill actions, and appointments and nominations, and messages to the Congress in the form of nominations and bill actions, in a few moments.

I wanted to come out now and give you a brief announcement and then let you know that we will get together later on, maybe in an hour or so, when we have further information for you.

The President will be meeting at 11 with Vice President Ford in his Oval Office at the White House. The President asked the Vice President to come over this morning for a private meeting, and that is all the information I have at this moment.

NOTE: Mr. Warren spoke at 10:55 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Plans for Presidential Address to the Nation

Remarks of Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler Announcing Plans for the Address. August 8, 1974

I am aware of the intense interest of the American people and of you in this room concerning developments today and over the last few days. This has, of course, been a difficult time.

The President of the United States will meet various members of the bipartisan leadership of Congress here at the White House early this evening.

Tonight, at 9 o'clock, eastern daylight time, the President of the United States will address the Nation on radio and television from his Oval Office.

NOTE: Mr. Ziegler spoke at 12:20 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

For the President's address to the Nation, see p. 1014 of this issue.

Combined Federal Campaign

The President's Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies. August 8, 1974

I am pleased to announce that Honorable William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense, has agreed to serve as chairman of the Combined Federal Campaign for the National Capital Area this fall.

This campaign, which begins in September, will combine into a single drive the solicitation efforts of the United Way of Metropolitan Washington, the National Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies. In this one drive we will be seeking to do our share to meet the needs of more than 150 local, national, and international health, welfare, and social service agencies.

These organizations deserve our wholehearted support. Working individually we can do little, but working together through voluntary organizations we can help the young, the old, the ill, the disadvantaged, and all persons who need assistance. There is no substitute for the help that can be brought to our neighbors and friends by the committed voluntary agencies supported by the Combined Federal Campaign. Truly they are a beacon of hope for those in need.

Through the Combined Federal Campaign, Federal personnel are offered a unique opportunity to help persons in our community, in our Nation, and in overseas lands by one gift once a year, a pledge made particularly easy by the availability of payroll deductions.

I request that you serve personally as chairman of the combined campaign in your organization and appoint one of your top assistants as your vice chairman. Please advise Deputy Secretary Clements of the person you designate as vice chairman.

I know that you will give your wholehearted support to this endeavor, and I hope you will commend the campaign with its payroll deduction feature to Federal employees and military personnel in your organization.

RICHARD NIXON

Trade Agreements Program, 1973

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the 18th Annual Report on the Program. August 8, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 402(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (TEA), I transmit herewith the

Eighteenth Annual Report of the President on the Trade Agreements Program. This report covers developments in the year ending December 31, 1973.

Last year was a particularly important one for United States and world trade, as this report demonstrates in detail. Unquestionably the highlight occurred last September in Tokyo, when the ministers of 105 sovereign nations joined to declare their support for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations, the seventh since the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was signed in 1947. This round represents a major initiative of the United States, along with initiatives in the international monetary field, begun in the fall of 1971. The charter for these negotiations, as embodied in the Declaration of Tokyo, is the most ambitious yet.

The purpose of these talks is no less than to modernize a world trading system which, though it has well served the world's peoples and brought about the many benefits of a four-fold expansion of trade, is no longer capable of responding to the needs and realities of a rapidly changing and increasingly interdependent world economy.

First, these talks are aimed not only at the continuing need to facilitate trade by lowering tariffs, but at reducing today's most pervasive and restrictive export inhibitors, so-called non-tariff trade barriers (NTBs). Unless these can be effectively dealt with, no major exporting nation—especially the United States—can hope to remain competitive in today's and tomorrow's world markets. And loss of competitiveness abroad can threaten the viability of firms and lead to loss of markets at home.

Second, the inflationary pressure of increased costs has become a major international problem which must be dealt with multilaterally if we are to adequately deal with inflation domestically.

Third, the need to maintain access to vital raw materials, energy, and food requires negotiated assurances for such access to supplies as well as to markets.

Fourth, economic issues should be managed and negotiated in parallel with political and security issues, in order to make progress on all three fronts.

Finally, we must encourage sovereign governments to work within an acceptable international framework to deal with such problems as import safeguards and export subsidies. At the same time we must have the authority to defend our legitimate national interests and manage domestic concerns in the context of an up-to-date, responsive and responsible international system.

None of these objectives can be accomplished without the appropriate legislative authorization. This authority—carefully balanced with provisions for the most effective Congressional and public participation in our trade policy-making and negotiating since GATT was formed—is

represented in the Trade Reform Act, which I submitted to the Congress in April of 1973. This legislation, which passed the House by a margin of nearly two-to-one last December and is now pending in the Senate, is still urgently needed.

Time is now of the essence with regard to the trade bill. Our trading partners have demonstrated their willingness to use and improve multilateral channels for trade negotiation. Just this spring, the European Community negotiated a fair and equitable accord compensating us for tariff changes resulting from the enlargement of the European Common Market. Through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), ministers of member countries have joined with the U.S. in renouncing trade restrictive measures as balance-of-payments correctives, at least until the basic problems caused by oil price increases can be addressed through improvements in the monetary system. Developing countries, particularly our partners in Latin America, have indicated their willingness to work with us toward trade expansion and reform. As I have noted before, our new approaches to the socialist countries, especially to the USSR and the People's Republic of China, hinge in large measure upon our ability to open up peaceful avenues of trade with them. Again, I have expressed my willingness to work with the Congress to find an acceptable formulation for this authority. In Geneva, the GATT Trade Negotiations Committee has announced a program of work for the fall to further prepare for the actual bargaining.

In short, the rest of the world is waiting for us at the trade negotiating table. The alternative is an indefinite period in which nations, including ours, will be forced to deal with increasingly complex and interdependent trade problems on an *ad hoc* basis. Experience has shown that this could lead to a proliferation of those problems and disputes over the best ways to resolve them. The adverse fallout from the resulting uncertainties and temptations of shortsighted unilateral actions could also seriously jeopardize gains we have made in the diplomatic and security fields.

For all these reasons, I take this occasion once again to urge prompt and final action on the Trade Reform Act. It is essential that we move ahead to revitalize the global trading system through multilateral negotiations.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 8, 1974.

NOTE: The 47-page report is entitled "Eighteenth Annual Report of the President of the United States on the Trade Agreements Program—1973."

Agriculture, EPA, and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill

The President's Veto Message to the House of Representatives. August 8, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

The pressing need to control inflation compels me today to return to the Congress without my approval H.R. 15472, an appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture, the Environmental Protection Agency and certain related agencies and programs.

Two weeks ago, I vowed to the American people that any appropriations bill substantially above my budget for fiscal year 1975 would be vetoed because it would otherwise contribute to inflationary forces in the economy. This legislation exceeds my budgetary recommendations by such a large amount—some \$540 million—that it presents a clear and distinct threat to our fight against inflation and cannot be accepted.

Under this legislation, outlays for fiscal year 1975 would exceed our recommendations by \$150 million in fiscal year 1975, \$300 million in fiscal year 1976, and by additional amounts in fiscal year 1977. Water and sewer grants for the Department of Agriculture would be authorized at a level of about \$345 million, a level more than eight times higher than any level in the past. Funding for agricultural conservation programs would be more than doubled, completely reversing recent efforts of this Administration to reform these programs. Furthermore, this bill would increase certain loan programs operated

by the Department of Agriculture by \$400 million more than we recommended, an increase which would further strain already over-stressed credit markets and would add to inflationary pressures.

I also oppose a provision in this bill transferring from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to EPA a \$175 million program to clean up the Great Lakes. The feasibility of this cleanup program has not yet been proven. Further study is essential if we are to avoid ineffective Federal spending for these purposes.

My original budget recommendations to the Congress laid out program priorities as we see them in the executive branch. While differences have frequently existed between the Congress and the executive branch on priorities for particular programs, I firmly believe that our current fiscal situation demands national unanimity on the issues of a larger concern: namely, that we agree to enact appropriation bills which do not fuel the fires of inflation through excessive spending.

I would welcome Congressional reconsideration of this bill and the program priorities contained therein so that a more acceptable bill can be enacted. In keeping Federal spending under control, we do not intend, of course, to single out only farm or environmental programs. Indeed, I would hope that in considering all future appropriation measures, the Congress will assiduously avoid enacting measures which pose inflationary problems similar to the bill I am returning today.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House,
August 8, 1974.

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The President's Address Announcing His Intention To Resign. August 8, 1974

Good evening.

This is the 37th time I have spoken to you from this office, where so many decisions have been made that shaped the history of this Nation. Each time I have done so to discuss with you some matter that I believe affected the national interest.

In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the Nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me.

In the past few days, however, it has become evident to me that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort. As long as there was such a base, I felt strongly that it was necessary to see the constitutional process through to its conclusion, that to do otherwise would be unfaithful to the spirit of that deliberately difficult process and a dangerously destabilizing precedent for the future.

But with the disappearance of that base, I now believe that the constitutional purpose has been served, and there is no longer a need for the process to be prolonged.

I would have preferred to carry through to the finish whatever the personal agony it would have involved, and my family unanimously urged me to do so. But the interest of the Nation must always come before any personal considerations.

From the discussions I have had with Congressional and other leaders, I have concluded that because of the Watergate matter I might not have the support of the Congress that I would consider necessary to back the very difficult decisions and carry out the duties of this office in the way the interests of the Nation would require.

I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my term is completed is abhorrent to every instinct in my body. But as President, I must put the interest of America first. America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad.

To continue to fight through the months ahead for my personal vindication would almost totally absorb the time and attention of both the President and the Congress in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home.

Therefore, I shall resign the Presidency effective at noon tomorrow. Vice President Ford will be sworn in as President at that hour in this office.

As I recall the high hopes for America with which we began this second term, I feel a great sadness that I will not be here in this office working on your behalf to achieve those hopes in the next 2½ years. But in turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford, I know, as I told the Nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands.

In passing this office to the Vice President, I also do so with the profound sense of the weight of responsibility that will fall on his shoulders tomorrow and, therefore, of the understanding, the patience, the cooperation he will need from all Americans.

As he assumes that responsibility, he will deserve the help and the support of all of us. As we look to the future, the first essential is to begin healing the wounds of this Nation, to put the bitterness and divisions of the recent past behind us, and to rediscover those shared ideals that lie at the heart of our strength and unity as a great and as a free people.

By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.

I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong, and some were wrong, they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the Nation.

To those who have stood with me during these past difficult months, to my family, my friends, to many others who joined in supporting my cause because they believed it was right, I will be eternally grateful for your support.

And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us, in the final analysis, have been concerned with the good of the country, however our judgments might differ.

So, let us all now join together in affirming that common commitment and in helping our new President succeed for the benefit of all Americans.

I shall leave this office with regret at not completing my term, but with gratitude for the privilege of serving as your President for the past 5½ years. These years have been a momentous time in the history of our Nation and the world. They have been a time of achievement in which we can all be proud, achievements that represent the shared efforts of the Administration, the Congress, and the people.

But the challenges ahead are equally great, and they, too, will require the support and the efforts of the Congress and the people working in cooperation with the new Administration.

We have ended America's longest war, but in the work of securing a lasting peace in the world, the goals ahead are even more far-reaching and more difficult. We must complete a structure of peace so that it will be said of this generation, our generation of Americans, by the people of all nations, not only that we ended one war but that we prevented future wars.

We have unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

We must now ensure that the one quarter of the world's people who live in the People's Republic of China will be and remain not our enemies but our friends.

In the Middle East, 100 million people in the Arab countries, many of whom have considered us their enemy for nearly 20 years, now look on us as their friends. We must continue to build on that friendship so that peace can settle at last over the Middle East and so that the cradle of civilization will not become its grave.

Together with the Soviet Union we have made the crucial breakthroughs that have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms. But we must set as our goal not just limiting but reducing and finally destroying these terrible weapons so that they cannot destroy civilization and so that the threat of nuclear war will no longer hang over the world and the people.

We have opened the new relation with the Soviet Union. We must continue to develop and expand that new relationship so that the two strongest nations of the world will live together in cooperation rather than confrontation.

Around the world, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East, there are millions of people who live in terrible poverty, even starvation. We must keep as our goal turning away from production for war and expanding production for peace so that people everywhere on this earth can at last look forward in their children's time, if not in our own time, to having the necessities for a decent life.

Here in America, we are fortunate that most of our people have not only the blessings of liberty but also the means to live full and good and, by the world's standards, even abundant lives. We must press on, however, toward a goal of not only more and better jobs but of full opportunity for every American and of what we are striving so hard right now to achieve, prosperity without inflation.

For more than a quarter of a century in public life I have shared in the turbulent history of this era. I have fought for what I believed in. I have tried to the best of my ability to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me.

Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed, but always I have taken heart from what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the man in the arena, "whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is not effort without error and shortcoming, but who does actually strive to do the deed, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievements and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."

I pledge to you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body, I shall continue in that spirit. I shall continue to work for the great causes to which I have been dedicated throughout my years as a Congressman, a Senator, a Vice President, and President, the cause of peace not just for America but among all nations, prosperity, justice, and opportunity for all of our people.

There is one cause above all to which I have been devoted and to which I shall always be devoted for as long as I live.

When I first took the oath of office as President 5½ years ago, I made this sacred commitment, to "consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations."

I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge. As a result of these efforts, I am confident that the world is a safer place today, not only for the people of America but for the people of all nations, and that all of our children have a better chance than before of living in peace rather than dying in war.

This, more than anything, is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the Presidency. This, more than anything, is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the Presidency.

To have served in this office is to have felt a very personal sense of kinship with each and every American. In leaving it, I do so with this prayer: May God's grace be with you in all the days ahead.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

The Vice President's Remarks to Reporters

Remarks of Vice President Ford Following the President's Address to the Nation. August 8, 1974

I think that this is one of the most difficult and very saddest periods and one of the very saddest incidents that I have ever witnessed.

Let me say that I think the President of the United States has made one of the greatest personal sacrifices for the country and one of the finest personal decisions on behalf of all of us as Americans by his decision to resign as President of the United States.

It has been my opportunity to watch over a period of nearly 25 years a foreign policy in the last 5 years that has been most successful in the achievement of peace for all of us here, and hopefully the rest of the world. It has been a policy that I think can continue—peace in the months and years ahead.

Let me say without any hesitation or reservation that the policy that has achieved peace and built the blocks for future peace will be continued, as far as I am concerned, as President of the United States.

We have been fortunate in the last 5 years to have a very great man in Henry Kissinger who has helped to build the blocks of peace under President Nixon.

I think those policies should be continued, and those policies of peace will be continued. I have asked Henry Kissinger, as Secretary of State, to stay on and to be the Secretary of State under the new Administration.

I have known Henry Kissinger for a great many years. I knew him before he came with the Nixon Administration. I want him to be my Secretary of State, and I am glad to announce that he will be the Secretary of State, which means that he and I will be working together in the pursuit of peace in the future as we have achieved it in the past.

We have many other problems. We have problems at home which must be resolved. They can be resolved and will be resolved by the cooperation of the Congress with the President and those who work with him.

I have been very fortunate in my lifetime in public office to have a good many adversaries in the political arena, in the Congress, but I don't think I have a single enemy in the Congress, and the net result is that I think tomorrow I can start out working with Democrats and with Republicans in the House as well as in the Senate to work on the problems, serious ones which we have at home, in the spirit of cooperation which I believe will be exhibited with the Congress and the new President, and the problems overseas and the problems at home will be beneficial not only to 211 million fine Americans but to the world as a whole.

I pledge to you tonight, as I will pledge tomorrow and in the future, my best efforts and cooperation, leadership, and dedication that is good for America and good for the world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The Vice President spoke at his home in Alexandria, Va.

The Press Secretary's Remarks to Reporters

Remarks of Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler Following the President's Address to the Nation. August 8, 1974

MR. ZIEGLER. I don't have a great deal of additional information at this time to provide you, but I did think that it would be important tonight to tell you about tomorrow's schedule and also to give you a brief recap regarding the President's activities today.

Tomorrow morning President Nixon will bid farewell to members of the Cabinet and the White House Staff. That will take place in the East Room at 9:30 a.m. Joining President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon at that time to say farewell to the Cabinet and the staff will be Julie and David and Tricia and Ed Cox.

So, following President Nixon's remarks to the staff and the Cabinet, the President and the family will depart the south grounds by helicopter for Andrews Air Force Base, and they will fly from there to their home in San Clemente. The President and Mrs. Nixon will depart the south grounds at about 10 o'clock in the morning. There will be press coverage, if you would like, of the remarks to the Cabinet and staff tomorrow and of the departure.

The President's letter notifying the Secretary of State of his resignation effective at noon tomorrow, as the President announced tonight, will be delivered to Dr. Kissinger's office here at the White House by noon tomorrow.

As I said earlier today, this has been a difficult day, and these have been difficult times.

I would offer only a personal observation, that the strength of the President during this period and the strength, I believe, and the courage that he showed tonight has sustained the members of the staff who have served the President over the last 5½ years and over the last years and months.

All, I know, have respect for the President and the cause which he has represented through the period of his Presidency.

For those who have asked what the President's activities have been today, we have tried to announce those throughout the day, but to recap those for you at this time, he was up early this morning. He spent time alone

in the Residence in the Lincoln Sitting Room before coming to the Oval Office this morning where he met with Al Haig to discuss the business that remained at hand.

The President, as you know, also met with Vice President Ford for over an hour this morning. That meeting began at 11 o'clock and lasted for over an hour.

This afternoon, the President met with members of his personal staff and then spent most of the afternoon working on the address which he delivered to the American people tonight.

Shortly before 7:00 this evening, the President, as you know, left the Executive Office Building and wanted to walk to the Residence privately, and he did that. After spending some time in the Residence, he met with the leadership of the Congress. The first meeting was held at 7:30 and then the final meeting with the Members of Congress was held at 8 o'clock tonight. Both meetings were in the Cabinet Room.

Mr. Warren has provided to the press the names of those leaders who attended the meeting.

Following the speech tonight, the President left the Oval Office and walked, together with Secretary of State Kissinger, to the Residence. Tricia and Ed and Julie and David and Mrs. Nixon watched the President's address tonight on television in the Residence.

I believe that is the general rundown on the President's schedule today. I really don't think at this time that I can answer probably the many questions that you might have, but Mr. Warren will be available and we will provide answers to your questions, of course, regarding the additional items on the President's schedule as they may develop tomorrow, and will provide any additional information to you as the evening and morning unfold.

But I just would like to take a minute myself to say goodbye. I hope, over the next few weeks, to have a chance to see each of you personally, but this is the last time we will be meeting in these circumstances. We have met, of course, in this setting many times, here and around the world. I have been proud to be President Nixon's Press Secretary over the past 5½ years.

I have tried to be professional, as all of you are professional, and I hope I have never underestimated the difficulty of your jobs or the energy and intelligence you bring to them.

We have been through many difficult times together, and we have been through many historic times together. I know that I will remember the good ones and I hope you will, too.

I would like to just conclude by saying that whatever our differences have been, I believe that there are no simple answers to the complex questions that this period poses, but above all, I think I take away from this job a deep sense of respect for the diversity and strength of our country's freedom of expression and for our free press.

Mr. Warren will be providing to you later this evening any additional announcements that we have, and at

12 noon tomorrow, a new man will take this place. And I might say that it has been an honor to be here.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: Mr. Ziegler spoke at 11:02 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Remarks to Members of the Cabinet and the White House Staff

The President's Remarks Prior to His Departure From the White House. August 9, 1974

Members of the Cabinet, Members of the White House Staff, all of our friends here:

I think the record should show that this is one of those spontaneous things that we always arrange whenever the President comes in to speak, and it will be so reported in the press, and we don't mind because they have to call it as they see it.

But on our part, believe me, it is spontaneous.

You are here to say goodbye to us, and we don't have a good word for it in English. The best is *au revoir*. We will see you again.

I just met with the members of the White House staff, you know, those who serve here in the White House day in and day out, and I asked them to do what I ask all of you to do to the extent that you can and, of course, are requested to do so: to serve our next President as you have served me and previous Presidents—because many of you have been here for many years—with devotion and dedication, because this office, great as it is, can only be as great as the men and women who work for and with the President.

This house, for example, I was thinking of it as we walked down this hall, and I was comparing it to some of the great houses of the world that I have been in. This isn't the biggest house. Many, and most, in even smaller countries are much bigger. This isn't the finest house. Many in Europe, particularly, and in China, Asia, have paintings of great, great value, things that we just don't have here, and probably will never have until we are 1,000 years old or older.

But this is the best house. It is the best house because it has something far more important than numbers of people who serve, far more important than numbers of rooms or how big it is, far more important than numbers of magnificent pieces of art.

This house has a great heart, and that heart comes from those who serve. I was rather sorry they didn't come down. We said goodbye to them upstairs. But they are really great. And I recall after so many times I have made speeches, and some of them pretty tough, yet, I always come back,

or after a hard day—and my days usually have run rather long—I would always get a lift from them because I might be a little down, but they always smiled.

And so it is with you. I look around here, and I see so many on this staff that, you know, I should have been by your offices and shaken hands, and I would love to have talked to you and found out how to run the world—everybody wants to tell the President what to do, and boy he needs to be told many times—but I just haven't had the time. But I want you to know that each and every one of you, I know, is indispensable to this Government.

I am proud of this Cabinet. I am proud of all the members who have served in our Cabinet. I am proud of our sub-Cabinet. I am proud of our White House Staff. As I pointed out last night, sure we have done some things wrong in this Administration, and the top man always takes the responsibility, and I have never ducked it. But I want to say one thing: We can be proud of it—5½ years. No man or no woman came into this Administration and left it with more of this world's goods than when he came in. No man or no woman ever profited at the public expense or the public till. That tells something about you.

Mistakes, yes. But for personal gain, never. You did what you believed in. Sometimes right, sometimes wrong. And I only wish that I were a wealthy man—at the present time I have got to find a way to pay my taxes—[laughter]—and if I were, I would like to recompense you for the sacrifices that all of you have made to serve in Government.

But you are getting something in Government—and I want you to tell this to your children, and I hope the Nation's children will hear it, too—something in Government service that is far more important than money. It is a cause bigger than yourself. It is the cause of making this the greatest nation in the world, the leader of the world, because without our leadership the world will know nothing but war, possibly starvation, or worse, in the years ahead. With our leadership it will know peace, it will know plenty.

We have been generous, and we will be more generous in the future as we are able to. But most important, we must be strong here, strong in our hearts, strong in our souls, strong in our belief, and strong in our willingness to sacrifice, as you have been willing to sacrifice, in a pecuniary way, to serve in Government.

There is something else I would like for you to tell your young people. You know, people often come in and say, "What will I tell my kids?" They look at government and say it is sort of a rugged life, and they see the mistakes that are made. They get the impression that everybody is here for the purpose of feathering his nest. That is why I made this earlier point—not in this Administration, not one single man or woman.

And I say to them, "There are many fine careers. This country needs good farmers, good businessmen, good plumbers, good carpenters."

I remembered my old man. I think that they would have called him sort of a little man, common man. He didn't consider himself that way. You know what he was? He was a streetcar motorman first, and then he was a farmer, and then he had a lemon ranch. It was the poorest lemon ranch in California, I can assure you. He sold it before they found oil on it. [Laughter]

And then he was a grocer. But he was a great man because he did his job, and every job counts up to the hilt, regardless of what happens.

Nobody will ever write a book, probably, about my mother. Well, I guess all of you would say this about your mother—my mother was a saint. And I think of her, two boys dying of tuberculosis, nursing four others in order that she could take care of my older brother for 3 years in Arizona, and seeing each of them die, and when they died, it was like one of her own.

Yes, she will have no books written about her. But she was a saint.

Now, however, we look to the future. I had a little quote in the speech last night from T.R. As you know, I kind of like to read books. I am not educated, but I do read books—[laughter]—and the T.R. quote was a pretty good one.

Here is another one I found as I was reading, my last night in the White House, and this quote is about a young man. He was a young lawyer in New York. He had married a beautiful girl, and they had a lovely daughter, and then suddenly she died, and this is what he wrote. This was in his diary.

He said: "She was beautiful in face and form and lovelier still in spirit. As a flower she grew and as a fair young flower she died. Her life had been always in the sunshine. There had never come to her a single great sorrow. None ever knew her who did not love and revere her for her bright and sunny temper and her saintly unselfishness. Fair, pure and joyous as a maiden, loving, tender and happy as a young wife. When she had just become a mother, when her life seemed to be just begun and when the years seemed so bright before her, then by a strange and terrible fate death came to her. And when my heart's dearest died, the light went from my life forever."

That was T.R. in his twenties. He thought the light had gone from his life forever—but he went on. And he not only became President but, as an ex-President, he served his country always in the arena, tempestuous, strong, sometimes wrong, sometimes right, but he was a man.

And as I leave, let me say, that is an example I think all of us should remember. We think sometimes when things happen that don't go the right way; we think that

when you don't pass the bar exam the first time—I happened to, but I was just lucky; I mean my writing was so poor the bar examiner said, “We have just got to let the guy through.” [Laughter] We think that when someone dear to us dies, we think that when we lose an election, we think that when we suffer a defeat, that all is ended. We think, as T.R. said, that the light had left his life forever.

Not true. It is only a beginning always. The young must know it; the old must know it. It must always sustain us because the greatness comes not when things go always good for you, but the greatness comes when you are really tested, when you take some knocks, some disappointments, when sadness comes, because only if you have been in the deepest valley can you ever know how magnificent it is to be on the highest mountain.

And so I say to you on this occasion, as we leave, we leave proud of the people who have stood by us and worked for us and served this country.

We want you to be proud of what you have done. We want you to continue to serve in Government, if that is your wish. Always give your best, never get discouraged, never be petty; always remember others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them, and then you destroy yourself.

And so, we leave with high hopes, in good spirit and with deep humility, and with very much gratefulness in our hearts. I can only say to each and every one of you, we come from many faiths, we pray perhaps to different gods, but really the same God in a sense, but I want to say for each and every one of you, not only will we always remember you, not only will we always be grateful to you but always you will be in our hearts and you will be in our prayers.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:36 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Nixon departed for their home in San Clemente, Calif.

Resignation of President Nixon

The President's Letter to the Secretary of State.
August 9, 1974

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I hereby resign the Office of President of the United States.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. 20520]

NOTE: The White House announced that the letter was delivered by Alexander M. Haig, Jr., to the Secretary of State in his White House office at 11:35 a.m. on Friday, August 9, 1974.

The text of the letter was made available by the White House Press Office.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

August 6

The President met with the Cabinet at the White House. Following the meeting, he met with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Rabbi Baruch Korff, Chairman of the National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency, met with the President at the White House.

August 7

The President announced that he has redesignated Joseph O. Parker as Vice Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission for the period expiring June 16, 1975.

The President transmitted to the Congress the fourth annual report on Government services to rural America.

The White House released copies of the report entitled “Federal Strategy for Drug Abuse and Drug Traffic Prevention—1974” prepared by the Strategy Council on Drug Abuse.

August 8

The President announced the designation of Robert A. Hurwitch, U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, to attend inaugural ceremonies for Joaquin Balaguer as President of the Dominican Republic in Santo Domingo August 14–18.

The President today accepted, with deep regret, the resignation of William O. Doub as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, effective August 17, 1974.

The President today accepted, with deep gratitude for his dedicated service to the Nation, the resignation of Robert T. Monagan as Assistant Secretary of Transportation for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs, effective September 1, 1974.

The President today accepted, with a special sense of regret, the resignation of Raymond L. Bisplinghoff as Deputy Director of the National Science Foundation, effective September 30, 1974.

The President announced the appointment of William G. Saletic, of Seattle, Wash., as a member on the part of the United States of the International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education for fiscal year 1974.

Prior to his address to the American people, the President met with one group of bipartisan Congressional leaders in his office in the Old Executive Office Building and with a second group of the leaders in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted August 5, 1974

HENRY F. TRIONE, of California, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the term expiring October 27, 1977 (reappointment).

Submitted August 7, 1974

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the terms indicated:

For the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1978:

AMOS B. HOSTETTER, JR., of Massachusetts, vice Theodore W. Braun, resigned.

For a term expiring March 26, 1980:

JOSEPH COORS, of Colorado, vice Albert L. Cole, term expired.

LUCIUS PERRY GREGG, JR., of Illinois, vice James R. Killian, Jr., term expired.

LILLIE E. HERNDON, of South Carolina, vice Frank Pace, Jr., term expired.

JOHN WHITNEY PETTIT, of Maryland, vice Robert S. Benjamin, term expired.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted August 8, 1974

THOMAS J. MESKILL, of Connecticut, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, vice J. Joseph Smith, retired.

DONALD D. ALSOP, of Minnesota, to be United States District Judge for the District of Minnesota, vice Philip Neville, deceased.

ROBERT W. WARREN, of Wisconsin, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, vice Robert E. Tehan, retired.

Withdrawn August 8, 1974

WILLIAM H. ERICKSON, of Colorado, to be a Judge of the United States Court of Military Appeals for the remainder of the term expiring May 1, 1986, vice Robert M. Duncan, which was sent to the Senate on June 21, 1974.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

NOTE: All releases received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue have been included in the issue.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved August 5, 1974

H.R. 14592----- Public Law 93-365
Department of Defense Appropriation Authorization Act, 1975.

S. 39----- Public Law 93-366
An act to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to implement the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft; to provide a more effective program to prevent aircraft piracy; and for other purposes.

Approved August 7, 1974

H.R. 8217----- Public Law 93-368
An act to exempt from duty certain equipment and repairs for vessels operated by or for any agency of the United States where the entries were made in connection with vessels arriving before January 5, 1971, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 228----- Public Law 93-367
Joint resolution to extend the expiration date of the Defense Production Act of 1950.

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, August 10, 1974

SWEARING IN OF THE PRESIDENT

Oath of Office Taken by the President at a Ceremony in the East Room at the White House. August 9, 1974

I, Gerald R. Ford, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, so help me God.

NOTE: In a ceremony in the East Room at the White House, Warren E. Burger, Chief Justice of the United States, administered the oath of office to President Ford at noon on Friday, August 9, 1974. The ceremony was broadcast live on radio and television.

SWEARING IN OF THE PRESIDENT

The President's Remarks Following His Swearing In as the 38th President of the United States. August 9, 1974

Mr. Chief Justice, my dear friends, my fellow Americans:

The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution. But I assume the Presidency under extraordinary circumstances, never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore, I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech—just a little straight talk among friends. And I intend it to be the first of many.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots, and so I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers. And I hope that such prayers will also be the first of many.

If you have not chosen me by secret ballot, neither have I gained office by any secret promises. I have not campaigned either for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency. I have not subscribed to any partisan platform. I am indebted to no man, and only to one woman—my dear wife—as I begin this very difficult job.

I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it. Those who nominated and confirmed me as Vice President were my friends and are my friends. They were of both parties, elected by all the people and acting under the Constitution in their name. It is only fitting then that I should pledge to them and to you that I will be the President of all the people.

Thomas Jefferson said the people are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty. And down the years, Abraham Lincoln renewed this American article of faith asking, "Is there any better way or equal hope in the world?"

I intend, on Monday next, to request of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate the privilege of appearing before the Congress to share with my former colleagues and with you, the American people, my views on the priority business of the Nation and to solicit your views and their views. And may I say to the Speaker and the others, if I could meet with you right after these remarks, I would appreciate it.

Even though this is late in an election year, there is no way we can go forward except together and no way anybody can win except by serving the people's urgent needs. We cannot stand still or slip backwards. We must go forward now together.

To the peoples and the governments of all friendly nations, and I hope that could encompass the whole world, I pledge an uninterrupted and sincere search for peace. America will remain strong and united, but its strength will remain dedicated to the safety and sanity of the entire family of man, as well as to our own precious freedom.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our Government, but civilization itself. That bond, though strained, is unbroken at home and abroad.

In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over.

Our Constitution works; our great Republic is a Government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the golden rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.

In the beginning, I asked you to pray for me. Before closing, I ask again your prayers, for Richard Nixon and for his family. May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself. May God bless and comfort his wonderful wife and daughters, whose love and loyalty will forever be a shining legacy to all who bear the lonely burdens of the White House.

I can only guess at those burdens, although I have witnessed at close hand the tragedies that befell three Presidents and the lesser trials of others.

With all the strength and all the good sense I have gained from life, with all the confidence my family, my friends, and my dedicated staff impart to me, and with the good will of countless Americans I have encountered in recent visits to 40 States, I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last December 6: to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America.

God helping me, I will not let you down.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

Press Secretary to the President

The President's Remarks Announcing the Appointment of J. F. terHorst. August 9, 1974

Good morning:

Number one, it is a nice opportunity this morning to get reacquainted with many of you who suffered with me when I was over here with Ev Dirksen and subsequently with Hugh Scott, so let me say that I look forward to meeting the new faces, and it is a pleasure to see those that I have known before.

I have two profound announcements to make.

We will have one of yours as my Press Secretary, Jerry terHorst. We will, of course, have Paul Miltich and Bill Roberts with Jerry. We haven't worked out all the titles and responsibilities, but that will be our team, and I hope and trust that they can work with you as well as Paul and Bill have worked with the people that I have been working with.

The second one is—the second very profound announcement—I understand that where many of you are standing there is a swimming pool. And you know my great interest in aquatic activity. [*Laughter*]

I haven't made a firm decision yet. I don't know whether we should solicit your recommendations or whether we should just confine it to the National Security Council or some other very important body. [*Laughter*]

Let me say again, I do look forward to working with you. We will have, I trust, the kind of rapport and friendship which we had in the past. And I don't ask you to treat me any better than I would expect in reverse.

We will have an open, we will have a candid Administration. I can't change my nature after 61 years.

So, all I can say is thank you for your kindnesses in the past, your reporting, good and bad, mistakes and maybe a few pluses, and I say again, good luck to you, and thanks for the opportunity of seeing you this morning.

I should tell you that Jerry terHorst was, along with several others, responsible for my first political success. He and another very fine reporter from Grand Rapids con-nived to help me get a little extra space in the Grand Rapids Press, and I am just delighted to have Jerry with us here on this occasion.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:04 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

For a release on the appointment of Mr. terHorst, see the following item.

Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of J. F. terHorst August 9, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of J. F. terHorst, of Alexandria, Va., as Press Secretary to the President.

Mr. terHorst has been the Washington bureau chief for the Detroit News since 1961. In 1946, he became a reporter for the Grand Rapids Press. He joined the staff of the Detroit News in 1953, where he was the city and state political writer until 1957. In 1958, he became a Washington correspondent and became the bureau chief in 1961.

Mr. terHorst was born in Grand Rapids, Mich., on July 11, 1922. He received his A.B. from the University of Michigan and served as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1943 to 1946.

Mr. terHorst resides in Alexandria, Va., and is married to the former Louise Roth. They have four children: Karen, Margaret, Peter, and Martha.

The President's Initial Appointments and Meetings

Remarks of J. F. terHorst, Press Secretary to the President, Announcing the Appointments of a Transition Team and a Counsellor to the President, Together With Details on the President's Schedule. August 9, 1974

The President has asked a group of prominent citizens and Government officials to assist him in bringing about an orderly transition in the Government. He has precisely asked four individuals—Donald Rumsfeld, Rogers C. B. Morton, John O. Marsh, Jr., and William W. Scranton—to be members of this transition team, and he has sought and asked and is getting their advice on the best ways to build an effective White House organization.

The transition staff will provide liaison with members of Mr. Ford's Vice Presidential Staff, the existing White House Staff, and the Cabinet and heads of agencies. We have biographical material on these four men.

The President also asked me to announce the appointment of Robert T. Hartmann, who was chief of the Vice Presidential Staff. He will become a Counsellor to the President.

After the swearing-in ceremony in the East Room and brief appearance here in the Briefing Room, President Ford met with the senior White House Staff for about 20 minutes, a group brought together at President Ford's request and brought together by General Haig. The meeting took place in the Roosevelt Room.

At the meeting, the President told the members of the senior White House Staff that he would not request their pro forma resignations and that he hoped that many of them would stay on to assist in this transitional period. General Haig, responding for the group, assured him that they would be willing to do that, and told President Ford that the same loyalty which they had given to President Nixon would now be President Ford's as far as the senior White House Staff is concerned, as General Haig put it, "in our hour of common cause."

Later this afternoon, as you probably know, the President met with a group of economic advisers in the Cabinet Room. Attending the meeting were Chairman Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board; the Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon; Counsellor Kenneth Rush; Herbert Stein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; and his successor-designate, Alan Greenspan; Budget Director Ash; and also sitting in on that meeting were Robert Hartmann, William Seidman, and Governor Scranton.

As you know, starting later this afternoon, the President has commenced a series of meetings with Ambassa-

dors of various countries, and that will continue until early this evening.

He also met with a group of NATO Ambassadors and with a group of Latin American Ambassadors and the Vietnamese Ambassador. We will post a complete schedule of these meetings and the full list of the names of those who were there.

I might say in connection with the Ambassadorial meetings that the President, along with Secretary Kissinger, underlined the continuity of bipartisan American foreign policy as conducted in the national interest, and as reflected in President Ford's comments last evening, that he can say with no hesitation or reservation that the policy that has achieved peace and built blocks for the future will be continued.

In his talks with the NATO Ambassadors, the President and Secretary of State also underlined the fact that NATO is the central element in our foreign policy and that the evolution begun with the NATO Declaration of Principles, which President Nixon signed in Brussels on his recent trip, will continue.

NOTE: Mr. terHorst made the remarks at his news conference at the White House on Friday, August 9, 1974. They were not issued in the form of a White House press release.

For a release on the appointment of Robert T. Hartmann as Counsellor to the President, see the following item.

Counsellor to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Robert T. Hartmann. August 9, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Robert T. Hartmann, Chief of his Vice Presidential Staff, as Counsellor to the President.

Mr. Hartmann was Minority Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives in the 91st, 92d, and 93d Congresses and Legislative Assistant to then Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford before Mr. Ford became Vice President on December 6, 1973. Mr. Hartmann was formerly the chief of the Washington bureau of the Los Angeles Times from 1954 to 1964.

Mr. Hartmann is a native of Rapid City, S. Dak. He spent most of his lifetime in California and received his B.A. from Stanford University in 1938. He served in the Pacific during World War II and is a retired captain from the United States Naval Reserve.

He is married to the former Roberta Sankey. They reside in Westgate, Md., and have two children.

NOTE: On Saturday, August 10, 1974, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony for Mr. Hartmann at the White House. The oath of office was administered by John J. Ratchford, Executive Clerk at the White House.

Presidential Transition

Memorandums for White House Staff, Vice Presidential Staff, and Heads of Departments and Agencies. Dated August 9, 1974. Released August 10, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF
FROM: The Vice President

I know this has been a difficult and confusing time for each of you. You must have feelings of sorrow, as I do, but you also should be proud—proud of the President you served and of your efforts for him and the country.

Many of you will want to go on to other pursuits now that your service to him has ended. I understand and respect that, but I also need your help. I ask each of you to stay on long enough to assure a steady and informed transition of the Presidency.

I have asked some friends whose counsel I respect to help me with the transition. They will form a bridge for me to my Vice Presidential staff office and to the officials of the Executive Branch until a permanent organization is established. I ask your help and cooperation for them as well as myself.

President Nixon fought long and with all his might to serve the American people well, ending his Presidency with a selfless and courageous act. You can still serve him and the Nation by helping me to carry on the essential functions of the Presidency. I will meet with the senior officials of the White House in the Roosevelt Room soon after I take the oath of office to discuss transition arrangements and responsibilities.

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE
VICE PRESIDENTIAL STAFF

On a number of occasions in the past, I have told you that I was only the "front man" in our efforts. Behind the scenes, each of you worked, sometimes day and night, and often all weekend, to facilitate our joint efforts. Some have been with me longer than others, but all of you have combined in a short time to perform at a singular level of excellence.

As I assume the new responsibilities of the Presidency, I want you to know how mindful I am of your past labors—and how grateful and indebted I am to you. You have contributed indispensably to the successful operation of the Office of the Vice President and to my ability to assume my new responsibilities. Our staff has been close to one another, much as a family, and I hope all of you understand the depth of my appreciation and affection. Although I am moving to another office, my loyalty and esteem for you remain unchanged.

I have asked some old friends to come in and help us during this difficult period, which we all hoped would not come. I hope you will render all possible cooperation to those who will be here to facilitate the transition, as well as to those of Mr. Nixon's staff for whom this time is even more difficult than it is for us.

With heartfelt thanks,

GERALD R. FORD

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS AND
AGENCIES

Just as President Nixon kept up the business of government so long as he was President, I know each of you has worked diligently to carry out the responsibilities you hold. I am sure you have a feeling of sorrow, as I do, but you can also take pride in the many constructive accomplishments made by the Nixon Administration.

Some of you may now want to pass your responsibilities on to others. But I need your help. I ask each of you to continue to carry on the mission of your agency and to give me the advice I need as I take on my new responsibilities.

I have asked some friends whose counsel I respect to help me with the transition. They will form a bridge for me to my Vice Presidential staff office and to the officials of the Executive Branch until a permanent organization is established. I ask your help and cooperation for them as well as myself.

President Nixon fought long and with all his might to serve the American people well, ending his Presidency with a selfless and courageous act. You can still serve him and the Nation by helping me to carry on the essential functions of the Presidency. I will hold a Cabinet meeting Saturday morning at 10:00 a.m. I will meet with heads of other government agencies and with the sub-cabinet as soon as my schedule permits.

GERALD R. FORD

Counsellor to the President

Announcement of Appointment of John O. Marsh, Jr. August 10, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of John O. Marsh, Jr., as Counsellor to the President. He has been Assistant to the Vice President for Defense Affairs since January 1974.

From 1973 to 1974, he was Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs. Mr. Marsh, 47, was elected to four successive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Virginia Democrat. He served as a

member of the Appropriations, Veterans Affairs, and Interior and Insular Affairs Committees. Mr. Marsh, a graduate of Washington and Lee Law School, has practiced law from 1952 until his election to Congress in 1962 and resumed the practice of law in Washington after retiring voluntarily from the House in 1970 to practice law.

Mr. Marsh was named "Outstanding Young Man in Virginia" by the Virginia Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1959. He also received the Distinguished Service Medal of the American Legion's Department of Virginia. A graduate of the Infantry Officer Candidate School, Mr. Marsh is presently a lieutenant colonel in the Virginia National Guard.

Mr. Marsh is married to the former Glenn Ann Patterson of Kenbridge, Va. They live in Arlington, Va.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

August 9

Following his swearing in as the 38th President of the United States, President Ford held a series of meetings at the White House. The President met with:

- members of the bipartisan Congressional leadership;
- senior members of the White House Staff;
- a group of economic advisers, including Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, Sec-

retary of the Treasury William E. Simon, Kenneth Rush, Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy, Chairman Herbert Stein and Chairman-designate Alan Greenspan of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget; Robert T. Hartmann, William Seidman, and William W. Scranton also participated in the meeting;

- Ambassadors from the NATO nations of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, and the United Kingdom;
- Japanese Ambassador Takeshi Yasukawa;
- Soviet Chargé Yuly M. Vorontsov;
- Ambassadors from the Middle Eastern nations of Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen;
- Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office of the People's Republic of China;
- Ambassadors of the Latin American nations of Argentina, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela;
- Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz;
- South Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong.

August 10

The President held separate meetings at the White House with the Cabinet and the National Security Council.

The President has sent messages to many heads of government around the world, assuring them of the continuity of American foreign policy and America's desire for continued good and strong relations.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released August 9, 1974

Biographical data on the transition team:
Donald Rumsfeld, Rogers C. B. Morton,
John O. Marsh, Jr., William W. Scranton.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate by President Ford during the period covered by this issue.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved August 10, 1974

- H.R. 10309..... Public Law 93-370
An act to amend the Act of June 13, 1933 (Public Law 73-40), concerning safety standards for boilers and pressure vessels, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 13264..... Public Law 93-369
An act to amend the provisions of the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, 1930, relating to practices in the marketing of perishable agricultural commodities.

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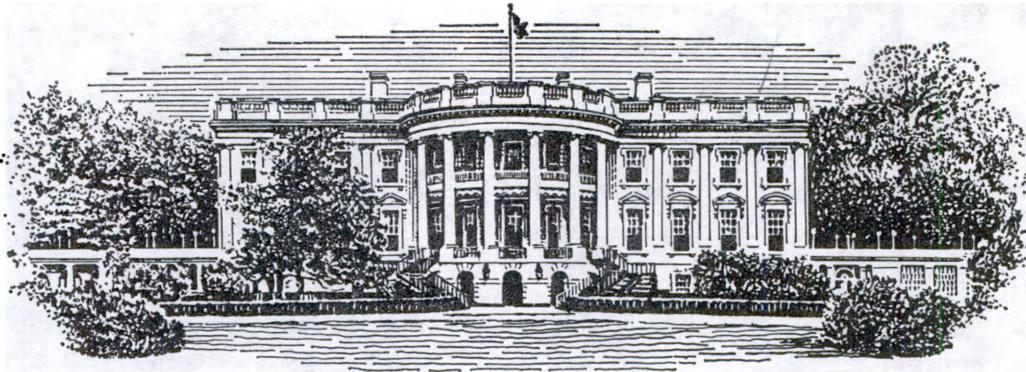
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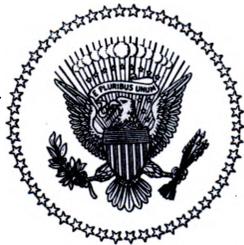
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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, August 17, 1974

Independence for Guinea-Bissau

Statement by the President on Portuguese Recognition of the Independence of Its Former Territory. August 12, 1974

The Government and the people of the United States welcome the agreement in principle reached on August 9 between the Portuguese Government and representatives of Guinea-Bissau. We extend our congratulations to the leaders of both governments. We look forward to a productive and friendly relationship with Guinea-Bissau.

I have instructed our representatives at the United Nations to support the application of Guinea-Bissau for membership in the United Nations.

NOTE: Press Secretary J. F. terHorst read the statement at his news conference at the White House on Monday, August 12, 1974. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

General Motors Price Increase

Statement by the President. August 12, 1974

I was very disappointed, and I hope that the General Motors action will not be viewed as a signal by other auto companies or other industries. In this critical period, the President of the United States cannot call on others to sacrifice if one or more parts of the economy decide to go it alone. It is essential at this time, particularly, that all segments of the economy, industry, and labor, exercise restraint in their wage and price actions.

NOTE: Press Secretary J. F. terHorst read the statement at his news conference at the White House on Monday, August 12, 1974. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS

The President's Address Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress. August 12, 1974

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished guests and my very dear friends:

My fellow Americans, we have a lot of work to do. My former colleagues, you and I have a lot of work to do. Let's get on with it.

Needless to say, I am deeply grateful for the wonderfully warm welcome. I can never express my gratitude adequately.

I am not here to make an inaugural address. The Nation needs action, not words. Nor will this be a formal report of the State of the Union. God willing, I will have at least three more chances to do that.

It is good to be back in the People's House. But this cannot be a real homecoming. Under the Constitution, I now belong to the executive branch. The Supreme Court has even ruled that I am the executive branch, head, heart, and hand.

With due respect to the learned Justices—and I greatly respect the judiciary—part of my heart will always be here on Capitol Hill. I know well the co-equal role of the Congress in our constitutional process. I love the House of Representatives. I revere the traditions of the Senate despite my too-short internship in that great body. As President, within the limits of basic principles, my motto toward the Congress is communication, conciliation, compromise, and cooperation.

This Congress, unless it has changed, I am confident, will be my working partner as well as my most constructive critic. I am not asking for conformity. I am dedicated to the two-party system, and you know which party I belong to.

I do not want a honeymoon with you. I want a good marriage.

I want progress, and I want problem-solving which requires my best efforts and also your best efforts.

I have no need to learn how Congress speaks for the people. As President, I intend to listen.

But I also intend to listen to the people themselves—all the people—as I promised last Friday. I want to be sure that we are all tuned in to the real voice of America.

My Administration starts off by seeking unity in diversity. My office door has always been open, and that is how it is going to be at the White House. Yes, Congressmen will be welcomed—if you don't overdo it. *[Laughter]*

The first seven words of the Constitution and the most important are these: We, the people of the United States. We, the people, ordained and established the Constitution and reserved to themselves all powers not granted to Federal and State government. I respect and will always be conscious of that fundamental rule of freedom.

Only 8 months ago, when I last stood here, I told you I was a Ford, not a Lincoln. Tonight I say I am still a Ford, but I am not a Model T.

I do have some old-fashioned ideas, however. I believe in the very basic decency and fairness of America. I believe in the integrity and patriotism of the Congress. And while I am aware of the House rule that no one ever speaks to the galleries, I believe in the first amendment and the absolute necessity of a free press.

But I also believe that over two centuries since the First Continental Congress was convened, the direction of our Nation's movement has been forward. I am here to confess that in my first campaign for President—of my senior class in South High School in Grand Rapids, Michigan—I headed the Progressive Party ticket, and lost. Maybe that is why I became a Republican. *[Laughter]*

Now I ask you to join with me in getting this country revved up and moving.

My instinctive judgment is that the state of the Union is excellent. But the state of our economy is not so good. Everywhere I have been as Vice President, some 118,000 miles in 40 States and some 55 press conferences, the unanimous concern of Americans is inflation.

For once all the polls seem to agree. They also suggest that the people blame Government far more than either management or labor for the high cost of everything they have to buy.

You who come from 50 States, three territories, and the District of Columbia, know this better than I do. That is why you have created, since I left, your new Budget Reform Committee. I welcome it, and I will work with its members to bring the Federal budget into balance in fiscal year 1976.

The fact is that for the past 25 years that I had the honor of serving in this body, the Federal budget has been balanced in only six.

Mr. Speaker, I am a little late getting around to it, but confession is good for the soul. I have sometimes voted to spend more taxpayers' money for worthy Federal projects in Grand Rapids, Michigan, while I vigorously opposed wasteful spending boondoggles in Oklahoma. [Laughter]

Be that as it may, Mr. Speaker, you and I have always stood together against unwarranted cuts in national defense. This is no time to change that nonpartisan policy.

Just as escalating Federal spending has been a prime cause of higher prices over many years, it may take some time to stop inflation. But we must begin right now.

For a start, before your Labor Day recess, Congress should reactivate the Cost of Living Council through passage of a clean bill, without reimposing controls, that will let us monitor wages and prices to expose abuses.

Whether we like it or not, the American wage earner and the American housewife are a lot better economists than most economists care to admit. They know that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

If we want to restore confidence in ourselves as working politicians, the first thing we all have to do is to learn to say, "No."

The first specific request by the Ford Administration is not to Congress but to the voters in the upcoming November elections. It is this, very simple: Support your candidates, Congressmen and Senators, Democrats or Republicans, conservatives or liberals, who consistently vote for tough decisions to cut the cost of government, restrain Federal spending, and bring inflation under control.

I applaud the initiatives Congress has already taken. The only fault I find with the Joint Economic Committee's study on inflation, authorized last week, is that we need its expert findings in 6 weeks instead of 6 months.

A month ago, the distinguished majority leader of the United States Senate asked the White House to convene an economic conference of Members of Congress, the President's economic consultants, and some of the best economic brains from labor, industry, and agriculture.

Later, this was perfected by resolution to assemble a domestic summit meeting to devise a bipartisan action for stability and growth in the American economy. Neither I nor my staff have much time right now for letterwriting. So, I will respond. I accept the suggestion, and I will personally preside.

Furthermore, I propose that this summit meeting be held at an early date, in full view of the American public. They are as anxious as we are to get the right answers.

My first priority is to work with you to bring inflation under control. Inflation is domestic enemy number one. To restore economic confidence, the Government in Washington must provide some leadership. It does no good to blame the public for spending too much when the Government is spending too much.

I began to put my Administration's own economic house in order starting last Friday.

I instructed my Cabinet officers and Counsellors and my White House Staff to make fiscal restraint their first order of business, and to save every taxpayer's dollar the safety and genuine welfare of our great Nation will permit. Some economic activities will be affected more by monetary and fiscal restraint than other activities. Good government clearly requires that we tend to the economic problems facing our country in a spirit of equity to all of our citizens in all segments of our society.

Tonight, obviously, is no time to threaten you with vetoes. But I do have the last recourse, and I am a veteran of many a veto fight right here in this great chamber. Can't we do a better job by reasonable compromise? I hope we can.

Minutes after I took the Presidential oath, the joint leadership of Congress told me at the White House they would go more than half way to meet me. This was confirmed in your unanimous concurrent resolution of cooperation, for which I am deeply grateful. If, for my part, I go more than half way to meet the Congress, maybe we can find a much larger area of national agreement.

I bring no legislative shopping list here this evening. I will deal with specifics in future messages and talks with you, but here are a few examples of how seriously I feel about what we must do together.

Last week, the Congress passed the elementary and secondary education bill, and I found it on my desk. Any reservations I might have about some of its provisions—and I do have—fade in comparison to the urgent needs of America for quality education. I will sign it in a few days.

I must be frank. In implementing its provisions, I will oppose excessive funding during this inflationary crisis.

As Vice President, I studied various proposals for better health care financing. I saw them coming closer together and urged my friends in the Congress and in the Administration to sit down and sweat out a sound compromise. The Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan goes a long way toward providing early relief to people who are sick.

Why don't we write—and I ask this with the greatest spirit of cooperation—why don't we write a good health bill on the statute books in 1974, before this Congress adjourns.

The economy of our country is critically dependent on how we interact with the economies of other countries. It is little comfort that our inflation is only a part of a worldwide problem or that American families need less of their paychecks for groceries than most of our foreign friends.

As one of the building blocks of peace, we have taken the lead in working toward a more open and a more equitable world economic system. A new round of international trade negotiations started last Sep-

tember among 105 nations in Tokyo. The others are waiting for the United States Congress to grant the necessary authority to the executive branch to proceed.

With modifications, the trade reform bill passed by the House last year would do a good job. I understand good progress has been made in the Senate Committee on Finance. But I am optimistic, as always, that the Senate will pass an acceptable bill quickly as a key part of our joint prosperity campaign.

I am determined to expedite other international economic plans. We will be working together with other nations to find better ways to prevent shortages of food and fuel. We must not let last winter's energy crisis happen again. I will push Project Independence for our own good and the good of others. In that, too, I will need your help.

Successful foreign policy is an extension of the hopes of the whole American people for a world of peace and orderly reform and orderly freedom. So, I would say a few words to our distinguished guests from the governments of other nations where, as at home, it is my determination to deal openly with allies and adversaries.

Over the past 5½ years in Congress and as Vice President, I have fully supported the outstanding foreign policy of President Nixon. This policy I intend to continue.

Throughout my public service, starting with wartime naval duty under the command of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, I have upheld all our Presidents when they spoke for my country to the world. I believe the Constitution commands this. I know that in this crucial area of international policy I can count on your firm support.

Now, let there be no doubt or any misunderstanding anywhere, and I emphasize anywhere: There are no opportunities to exploit, should anyone so desire. There will be no change of course, no relaxation of vigilance, no abandonment of the helm of our Ship of State as the watch changes.

We stand by our commitments and we will live up to our responsibilities in our formal alliances, in our friendships, and in our improving relations with potential adversaries.

On this, Americans are united and strong. Under my term of leadership, I hope we will become more united. I am certain America will remain strong.

A strong defense is the surest way to peace. Strength makes détente attainable. Weakness invites war as my generation—my generation—knows from four very bitter experiences.

Just as America's will for peace is second to none, so will America's strength be second to none.

We cannot rely on the forbearance of others to protect this Nation. The power and diversity of the Armed Forces, active guard, and reserve, the resolve of our fellow citizens, the flexibility in our command to navigate international waters that remain troubled are all essential to our security.

I shall continue to insist on civilian control of our superb military establishment. The Constitution plainly requires the President to be Commander in Chief, and I will be.

Our job will not be easy. In promising continuity, I cannot promise simplicity. The problems and challenges of the world remain complex

and difficult. But we have set out on a path of reason, of fairness, and we will continue on it.

As guideposts on that path, I offer the following:

—To our allies of a generation in the Atlantic community and Japan, I pledge continuity in the loyal collaboration on our many mutual endeavors.

—To our friends and allies in this hemisphere, I pledge continuity in the deepening dialog to define renewed relationships of equality and justice.

—To our allies and friends in Asia, I pledge a continuity in our support for their security, independence, and economic development. In Indochina, we are determined to see the observance of the Paris agreement on Vietnam and the cease-fire and negotiated settlement in Laos. We hope to see an early compromise settlement in Cambodia.

—To the Soviet Union, I pledge continuity in our commitment to the course of the past 3 years. To our two peoples, and to all mankind, we owe a continued effort to live and, where possible, to work together in peace; for in a thermonuclear age there can be no alternative to a positive and peaceful relationship between our nations.

—To the People's Republic of China, whose legendary hospitality I enjoyed, I pledge continuity in our commitment to the principles of the Shanghai communique. The new relationship built on those principles has demonstrated that it serves serious and objective mutual interests and has become an enduring feature of the world scene.

—To the nations in the Middle East, I pledge continuity in our vigorous efforts to advance the progress which has brought hopes of peace to that region after 25 years as a hotbed of war. We shall carry out our promise to promote continuing negotiations among all parties for a complete, just, and lasting settlement.

—To all nations, I pledge continuity in seeking a common global goal: a stable international structure of trade and finance which reflects the interdependence of all peoples.

—To the entire international community—to the United Nations, to the world's nonaligned nations, and to all others—I pledge continuity in our dedication to the humane goals which throughout our history have been so much of America's contribution to mankind.

So long as the peoples of the world have confidence in our purposes and faith in our word, the age-old vision of peace on earth will grow brighter.

I pledge myself unreservedly to that goal. I say to you in words that cannot be improved upon: Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate.

As Vice President, at the request of the President, I addressed myself to the individual rights of Americans in the area of privacy. There will be no illegal tappings (tapings), eavesdropping, buggings, or break-ins by my Administration. There will be hot pursuit of tough laws to prevent illegal invasion of privacy in both government and private activities.

On the higher plane of public morality, there is no need for me to preach tonight. We have thousands of far better preachers and millions of sacred scriptures to guide us on the path of personal right-living and exemplary official conduct. If we can make effective and earlier use of moral and ethical wisdom of the centuries in today's complex society, we will prevent more crime and more corruption than all the policemen and

prosecutors governments can ever deter. If I might say so, this is a job that must begin at home, not in Washington.

I once told you that I am not a saint, and I hope never to see the day that I cannot admit having made a mistake. So I will close with another confession.

Frequently, along the tortuous road of recent months from this chamber to the President's House, I protested that I was my own man. Now I realize that I was wrong.

I am your man, for it was your carefully weighed confirmation that changed my occupation.

The truth is I am the people's man, for you acted in their name, and I accepted and began my new and solemn trust with a promise to serve all the people and do the best that I can for America.

When I say all the people, I mean exactly that.

To the limits of my strength and ability, I will be the President of black, brown, red, and white Americans, of old and young, of women's liberationists and male chauvinists—[laughter]—and all the rest of us in between, of the poor and the rich, of native sons and new refugees, of those who work at lathes or at desks or in mines or in the fields, of Christians, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists, and atheists if there really are any atheists after what we have all been through.

Fellow Americans, one final word:

I want to be a good President.

I need your help.

We all need God's sure guidance.

With it, nothing can stop the United States of America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:06 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol, after being introduced by Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

Bill Concerning Deputy U.S. Marshals

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 5094 Without His Approval. Dated August 12, 1974. Released August 13, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am today returning to the Congress without my approval H.R. 5094, a measure that would require the reclassification and upgrading of deputy United States marshals.

A bill substantially similar to this legislation was passed by the Congress and then pocket vetoed by President Nixon in October, 1972. Since that time various departments of the executive branch have consistently argued that such legislation would be unwise and discriminatory.

That opposition has been based upon the view that by singling out deputy United States marshals for significant salary increases, the Government would be creating serious pay inequities with other Federal law enforcement personnel, thus violating fundamental principles of fair-

ness. In addition, H.R. 5094 would severely disrupt existing grade and pay relationships among the deputy marshals themselves. In some cases, under this legislation, junior marshals would be paid \$1,150 a year more than their senior colleagues. Some deputies doing identical work would be placed in different pay grades, while deputies performing different jobs would be placed in the same pay grade.

I fully appreciate the fine service performed by our deputy U.S. marshals, and I am aware that the Congress was prompted by a desire to ensure that their pay matched the increasing responsibilities they have assumed in recent years. But I also believe that this legislation would run directly counter to the principle of equal pay for equal work that underlies our civil service system. Our policy has been and must continue to be one of fundamental fairness to all Federal employees. For that reason, I am returning this legislation without my approval.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 12, 1974.

United States Ambassador to Greece

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Jack B. Kubisch. August 13, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jack B. Kubisch, a Career Minister in the Foreign Service, now serving as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, to be Ambassador to Greece. He will succeed Henry J. Tasca, who has resigned.

Mr. Kubisch was born on November 5, 1921, in Hannibal, Mo. He attended Central College, Fayette, Mo., and received his B.A. degree in 1942 from the University of Missouri. He attended the Harvard Graduate School of Business during 1946-47, following service as an officer in the U.S. Navy from 1942 to 1945. He is fluent in French, Portuguese, and Spanish.

Following his first tour in Rio, Mr. Kubisch was Assistant Economic Commissioner, Economic Cooperation Administration, Paris, from 1949 to 1950. From 1950 to 1953, he was director of international operations for Bendix Home Appliances, South Bend, Ind., and from 1953 to 1961 he was president and chairman of the board of Great Northern Distributors in South Bend. He returned to Government service in 1961 as Deputy Director of the U.S. AID Mission in Ceylon.

In 1962-63 he was Director, U.S. AID Mission, Rio de Janeiro, and in 1963-64 he was Minister for Economic Affairs and U.S. AID Mission Director, Rio de Janeiro. In 1964 he was appointed FSO-1, and from 1965 to 1969 he was Country Director of Brazilian Affairs. From 1969 to 1971, he was Deputy Chief of Mission, Mexico City, and from 1971 to 1973 he was Deputy Chief of Mission, Paris. He was promoted to Career Minister in 1973, and from 1973 to the present he has been serving as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

He is married to the former Constance Rippe and they have four children.

United States Ambassador to the Republic of Korea

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Richard L. Sneider. August 13, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard L. Sneider, a career Foreign Service officer, now serving as Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, to be Ambassador to Korea. He will succeed Philip C. Habib who is now Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Born June 29, 1922, in New York, N.Y., he attended Brown University receiving an A.B. degree in 1943 and an M.I.A. in 1948 from Columbia. He served with the United States Army as a first lieutenant from 1943 to 1946.

In 1941 he was a research intern with the Civil Service Commission. In 1947 he was a Junior Political Analyst, Council on Foreign Relations. In 1948-51 he was an analyst, then Intelligence Research Specialist, Office of Intelligence, Department of State. From 1951 to 1952, he was Far East Coordinator, Psychological Intelligence Program, Office of Intelligence Research. In 1952-54 he was a Foreign Affairs officer, United Nations Affairs; 1954-58 he was assigned as Politico-Military Officer, Tokyo; 1958-61 he was Officer in Charge of Japanese Affairs, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Department; 1962-65 he was Political Counselor, Karachi. He was promoted in 1963 to FSO-2. From 1965 to 1969, he served as Public Affairs Adviser, then Country Director for Japan in the Department. He was promoted to FSO-1 in 1968. In 1969 he was a Political Officer, National Security Council, and from 1969 to 1970 he was Special Assistant to Ambassador for Okinawan Affairs, Tokyo; 1970-72 he was Deputy Chief of Mission, Tokyo, and from 1972 to the present he was Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

He received the Superior Honor Award in 1970. He is married to the former Ruth Leah Tartalsky, and they have three children, Daniel, Dena, and David.

Special International Exhibitions

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the 11th Annual Report on the Program. August 13, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by law, I transmit to the Congress the Eleventh Annual Report on Special International Exhibitions conducted during fiscal year 1973 under the authority of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-256).

This report covers exhibitions presented abroad by the U.S. Information Agency at international fairs and under East-West Cultural Exchange agreements, as well as exhibitions and labor missions presented abroad by the Department of Labor.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 13, 1974.

NOTE: The report entitled "Special International Exhibitions—FY 73 Eleventh Annual Report, United States Information Agency" was based on material prepared by the Department of Labor and the United States Information Agency.

Administration of Export Controls

Executive Order 11798. August 14, 1974

REVOKING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11796 OF JULY 30, 1974, AND CONTINUING IN EFFECT EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11533 OF JUNE 4, 1970, RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF EXPORT CONTROLS

By virtue of the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including the statutes referred to herein, it is hereby ordered:

SECTION 1. Executive Order No. 11796 of July 30, 1974, issued under the authority of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended (12 U.S.C. 95a), is hereby revoked, except that this revocation shall not affect any violation of any rules, regulations, orders, licenses, and other forms of administrative action under said order which occurred during the period said order was in effect.

SEC. 2. Pursuant to Public Law 93-372 of August 14, 1974, effective as of the close of July 30, 1974, Executive Order No. 11533 of June 4, 1970, and all delegations, redelegations, rules, regulations, orders, licenses, and other forms of administrative action under said order which were in effect on July 30, 1974, and which have not been revoked administratively or legislatively, are continued and shall be in full force and effect until amended, modified, or terminated by proper authority.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 14, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:55 a.m.,
August 15, 1974]

Veto of Animal Health Research Bill

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 11873 Without His Approval. Dated August 14, 1974. Released August 15, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval H.R. 11873, an act authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to encourage and assist States in carrying out programs of animal health research.

I believe, as do proponents of this bill, that veterinary research has helped to make American livestock the

healthiest and most productive in the world. We must continue to maintain high standards of research.

But I also believe that this bill adds little to the existing programs of the Department of Agriculture and other agencies.

We are presently spending over \$40 million on programs involving animal health research, and nearly every land grant college and colleges of veterinary medicine in the United States is participating in these programs.

This bill, however, would establish a new categorical grant program that would authorize an expenditure of an additional \$47 million annually and would be duplicative of many programs that already exist. The overlapping would be especially true of programs in fish and shellfish research and predator control.

Because this bill would add further to the Federal taxpayers' burdens without significantly meeting national needs and would only add to inflationary pressures within the economy, I feel that I must withhold my approval.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 14, 1974.

Counsel to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Philip W. Buchen. August 15, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Philip W. Buchen, of Grand Rapids, Mich., as Counsel to the President.

Prior to his appointment, Mr. Buchen, 58, was a senior partner in the law firm of Law, Buchen, Weathers, Richardson and Dutcher, and served as Executive Director of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. He is a former law partner of the President. Mr. Buchen was a member of the United States delegation to the INTELSTAT Conference which negotiated the definitive arrangements for the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization between 1969 and 1972.

Since 1969, he has served on the Board of Directors of the COMSAT Corporation. He has resigned that position effective today. Mr. Buchen received a B.A. degree from the University of Michigan in 1939 and a J.D. degree from the University of Michigan Law School in 1941. He is a member of the Michigan State Bar.

Mr. Buchen is married to the former Beatrice Loomis. They have a son, Roderick, and a daughter, Mrs. Victoria Aler.

U.S.-United Kingdom Agreement on Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting an Authoritative Copy of an Amendment to the Agreement. August 15, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 as amended, I am submitting to the Congress an authoritative copy of an amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes of July 3, 1958, as amended. The Amendment was signed at Washington on July 22, 1974.

The Agreement as previously amended includes a provision (Paragraph A of Article III *bis*) under which the Government of the United States agrees to transfer to the Government of the United Kingdom for its atomic weapons program prior to December 31, 1974 in such quantities and on such terms and conditions as may be agreed non-nuclear parts of atomic weapons and atomic weapons systems as well as source, by-product and special nuclear material. A second provision of the existing Agreement (Paragraph C of Article III *bis*) stipulated that the Government of the United Kingdom agrees to transfer to the Government of the United States for military purposes such source, by-product and special nuclear material, and equipment of such types in such quantities, at such times prior to December 31, 1974 and on such terms and conditions as may be agreed.

Under the Amendment submitted herewith the period during which the provisions of Paragraph A and C of Article III *bis* of the Agreement for Cooperation remain in force would be extended for five years so that transfers could be made any time prior to December 31, 1979. The continued authorization of the two Governments to cooperate with each other in these respects would contribute to our mutual defense, particularly in the North Atlantic Treaty area.

The Amendment also would delete references in the preamble and Article XI (H) of the Agreement to the UK Atomic Energy Authority, since that Authority no longer has any direct responsibility in the field of nuclear defense.

I am also transmitting a copy of the Secretary of State's letter to me accompanying authoritative copies of the signed Amendment, a copy of a joint letter from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the

Secretary of Defense recommending approval of this Amendment, and a copy of my memorandum in reply thereto, setting forth my approval.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 15, 1974.

Deputy Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of John W. Hushen. August 16, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of John W. Hushen, of Detroit, Mich., as Deputy Press Secretary to the President. Since June 1970, Mr. Hushen has been Director of Public Information of the Department of Justice and Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

From 1966 to 1970, he was press secretary to Senator Robert P. Griffin after serving as his campaign press secretary during 1966. From 1959 to 1966, he was a reporter with the Detroit News. During high school and college, he was a copy boy with the Detroit Free Press and a reporter with the Flint Journal.

He was born on July 28, 1935, in Detroit, Mich. After attending Detroit public schools and the Capitol Page School in Washington, D.C., he attended Wayne State University, where he was editor of the Daily Collegian. He received his B.A. degree in journalism in 1958.

Mr. Hushen and his wife Margaret have three children and reside in Bethesda, Md.

Assistant Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Paul A. Miltich. August 16, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Paul A. Miltich, of Silver Spring, Md., to be Assistant Press Secretary to the President.

Mr. Miltich was Press Secretary to Vice President Ford from December 1973. In June 1946, he became a member of the staff of the Saginaw News in Saginaw, Mich. In October of 1958, he was named Washington correspondent for the Booth Newspapers. In March of 1966, he was named Press Secretary to House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford after having served as a member of the Standing Committee of Correspondents.

He was born on October 30, 1919, in Virginia, Minn. He received his B.A. degree from the University of Min-

nesota in 1941 with highest distinction. He taught English at the Breck School for Boys in St. Paul, Minn., before entering the Army in 1942. Mr. Miltich taught school in 1946 in Saginaw, Mich., and served as deputy commissioner of Saginaw County schools before joining the Saginaw News.

Mr. Miltich is married to the former Sylvia S. Schumann, and they have two children.

Assistant Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of James R. Holland. August 16, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of James R. Holland, of Chevy Chase, Md., to be Assistant Press Secretary to the President.

Since February 1974, Mr. Holland has been Deputy Communications Director to the President. In 1971, he was named Assistant Postmaster General for Communications and Public Affairs after having served as Special Assistant to the Postmaster General from January 1970. In 1973, he was named Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, before becoming Deputy Communications Director to the President.

He was born on August 3, 1939, in Soperton, Ga. He received his A.B. in journalism from the University of Georgia in 1954. From June 1954 to May 1958, he was a reporter for the International News Service in New York City, Birmingham, and Atlanta. In June 1958, he became a reporter for United Press International in New York City before joining the J. Walter Thompson Company as a writer and account representative in New York in 1959. Mr. Holland was a second vice president, advertising and public relations, of the John Hancock Life Insurance Co., in Boston after having served as general director of public relations. He was with the firm from 1961 to 1970.

Mr. Holland is married to the former Paula Shepard of Garden City, N.Y., and they have three children.

American National Red Cross

The President's Letter to Chairman Frank Stanton Accepting the Honorary Chairmanship of the Red Cross. August 16, 1974

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have your letter of August 9, and it is with great pleasure that I accept the invitation you have extended

on behalf of the Board of Governors to be the Honorary Chairman of the American National Red Cross.

Through the years, the American Red Cross has maintained an outstanding record of voluntary humanitarian services, fulfilling with high dedication and skill the obligations of its Congressional Charter. In the time ahead, I look forward to the opportunity of working with you, the Board of Governors and the Red Cross volunteer leadership across the Nation as we continue to meet the emergency and humanitarian needs of all our people.

With personal best wishes,
Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable Frank Stanton, Chairman, The American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C. 20006]

NOTE: The letter was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Dinner Honoring King Hussein of Jordan

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and King Hussein at the Dinner at the White House. August 16, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Your Majesties, Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Zaid Rifai, honorable guests:*

May I, Your Majesty, on behalf of all of us here and on behalf of all of us in America, wish you a very, very warm welcome on this occasion.

And may I say on a very personal note that it is a great honor and privilege for me to have you as the first chief of state to visit our country during the new Administration.

During the fine tenure of your being head of your country, we have had, as I recollect, some five national administrations in the United States, some Democrat and some Republican, but during this period of time there have been some changes. Those changes I will make a comment or two about subsequently, but we, regardless of the Administration in the United States, have never changed our view concerning yourself and your country, and we are proud of our long friendship and association.

Those changes that have taken place—and there are some changes in recent months—have been encouraging because they seem to have opened the door to progress for peace. They seem to have given us all hope that there will be greater improvement as we move ahead. Those changes, I think, in many respects can be attributed to you because of your courage, the great risks that you have taken during your lifetime and your superb understand-

ing of the problems of the Middle East and your desire to work for peace for all peoples.

There has been progress in this process of change. More recently we can see it in the two disengagements that have taken place in the last few months, in the continuing consultation in the diplomatic area, and, speaking of the diplomatic, may I say that for myself and our country, I pledge, on behalf of the American people, full support for the continuing diplomatic initiatives which are so essential for the goals that we seek.

Those goals, those hopes, of course, are the peace on a just, on a permanent basis that have for so many years, many centuries, eluded all of those in that area and the world at large, but it seems to me that as we look ahead, with the foundation that has been built, that with your continuing leadership, your continuing effort, with your continuing courage, and with the cooperation of ourselves and many others, we can achieve what has been the hope and aspirations of people throughout the world, as well as in the Middle East.

And if I might, in closing, may I congratulate you on your leadership, your dedication, your wisdom, and your cooperation. You have set an example for all of us to follow and to use as a guidepost for people not only in the Middle East but elsewhere.

So, may I ask that all join with me in a tribute to His Majesty and to the Kingdom of Jordan.

To you and to your country.

KING HUSSEIN. *Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, my good friends:*

It is a source of pride to me, sir, that over the years, the many years that have passed, I have been a firm believer in the great mutual benefits of relations that have happily developed, not only between my country and the United States but recently in the period of change that you so kindly refer to between many countries in our part of the world and the United States of America.

To me, it has been an honor to have visited this great Nation's Capital many a time, to have found friendship, understanding, sympathy, not only for myself but for my country and for a common cause to which I am proud to say we have always been dedicated, the cause of an honorable, just peace.

On this visit, sir, I am most proud to convey to you and to Mrs. Ford the feelings of not only my wife and those who have accompanied me from Jordan but my government and the people of Jordan, their wishes to you, sir, for every future success. I am sure these are the feelings of all in the United States and the very many throughout the world.

I am proud indeed, sir, to have had the privilege of knowing you before this visit and most proud, sir, that you consider me a friend. I am so touched, sir, by the kind words, but more so the sincerity that I know you possess, sir, which endears you to all your people, all the people

of the United States, and so many who have had the privilege of knowing you and who will have this privilege.

It is really a source of pride to us to have had this very close cooperation between our nations, to have seen in the recent past some basic steps taken for the establishment of a just and durable peace in our part of the world, largely through the efforts of our friends in the United States, the patience, the patient effort, the perseverance, the determination that has resulted in the first few steps materializing.

We know, sir, that you are dedicated to the cause of peace with justice. We are not only comforted but confident that the United States will contribute her full share for the achievement of this worthy objective under your wise leadership.

We will be ever proud to play our role, if enabled, to the fullest possible extent that we some day feel that will present the generations after us with a better life, with a better future, with a better world than possibly that in which we have had to live.

I would like to thank you and Mrs. Ford once again for your very, very great kindness and wish you every success. May God be with you, and I am sure, sir, that the hopes of so many in the United States and in the world as a whole under your great leadership will be fully justified.

Ladies and gentlemen, my good friends, I would very much indeed like you to join me in drinking a toast to the President of the United States and Mrs. Ford for every continued success.

To the President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:51 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

August 11

The President held a series of meetings at the White House to discuss the selection of a Vice Presidential nominee. The President met with:

- Melvin R. Laird;
- Bryce N. Harlow;
- Representative Elford A. Cederberg of Michigan;
- Representative Barber B. Conable, Jr., of New York;

- Chairman George H. Bush of the Republican National Committee;
- Representative Leslie C. Arends of Illinois;
- Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania;
- Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan;
- Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona;
- Representative John J. Rhodes of Arizona; and
- Senator John Tower of Texas.

The White House announced that David Hume Kennerly has been named Personal Photographer to the President.

August 12

The President today accepted with deepest regret the resignation of Frederic V. Malek as Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, effective on a date to be determined.

August 13

Attorney General William B. Saxbe met with the President at the White House to discuss a Justice Department study on the right of privacy.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, met with the President.

The President met with a group of Federal, State, and local officials who are responsible for the implementation of programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973.

The President met with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, Deputy Secretary William P. Clements, Jr., and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger also participated in the meeting.

In the East Room, the President addressed a group of Presidential appointees currently holding sub-Cabinet positions in the departments and agencies, the Executive Office of the President, and the White House Staff.

August 14

The President talked by telephone with British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan and later with British Prime Minister Harold E. Wilson. They discussed the situation in Cyprus.

Senator Russell B. Long, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, met with the President at the White House to discuss legislation pending in the committee, including health insurance and the trade bill.

Soviet Ambassador A. F. Dobrynin met with the President. The Ambassador conveyed a personal message to the President from General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev.

The White House announced that James D. St. Clair is leaving his position as Special Counsel to the President, effective today.

The White House announced that the President has accepted the invitation of the Government of Japan to visit Japan before the end of the year, at the earliest opportunity available to both sides.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy met with the President at the White House. Following the meeting, the President hosted a working luncheon with the Foreign Minister.

Members of the Executive Committee of the National Governors' Conference met with the President.

Fifteen mayors, representing the National League of Cities and the United States Conference of Mayors, met with the President.

The President signed S. 2665 into law in an Oval Office ceremony attended by Senators Peter H. Dominick and James A. McClure and Representative Philip M. Crane. The bill authorizes appropriations for the U.S. contribution to the International Development Association.

Representative John W. Wydler of New York met with the President.

August 15

Senators Henry M. Jackson, Jacob K. Javits, and Abraham A. Ribicoff breakfasted with the President at the White House. They discussed the trade bill pending in the Congress and an amendment to the bill providing for free emigration from Communist countries.

Representatives of the National Association of County Officials met with the President.

The President participated in a swearing-in ceremony at the White House for John O. Marsh, Jr., as Counsellor to the President.

The White House announced the appointment of Nancy Howe as Personal Secretary to the First Lady.

The President met with a group of economic advisers. Participating in the meeting were: Counsellor to the President Kenneth Rush, Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, and Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger met with the President.

August 16

Frank E. Fitzsimmons, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, met with the President at the White House.

King Hussein of Jordan met with the President.

Director Roy L. Ash and other officials of the Office of Management and Budget met with the President to discuss the budget.

Senator Strom Thurmond met with the President to discuss defense matters.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved August 13, 1974

H.R. 14012----- Public Law 93-371
Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1975.

Approved August 14, 1974

H.J. Res. 1104----- Public Law 93-372
Joint resolution to extend by sixty-two days the expiration date of the Export Administration Act of 1969.

H.R. 15074----- Public Law 93-376
District of Columbia Campaign Finance Reform and Conflict of Interest Act.

S. 2665----- Public Law 93-373
An act to provide for increased participation by the United States in the International Development Association and to permit United States citizens to purchase, hold, sell, or otherwise deal with gold in the United States or abroad.

S. 3477----- Public Law 93-375
An act to amend the Act of August 9, 1955, relating to school fare subsidy for transportation of schoolchildren within the District of Columbia.

S.J. Res. 229----- Public Law 93-374
Joint resolution to amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released August 12, 1974

Advance text: address to a joint session of Congress

Released August 14, 1974

News conference: following a meeting with the President—by Calvin Rampton, Governor of Utah and Chairman, Executive Committee, National Governors' Conference, and Daniel J. Evans, Governor of Washington

News conference: on their meeting with the President—by Mayors Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, California, E. J. Garn of Salt Lake City, Utah, Ben Boo of Duluth, Minnesota, and Joseph Alioto of San Francisco, California

Released August 15, 1974

News conference: following a meeting with the President—by Senators Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, Henry M. Jackson of Washington, and Jacob K. Javits of New York

News conference: following their meeting with the President—by Stanley M. Smoot, Commissioner, Davis County, Utah, Ralph G. Caso, County Executive, Nassau County, N.Y., and Alfred B. Del Bello, County Executive, Westchester County, N.Y.

News conference: following his swearing in as Counsellor to the President—by John O. Marsh, Jr.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted August 13, 1974

JACK B. KUBISCH, of Michigan, a Foreign Service officer of the Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Greece, vice Henry J. Tasca, resigning.

RICHARD L. SNEIDER, of New York, a Foreign Service officer of Class one, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Korea.

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Third Quarter, 1974

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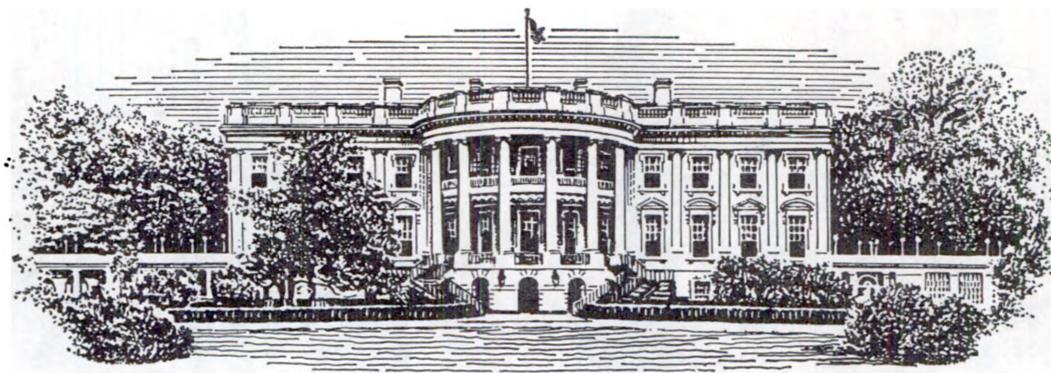
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, August 26, 1974



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, August 24, 1974

Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. August 17, 1974

I am signing today S. 2296, the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974.

One of the essential lessons of the recent energy crisis is that if we are to prevent shortages of natural resources in the future, we must plan for the future today. Our resources, however abundant, are not inexhaustible. They must be conserved and replenished.

The Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act provides us the means for planning national programs now which will assure future generations of adequate supplies of forest and related resources.

The great naturalist, John Muir, once said of our Nation's forests: "The forests of America, however slighted by man, must have been a great delight to God; for they were the best He ever planted." This act proves that Americans intend never again to slight our forests.

I would be less than candid if I did not admit that certain provisions of this act disturb me, especially those provisions relating to Presidential discretion in formulating annual budget requests for our national forestry programs. But the benefits of this legislation far outweigh any potential drawbacks, and I am confident that the Congress and the executive branch, working together, can and will manage, develop, and improve our priceless natural legacy of forests and rangelands.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 2296) is Public Law 93-378, approved August 17, 1974.

Aviation Career Incentive Pay

Executive Order 11800. August 17, 1974

DELEGATING CERTAIN AUTHORITY VESTED IN THE PRESIDENT BY THE AVIATION CAREER INCENTIVE ACT OF 1974

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Transportation with respect to the Coast Guard when it is not operating as a service in the Navy, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, with respect to members of the uniformed service under their respective jurisdictions, are hereby designated and empowered to exercise, without approval, ratification, or other action by the President, the functions vested in the President by section 301a of title 37 of the United States Code, as added by section 2(3) of the Aviation Career Incentive Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-294; 88 Stat. 177) with respect to entitlement of regular and reserve officers of the uniformed services, including flight surgeons and other medical officers, to aviation career incentive pay for the frequent and regular performance of operational or proficiency flying duty.

SEC. 2. This order is effective as of June 1, 1974.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 17, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:40 p.m., August 19, 1974]

Promotion of Navy and Marine Corps Officers

Executive Order 11799. August 17, 1974

AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11554 AS IT RELATES TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MAXIMUM PERCENTAGE OF NAVY AND MARINE CORPS OFFICERS WHO MAY BE RECOMMENDED FOR PROMOTION FROM BELOW THE APPROPRIATE PROMOTION ZONE

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 5711 (b) of title 10 of the United States Code, Executive Order No. 11554 of August 29, 1970, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

“The operation of so much of the provisions of section 5707(c) of title 10 of the United States Code as restrict, to a percentage of five percent of the total number of officers that a board is authorized to recommend for promotion, the number of Navy and Marine Corps officers below the appropriate promotion zone who may be recommended as best fitted for promotion to the grade concerned, is hereby suspended until June 30, 1976.”

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 17, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:40 p.m.,
August 19, 1974]

Visit of King Hussein of Jordan

U.S.-Jordanian Joint Statement Issued at the Conclusion of His Majesty's Visit. August 18, 1974

His Majesty King Hussein I of Jordan paid a visit to Washington August 15-18, at the invitation of the President. The President and His Majesty conferred at the White House and the President hosted a dinner in honor of His Majesty and Queen Alia. The President expressed his pleasure that His Majesty was the first Head of State to visit Washington in the new administration. His Majesty also conferred with the Secretaries of State and Defense and met with members of Congress. His Majesty was accompanied by the Prime Minister of Jordan, Mr. Zaid Rifai.

The talks were held in the atmosphere of friendship and understanding traditional in relations between the United States and Jordan. The President and His Majesty pledged that the two countries will continue to work closely together for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The President stressed the con-

tinuity of United States' policy in this regard as in all other aspects of American foreign policy and affirmed his commitment that the United States would continue its determined efforts to help bring a peace settlement in the Middle East. The discussions between His Majesty and the President and Secretary of State were a constructive contribution to the consultations now underway looking toward the next stage in negotiations for a just and durable peace in the Middle East. It was agreed that these consultations will continue with a view to addressing at an appropriately early date the issues of particular concern to Jordan, including a Jordanian-Israeli disengagement agreement.

The President and His Majesty reaffirmed the close ties of friendship between the United States and Jordan and pledged to continue their efforts to strengthen the bonds which join the two countries in mutually beneficial cooperation. Specifically, His Majesty and the President recalled that the joint U.S.-Jordanian statement issued June 18 at the end of President Nixon's visit to Amman announced that Jordan and the United States agreed to establish a Joint Commission to oversee and review at a high level the various areas of cooperation between the two countries. In fulfilling this agreement, the U.S. and Jordan have pledged to make every effort to expedite the development of an effective structure of cooperation and have agreed on the following concrete steps:

The United States and Jordan have established a general Jordan-United States Joint Commission under the chairmanship of the Jordanian Prime Minister and the U.S. Secretary of State. The first meetings of this Commission were held during the Prime Minister's visit to Washington August 5-8 and August 16-17 during which promising areas of mutual interest were identified.

The Commission will sponsor a meeting on economic development, trade and investment before the end of the year to review plans for Jordan's economic development and identify additional areas in which the United States can be of assistance. Work will begin immediately in Amman and Washington to prepare for this meeting. The Commission will also explore possibilities for increased American private participation in Jordan's economic development and ways of increasing trade between the two countries. Mr. Daniel Parker will head the American Delegation to the economic meeting, which will also include representation from various government agencies. The Jordanian Economic Delegation will be headed by Dr. Khalil Salem, President of the National Planning Council.

The Commission will arrange meetings on military assistance and supply problems at a mutually acceptable date to review implementation of continuing U.S. assistance to the Jordanian Armed Forces and to advance planning for future assistance. Jordan's Chief of Staff, Major General Zaid bin Shaker, and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Ambassador Robert Ellsworth, will head the respective delegations.

It was further agreed that Jordan and the United States will give attention to the means by which educational, cultural, and scientific cooperation between the two countries can be enhanced.

Finally, the President and His Majesty agreed that they would remain in close contact with each other with a view to giving their full support to the efforts being made to achieve peace in the Middle East and to the further strengthening of the ties between their two countries.

His Majesty expressed the hope that the President would be able to visit Jordan at some future date. The President said he would be happy to do so.

Death of the U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus

Statement by the White House Press Secretary on the Slaying of Ambassador Rodger P. Davies in Nicosia During Anti-American Demonstrations. August 19, 1974

The President was shocked and deeply saddened by the death of Ambassador Davies in Nicosia today. This tragic incident emphasizes the urgent need for an end to the violence on Cyprus and an immediate return to negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

NOTE: The White House later announced that the President had sent messages of condolence to Ambassador Davies' son and daughter and to his mother.

The statement was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

For remarks at a ceremony honoring Ambassador Davies, see p. 1054 of this issue.

Chicago, Illinois

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival To Address the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention. August 19, 1974

This is a wonderful, wonderful day in Chicago, and Betty and I are deeply grateful for all of you coming out to visit us on our first trip out of Washington since a week or 10 days ago. Thank you so, so very much.

Now, let me just add a word, if I might. I have said it several times, but all of you can contribute so much. We have got a lot of work to do, that includes me, as well as you, and our fellow Americans. We are going to do that work, and we are going to accomplish what has to be done, both at home and abroad.

There is, I think, a great opportunity for America, for what we can do at home and what we can do abroad. It will take a little belt tightening and sacrificing, but with the spirit that I know exists in America, and you exemplify it here this morning by your warm welcome, I am sure we can do the job, with God's help.

Thank you so very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. at O'Hare Field, Chicago, Ill.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

The President's Address to the 75th Convention of the VFW in Chicago, Illinois. August 19, 1974

Commander Ray Soden, Governor Walker, my former members or former colleagues of the United States Congress, my fellow members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars:

Let me express my deepest gratitude for your extremely warm welcome, and may I say to Mayor Daley and to all the wonderful people of Chicago who have done an unbelievable job in welcoming Betty and myself to Chicago, we are most grateful.

I have a sneaking suspicion that Mayor Daley and the people of Chicago knew that Betty was born in Chicago. Needless to say, I deeply appreciate your medal and the citation on my first trip out of Washington as your President. I hope that in the months ahead I can justify your faith in making the citation and the award available to me.

It is good to be back in Chicago, among people from all parts of our great Nation, to take part in this 75th annual convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

As a proud member of Old Kent Post VFW 830, let me talk today about some of the work facing veterans—and all Americans—the issues of world peace and national unity.

Speaking of national unity, let me quickly point out that I am also a proud member of the American Legion and the AMVETS.

In a more somber note, this morning we all heard the tragic news of the killing of our American Ambassador to Cyprus. He, too, gave his life in foreign wars. Let us offer our prayers and our condolences to his loved ones for his supreme sacrifice on behalf of all Americans.

As President and as a veteran, I want good relations with all veterans. We all proudly wore the same Nation's uniform and patriotically saluted the same flag. During my Administration, the door of my office will be open to veterans just as it was all my 25 years as a Member of the Congress.

NOMINATION OF ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

Today, I am happy to announce my intention to send the Senate the nomination of my personal friend and former Congressional colleague Dick Roudebush of Indiana—it seems to me you know what I am going to say—*[laughter]*—But I will finish the sentence—to be Administrator of the Veterans Administration.

As past National Commander of the VFW, Roudy has served well as Deputy Administrator of the VA. He is a man who gets things done and, I am confident, will do a first-class job.

It seems to me that we should recognize the veteran is a human being, not just a "C" number to be processed by a computer system. We all know that the Government knew our name when we were called into service. This Administration is going to see to it that we still know your name and your problems. A veteran is a person, not just a digit in a computer system which more often than not goofs up.

I propose the VA take the best of our technology and the very best of our human capabilities and combine them. As President, I want no arrogance or indifference to any individual, veteran or not. Our Government's machinery exists to serve people, not to frustrate or humiliate them.

I don't like redtape. As a matter of fact, I don't like any kind of tapes.

Our great veterans hospitals, which will not lose their identity, must be the very best that medical skill and dedication can create. VA hospitals have made many great medical breakthroughs in the past. One of America's great challenges today is the older veteran. The VA medical and nursing care system for older people must become a showcase for the entire Nation. We can work together to achieve that end and humanize the VA.

But to achieve such progress, I intend to improve the management of the VA. We must get the most for our tax dollars. While supporting the new Administrator in maximum efforts to make the best use of funds available, I want Roudy to take a constructive new look at the VA's structure and the services that it renders to our veterans.

I think it is about time that we should stop thinking of veterans in terms of different wars. Some may march at a different pace than others.

But we all march to the same drummer in the service of our Nation. I salute the men of many campaigns—of World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.

As Minority Leader of the House and recently as Vice President, I stated my strong conviction that unconditional, blanket amnesty for anyone who illegally evaded or fled military service is wrong. It is wrong.

Yet, in my first words as President of all the people, I acknowledged a Power, higher than the people, Who commands not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

Unlike my last two predecessors, I did not enter this office facing the terrible decisions of a foreign war, but like President Truman and President Lincoln before him, I found on my desk, where the buck stops, the urgent problem of how to bind up the Nation's wounds. And I intend to do that.

As a lawyer, I believe our American system of justice is fundamentally sound. As President, I will work within it.

As a former naval reservist, I believe our system of military justice is fundamentally sound. As Commander in Chief, I will work within it.

As a former Congressman who championed it, I believe the concept of an all-volunteer armed force is fundamentally sound and will work much better than peacetime conscription.

Accordingly, in my first week at the White House, I requested the Attorney General of the United States and the Secretary of Defense to report to me personally, before September 1, on the status of some 50,000 of our countrymen convicted, charged or under investigation, or still sought for violations of [the] Selective Service [Act] or the Uniform Code of Military Justice—offenses loosely described as desertion and draft-dodging.

These two Cabinet officers are to consult with other Government officials concerned and communicate me their unvarnished views and those of the full spectrum of American opinion on this controversial question, consolidating the known facts and legal precedents.

I will then decide how best to deal with the different kinds of cases—and there are differences. Decisions of my Administration will make any future penalties fit the seriousness of the individual's mistake.

Only a fraction of such cases I find in a quick review relate directly to Vietnam, from which the last American combatant was withdrawn over a year ago by President Nixon.

But all, in a sense, are casualties, still abroad or absent without leave from the real America.

I want them to come home if they want to *work* their way back.

One of the last of my official duties as Vice President, perhaps the hardest of all, was to present posthumously 14 Congressional Medals of Honor to the parents, widows, and children of fallen Vietnam heroes.

As I studied their records of supreme sacrifice, I kept thinking how young they were.

The few citizens of our country who, in my judgment, committed the supreme folly of shirking their duty at the expense of others, were also very young.

All of us who served in one war or another know very well that all wars are the glory and the agony of the young. In my judgment, these young Americans should have a second chance to contribute their fair share to the rebuilding of peace among ourselves and with all nations.

So I am throwing the weight of my Presidency into the scales of justice on the side of leniency. I foresee their earned re-entry—earned re-entry into a new atmosphere of hope, hard work, and mutual trust.

I will act promptly, fairly, and very firmly in the same spirit that guided Abraham Lincoln and Harry Truman. As I reject amnesty, so I reject revenge.

As men and women whose patriotism has been tested and proved—and yours has—I want your help and understanding. I ask all Americans who ever asked for goodness and mercy in their lives, who ever sought forgiveness for their trespasses, to join in rehabilitating all the casualties of the tragic conflict of the past.

Naturally, I am glad to see the VFW at this convention install a veteran of the Korean war, John Stang, as your new national commander-in-chief. And I compliment you and congratulate you as well as John.

We have struggled for years in America to overcome discrimination against younger Americans, against older Americans, against Americans of various creeds, religions, races and, yes, against women. I will not tolerate any discrimination against veterans, especially those who served honorably in the war in Vietnam.

I am deeply concerned about employment opportunities for the Vietnam-era veterans. We have had some success in placing veterans in the age span of 20 to 34, but the facts and figures show us that there are some tough problems in this category.

As of last month, the rate of unemployment for veterans between 20 and 24 was nearly 10 percent, much too high. The rate of unemployment for these young veterans who are members of minority groups was 19 percent. And far, far too many disabled veterans are still without jobs.

I can assure you, without hesitation or reservation, that this Administration puts a very high priority on aiding the men who bore the brunt of battle. If we can send men thousands and thousands of miles from home to fight in the rice paddies, certainly we can send them back to school and better jobs at home.

I am consequently considering the veterans education bill in this light. But your Government, of necessity, has to be constrained by other considerations as well. We are all soldiers in a war against brutal inflation. The veterans education bill more than likely will come before me very shortly for action. It comes when I am working hard, along with others from the Congress, labor, management, and otherwise, on a nonpartisan battle against excessive Government spending.

America today is fighting for its economic life. The facts are that uncontrolled inflation could destroy the fabric and the foundation of America, and I will not hesitate to veto any legislation to try and control inflationary excesses. I am open to conciliation and compromise on the total amount authorized so that we can protect [veteran] trainees and all other Americans against the rising cost of living.

I commend not only the past service of veterans but also the continuing involvement of many of you in the National Guard and Reserve forces. With current manpower reductions in the active duty Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, the Commander in Chief must, of necessity, place continuing reliance on the readiness of our National Guard and Reserves. And I intend to put muscle into this program.

Peace—it depends upon the strength and readiness of our defenses. And I will support every sensible measure to enhance the morale and the combat readiness of our Armed Forces.

The United States, our allies, and our friends around the world must maintain strength and resolve. Potential adversaries obviously watch the state of our readiness and the strength of our will. I will offer them no temptations.

America is not the policeman of the world, but we continue to be the backbone of a free world collective security setup.

Just as America will maintain its nuclear deterrent strength, we will never fall behind in negotiations to control—and hopefully reduce—this threat to mankind. A great nation is not only strong but wise, not only principled but purposeful. A fundamental purpose of our Nation must be to achieve peace through strength and meaningful negotiations.

Our good will must never be construed as a lack of will. And I know that I can count on you and the families of each and every one of you. Peace and security require preparedness and dedication.

You have experienced war firsthand. I want to make certain and positive that Washington never sends another tragic telegram. The list of mourners is already far too long. So is the list of those who wait and wonder—the families of those missing in action. I will never forget them.

Together we are going forward to tackle future problems, including the scourge of inflation which is today our Nation's public enemy number one. Our task is not easy. But I have faith in America. Through our system of democracy and free enterprise, the United States has achieved remarkable, unbelievable progress. We have shared our plenty with all mankind.

This is the same Nation that transcended inflations and recessions, slumps and booms, to move forward to even higher levels of prosperity and productivity. This is the same Nation that emerged from the smoke of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, to change its own destiny and the history of the world—and for the better.

During the first few months that I was Vice President, I traveled some 118,000 miles and visited 40 of our great States. What I saw and what I heard gave me renewed inspiration. It made me proud, proud of my country. It sustains me now.

Our great Republic is nearly 200 years old, but in many, many ways we are just getting started. Most Americans have faith in the American system. Let us now work for America, in which all Americans can take an even greater pride. I am proud of America. You are proud of America. We should be proud to be Americans.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:38 a.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago, Ill.

Prior to the President's address, Ray R. Soden, Commander-in-Chief of the VFW, presented the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Citizenship Award to the President.

For a release on the nomination of Richard L. Roudebush as Administrator of Veterans Affairs, see the following item.

Administrator of Veterans Affairs

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Richard L. Roudebush. August 19, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard L. Roudebush, of Noblesville, Ind., to be Administrator of Veterans Affairs. He will succeed Donald E. Johnson, who has resigned.

Mr. Roudebush has been with the Veterans Administration since January 1971 and has been Deputy Administrator since January 1974. From June 1971 to January

1974, he was Assistant Deputy Administrator after serving as a consultant to the VA's Jobs for Veterans program. From 1961 to 1971, he was a Member of Congress from Indiana.

He was born on January 18, 1918, in Noblesville, Ind. Mr. Roudebush received his B.S. degree from Butler University in 1941 and served in the U.S. Army during World War II. From 1944 to 1950, he was with the Indianapolis Regional Office of the Veterans Administration, and from 1950 to 1961 he owned his own livestock sales firm in Indianapolis.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Chicago, Ill. For the President's remarks announcing the nomination of Mr. Roudebush, see the preceding item.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The President's Remarks Announcing His Intention To Nominate Nelson A. Rockefeller To Be Vice President, With Mr. Rockefeller's Response. August 20, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Speaker, members of the leadership of the House and Senate, members of the Cabinet:*

After a great deal of soul searching, after considering the advice of Members of the Congress, Republicans as well as the Democratic leadership, after consulting with many, many people within the Republican Party and without, I have made a decision which I would now like to announce to the American people.

This was a difficult decision, but the man that I am selecting as nominee for Vice President is a person whose long record of accomplishment in the Government and outside is well-known. He comes from a family that has long been associated with the building of a better America. It is a family that has contributed significantly to many accomplishments, both at home and abroad, for the American people.

His achievements in Government are well, well-known. He served in the Department of State under former President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He served under the Presidency of Harry Truman. He served in the Department of HEW under President Eisenhower.

He has served as Governor of the great Empire State, the State of New York, for 15 years, the longest period of time in the history of the State of New York. He is known across the land as a person dedicated to the free enterprise system, a person who is recognized abroad for his talents, for his dedication to making this a peaceful world.

It was a tough call for a tough job. The number of people who were considered by me in the process were all men and women of great quality. They came from those suggested to me who serve in the Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The names included individuals who had served their respective States with great credit. The names included individuals who were in Government, but not in Washington. The names included individuals who were not connected with Government.

But after a long and very thoughtful process, I have made the choice, and that choice is Nelson Rockefeller of New York State. It is my honor and privilege to introduce to you a good partner for me and I think a good partner for our country and the world.

So I now announce officially that I will send the name of Nelson Rockefeller to the Congress of the United States for confirmation.

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE ROCKEFELLER. *Mr. President, Mr. Speaker and leaders of the Congress, Mr. Secretary of State and members of the Cabinet, and friends:*

Mr. President, your nomination of me to be Vice President of the United States under the 25th amendment of the Constitution makes me very humble. If I am confirmed, it will be my great honor to serve you and through you to serve all of the people of this great country.

As you pointed out in your moving message to the Congress, these are very serious times. They are times, as you pointed out, that require the closest cooperation between the Congress of the United States and the executive branch of Government. They also require the dedication of every American to our common national interest.

You, Mr. President, through your dedication and your openness have already reawakened faith and hope, and under your leadership we as a people and we as a nation have the will, the determination, and the capability to overcome the hard realities of our times. I am optimistic about the long-term future.

Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:04 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

Vice President of the United States

Remarks of the President and Nelson A. Rockefeller at a News Conference by Mr. Rockefeller on His Nomination as Vice President. August 20, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Good morning.

I think all of you have probably heard by now that my nominee for Vice President is Governor Nelson Rockefeller. I told him I was going to bring him over to all of my friends to have some discussion, and so if you would like, I just want to reiterate the fact that I stated, that after I looked at all of the choices, and they were difficult; after I looked at all of the people—there were many—but the one that in good judgment under all of the circumstances was Nelson Rockefeller.

I think he will make a great teammate. I think he will be good for the country, I think he will be good for the world, and I am looking forward to working with him.

So, Nelson.

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE ROCKEFELLER. Thank you.

Well, needless to say, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply honored, and, should I be confirmed by the Congress, I will look forward to the privilege and honor of serving the President of the United States and, as I said in the other room, through him all of the people of this great country.

I am fully cognizant of the fact that the responsibilities of the Vice President are to preside over the Senate of the United States and to otherwise simply carry out any assignment that he or she may receive from the President.

I will look forward to that opportunity of serving him in any way that can be useful to him, and I think and feel very strongly that already his own dedication and openness has reawakened hope and faith and that under his leadership we, as a people, and we, as a nation, have the capacity, the will, and the ability to face the tough realities and overcome them that exist in our country and in the world today. And I am optimistic about the long-term future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. The White House press release also included the question-and-answer session following Mr. Rockefeller's opening statement. The news conference was broadcast live on radio and television.

Wage and Price Monitoring Agency

Statement by the President Following Congressional Action on Legislation To Establish the Agency. August 20, 1974

This morning I had a very fine meeting with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress. I thanked them for their prompt action on legislation currently before the Congress to provide a wage and price monitoring agency. At the same time, I advised them as emphatically as I could, I do not expect to ask for any legislation for either standby or mandatory wage and price controls. Recent experience makes it clear that, under current conditions, compulsory wage and price controls would be most undesirable. It was the unanimous opinion of the leaders present that, as a practical matter, this Congress would not approve such legislation. Since both business and labor also have indicated their opposition, it is clear that there will be no Federal mandatory wage and price controls. I, therefore, ask labor and business leaders in this country to act on that basis. They can do so with the assurance that I will do my best to see that the new price and wage monitoring agency works effectively to combat inflation.

United States Ambassador to Ghana

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Shirley Temple Black. August 20, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, of Woodside, Calif., to be Ambassador to Ghana. She will succeed Fred L. Madsel, who has held the position since September 1971.

She was born on April 23, 1928, in Santa Monica, Calif. Mrs. Black was graduated from Westlake School in 1945, and was a fellow, College of Notre Dame, Belmont, Calif. She was an actress, playing leading roles in more than 40 motion pictures and 50 one-hour television shows. She served as a member, board of directors, Bay Area Educational Television Association, San Francisco.

Mrs. Black has served as a member, United States Citizens' Space Task Force, Office of the Vice President, Washington, D.C. She was a candidate, Republican nomination, United States Congress, and she served as U.S. Representative, 24th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 1969. She was Deputy Chairman, U.S. Delegation, Preparatory Committee on the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm,

Sweden, 1970-72, and served as a delegate, USSR-USA Joint Commission, Moscow, Cooperative Treaty on the Environment, 1972. Mrs. Black was Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, Executive Office of the President, 1972-74.

Her memberships include: co-founder and member of the executive committee, International Federation of Multiple Sclerosis Societies; member, board of directors: Del Monte Corp., Walt Disney Productions, World Affairs Council of Northern California, and National Wildlife Federation; member: United States Commission for UNESCO, Sierra Club, Audubon Society, Wilderness Society, Planning and Conservation League (California), California Tomorrow, Inc., Commonwealth Club of California, and League of Women Voters; member, board of trustees, Institute for Study of Economic Systems, Washington, D.C.

She is married to Charles A. Black, and they have three children.

U.S. Forces in NATO Europe

The President's Message to the Congress Submitting a Third Quarterly Report on the Effect of the Deployment of U.S. Forces on the Balance of Payments. August 20, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 812(d) of the Department of Defense Appropriation Authorization Act, 1974 (Public Law 93-155), I am pleased to submit a report to Congress on our progress toward offsetting the balance of payments deficit resulting from the deployment of U.S. forces in NATO Europe.

President Nixon reported to the Congress on May 16, 1974 that the offset agreement concluded in April 1974 with the Federal Republic of Germany had a dollar value of approximately \$2.22 billion over fiscal years 1974 and 1975. Of that amount, the fiscal year 1974 portion will total approximately \$1.1 billion and will be directly applicable toward meeting the requirements of Section 812.

Since President Nixon's last report, the NATO Economic Directorate has concluded a study showing the payments for military-related items from the United States by allies other than the Federal Republic of Germany should amount to approximately \$1 billion. When that amount is added to the fiscal year 1974 portion of the offset agreement with Germany, it becomes clear that the United States should be able to offset the \$2.1 billion military foreign exchange expenditures resulting from the deployment of our forces in NATO Europe during fiscal year

1974. Accordingly, I can report to the Congress that the requirements of Section 812 should be met.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 20, 1974.

Columbus Day, 1974

Proclamation 4308. August 20, 1974

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

On Columbus Day, 1974, we again celebrate the historic achievement of the Italian sea captain whose courage and determination led him across uncharted oceans to a New World.

Sailing in the service of the Spanish crown, the voyage of Christopher Columbus marked one of history's most challenging and rewarding explorations. He opened this continent to the migration of settlers who created an enduring nation. The United States of America still carries forth his spirit of exploration as part of its national heritage.

Americans of the twentieth century strive to follow the vision and unshakeable faith of Christopher Columbus by seeking to discover a "New World" of peace and cooperation among all men.

In tribute to the achievement of Columbus, the Congress of the United States, by joint resolution approved April 30, 1934 (48 Stat. 657), as modified by the act of June 28, 1968 (82 Stat. 250), requested the President to proclaim the second Monday in October of each year as Columbus Day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Monday, October 14, 1974, as Columbus Day; and I invite the people of this Nation to observe that day in schools, churches, and other suitable places with appropriate ceremonies in honor of the great explorer.

I also direct that the flag of the United States be displayed on all public buildings on the appointed day in memory of Christopher Columbus.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twentieth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:33 p.m.,
August 20, 1974]

White House Liaison With the Vice President-Designate

*Announcement of Appointment of Richard T. Burress.
August 20, 1974*

The President today named Richard T. Burress, of Maryland, as White House liaison with the Vice President-designate. Mr. Burress served on the staff of Vice President Ford since April 1, 1974.

He was born December 22, 1922, at Omaha, Nebr. He is a graduate of the University of Nebraska (A.B., 1944), the University of Iowa Law School (J.D., 1948), and New York University Law School (LL.M., 1953). He is a member of the Iowa, California, and District of Columbia Bar and served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1943-46.

Mr. Burress was a Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation, from 1948 to 1953. He was Deputy Assistant General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board, 1953-58, and attorney for Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, 1958-61. He was Minority Counsel for the Education and Labor Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, from 1961 to 1963. He engaged in private law practice from 1963 to 1965. He returned to Capitol Hill from 1965 to 1969, serving as director of the Republican Policy Committee, counsel for the Republican Leadership, and Minority Sergeant at Arms in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Burress was Deputy Counsel and Deputy Assistant to the President, 1969-71, Chairman of the Renegotiation Board, 1971-73, and associate director and senior fellow, Hoover Institution, before joining the Vice President's staff in 1974.

He and Mrs. Burress have two children and reside in Mohican Hills, Md.

Reception Honoring Senator Mike Mansfield

*The President's Remarks at the Reception for the
Senate Majority Leader. August 20, 1974*

Let me say that it is great to be back up on Capitol Hill and to see Senator Mansfield and the Democratic and Republican leadership in this end of the Capitol and also great to see the Speaker and the others from the other end of the Capitol.

But I am here primarily, in fact, exclusively, to pay tribute to a person that I have known all of my almost 26 years in Washington, 25 of them being in the Congress—Mike Mansfield.

When I came in January of 1949, Mike had been here 4 or 6 years, and I quickly developed a great respect and admiration for him as a Member of the House. And when he went to the Senate, that admiration and respect increased.

Anybody that can be a leader, particularly in the majority, for 13 years, I think, deserves the greatest congratulations and compliments. I think it proves a couple of things: that bullies don't always prevail. You have to have some of that very fine quality of working with people without twisting their arm. I think it proves that people who can negotiate survive better than those who take a flat adamant attitude.

But I think you can sum it up better than any way by going along in opposition to a statement that Leo Du-rocher is alleged to have said, that good guys always finish last. Mike Mansfield is a good guy and he has finished first for a long, long time.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. in Room S-207 at the Capitol.

Senator Mansfield was being honored for having served longer than any other Senator as Majority Leader. He was elected to the position on January 3, 1961.

Ceremony Honoring Slain Ambassador to Cyprus

Remarks of the President and the Secretary of State at a Ceremony in Memory of Ambassador Rodger P. Davies. August 21, 1974

SECRETARY KISSINGER. *Mr. President, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:*

A professional Foreign Service officer has come home. He returns not to joy, but to sadness, not to parades, but to solemn ceremony.

Rodger Davies embodied the qualities and spirit which mark an American. He chose an unusual profession, a profession which required that to serve his country he leave his home but never forget it. Wherever he went, the heritage of America was in his heart. He remembered the dignity of the individual where individuals had lost their dignity.

He remembered the rights to liberty and justice where these rights were under attack. He remembered peace where there was war. In that sense, Rodger Davies never left home.

In the diplomatic entrance at the Department of State, the American Foreign Service Association maintains

plaques which list the names of those members of the Foreign Service who gave their lives under heroic or tragic circumstances in the service of their country. It is not a short list, and now tragically another name will be added.

I am today awarding to Ambassador Davies the highest award of the Department of State, the Secretary's Award. The citation reads as follows:

"For inspiring leadership, outstanding courage, and dedication to duty for which he gave his life, Nicosia, August 19, 1974."

Awards and names on plaques are little comfort to those who loved and admired Rodger Davies. To his children, Dana and John, I would only repeat my remarks of Monday that Ambassador Davies was beloved, admired, and respected by his colleagues. He was a professional in the fullest and best sense of the word.

Dana and John, your father leaves behind a legacy of which any man should be proud. Even more important, he leaves a multitude of friends whose lives were enriched by knowing him.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my honor to introduce a man who in less than 2 weeks has given hope to America and inspired confidence in the world, the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. *Secretary Kissinger, Dana and John, and members of the family, distinguished guests:*

This is a very sad occasion for all Americans, as we gather here to pay tribute to a great patriot, one of our most admired and one of our most respected diplomats. Rodger Davies leaves behind many friends and many, many accomplishments in the career that he selected.

He possessed the full measure of many of those attributes which are so invaluable as a person and in the career that he sought. He had judgment, he had dignity, he had wisdom, and he had humor, and all of these are necessary ingredients for the job that he chose for his full life.

As the Secretary has mentioned, Rodger Davies was a professional in the fullest sense. His services to our country embodied the best of time, of effort, and competence. He loved and worked for peace, and he lost his life in the search for peace for all America and all the world.

On Monday of this past week I had the opportunity to make some remarks to a group who had served their country in uniform, and I had the sad occasion to announce to that group the loss of life by Rodger Davies. And I said to them and I repeat here today, some serve in uniform, some serve in other capacities. The loss of life in either case means as much to America.

And, therefore, it is appropriate on this occasion that we pay a very special tribute to a great Ambassador, highly respected by his friends, a person who gave his full life to the career that he sought. So I say it is an honor for me on this occasion to present on behalf of all Americans, the flag to Dana, the Ambassador's flag, to which your

father, as my personal representative in the service of his country, brought such great distinction.

NOTE: The remarks began at 11:36 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., where the President and the Secretary had met the plane bearing Ambassador Davies' children, Dana, age 20, and John, 16, and the body of the slain Ambassador. Also participating in the ceremony were members of the diplomatic corps and officials and employees of the Department of State.

For a statement by the White House Press Secretary on the death of Ambassador Davies, see p. 1045 of this issue.

Display of the Flag in Memory of Slain Ambassador to Cyprus

Executive Order 11801. August 21, 1974

THE HONORABLE RODGER P. DAVIES

As a special mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable Rodger P. Davies, Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Cyprus, killed while in the performance of his duty, it is hereby ordered, pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of Proclamation 3044 of March 1, 1954, as amended, that on the day of interment the flag of the United States shall be flown at half-staff on all buildings, grounds, and naval vessels of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States and its Territories and possessions. I also direct that the flag shall be flown at half-staff on the same day at all United States embassies, consular offices, and other facilities abroad, including all military facilities and naval vessels and stations.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 21, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:42 p.m.,
August 21, 1974]

United States Ambassador to Cyprus

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William R. Crawford, Jr. August 21, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William R. Crawford, Jr., a career Foreign Service officer now serving as Ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus. He will succeed Rodger P. Davies, a Foreign Service Career Minister who died August 19, 1974.

Born April 22, 1928, in Philadelphia, Mr. Crawford received an A.B. in 1948 from Harvard University and

an M.A. in 1950 from the University of Pennsylvania. He was with the United States Navy from 1948 to 1949 as an ensign. He was appointed an FSO-6 in 1951 and assigned as Political and Petroleum Reporting Officer in Jidda. In 1954, he served as a Consular Officer in Venice. During 1955-57, he studied Arabic language and area studies in Beirut and the Foreign Service Institute. From 1957 to 1959, he was a Principal Officer in Aden.

During 1959-64, he was assigned to the Department where he served as Desk Officer for Arabian Peninsula, Desk Officer for Lebanon-Israel Affairs, Officer in Charge of Lebanon-Israel Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. He was promoted to FSO-3 in 1963. In 1964-67, he was Political Counselor, Rabat, and during 1967-68 he attended the Woodrow Wilson Seminar, Princeton University. He was promoted to FSO-2 in 1968 and assigned as Deputy Chief of Mission, Nicosia. In 1972, he became Ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic, and in 1974 he was promoted to FSO-1. He received the Meritorious Service Award in 1959 and the William A. Jump Award in 1963. He is fluent in French and Arabic.

He is married to the former Virginia Lowry, and they have a daughter, Susan.

General Motors Price Increase

Statement by the President Following GM Announcement of a Reduction in the Price Increase. August 21, 1974

I am encouraged by General Motors' announcement today that it is reducing the amount of the price increases previously announced for its 1975 model cars and trucks. The consumer will save money, and the economy will benefit. I am confident that this action will be but one of many examples of restraint by management and labor as we all join in the fight against inflation.

NOTE: Press Secretary J. F. terHorst read the statement at his news conference at the White House on Wednesday, August 21, 1974. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Education Amendments of 1974

The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. August 21, 1974

Secretary Carlucci, distinguished administrators and employees of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, my former colleagues in the House and the Senate, fellow Americans:

It is really a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here. I know all of us wish that Secretary Weinberger were here, but he is off on a very important responsibility, and I am sure he is here in spirit, if not in person.

I suspect this is the first Federal aid to education bill that has ever been signed by a left-handed President. I attach no significance to that, but it was difficult with a person with a short name to use so many pens. [*Laughter*]

President Eisenhower once said, in discussing education, and I quote, "The Federal role should be merely to facilitate, never to control education."

Now, striking the right balance between helping on the one hand and dominating on the other is never an easy task. And those of you who participated in the preparation of the submission in the first instance to the Congress, and those of you who have labored so hard in both the House and the Senate to find a balance in 1974, in my judgment all deserve a great deal of commendation and congratulation.

I don't think any one faction or any one party dictated the contents of that very substantial and very important piece of legislation. I know from some personal experience on the periphery, when I was in the House and subsequently as Vice President, how much hard work, how many long hours, how many compromises were made between, in the first instance, the legislative and the executive branches and between various points of view, legitimate, well-motivated differences philosophically.

I don't believe anyone who labored so long and so hard would say this is a perfect piece of legislation, but I think it is a good law; it justified the final action by the Congress; and it fully justified my signature representing approval by the executive branch.

It does provide, in my opinion, for a more effective distribution of Federal funds to help elementary and secondary schools so that our Federal tax dollars can be more appropriately and efficiently and economically utilized to improve education throughout our 50 States.

The legislation also provides for better Federal administration of the various programs under the more or less direct control of Federal officials, and this better management of Federal programs will help States and localities so they will have a better and more effective input into the management of these Federal programs.

I think it is fair to say that this legislation places reasonable and equitable restrictions upon the problem of bus-ing, and in conjunction with the Supreme Court decision will hopefully relieve that problem and make the solution far more equitable and just.

It is my judgment that H.R. 69 represents the kind of an approach that in this day and age we must follow if we are to do the right thing in education, in housing, and in a multitude of other highly essential programs for the benefit of our country as a whole.

This legislation itself does represent the way to solve disagreements, but if we approach other problems as we have

approached this one, with candor on the one hand, cooperation on another, compromise on a third, I think we can march together, the executive, the legislative, Democrats, Republicans, liberals, and conservatives in working together to make our country what we all want it to be, a better America.

Thank you very kindly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:15 p.m. in the auditorium at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As enacted, the bill (H.R. 69) is Public Law 93-380, approved August 21, 1974.

Education Amendments of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. August 21, 1974

I take special pleasure today in signing H.R. 69, an omnibus education bill.

As the first major legislation to become law during my Administration, this bill symbolizes one of my greatest hopes for the future—the hope that a new spirit of cooperation and compromise will prevail between the legislative and executive branches. Enactment of this bill was possible only because the two branches settled their policy differences in that spirit. If it continues, I am confident that we can make equally effective progress on other pressing issues.

While I would have preferred different provisions in some sections of this bill, the overall effect of H.R. 69 should be a significant step forward in our quest for more effective distribution of Federal education funds and for better administration of Federal education programs.

Federal funding will be improved through a new formula for distributing Federal assistance for training educationally deprived children. Under the old formula, assistance was directed to States and localities which needed help several years ago, but may no longer need it. Under the new formula, it will be directed to those areas where help is definitely needed today. This change should make the distribution of funds more effective and more equitable.

The Congress has also acted wisely to improve the administration of Federal programs by consolidating a number of categorical programs supporting libraries, educational innovation, and other services. For the first time, State and local education officials will have an important degree of authority over Federal funds in these areas. I hope that this consolidation will become the trend of the future.

Another positive feature of this bill is that it provides for advanced funding of certain education programs. This provision should help to end much of the uncertainty

that local school boards have had over the continuity and prospective funding levels of Federal education programs. In the near future, I will send to the Congress a supplementary appropriations request to carry out this advance funding provision.

I am also pleased that H.R. 69 provides new safeguards to protect the privacy of student records. Under these provisions, personal records will be protected from scrutiny by unauthorized individuals, and, if schools are asked by the Government or third parties to provide personal data in a way that would invade the student's privacy, the school may refuse the request. On the other hand, records will be made available upon request to parents and mature students. These provisions address the real problem of providing adequate safeguards for individual records while also maintaining our ability to insist on accountability for Federal funds and enforcement of equal education opportunity.

Much of the controversy over H.R. 69 has centered on its busing provisions. In general, I am opposed to the forced busing of schoolchildren because it does not lead to better education and it infringes upon traditional freedoms in America.

As enacted, H.R. 69 contains an ordered and reasoned approach to dealing with the remaining problems of segregation in our schools, but I regret that it lacks an effective provision for automatically re-evaluating existing court orders. This omission means that a different standard will be applied to those districts which are already being compelled to carry out extensive busing plans and those districts which will now work out desegregation plans under the more rational standards set forth in this bill. Double standards are unfair, and this one is no exception. I believe that all school districts, North and South, East and West, should be able to adopt reasonable and just plans for desegregation which will not result in children being bused from their neighborhoods.

Another troublesome feature of this bill would inject the Congress into the process of administering education laws. For instance, some administrative and regulatory decisions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would be subjected to various forms of Congressional review and possible veto. As a veteran of the Congress, I fully appreciate the frustrations that can result in dealing with the executive branch, but I am equally convinced that attempting to stretch the constitutional role of the Congress is not the best remedy. The Congress can and should hold the executive branch to account for its performance, but for the Congress to attempt to administer Federal programs is questionable on practical as well as constitutional grounds. I have asked the Attorney General for advice on these provisions.

Closely related to this issue is my concern about substantially increased Federal funding for education, especially at a time when excessive Federal spending is already fanning the flames of inflation. I hope the Congress will exer-

cise restraint in appropriating funds under the authorizing legislation included in H.R. 69 and will carefully avoid increasing the budget.

In conclusion, I would re-emphasize that this bill shows us the way for further legislative and executive branch cooperation in the future. I congratulate all of those who participated in this endeavor. Today, and for generations to come, America will benefit from this law which expresses our national commitment to quality education for all of our children.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 69) is Public Law 93-380, approved August 21, 1974.

United States Senate

The President's Remarks in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol. August 21, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. President, Senator Mansfield, Senator Scott, Members of the United States Senate:*

I wanted to stop by today just to say hello to those with whom I had an opportunity to get better acquainted and to officially inaugurate Pennsylvania Avenue as a two-way street.

It is wonderful to be back in a chamber where so much of America's history for almost 200 years has been written, and, I say without any hesitation, one of the greatest experiences of my life was the privilege of presiding here, though for a relatively short period of time.

Although my tenure was quite short, I think it was long enough to convince me that the U.S. Senate is one of the greatest legislative bodies in the history of mankind.

I think in the days and months ahead all of us must draw upon the great traditions of the Senate. Our job, both in the legislative as well as in the executive branch, is to restore the people's faith in the history and tradition of our American Government. No single man and no single woman can possibly do this all alone. It is a job for all of us working together to achieve.

As Governor Rockefeller said yesterday, we must deal with some very hard and somewhat harsh realities. We are not always going to be on the same side. It would not be America if we were. I do not think that really matters. It only matters if we end up by being on the best side for America from one State to another.

I would be very, very remiss if I did not express my appreciation for the Senate and the House going more than halfway on several measures of major importance in the last week or so.

I speak here specifically of the Cost of Living Council proposal, some actions taken on appropriation matters, the action on housing, the action on pension legislation, and the legislation affecting education.

I think what has taken place and transpired in these various proposals is indicative that we can march toward the center in achieving some good results for our country as a whole.

Now, I do not intend to talk specifically about any prospective legislation. I think I would probably be out of order, and I certainly shall respect the rules or traditions of the Senate in that regard.

As we go ahead, we must look not only at our problems at home, but also at our problems abroad.

I believe we have a good team in the executive branch of the Government, and I can assure you that that team will be working with this team, the House and the Senate, in the months ahead.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 2:40 p.m. in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol. As printed above, this item follows the text of the President's remarks printed in the Congressional Record.

United States House of Representatives

The President's Remarks in the House Chamber at the Capitol. August 21, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Speaker and my former colleagues of the House of Representatives:*

You do not know how much it means to me to come back and see all of you and to be so warmly welcomed. It makes one's political life a great, great experience to know that, after all of the disagreements we have had and all of the problems we have worked on, there are friends such as you. It is a thing that in my opinion makes politics worthwhile. I am proud of politics, and I am most grateful for my friends.

Mr. Speaker, I was glad to see that the rules of the House of Representatives have been changed. I was expecting, knowing that the House was considering a bill from the Committee on Banking and Currency, that I would have to go to my old friend, the chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and get a couple of minutes.

But let me say after 10 days of the honeymoon, Mr. Speaker—and I recall the old adage, "out of sight, out of mind"—I just wanted to drop by my old home to say "hello."

Mr. Speaker, as most of you know, my wife, Betty, and I packed up our belongings and moved across the Potomac earlier this week. We were reminded of what Harry Truman said when he moved out of the White House in 1953: "If I had known how much packing I would have to do, I would have run again."

I did better than Harry did. I went to Chicago.

It is a beautiful house down there, as all of you know, not only beautiful in appearance inside and out, but it has great, great traditions.

But, Mr. Speaker, let me say that our—and when I say "our" I mean my wife, Betty, and the family, and myself—our affections for the White House will never surpass our love for the House of Representatives and for the fine men and women who work here.

You have all been extremely generous in your support, extremely generous in your good will, and you have been extremely generous in your advice. But it has all been good, and I hope you keep the flow going.

I said on the other side of the Capitol, in the other body, a few moments ago, that I was making a few remarks as an inauguration of Pennsylvania Avenue as a two-way street.

I have asked your help in the past when I was in the House, and I am going to ask it now. This is a standard procedure for Presidents, but I am not making, I hope and trust, a pro forma gesture when I ask your help in the remaining days of the Congress. You know and I know that I do not believe in gestures. I never have and I never will. So when I ask your help, I mean it.

I want to reiterate, the help I have sought in the last 10 days has been responded to in a beautiful way, and, Mr. Speaker, your leadership in this has made it much, much easier for me, and for that I am deeply grateful.

Together we have got a big job ahead, and I emphasize "we" on the basis of togetherness, for if we do work together as we have in recent days, we can get the job done.

I want to express my appreciation for the response that has come already in the Cost of Living Council monitoring legislation; the action taken in reference to some of our spending problems; the action taken in housing, in education, and in pension reform. These are all landmark pieces of legislation. This is a good achievement for the Congress, and this is legislation that I am proud of and privileged to sign as President of the United States.

I will be coming back when you return from your much-deserved recess, and I will be coming back to ask your help in the future. I think we can continue to work together, and if we do, it will be the best for the country, and the best for you, and certainly the best for me.

I have noted in my contacts throughout the country that the public wants us to work together, and we can prove that such togetherness will be beneficial.

Let me conclude by simply saying that I think we have a good team in the executive branch, and it can work as a team with a good team on Capitol Hill, the House and the Senate. With that kind of partnership, a good team in the legislative and a good team in the executive, America cannot help but move ahead for the betterment of all.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:10 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol. As printed above, this item follows the text of the President's remarks printed in the Congressional Record.

Women's Equality Day, 1974

Proclamation 4309. August 22, 1974

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

On August 26th, 1920, American women finally gained the right to vote when the Nineteenth Amendment was certified as part of our Constitution.

Today, fifty-four years later, the women of America are actively participating in and contributing to all aspects of our economic, social and political life. Many obstacles on the road to equal opportunity have been removed as legislative and executive actions have helped to reduce sex discrimination in education, training and employment. Special efforts have been made in the Federal Government, so that women now contribute more fully than ever before to the formulation and execution of public policy.

But although we as a Nation have come a great distance since 1920, we still have a great distance to go. In 1970, on the floor of the House, I said that the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution was an idea whose time had come. Today I want to reaffirm my personal commitment to that amendment. The time for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment has come just as surely as did the time for the 19th Amendment.

As 1975 approaches, widely proclaimed as International Women's Year, Americans must deal with those inequities that still linger as barriers to the full participation of women in our Nation's life. We must also strengthen and support laws that prohibit discrimination based on sex.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby call upon all Americans to observe August 26, 1974, as Women's Equality Day, with appropriate ceremonies and activities. I further urge Americans to consider the essential role of women in our society and their contribution to our economic, social and political well-being. As a Republic dedicated to liberty and justice for all, this Nation cannot deny equal status to women.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-second day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:43 a.m., August 23, 1974]

NOTE: The President signed the proclamation in an Oval Office ceremony attended by women Members of Congress.

U.S.-Australian Extradition Treaty

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty for Advice and Consent to Ratification. August 22, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Australia, signed at Washington on May 14, 1974. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty will, upon entry into force, terminate, as between the United States and Australia, the Treaty on Extradition between the United States and Great Britain of December 22, 1931, as made applicable to Australia. This new Treaty represents a substantial modernization with respect to the procedural aspects of extradition.

The Treaty includes in the list of extraditable offenses several which are of prime international concern, such as aircraft hijacking, narcotics offenses, and conspiracy to commit listed offenses.

The Treaty will make a significant contribution to the international effort to control narcotics traffic. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 22, 1974.

Housing and Community Development Act of 1974

The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony at the White House. August 22, 1974

Secretary Lynn, my former colleagues in the House and Senate, distinguished guests:

It is a great privilege to be here on this landmark day in the field of housing legislation. It is landmark in that it has a new impact on community development and housing legislation generally. I think it was Chairman Sparkman who said that this new legislation is the most significant community development legislation since the 1949 act. He had added, however, that this legislation is the most significant in the field of housing legislation since the 1934 act.

There seems to be almost universal agreement that very significant progress has been made. I think we can say

without any reservation that the move from the narrow programs of the past in community development to programs that are very broad gauged, a consolidation of programs such as model cities and urban development, will give a real impetus to local decisionmaking, local action, and local responsibility, and I am confident that the mayors, the Governors, the other local officials will assume that decisionmaking, that action, and that responsibility.

In the field of housing, there are some innovative efforts. There are some extensions of existing programs. The housing industry needs a shot in the arm, and this bill, I think, can be extremely helpful in this area.

I would be very remiss if I did not pay tribute to the long and, I think, skillful efforts of those both in the executive branch and those in the Congressional field for what has been accomplished.

I know how hard Jim Lynn has worked, how hard Jim Mitchell has worked, but I think those in the Congress, particularly those who were on the conference, deserve a very special tribute.

I know at times it seemed like an impossible obstacle to overcome the vast differences between the House and the Senate versions, but by patience, by understanding, by the kind of give-and-take and compromise we—not just myself and a few—but we, the American people, are the beneficiaries.

I think that Chairman Patman, Bill Widnall, Chairman Sparkman, Senator Tower deserve very special commendation. We are very grateful for what they did, but if I might be a little provincial or parochial, it seems to me that the Middle West, from which some of us come, deserves a little pat on the back.

Congressman Lud Ashley did a fine job. My former colleague from Michigan, Garry Brown, did a superb job, and then in addition, Jim Lynn and Jim Mitchell.

So, when we add it all up, that document right there will, I think, write new pages of history in community development and housing production. I said a moment ago, we are all the beneficiaries of the dedication, the service, the patience, the understanding of this group of men and many others.

I thank them on behalf of all of you and many, many millions of others throughout our country. Congratulations.

I should add a postscript. I have shaken hands, I think, in the last 24 hours with virtually every Member of the House and Senate, not once, but several times. We are going to have a reception, and I won't feel offended in the least if the Members of the Congress avoid me and go to the State Dining Room, and we will have a reception when this breaks up.

Real nice to see you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:15 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. As enacted, the bill (S. 3066) is Public Law 93-383, approved August 22, 1974.

Housing and Community Development Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. August 22, 1974

It is with great pleasure today that I am signing into law S. 3066, the "Housing and Community Development Act of 1974."

This bill is of far-reaching and perhaps historic significance, for it not only helps to boost the long-range prospects for the housing market but also marks a complete and welcome reversal in the way that America tries to solve the problems of our urban communities. In urging passage of this bill on the Senate floor, Chairman Sparkman said that "it is probably . . . the most important legislation on community development since the passage of the Housing Act of 1949."

This bill climaxes years of efforts to replace the rigid programs of the past with a more flexible approach by sweeping away seven categorical grant programs such as urban renewal and model cities and replacing them with a single "block grant" program for community development. This new approach will put Federal funds to work on behalf of our cities and towns far more effectively than before by:

- providing communities with greater certainty about the level of Federal funding they can expect;
- distributing Federal funds to communities according to what they need rather than who they know;
- replacing Federal judgments on local development with the judgments of the people who live and work there; and,
- allowing local officials to concentrate on comprehensive programs for community betterment instead of grant applications for individual projects.

In a very real sense, this bill will help to return power from the banks of the Potomac to people in their own communities. Decisions will be made at the local level. Action will come at the local level. And responsibility for results will be placed squarely where it belongs—at the local level.

I pledge that this Administration will administer the program in exactly this way. We will resist temptations to restore the red tape and excessive Federal regulation which this act removes. At the same time, of course, we will not abdicate the Federal Government's responsibility to oversee the way the taxpayers' money is used. In particular, we will carefully monitor the use of funds to assure that recipients fully comply with civil rights laws prohibiting discrimination.

This act will also provide significant assistance to the mortgage market and those who depend on it—home buyers, homebuilders, and mortgage lenders. The act

makes FHA mortgage insurance available to a greater number of families by reducing required downpayments, expanding the limits on mortgages eligible for Federal insurance, and enabling FHA on an experimental basis to tailor plans for loan repayment to the unique circumstances of individual home buyers. Other sections of the act broaden the lending and investment powers of federally regulated financial institutions, making more credit available for mortgage loans, and thereby providing some needed help for the housing sector.

By prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in making mortgage loans, this measure will also enable millions of hardworking women and married couples to obtain the mortgage credit to which their economic position clearly entitles them. I fully support these efforts to eliminate discrimination based on race or sex.

Finally, S. 3066 authorizes a more flexible approach to assisting low- and moderate-income families obtain adequate housing. This new lower income housing assistance program should also help increase the supply of housing in areas where vacancies are unreasonably low.

No one expects this bill to bring substantial immediate relief to the housing market, but over the long haul it should provide the foundations for better housing for all Americans.

This act is important not only for what it does but for how it came about. Like any omnibus bill, S. 3066 has minuses as well as pluses. But it is the product of significant cooperation and compromise by the legislative and executive branches of this Government, and, as such, it is an important example of how the Congress and I intend to approach the Nation's problems in the future.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3066) is Public Law 93-383, approved August 22, 1974.

Freedom of Information Act Amendments

*The President's Letter to the Chairmen of the Conference Committee Considering the Amendments.
Dated August 20, 1974. Released August 23, 1974*

Dear Ted: (Dear Bill:)

I appreciate the time you have given me to study the amendments to the Freedom of Information Act (H.R. 12471) presently before you, so that I could provide you my personal views on this bill.

I share your concerns for improving the Freedom of Information Act and agree that now, after eight years in existence, the time is ripe to reassess this profound and worthwhile legislation. Certainly, no other recent legislation more closely encompasses my objectives for open

Government than the philosophy underlying the Freedom of Information Act.

Although many of the provisions that are now before you in Conference will be expensive in their implementation, I believe that most would more effectively assure to the public an open Executive branch. I have always felt that administrative burdens are not by themselves sufficient obstacles to prevent progress in Government, and I will therefore not comment on those aspects of the bill.

There are, however, more significant costs to Government that would be exacted by this bill—not in dollar terms, but relating more fundamentally to the way Government, and the Executive branch in particular, has and must function. In evaluating the costs, I must take care to avoid seriously impairing the Government we all seek to make more open. I am concerned with some of the provisions which are before you as well as some which I understand you may not have considered. I want to share my concerns with you so that we may accommodate our reservations in achieving a common objective.

A provision which appears in the Senate version of the bill but not in the House version requires a court, whenever its decision grants withheld documents to a complainant, to identify the employee responsible for the withholding and to determine whether the withholding was "without (a) reasonable basis in law" if the complainant so requests. If such a finding is made, the court is required to direct the agency to suspend that employee without pay or to take disciplinary or corrective action against him. Although I have doubts about the appropriateness of diverting the direction of litigation from the disclosure of information to career-affecting disciplinary hearings about employee conduct, I am most concerned with the inhibiting effect upon the vigorous and effective conduct of official duties that this potential personal liability will have upon employees responsible for the exercise of these judgments. Neither the best interests of Government nor the public would be served by subjecting an employee to this kind of personal liability for the performance of his official duties. Any potential harm to successful complainants is more appropriately rectified by the award of attorney fees to him. Furthermore, placing in the judiciary the requirement to initially determine the appropriateness of an employee's conduct and to initiate discipline is both unprecedented and unwise. Judgments concerning employee discipline must, in the interests of both fairness and effective personnel management, be made initially by his supervisors and judicial involvement should then follow in the traditional form of review.

There are provisions in both bills which would place the burden of proof upon an agency to satisfy a court that a document classified because it concerns military or intelligence (including intelligence sources and methods) secrets and diplomatic relations is, in fact, properly classified, following an *in camera* inspection of the document

by the court. If the court is not convinced that the agency has adequately carried the burden, the document will be disclosed. I simply cannot accept a provision that would risk exposure of our military or intelligence secrets and diplomatic relations because of a judicially perceived failure to satisfy a burden of proof. My great respect for the courts does not prevent me from observing that they do not ordinarily have the background and expertise to gauge the ramifications that a release of a document may have upon our national security. The Constitution commits this responsibility and authority to the President. I understand that the purpose of this provision is to provide a means whereby improperly classified information may be detected and released to the public. This is an objective I can support as long as the means selected do not jeopardize our national security interests. I could accept a provision with an express presumption that the classification was proper and with *in camera* judicial review only after a review of the evidence did not indicate that the matter had been reasonably classified in the interests of our national security. Following this review, the court could then disclose the document if it finds the classification to have been arbitrary, capricious, or without a reasonable basis. It must also be clear that this procedure does not usurp my Constitutional responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief. I recognize that this provision is technically not before you in Conference, but the differing provisions of the bills afford, I believe, grounds to accommodate our mutual interests and concerns.

The Senate but not the House version amends the exemption concerning investigatory files compiled for law enforcement purposes. I am concerned with any provision which would reduce our ability to effectively deal with crime. This amendment could have that effect if the sources of information or the information itself are disclosed. These sources and the information by which they may be identified must be protected in order not to severely hamper our efforts to combat crime. I am, however, equally concerned that an individual's right to privacy would not be appropriately protected by requiring the disclosure of information contained in an investigatory file about him unless the invasion of individual privacy is *clearly unwarranted*. Although I intend to take action shortly to address more comprehensively my concerns with encroachments upon individual privacy, I believe now is the time to preclude the Freedom of Information Act from disclosing information harmful to the privacy of individuals. I urge that you strike the words "clearly unwarranted" from this provision.

Finally, while I sympathize with an individual who is effectively precluded from exercising his right under the Freedom of Information Act because of the substantial costs of litigation, I hope that the amendments will make it clear that corporate interests will not be subsidized in their attempts to increase their competitive position by using this Act. I also believe that the time limits for agency

action are unnecessarily restrictive in that they fail to recognize several valid examples of where providing flexibility in several specific instances would permit more carefully considered decisions in special cases without compromising the principle of timely implementation of the Act.

Again, I appreciate your cooperation in affording me this time and I am hopeful that the negotiations between our respective staffs which have continued in the interim will be successful.

I have stated publicly and I reiterate here that I intend to go more than halfway to accommodate Congressional concerns. I have followed that commitment in this letter, and I have attempted where I cannot agree with certain provisions to explain my reasons and to offer a constructive alternative. Your acceptance of my suggestions will enable us to move forward with this progressive effort to make Government still more responsive to the People.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Representative William S. Moorhead.

The text of the letter was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

August 19

The President left Washington for a trip to Chicago, Ill., where he addressed the annual convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington.

The following Ambassadors presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies at the White House: Cecil B. Williams of Barbados, Rodolfo Silva Vargas of Costa Rica, Samuel Ernest Quarm of Ghana, Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas of Venezuela, Jaime Alba Delibes of Spain, and Sabah Kabbani of Syria.

The President met with senior staff members of the Domestic Council, including Director Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., and Deputy Director James H. Cavanaugh.

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a reception for members of the Vice Presidential Protective Division, United States Secret Service.

The White House announced the appointment of Ollie Atkins as Director of the White House Photographic Department.

August 20

The President met with the bipartisan Congressional leadership at the White House to discuss the economy and to tell them of his choice of Nelson A. Rockefeller for the Vice Presidential nomination.

Prior to announcing the nomination of Governor Rockefeller, the President met briefly with members of the Cabinet to announce his decision on the nomination. The President also telephoned former President Nixon and Republican National Chairman George H. Bush to inform them of the decision.

In the first of a series of open door Congressional meetings, the President met with:

- Representative James G. O'Hara, of Michigan, who was accompanying Pamela Perfli, Michigan's Peach Queen, of Roseville, Mich.;
- Representative George E. Brown, Jr., of California;
- Representative James H. (Jimmy) Quillen, of Tennessee;
- Senator Bob Dole, of Kansas;
- Senator Clifford P. Hansen, of Wyoming, who was accompanying Karen Morris, American Junior Miss, of Cheyenne, Wyo.;
- Representative Edwin B. Forsythe, of New Jersey, who presented an in-depth study he and his staff had done on the causes of inflation;
- Senators Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, and Norris Cotton, of New Hampshire, who discussed the pending Labor-HEW appropriations bill.

The President today accepted with deep regret the resignation of Henry M. Ramirez as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People.

The President today accepted the resignation of John J. Chester as Special Counsel to the President, effective August 31, 1974.

The White House announced the following steps in preparation for the upcoming economic "summit" meeting to be held in early fall:

- The President has asked L. William Seidman to serve as executive director of the economic summit program.
- The President has designated four Administration officials to serve on a steering committee with four Members of Congress to prepare for the economic summit. Appointed to the steering committee were: Counsellor to the President Kenneth Rush, Director Roy L. Ash of the Office of Management and Budget, Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon, and Chairman-designate Alan Greenspan of the Council of Economic Advisers.

—The President met with a group of economic advisers. Participating in the meeting were: Counsellor Rush, Secretary Simon, Director Ash, Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, and Chairman Herbert Stein of the Council of Economic Advisers.

—David Packard, chairman of the Business Council, met with the President to discuss plans for the economic summit.

August 21

The Black Caucus of the House of Representatives met with the President at the White House.

The President met separately with Ambassadors from three South Asian nations. The President reaffirmed the continuity of American foreign policy with regard to South Asia and assured them of his desire for continued good relations with the three nations. Participating in the meetings were: Sahabzada Yaqub Khan of Pakistan, Ardeshir Zahedi of Iran, and Triloki Nath Kaul of India.

Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, met with the President to discuss pending legislation.

Air Force Lt. Gen. Daniel James, Jr., met with the President prior to assuming his new post as Vice Commander of the Military Airlift Command. The President also wished to discuss General James' views on black Americans serving in the Armed Forces.

The President met with Republican Senatorial candidates for a photograph session.

August 22

The President underwent a physical examination at the White House. Rear Adm. William M. Lukash, Physician to the President, later reported that the President is in excellent health.

Senators Frank Church and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., met with the President to discuss a report on national emergency powers.

The President met with Republican candidates for the House of Representatives for a photograph session.

The President today acknowledged the retirement of Pat Mehaffy as Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, effective today.

The President today accepted the resignation of John T. Connor as a member of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, effective today.

The White House announced that the President had today received a personal letter from Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China.

Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers International Union, met with the President.

Senator Bill Brock, chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, Representative Robert H. Michel,

chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee, and George H. Bush, Republican National Chairman met with the President to discuss plans for the 1974 Congressional campaigns.

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a dinner for Vice President-designate Rockefeller and several Members of Congress.

August 23

In the Rose Garden, the President greeted a group of 4-H Club members from Michigan and Colorado who were visiting the White House.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield met with the President to discuss legislative matters, including prospects for the remainder of the 93d Congress.

Syrian Foreign Minister Abd al-Halim Khaddam met with the President to review the status of Middle East peace negotiations and to discuss relations between the two countries.

The President announced that Paul A. Theis is joining the White House Staff as Executive Editor and Administrator of the President's speechwriting staff.

The White House announced that Mrs. Ford has asked Helen McCain Smith and Lucy Alexander Winchester to remain on the First Lady's staff as Press Secretary and Social Security, respectively.

The Farm Family of the Year, Mr. and Mrs. Julian V. Fowler, of Fairbanks, Alaska, called on the President. They were selected in the annual Farm Family of the Year competition sponsored by the Farmers Home Administration. Under Secretary of Agriculture J. Phil Campbell accompanied the Fowlers.

Representatives of several senior citizens organizations met with the President.

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a reception for members of the staff which served him as Vice President.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved August 17, 1974

H.R. 2537----- Private Law 93-88
An act for the relief of Lidia Myslinska Bokosky.

H.R. 4590----- Private Law 93-89
An act for the relief of Melissa Catambay Gutierrez and Milagros Catambay Gutierrez.

H.R. 5667----- Private Law 93-90
An act for the relief of Linda Julie Dickson (nee Waters).

S. 2296----- Public Law 93-378
Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974.

S. 3669----- Public Law 93-377
An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and the Atomic Weapons Rewards Act of 1955, and for other purposes.

Approved August 20, 1974

H.R. 7682----- Private Law 93-91
An act to confer United States citizenship posthumously upon Lance Corporal Federico Silva.

Approved August 21, 1974

H.R. 69----- Public Law 93-380
Education Amendments of 1974.

H.R. 12832----- Public Law 93-379
The District of Columbia Law Revision Commission Act.

H.R. 15544----- Public Law 93-381
Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Act, 1975.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved August 22, 1974

H. J. Res. 1105----- Public Law 93-382
Joint resolution designating August 26, 1974, as "Women's Equality Day".

S. 3066----- Public Law 93-383
Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE AND SENATE

Submitted August 20, 1974

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, of New York, to be Vice President of the United States.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted August 20, 1974

RICHARD L. ROUEBUSH, of Indiana, to be Administrator of Veterans Affairs, vice Donald E. Johnson.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK, of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Ghana.

Submitted August 21, 1974

WILLIAM R. CRAWFORD, JR., of Pennsylvania, a Foreign Service officer of Class one, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cyprus.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released August 19, 1974

Advance text: address to the annual convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (2 releases)

Released August 20, 1974

News conference: on the selection of a Vice Presidential nominee—by Robert T. Hartmann, Counsellor to the President

Released August 21, 1974

Fact sheet: Education Amendments of 1974
News conference: following Black Caucus meeting with the President—by Representatives Charles B. Rangel of New York, Ronald V. Dellums of California, and Charles C. Diggs of Michigan

Released August 22, 1974

Fact sheet: Housing and Community Development Act of 1974

News conference: on the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974—by James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Released August 23, 1974

News conference: following the President's meeting with representatives of senior citizens organizations—by Mary Mullen, president, National Retired Teachers Association, Jack Ossosky, Executive Director, National Council on the Aging, and James H. Cavanaugh, Deputy Director, Domestic Council

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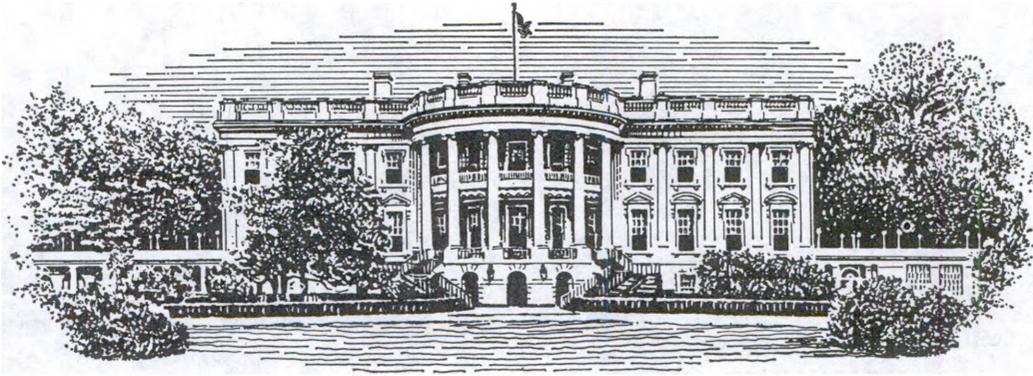
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, August 31, 1974

Council on Wage and Price Stability

The President's Remarks Upon Signing a Bill To Establish the Council. August 24, 1974

Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker, for coming, along with Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Arends and members of the White House Staff and the Cabinet and others.

I appreciate your coming down here on a Saturday morning for this signing which I think probably best indicates the cooperation that exists before the Congress and the White House.

I was just noticing that less than 2 weeks ago, Mr. Speaker, I asked for the help of the Congress in one important piece of legislation, namely, the one I am about to sign, and within that short span of time the House and Senate responded—responded, I think, in a very constructive way.

Not that this particular piece of legislation is going to be an instant answer or an immediate panacea, but it is important. It was so indicated by the Republican Administration and concurred in by the Democratic leadership and the Democratic Congress. I think it is indicative of the recognition that we have to work together not only in this instance but in others, in meeting the problem of inflation which plagues us, which is our public enemy number one.

Now we have got some other things that have to be done. I have said very emphatically, and I think it has been generally agreed to, that this legislation is not the forerunner of any wage and price controls. This is a monitoring piece of legislation to give guidance in very broad terms to management and labor so they don't take advantage of a free economy in this critical situation.

I am not going to ask for wage and price controls, and we generally agreed last week that the Congress in 1974 would not respond to any wage and price control recommendation.

We are going to do some other things, and I think all of this ought to be encouraging to the American people and to our friends around the world. We are going to hold the line on spending. The target, of course, is a figure in this fiscal year of under \$300 billion. We can do it. We are going to do it. And that ought to be reassuring, I think, to the American people.

There will be some other things that will undoubtedly come out of the economic summit which is being put together by cooperation with the Congress and with the White House.

This battle has to be won, and it will be won, and the cooperation that I have gotten from not only the Congress but from some in industry, and I hope from those in labor, should absolutely reassure the American people that inflation can be licked here as well as abroad.

So with those remarks I would like to sign this bill which I appreciate and I think the American people will be glad to have on the statute book.

Thank you very much. I appreciate everybody being here, and now we are going back to work without any further ado.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. As enacted, the Council on Wage and Price Stability Act (S. 3919) is Public Law 93-387, approved August 24, 1974.

For a statement by the President announcing the appointment of the Chairman and members of the Council, see p. 1074 of this issue.

Council on Wage and Price Stability Act

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. August 24, 1974

One of my first acts as President was to ask the Congress to reactivate a wage and price monitoring agency before its Labor Day recess. Today—less than 2 weeks later—I am gratified to sign the legislation authorizing me to create such a council, and I hereby announce its creation without further delay.

It is certainly encouraging to me, as it must be to all Americans, to know that the Government can act so swiftly on the inflation front. Prompt and aggressive action against inflation is precisely what America needs, and that is the kind of leadership that must be provided by the Federal Government.

This new Council on Wage and Price Stability will provide us with one means of identifying and exposing some of the causes of inflation. It will bring into sharper focus the critical developments of industrial performance, wage and productivity performance, and the effect on inflation of actions taken by the Federal Government.

I must reemphasize that the Council should not be a steppingstone back to mandatory wage and price controls. We have learned from experience that in today's economy, controls lead to disruptions and new troubles.

It would also be unrealistic to expect this Council to bring any immediate relief from inflation. Establishment of the Council is but one step along a difficult road that all of us must travel in the months ahead. We in the Federal Government must hold to a firm, responsible policy of fiscal and monetary restraint. Industry and labor will have their work cut out for them in exercising every responsible restraint in price and wage increases. We face an uphill road, and we will make it through only if we all pull together.

I will announce shortly the membership of the Council so that it can convene promptly and develop an agenda for action in the immediate future.

Once again, I commend the Members of Congress for their quick and responsible action in helping to establish this Council.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3919) is Public Law 93-387, approved August 24, 1974.

For a statement by the President announcing the appointment of the Chairman and members of the Council, see p. 1074 of this issue.

Small Business Amendments of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. August 24, 1974

Late yesterday I signed into law S. 3331, the "Small Business Amendments of 1974."

Most of the provisions of this bill are essential to the ongoing programs of the Small Business Administration or are desirable amendments to existing law.

This legislation, for instance, raises ceilings on the SBA's loan programs. It increases the agency's flexibility to establish interest rates on guaranteed loans purchased from financial institutions. It expands the authority to carry out lease guarantee and surety bond guarantee programs. And it authorizes disaster loans with terms of up to 30 years

for small business concerns affected adversely by energy shortages.

Each of these provisions was either requested or supported by the executive branch. Their enactment is welcome evidence that the executive branch and the Congress can work together to meet the needs of small business. In the Congress, I have long supported small business as the backbone of our American enterprise system. As President, I intend to encourage small business in every way I can.

There is one provision in this bill which disturbs me. That provision would require SBA to make direct loans under its regular business loan program in an aggregate amount of at least \$400 million during fiscal year 1975. The 1975 budget, however, provides only \$40 million for this direct loan program. Thus, in the absence of reprogramming, the effect of S. 3331, if fully funded, would be to increase Federal budget outlays by \$360 million this year.

At a time when both the Congress and the Administration are committed to fighting inflation by reducing Federal spending, outlays of this magnitude would be excessive. Therefore, I do not intend to request additional appropriations to carry out the \$400 million authorization for fiscal year 1975. The present 1975 budget request of \$40 million, combined with the continuing success of SBA's loan guarantee program, should ensure an adequate level of assistance for small businessmen.

In sum, the bill is generally responsive to the needs of small businesses. I commend the Congress for enacting it.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3331) is Public Law 93-386, approved August 23, 1974.

Michigan Republican State Convention

The President's Recorded Remarks to the Convention in Detroit, Michigan. August 24, 1974

Governor Milliken, Members of Congress, State candidates, and delegates to the State Convention:

Greetings from Betty and me from the White House. You know I would have liked to greet you in person as I have done so many times in the past at our State conventions. However, the very sudden change in circumstances has made that impossible at this time.

But I want you to know that I am thinking about my many, many good Michigan friends gathered in Detroit. I want you to know, too, that there are many good Michiganders who are helping greatly here in Washington in moving the Ford Administration through the very difficult transition period. It is tough, demanding work, but it is accomplishing our great goal.

The transition is going very smoothly. I can assure you that the Ford Administration is moving and moving strongly to meet the Nation's needs, both at home and abroad.

But a President must have help to get his policies and plans into operation. That is where you are needed and needed very badly. One of the most important of our Republican concepts is to reverse the concentration of power in Washington. With the revenue sharing and such important new programs as the Housing and Community Development Act which I signed into law this week, we are beginning to see a transfer of power back to the people.

You, at State and local levels, are getting the power to decide where and how your tax dollars are to be spent in more and more areas of human need. I think that is a great trend in exactly the right direction. It is a trend that must continue, and with your help in electing candidates who support such programs, the power of the people will continue to grow.

You have a fine Governor. Bill Milliken has done an outstanding job. He has a fine record of performance in office. You have an equally fine group of candidates for Congressional and for State office.

I have a particular interest in our Congressional candidates. Our candidates for the Congress are worthy of your full support. We need them in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C. Our legislative candidates in Lansing also need your full support. Governor Bill Milliken must have help in the State legislature.

You have a lot going for you during the coming campaign in our State. But there has to be one additional factor, the dedicated efforts of Republican workers. You—the key people in the Republican Party of Michigan—must give the leadership and show the way.

It is time for all of us to get down to hard work. With your very real effort, we together can show those who despair the future just how wrong they are. Join with me in helping to build a better America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The remarks were recorded for use at the convention in Detroit, Mich., at 12 noon on Saturday, August 24, 1974.

Little League World Series Teams

The President's Remarks to Members of the Eight Championship Teams. August 26, 1974

Let me welcome all of you on behalf of myself and the American people. We are very grateful to have the teams from the countries that came from abroad. We congratulate all eight teams for participating in the Little League

World Series—and I mean really world series. All of you should be congratulated.

Of course, we will congratulate the team from the Republic of China, which won. I can't help but admire—where is Mr. Lin? Here he is. I watched on television one of those home runs. What was it, five in three ball games? A .727 percent batting average. I wish I had that good a batting average. [*Laughter*]

But I do want to congratulate everyone of you individually, congratulate you as a team, and congratulate those who were the sponsors and the coaches. I wish to welcome all of you from foreign lands.

It is my impression that competitive athletics, whether it is in little league baseball or whether it is in the Olympics or whether it is in any other sport, contributes very significantly to a better world for all of us, those here in the United States, those who come from foreign lands.

The exchange of relationships, the exchange of ideas, the friendships that you make are of invaluable benefit to everybody in the world. And at your young age, you are making a tremendous contribution to better world understanding by the fact that you have participated in this world championship.

I congratulate you again, and I hope that I will have an opportunity to not only say hello in this way but perhaps we can shake hands as I leave the room.

Good luck, and God bless each and every one of you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:07 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. The group included the eight teams which competed in the Little League World Series at Williamsport, Pa. The teams were from Red Bluff, Calif., Tallmadge, Ohio, New Haven, Conn., Jackson, Tenn., Republic of China (Taiwan), Maracaibo, Venezuela, Victoria, B.C., Canada, and a team made up of children of American military and embassy staff in Athens, Greece.

Farewell Party for Dr. Herbert Stein

Remarks of the President and Dr. Stein at a Party Honoring Dr. Stein on His Resignation as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. August 26, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Herb and Mrs. Stein and all of your many, many friends, both professionally and socially and politically and otherwise:*

I think all of us are here tonight to say goodbye to a trusted friend and a very valued adviser.

Herb, as most of you know, has been with the Council, I think, since 1969, and both economically and politically Herb has been through periods of both good times and bad. It is obvious to a non-economist like myself that economics is something of an inexact science.

I think an economist has been described as a person who tells you there will definitely not be a hurricane and

then shortly thereafter helps you repair and rebuild the roof. [Laughter]

But through fair weather or foul, Herb Stein, in my judgment, from my view, when I was in the House, as Minority Leader, when I was Vice President, and now as President, has been a model helpmate, adviser to public servants. He has advised Presidents to the very best of his outstanding ability, and on occasions when Herb's advice was not necessarily taken, he stayed loyal to a constituent, the only one under the law that he had, the President of the United States. And to me that kind of loyalty is invaluable.

Herb came to the Government, as I recollect, when the economy was going through a very difficult time. Obviously he is leaving when the economy is going through a very difficult time. But I think we shouldn't lose sight of the fact that while Herb was here the economy went through an enormous expansion and remained the most powerful, and most productive, and certainly the richest economy in the world today.

One fact that impressed me during Herb's tenure: since 1968, employment, civilian employment, has increased by some 12 million, the largest increase in any 5-year period in the history of the United States. I think that is a tremendously favorable statistic that we can all be proud of.

Real per capita income, after taxes—and that has an impact on all of us—during that same span of time, has increased 15 percent.

In both cases, the gain in employment, the gain in real per capita income, this is indicative of substantial progress. And I think despite the problems we face, the dark clouds that may be on the horizon, we are going to make the same kind of progress in the battle against inflation, with your help, with the help of the American people.

I think we will miss Herb's sense of the dramatic. And I have seen several instances of it. Who can ever forget that economic conference a few years ago when Herb pulled a rib roast out of his briefcase. He said that 2 years ago Mildred had bought that rib roast, and now anybody could buy it for a lot less money. You know why? Have you ever tasted a rib roast that had been in Herb's briefcase for 2 years? [Laughter]

Although I will not have the benefit of Herb's advice in person, I am looking forward to getting up each morning, making my own breakfast, and then reading his opinions in the Wall Street Journal and other newspapers. I suspect it will be very appropriate. His views are just about as hardboiled as the eggs that I will cook. [Laughter]

But Herb, you brought to Government a wealth of knowledge, experience, and deep insight. I think you leave us with a little more in each category. Your students will be the beneficiaries at the University of Michigan—Virginia. [Laughter] A few have gone back there. I don't want you to crowd Paul McCracken and the others. But

your readers will be the beneficiaries of what you learned down here in the trenches far from that ivory tower. I ask only one thing: Just remember the trenches a bit when you get back up to that ivory tower.

We do, all of us, including myself, wish you the very best of luck. I speak for the White House Staff, your associates in the Council, the Cabinet, the Members of Congress. We will miss your wit, and we will miss your fortitude, and we will miss your loyalty. And we extend to you and to Mildred our very, very best wishes for a happy and successful tenure away from the trenches.

Thank you.

DR. HERBERT STEIN. Well, Mr. President, Mildred and I and all our friends here are tremendously honored by your presence on this occasion, by your willingness to be seen in public with an economist, and particularly with this economist. [Laughter]

You have shown that you are prepared to go the last mile to bring the country together and to establish stability in the American economy. [Laughter]

We, of course, wish you every success. Mildred and I are about to join the 98 percent of the American public whose troubles are all caused by the 2 percent who work in the Government. In fact, one can say that their troubles are all caused by four or five people who meet at 8 or 8:30 in the morning in the White House. [Laughter]

So when things are not as good as they might be, we will know where to look. [Laughter]

But we are sure that they will be as good as they might be. We have every confidence in the program on which you have embarked, on the staff of advisers that you will have working with you and although we know—God knows we know—that there will be ups and downs and trials and tribulations, we have confidence in you and in the American economy to swim through these things which are after all, in the end, only minor ripples—I guess I have said this before; they didn't believe it when I said it before, but I am left with it—[laughter]—minor ripples on the rising tide of economic welfare.

So again, let me thank you very much for coming here to join us and our friends.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:19 p.m. in the Atrium at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Death of Charles A. Lindbergh

Statement by the President. August 26, 1974

From the moment that "The Spirit of St. Louis" landed in Paris on May 21, 1927, Charles A. Lindbergh had earned a place in history. For a generation of Americans and for millions of other people around the world, the "Lone Eagle" represented all that was best in our country—honesty, courage, and the will to greatness.

In later years, his life was darkened by tragedy and colored by political controversy. But, in both public and private life, General Lindbergh always remained a brave, sincere patriot. Nearly half a century has passed since his courageous solo flight across the Atlantic, but the courage and daring of his feat will never be forgotten. For years to come, we will also remember the selfless, sincere man himself, Charles A. Lindbergh, one of America's alltime heroes and a great pioneer of the air age that changed the world.

On the occasion of his death, Mrs. Ford and I extend our sincere condolences to Mrs. Lindbergh and the family.

NOTE: Charles A. Lindbergh, 72, died at his home on the island of Maui, Hawaii, on August 26, 1974.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF AUGUST 28, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Good afternoon:*

At the outset, I have a very important and a very serious announcement. There was a little confusion about the date of this press conference. My wife, Betty, had scheduled her first press conference for the same day. And obviously, I had scheduled my first press conference for this occasion. So, Betty's was postponed.

We worked this out between us in a calm and orderly way. She will postpone her press conference until next week, and until then, I will be making my own breakfast, my own lunch, and my own dinner. [*Laughter*]

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

QUESTIONS

IMMUNITY OR PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, aside from the Special Prosecutor's role, do you agree with the bar association that the law applies equally to all men, or do you agree with Governor Rockefeller that former President Nixon should have immunity from prosecution? And specifically, would you use your pardon authority, if necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me say at the outset that I made a statement in this room a few moments after the swearing in. And on that occasion I said the following: that I had hoped that our former President, who brought peace to millions, would find it for himself.

Now, the expression made by Governor Rockefeller, I think, coincides with the general view and the point of view of the American people. I subscribe to that point of

view, but let me add, in the last 10 days or 2 weeks I have asked for prayers for guidance on this very important point.

In this situation, I am the final authority. There have been no charges made, there has been no action by the courts, there has been no action by any jury. And until any legal process has been undertaken, I think it is unwise and untimely for me to make any commitment.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Q. Mr. President, you have been in office 19 days now, and already some of your natural, conservative allies are grumbling that you are moving too far to the left. Does this trouble you?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I have deviated from my basic philosophy nor have I deviated from what I think is the right action. I have selected an outstanding person to be the Vice President. I have made a decision concerning amnesty, which I think is right and proper—no amnesty, no revenge—and that individuals who have violated either the draft laws or have evaded selective service or deserted can earn their way or work their way back. I don't think these are views that fall in the political spectrum right or left.

I intend to make the same kind of judgments in other matters because I think they are right and I think they are for the good of the country.

PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAM

Q. Mr. President, may I follow that with one more example, possibly, that is, there is a report that the Administration is considering a \$4 billion public works program in case the inflation rate gets higher than it is, say 6 percent. Is that under consideration?

THE PRESIDENT. I think most of you know that we do have a public service employment program on the statute books which is funded right today, not for any major program, but to take care of those areas in our country where there are limited areas of unemployment caused by the energy crisis or any other reason.

There is a recommendation from some of my advisers saying that if the economy gets any more serious, that this ought to be a program—a broader, more expensive public service program. We will approach this problem with compassion and action if there is a need for it.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Q. Sir, two political questions: Do you definitely plan to run for President in 1976, and if so, would you choose Governor Rockefeller as your running mate or would you leave that choice up to the convention's free choice?

THE PRESIDENT. I will repeat what has been said on my behalf, that I will probably be a candidate in 1976.

I think Governor Rockefeller and myself are a good team, but, of course, the final judgment in this matter will be that of the delegates to the national convention.

POSSIBILITY OF PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. May I just follow up on Helen's question. Are you saying, sir, that the option of a pardon for former President Nixon is still an option that you will consider, depending on what the courts will do?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, I make the final decision. And until it gets to me, I make no commitment one way or another. But I do have the right as President of the United States to make that decision.

Q. And you are not ruling it out?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not ruling it out. It is an option and a proper option for any President.

ACTION BY THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR

Q. Do you feel the Special Prosecutor can in good conscience pursue cases against former top Nixon aides as long as there is the possibility that the former President may not also be pursued in the courts?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Special Prosecutor, Mr. Jaworski, has an obligation to take whatever action he sees fit in conformity with his oath of office, and that should include any and all individuals.

PREVENTION OF FURTHER "WATERGATES"

Q. What do you plan to do as President to see to it that we have no further Watergates?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I indicated that, one, we would have an open Administration. I will be as candid and as forthright as I possibly can. I will expect any individuals in my Administration to be exactly the same. There will be no tightly controlled operation of the White House Staff. I have a policy of seeking advice from a number of top members of my staff. There will be no one person, nor any limited number of individuals, who make decisions. I will make the decisions and take the blame for them or whatever benefit might be the case.

I said in one of my speeches after the swearing in, there would be no illegal wiretaps, there would be none of the other things that to a degree helped to precipitate the Watergate crisis.

CODE OF ETHICS

Q. Do you plan to set up a code of ethics for the executive branch?

THE PRESIDENT. The code of ethics that will be followed will be the example that I set.

CONTROL OF INFLATION

Q. Mr. President, do you have any plans now for immediate steps to control and curtail inflation, even before your summit conference on the economy?

THE PRESIDENT. We have announced that as far as fiscal control is concerned, we will spend less in the Federal Government in the current fiscal year than \$300 billion. That is a reduction of \$5,500 million at a minimum.

This, I think, will have two effects: Number one, it will be substantively beneficial, it will make our borrowings from the money market less, freeing more money for housing, for the utilities to borrow, and, in addition, I think it will convince people who might have some doubts that we mean business.

But in the meantime, we are collecting other ideas from labor, from management, from agriculture, from a wide variety of the segments of our population to see if they have any better ideas for us to win the battle against inflation.

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Q. Mr. President, as you know, a number of people have questioned your opposition to a return to wage and price controls. Gardner Ackley, a University of Michigan economist that you have listened to in the past, recently testified before Congress that if we are really frightened about inflation, we ought to think about returning to wage and price controls.

Can you foresee any circumstances under which you would be willing to do that and make them work?

THE PRESIDENT. I foresee no circumstances under which I can see the reimposition of wage and price controls. The situation is precisely this: This past week I had a meeting with the Democratic and Republican leadership, plus my own advisers in the field of our national economy. There was an agreement, number one, that I would not ask for any wage and price control legislation. There was agreement by the leadership on both sides of the aisle that there was no possibility whatsoever that this Congress in 1974 would approve any such legislation. Number three, labor and management almost unanimously agree that wage and price controls at the present time or any foreseeable circumstances were unwise.

Under all of those circumstances, it means wage and price controls are out, period.

DUTIES OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Q. Can you give us your present thinking on how best you might use Mr. Rockefeller as Vice President once he is confirmed?

THE PRESIDENT. I have a lot of ideas. Until Congress confirms Mr. Rockefeller, we are sort of in a honeymoon period. I really shouldn't make any commitments until we actually get married.

But to be serious, if I might, I think Governor Rockefeller can be extremely important in the new Administration as my teammate in doing effective work in the area of the Domestic Council. We have to prepare legislative proposals that will go to the Congress when the new Congress comes back in January.

I believe that Governor Rockefeller will take over my responsibilities heading the subcommittee of the Domestic Council on privacy. Governor Rockefeller, with his vast experience in foreign policy, can make a significant contribution to some of our decisionmaking in the area of foreign policy. Obviously, in addition, he can be helpful, I think, in the political arena under certain guidelines and some restrictions.

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Q. Mr. President, you just ruled out wage and price controls, but I just would like to ask you why Mr. Nixon, when he was President, felt he was compelled to go back to them because the situation was getting out of hand? Can you just reinforce what you told Mr. Brokaw [Tom Brokaw, NBC News], why you think the situation is not that much out of hand yet?

THE PRESIDENT. I can only refer you to the circumstances and the decision of President Nixon in August of 1971. That was a decision he made under quite different circumstances. We are in totally different circumstances today. We have gone through a 3-year period, more or less. I think we have learned a few economic lessons that wage and price controls in the current circumstances didn't work, probably created more dislocations and inequities. I see no justification today, regardless of the rightness or wrongness of the decision in 1971, to reimpose wage and price controls today.

ECONOMIC ADVISERS

Q. Mr. President, you are still working with the same team of economic advisers who advised your predecessor. As a matter of putting your own stamp on your own Administration, perhaps spurring confidence, do you plan to change the cast of characters?

THE PRESIDENT. There is one significant change, just within the last 48 hours. Herb Stein, who did a superb job for President Nixon, is going back to the University of Virginia, and Alan Greenspan is taking over, and he has been on board, I think, 2 days.

That is a distinct change. I think Mr. Greenspan will do an excellent job. We are soliciting, through the economic summit, the views of a great many people from the total spectrum of the American society. Their ideas will be vitally important in any new, innovative approaches that we take. So, I think, between now and the 28th of September, when I think the second day of the summit ends, we will have the benefit of a great many wise, experienced individuals in labor, management, agriculture, et cetera, and this will give us, I hope, any new approaches that are wise and beneficial.

OIL PRICES AND PRODUCTION

Q. Some oil governments and some commercial cartels, notably ARAMCO [Arabian-American Oil Company] in Saudi Arabia are restricting oil production in order to

keep oil prices artificially high. Now the U.S. can't do anything about Venezuela, but it can conceivably vis-à-vis cartels like ARAMCO. What steps and actions do you plan to take in this regard?

THE PRESIDENT. I think this points up very vividly the need and necessity for us to accelerate every aspect of Project Independence. I think it highlights the need and necessity for us to proceed with more oil and gas drilling, a greater supply domestically. I believe it points up the requirement that we expedite the licensing processes for new nuclear reactors. I think it points up very dramatically the need that we expand our geothermal, our solar research and development in the fields of energy.

In the meantime, it seems to me that the effort that was made several months ago to put together a group of consumer-industrial nations requires that this group meet frequently and act as much as possible in concert, because if we have any economic adverse repercussions because of high oil prices and poor investment policies, it could create serious economic problems throughout the industrial world. So it does require, I believe, the short-term action by consumer nations and the long-term actions under Project Independence.

COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR

Q. Mr. President, to further pursue Helen's inquiry, have there been any communications between the Special Prosecutor's office and anyone on your staff regarding President Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. Not to my knowledge.

ADVICE TO WAGE EARNERS

Q. Mr. President, the beneficial effects of budget cutting on inflation will take some time to dribble down to the wage earner. What advice would you give the wage earner today who is having trouble stretching his dollar over his needs?

THE PRESIDENT. I think every wage earner has to realize we are going through a serious economic problem with inflation in double digits, not as bad as people in many Western European countries, but it will require him or her to follow the example of their Federal Government which is going to tighten its belt and likewise for an interim period of time watch every penny.

INDIAN OCEAN NAVAL BASES

Q. Mr. President, you said last March in an interview, I think in Sea Power magazine, that you came down quite strongly in favor of establishing a U.S. Indian Ocean fleet with the necessary bases to support it. Do you still stand by that and do you favor the development of Diego Garcia?¹

¹ Diego Garcia, an island approximately 1,000 nautical miles south of India, is part of the British Indian Ocean Territory. The U.S. Navy maintains a communications station on the island.

THE PRESIDENT. I favor the limited expansion of our base at Diego Garcia. I don't view this as any challenge to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union already has three major naval operating bases in the Indian Ocean. This particular proposed construction, I think, is a wise policy, and it ought not to ignite any escalation of the problems in the Middle East.

Yes, Sarah. [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service].

VETERANS BENEFITS LEGISLATION

Q. I want to ask you about this new veterans benefits bill which Congress passed in the last hours. I understand this is a bill that you favored and maybe have spurred the Congressmen to pass. It saves \$200 million.

Now my question is: Is that a real savings when it gives the disabled man less money than an able man and disrupts completely the veterans going to college in September?

THE PRESIDENT. I had no part in just how that House action was taken. I did discuss, coming back from the VFW meeting in Chicago, with a number of Members of the House and Senate, the problem that I faced with the bill that came out of conference, which would have added \$780-some million over and above the budget for this year and a substantial increase for a number of succeeding years.

But that particular compromise was put together and brought to the floor of the House without any participation by me. I think there are some good provisions in that particular House action. It does tend to equalize the benefits for Vietnam veterans with the benefits that were given to World War II and to Korean veterans.

There are some, I think, inequities, and you probably pointed out one. I hope when the Congress reconvenes within a week or so that they will go back to conference, take a good look, and hopefully eliminate any inequities and keep the price down because it is inflationary the way it was and it may be the way it was proposed by the House.

ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES AND THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Q. Mr. President, concerning the Federal budget, will the domestic social programs have to bear the whole brunt of the anti-inflation fight or can some money come out of the defense budget, and if so, how much?

THE PRESIDENT. No budget for any department is sacrosanct, and that includes the defense budget. I insist, however, that sufficient money be made available to the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force so that we are strong militarily for the purpose of deterring war or meeting any challenge by any adversary. But if there is any fat in the defense budget, it ought to be cut out by Congress or eliminated by the Secretary of Defense.

In the meantime, all other departments must be scrutinized carefully so that they don't have any fat and marginal programs are eliminated.

Mrs. Tufty [Esther Van Wagoner Tufty, Tufty News Service].

DOMESTIC PRIORITIES

Q. Mr. President, you have given top priority to inflation. Do you have a list of priorities, and if so, what is number two?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, public enemy number one, and that is the one we have to lick, is inflation. If we take care of inflation and get our economy back on the road to a healthy future, I think most of our other domestic programs or problems will be solved.

We won't have high unemployment. We will have ample job opportunities. We will, I believe, give greater opportunities to minorities to have jobs. If we can lick inflation, and we are going to try, and I think we are going to have a good program, most of our other domestic programs will be solved.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Q. Do you have any plans to revive the Office of Economic Opportunity, and if so, in what areas?

THE PRESIDENT. As I am sure you know, the old poverty program has been significantly changed over the last several years. The Headstart Program has been taken out of OEC [OEO] and turned over to the Department of HEW. The health aspects of the old poverty program are also over in HEW.

The Congress just approved, and Mr. Nixon approved, a Legal Services Corporation, which was another part of the old poverty program. So, we end up really with just the CAP program, Community Action Program.

Now I think most people who have objectively looked at the Community Action Program and the Model Cities Program and maybe some of the other similar programs—there is duplication, there is overlapping.

And under the new housing and urban development bill, local communities are given substantial sums to take a look at the Model Cities Programs and related programs, and they may be able to take up the slack of the ending of the Community Action Programs.

ISRAELI CAPITAL

Q. Mr. President, my question applies to a 1972 statement in which you said that an impediment to a regional peace settlement is an impediment to preserve the fiction that Jerusalem is not the capital of Israel. My question, sir, is, would you, now that you set foreign policy, request that the embassy be shifted from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem along with 17 other national embassies?

THE PRESIDENT. Under the current circumstances and the importance of getting a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, I think that particular proposal ought to stand aside. We must come up with some answers between Israel and the Arab nations in order to achieve a peace that is both fair and durable.

POLICY TOWARD CUBA

Q. Mr. President, do you contemplate any changes in our policy with Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. The policy that we have toward Cuba today is determined by the sanctions voted by the Organization of American States, and we abide by those actions that were taken by the members of that organization.

Now if Cuba changes its policy toward us and toward its Latin neighbors, we, of course, would exercise the option, depending on what the changes were, to change our policy. But before we made any change, we would certainly act in concert with the other members of the Organization of American States.

POSSIBILITY OF PARDON FOR THE FORMER PRESIDENT

Q. Mr. President, you have emphasized here your option of granting a pardon to the former President.

THE PRESIDENT. I intend to.

Q. You intend to have that option. If an indictment is brought, would you grant a pardon before any trial took place?

THE PRESIDENT. I said at the outset that until the matter reaches me, I am not going to make any comment during the process of whatever charges are made.

ECONOMIC POLICIES

Q. Mr. President, two questions, related: How long will the transition last, in your opinion, and, secondly, how soon would it be proper and fair for Democrats on the campaign trail this fall to hold you accountable for the economic policy and the economic problems the country faces?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't judge what the Democrats are going to say about my policies. They have been very friendly so far and very cooperative. I think it is a fair statement that our problems domestically, our economic problems, are the joint responsibility of Government. As a matter of fact, I think the last poll indicated that most Americans felt that our difficulties were caused by Government action and that, of course, includes the President and the Democratic Congress. So, we are all in this boat together, along with labor and management and everybody else. I don't think making partisan politics out of a serious domestic problem is good politics.

FEDERAL PAY RAISE

Q. Mr. President, in your fight against inflation, what, if anything, do you intend to do about the next Federal pay raise?

THE PRESIDENT. I have made no judgment on that yet, the recommendation has not come to my desk.

SALT TALKS

Q. Mr. President, when do you expect the SALT talks to resume, and is there a disagreement over our position in the Pentagon and State Department and other agencies?

THE PRESIDENT. At the present time, there is an effort being made to bring the Department of Defense, the State Department, and any others together for a resolution of our, the United States, position regarding SALT Two. This decision will be made in a relatively near future. I don't think there are any basic difficulties that cannot be resolved internally within our Government. I believe that Secretary Kissinger is going to be meeting with representatives from the Soviet Union in the near future, I think in October, if my memory is correct, and we, of course, will then proceed on a timetable to try and negotiate SALT Two. I think a properly negotiated, effective strategic arms limitation agreement is in the best interests of ourselves, the Soviet Union, and a stable international situation.

FRANK CORMIER (Associated Press). Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's first news conference was held at 2:30 p.m. on Wednesday, August 28, 1974, in the East Room at the White House. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

Emergency Assistance for
Puerto Rico

Announcement of Emergency Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Because of a Drought. August 29, 1974

The President today declared an emergency for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico because of the impact of a drought. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the Commonwealth.

Dry conditions, which have existed in Puerto Rico for some time have reached a critical stage this year with a severe lack of rainfall. Pastures in the Commonwealth have been dying out because of the lack of moisture. The President's declaration of an emergency will provide a federally funded program of survival livestock feeding of cattle in order to maintain the herds of the Commonwealth. Federal officials will continue to monitor the situation to determine what other assistance may be made available.

Federal relief and recovery activities in Puerto Rico will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P.

Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the Commonwealth eligible for Federal assistance.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region II, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the Commonwealth in providing Federal emergency assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Public Works and AEC Appropriation Bill

Statement by the President Upon Signing H.R. 15155 Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. August 29, 1974

I have signed H.R. 15155, a public works appropriations bill for fiscal year 1975 providing funds for water and power development, the Atomic Energy Commission, and related agencies and commissions.

The bill raises for one of the first times the question of how well the executive and legislative branches can cooperate in carrying out the new Congressional Budget Act of 1974. Under that act, a President who signs an appropriations bill but wishes to avoid spending all of the funds may either seek a rescission of appropriations or seek a deferral. In either case, the President's action requires the concurrence of the Congress.

This public works bill is troublesome because it would increase the 1975 outlays by \$80 million above the budget and would commit us to major outlay increases in future years. I am strongly opposed to those increases because they would intensify our number one problem—inflation.

Nonetheless, I also recognize that this bill is the product of much hard work and deliberation and contains funds for many worthy projects. A veto would commit us to the time-consuming process of reformulating a public works appropriations bill at a time when our energies should be focused on more pressing matters.

After discussions with Congressional leaders, I have therefore decided to sign this bill with the hope and expectation that under the budget act, the Congress will work in cooperation with the executive branch to defer for one full year the expenditure of that amount of appropriated funds which would contribute excessively to inflationary governmental spending.

I am totally committed to close cooperation between the Congress and the Executive, and I know that this spirit will continue to prevail as we work together to halt the inflationary spiral.

NOTE: As enacted, the Public Works for Water and Power Development and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation Act, 1975 (H.R. 15155) is Public Law 93-393, approved August 28, 1974.

Council on Wage and Price Stability

Statement by the President Announcing the Appointment of the Chairman and Seven Members. August 29, 1974

Last Saturday, when I signed the legislation creating a Council on Wage and Price Stability, I said that Washington must provide prompt and aggressive action in the fight against inflation.

Today I want to move forward in that fight by appointing the members of the new council and asking them to begin work as quickly as possible. I am asking Mr. Kenneth Rush, my Counsellor for Economic Policy, to serve as Chairman of the Council. I am also asking seven other members of the Administration to serve as members of the group:

WILLIAM SIMON, Secretary of the Treasury
EARL BUTZ, Secretary of Agriculture
FREDERICK DENT, Secretary of Commerce
PETER BRENNAN, Secretary of Labor
ROY ASH, Director of the Office of Management and Budget
VIRGINIA KNAUER, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and
ANNE ARMSTRONG, Counsellor to the President

In the near future, I also intend to set up an advisory committee to the Council, drawing upon the best talent we can find in labor and industry.

One of my first acts as President was to ask that this Council be established. It is a tribute to the Congress that the necessary legislation reached my desk in less than 2 weeks. That is the kind of responsible leadership we can and must provide. Let me reemphasize, however, that the new wage and price council is not a forerunner of new wage and price controls. Americans have learned from experience that controls are not the answer to our economic troubles.

In the next few weeks, as we engage in a series of economic summit meetings here in Washington, I hope we can determine just what the best answers are. But one thing is already clear: There will be no instant miracles. This is an uphill struggle. We're all in it together. We must be tough with ourselves, we must be ready for sacrifices, and we must be prepared to stick it out over the long haul.

But I am certain that if we work together and if we summon the same courage and wisdom that built America, then we can lick inflation and put our economic house in order.

NOTE: For the President's remarks and statement upon signing the bill establishing the Council, see page 1065 of this issue.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The President's Remarks at the University's Summer Commencement Exercises in Columbus, Ohio. August 30, 1974

President Enarson, President Flemming, Governor Gilligan, Senator Metzenbaum, Congressman Sam Devine, Congressman Chalmers Wylie, Mr. Mayor, honored graduates, members of your family, and friends and guests:

It is a very great privilege and an exceedingly high honor to participate in this wonderful graduation ceremony. And at the outset, may I congratulate each and every one of the graduates.

But if I might add, I think, appropriate congratulations to the members of your family—husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, and others who have done so much to make it possible for you to be here on this wonderful occasion.

And I think it is appropriate also that we add a special tribute to the members of the faculty who have likewise contributed to this very wonderful occasion.

So much has happened in the few months since you were so very kind to ask me to participate on this occasion. I was then America's first instant Vice President—and now, America's first instant President. The United States Marine Band is so confused they don't know whether to play "Hail to the Chief" or "You've Come a Long Way, Baby."

Obviously, it is a very great honor for me to be at Ohio State University, sometimes known as the Land of the Free and the Home of Woody Hayes. I met Woody at the airport. We just had our picture taken together, and when the picture appears in today's Dispatch, I am pretty sure what the caption will say: "Woody Hayes—and Friend."

As many of you know, I have had a great interest in football for a good many years. I played center for the University of Michigan, and I still remember my senior year back in 1934. The Wolverines played Ohio in Columbus, and we lost 34 to 0. And to make it even worse, we lost seven out of our eight ball games. But what really hurt was that my teammates, after the end of the season, voted me the most valuable player. I didn't know whether to smile or sue. [*Laughter*]

But I want you to know that I have a great feeling of kinship with this graduating class. I understand that you have all taken your final examinations this week. As your new President, I feel like I am just beginning mine. They are tough, both at home and abroad, but we will make it. Instead of dwelling on how my team lost here in Columbus in 1934, I would prefer to advance the clock to 1974 and talk about winning against the odds that confront today's graduates and all America.

The first of these problems is summed up by the editor of your campus newspaper. She reports that the one dominant question in the minds of this year's graduates is very simple: How can I get a job that makes sense as well as money?

Your professors tell you that education unlocks creative genius and imagination and that you must develop your human potential. And students have accepted this. But then Catch 22 enters the picture. You spend 4 years in school, graduate, go into the job market, and are told that the

rules have changed, there is no longer a demand for your specialty—another educational discipline is now required.

And so one or two more years of study inevitably follows, and you again return to the job market. Yes, what you now offer is salable except that competition is very tough. To succeed you must acquire further credentials so you go back to the university and ultimately emerge with a master's or even a Ph.D.

And you know what happens next? You go out and look for a job and now they say you are overqualified.

In one form or another, this is a Three Shell Game. Our society has been playing tricks with our greatest natural energy source—that is you. And this has got to stop.

Although this Administration will not make promises it cannot keep, I do want to pledge one thing to you here and now. I will do everything in my power to bring education and employers together in a new climate of credibility—an atmosphere in which universities turn out scholars and employers turn them on.

Ever since President Abraham Lincoln initiated the concept of land grant colleges, set up to bring educators closer to the people and students closer to the land, the Federal Government has been interested in the practical application of education.

Take the example of Project Independence. Frankly, I am not satisfied with the progress we are making toward energy independence by 1980. However, this is a problem that I can appropriately discuss at a Labor Day weekend commencement. It concerns both the academic community and our great labor organizations.

I am not speaking of gasoline for a Labor Day trip to the lake or the seashore. I am speaking of fuel and raw materials for our factories which are threatened by shortages and high costs. Skills and intellect must harmonize so that the wheels of industry not only hum but sing.

I propose a great new partnership of labor and educators. Why can't the universities of America open their doors wide to working men and women, not only as students but as teachers. Practical problem-solvers can contribute much to education, whether or not they hold degrees. The fact of the matter is that education is being strangled—by degrees.

I want to see labor open its ranks to researchers and problem-solvers of the campuses whose research can give better tools and methods to the workman. I want to see a two-way street speeding the traffic of scientific development, speeding the creation of new jobs, speeding the day of independence in energy, and speeding an era of increased production for America and the world.

What good is training if it is not applied to jobs? What good are factories if they are shut down? What good is business and industry without those who solve their problems, perform their jobs, and spend their paychecks?

Next year, I will ask Congress to extend two laws which are expiring. One provides for higher education, the other for vocational education. Both are essential because we need new jobs and we need new skills, academically as well as vocationally.

Your Government will help you create a vocational environment responsive to our needs, but the Government cannot achieve personal fulfillment for each of you. You, in this case, are the essential ingredient. Your determination, your dedication, your will will make the significant difference.

For you, the time has come to test the theories of the academic world in the laboratory of life. As President, I invite students and graduates and faculties to contribute their energies and their genius to the solution of massive problems facing America. I invite your ideas and your initiatives in fighting inflation, in providing realistic education, in making sure our free enterprise system continues to give freedom as well as enterprise.

Show us how to increase productivity. Show us how to combine new lifestyles with old responsibilities. Show us how universities can work with industry and labor unions to devise a whole new community of learning across this great land. Show us how work-study programs can become a part of the ongoing educational process. Show us how new skills can improve technology while humanizing its use.

A French statesman once observed that war is much too important to be left to generals. Our Nation's future is far too important to be left only to Presidents or other officials of the Federal Government.

I like the phrase of a former great President, Theodore Roosevelt: "The Government is us; we are the Government, you and I." Oh yes, your vote and your voice are essential, as essential as mine, if each American is to take individual responsibility for our collective future.

As you move into that job that makes sense and money to you—and you will find it—you move from a position of strength. With the war over and the draft ended, your duty now to your country is to enlist in the campaigns currently being waged against our urgent domestic threats, especially inflation which is public enemy number one.

Abroad, we are seeking new peaceful relationships, not only with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China but with all peoples—industrial, underdeveloped nations, every nation, if we possibly can. There will be continuity in our foreign policy and continued realism in our self-defense.

At home the Government must help people in doing things they cannot achieve as individuals. Accordingly, I have asked the Secretaries of Commerce, Labor, and HEW to report to me new ways to bring the world of work and the institutions of education closer together. For your Government as well as you, the time has come for a fusion of the realities of a work-a-day life with the teachings of academic institutions.

As a starter, the Department of Labor will shortly announce a pilot program to improve occupational information for graduates and others in making career choices. There will be grants for State and local initiatives to provide data on occupations available and to help channel the potential employees into positions which are not only personally satisfying but financially rewarding.

The States have always assumed the primary responsibility for public education. That tradition in my judgment is very sound and Ohio State University and my alma mater, the University of Michigan, are excellent examples. But there is now too much confusion about which level of Government is to play which role in post-secondary education.

I am directing the responsible agencies of the Federal Government to make a new evaluation of where we are, where we want to go, and where we can reasonably expect to be 5 years from now.

Discussions will be held with Governors, State legislators, academic leaders, Federal officials, and the consumers of education.

Our goal of quality education is on a collision course with the escalating demands for the public dollar. Everyone must have a clearer understanding and a clearer agreement on who is responsible for the specific aspects of the direction and the financing of a college education.

Oftentimes our Federal Government tries to do too much and unfortunately achieves too little. There are, for example, approximately 380 separate Federal educational programs beyond the high school level, some duplicating others, administered by some 50 separate executive agencies. The result inevitably is a bureaucracy that often provides garbled guidelines instead of taut lifelines to good and available jobs.

But let us look for a moment beyond the campus and beyond Washington.

In 1972, I was fortunate to visit the People's Republic of China. With four times the population of the United States, a nation growing at the rate of two New York Cities every 12 months, that vast nation is making very significant technological progress. From a personal observation as well as by records, you can see the Chinese productivity is gaining momentum, and the majority of the Chinese on the mainland today are young people, highly motivated, extremely well disciplined.

As fellow human beings, we celebrate the rising capacities of the Chinese nation, a people with a firm belief in their own destiny.

However, as Americans, motivated by free competition, we see a distant challenge. And I believe all Americans welcome that challenge.

We must compete internationally not only to maintain the balance of trade in our standard of living but to offer to the world's impoverished, examples and opportunities for a better life. We should do that for humane and for perhaps even self interest.

Let this peaceful competition, however, animate the last quarter of the 20th century. And I am confident that America's youth will make the difference. You are America's greatest untapped source of energy. But energy unused is energy wasted.

It is my judgment that we must make extraordinary efforts to apply our know-how, our capital, our technology, and our human resources to increase productivity at a faster rate. Unfortunately, inflation is creating a national state of public anxiety. Productivity, yours as well as mine, must improve if we are to have less of an inflationary economy. In the long run, it is the only way that we can raise wages without inflationary price increases. It is essential in creating new jobs and increasing real wages. In a growing economy, everyone, labor, management, and the consumer, wins when productivity expands.

At this very moment of America's history, we have the knowledge and the material resources to do almost anything that any one of us, or all of us collectively, can imagine. We can explore the depths of the oceans. We can put a man on the moon. We can reach for the stars.

But great problems confront us here on earth. To face these problems, we need even more than technology, we need more than programs.

We need a belief in ourselves. We need the will, the dedication, the discipline to take action.

Let us take a new look at ourselves as Americans. Let us draw from every resource available. Let us seek a real partnership between the academic community and the rest of our society. Let us aspire to excellence in every aspect of our national life.

Now, may I close with a word between friends? Sometimes deep feelings can get lost in words. I don't want that to happen here today. And so I would like to share with you something that I feel very deeply: The world is not a lonely place. There is light and life and love enough for all of us. And I ask you, and all Americans, to reach out to join hands with me—and together we will seek it out.

Thank you very much.

PRESENTATION OF HONORARY DEGREE

DR. HAROLD ENARSON (President, Ohio State University). Gerald Rudolph Ford, plain spoken man from Michigan, effective leader for your party in the Congress, skilled conciliator of conflict, you have accepted the responsibility and the opportunities, the joys and the burdens of the Presidency.

We honor you for exalting in your person those distinctive virtues of an earlier America—directness in speech and conduct, tolerance and compassion, honesty and integrity in matters large and small.

We honor you above all, in our season of renewed hope, for the first steps in restoring to the people of these United States confidence in leadership, hope in the political process, and the promise that once again all of us can begin to believe.

You have revived that which is most basic to a free society—a belief in the value of belief itself.

In the name of the Ohio State University and by the authority of its Board of Trustees, I hereby confer upon you the degree Doctor of Laws honoris causa and in testimony thereof (*interrupted by applause*).

[*At this point, the ceremony continued with the presentation of six Ohio State University Distinguished Service Awards. Dr. Enarson then resumed speaking.*]

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. President, you have honored each of us in ways which I doubt you can fully imagine by your presence with us here today.

I am sure we all realize the awesome demands on the time of the Nation's busiest man, and I am sure I speak for every graduate and for every person in the audience in thanking you for sharing your thoughts and your time with us.

Mr. President, before you and your associates leave, I remind you that Ohio State can always be counted on for a trick play, and I would remind you, sir, that in addition to being a Wolverine, you are now an Ohio Buckeye, certified.

And I note in the newspapers that you have been offered invitations to the Michigan-Ohio State University game on November 23 by a lot of people, some of whom do not have tickets themselves.

I just want to say, Mr. President, that since the President of the United States is, by definition, the servant of all the people, I would like to present to you two tickets for you to take home to Mrs. Ford, and I will be writing Mrs. Ford separately.

THE PRESIDENT. President Enarson, obviously I am deeply grateful and most indebted to you. I won't tell this audience who I will be rooting for. I don't want to go from the White House to the doghouse so quickly.

Somehow I learned indirectly, and I don't know the source, that I might be the beneficiary of Ohio State's generosity this morning, and this information came to me late, late yesterday afternoon, just as Henry Kissinger and I were breaking up a meeting talking about some foreign policy matter, and I told Secretary Kissinger that I was coming out to Columbus for this game. And I could see a light sort of get in his eye, and I said, "Well, Henry, would you and Nancy like to join us?"

And I'll tell you the answer came very quickly.

I told that to President Enarson this morning and he said he would try to scrounge up a couple of extra tickets. But you know there might be an extra dividend. Having Henry here on November 23 might give a very unique opportunity. If Henry Kissinger can successfully negotiate the long-standing disputes between the Israelis and the Arab nations, he might have an opportunity to do it between Woody Hayes and Bo Schembechler.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:11 a.m. in St. John Arena at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

August 26

Counsellor Kenneth Rush, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Summit Conference on Inflation, and L. William Seidman, Executive Director of the Conference, met with the President at the White House.

The President met with the Cabinet at the White House to discuss plans for the Summit Conference on Inflation which will be held September 27 and 28. Following the meeting, the President met with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger.

The White House announced that the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has invited a bipartisan Congressional delegation to visit China for 2 weeks beginning September 2. The delegation will be headed by Senator J. William Fulbright and Representative Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen and will include Senators Hiram L. Fong and Hubert H. Humphrey and Representatives William S. Broomfield, Barbara Jordan, and Clement J. Zablocki.

The White House announced that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has accepted the President's invita-

tion to meet in Washington during the first half of September.

Max Fisher, of Detroit, Mich., called on the President to discuss the Summit Conference on Inflation and Mr. Fisher's upcoming visit to Israel.

Former Governor William W. Scranton met with the President at the White House.

August 27

The President participated in a portion of the White House prayer group breakfast.

Vasile Pungan, Counselor to President Ceausescu of Romania, met with President Ford at the White House. Counselor Pungan conveyed a message from President Ceausescu inviting President Ford to visit Romania. President Ford has accepted the invitation in principle.

The President met at the White House with a group of economic advisers to discuss the housing situation and to continue discussion on plans for the Summit Conference on Inflation. Participating in the meeting were: Counsellor to the President Kenneth Rush, Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, HUD Secretary James T. Lynn, OMB Director Roy L. Ash, Chairman Arthur F. Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, Chairman-designate Alan Greenspan of the Council of Economic Advisers, and L. William Seidman, Executive Director of the Summit Conference on Inflation.

President Giovanni Leone of Italy has accepted President Ford's invitation to visit the United States beginning September 25.

David L. Hale, of Little Rock, Ark., president of the United States Jaycees, called on the President at the White House.

The White House announced that Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka of Japan will meet with the President at the White House on September 21.

August 28

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, has accepted the President's invitation to visit the United States beginning October 8.

The White House announced that Robert W. Miller, Senior Assistant Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, has been named Deputy Executive Director of the Summit Conference on Inflation.

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton met with the President.

Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, and Administrator John C. Sawhill of the Federal Energy Administration met with the President to discuss Project Independence.

Former Governor William W. Scranton met with the President.

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a dinner at the White House for members of the Cabinet. Also attending the dinner were senior White House Staff members and Mr. and Mrs. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

August 29

The President and Mrs. Ford greeted a group of top-level women appointees in the Administration who were meeting in the Cabinet Room.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz met with the President to discuss the domestic and world food situation and to discuss plans for the World Food Conference to be held in Rome November 5 to 16 under the sponsorship of the United Nations. The President has designated Sec-

retary Butz as Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the conference.

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock met with President Ford at the White House.

A group of State legislative leaders met with the President to discuss Federal-State relationships.

Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister 'Umar al-Saqqaf met with the President at the White House.

Mexican Foreign Minister Emilio Rabasa met with the President at the White House.

Herbert G. Klein, of Los Angeles, Calif., called on the President.

August 30

The President left Washington for a trip to Columbus, Ohio, to address summer commencement exercises at Ohio State University. Following his remarks, the President went to the Port Columbus Airport where he met with Ohio Republican leaders. He then returned to Washington.

Chairman Dixy Lee Ray of the Atomic Energy Commission met with the President at the White House.

Officers of the American Medical Association met with the President to discuss health insurance legislation and to report to the President on their recent trip to the People's Republic of China.

Leaders of major youth organizations in America met with the President at the White House.

The President met with Harold F. Eberle, Jr., who is retiring as Assistant to the Director for Congressional Relations in the Office of Management and Budget.

CORRECTION:

The entry on August 23, 1974, concerning the First Lady's staff, as reported in the issue of August 26, 1974, should have read: The White House announced that Mrs. Ford has asked Helen McCain Smith and Lucy Alexander Winchester to remain on the First Lady's staff as Press Secretary and Social Secretary, respectively.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released August 24, 1974

Fact sheet: Council on Wage and Price Stability Act

Released August 26, 1974

News conference: on the Summit Conference on Inflation—by L. William Seidman, Executive Director, Summit Conference on Inflation

Released August 29, 1974

News conference: following his meeting with the President—by Leonard Woodcock, president, United Auto Workers

News conference: following the President's meeting with a group of State legislative leaders—by Charles F. Kurfess, immediate past president, Martin O. Sabo, president-elect, and Tom Jensen, vice president, National Legislative Conference; and James H. Cavanaugh, Deputy Director, Domestic Council

Released August 30, 1974

News conference: following the President's meeting with leaders of major youth organizations—by Kenneth Smith, Distributive Education Clubs of America, and Geraldine Sumter, 4-H Clubs

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Congress being in recess, no nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT**Approved August 23, 1974**

- S. 3331..... Public Law 93-386
Small Business Amendments of 1974.
- S. 3782..... Public Law 93-385
An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to extend through fiscal year 1975 the scholarship program for the National Health Service Corps and the loan program for health professions students.
- S.J. Res. 66..... Public Law 93-384
Joint resolution to authorize the erection of a monument to the dead of the First Infantry Division, United States Forces in Vietnam.

Approved August 24, 1974

- H.R. 7218..... Public Law 93-388
Holding Company System Regulatory Act.
- H.R. 11108..... Public Law 93-389
An act to extend for three years the District of Columbia Medical and Dental Manpower Act of 1970.
- S. 3919..... Public Law 93-387
Council on Wage and Price Stability Act.

Approved August 27, 1974

- S. 2957..... Public Law 93-390
Overseas Private Investment Corporation Amendments Act of 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued**Approved August 28, 1974**

- H.R. 15155..... Public Law 93-393
Public Works for Water and Power Development and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation Act, 1975.
- H.R. 15405..... Public Law 93-391
Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1975.
- S. 3190..... Public Law 93-392
An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1975 for carrying out the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973.

Approved August 29, 1974

- H.R. 10044..... Public Law 93-396
An act to increase the amount authorized to be expended to provide facilities along the border for the enforcement of the customs and immigration laws.
- H.R. 14402..... Public Law 93-397
An act to amend section 8202(a) of title 10, United States Code, to extend for two years the period during which the authorized number for the grades of lieutenant colonel and colonel in the Air Force are increased.
- H.R. 15791..... Public Law 93-395
An act to amend section 204(g) of the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 15936..... Public Law 93-394
An act to amend chapter 5, title 37, United States Code, to provide for continuation pay for physicians of the uniformed services in initial residency.

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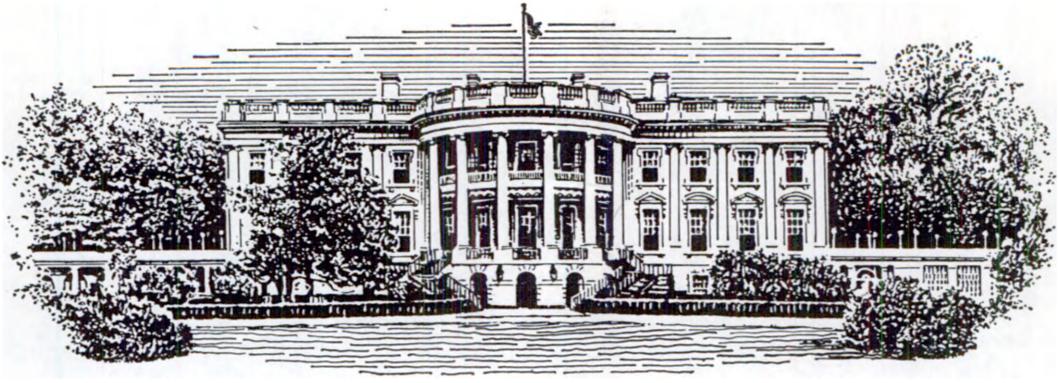
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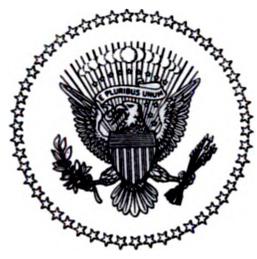


Weekly Compilation of
PRESIDENTIAL
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 6, 1974

Federal Pay Raise and Employment

The President's Message to the Congress Proposing a Deferral of the Pay Raise and a Reduction in Civilian Employment. August 31, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

At a time when inflation is the main concern of every American, the Federal Government has a special obligation to take those actions which begin to stop inflation.

In this spirit and with the knowledge that the action I am taking will help to hold down the cost of living for all Americans, I now recommend a ninety-day deferral in the pending pay adjustment for Federal employees. At the same time, I am also ordering the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to proceed with a reduction of 40,000 Federal civilian positions from those planned for the current fiscal year.

Therefore, as required by law, I am transmitting to the Congress a plan to defer Federal pay raises for ninety days. This is intended to meet both the needs of those who serve the Government and the common interest of the general public, all of whom must bear the burden of increased inflation.

Under this plan, a pay increase for all Federal employees based upon an appropriate comparability adjustment would become effective on the first pay period beginning on or after January 1, 1975. The level of the comparability adjustment will be determined during the next few weeks.

I regret asking for this postponement of a Federal pay increase, but I am convinced of its necessity. Federal employees who I am asking to make a sacrifice are the foundation of sound, effective and efficient Government. I am more conscious than ever of their contributions to our country.

Nevertheless, at this critical time in the economic health of our Nation, I must call on all Americans without exception to make sacrifices in order to hold down wages and

prices. Federal employees, as one of the largest groups of workers in the country, have a special role to play in the fight against inflation because we in Government set the example. As we seek a noninflationary budget, it is especially important this year that Federal spending be held to a minimum.

I urge the Congress to support this action, because it is in the best interest of all Americans.

The plan to defer Federal pay raises by ninety days is attached. As required by law, the plan represents an alternative to the October effective date which would otherwise occur.

In addition, the Office of Management and Budget has now determined the specific reductions in civilian positions from those budgeted for the current fiscal year. The agencies will shortly be informed of these reductions by letters from OMB. Wherever possible, these reductions will be accomplished through normal attrition.

It is extremely important that the Federal establishment hold employment to the absolute minimum needed to get the job done. Effective use of human talents is a wise use of the tax dollar.

The pay raise deferral and the reduction in civilian positions together will reduce the 1975 budget by about \$1 billion. Thus, the Federal Government is taking an essential first step in holding down the Federal budget and showing the way for restraint by all Americans.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
August 31, 1974.

FEDERAL PAY COMPARABILITY ALTERNATIVE PLAN

In consideration of the economic conditions affecting the general welfare, I hereby transmit to the Congress the following alternative plan, as authorized and required by section 5305(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code:

Such adjustments in the rates of pay of each Federal statutory pay system as may be determined under the procedures set forth in section 3(a) of the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970 (5 U.S.C. 5305), shall become effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period that begins on or after January 1, 1975.

Labor Day, 1974

Statement by the President. September 2, 1974

I salute the working men and women of America on the 80th anniversary of labor's special day. Their strength of mind, heart, and hand continues to guide our destiny.

As American society has changed in modern times, the role and needs of labor have also changed. A need for organization arose and was filled.

Today, therefore, we salute not only the 93 million men and women in the labor forces but also the organizations which represent labor so well. The goals of those organizations were eloquently summed up by Samuel Gompers 81 years ago, when he said that labor wants "more school houses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge; in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures. . . ."

The organized efforts of America's working men and women have been instrumental in helping move this Nation a long way towards those goals. Today, the Nation needs their support in a new struggle for productivity—for more purchasing power and less inflation. I am confident that the men and women of the American labor movement know that the struggle against inflation is a joint venture by all segments of the American people and that they will do their part.

On this Labor Day, I say to my fellow Americans who have provided us with so much in the past and from whom we expect even more in the future—thank you.

Pension Reform Bill

The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony at the White House. September 2, 1974

Mr. Speaker, my former colleagues in the Congress, Secretary Brennan, Secretary Dent, distinguished leaders in the labor movement, distinguished leaders in business:

It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to have the opportunity of participating in the signing of that massive bill. I think this is really an historic Labor Day—historic in the sense that this legislation will probably give more benefits and rights and success in the area of labor-management than almost anything in the history of this country.

I think it is historic, too, because that tremendous document is indicative of the kind of cooperation between the House and Senate, the House Committee on Ways and Means, and the Senate Committee on Finance, the House

Committee on Education and Labor, and the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I think it is indicative of the kind of cooperation that can be achieved between labor and management. I know how hard and how long many people in the labor movement and management have worked to make sure that we came up with the right kind of legislation.

I think it is a good reflection on the relationship between the executive branch on the one hand and the legislative branch on the other. So, when you add it all up, even though this is an extremely complicated piece of legislation, it has been the long labors of many, many people that have produced the kind of result that is good for America and, primarily, for those who will be the ultimate beneficiaries of the legislation.

This legislation will alleviate the fears and the anxiety of people who are on the production lines or in the mines or elsewhere, in that they now know that their investment in private pension funds will be better protected, they have a vested right. They are certain, obviously, of better management of those funds.

It certainly will give to those 30-plus million American workers a greater degree of certainty as they face retirement in the future.

I do want to extend to all of you my congratulations and compliments. I do not think I have had a happier day than the opportunity today to see so many people who have worked so long on legislation of such great significance, and to have it happen on Labor Day is a tribute to the American process, a process which is good for all of us.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. As enacted, the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (H.R. 2) is Public Law 93-406, approved September 2, 1974.

Pension Reform Bill

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974. September 2, 1974

Dramatic growth in recent years has thrust private pension plans into a central role in determining how older Americans live in their retirement years.

From 1960 to 1970, private pension coverage increased from 21.2 million employees to approximately 30 million workers. During this same period, assets of these private plans increased from \$52 billion to \$138 billion. And they are now increasing at a rate of \$12-15 billion a year. It will not be long before such assets become the largest source of capital in our economy.

Yet, this same growth in pension plans has brought with it a host of new problems. Many workers have ultimately lost their benefits—even after relatively long service—because when they left jobs, they thereby gave up rights to hard-earned pension benefits. Others have sustained hardships because their companies folded with insufficient funds in the pension plan to pay promised pensions. In addition, some pension funds have been invested primarily for the benefit of the companies or plan administrators, not for the workers. It is essential to bring some order and humanity into this welter of different and sometimes inequitable retirement plans within private industry.

Today, with great pleasure, I am signing into law a landmark measure that may finally give the American worker solid protection in his pension plan.

Under this law, which is entitled the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, the men and women of our labor force will have much more clearly defined rights to pension funds and greater assurances that retirement dollars will be there when they are needed. Employees will also be given greater tax incentives to provide for their own retirement if a company plan is unavailable.

It is certainly appropriate that this law be signed on Labor Day, since this act marks a brighter future for almost all the men and women of our labor force.

There are seven essential parts to this legislation:

- first, it establishes major standards for employee participation in private retirement plans, standards which encourage earlier participation by workers, and longer periods over which benefits can be earned;
- second, and perhaps most important to those already under private pension plans, the new law establishes equitable standards for the “vesting” of retirement benefits. The standards under this law will assure to the greatest possible extent that a worker who participates in a plan actually receives some benefits from that plan and does not lose them because of punishing forfeiture standards or inadequate pension fund resources;
- third, the act requires that the fiduciaries who control the pension funds act as reasonable and prudent men, discharging their duties solely in the interests of protecting the beneficiaries of the fund;
- fourth, the law will impose a high standard upon the operation of plans by making mandatory full disclosure of all information concerning the operations of the employer’s retirement plan;
- fifth, the tax laws will be revised to provide more nearly equal treatment to different kind of plans. The new law will encourage the self-employed to provide for their retirement by raising the limits on the amount of their income which may be contributed on a deductible basis to a retirement fund. It will also allow the one-half of American employees not covered by private pension plans to enjoy equivalent tax advantages if they set up individual retirement accounts;

—sixth, as a final backstop to private pension plans, a federally sponsored, privately financed Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation will be set up to pay an adequate retirement benefit to those whose private pension funds have foundered and are not adequate for the beneficiaries; and,

—seventh, the act will establish a limited form of portability of pension benefits by allowing workers to transfer some of their pension benefits to other plans or to their individual retirement accounts.

Together these seven points add up to a better deal for American workers than they have ever known before in private pension plans.

I believe this act is a model of what can be done by the Government to improve the lives of Americans within the private sector without harming the dynamics of our free enterprise system.

I also believe that its passage is a model of cooperation and hard work between the executive and the legislative branches.

The act has its genesis in a message to the Congress by President Nixon on December 8, 1971. The legislation was and is extraordinarily complicated. It was worked on relentlessly by four congressional committees: House Ways and Means, House Education and Labor, Senate Labor and Public Welfare, and Senate Finance.

Individual members have devoted enormous effort to this bill. I believe we can all be proud that the Government has now taken action to make workers’ lives more secure.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 2) is Public Law 93-406, approved September 2, 1974.

National Council on the Arts

Announcement of Appointment of Eight Members. September 3, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of eight persons to the National Council on the Arts. These are terms for 6 years.

The new members of the Council are Angus L. Bowmer of Ashland, Oreg., Van Cliburn of Shreveport, La., Jerome Robbins, of New York City, Thomas Schippers of Cincinnati, Ohio, Gunther Schuller of Newton Centre, Mass., George C. Seybolt of Dedham, Mass., Harry M. Weese of Evanston, Ill., and Dolores Wharton of East Lansing, Mich.

The appointees replace Council members Jean Dalrymple, O’Neal Ford, Richard Hunt, Robert Merrill, Gregory Peck, Rudolf Serkin, and Edward Villella. The eighth member with a term ending in 1974, was Duke Ellington, the bandleader and composer, who died on May 24 of this year.

The 26 members of the National Council on the Arts advise the National Endowment for the Arts on making the arts more widely available to millions of Americans, preserving America's cultural organizations, and encouraging the creative development of the Nation's finest talent. These aims are accomplished in part by awarding grants to individuals, to State and regional arts agencies and to other nonprofit, tax-exempt organizations in a variety of cultural fields.

Youth Conservation Corps Bill

Statement by the President Upon Signing S. 1871 Into Law. September 3, 1974

I am signing today S. 1871 which amends the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1972.

The Youth Conservation Corps program provides summer work-education experiences for young people aged 15 through 18, of all income classes, on Federal lands administered by the Departments of Interior and Agriculture. This year, most of the States and territories established YCC programs on State lands under a pilot grant program.

This act establishes a program to expand the participation of young people in activities on Federal and State lands. It makes the State grant program permanent. It also would permit use of Corps members on projects on Federal lands administered in other Federal agencies.

Though I have some concerns about the cost of this program at a time when inflation is our number one domestic problem, this act is not inconsistent with the 1975 budget, and thus I am pleased to be able to sign it.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1871) is Public Law 93-408, approved September 3, 1974.

National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1974

The President's Remarks Upon Signing the Proclamation in a Ceremony at the White House. September 4, 1974

Let me sign this declaration or proclamation, and then I will make sure that you all get a pen, Joe.

In 1968, the Congress passed a resolution which provided for the recognition of Hispanic Americans, that we should have a week once a year where their contribution to the American society would be fully appreciated and totally recognized.

This week begins on September 10 and runs through the 17th, and this proclamation is predicated on that resolution which was approved 6 years ago.

It is a pleasure for me to be in the company of the Members of Congress who are here, and I understand that Congressman Manuel Lujan is flying in from New Mexico but will be a few minutes late, but he will be joining us very shortly.

In the group here are some leaders of the Spanish-speaking Americans who will be here to give me the benefit of their observations and comments and recommendations as to how we can very appropriately and properly recognize the many, many contributions that have been made, from the very beginning of our Nation's history, to the great accomplishments of America.

I think history shows that before Plymouth Rock there were Spanish-speaking individuals who had made settlements in not only Florida but New Mexico and Puerto Rico and possibly California, I am not sure.

I think it illustrates the fact that Spanish-speaking Americans were in the very vanguard of the settlement of the new world, and they have contributed significantly with their deep religious convictions. They have contributed unbelievably to a better America by their dedication to an outstanding family life.

We believe, in this Administration, as others have, that this important growing part of our American population should be recognized for what they can do for all of us and for what they have done for America over the 200 years, nearly, of our Nation's history.

So, it is a pleasure for me to sign this proclamation in the presence of not only Members of Congress who are representative of the Hispanic Americans but the others who are here from private life.

So, without any fanfare, I will undertake this. I have learned how, Ed, to do this with a few letters instead of doing it with one pen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Following the signing ceremony, the President met with Spanish-American Members of Congress and Administration officials to discuss the problems and needs of the Nation's Hispanic Americans. In his remarks, the President referred to Senator Joseph M. Montoya of New Mexico and Representative Edward R. Roybal of California.

For the text of the proclamation, see the following item.

National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1974

Proclamation 4310. September 4, 1974

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

Our country's Hispanic heritage reaches back more than four centuries. When the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, Hispanic civilization was already flourishing in what is now Florida and New Mexico. Since then

the Hispanic contribution to America has been a consistent and vital influence in our country's cultural growth.

More than ten million Americans of Hispanic origin today contribute to our national diversity, enriching the quality of American life in the arts, the sciences, sports, religion and the small but important things of everyday living.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning September 10, 1974, and ending September 16, 1974, as National Hispanic Heritage Week. I call upon all the people of the United States, especially the education community and those organizations concerned with the protection of human rights, to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In celebrating this occasion, I also call upon my fellow Americans to rededicate themselves to the principle of full and equal opportunity for all citizens, and to seize upon the broad spectrum of skills and abilities of those individuals of Hispanic heritage who have so significantly contributed to our Nation's growth and prosperity.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:58 p.m.,
September 4, 1974]

NOTE: For the President's remarks upon signing the proclamation, see the preceding item.

Highway and Traffic Safety Programs

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports on the Administration of the Highway Safety Act of 1966 and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966. September 4, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

The 1950's and early 1960's were marked by enormous growth in the Nation's highway systems—the number of vehicles which used them and the miles which they traveled nearly doubled. We developed a modern, flexible form of transportation. It was also deadly. Deaths rose from 34,700 in 1950 to top 53,000 in 1966, when the Congress determined that a national effort was needed to contain the runaway slaughter and passed the Highway Safety and National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Acts. The attached reports, which I am transmitting in accordance with the reporting requirements in those acts, describe the various traffic safety programs, with emphasis on activities during 1973.

Without question, the seven-year-old national traffic safety effort has proved beneficial. As will be seen by figure

1 in the motor vehicle safety report, annual deaths among passenger car occupants, which were rising throughout the early 60's, have since leveled off and remained fairly constant in face of a rise through 1972 in traffic deaths. This is in spite of large increases in mileage driven, number of vehicles, drivers, average speed, and alcohol consumption—to name some of the factors which we know contribute to highway accidents. The overall growth in traffic fatalities is attributable to motorcycle, pedestrian, and bicycle accidents. There is little doubt that our motor vehicle safety standards are saving lives and reducing the severity of injuries.

Improvements in the Nation's highways are also making a major contribution to progress in traffic safety. Since 1967 the death rate per 100 million miles traveled has declined steadily on our modernized roadways.

Although total traffic fatalities remain shockingly high, the fatality rate has declined from 5.5 per 100 million vehicle miles to 4.3—a significant decrease of 22 percent since 1967. Had the 1967 fatality rate continued, almost 72,000 Americans would have been killed in highway accidents in 1973, instead of the estimated total of just over 56,000. This estimated saving of 16,000 lives in a single year represents an enormous financial saving to society in terms of wages, medical costs, legal expenses, and property damage, not to mention human suffering. Such savings would not have come about without the combined efforts of Federal, State, and local officials involved in this national emphasis, as well as private citizens who have supported the program.

In 1973, the lowering of speed limits and other effects of the energy shortage situation had a dramatic impact on highway fatality statistics. During the last two months of the year, as States reduced their speed limits and motorists voluntarily limited their driving, the number of fatalities declined by as much as 25 percent below the November/December 1972 totals in some States. As a result, the Nation as a whole ended the year having lost 2,000 fewer lives than had been projected.

The saving in lives during the past year provides an added incentive for the Government and the Nation to persist in the endeavor to make our vehicles, our highways, and our drivers safer. I am confident that well-managed programs and well-managed use of our resources will continue to have a positive effect in improved highway safety.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 4, 1974.

NOTE: The reports are entitled:

"Traffic Safety '73, A Report on the Activities of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the Federal Highway Administration Under the Highway Safety Act of 1966" (Government Printing Office, 48 pp. and appendices).

"Traffic Safety '73, A Report on the Activities of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration Under the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966" (Government Printing Office, 60 pp. and appendices).

General Creighton Abrams

Statement by the President on the Death of the Chief of Staff of the Army. September 4, 1974

Gen. Creighton Abrams was an American hero in the best tradition. In the heat of battle and in the gray corridors of the Pentagon, he proved that he was that rare combination—a man of action who was also a first-class administrator.

He was also a colorful, courageous leader who won the admiration and respect of enemies as well as allies and subordinates. His 38-year military record spanned three wars, as he rose from first lieutenant in 1936 to Chief of Staff in 1972. He has left us an example of service and a memory of heroism that future generations of Americans, in and out of uniform, will long cherish. We will miss him very much.

Mrs. Ford joins me in extending to his wonderful wife and family our deepest condolences.

NOTE: Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr., 59, died at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, Washington, D.C., on September 4, 1974. He commanded U.S. forces in Vietnam from July 1969 to June 1972, and served as Army Chief of Staff from July 1972 until his death.

On Friday, September 6, 1974, the President attended funeral services for General Abrams at the Memorial Chapel, Ft. Myer, Va.

Display of the Flag in Memory of General Abrams

Executive Order 11802. September 4, 1974

GENERAL CREIGHTON W. ABRAMS, CHIEF OF STAFF,
UNITED STATES ARMY

As a mark of respect to the memory of General Creighton W. Abrams, Chief of Staff, United States Army, it is hereby ordered, pursuant to the provisions of Section 4 of Proclamation 3044 of March 1, 1954, as amended, that until the day of interment the flag of the United States shall be flown at half-staff on all buildings, grounds, and naval vessels of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States and its Territories and possessions. I also direct that the flag shall be flown at half-staff during this same period at all United States embassies, consular offices, and other facilities abroad, including all military facilities and naval vessels and stations.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 4, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:45 p.m.,
September 4, 1974]

NOTE: For a statement by the President on the death of General Abrams, see the preceding item.

United States Ambassador to France

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Kenneth Rush. September 4, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kenneth Rush, of Rye, N.Y., to be Ambassador to France. Mr. Rush will succeed John N. Irwin II.

Mr. Rush has served as Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy since May 25, 1974. He was the President's chief economic adviser and coordinator of domestic and international economic policy. In addition, he was a member of the Cabinet and the National Security Council.

Mr. Rush was Deputy Secretary of State from February 2, 1973, to May 25, 1974. He was Deputy Secretary of Defense from February 7, 1972, until he became Deputy Secretary of State. Prior to assuming his Defense Department position, Mr. Rush was Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from July 1969. As Ambassador he was the principal U.S. negotiator of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. He was decorated by the German Government with the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit, and he is also the recipient of the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service.

He was born on January 17, 1910, in Walla Walla, Wash. Mr. Rush received his A.B. degree from the University of Tennessee in 1930 and an LL.B. degree from Yale University in 1932. From 1932 to 1936, he was an associate with the law firm of Chadbourne, Stanchfield and Levy, and during 1936-37, he was an assistant professor at Duke University Law School.

Mr. Rush joined Union Carbide Corp. in 1937 and was with the firm until 1969 when he became U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. While with Union Carbide, Mr. Rush served as vice president from 1949 to 1961, as executive vice president from 1961 to 1966, and as president from 1966 to 1969. He also served as a director (1958-69), as a member of the executive committee (1966-69), and as chairman of the general operating committee (1965-69).

In addition to his affiliation with Union Carbide, Mr. Rush has also been a director of Bankers Trust Co., American Sugar Co., and Bankers Trust New York Corp. Mr. Rush has also been active in civic affairs, has served the University of Tennessee as a member of the development council, and was a member of the executive committee of the Yale Law School Association from 1952 to 1962.

Mr. Rush is married to the former Jane Gilbert Smith. They have four children.

United States Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic

*Announcement of Intention To Nominate
John Sherman Cooper. September 4, 1974*

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Sherman Cooper, of Somerset, Ky., to be Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic.

Born in Somerset, Ky., August 23, 1901, he was a student at Centre College, 1918-19, received his A.B. from Yale University in 1923, and did postgraduate work at Harvard Law School, 1923-25. He holds the LL.D. from Centre College, Yale University, the University of Kentucky, University of Pittsburgh, Georgetown College, Berea College, Eastern Kentucky State College; the L.H.D. from Lincoln Memorial University; the D.C.L. from Nasson College.

He was a member of the lower house of the Kentucky Legislature, 1928-30; judge, Pulaski County, Ky., 1930-38; circuit judge, 28th Judicial District of Kentucky, 1946. He was elected to the United States Senate from Kentucky in 1946 and served until 1948, elected again in 1952 and served to 1955, and again in 1957 until his retirement. He was a member of the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations, Public Works, Rules and Administration, the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

He was appointed consultant to Secretary of State Dean Acheson in 1950, serving as U.S. Ambassador at Large. He was a member of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, 1949-51. He was U.S. Ambassador to India, Nepal, 1955-56.

He was a member of the law firm of Gardner, Morrison & Rogers in Washington from 1949 to 1951, Congressional adviser to U.S. delegation to the UNESCO Conference in Paris, 1948; member of the President's Commission To Investigate the Assassination of President Kennedy.

He served in the U.S. Army, 1942-45. He assisted in reorganizing the German judicial system following the war. He was awarded the Bronze Star.

He was a trustee at the University of Kentucky, Centre College, and a member of the Yale Council. He also holds membership in the American and Kentucky Bar Associations. He is a member of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Beta Theta Pi.

He is married to the former Lorraine Rowan Shevlin.

United States Liaison Office, People's Republic of China

*Announcement of Appointment of George Bush
as Chief of the Liaison Office. September 4, 1974*

The President today named George Bush, of Houston, Tex., to serve as Chief, United States Liaison Office, the People's Republic of China. He succeeds David K. E. Bruce.

Born in Milton, Mass., June 12, 1924, he was graduated from Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., in 1942; he received his B.A. in economics from Yale University in 1948.

He was co-founder and served as director of Zapata Petroleum Corp. from 1953 to 1959; he was president of Zapata Offshore Co., Houston, Tex., 1956-64, and chairman of the board from 1964 to 1966. He was a member of the 90th and 91st Congresses, representing the Seventh District of Texas. He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

He was U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations from 1970 to January 1973, and was named Chairman of the Republican National Committee also in January 1973, the position which he now holds.

He was a pilot in the U.S. Naval Reserve in World War II, winning the Distinguished Flying Cross.

He is married to the former Barbara Pierce and they have five children.

Department of State

*Announcement of Intention To Nominate
William D. Rogers To Be Assistant Secretary for
Inter-American Affairs. September 4, 1974*

The President today announced his intention to nominate William D. Rogers, of Great Falls, Va., as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Rogers succeeds Jack B. Kubisch, who was appointed Ambassador to Greece, August 23, 1974.

Born May 12, 1927, at Wilmington, Del., he received his A.B. degree from Princeton University in 1948 and his LL.B. from Yale University in 1951.

He was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar in 1953 and joined the firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter, Washington, D.C., that year as a partner. He served as special deputy attorney general of Hawaii, 1960-62; Special Counsel, United States Coordinator, Alliance for Progress, 1962-63; Deputy United States Coordinator for

Alliance for Progress and also Deputy Assistant Administrator, Agency for International Development, 1963–65. He became a partner in the firm of Arnold and Porter in 1965, the position which he presently holds.

In addition, he was Alternate United States Representative to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, 1964–65, and president, Center for Inter-American Relations, New York City, 1965–70. He received the Distinguished Honor Award from the Agency for International Development in 1965 and is author of "The Twilight Struggle," published in 1967.

He is a fellow in the Hudson Institute, a member of the American Society of International Law, serving as president, 1972–74, member of the Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute, serving as secretary-treasurer, and member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

He is married to the former Suzanne Rochford, and they have two children. They reside at 2 Jefferson Run Road, Great Falls, Va.

Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

The President's Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Alan Greenspan. September 4, 1974

This is a very, very auspicious occasion. It is my first opportunity to participate in the swearing in of a Chairman of the Council, and, of course, I am pleased and honored to have the opportunity to do it with a man as outstanding as Alan Greenspan.

And it is so nice to have you here and to participate as well. If my recollection is correct, about the time I came to the Congress, our distinguished guest, who is about to be sworn in, was an accomplished clarinetist in and around New York City.

Well, he gave up that occupation at a subsequent date and became a very, very outstanding economist in the private field as well as an adviser to the Federal Government.

But now, as the ninth Chairman, he has a new responsibility to try and stop playing the blues and curing the blues. [*Laughter*]

I was told the other day that being a clarinetist or a musician in Washington was not necessarily bad. Len Garment was an accomplished musician and has done extremely well here in Washington.

Somebody mentioned to me the other day that they wondered why it took me so long to make a choice for Vice President. Well, I will make this observation and comment. I had a hard time deciding between Nelson Rockefeller and Benny Goodman. [*Laughter*]

I am delighted to have an opportunity to participate in this swearing in of Alan because, not only his talents are superb and his education and reputation are of the finest but I like his approach. He is recognized as an optimist in the field of economic policy, and I happen to believe that despite some of the problems we face, we have to be optimistic about what we can do about them.

And Alan Greenspan has that reputation. I believe in being an optimist, and I think that attitude is helpful and beneficial as we face some of the difficult problems and the hard decisions ahead.

So, Alan, I congratulate you and wish you well, and it has been a pleasure to get to know you better, to have the benefit of your recommendations, and I think the country is going to be far better off with your counsel and advice as we move ahead in these very difficult times.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:47 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. The oath of office was administered by John J. Ratchford, Executive Clerk at the White House.

National Council on the Arts

Remarks of the President and Council Chairman Nancy Hanks at a Reception for Council Members at the Kennedy Center. September 4, 1974

MISS HANKS. *Good evening:*

You know, I can't help but be amused because the President of the United States just asked me if I would introduce him. [*Laughter*]

He has, as you know, been a wonderful friend of the arts in the Congress. And, as you also know, Mrs. Ford is so much with us and we have talked so much for the last 2 days about your interest, sir, and how much you have helped us, and how much Betty has helped us, and, you know, I am very thrilled to introduce you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Well thank you very, very much, Nancy. When I am surrounded by Betty on the one hand, who is an expert in her own right and her own background, and Nancy on the other, I am a completely helpless individual.

I have been delighted to have a part to some extent in promoting the Council of Arts and all of the things that are related thereto. I would be, I think, off on the wrong track if I took any credit for any significant gains. But it has been a very wonderful experience for me to go from one who had little or no appreciation or support for the arts to one who has learned that the arts can be very important, very vital in a community and, I think, in the Nation.

So I am a converted individual. And I don't apologize for it. And converts oftentimes are known as more ardent

advocates than those who were brought up in an environment or in a religion.

It has been a great experience for me to see over the last 4 or 5 years the tremendous increase not only in money from the Federal Government but the interest throughout the Nation.

I have traveled a good bit, as some of you may know, and I have seen from community to community, including my own community in Grand Rapids, Michigan—go from a rather placid interest to an interest of broad-based public support.

And the National Council and all those associated with it can take a great deal of credit. I wish to compliment the Congress because the Congress in this span of time has really contributed very significantly. I doubt if there is a program in the Government in the last 5 or 6 years that has grown in dollars percentagewise as rapidly as this program, and I think that is a compliment to the program from its inception to the program under Nancy. I think Roger¹ and you have been the only two heads of the department, or organization, and I think when you can go from Roger to Nancy and have this kind of progress, it is a tribute to both of them.

My home of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is the honored place where one of Alexander Calder's wonderful mobiles—is that the proper—

MRS. FORD. No, that is not a mobile; it is a stabile.

THE PRESIDENT. —stabile, all right—is and will be a hallmark of the arts as far as we are concerned. I point it out to all the visitors who come, including the Secret Service—[laughter]—I tell them that it is nothing they should be worried about—[laughter]—it is stimulating, it is a great attraction as far as the community is concerned, and I am proud of it.

And I have yet to find out with any specificity or any great deal of definitiveness what he was trying to tell us, but nevertheless it is a great attraction and a wonderful addition to our community. And I think it is indicative of what can be done and will be done in the months and years ahead under the leadership of the Council of Arts and the leadership of Nancy, because you have to have a broad-based public, I think, range of activities, ranging from those that I know best to those that others know far better than I.

And the arts are an important and integral part of our better society. And I compliment you all, those on the Council at the present, those who have been there in the past, and those who will be assuming responsibilities in the future.

I think it is a great addition to our society here in the United States, and we can be as proud as any of our old

countries in what we have done in America, and we are going to do infinitely better.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:55 p.m. in the Atrium at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Conference on Inflation

The President's Opening Remarks to Economists and Members of Congress at the First of a Series of Meetings Preliminary to the Summit Conference. September 5, 1974

Good morning:

It is a pleasure to be here with the distinguished Members of the Congress, both Democratic and Republican, and the very eminent group of economists and guests.

I look forward to a very beneficial and fruitful meeting this morning. This meeting marks the start of our national Conference on Inflation. I have called this series of working conferences in response to a bipartisan recommendation by the United States Senate and with the cooperation of concerned citizens representing all elements of our American society.

Our purpose is to find ways by which we, the American people, can come to grips with our economic difficulties and surmount them.

This has been called a summit conference. Maybe that title is a bit misleading. Recent summit conferences have been held between leaders of international adversaries with the hope of reducing their differences. Around this table there are no adversaries. We come together as allies to draw upon, or to draw up, I should say, a battle plan against a common enemy, inflation. Inflation is our domestic enemy number one.

Battle strategies are usually devised in secret. At my insistence, this is a typically American open meeting. Some skeptics have warned me that putting 28 of our most distinguished economists and eight Members of Congress, both Democratic and Republican, on public display with live microphones would produce a spectacle something like professional wrestlers playing ice hockey. [Laughter] But I am ready to referee this opening match.

It is not widely known, but I started out in college very much attracted to economics. Later I switched to the law, probably because the legal profession seemed a better path to success in politics.

Having come this far, I can see why no economist would ever dream of wanting to be President.

But if we succeed in the job cut out for us, I can promise you there will be statues of each of you in every city park throughout the United States. Economics will never again be called a dismal science, nor will politicians, if we

¹ Roger L. Stevens, Chairman of the Kennedy Center, was Chairman of the National Council on the Arts from its establishment in 1965 until March 1969.

succeed, dare again to hide behind the old alibi that the people just don't understand economics. The people understand economics very, very well, and they are sick and tired of having politics played with their pocketbooks.

This Conference on Inflation is a joint enterprise of the legislative and executive branches of our Government which can become a monument to politics in the very best sense of the word. It unites Republicans and independents and Democrats in an election year against a deadly enemy that doesn't recognize one political party from another.

The President cannot lick inflation. The Congress cannot lick inflation. Business, labor, agriculture, and other segments of America cannot lick inflation. Separately we can only make it worse, but together we can beat it to its knees.

These meetings are not going to be empty exercises in economic rhetoric, neither are they going to reveal any quick miracles. There is no quick fix for what ails our economy. I, for one, refuse to believe that the very best brains in America and the smartest, hardest working workers in the world cannot find a workable way to get the productive machinery of this great country back on the track and going full speed ahead.

Let me say, or set out, if I might, a few ground rules at the outset. We can't waste time stating and restating the problems. The problems are obvious, painful, and perplexing.

What we want are some right answers, not a long list of alternative answers, theoretical and hypothetical, good and bad. We need to have attainable answers sharply defined and carefully sorted out with the pluses and the minuses of each clearly stated.

We are looking for action that is practical, possible, and as rapid in its effect as we can reasonably expect.

I don't have to tell all of you experts that there are many answers, most of which have been tried at some historic time. But before this conference ends, I would like to see and to have set before the American people a consistent and considered package of the most promising answers that you can find, some of which, or all of which, will restore economic stability and sustain economic growth in these United States.

If our country is economically healthy, the whole world will be economically healthier. Inflation is a worldwide epidemic and we will quarantine it in collaboration with our friends abroad.

As you test your answers against the hard rock of economic law, as you discard beguiling, instant cures for reliable remedies, as you try to treat the cause rather than the symptom, I ask you to bear in mind that no solution will work without a lot of willpower and individual sacrifice. America has plenty of both—a capacity for both.

Sacrifice is easy to ask of others. It is harder to demand of ourselves. Burdens never fall equally on everybody's shoulders, but we must seek to share them as widely as

the prosperity we hope will follow. The burdens of battle against inflation will be lighter if every American, all 210 million of us, lends a hand.

There will be 10 more specialized meetings over the next few weeks culminating in a final 2-day session on September 27 and 28. When we are done, there will be some things we can agree on.

I hope these areas of agreement will be greater than the areas of disagreement. But it is a fact that our economic system, like our political system, is based on competition in the honest conflict between different interests and different opinions. So there will be some things about which we cannot reach a consensus.

This would be a dull country without dissenters. But fortunately that is not a foreseeable danger in this case. Where we disagree, it will be necessary for the President and the Congress to make some very hard decisions. Our political system is designed to do exactly that, relying in the end on the ultimate good sense of the American people.

That is why these conferences must be open to the public. After all, it is their business we are really talking about.

So, ladies and gentlemen, let's get to work.

At this point I would like to ask our newly sworn-in Chairman, Mr. Alan Greenspan, to give his outlook on the economy.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:32 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

For the President's remarks concluding the meeting, see page 1093 of this issue.

Federal Trade Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Paul Rand Dixon for Reappointment as a Member of the Commission. September 5, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Paul Rand Dixon, of Nashville, Tenn., to be a member of the Federal Trade Commission. This is a reappointment for a term of 7 years.

Mr. Dixon has served as a member of the Federal Trade Commission since 1961. He also served as Chairman of the Commission until January 1, 1970. He joined the FTC in July 1938 as a trial attorney and subsequently engaged in antimonopoly practice work. In February 1957, he joined the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee as Counsel and Staff Director, before his appointment to the FTC.

He was born on September 29, 1913, in Nashville, Tenn., and attended public schools in Davidson County, Tenn. He received his A.B. degree from Vanderbilt University in 1936 and his LL.B. degree from the University of Florida in 1938. He is also a member of the American

Bar Association and the Florida and Tennessee State Bar Associations. He served in the United States Navy from 1942 to 1945.

He is married to the former Doris Busby of Laurel, Miss., and they have two sons. They reside in Bethesda, Md.

Department of Defense

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Will Hill Tankersley To Be Deputy Assistant Secretary for Reserve Affairs. September 5, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Will Hill Tankersley, of Montgomery, Ala., to be Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs. He succeeds Dr. Theodore Marrs who resigned effective May 7, 1974, to become Special Assistant to the President.

Since 1958, Mr. Tankersley has been vice president and director of Sterne, Agee & Leach, Inc., a Montgomery, Ala., investment and banking firm.

He was born on February 10, 1928, in Montgomery, Ala. He received his B.S. degree from the United States Military Academy in 1950 and his M.S. degree in economics from Auburn University in 1970. He served in the United States Army from 1950 to 1958 as a colonel.

He is a member of the Alabama Security Dealers Association and the Montgomery Area Chamber of Commerce.

He is married to the former Theda Clark Ball, and they have three children. They reside in Montgomery, Ala.

Federal Energy Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Melvin A. Conant To Be Assistant Administrator for International Affairs. September 5, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Melvin A. Conant, of New York, N.Y., to be an Assistant Administrator for International Affairs of the Federal Energy Administration. He has been senior government relations counsellor of the Exxon Corp. since 1961.

Before joining the Exxon Corp. in 1961, Mr. Conant was a professor of international security affairs for the United States National War College. From 1955 to 1960, he served as associate administrative director for the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

He was born on March 20, 1924, in New York, N.Y. He received his A.B. from Harvard College in 1949 and his M.A. from Harvard University in 1951. He served in the United States Army from 1942 to 1946. He has lectured at the Royal Naval College in England, and the National Defense College in Canada, and the United States Air Command and Staff College.

He is married to the former Christa Gaul, and they have three children. They reside in Arlington, Va.

Jewish High Holy Days

Message of the President. September 5, 1974

On the occasion of the High Holy Days, it is my pleasure to send special greetings to my fellow Americans of the Jewish Faith. Your inheritance of accumulated wisdom and moral precepts makes you strong guardians of the ideals of righteousness, justice and human dignity. This has given you a special sensitivity to the social needs of each generation. And this has also been the guiding force behind your impressive contributions to the vitality of our American democracy.

These solemn days of worship which you celebrate have a message for all Americans. They exhort us to search our souls, to render an inner accounting, and a self-examination of the standards we profess and the actions we perform. They invite us to a return to righteousness and truth and to a rebirth in the spirit of neighborliness and brotherhood. They remind us that we are in God's hands and that He has given us our lives in trust to use in His service.

At a time which urgently tests our will as a people to put humanity's interest above self-interest, we can be greatly sustained and guided by the traditions of valor and resilience that mark the history of the Jewish people.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The message was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Conference on Inflation

The President's Remarks Concluding the Meeting of Economists and Members of Congress. September 5, 1974

Let me reiterate my appreciation for all of you being here.

I must confess that when I first heard of the resolution that was proposed in the Senate, I was somewhat apprehensive about an undertaking of this kind. But in the first few hours of this Administration, I reanalyzed the suggestion in relationship to the economic problems that have

been well-displayed here. And it seemed to me, as I tried to say in the opening statement, this isn't a problem that only a President can solve. It is not a problem that only the Congress can solve. And it certainly is not a problem that any one element in our society can solve.

So, in response to the recommendation of a bipartisan effort in the Senate, I determined that it should be undertaken, that it should be in the open so the American people could see firsthand the consensus as well as the divergencies. And this was the first group, and I shared the apprehension that some have expressed, that men of high academic standing and great intellect couldn't sit in a gathering such as this and give a topflight presentation of the problem and some responsible suggestions.

But I think you gentlemen and ladies have set a very high example for those meetings that shall follow. And I happen to believe that with this outstanding gathering, and the things that have been done, those that will follow will likewise be of the same caliber and high quality.

So, I thank you not only for what you have contributed but the performance that I think has been superb.

And with those words, I think we probably ought to conclude the afternoon session and the day's labors and retire for a bit of relaxation and a reception and I cordially invite you all to come to the dining room for such a purpose.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

For the President's remarks opening the meeting, see page 1091 of this issue.

United Way Campaign

The President's Recorded Remarks Urging Participation in the Campaign. September 6, 1974

Tonight I would like to talk with you about the special challenge this year's United Way campaign in your community faces. And I am speaking as one who has worked as a United Way volunteer in my own home town, as one who knows what the United Way campaign can do in your community.

The one annual campaign for your community agencies may still be called the United Fund or the Community Chest. But this year a new symbol for such campaigns has been adopted. We call it the United Way. This one effort each year to raise funds to help people in need is one of vast importance to you and to your community, and to the Nation as well.

The United Way symbolizes the very best in each of us and in each of our communities. It brings together men

and women from every part of the community, all working together to help those who need help.

This is the way to handle community problems—a uniquely American way. We care about our less fortunate neighbors. We are willing to work to make our communities better and you in your community know far better than anyone in Washington which of your neighbors needs help and what is needed to make your community better.

That is why the United Way serves so very well, because it is an effort with a special goal and a special campaign, designed for the community involved.

It is impossible for me to discuss each of those community campaigns and problems individually, but tonight I want to talk with you about the urgent need for your support for your community's campaign.

The national goal for the United Way campaign this year is more than \$1 billion—the largest goal of any campaign in our history.

But it is a critical goal this year. Last year your United Way pledge, with those of other Americans, helped 34 million families. That is a tremendously impressive total, but we can't help that many families this year with the amount of money we all pledged last year. I think you know the reason why.

The same problem that put the squeeze on your family budget and which is the number one concern of this Administration has hit the United Way, too. Inflation has taken its toll in the voluntary sector as well.

Last year, for example, in a typical community, the United Way could provide professional care for a retarded child for a little more than \$6 a day. This year it costs \$10 a day to provide the same professional care to the same child.

Last year a typical day care center could care for a child for \$24 a week. This year it costs \$30.

Last year a hot-meal program for senior citizens cost \$1. Now that same meal costs \$1.25.

The problem is where inflation causes you to cut back for the same sick and aged, and the dependent young, there is nothing left to cut. They cannot afford to lose the help they are now receiving. Your pledge to United Way in your community provides the most effective, the most economical, and efficient way to provide that help. The volunteer effort of the United Way workers insures that more of your dollars go to serve people. Your pledge to the United Way campaign in your community is an investment in a better community. It is an investment in a better Nation and a better world.

I ask you to join in, to give your fair share to make the United Way work for our fellow human beings this year, just as it has worked so well in the past.

Thank you for thinking of others.

NOTE: The President's remarks were filmed on Tuesday, September 3, 1974, for broadcast on television.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks

Announcement of Reconvening of the Talks and Designation of the U.S. Delegation. September 6, 1974

The President today announced that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union will reconvene on September 18, 1974, in Geneva. The United States Representative and Chief of the U.S. Delegation is Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson. The other members are:

- DR. HAROLD BROWN, former Secretary of the Air Force and presently president of the California Institute of Technology, has served on the SALT Delegation since the beginning of the negotiations;
- LT. GEN. EDWARD L. ROWNY, a career military officer, has served in NATO as Deputy Chairman of the Military Committee and as Chairman of the Working Group on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions;
- BORIS KLOSSON is a career Foreign Service officer who served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Moscow from 1969 to 1972;
- RALPH EARLE II is the Representative of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency on SALT;
- DR. MICHAEL MAY is associate director at large of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory of the University of California.

Reconvening of the First Continental Congress

The President's Remarks at a Dinner at the Conclusion of the Two-Day Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. September 6, 1974

Governor Shapp, let me say at the outset, I am deeply grateful for your overly generous and very kind remarks. I accept the invitation for July 4, 1976.

Mayor Rizzo, distinguished Governors, my beloved and wonderful former colleagues in the United States Senate and House of Representatives, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this function tonight.

Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, was the cradle of American liberty. "Love" and "liberty" are two pretty good words with which to start a nation.

I learned in school a good many years ago that the first shots of the American Revolution were fired at Concord and the last at Yorktown. But it was in Philadelphia that 56 patriots from 12 of the original 13 colonies convened two centuries ago to protest the military coercion of Massachusetts and the united economic action against the mother country. I am sure that the history books will show,

in addition, that both George Washington and John Adams slept here. [*Laughter*]

"The . . . Congress," John Adams wrote home to his wife Abigail, "is tedious beyond expression. This assembly is like no other that ever existed. Every man is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man upon every question must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities."

"The consequence of this," Adams concluded wearily, "is that business is drawn and spun out to an immeasurable length."

Speaking as a former Congressman, I can assure you that more than once in the last 25 years—especially after a long, long debate in the House of Representatives—I have found myself saying pretty much the same to my wife, Betty.

Only the names have changed—that and the fact that John Adams never had to fix his own breakfast. [*Laughter*]

Yes, there was plenty of pessimism in the land in 1774 when that First Continental Congress gathered in the City Tavern over there some place. And the problems they faced were enough to drive the bravest patriots to a tavern.

Individually and collectively, the 13 colonies were divided by class, by tradition, by religion, by ethnic origins, and by economic interests. And as for a central structure of government, they had to make that up as they went along.

On the opening day of the First Continental Congress when the countdown to our independence began, Patrick Henry struck, I think, an appropriate and common chord. In his opening address, he declared, and I quote: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am [not] a Virginian, but I am an American."

This, I think, is a unique insight into the attitude of the Congress: their determination of all for one and one for all. The punitive acts that were directed at Massachusetts and the closing of Boston Harbor would have diverted trade and commerce to other ports—to New York, to Philadelphia, to Baltimore, and to Norfolk. Yet unselfishly, even in that day, all the colonies knew that any such benefits would only be temporary—the cause of Boston in that day was the cause of all of them.

America has a sense of unity today. The cause of the South is the cause of the North; the cause of the West is the cause of the East. We are today, as our forefathers were, bound together in the great American experiment—the greatest experiment in the history of man governing himself.

Yet the American Revolution remains a lesson as to what a few, a very few, dedicated people can do. Today we number 50 States and span a continent. We reach northward to the Pacific and Alaska, and west to the

islands of Hawaii. Our people number more than 211 million.

Two hundred years ago our population in those 13 sparsely populated colonies were 2½ million. Historians estimate that of that number only one-third—one-third out of 2½ million—provided the strength and the fiber and the dedication of the Revolution. We can call them the Patriots. Another third felt very deeply their allegiance to the Crown. Some served in the King's army; some fled to England, Canada, or other British colonies—they were the Loyalists. The other one-third sat on the fence. I guess today we would call them mugwumps. But history fortunately has long forgotten the timid.

Last December, the Congress created a Federal American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration to coordinate and facilitate Bicentennial activities. The new Administration is now hard at work on a nonpartisan basis, with the Congress and the Bicentennial organizations in each of the 50 States, the territories, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Already some 1,300 cities, towns, villages, counties, some Indian tribes, embracing more than a third of our total population, have met the qualifications for the official "Bicentennial Communities" designation. Our new director of the Bicentennial, John Warner, tells me that the list is growing phenomenally, month by month. Thousands of programs, thousands of events are crowding the Bicentennial calendar.

It is interesting to note that a growing number of foreign governments are planning to participate in our Bicentennial. I think this is welcome news because there is no nation which is not a great part of our American heritage. The blood of all peoples flows in our veins. Whatever we are or have been able to accomplish, we owe in large measure to our richly diverse heritage from around the world.

If I remember my Bible correctly, I think this quote is appropriate: The beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors.

But may I offer my own idea on how best to commemorate the Bicentennial. Let us all, during the coming months, study carefully the character, study the qualities of the men who founded this Nation. Let us try to grasp the stuff that was inside of each of them and all of them collectively. And then, let us release, if we can, the same spirit within ourselves. We have the same capacity for unity, discipline, and sacrifice. Let us show the world that the character and quality of the American people has not changed in 200 years.

What we are really doing, as we celebrate our Nation's 200th birthday, is actually laying the cornerstone of America's third century. And every citizen of this great Nation should have his or her name inscribed on that imaginary stone so that all who come after us can say, as we say of the 56 who labored here for us, "They gave of themselves. They cared."

I am especially glad to note that we are launching the celebration of our Bicentennial right here in the great city of Philadelphia where the first of my two predecessors as Presidents labored as members of the First Continental Congress. I am glad that this period of national rededication, which will extend to July 4, 1976, begins on this almost forgotten day, when the colonial delegates wrestled with their common problems of skyrocketing prices, shrinking purchasing power, shortages, hoarding, and financial speculation.

It was interesting to me to find, in reading the document which recorded what was said here, that the men and women of 1774 were inflation fighters before they took up arms against the British redcoats. Actually, they met voluntarily to wage economic warfare for their future freedom and prosperity, even before the Liberty Bell tolled the birth of a new nation.

The spirit of 1774 was a sudden quickening of American unity in the face of common calamity, of confidence, of patriotism, and determination of the people themselves, and of mutual willingness to take risks and to make sacrifices for the good of all.

In my judgment, there are two very important things to remember about our American Revolution. It was not a revolution to tear down what the colonists had, but to preserve the freedoms, to preserve the rights of free Englishmen, and to expand the material prosperity that they already enjoyed for generations on this bountiful continent. It was not a revolution to make life better for themselves, but to make sure that these blessings would continue for their children and their children's children.

The men who gathered here 200 years ago put it in these words, and I quote, "It is a duty," they wrote in this fabulous document, "which we owe to God, our country, ourselves, and posterity . . . to maintain, defend and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down [entire] to future generations."

What beautiful words—words which they made into deeds.

In short, the inflation fighters of 1774 were not much different from the inflation fighters of 1974 who started a series of conferences in Washington yesterday. Then as now there are no easy answers. Then as now they had to depend very heavily on popular understanding and public support. For example, John Rutledge of South Carolina might have given the very same speech at the opening of the White House conference yesterday that he gave precisely in this point 200 years ago. And with your indulgence, let me quote from John Rutledge in Philadelphia 200 years ago:

"We have no legal authority; and obedience to our determinations will only follow the reasonableness, the apparent utility and necessity of the measures we adopt. We

have no coercive or legislative authority. Our constituents are bound only in honor to observe our determination."

What are some of these determinations? I have been browsing through this journal of the First Continental Congress, and I must say to my former colleagues in the Congress, it reads a lot easier than the Congressional Record when I was a contributor to that document. But except for the elegant language and the more eloquent age, it deals with the very real problems that are amazingly contemporary. And let me now ask you to listen to this:

"Resolved, that all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods."

I continue the quote from this document:

"Such as are venders of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to for the last 12 months past."

And then follows some good advice, and I quote again:

"And if any vender of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms, . . . no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent."

I hope you noticed the last phrase in that last quote, and I say this to our liberated women: Please note, "His or her factor or agent." [Laughter]

We have heard an awful lot—a lot of talk about our Founding Fathers. Let's not forget our Founding Mothers. Obviously they didn't.

But these resolutions continue, and again I quote:

"That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for the representatives of the state legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association."

It goes on, and again I quote:

"We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, the arts, and the manufactures of this country . . . and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation."

These are the conclusions of the First Continental Congress. These were chosen at random, but they convey the sense of urgency and unity which existed here, right here, two centuries ago.

I happen to believe there is the same sense of urgency and unity in America today. I have encountered it in Washington and throughout our country. I know it is the reason for this distinguished gathering here tonight in the shadow of Independence Hall.

You who are Governors, Senators, Representatives,

mayors, and other public officials elected by the people have told me individually and collectively that you share this sense of urgency, this sense of unity. So I have come here tonight to ask your help and the help of some 211 million Americans, not only in celebrating what is right about America but in correcting what is wrong about America.

The tyranny of the British Parliament and Crown in 1774 animated our ancestors. The tyranny of double-digit inflation is our common enemy in 1974. I think everybody in this wonderful audience tonight knows as well as I do that inflation is the cruelest kind of taxation without representation.

I have decided that the first priority for us as a Nation, domestically, is an all-out war against inflation. Like the patriots who met here some 200 years ago, we may seem to be moving cautiously and too deliberately. But I hope no one will underestimate the generalship or fighting ability of all Americans today the same way they did in 1774. I warn you, as wise old Ben Franklin did, that if we do not all hang together, we certainly will all hang separately. But we will not hang separately, nor will we fall divided. We are going after—one and all, Democrats, Independents, and Republicans—we are going after what I term public enemy number one, inflation, in 1974, and we will lick it by July 4, 1976.

I think we must recognize, to be honest, that we will have our Valley Forges, our summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. But we are the descendants, we are the heirs, spiritually if not genealogically, of the patriots who assembled here 200 years ago tonight.

I told my wife, Betty, that I knew this speech backwards, and I think that is the way I am doing it. [Laughter]

And we may truly say, as Joseph Warren of Massachusetts wrote in the Suffolk Resolves, delivered to the First Continental Congress by Paul Revere, and again I quote, "on the fortitude, on the wisdom and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions."

We must not let them down.

With your help, we will—we will win our battle against inflation.

What better way can we begin our third century of independence as a Nation of liberty under God and brotherly love for all.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:44 p.m. at Independence Mall, Philadelphia, Pa. Governors and legislative leaders from the States formed from the original Thirteen Colonies participated in the ceremonial reconvening of the First Continental Congress. During the 2-day meeting, they discussed and signed resolutions on a number of contemporary national issues.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

August 31

The President met with Attorney General William B. Saxbe and Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger to receive their recommendations for earned reentry into American society for military deserters and draft evaders of the Vietnam War.

Following the death of Prime Minister Norman E. Kirk of New Zealand, the President sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Kirk and the Prime Minister's family. The White House later announced that the President had designated Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan to serve as Personal Representative of the President at the memorial services in Wellington on Wednesday, September 4, 1974. The U.S. delegation to the memorial services also includes U.S. Ambassador to New Zealand Armistead I. Selden, Jr., former U.S. Ambassador to New Zealand John F. Henning, and Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana.

The President announced the appointment of Senator John Tower and Owen K. Garriott, Deputy Director for Science and Applications, NASA, to serve as members of the U.S. delegation to the Farnborough International Air Show in Farnborough, England, September 2-8, 1974.

September 1

The President telephoned Maj. James V. Sullivan and Maj. Noel F. Widdifield, USAF, shortly after they landed in Farnborough, England, to congratulate them on their recordbreaking flight of under 2 hours from New York to London.

September 2

Arnold R. Miller, president of the United Mine Workers of America, met with the President at the White House.

September 3

The White House announced that the President has invited approximately 700 individuals to participate in the Summit Conference on Inflation. Each of the participants will attend one of 10 preliminary conferences as well as the main conference in Washington on September 27-28.

The President announced the promotion of Brig. Gen. Richard W. Lawson, Military Assistant to the President, to the rank of major general in the United States Air Force.

Paul Ribner, newly elected national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, met with the President.

James W. Wagonseller, newly elected national commander of the American Legion, met with the President.

The President directed the Secretaries of Labor and Commerce to certify the workers and former workers of Sbicca of California, Inc., South El Monte, Calif., as eligible to apply for adjustment assistance.

Pursuant to Proclamation 4076, the President has increased by 6 percent the tariff rate quota on stainless steel knives, forks, and spoons valued at under 25 cents each, effective October 1, 1974.

September 4

The President greeted a group of chief executive officers of several insurance companies who were meeting with William J. Baroody, Jr., Special Consultant to the President, in the Roosevelt Room.

The President has sent a letter of condolence to Mrs. Joseph A. Beirne following the death of her husband, past president of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

The White House announced that, at the request of the President, Anne L. Armstrong and Dean Burch will remain on the White House Staff as Counsellors to the President.

The White House announced that the President intends to recommend the nomination of Mary Louise Smith of Iowa as Republican National Chairman succeeding George H. Bush when the Republican National Committee meets on September 16 to select a new Chairman. The President also has indicated his pleasure with her intention to appoint Richard D. Obenshain of Virginia as Cochairman. On the previous day, the President met separately with Mrs. Smith and Mr. Obenshain.

September 5

The President participated in a promotion ceremony at the White House for Maj. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, who is being promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in the United States Air Force.

Jack M. Streight, Imperial Potentate for the Shrine of North America, met with the President.

September 6

The President met with leaders of several national women's organizations at the White House.

The President transmitted to the Congress the 1973 annual report of the Secretary of the Interior on the administration of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

The White House announced the appointment of Philip Warden as Editor of the President's daily news summary.

The President met with the National Security Council.

The President met with E. Douglas Kenna, president, and Donald A. Gaudion, chairman of the board, National Association of Manufacturers; and Arch N. Booth, president, and Charles H. Smith, chairman of the board, U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted September 5, 1974

WILL HILL TANKERSLEY, of Alabama, to be Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs, vice Theodore C. Marrs, resigned.

MELVIN A. CONANT, of New York, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration (new position).

PAUL RAND DIXON, of Tennessee, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1974 (reappointment).

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of Kentucky, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the German Democratic Republic.

KENNETH RUSH, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to France.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved August 30, 1974

H.R. 3620..... Public Law 93-402
An act to establish the Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge.

H.R. 15205..... Public Law 93-403
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act Amendments of 1974.

S. 2510..... Public Law 93-400
Office of Federal Procurement Policy Act.

S.J. Res. 220..... Public Law 93-398
Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Doctor William A. M. Burden as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S.J. Res. 221..... Public Law 93-399
Joint resolution to provide for the reappointment of Doctor Caryl P. Haskins as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S.J. Res. 222..... Public Law 93-401
Joint resolution to provide for the appointment of Doctor Murray Gell-Mann as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved August 31, 1974

H.R. 15581..... Public Law 93-405
District of Columbia Appropriation Act, 1975.

H.R. 16027..... Public Law 93-404
Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1975.

Approved September 2, 1974

H.R. 2..... Public Law 93-406
Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974.

Approved September 3, 1974

H.R. 6485..... Public Law 93-411
An act to amend the tobacco marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

H.R. 11864..... Public Law 93-409
Solar Heating and Cooling Demonstration Act of 1974.

H.R. 14920..... Public Law 93-410
Geothermal Energy Research, Development, and Demonstration Act of 1974.

H.R. 15842..... Public Law 93-407
An act to increase compensation for District of Columbia policemen, firemen, and teachers; to increase annuities payable to retired teachers in the District of Columbia; to establish an equitable tax on real property in the District of Columbia; to provide for additional revenue for the District of Columbia; and for other purposes.

S. 1871..... Public Law 93-408
An act to amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1972 (Public Law 92-597, 86 Stat. 1319) to expand and make permanent the Youth Conservation Corps, and for other purposes.

S. 3703..... Public Law 93-412
District of Columbia Criminal Justice Act.

Approved September 4, 1974

H.R. 13999..... Public Law 93-413
National Science Foundation Authorization Act, 1975.

H.R. 15572..... Public Law 93-414
Department of Housing and Urban Development; Space, Science, Veterans, and Certain Other Independent Agencies Appropriation Act, 1975.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released August 31, 1974

Fact sheet: Federal pay raise proposal and Federal civilian employment reductions

Released September 2, 1974

Fact sheet: pension reform bill
News conference: on pension reform bill—by Richard F. Schubert, Under Secretary, Paul J. Fasser, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations, William J. Kilberg, Solicitor, Labor Department; Stephen S. Gardner, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury; and Donald C. Alexander, Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service

Released September 4, 1974

Biographical data: Anne L. Armstrong
Biographical data: Dean Burch
Biographical data: Alan Greenspan
News conference: following a meeting with the President—by Senator Joseph M. Montoya, Representative Manuel Lujan and Fernando DeBaca, Special Assistant to the President for Hispanic Affairs

Released September 6, 1974

News conference: on the September 5 meeting of the conference on inflation—by Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

Biographical data: Phillip Warden
News conference: following the President's meeting with leaders of national women's organizations—by Marie Bowden, president, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., Rhea Mojica Hammer, vice chairwoman, National Women's Political Caucus, and Anne L. Armstrong, Counsellor to the President

Advance text: remarks at the reconvening of the First Continental Congress, Philadelphia, Pa.

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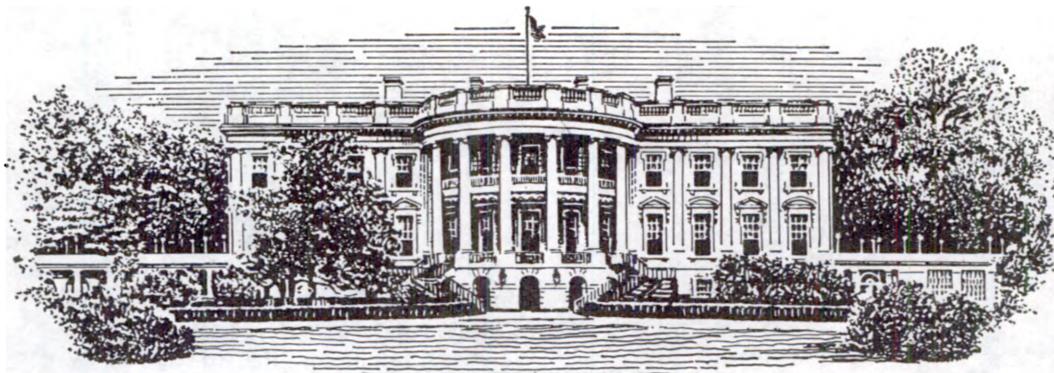
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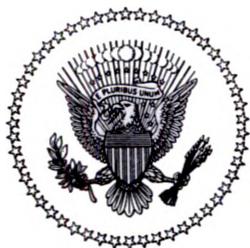
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Weekly Compilation of SEP 23
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, September 16, 1974

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 13, 1974

Alexandria Police Association Picnic

The President's Remarks at the Picnic at the Northern Virginia Police Academy. September 7, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Well, thank you very, very much for the invitation to be here and the warm reception that I have received.

I wanted to come out here because it was one way that I could express my appreciation for the warm and kind things that were done by so many of the Alexandria Police Department, not only during those hectic weeks when I was Vice President and the even more hectic 8 or 10 days while we couldn't move out of where we were until where we are now.

But it was the wonderful opportunities that I and my wife and our four children had to live in Alexandria, to get to know the police department, the school system, the many nice people.

We have many fond memories of living in Alexandria, and we aren't going to sell our home. We are going to come back there. I don't know how soon. We like it and we like the people, and we are deeply grateful to the members of the Alexandria Police Force for all of the nice and many kind things that were done on our behalf.

And we apologize for the inconveniences, the extra hours, and any of the other problems that you went through.

When I decided to come out and have an opportunity to join with you in the crabfest, my schedule was put before me, and it indicated that I was to welcome some very distinguished guests from the Soviet Union who are here with me now, along with three of our American astronauts.

They are Soviet Union cosmonauts who have been in space and the American astronauts have likewise had that experience. And next July, in 1975, the cosmonauts, the two, and the three American astronauts will take off, the Soviet Union cosmonauts from their country, and our

three from our country. And within 2 days, or whatever the time is, they will join up in space and will spend 2 days with their two space vehicles joined, and they will move back and forth between their spaceship and our spaceship.

This is not only a tremendous technological achievement but it is, I think, far broader in its implications and ramifications as far as the world is concerned.

We, as Americans, are very proud of our country; our friends from the Soviet Union are very proud of their country. And our two countries in very recent years have sought to work together in space, in the environment, in medicine, in many fields, including an effort to resolve differences in strategic arms.

I think all of us agree that the broader we can make our relationships in health, in environment, in space, and many other areas, the better it is for us here in America and for our friends in the Soviet Union.

So, I am honored to have the Ambassador from the Soviet Union, Mr. Anatoli Dobrynin, and his cosmonauts here this afternoon. They are your guests and I would like, Mr. Ambassador, for you, because I am not the best spokesman in the Russian language, if you would introduce—well, I will try, but if I don't do very well, then he will have to correct me.

First, this is the Ambassador from the Soviet Union, Mr. Anatoli Dobrynin. And the next is Major General Vladimir Shatalov. General Shatalov.

And Colonel Aleksei Leonov. Colonel Leonov. And Mr. Valeri Kubasov. Mr. Kubasov.

I think your warm welcome to them is indicative of the kind of friendship we have between peoples from the Soviet Union and the United States.

Now, I would like to introduce our three astronauts. First, Brigadier General Tom Stafford; secondly, Deke Slayton. Where is Deke? And then Vance Brand. Where is Vance?

So, next July, I want you young people to understand this, next July the people you have met—one group being launched from the Soviet Union and the other group being launched from the United States of America—will meet way up in the heavens some place—where is it going

to be? They are going to meet over Spain—I am sure for some technical reason, not for any other.

We have some other guests here. General Brent Scowcroft, who is the Deputy Director of the National Security Council; and Mr. Lowe, who is the Deputy Director of our National Aeronautics and Space Agency.

Well, we enjoy the opportunity to be here. We look forward to some of that good crab. He said he would open the shells, or whatever you call them. Out in Michigan, we don't have crab. We have a few crabby people but not any crabs. *[Laughter]*

SGT. JOHN V. STREETER. Mr. President, we have an officer on our Police Department that is a very talented artist. It is Officer Ned Thompson, and he has taken the time to draw this for you. If I may describe it to the people out here, because they have not seen it either.

It shows President Ford. He is standing there, and there is a poor, sad little fellow there with a sign. In one hand, he is holding the world, and it is all cracked up. And then in the other hand, he is holding a sign that says, "Fix it." *[Laughter]*

Mr. President, God bless you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

Well, I hope all you young people, particularly, will get to know our astronauts and the Soviet cosmonauts. The astronauts have learned to speak some Russian and the cosmonauts have learned to speak some English, so you can either talk to them in Russian or English, either way you want. *[Laughter]*

Thank you very much, and we look forward to having a bite to eat.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:35 p.m. at the Northern Virginia Police Academy, Fairfax, Va.

Pardon for Former President Nixon

The President's Remarks Announcing His Decision To Grant the Pardon. September 8, 1974

Ladies and gentlemen, I have come to a decision which I felt I should tell you and all of my fellow American citizens, as soon as I was certain in my own mind and in my own conscience that it is the right thing to do.

I have learned already in this office that the difficult decisions always come to this desk. I must admit that many of them do not look at all the same as the hypothetical questions that I have answered freely and perhaps too fast on previous occasions.

My customary policy is to try and get all the facts and to consider the opinions of my countrymen and to take counsel with my most valued friends. But these seldom agree, and in the end, the decision is mine. To procrastinate, to agonize, and to wait for a more favorable turn

of events that may never come or more compelling external pressures that may as well be wrong as right, is itself a decision of sorts and a weak and potentially dangerous course for a President to follow.

I have promised to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best that I can for America.

I have asked your help and your prayers, not only when I became President but many times since. The Constitution is the supreme law of our land and it governs our actions as citizens. Only the laws of God, which govern our consciences, are superior to it.

As we are a Nation under God, so I am sworn to uphold our laws with the help of God. And I have sought such guidance and searched my own conscience with special diligence to determine the right thing for me to do with respect to my predecessor in this place, Richard Nixon, and his loyal wife and family.

Theirs is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part. It could go on and on and on, or someone must write the end to it. I have concluded that only I can do that, and if I can, I must.

There are no historic or legal precedents to which I can turn in this matter, none that precisely fit the circumstances of a private citizen who has resigned the Presidency of the United States. But it is common knowledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like a sword over our former President's head, threatening his health as he tries to reshape his life, a great part of which was spent in the service of this country and by the mandate of its people.

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised, and I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could obtain a fair trial by jury in any jurisdiction of the United States under governing decisions of the Supreme Court.

I deeply believe in equal justice for all Americans, whatever their station or former station. The law, whether human or divine, is no respecter of persons, but the law is a respecter of reality.

The facts, as I see them, are that a former President of the United States, instead of enjoying equal treatment with any other citizen accused of violating the law, would be cruelly and excessively penalized either in preserving the presumption of his innocence or in obtaining a speedy determination of his guilt in order to repay a legal debt to society.

During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused. And our people would again be polarized in their opinions. And the credibility of our free institutions of Government would again be challenged at home and abroad.

In the end, the courts might well hold that Richard Nixon had been denied due process, and the verdict of

history would even more be inconclusive with respect to those charges arising out of the period of his Presidency, of which I am presently aware.

But it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me, though surely it deeply troubles every decent and every compassionate person. My concern is the immediate future of this great country.

In this, I dare not depend upon my personal sympathy as a long-time friend of the former President, nor my professional judgment as a lawyer, and I do not.

As President, my primary concern must always be the greatest good of all the people of the United States whose servant I am. As a man, my first consideration is to be true to my own convictions and my own conscience.

My conscience tells me clearly and certainly that I cannot prolong the bad dreams that continue to reopen a chapter that is closed. My conscience tells me that only I, as President, have the constitutional power to firmly shut and seal this book. My conscience tells me it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquillity but to use every means that I have to insure it.

I do believe that the buck stops here, that I cannot rely upon public opinion polls to tell me what is right.

I do believe that right makes might and that if I am wrong, 10 angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

I do believe, with all my heart and mind and spirit, that I, not as President, but as a humble servant of God, will receive justice without mercy if I fail to show mercy.

Finally, I feel that Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough and will continue to suffer, no matter what I do, no matter what we, as a great and good Nation, can do together to make his goal of peace come true.

[At this point, the President began reading from the proclamation granting the pardon.]

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from July (January) 20, 1969 through August 9, 1974.

[The President signed the proclamation and then resumed reading.]

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth."

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

The White House Press Office also made available the text of a statement by former President Nixon following President Ford's announcement of the granting of the pardon.

Pardon for Former President Nixon

Proclamation 4311. September 8, 1974

GRANTING PARDON TO RICHARD NIXON

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

Richard Nixon became the thirty-seventh President of the United States on January 20, 1969 and was reelected in 1972 for a second term by the electors of forty-nine of the fifty states. His term in office continued until his resignation on August 9, 1974.

Pursuant to resolutions of the House of Representatives, its Committee on the Judiciary conducted an inquiry and investigation on the impeachment of the President extending over more than eight months. The hearings of the Committee and its deliberations, which received wide national publicity over television, radio, and in printed media, resulted in votes adverse to Richard Nixon on recommended Articles of Impeachment.

As a result of certain acts or omissions occurring before his resignation from the Office of President, Richard Nixon has become liable to possible indictment and trial for offenses against the United States. Whether or not he shall be so prosecuted depends on findings of the appropriate grand jury and on the discretion of the authorized prosecutor. Should an indictment ensue, the accused shall then be entitled to a fair trial by an impartial jury, as guaranteed to every individual by the Constitution.

It is believed that a trial of Richard Nixon, if it became necessary, could not fairly begin until a year or more has elapsed. In the meantime, the tranquility to which this nation has been restored by the events of recent weeks could be irreparably lost by the prospects of bringing to trial a former President of the United States. The prospects of such trial will cause prolonged and divisive debate over the propriety of exposing to further punishment and degradation a man who has already paid the unprecedented penalty of relinquishing the highest elective office of the United States.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from January 20, 1969 through August 9, 1974.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:28 a.m.,
September 9, 1974]

Presidential Materials of Richard Nixon

Letter of Agreement Between Former President Nixon and the Administrator of General Services.
September 8, 1974

September 6, 1974

Dear Mr. Sampson:

In keeping with the tradition established by other former Presidents, it is my desire to donate to the United States, at a future date, a substantial portion of my Presidential materials which are of historical value to our Country. In donating these Presidential materials to the United States, it will be my desire that they be made available, with appropriate restrictions, for research and study.

In the interim, so that my materials may be preserved, I offer to transfer to the Administrator of General Services (the "Administrator"), for deposit, pursuant to 44 U.S.C. Section 2101, *et seq.*, all of my Presidential historical materials as defined in 44 U.S.C. Section 2101 (hereinafter "Materials"), which are located within the metropolitan area of the District of Columbia, subject to the following:

1. The Administrator agrees to accept solely for the purpose of deposit the transfer of the Materials, and in so accepting the Materials agrees to abide by each of the terms and conditions contained herein.

2. In the event of my death prior to the expiration of the three-year time period established in paragraph 7A hereof, the terms and conditions contained herein shall be binding upon and inure to the benefit of the executor of my estate for the duration of said period.

3. I retain all legal and equitable title to the Materials, including all literary property rights.

4. The Materials shall, upon acceptance of this offer by the Administrator, be deposited temporarily in an existing facility belonging to the United States, located within the State of California near my present residence. The Materials shall remain deposited in the temporary California facility until such time as there may be established, with my approval, a permanent Presidential archival depository as provided for in 44 U.S.C. Section 2108.

5. The Administrator shall provide in such temporary depository and in any permanent Presidential archival depository reasonable office space for my personal use in accordance with 44 U.S.C. Section 2108(f). The Materials in their entirety shall be deposited within such office space in the manner described in paragraph 6 hereof.

6. Within both the temporary and any permanent Presidential archival depository, all of the Materials shall be placed within secure storage areas to which access can be gained only by use of two keys. One key, essential for access, shall be given to me alone as custodian of the

Materials. The other key may be duplicated and entrusted by you to the Archivist of the United States or to members of his staff.

7. Access to the Materials within the secure areas, with the exception of recordings of conversations in the White House and the Executive Office Building which are governed by paragraphs 8 and 9 hereof, shall be as follows:

A. For a period of three years from the date of this instrument, I agree not to withdraw from deposit any originals of the Materials, except as provided in subparagraph B below and paragraph 10 herein. During said three-year period, I may make reproductions of any of the originals of the Materials and withdraw from deposit such reproductions for any use I may deem appropriate. Except as provided in subparagraph B below, access to the Materials shall be limited to myself, and to such persons as I may authorize from time to time in writing, the scope of such access to be set forth by me in each said written authorization. Any request for access to the Materials made to the Administrator, the Archivist of the United States or any member of their staffs shall be referred to me. After three years I shall have the right to withdraw from deposit without formality any or all of the Materials to which this paragraph applies and to retain such withdrawn Materials for any purpose or use I may deem appropriate, including but not limited to reproduction, examination, publication or display by myself or by anyone else I may approve.

B. In the event that production of the Materials or any portion thereof is demanded by a subpoena or other order directed to any official or employee of the United States, the recipient of the subpoena or order shall immediately notify me so that I may respond thereto, as the owner and custodian of the Materials, with sole right and power of access thereto and, if appropriate, assert any privilege or defense I may have. Prior to any such production, I shall inform the United States so it may inspect the subpoenaed materials and determine whether to object to its production on grounds of national security or any other privilege.

8. The tape recordings of conversations in the White House and Executive Office Building which will be deposited pursuant to this instrument shall remain on deposit until September 1, 1979. I intend to and do hereby donate to the United States, such gift to be effective September 1, 1979, all of the tape recordings of conversations in the White House and Executive Office Building conditioned however on my continuing right of access as specified in paragraph 9 hereof and on the further condition that such tapes shall be destroyed at the time of my death or on September 1, 1984, whichever event shall first occur. Subsequent to September 1, 1979 the Administrator shall destroy such tapes as I may direct. I impose this restriction as other Presidents have before me to guard against the possibility of the tapes being used to injure, embarrass,

or harass any person and properly to safeguard the interests of the United States.

9. Access to recordings of conversations in the White House and Executive Office Building within the secure areas shall be restricted as follows:

A. I agree not to withdraw from deposit any originals of the Materials, except as provided in subparagraph B and paragraph 10 below, and no reproductions shall be made unless there is mutual agreement. Access to the tapes shall be limited to myself, and to such persons as I may authorize from time to time in writing, the scope of such access to be set forth by me in each said written authorization. No person may listen to such tapes without my written prior approval. I reserve to myself such literary use of the information on the tapes.

B. In the event that production of the Materials or any portion thereof is demanded by a subpoena or other order directed to any official or employee of the United States, the recipient of the subpoena or order shall immediately notify me so that I may respond thereto, as the owner and custodian of the Materials, with sole right and power of access thereto and, if appropriate, assert any privilege or defense I may have. Prior to any such production, I shall inform the United States so it may inspect the subpoenaed materials and determine whether to object to its production on grounds of national security or any other privilege.

10. The Administrator shall arrange and be responsible for the reasonable protection of the Materials from loss, destruction or access by unauthorized persons, and may upon receipt of an appropriate written authorization from the Counsel to the President provide for a temporary re-deposit of certain of the Materials to a location other than the existing facility described in paragraph 4 herein, provided however that no diminution of the Administrator's responsibility to protect and secure the Materials from loss, destruction, unauthorized copying or access by unauthorized persons is affected by said temporary re-deposit.

11. From time to time as I deem appropriate, I intend to donate to the United States certain portions of the Materials deposited with the Administrator pursuant to this agreement, such donations to be accompanied by appropriate restrictions as authorized by 44 U.S.C. Section 2107. However, prior to such donation, it will be necessary to review the Materials to determine which of them should be subject to restriction, and the nature of the restrictions to be imposed. This review will require a meticulous, thorough, time-consuming analysis. If necessary to fulfill this task, I will request that you designate certain members of the Archivist's staff to assist in this review under my direction.

If you determine that the terms and conditions set forth above are acceptable for the purpose of governing the establishment and maintenance of a depository of the Materials pursuant to 44 U.S.C. Section 2101 and for

accepting the irrevocable gift of recordings of conversations after the specified five year period for purposes as contained in paragraph 8 herein, please indicate your acceptance by signing the enclosed copy of this letter and returning it to me. Upon your acceptance we both shall be bound by the terms of this agreement.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

Accepted by: ARTHUR F. SAMPSON 9/7/74
Administrator
General Services Administration

[Honorable Arthur F. Sampson, Administrator, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C.]

Presidential Materials of Richard Nixon

Text of a Legal Opinion by the Attorney General.
September 8, 1974

September 6, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

You have requested my opinion concerning papers and other historical materials retained by the White House Office during the administration of former President Richard M. Nixon and now in the possession of the United States or its officials. Some such materials were left in the Executive Office Building or in the White House at the time of former President Nixon's departure; others had previously been deposited with the Administrator of General Services. You have inquired concerning the ownership of such materials and the obligations of the Government with respect to subpoenas and court orders addressed to the United States or its officials pertaining to them.

To conclude that such materials are not the property of former President Nixon would be to reverse what has apparently been the almost unvaried understanding of all three branches of the Government since the beginning of the Republic, and to call into question the practices of our Presidents since the earliest times. In *Folsom v. Marsh*, 9 F. Cas. 342 (No. 4901), 2 Story 100, 108-109 (C.C.D. Mass. 1841), Mr. Justice Story, while sitting in circuit, found that President Washington's letters, including his official correspondence,¹ were his private property

¹ The official documents involved in the case were:

Letters addressed by Washington, as commander-in-chief, to the President of Congress.

Official letters to governors of States and speakers of legislative bodies.

Circular letters.

General orders.

Communications (official) addressed as President to his Cabinet.

Letter accepting the command of the army, on our expected war with France. 2 Story at 104-105.

The clear holding on the property point (*Id.* at 108-09) is arguably

which he could bequeath, which his estate could alienate, and in which the purchaser could acquire a copyright. According to testimony of the Archivist of the United States in 1955, every President of the United States beginning with George Washington regarded all the papers and historical materials which accumulated in the White House during his administration, whether of a private or official nature, as his own property.² A classic exposition of this Presidential view was set forth by President Taft in a lecture presented several years after he had left the White House:

The office of the President is not a recording office. The vast amount of correspondence that goes through it, signed either by the President or his secretaries, does not become the property or a record of the government unless it goes on to the official files of the department to which it may be addressed. The President takes with him all the correspondence, original and copies, carried on during his administration. Taft, *The Presidency* 30-31 (1916).

Past Congressional recognition of the President's title is evidenced by the various statutes providing for Government purchase of the official and private papers of many of our early Presidents, including Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson. See 1955 Hearings at 28, 39-42.

Even if there were no recent statutory sanction of Presidential ownership, a consistent history such as that described above might well be determinative. As the Supreme Court said in *United States v. Midwest Oil Co.*, 236 U.S. 495 (1915):

[G]overnment is a practical affair intended for practical men. Both officers, law-makers and citizens naturally adjust themselves to any long-continued action of the Executive Department—on the presumption that unauthorized acts would not have been allowed to be so often repeated as to crystallize into a regular practice. That presumption is not reasoning in a circle but the basis of a wise and quieting rule that in determining the meaning of a statute or the existence of a power, weight shall be given to the usage itself—even when the validity of the practice is the subject of investigation. *Id.* at 472-73.

[W]hile no . . . express authority has been granted [by Congress], there is nothing in the nature of the power exercised which prevents Congress from granting it by implication just as could be done by any other owner of property under similar conditions. *Id.* at 474.

Moreover, with respect to the practice at issue here, there is recent statutory sanction. The 1955 Presidential Libraries Act, which serves as the permanent basis of the

converted to dictum by Justice Story's later indication, in connection with another issue, that copyright violation with respect to the official documents did not have to be established in order to maintain the suit. (*Id.* at 114).

² Statement of Dr. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, during the House Hearings on the Joint Resolution of August 12, 1955, 69 Stat. 695, *To provide for the acceptance and maintenance of Presidential libraries, and for other purposes* (now codified in 44 U.S.C. 2101, 2107 and 2108; hereinafter referred to as the "Presidential Libraries Act"), Hearing before a Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., on H.J. Res. 330, H.J. Res. 331, and H.J. Res. 332 (hereafter referred to as "1955 Hearings"), pp. 28, 45.

Presidential Library system, constitutes clear legislative acknowledgement that a President has title to all the documents and historical materials—whether personal or official—which accumulate in the White House Office during his incumbency. The Federal Records Act of 1950, 64 Stat. 587, which was the predecessor of the Presidential Libraries Act, authorized the Administrator of General Services to accept for deposit "the personal papers and other personal historical documentary materials of the present President of the United States." Section 507(e), 64 Stat. 588. The word "personal" might have been read as intended to distinguish between the private and official papers of the President.³ The corresponding provision of the current law, however, 44 U.S.C. 2107(1), avoids the ambiguity. It envisions the President's deposit of *all* Presidential materials, not only personal ones. During the House debate on the Presidential Libraries Act, Congressman Moss, who was in charge of the bill, expressly stated:

Four. Finally, it should be remembered that Presidential papers belong to the President, and that they have increased tremendously in volume in the past 25 or 30 years. It is no longer possible for a President to take his papers home with him and care for them properly. It is no accident that the last three Presidents—Hoover, F. D. Roosevelt, and Harry Truman—have had to make special provisions through the means of the presidential library to take care of their papers. 101 Cong. Rec. 9935 (1955).

The legislative history of the Act reflects no disagreement with this position on the part of any Member of the Congress. The hearings before a Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations indicate congressional awareness of the Act's assumption that all Presidential papers are the private property of the President. 1955 Hearings at 12, 20, 28, 32, 52, 54, 58.

A recent discussion concerning ownership of Presidential materials appears in the report prepared by the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation involving the examination of President Nixon's tax returns. H. Rept. 93-966, 93d Cong., 2d Sess. (1974). The report points to the practice of Presidents since Washington of treating their papers, both private and official, as their personal property; and to the congressional ratification of the practice in the 1955 library legislation. It concludes that "the historical precedents taken together with the provisions set forth in the Presidential Libraries Act, suggest that the papers of President Nixon are considered his personal property rather than public property." *Id.* at 28-29.

³ Compare Section 507(e) with Section 507(a), dealing with the records of an agency. A memorandum prepared in the Office of the Assistant Solicitor General (now Office of Legal Counsel) on July 24, 1951 indicated that such a distinction between private and official Presidential papers would be inconsistent with historic precedents, and difficult if not impossible to maintain. It accordingly regarded the Records Act's use of the term "personal" as intended merely to exclude the permanent files of the Chief Executive Clerk discussed at page 12 below [page 1108 of this issue].

An apparent obstacle to Presidential ownership of all White House materials is Article II, section 1, clause 7 of the Constitution, which provides:

"The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them."

But objection based upon this provision is circular in its reasoning, except insofar as it applies to the blank typing paper and materials upon which the Presidential records are inscribed. For the records themselves are given to the President as an "emolument" only if one assumes that they are not the property of the President from the very moment of their creation. As for the blank typing paper and materials, which are of course of negligible value, they can be regarded as consumables, like electricity or telephone service, provided for the conduct of Presidential business. In any event, the Constitutional provision can simply not be interpreted in such a fashion as to preclude the conferral of anything of value, beyond his salary, upon the President. An eminent authority on the subject states the following:

As a matter of fact the President enjoys many more "emoluments" from the United States than the "compensation" which he receives "at stated times"—at least, what most people would reckon to be emoluments. Corwin, *The President* 348 n. 53.

He gives as examples of such additional emoluments provided by the Congress the use of personal secretaries and the right to reside in the White House. *Id.* at 348-49.

Another obstacle to Presidential ownership of the materials in question is their character as public documents, often secret and sometimes necessary for the continued operation of government. However, without speaking to the desirability of the established property rule (and there is pending in the Congress legislation which would apparently alter it—S. 2951, 93d Cong., 2d Sess., a bill "[t]o provide for public ownership of certain documents of elected public officials"), it must be conceded that accommodation of such concerns can be achieved whether or not ownership of the materials in question rests with the former President. Historically, there has been consistent acknowledgement that Presidential materials are peculiarly affected by a public interest which may justify subjecting the absolute ownership rights of the ex-President to certain limitations directly related to the character of the documents as records of government activity. Thus, in *Folsom v. Marsh*, *supra*, Mr. Justice Story stated the following:

In respect to official letters, addressed to the government, or any of its departments, by public officers, so far as the government extends, from principles of public policy, to withhold them from publication, or to give them publicity, there may be a just ground of distinction. It may be doubtful, whether any public officer is at liberty to publish them, at least, in the same age, when secrecy may be required by the public exigencies, without the sanction of the government. On the other hand, from the nature of the public service, or the charac-

ter of the documents, embracing historical, military, or diplomatic information, it may be the right, and even the duty, of the government, to give them publicity, even against the will of the writers. 2 Story at 113.

That portion of the Criminal Code dealing with the transmission or loss of national security information, 18 U.S.C. § 793, obviously applies to Presidential papers even when they are within the possession of the former President.⁴ Upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt during the closing months of World War II, with full acceptance of the traditional view that all White House papers belonged to the President and devolved to his estate, some of the papers dealing with prosecution of the War (the so-called "Map Room Papers") were retained by President Truman under a theory of "protective custody" until December 1946. *Matter of Roosevelt*, 190 Misc. 341, 344, 73 N.Y.S. 821, 825 (Sur. Ct. 1947); *Eighth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States as to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library* (1947) p. 1. Thus, regardless of whether this is the best way to approach the problem, precedent demonstrates that the governmental interests arising because of the peculiar nature of these materials (notably, any need to protect national security information and any need for continued use of certain documents in the process of government) can be protected in full conformity with the theory of ownership on the part of the ex-President.

Because the principle of Presidential ownership of White House materials has been acknowledged by all three branches of the Government from the earliest times; because that principle does not violate any provision of the Constitution or contravene any existing statute; and because that principle is not inconsistent with adequate protection of the interests of the United States; I conclude that the papers and materials in question were the property of Richard M. Nixon when his term of office ended. Any inference that the former President abandoned his ownership of the materials he left in the White House and the Executive Office Building is eliminated by a memorandum to the White House staff from Jerry H. Jones, Special Assistant to President Nixon, dated the day of his resignation, asserting that "the files of the White House Office belong to the President in whose Administration they were accumulated," and setting forth instructions with respect to the treatment of such materials until they can be collected and disposed of according to the ex-President's wishes. We are advised that the materials previously deposited with the Administrator of General Services were likewise transmitted and received with the understanding of continuing Presidential ownership.

I must, however, exclude one category of documents from the scope of this opinion concerning ownership and

⁴ Section 11 of Executive Order 11652 makes explicit provision for declassification of Presidential material that has been deposited in the Archives.

advise you that their status cannot be definitively determined on the basis of presently available information. Although the fact is not recorded in the published materials we have examined, our inquiry indicates that at least in recent memory certain "permanent files" have been retained by the Chief Executive Clerk of the White House from administration to administration. These include White House budget and personnel material, and records or copies of some Presidential actions useful to the Clerk's office for such purposes as keeping track of the terms of Presidential appointments and providing models or precedents for future Presidential action. Retention of these materials by the Chief Executive Clerk is of course not necessarily inconsistent with initial Presidential ownership. In light of the otherwise uniform practice with respect to much more important official documents, relinquishment of these materials may reasonably be regarded as a voluntary act of courtesy on the part of the outgoing Chief Executive. I cannot, however, make an adequately informed judgment concerning these files without more extensive factual and historical inquiry, which your need for this opinion does not permit. Of course, even if such inquiry should show that these particular documents have been regarded as Government property, that conclusion would not support a generalization of Government ownership with respect to the much more extensive other material covered by this opinion, as to which the Presidential practice and congressional acquiescence are clear.

As to the obligations of the Government with respect to subpoenas and court orders directed to the United States or its officials pertaining to the subject materials: Even though the Government is merely the custodian and not the owner, it can properly be subjected to court directives relating to the materials. The Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure authorize the courts, upon motion of a defendant, to order the Government to permit access to papers and other objects "which are within the possession, custody or control of the government. . . ." Fed. R. Crim. P. 16(b). A similar provision is applicable with regard to discovery in civil cases involving material within the "possession, custody or control" of a party (including the Government) Fed. R. Civ. P. 34(a). In addition, in both criminal and civil cases, a subpoena may be issued directing a person to produce documents or objects which are within his possession, but which belong to another person. Fed. R. Crim. P. 17(c); Fed. R. Civ. P. 45(b). *See, e.g., Couch v. United States*, 409 U.S. 322 (1973); *Schwimmer v. United States*, 232 F.2d 855, 860 (8th Cir., 1956), *cert. denied*, 352 U.S. 833; *United States v. Re*, 313 F. Supp. 442, 449 (S.D.N.Y. 1970). I advise you, therefore, that items included within the subject materials properly subpoenaed from the Government or its officials must be produced; and that none of the materials can be moved or otherwise disposed of contrary to the provisions

of any duly issued court order against the Government or its officials pertaining to them. Of course both the former President and the Government can seek modification of such subpoenas and orders, and can challenge their validity on Constitutional or other grounds.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM B. SAXBE
Attorney General

[The President, The White House]

Pardon and Agreement on Presidential Materials of Richard Nixon

News Conference of Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President. September 8, 1974

MR. TERHORST. Gentlemen, if you are ready for the briefing, we have Philip Buchen, the legal counsel of the White House, to address your questions on the President's statement and on the documents you have in your hand.

As you know, he is the President's legal adviser. He was very much a participant in the preparation of this proclamation, and so here is Mr. Buchen to take your questions.

I think he may have an opening statement which he may like to read first.

MR. BUCHEN. Thank you, Jerry.

I appreciate your all being here on this Sunday morning, or midday.

I wanted just to say a few things first, because it may answer questions in advance. And at the conclusion of these remarks, I will try to field the questions you throw this way.

In addition to the major development of this morning when President Ford granted a pardon to former President Nixon, I have two other legal developments to announce which occurred prior to the issuance of the proclamation of pardon.

The first involves the opinion of Attorney General William B. Saxbe to President Ford dealing with papers and other records, including tapes, retained during the Administration of former President Nixon in the White House offices.

In this opinion, the Attorney General concludes that such materials are the present property of Mr. Nixon; however, it is also concluded that during the time the materials remain in the custody of the United States, they are subject to subpoenas and court orders directed to any official who controls that custody. And in this conclusion, I have concurred.

This opinion was sought by the President from the Attorney General on August 22.

Q. When you say the President, you mean President Ford?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

The reason for seeking the opinion was the conflict created between Mr. Nixon's requests on the one hand for delivery to his control of the materials, and on the other hand, the pending court orders and subpoenas directed at the United States and certain of its officials.

The court orders have required that the custody of the materials be maintained at their present locations. And both the orders and subpoenas have called for the identification and production of certain materials allegedly relevant to court proceedings in which the orders and subpoenas originated.

In addition, we were advised of interests of other parties in having certain records disclosed to them under warning that if they were to be removed and delivered to the control of Mr. Nixon, court action would be taken to prevent that move and to protect the claimed rights to inspection or disclosure.

Therefore, it became fully apparent that unless this conflict was resolved, the present Administration would be enmeshed for a long time in answering to disputed claims over who could obtain information from the Nixon records, how requested information could, as a practical matter, be extracted from the vast volume of records in which it might appear, and how and by whom its relevancy to any particular court proceeding could be determined, and at the same time to try satisfying the claims of Mr. Nixon that he owned the records.

Within a week of the request to the Attorney General for an opinion made by President Ford, I was advised informally of what its general nature would be. From that time on, I realized that the opinion itself would not provide a practical solution to the handling and management of the papers so as to reconcile rights and interests of private ownership with the limited but very important rights and interests of litigants to disclosure of selected relevant parts of the materials.

Thus, I initiated conversations with the Attorney General's Office, with Special Prosecutor Jaworski, with attorneys for certain litigants seeking disclosure, and with Herbert J. Miller, as soon as he became attorney for Mr. Nixon.

The purpose of these conversations was to explore ways for reconciling these different interests in records of the previous Administration so that this Administration would not be caught in the middle of trying on a case-by-case basis to resolve each dispute over the right of access or disclosure.

The outcome of these conversations was the conclusion on my part that Mr. Nixon, as the principal party in interest, should be requested to come forth with a proposal for dealing satisfactorily with Presidential ma-

terials of his Administration in ways that offered reasonable protection and safeguards to each party who has a legitimate court-supported right to production of particular materials relevant to his case.

Mr. Nixon and his attorney then agreed to pursue this approach, and in company with White House Counsel, they were able to accomplish the second of the developments which I am announcing today.

And that is the letter agreement, of which you have copies, between former President Nixon and Arthur F. Sampson, Administrator of the General Services Administration.

These two developments are, of course, much less significant than the one you have learned about earlier. President Ford has chosen to carry out a responsibility expressed in the preamble to the Constitution of ensuring domestic tranquillity and has chosen to do so by exercise of a power that he alone has under the Constitution to grant a pardon for offenses against the United States.

About a week ago, President Ford asked me to study judicial precedents bearing on the exercise of his right to grant a pardon, particularly with reference to whether or not a pardon could only follow indictment or conviction. The answer I found, based on considerable authority, was that a pardon could be granted at any time and need not await an indictment or conviction.

President Ford also asked me to investigate how long it would be before prosecution of former President Nixon could occur, if it were brought, and how long it would take to bring it to a conclusion.

On this point, I consulted with Special Prosecutor Jaworski, and he advised me as follows and has authorized me to quote his language, and I quote:

"The factual situation regarding a trial of Richard M. Nixon within constitutional bounds is unprecedented. It is especially unique in view of the recent House Judiciary Committee inquiry on impeachment, resulting in a unanimous adverse finding to Richard M. Nixon on the article involving obstruction of justice.

"The massive publicity given the hearings and the findings that ensued, the reversal of judgment of a number of members of the Republican Party following the release of the June 23 tape recording, and their statements carried nationwide, and, finally, the resignation of Richard M. Nixon require a delay before selection of a jury is begun of a period from 9 months to a year, and perhaps even longer.

"This judgment is predicated on a review of the decisions of United States courts involving prejudicial pretrial publicity."

Q. Is that the end of the quotes?

MR. BUCHEN. No, I am going on to indicate something else that will be of interest to you. That is the end of that quote.

Another quote from his communication to me is as follows: "The situation involving Richard M. Nixon is readily distinguishable from the facts involved in the case of *United States v. Mitchell, et al.*, set for trial on September 30.

"The defendants in the Mitchell case were indicted by a grand jury operating in secret session. They will be called to trial, unlike Richard M. Nixon, if indicted, without any previous adverse finding by an investigatory body holding public hearings on its conclusions."

That is the end of the quotation.

Q. Would you read that last sentence again?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes. It is an important one. "They," meaning the defendants, "will be called to trial, unlike Richard M. Nixon, if indicted, without any previous adverse finding by an investigatory body holding public hearings on its conclusions."

Except for my seeking and obtaining this advice from Mr. Jaworski, none of my discussions with him involved any understandings or commitments regarding his role in the possible prosecution of former President Nixon or in the prosecution of others.

President Ford has not talked with Mr. Jaworski, but I did report to President Ford the opinion of the Special Prosecutor about the delay necessary before any possible trial of the former President could begin.

I would also like to add on another subject, no action or statement by former President Nixon, which has been disclosed today, however welcome and helpful, was made a precondition of the pardon.

That is a negative because of the word "no" at the beginning. I might add that whether or not it was disclosed today, it was not a precondition.

Q. There were no secret agreements made?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

President Ford in determining to issue a pardon acted solely according to the dictates of his own conscience. Moreover, he did so as an act of mercy not related in any way to obtaining concessions in return.

Q. Would you go over the last phrase?

Q. After "mercy."

MR. BUCHEN. Mercy not related in any way to obtaining concessions in return. However, my personal view—

Q. Is that yours or Ford's?

MR. BUCHEN. Mine. —is that former President Nixon's words, which I have had a chance to read, as you have, that followed the granting of the pardon, constitute a statement of contrition which I believe will hasten the time when he and his family may achieve peace of mind and spirit and will much sooner bring peace of mind and spirit to all of our citizens.

Q. Would you review that sentence?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

However, my personal view—these are my own words—is that former President Nixon's words expressed

upon his learning of the pardon, constitute a statement of contrition which I believe will hasten the time when he and his family may achieve peace of mind and spirit and will much sooner bring peace of mind and spirit to all of our citizens.

Now I have only one other paragraph that I would like to bring out in conclusion. I want to express for the record my heartfelt personal thanks and appreciation to a dear friend of the President's and of mine. He is Benton Becker, a Washington attorney, who has served voluntarily as my special and trusted consultant and emissary in helping to bring about the events reported today.

Q. Emissary to Mr. Jaworski or Mr. Nixon?

MR. BUCHEN. To Mr. Miller and Mr. Nixon, not to Mr. Jaworski.

I also acknowledge with deep gratitude the services of William E. Casselman II, who is the highly valued counsel—who was the highly valued counsel to Vice President Ford for his whole tenure in that office, and is now my close associate in the service of the President of the United States.

Q. Who informed President Nixon that he was getting a pardon, and also is President Ford basing this pardon only on the fact that it would have taken a long time to try the Presidency and his own conscience?

MR. BUCHEN. Let me take the first question first.

When Mr. Becker went to San Clemente on Thursday evening, he was authorized to advise the former President that President Ford was intending to grant a pardon, subject, however, to his further consideration of the matter because he wanted to reserve the chance to deliberate and ponder somewhat longer, but he was authorized to say that in all probability a pardon would be issued in the near future.

The second question?

Q. The second question is: There is no admission of guilt here at all and despite your assumptions that it is contrition, there is no actual admission of guilt. Do you agree?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, my interpretation is that it comes very close to saying that he did wrong, that he did not act forthrightly.

Q. Mr. Buchen, what is the linkage between the agreement with Mr. Sampson and Mr. Becker's negotiations at San Clemente?

MR. BUCHEN. The initiative for getting an agreement that would help solve our problems came from me, and I advised Mr. Miller as attorney for Mr. Nixon that that was my desire. I so advised him before I knew anything about a contemplated pardon.

Q. Mr. Buchen—

MR. BUCHEN. May I finish, please?

However, as we pursued talks on what to do with the papers, I made it very clear to Mr. Miller that I wanted the initiative to come from him and his client as to the

specifics of what he and his client would be willing to do regarding the management and ultimate disposition of the papers and tapes.

Q. Mr. Buchen, what will this mean as far as former President Nixon's role as a witness in the upcoming trials are concerned?

MR. BUCHEN. It would have no effect on that. If the documents do get transferred in a timely fashion, it may permit him to review the pertinent material more adequately so far as his testimony is concerned.

Q. Mr. Buchen, doesn't this pardon eliminate any possibility that the former President might invoke the fifth amendment to refuse to testify?

MR. BUCHEN. I think you better ask his own lawyer that. As you know, this applies only to offenses against the United States. It does not apply to possible offenses against State law.

Q. But regarding offenses against the United States, he would have no fifth amendment rights now that he has been pardoned; is that correct?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know that you can separate them when you plead.

Q. Mr. Buchen, why did the President decide to do this now at a time before the jury has been sequestered in the September 30 trial?

MR. BUCHEN. That will have to be information that will have to come from his statement. I have nothing to add.

Q. Can you tell us if the President has assured himself that former President Nixon is not guilty or liable to accusation of any very serious charges that have not been made public so far, that there is no other time bomb ticking away?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't think he said that.

Q. No, no, I am saying, has President Ford done anything to assure himself that there is no evidence of any more serious criminality committed by former President Nixon than what is generally out in the House Judiciary Committee report and this sort of thing?

MR. BUCHEN. So far as I know, he has made no independent inquiries. If he had wanted to satisfy himself as to the content of the evidence still in the White House, of course, that would have been an insurmountable task, as you have no idea of the huge volumes.

Q. Did you assure yourself—

MR. BUCHEN. Just a minute. There are huge volumes. However, I did personally consult with Mr. Jaworski as to the nature of the investigations being conducted, and I was able to tell the President that so far as I was able to learn through that inquiry, there were no time bombs, as you call them.

Q. Mr. Buchen, what was the President's reaction when Mr. Becker conveyed this message to him?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know that it was done in person. I don't think he was necessarily in the room, so I don't believe he can—

Q. Did you get any reaction from the President, even if it was by mail or through counsel, did the President say he was grateful for this?

MR. BUCHEN. The only reaction we have gotten is the statement that came over the wire.

Q. Are you saying that Ziegler got the word from Becker and that President Nixon was not informed personally at any time by Ford or by any emissary?

MR. BUCHEN. I think you will have to ask Mr. Becker that. My understanding is that initially the talks went through Mr. Ziegler, but there were also face-to-face meetings between Mr. Becker and the President, and what occurred by one method, and one by the other, I don't know.

Q. There was no personal contact between Ford and Nixon?

MR. BUCHEN. None at all.

Q. You refer to Becker as an emissary, and you talk about one meeting out there Thursday to notify him. What were the reasons for his previous trips back and forth? What was discussed?

MR. BUCHEN. Becker only went once.

Q. Only on Thursday?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, and not only to discuss that. They had to work out the details of that letter agreement, because Miller and Becker were in negotiation, and Miller had to consult his client, and they had to make modifications. And they had to call back to see whether that fit in correctly with what General Services Administration could feasibly do. So, that involved a lot of the time he was out there.

Q. Mr. Buchen, did Mr. Jaworski inform you that an indictment, or indictments, against former President Nixon were expected?

MR. BUCHEN. No, he did not.

Q. May I follow that, then? Isn't the granting of a pardon at this stage an admission that an indictment was expected and that conviction was probable?

MR. BUCHEN. I think you have to recall that word came out that the grand jury at one time wanted to name the former President, or then President, as a co-conspirator, and that is one evidence that something more would have happened.

And I think it is very likely, from all we have read, that there would be people who would want him prosecuted and would intend to do so, although I don't say that that was Mr. Jaworski's view.

Q. Was Mr. Jaworski ever consulted about this pardon, ever asked about this?

MR. BUCHEN. No.

Q. Did Jaworski agree to what was done today?

MR. BUCHEN. He had no voice in it.

Q. Do you know what his mood or sentiment was?

MR. BUCHEN. You will have to ask him. I want to get to Peter, here.

Q. I wanted to follow up that line. You know we are not able to get a response from Mr. Jaworski's office, and it would really help us for you to tell us all you can about the status of the investigation against the President, former President Nixon?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't have that information, Peter. That is kept in his shop.

Q. But in that regard, why was he not consulted about what kind of action he contemplated against the President before the pardon was issued?

MR. BUCHEN. We didn't think that was relevant.

Q. You assumed he would be prosecuted; is that right?

MR. BUCHEN. We assumed that he may have been prosecuted.

Q. When was Jaworski told?

MR. BUCHEN. About the pardon?

Q. About the pardon.

MR. BUCHEN. I called him about three-quarters of an hour before I knew the President was going to announce it so that he would know it.

Q. Today?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. What was his reaction?

Q. When was that?

MR. BUCHEN. He thanked me for advising him in advance of his hearing it over the radio or TV.

Q. And he did not object?

MR. BUCHEN. He didn't. He didn't say anything one way or the other.

Q. As we read this statement, which does not admit any guilt whatsoever, what is to prevent the former President from going out, say 6 months hence, and saying that nothing was really even proven against him and he was hounded out of office?

MR. BUCHEN. I guess he has the right to say that, because until an indictment and conviction, I think that would be true in his case as well as anybody else's case who is under a cloud of suspicion.

Q. But President Ford spoke of the historical aspects of this, and what is going to keep history from getting more muddled than ever?

MR. BUCHEN. I think the historians will take care of that.

Q. Mr. Buchen, does President Ford plan to grant a similar pardon to the former President's subordinates who are scheduled to go on trial later this month?

MR. BUCHEN. To my knowledge, he has not given that matter any thought.

Q. Can you clarify—was the agreement reached with the GSA about the disposal of the tapes and documents? Was the pardon contingent on that?

MR. BUCHEN. Neither.

Q. They are not together?

MR. BUCHEN. Right.

Q. Number two, why did he choose 10:30, Sunday morning, to make the announcement?

MR. BUCHEN. I think you will have to ask him that. He figured that this was a very solemn moment that exemplified, I think, an act that was one of high mercy, and it seemed appropriate, I think, to him that it should occur on a day when we do have thoughts like that, or should.

Q. Mr. Buchen, I don't understand why you contrast the treatment of Nixon with the treatment of Mitchell coming up. If I understand your statement right, you said that Mitchell has not had the publicity and the action by a hearing as Nixon had before the House Judiciary Committee.

MR. BUCHEN. That was Mr. Jaworski's statement. That was not mine.

Q. I don't understand this, and maybe you can explain what you think he means there. Mitchell certainly had the hearing with conclusions and explanations of conclusions of a hearing by the Watergate committee.

MR. BUCHEN. There was a hearing, but I don't know how conclusive the findings were.

Q. There was a hearing, and Mitchell testified. There was a public hearing, and there were conclusions and recommendations on that, and a press conference on that, and great publicity.

MR. BUCHEN. I would judge that Mr. Jaworski does not find those conclusions prejudicial to Mr. Mitchell's upcoming case.

Q. Mr. Buchen, the President, in his statement this morning, referred to this matter threatening the former President's health. Do you have any further details on that? Do you know something about his health that we don't?

MR. BUCHEN. No, I didn't go out there, so I didn't see the man.

Q. Do you know what he meant by that?

MR. BUCHEN. I think it is generally known that this man has suffered a good deal. I think you people who saw him more recently than I have can form your own conclusions.

Q. Have Mr. Ford and Mr. Nixon talked this morning?

MR. BUCHEN. No, not to my knowledge, but I do not believe they did.

Q. Do you know, was the President in a depression and has the President threatened to commit suicide or anything like that?

MR. BUCHEN. I have no knowledge.

Q. You say that you looked into this matter from a constitutional standpoint for the President, and I am sure you looked into the history of it. Has any President ever granted a pardon before in history to anyone prior to that person being charged with a crime formally?

MR. BUCHEN. Oh, yes, there are lots of precedents for that.

Q. Like what?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, one of your colleagues, named Mr. Burdick, was pardoned before he was asked to testify re-

garding some alleged criminality involving the Customs Service during the Wilson Administration, and he was given a pardon.

Q. He was a newsman?

MR. BUCHEN. He was a newsman.

And, of course, the pardons granted by President Lincoln, for example, and the pardons granted after the Whiskey Rebellion and other insurrections, were applied to people who were not indicted.

Q. Mr. Buchen, I am a little confused at your words, more or less dismissing the question of whether or not the President would grant pardons to Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Mitchell, and the others who will go on trial September 30. Is it not fairly clear to you, or at least do you not, here in the White House, admit the possibility that their defense now, in light of the action of President Ford today, will be that the President has pardoned the man under whose orders they were operating? And what is your reaction to this possible line of defense or line of appeal by the defendants in that trial?

Surely, this must have been given some consideration. And I again would ask you what you think is going to happen; what you think the President would do when confronted with this question?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I question your broad characterization that the acts for which they are being charged were necessarily—

Q. I am just suggesting this may be their defense.

MR. BUCHEN. This may be their defense. Now, that will become Mr. Jaworski's problem and, of course, the judge's problem. You have already seen that Mr. Jaworski apparently assumes that the situation in their case is far different from the situation in the former President's case.

Q. Phil, can I ask you this: Did this process that led up to the pardon today start a week ago when the President came to you?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. Was there something that happened just prior to his coming to you that got his interest working in doing this thing just now?

MR. BUCHEN. If there was, I don't know what it was, Ron.

Q. Have they talked on the phone at any time this week or immediately prior to this week?

MR. BUCHEN. They have not talked on the phone since Jack Miller became his attorney.

Q. Did this process start after last Sunday's publication of the Gallup poll that said that the majority of the public wanted to see Mr. Nixon prosecuted?

MR. BUCHEN. Let me figure my dates. That was Labor Day weekend, was it? I worked all Labor Day weekend so it came before that.

Q. To what extent did the transition team look ahead to the problem of a pardon, and have you done any work at all—

MR. BUCHEN. They didn't consider that. They had far too much else to consider.

Q. As a matter of equal justice under law, we have now had the two top officials of the United States, both allegedly involved in crimes, namely, Vice President Agnew and Mr. Nixon, who have been freed of criminal charges. Both of them are entitled to go around the country and represent themselves as being innocent. What is a citizen to make of that situation when ordinary criminals, including the aides involved in this, have to be tried?

MR. BUCHEN. Of course, I cannot speak at all for the treatment of former Vice President Agnew because this Administration was not in any way involved. But I think you have to understand—and maybe it is a good time on Sunday to think about it—that there is a difference between mercy and justice.

I don't think that you can assume that mercy is equally dispensed or how it could be equally dispensed.

Q. Mr. Buchen, is there any pardon being considered for the aides who performed their acts allegedly in the name of and in behalf of Richard Nixon?

MR. BUCHEN. I have already spoken to that question.

Q. I don't think you have, Mr. Buchen. I am actually talking about those now in prison, not Mr. Nixon, John Dean and others?

MR. BUCHEN. So far as I know, no thought has been given to that.

Q. Mr. Buchen, is it now possible under the agreement on the custody of Presidential tapes and papers for any tape made during the Nixon Administration to be subpoenaed even though it is not now the subject of a subpoena?

MR. BUCHEN. It is possible. In order to get a subpoena or court order, of course, certain showings would have to be made. It is also possible, of course, for the owner of the tapes to interject objections.

Q. A followup to that. If the owner of those tapes doesn't want to give them up—he has now been pardoned of everything—what is the leverage?

MR. BUCHEN. It doesn't affect the court orders or subpoenas, and he is subject to the consequences of not obeying a valid court order or subpoena.

Q. In other words, that would come under the expiration date of August 9 in the pardon; is that right?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

Q. Do you feel the agreement with Mr. Sampson has insured that the Ford Administration cannot be implicated in any Watergate coverup? Was that one of your considerations?

MR. BUCHEN. That was not involved, because I don't think that is a relevant issue.

Q. Is there any change in the rules of access to documents by former White House aides?

MR. BUCHEN. The problem is that there would, of course, be an interim before the Nixon-Sampson letter agreement can be fully implemented. How we will handle

the interim arrangements, I am sure can be worked out with Jack Miller as attorney for Mr. Nixon.

Q. As you recall, in the Agnew case, a paper prepared by the Justice Department listing the law violations by the former Vice President was presented in court on the theory that the American people were entitled to have the full story in addition to the specific charge to which the former Vice President pleaded.

In President Ford's preparation for today, what thought did he give to the presentation of an analysis by Special Prosecutor Jaworski of the full extent of President Nixon's role in the Watergate case, and is there any understanding at this point of eliminating Special Prosecutor Jaworski's ability to pursue that type of investigation?

MR. BUCHEN. There is no limitation on what Mr. Jaworski can do except, of course, the putative defendant has the defense now of a pardon.

On the first part of your question, there is a distinct difference between asking a man to plead guilty to a limited offense, and the treatment of Mr. Agnew, of course, was done under very different circumstances by the system of justice. In this case, it was reliance entirely on the pardon powers which involve acts of mercy.

Q. You said earlier that you had assumed that Mr. Nixon may have been prosecuted. Is that as far as you are willing to go on that issue? Did you all think it was likely that he would be prosecuted?

MR. BUCHEN. If you mean tried or indicted?

Q. Indicted?

MR. BUCHEN. I think it would be very likely that he would be indicted. How and when he could be tried was still an open question.

Q. This likelihood, is that on the strength of your conversation with Mr. Jaworski that you think it was very likely?

MR. BUCHEN. No, it was largely on the basis of what the grand jury apparently intended to do on the basis of less evidence than is now available.

Q. Mr. Buchen, if the ex-President retains the sole right of access to the documents and, as I understand this GSA agreement, can even limit access by the Archivist of the United States and his staff, why should the United States remain as custodian of the documents at all?

MR. BUCHEN. There is a double-key arrangement. In other words, access can't be obtained by either the former President or the General Services Administration except by their concurrent acts.

Q. But he could conceivably, to prevent himself from embarrassment, limit access—no one could see these documents during the 3 years the United States agrees to act as custodian.

MR. BUCHEN. Unless there is a court order or subpoena.

Q. What about the court orders or subpoenas that are outstanding?

MR. BUCHEN. We will have to take this agreement to the courts involved in those proceedings and seek relief from the present processes and subpoenas on the basis of the current agreement.

Q. Mr. Buchen, did you and the President give much consideration to the fact that a criminal trial could have cleared Mr. Nixon of the charges of possible guilt, could have cleared him, cleared his name?

MR. BUCHEN. We certainly recognized that as a possibility. Whether it was given any consideration, I don't know.

Q. I mean by you or the President?

Q. Well, you were there. What was your own view?

MR. BUCHEN. My own view is that that was a possibility. If that was what the former President wanted to do, he certainly would have told us. He didn't have to accept the pardon.

Q. Did you recommend the pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. I had nothing to do with recommending it or disrecommending it.

Q. Did you ever discuss the political implications of this pardon with the President?

MR. BUCHEN. I did not.

Q. Mr. Buchen, to follow up on some of these other questions, it seems that President Ford has an interest in building into the public record a record of Mr. Nixon's alleged criminality for the same reasons that Mr. Agnew's alleged criminality was made a part of the record, to prevent him from saying that he was driven out by political opponents, et cetera. Is President Ford satisfied that former President Nixon's record of wrongdoing is sufficiently in the public record now?

MR. BUCHEN. All I can tell you is that he knows nothing that you don't know.

Q. Mr. Buchen, does the pardon in any way affect Mr. Nixon's payment of back income taxes?

MR. BUCHEN. Not at all. This does not apply to civil liabilities.

Q. Let's get back to this double-key arrangement. This is just so much lawyer's language.

MR. BUCHEN. I know that is complicated.

Q. Does that double-key arrangement prevent the President from going in there and destroying some of those tapes if he wanted to?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, it does.

Q. So, there is adequate safeguards?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. Does it mean that if any of those tapes are subpoenaed and he just refuses to honor the subpoena, then what would happen?

MR. BUCHEN. He would be subject to contempt of the court that issued the subpoena. It doesn't apply to any future acts.

Q. When will the tapes be physically moved to this repository in California, or are they going to remain here?

MR. BUCHEN. No, they will be moved to the California depository as soon as we can get rid of, or modification of the existing orders that require they be retained here.

Q. Is that that Laguna Niguel pyramid they will be put in?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. But nobody can get in there by themselves. There will always be somebody to watch, is that correct?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. When you say "current," are you referring to the two court orders that are pending?

MR. BUCHEN. There are at least three court orders that I know of. One is in the Wounded Knee case in Minnesota. Another is in the nature of an order, because the court declined to issue the order on the assurance that documents or tapes would not be moved, and that is the case involving the networks. So, you can get Ron to answer your questions on that.

The third one is the civil suit in North Carolina involving a suit by people kept out of a meeting to celebrate Billy Graham Day.

Q. Mr. Buchen, Mr. Jaworski has, of course, in his possession a considerable number of tapes which are not the originals. They are copies. This agreement with Mr. Sampson does not affect that, does it? They don't have to be returned to the mass to be moved out to Laguna?

MR. BUCHEN. The copies will be disposed of as the court orders, I assume.

Q. But this does not require them to be returned to the big group?

MR. BUCHEN. No.

Q. Can I clarify the chronology of all this? When is the first time the President indicated to you he might want to pardon Mr. Nixon?

MR. BUCHEN. Just at the start of the Labor Day weekend.

Q. On which day?

MR. BUCHEN. I know I started to work Friday night, so it must have been Friday.

Q. Did you have any contact with Mr. Miller on the issue of a pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. Not at that time. The first contact, I think, was on Thursday of this week.

Q. And you can't suggest what precipitated the President's interest?

MR. BUCHEN. I do not know.

Q. Can you tell us whether the President ever tried to—I hesitate to use "extract"—but get any admission of guilt from the President, or was it strictly—

MR. BUCHEN. He did not.

Q. Mr. Buchen, you said that President Ford has not talked to former President Nixon since Mr. Nixon retained Miller. Could you tell us the last time President Ford had contact with President Nixon—direct contact?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know. I think it may have been the time of the Rockefeller appointment.

Q. Mr. Buchen, I am not clear on one thing, and following up Helen's question, your emissary went out on that Thursday, Mr. Becker went out on Thursday, that was the only time he went out. I am trying to get clear in my mind precisely what it was; he told the former President, or told Mr. Ziegler, and both of them at different times, that President Ford, in all probability would grant a pardon. What did he ask either of Mr. Nixon or Mr. Ziegler? What did he ask that Mr. Nixon do? Did he ask that this statement we have been given today be issued? Did he suggest wording and what it should say or did he ask for nothing? Did he ask for more than what we got in this statement?

You say at one point the former President could have turned down the pardon.

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. Did he offer that option, and did he say, if the pardon was to be granted, what the former President then should do?

MR. BUCHEN. The former President was represented by counsel, you know.

Q. Well, did he make the offer to Mr. Miller?

MR. BUCHEN. Mr. Miller is a shrewd enough attorney to know that he could have advised his client either to accept or reject the pardon.

To answer your other question, as you can see, that letter agreement is a very complicated one, and it involved a lot of practical problems. Before Miller and Becker went out, a rough draft of Miller's proposal was in our hands. But it was obvious that we could not work out the details of what would suit Miller's client and what would suit GSA and what would suit what we thought was the best interests of the Government and of the potential other parties in interest without going out and making the final draft out there. And that was done.

As far as the statement from the former President is concerned, that was a matter that was left entirely up to the discretion of his own counsel and his own advisers.

Q. Let me see if I can put it another way, Mr. Buchen. Was the pardon in any of the conversations involving yourself, Mr. Becker, or anyone else, with anyone representing the former President, was this pardon contingent on anything?

MR. BUCHEN. I have said no, and I repeat no.

Q. Are you saying if he had not given this letter at all, if he had said, "Well, I will make no letter agreement," are you saying categorically that a pardon would have been issued anyway?

MR. BUCHEN. I am not sure because President Ford could have changed his mind or not made up his mind finally.

Q. When was the package completed that was announced today?

MR. BUCHEN. We got the agreement back on early Saturday morning and spent that day reviewing it with Mr. Sampson, so that was wound up.

Q. You mean yesterday morning?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, yesterday morning. The statement, of course, we didn't see until we got it over the wires right after the speech.

Q. Did the President know there was going to be a statement before he finally decided on the pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. Did he have any idea what the contents would be, what the tone would be?

MR. BUCHEN. In a general way, yes.

Q. You are saying that the pardon had nothing to do with this letter agreement?

MR. BUCHEN. That was not a condition.

Q. This was a completely independent action?

MR. BUCHEN. Right. The negotiations for that agreement were started independently of even a consideration of a pardon.

Q. The decision to pardon was not made until after this agreement was obtained?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

Q. What you are saying, you cannot say there would have been a pardon if the agreement had not been made?

MR. BUCHEN. All I can say is that the President had the right not to grant a pardon because he had not finally made up his mind to do so.

Q. When did he make up his mind to do so?

MR. BUCHEN. I suppose until that pen got on paper or until he started making the statement.

Q. He made his decision after the agreement was made?

MR. BUCHEN. That—what went on in his mind, I don't know.

Q. When did he write the speech?

MR. BUCHEN. Last night.

Q. In sending this word through the emissary to Mr. Nixon, that he was thinking of or expected to pardon him but was reserving final judgment, was that in any way intended as encouragement to Mr. Nixon to get on with the final agreement and possibly offer the kind of a statement that he did offer today?

MR. BUCHEN. That was not the intent. If it created that impression, it was a wrong impression.

Q. Mr. Buchen, you just said that the President had an indication in a general way of the content of the former President's statement. If I may ask a two-part question: How did he obtain this indication, and did he believe, or was he informed, that the statement would be one of contrition?

MR. BUCHEN. The report was through the mouth of Benton Becker, and the characterization of it as an act of contrition is mine.

Q. Excuse me, then. What general feeling did the President have that the statement would be, what indica-

tion did he have of what the statement would be? How was it characterized by Mr. Becker?

MR. BUCHEN. He in general told the President what it would amount to and particularly called attention to the fact that there would be an acknowledgement of failure to act decisively and forthrightly on the matter of the Water-gate break-in after it became a judicial proceeding.

Q. Was that negotiated at all?

MR. BUCHEN. It was not negotiated.

Q. Was Mr. Becker informed of that on Thursday at the time he went out there?

MR. BUCHEN. I think he was informed on Friday because he got out there very late on Thursday night.

Q. Do you know if that information had any effect on Mr. Ford's decision?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know. I am sure it pleased him and made him feel that it was easier for him to act as he contemplated doing.

MR. TERHORST. We will take three more questions.

Q. Would you please clear up some things about this letter of agreement? I am sorry, but it will take me some time to understand it. Let me see here if this is what it means. Unless there is a subpoena or a court order which Mr. Nixon would reply to, any ordinary citizen of the United States, or any officials, outside of Sampson, could not just go in there and look at these tapes or listen to them, or see them at any time? They will be shut off completely to the public?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

Q. Mr. Buchen, why is the date of July 1969 mentioned in the pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. It is January, the date of inauguration, January 20. President Ford misspoke when he used the word "July."

Q. How complete was your explanation of the case against the former President by Mr. Jaworski? Did he go into what areas that he might be pursuing, what he heard on the tapes that have not been made public? Anything like that?

MR. BUCHEN. The question asked him what matters could arguably involve further steps, and it read like a list from one of your newspapers.

Q. Did Mr. Becker talk strictly with you or did he ever speak to Mr. Ford? Did he deal strictly with you?

MR. BUCHEN. Oh, no; he was also in the room on occasions when I was speaking to the President.

Q. Why did he pick Becker to do this?

MR. BUCHEN. Part of the problem, as you may know, is we have a rather understaffed legal staff here and Mr. Becker is a man of rare talent that helped during the confirmation hearings of the Vice President, and he is such a good and trusted friend of both of ours that we felt he was the one we should call on.

REPORTER. Thank you.

MR. BUCHEN. All I am going to say is, for the tapes there will be two 5-year windows. The first of the 5-year

windows involves controlled access by the former President for his listening to copies of tapes, copies to be made by an operator who himself does not listen to the originals.

Also, during the first 5-year window, anyone with a legitimate court subpoena or order that is upheld can have access or can require the former President to furnish the information contained on relevant portions of the tapes.

At the end of that first 5-year period, the former President retains his window, but also can order selective destruction of tapes. At the end of the 10-year period, they all get destroyed, all that remain.

Q. In the second 5-year window, is that just by persons who have legitimate subpoenas and court orders closed off?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right, because there is a 5-year statute of limitations on most, in fact on all, Federal offenses and most civil matters, so it is assumed the initial 5-year window is long enough.

Q. What is the limit on destruction after 5 years plus 1 day, or can he destroy them all?

MR. BUCHEN. He can.

Q. He can?

MR. BUCHEN. He can order them destroyed.

Q. If they were making any copies, would the originals then be destroyed in the second 5-year window?

MR. BUCHEN. The originals will be destroyed. The copies will be destroyed immediately after they are used.

Q. And he could do it after 5 years and one day for everything?

MR. BUCHEN. Right.

Q. Now can you go then from there to the documents?

MR. BUCHEN. The documents are in a different category. There is no present gift of the documents as distinguished from the tapes. However, there is a 3-year period when there will be controlled access by the owner of those documents requiring the double-key arrangement with the General Services Administrator. And the former President is under obligation to respond to any subpoena involving documents, just as he is to those involving tapes.

Q. Could you repeat that last—

MR. BUCHEN. During the 3-year period involving documents, the former President will be under obligation to respond to subpoenas involving those documents. At any time, the former President can designate certain documents by description to become the absolute property of the United States.

However, after the 3-year period, he may either elect to complete his gifts or to withdraw materials as he desires. These are documentary materials.

Q. Why the 3-year limit?

MR. BUCHEN. We felt that as a practical matter on the documentation that would be long enough. It gives everybody a warning. Obviously if there is a subpoena out that

was obtained within the 3 years and the matter of its resolution has not been concluded, the subpoena would prevail.

Q. Can you destroy the documents after 3 years?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, if he wants to withdraw them.

Q. By the way, Mr. Buchen, I may be wrong in what I am about to say, but I am going to predicate a question on it, nevertheless.

I am under the impression that the tapes, as opposed to documents, the tapes were—that things such as tape recordings were not covered when Congress closed that loophole, and for that reason, the former President could donate those tapes to the Government and claim a tax exemption.

Your second window, the 10-year time for destruction appears to rule that out; is that right?

MR. BUCHEN. He has already given them to the U.S. Government to be a gift effective at the end of the 5-year period.

Q. After he destroys them all?

MR. BUCHEN. He can't destroy them during the first 5-year period.

Q. He has given them as a gift to the United States—we are talking about tapes now—he has given them as a gift to the United States for 5 years; is that right?

MR. BUCHEN. No, it is the other way around. He has retained title for 5 years, and the gift takes effect at the end of the fifth year.

Q. But he can destroy his gift?

MR. BUCHEN. He doesn't have access to them.

Q. But he can the next day. Didn't you say 5 years and 1 day he could destroy them all?

MR. BUCHEN. He can order their destruction.

Q. What can he do with the copies? Can he dispose of them for his own purpose?

MR. BUCHEN. No, the copies will go back into the hands of the General Services Administrator, and they will be destroyed after he has listened to them.

Q. Mr. Buchen, after the 10-year period, is it mandated that the tapes, all tapes and all copies, be destroyed?

MR. BUCHEN. That is a condition.

Q. So, his gift in the second 5 years is a limited gift, in time it is a limited gift, say limited to 5 years; is that right?

MR. BUCHEN. No.

Q. You say he has given them to the United States?

MR. BUCHEN. Effective 10 years from now.

Q. Why are they going to be destroyed after 5 years?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, maybe they never should have been made in the first place. This was his desire, and I think it is consistent with the fact that these matters do involve conversations with people who had no realization that their voices were being recorded.

As an old spokesman for the right of privacy, I think there is considerable merit for putting these in a separate category from documents.

Q. Mr. Buchen, was any consideration given to the right of history and historians?

MR. BUCHEN. I am sure the historians will protest, but I think historians cannot complain if evidence for history is not perpetuated which shouldn't have been created in the first place.

Q. Is there anything he can keep, or intends to keep?

MR. BUCHEN. I am sure there are items in the documents that he would intend to keep. Of course, it would involve family letters, things of a highly personal nature.

Q. Mr. Buchen, if it is Mr. Nixon's desire to destroy the tapes after 10 years, would it not be logical to assume he will destroy them after 5 years?

MR. BUCHEN. That is his option, order them destroyed.

Q. What about the gift option, the tax deduction option?

MR. BUCHEN. I am not his tax lawyer and it seems to me if you give a gift with instructions that the items have to be destroyed, that the gift immediately loses its value, so I would think it would be very questionable.

Q. What about the President, though? Could he—

MR. BUCHEN. They will not be perpetuated beyond the limited use.

Q. Does the word "copies" include written transcripts as well as the originals?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes.

Q. As a practical matter, at the end of 5 years, then all the tapes will be destroyed except those under subpoena?

MR. BUCHEN. No, because he reserves the right to keep the window open for himself for another 5 years.

Q. Just the President, no public?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

Q. Is it a question they can be destroyed in 5 years, but must be destroyed in 10 years?

MR. BUCHEN. They can't be destroyed short of 5 years.

Q. Mr. Buchen, Prosecutor Jaworski gave no indication that he objected to the pardon. Is it your impression that he sort of feels relieved?

MR. BUCHEN. Wouldn't you if you were in his place?

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: Press Secretary J. F. terHorst introduced Mr. Buchen at 12:12 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

For a further news conference by Mr. Buchen, see page 1123 of this issue.

Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974

Statement by the President Following Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. September 8, 1974

Late Saturday, I signed into law S. 821, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974.

This is the first piece of legislation to reach my desk for action in the field of prevention and reduction of crime among our youth. Its passage by very strong majorities in both bodies of the Congress represents a continuation of our national commitment to reduce juvenile delinquency in the United States, to keep juveniles from entering the treadmill of the criminal process, and to guarantee procedural and Constitutional protection to juveniles under Federal jurisdiction.

This national commitment is one of partnership with State and local governments through which, together, we spend over \$10 billion per year for criminal justice programs.

During the course of this bill's passage through the Congress, the executive branch voiced serious reservations with regard to several of its provisions for organizational change and fund authorizations. I continue to be concerned about these provisions—especially the threat they carry with regard to increased Federal spending at a time when the economic situation demands across-the-board restraint, especially in the Federal budget.

Therefore, I do not intend to seek appropriations for the new programs authorized in the bill in excess of amounts included in the 1975 budget until the general need for restricting Federal spending has abated. In the interim, the estimated \$155 million in spending already provided under current programs will provide a continuation of strong Federal support.

This bill represents a constructive effort to consolidate policy direction and coordination of all Federal programs to assist States and localities in dealing with the problems of juvenile delinquency. The direction of our Federal programs has been fragmented for too long. This restructuring of present operation and authority will better assist State and local governments to carry out the responsibilities in this field, which should remain with them. Hopefully, the result will be greater security for all citizens and more purpose, sense, and happiness in the lives of young Americans.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 821) is Public Law 93-415, approved September 7, 1974.

Federal Employees Compensation Benefits

Statement by the President Following Signing of Bill Providing Increased Benefits for Employees and Their Survivors. September 8, 1974

On Saturday, I signed into law H.R. 13871, the 1974 amendments to the Federal Employees' Compensation Act. This act provides workers' compensation benefits for Federal employees injured or killed in the performance

of duty. Since the law was last amended over 8 years ago, a number of social and economic developments have made it necessary to update and revise the requirements regarding compensation benefits for injured Federal workers. I feel this new legislation meets those changing conditions.

This bill will provide for improved protection against rising costs for Federal employees and survivors who receive benefits. It also guarantees reemployment rights at the same or an equivalent position upon recovery within certain time limitations. Finally, the bill increases compensation benefits for survivors.

Therefore, I am pleased to sign this bill which will assure quality protection for a very deserving group of workers—the Nation's Federal employees.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 13871) is Public Law 93-416, approved September 7, 1974.

Resignation of the Press Secretary

Statement by the President Following the Resignation of J. F. terHorst. September 8, 1974

I deeply regret Jerry terHorst's resignation. I understand his position. I appreciate the fact that good people will differ with me on this very difficult decision. However, it is my judgment that it is in the best interest of our country. I think Jerry did an outstanding job in a controversial period of transition. I thank him for his service.

NOTE: The statement was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Sixth International Conference on Urban Transportation

The President's Remarks at the Meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. September 9, 1974

Will Rockwell, Senators Scott and Schweiker, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Governor Shapp, Mayor Flaherty, distinguished local officials, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great privilege and an exceedingly high honor for me to participate in this conference on urban transportation, and I am especially grateful to be participating here in the Golden Triangle in the area where the city of Pittsburgh has done so much in the field of urban transportation.

And may I also express my appreciation for the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Claude Brinegar, and

Mr. Russell Train of the Environmental Protection Agency for joining me on this trip on this occasion.

I am told that some people in Europe heard about my nomination of Governor Rockefeller and concluded that we had solved our transportation problems in America. The Europeans said that we now have a combination of a Ford—who makes automobiles—and a Rockefeller—who makes gasoline.

In any event, you are international authorities on—all of you are international authorities on urban transportation. You know better than I that we have too many automobiles at the wrong place and at the wrong time, and not enough gasoline at the right place at the right time.

So, it is essential that you in this conference proceed, move ahead with the problems that you see and the problems that must be solved.

Even though I am not in the transportation business, I am dedicated to the revival of efficient transportation in our great urban centers here in the United States. Pittsburgh, where we are meeting, in the Golden Triangle, has done an effective and efficient job, and I compliment the citizens and public officials who have made this possible.

Your theme of this conference—"Marketing Urban Renaissance"—is appropriate, appropriate not only for those of us in America but, I think, worldwide. And all of our cities obviously will be observing the work, the recommendations, the proposals that come from this conference.

The relationship between urban regeneration and urban transportation is extremely close. Among our most pressing urban problems—and your presence here highlights it—is transportation, especially the automobile. For the last 25 years, two decades and a half, automobiles have been the most important factor in shaping urban centers and expanding suburbs. The statisticians tell me that there are some 100 million automobiles on nearly 4 million miles of American streets and highways. That makes one automobile for every two Americans, and most of those 100 million cars are in our way when any one of us tries to go downtown.

Many Americans have moved to suburbs where there is less and less traffic. My wife, Betty, and I can vouch for the very restful suburban life, and we picked it for reasons that most Americans select it. We raised our family in Alexandria, Virginia, just outside of Washington, D.C., and on a personal note, I miss it, especially my backyard swimming pool.

In the last two decades, suburban population grew far faster than our central city population. And in some instances, the population growth in our suburbs resulted in an actual numerical decline in our central cities. Americans, as a result, by the millions on a day-to-day basis, drive to and from work. Most took the road or the highway or the street, approximately at the same time of day

as everybody else. Frankly, I admire the fortitude and the driving skill of the millions of Americans who are on time going to work without police and Secret Service escorts. And may I thank the Governor and the Mayor for the State and local police in Pittsburgh for their fine courtesy and efficiency this morning.

I am sure everyone, everyone here especially, along with thousands, or literally millions of other Americans have been caught in rush-hour traffic jams. I know I have for a number of years while serving in the House of Representatives and living in Alexandria. Sitting in bumper-to-bumper traffic has become a way of life to far too many Americans.

As a Congressman, I was in New York City about 10 years ago, and I asked a New York City policeman the best way to get to Brooklyn, and he was very blunt in his answer. "Buddy," he said, "the best way to get to Brooklyn is to be born there." [Laughter]

Obviously, America must have better solutions. That is what this conference is all about. Solutions must be found for the growing problems of congestion and pollution, challenges now complicated very severely by our energy conservation.

As a Michigander with the name of Ford, you can be sure I am not going to say anything unkind about automobiles. But it is self-evident that excessive use of cars in dense urban areas increases pollution levels, causes unbelievable traffic jams, massive headaches, and bumper-to-bumper tie-ups which burn too much scarce and expensive fuel.

I think last winter's serious energy crisis drove home a message to our fellow Americans. The net result is we must make major progress in improving urban transit. We must move promptly, we must have a well-planned, a well-coordinated action, an action program.

Priorities at the local level must be very carefully laid out. If there is to be a renaissance of urban transportation, that renaissance must be built on solid, defensible concepts.

We must, in this conference, address ourselves to the high priority need for action to halt the decline which has developed over the past decade in existing or traditional urban transit systems. And time is of the essence.

Progress, fortunately, is being made. The approximately 750 separate capital grants, totaling more than \$3 billion since 1970, which the Federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration made to our cities to buy buses and to add urban and commuter rail systems has certainly helped.

It was encouraging, I think, to find that mass transit ridership in the United States this past year has risen above last year's level. And I think it should be even more encouraging, this is the first time such an increase has taken place since the end of World War II.

Our Nation has to develop urban mass transit systems that people want to use. Until we develop those systems

that offer convenience, comfort, and reliability expected from the automobiles that Americans have been traditionally using, transit service, even in our most congested urban areas, will continue to be under-used.

That is why I believe this conference, with its accent on transit marketing, is exactly on the right target.

We know that most Americans for a wide variety of reasons have simply not bought the concept of public transit. Unlike the appealing and heavily used mass transit of cities like London, Paris, Montreal, Munich, and Moscow, public transportation in America is considered by most of our fellow Americans as a painful last resort.

There is a terrible reluctance to go from what they were brought up to use, to something that is new and different. There has to be something extra if we are going to achieve a viable mass transit system in most of our urban metropolitan areas.

But let's take a look—or a leaf, I should say, from the book of the automotive industry. They have done quite well with the product that they have promoted in our country. We must compete with the automakers in the effective promotion of products, in their imagination, enterprise, and marketing skills.

I don't think there is a group of men and women better qualified to carry out that mission than all of you here today. But I quickly add, I don't minimize the challenge that you are faced with.

Now, as we move to improve our transit systems, we must not lose sight of one very important fact: The automobile is and will continue to be our chief transportation vehicle. The automobile fits America's traditional life style.

No matter how plush the bus, no matter how comfortable the train, Americans, to one degree or another, will continue to drive their automobiles. The car will be with us for a long, long time to come.

But what we must do is to learn how best to live with them in the urban scene. We have to develop, to achieve the end that you seek, and we must have, we must develop and come forth with sound planning procedures, transit programs, and policies that are sufficiently flexible to match the diversity of our many, many cities.

I think diversity of the community is the key, and it does require some flexibility in our planning for an adequate, usable, desirable transit system.

Because of this diversity there is no one best transit solution that will fit all of our cities. Some are better suited for bus systems, others for subways, fixed guideway systems, or for a combination of such services.

And in developing these systems, long-term considerations require that transportation and land-use planning be closely coordinated. And this, of course, can only be done, in my judgment, wisely and well at the local level.

There is a legitimate and major role to be played by the Federal Government in assisting urban mass transit systems. But I emphasize here that role must be carried

out in complete and total partnership with States and localities. The heavy hand of the Federal Government must not be the dictator that tells how Pittsburgh or other communities should utilize their systems or the funding.

Obviously, we will help with urban planning, although under the new better communities legislation recently approved, local planning and decisionmaking will be controlling.

The Federal Government will assist with important technological development, yet it should be clearly understood that the chief objective of the Department of Transportation grant programs is to help cities solve their transportation problems. It is not a program primarily aimed at the restructuring and rebuilding of our cities in America.

Federal assistance, as I see it, must be primarily directed at finding cost-efficient solutions to the problem of moving people. It must only secondarily be viewed as a means to stimulate urban area economic growth or to increase central city density.

Federal taxpayers just can't afford to pay for the whole package, and I won't ask them to do so.

Washington, obviously, has to help with the funding, but that funding must have realistic restraints. This is especially true as the Congress, Members of the House and the Senate, join with the White House as inflation fighters in a policy of fiscal responsibility. Investments in local mass transit systems must have reasonable cost-to-benefit ratios or relationships. The House-passed Federal Mass Transit Act of 1974 proposes an \$11 billion spread over a 6-year period and, I add emphatically, an absolute upper dollar limit.

In addition, I have a problem with the program structure in the House bill and its treatment of Federal operating assistance for public transit. A committee of the Senate will be considering a transit bill whose program structure is similar to the Administration's transit proposal. I am confident that this problem, or this conflict between the House and Senate versions, can be overcome in a House and Senate conference.

It is probably known to many here, I have opposed in the past transit operating subsidies, particularly out of the Highway Trust Fund, because of my strong belief that such a program would lead to the Federal Government in the local day-to-day transit operating matters. And also, I have learned, from my experience with other Federal categorical grant programs for operating expenses, that these funds often do not result in better or more service. Instead, they simply result in greater cost and less efficiency.

It is my conclusion, however, that our current inflexible urban mass transit grant program encourages States, encourages cities to adopt what you can call capital intensive solutions, such as subways, as a response to their transportation problems.

Accordingly, as a compromise for my own long, deeply held previous convictions, I am supporting some limited

Federal operating assistance such as the proposal I mentioned a few moments ago, submitted in February and currently being considered by the Senate.

I recognize that this change will allow a limited portion of Federal urban transit funds to be used for operating expenses as an integral part of a comprehensive transit program and as a result, primarily, of decisions by local and State officials.

The key here, therefore, is that Federal officials are not involved in the capital operating tradeoff. Local officials will make that decision.

And although the operating assistance provisions of the House bill do not meet these standards, the Senate will have, and I hope does, correct this deficiency, and I trust the final version will contain that specific provision.

I am convinced that with enough imagination, with enough determination, with enough flexibility, and with careful ordering of your local priorities, we can achieve our national transportation goals. I am determined to do so without further feeding the fires of inflation or busting the Federal budget.

Let me leave you with one final thought. From the early days of this Nation, we have been a mobile people. We have carved canals out of the countryside to carry our commerce. We journeyed west following the only roadmaps we knew, the wagon ruts of those who had gone before.

Today, with modern methods of movement, we have achieved miracles of mobility in America and in many, many parts of the world. But we have to maintain and expand the avenues of movement for all Americans, young and old, rich and poor.

The wheels of this Nation cannot stop turning, whether they are on cars, or trucks, or buses, or trains, or planes. If we are to continue to be a great Nation, and I think we will, as Americans we must move forward together in the future.

With your dedicated, inspired efforts here this week, I think you can contribute very significantly to make this journey a memorable one in the years ahead.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. at the Pittsburgh Hilton Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

United Nations General Assembly

Announcement of Nomination of United States Delegation to the 29th Session. September 10, 1974

The President today has announced his intention to nominate five persons to be the Representatives and Alternate Representatives who will constitute the United States Delegation to the 29th Session of the United Na-

tions General Assembly which opens on September 17, 1974.

Those to be nominated as U.S. Representatives are:

- JOHN A. SCALI, of the District of Columbia, U.S. Representative to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and U.S. Representative in the Security Council
- W. TAPLEY BENNETT, JR., of Georgia, Deputy Representative of the U.S. to the United Nations, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
- STUART SYMINGTON, U.S. Senator from the State of Missouri
- CHARLES H. PERCY, U.S. Senator from the State of Illinois
- THOMAS H. KUCHEL, of California, partner in the law firm of Wyman, Bautzer, Fincell, Rothman and Kuchel, California and Washington, D.C.

Those to be nominated as Alternate Representatives are:

- OLIVER C. CARMICHAEL, JR., of South Bend, Ind., chairman and chief executive officer, Associates Corp. of North America and Associates First Capital Corp., South Bend, Ind.
- JOSEPH M. SEGEL, of Merion, Pa., chairman of the board of governors of the United Nations Association of the USA
- WILLIAM E. SCHAUFLE, JR., of Avon Lake, Ohio, Deputy Representative of the U.S. in the Security Council of the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador
- CLARENCE CLYDE FERGUSON, JR., of East Orange, N.J., Representative of the U.S. on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations with the rank of Ambassador
- BARBARA M. WHITE, of Massachusetts, Alternate Representative of the U.S. for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador

The Secretary of State, the Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, will serve as Chairman of the Delegation, ex officio, during his presence, at the session.

International Atomic Energy Agency

Announcement of Intention To Nominate U.S. Representative and Alternate Representatives to the 18th Session of the Agency's General Conference. September 10, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate five persons to be the Representative and Alternate Representatives of the United States to the 18th Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency which is to be held in Vienna, Austria, from September 16 through September 20, 1974:

Representative:

DIXY LEE RAY, Tacoma, Wash., Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission

Alternate Representatives:

JOHN A. ERLEWINE, Silver Spring, Md., General Manager, Atomic Energy Commission

ABRAHAM S. FRIEDMAN, New York, N.Y., Division of International Programs, Atomic Energy Commission

DWIGHT J. PORTER, Omaha, Nebr., Deputy United States Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency

GERALD F. TAPE, Bethesda, Md., United States Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency

The International Atomic Energy Agency, which is currently composed of 103 member states, meets in general conference annually. At these sessions, they discuss the Agency's budget, determine which countries will serve on the Board of Governors, and take up other matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The Agency was set up by the United Nations in 1957, to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world. It ensures that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used to further any military purpose.

Special Assistant to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Warren S. Rustand To Serve as Appointments Secretary. September 10, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Warren S. Rustand of Tucson, Ariz., as Appointments Secretary to the President. He had served as Director of Scheduling and Advance Operations on the staff of the Vice President since December 18, 1973.

From 1970 to 1973, Mr. Rustand was president of Executive Analysts, Inc., of Tucson, Ariz., an asset management firm. In 1969, he became president of Warren Rustand Associates, an insurance and mutual funds company. From 1965 to 1968, he was a faculty member at the University of Arizona, and was a high draft choice of the San Francisco Warriors, and played basketball for the Phillips 66'ers.

He was born in Fergus Falls, Minn., on January 3, 1943. Mr. Rustand received his B.S. degree in 1965 and his M.A. degree in 1971 from the University of Arizona. He was selected as an All-American basketball player and received the Merrill Freeman Award as the University's outstanding graduate.

Prior to coming to Washington, Mr. Rustand was a member of the board of directors of the Tucson Y.M.C.A., chairman of the Recreation Planning Commission, and member of the Master Planning Commission.

He is married to the former Carson Boice of Phoenix, Ariz., and they have three children. They reside in McLean, Va.

Pardon and Agreement on Presidential Materials of Richard Nixon

News Conference of Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President. September 10, 1974

MR. HUSHEN. AS I announced earlier, Mr. Philip Buchen, the Counsel to the President, has agreed to come back out here today to answer some of the questions you have.

Let me say we are going to give them 60 seconds to get some photographs and then they will go away. *[Laughter]*

Let me say at the outset that the document that is about to be handed out is embargoed until the completion of the briefing.

MR. BUCHEN. This is a followup, of course, of the meeting we had on Sunday. And at that time someone asked the question about the disclosures made to me by Special Prosecutor Jaworski to the areas of investigation in which his special force was engaged.

And my answer was that the question asked him was: "What matters could arguably involve further steps?" And I reported that it read like a list from one of your newspapers.

You have now before you the document that was furnished to me and, although the copy of the Special Prosecutor's memorandum from Henry Ruth to the Special Prosecutor dated September 3, 1974, on the subject of Mr. Nixon was sent to me in confidence, Mr. Jaworski has since advised me that if I were willing to assume the responsibility for its release, he would raise no objection to my doing so.

However, he cautioned that in the event of its release, he would expect that it be made available in its entirety, including the first and last paragraphs of the memorandum, and I quote that the first paragraph reads:

"The following matters are still under investigation in this Office and may prove to have some direct connection to activities in which Mr. Nixon is personally involved:"

At the conclusion of the memorandum, Mr. Ruth, in reporting to Special Prosecutor Jaworski, wrote:

"None of these matters at the moment rises to the level of our ability to prove even a probable criminal violation by Mr. Nixon, but I thought you ought to know which of the pending investigations were even remotely connected to Mr. Nixon. Of course, the Watergate coverup is the subject of a separate memorandum."

Now I will try to field any questions.

Q. Tell us about considering pardons for everybody involved in Watergate.

MR. BUCHEN. I am not involved in that matter.

Q. Well, who is?

MR. BUCHEN. I said at the time of the last press conference to my knowledge no thought was being given to

that, and I have not been called in to do any part of the study so far. I assume I will be.

Q. Who is at this point?

Q. Who is considering this, the President?

MR. BUCHEN. The President made the statement.

Q. Mr. Buchen, can you tell us if anyone tried to persuade Mr. Nixon to confess guilt prior to the granting of the pardon by President Ford?

MR. BUCHEN. NO. Mr. Miller, at the time that I informed him that the President was considering a possible pardon for Mr. Nixon, was told by me that I thought it would be very beneficial in the interests of the country, in the interests of the present Administration, and in the interest of the former President, that as full a statement as possible should be issued by Mr. Nixon, but that I had been told that that was not a condition to the consideration of a pardon.

Mr. Miller at that time assured me that he agreed with me that such a statement should be forthcoming from his client.

Q. Mr. Buchen, I was wondering if—as the President's legal counsel—would you advise that the President in this study about the possibility of giving amnesty to all the Watergate people, that excluded from the people doing the study should be all Nixon holdovers? Would you advise, or do you think it is reasonable for Nixon holdovers to participate in a study of possible amnesty to all Nixon defendants?

MR. BUCHEN. I think that is a decision the President will have to instruct me on.

Q. How would you advise him?

Q. Did you finish your answer to the earlier question?

MR. BUCHEN. I was finished.

Q. Could I follow up then, sir? Did the former President balk at this, was there negotiation on what finally came out in his statement afterwards?

Did you see that statement, sir, or did anyone else in the White House see it prior to its issuance?

MR. BUCHEN. When Mr. Becker came back from San Clemente, he was able to report the substance of the statement that he thought would be forthcoming after the announcement was made. But we did not have the statement in the form in which it was ultimately delivered.

Q. Are you satisfied that this was as full a statement as possible coming from the former President?

MR. BUCHEN. That is something that I think would require going into the former President's mind. Obviously, if you do not condition an act of mercy on the recipient of the mercy doing anything, you are not in a position to do much bargaining.

Q. Mr. Buchen, did Mr. Becker go to San Clemente with a much stronger statement, or a statement—

MR. BUCHEN. He had no statement in hand.

Q. You say he came back with a statement—he reported the substance of the statement he thought would

be forthcoming. Was that substance substantially different from the statement that was then issued?

MR. BUCHEN. No, the essential feature was the statement that the President believed he had not acted decisively and forthrightly in respect to the Watergate once it became a judicial proceeding, and the regret for having done wrong was in the report that Becker gave us.

Q. Was it your hope or intention early in those negotiations to get Mr. Nixon to agree to a statement in which he admitted his own personal wrongdoing and guilt and involvement in the Watergate coverup?

MR. BUCHEN. Again I had to rely on what Mr. Miller believed would be in the best interests of his client and the country, because I had no authority to extract a statement of my own making.

Q. Not what was in the former President's mind, but what was in your mind—do you think that the final statement met the standards that you and Mr. Miller discussed at the meeting?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I think they did, because as some of your papers have already suggested, the very fact that a man accepts a pardon does imply that he believes it is necessary for him to have that pardon, or that it is useful for him to have that pardon.

And there aren't many instances in which it is useful to have a pardon unless there is a strong probability of guilt.

Q. Mr. Buchen, do you think that you and President Ford misread the public's acceptance of the terms of this pardon and the acceptance in Congress?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I was not doing much reading on the outside as to what might happen. That was really outside my bailiwick, so I cannot tell you.

Q. Mr. Buchen, do you and the President hope that the former President will at some time, perhaps in the near future, release some kind of formal statement detailing further his connection with Watergate?

MR. BUCHEN. I have not given that any thought, and I assume that would be entirely up to the former President.

Q. Mr. Buchen, you were involved in the preaccession negotiations and pretransition operations of the Ford Administration. Was there at any time any discussion between any high-ranking member of the Ford group and any member of the Nixon group as to the possibility of a pardon for Nixon in advance of his leaving office?

MR. BUCHEN. I answered that question Sunday and, to my knowledge, there was absolutely none and it never came up as a matter to be discussed by the transition team. And I think I participated in virtually all meetings of the transition team.

Q. How about between Ford and Nixon alone?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't believe so.

Q. Can we find out definitely whether there was no deal before Nixon left office?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I know the man in the present office quite well, and I can assure you he did not make a deal. I know him that well.

Q. Mr. Buchen, he assured us in a press conference it would be untimely to do such a thing, and he assured us when he was nominated for Vice President that the American people would not stand for it. Can you give us an explanation of this?

MR. BUCHEN. Let's take the first. The matter of untimeliness seems to me to involve a debate that really makes little sense, because a man who had to consider whether or not to grant a pardon, it seems to me, has to consider the fact that if a pardon is desirable, the earlier it comes, the better.

It is like making a man walk a plank. You wait until he takes the first step. You wait until he gets to the middle of the plank. You wait until he jumps off the end, and then dive in to rescue him. I think it represents—let me put it this way: I don't think an act of mercy can ever be untimely, and it certainly becomes less merciful if you postpone the agony.

Q. Mr. Buchen, in that statement you are suggesting that the former President was going to go off the end of the plank?

MR. BUCHEN. I think there was strong probability.

Q. When Mr. Becker was out at San Clemente, did he discuss in the President's presence what the President might say in a statement, and did the President get angry at the suggestions that he admit guilt?

MR. BUCHEN. I think those negotiations were entirely with Mr. Ziegler, so I don't think we have any knowledge of what the President—

Q. The New York Times this morning reports it as I've quoted it.

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, but I think that's completely in error.

Q. You better clear up what you mean by "walking the plank"; do you mean suicide or going to jail?

MR. BUCHEN. No, as I understand the law of "walking the planks," it is because the man has been convicted of some crime that offended the master of the ship—or not convicted, say indicted.

Q. What about the question of health, Mr. Buchen? How did that figure into this decision?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know because I wasn't party to any of the investigations or discussions, if there were any, about the former President's health.

Q. Did you say Mr. Becker at no time spoke to Mr. Nixon in San Clemente?

MR. BUCHEN. I didn't say that.

Q. I thought you said the negotiations were entirely with Mr. Ziegler.

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know whether there were negotiations, but the matter of the content of the former President's statement which he contemplated giving when

the pardon was issued was dealt with entirely through Ron Ziegler. The only face-to-face matters taken up with the former President dealt with the manner of managing and disposing of his papers and tapes.

Q. Mr. Buchen, did Mr. terHorst ask you on Friday whether Mr. Becker was involved in discussing a pardon with the former President during his trip to California, and if he did, what did you tell him?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, we better clear that one up.

Jerry terHorst reported to me that someone had observed Benton Becker and Jack Miller in the area of San Clemente. Jerry terHorst asked me what the purpose of my having sent Benton Becker out to San Clemente was, and I said that the purpose was to take a document that had been prepared in rough draft before he left Washington, had been prepared by Mr. Miller, which related to the management and disposition of the tapes and records.

However, we objected and wanted changes in those documents, partly because we were concerned as to the practicality of some of the proposals made insofar as they involved the Administrator of the General Services Administration.

The matter is very complex, as you see, so I suggested when Mr. Miller said he would have to go and discuss the terms of that document with his client that Mr. Becker go along, so that there would be a way that Mr. Becker could be on hand as changes, additions, or whatnot were proposed, and so that he would be available to report back to me on the progress of the negotiations. That was the purpose of his assignment.

Q. We specifically asked you if Mr. Becker was out there engaging in pardon negotiations.

MR. BUCHEN. There were no pardon negotiations, that is the point.

Q. Anything at all?

Q. You sent him out with instructions to say that the President had this under consideration?

Q. Would you answer my question, please?

MR. BUCHEN. Mr. Miller knew that the pardon was under consideration, and he could report to his client. It was not necessary for Mr. Becker to do anything in connection with the pardon.

Q. Didn't Mr. Becker take out a copy of the proposed pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, he did. It was a draft that he and I had worked on very hurriedly Thursday afternoon before he had to leave on the plane. I said, "Benton, you are going to be 5 hours on that plane. Take a copy along; keep working on it. I don't think it is in the form we want to submit to the President for his consideration. Take it along and work on it."

Q. You didn't tell Mr. terHorst that?

MR. BUCHEN. No. I will explain. As you may appreciate, being counsel to anyone, or lawyer to anyone, im-

poses certain restrictions. And I believed, on this matter, I was under complete restriction as a lawyer to the President not to disclose what I was doing for the President on a matter that he regarded as highly confidential.

Q. Did the subject of pardon ever—

Q. Would you say that you misled Mr. terHorst on Friday?

MR. BUCHEN. Let me put it this way: I can see how he could have been misled.

Q. Can you see how he could not have been misled?

MR. BUCHEN. No, I can see how he could have been; I don't say he could not have been. After all, if you get a question, why is a man whom you have sent to San Clemente there, and I give him an answer, I can see when he in turn had to respond to the man, or the reporter making the inquiries, that he would inject a negative. Was he there doing anything else? And I assume that Jerry said, "Well, as far as I know, he wasn't," because I had not told him he was doing anything else.

Q. Did you tell him he wasn't out there discussing the pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. Oh, no.

Q. Why was it something you couldn't talk about?

MR. BUCHEN. I could talk about the negotiations on the tapes.

Q. When he asked you about the pardon?

MR. BUCHEN. He didn't ask me about the pardon.

Q. What was the precision of language used in President Nixon's statement?

MR. BUCHEN. Let me get the question.

Q. What was the need for the secrecy in the negotiations, whatever they were?

MR. BUCHEN. In the course of any client-attorney relationship, usually until something happens, you are under obligation—until something happens as a matter of public record—you are under obligation not to disclose the conversations.

Q. I mean, what was the need for secrecy about the fact that a pardon was being considered, generally, not just your conversations with the President?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, generally, that was the President's decision and not mine. I was just bound by my client-attorney relationship.

Q. Mr. Buchen, if Mr. Becker knew all about the pardon, the President seemed to trust him with that information, yet he didn't trust Mr. terHorst with that information?

Q. Or you didn't trust Mr. terHorst with it?

MR. BUCHEN. I had no power to subdelegate in passing information. The first question is why didn't the President trust Mr. terHorst to have the information at the same time I got it?

Q. No, I mean Mr. Becker. You are talking about the attorney-client relationship, which involves you and the President; Mr. Becker I assume is someone outside that

relationship, yet he knew about the pardon because he was working on the pardon agreements.

MR. BUCHEN. No, he had the same relationship that I had in terms of his being a lawyer and working under my supervision for a client. It's just as in a law office, if a client comes and talks to a partner and the partner assigns an associate to work on the problem, the obligation of confidentiality extends to the other lawyer as well as the original one.

Q. Can you be forthright with us on what is your advice to the President on pardoning other individuals associated with the—

MR. BUCHEN. I have not given him any advice.

Q. What would be your advice; how do you see the issue?

MR. BUCHEN. I haven't even had time to study it.

Q. When did the President's other advisers find out that the pardon was under consideration or was to be granted, and did they agree with it when they found out about it?

Q. And did you?

MR. BUCHEN. I was in the room at the time when certain advisers were told about it on Friday before Labor Day, but I don't feel free to report their reactions.

Q. Can you tell us what role General Haig played in this granting of the pardon? He was in on all of this all the time, wasn't he? Was he recommending a pardon during this period?

Q. What was the question?

MR. BUCHEN. I was asked that question last night, and I can tell you that at every occasion when I was present when the subject was raised and General Haig was there, he took an absolutely neutral stand.

Q. Mr. Buchen, you say you are not part of the study of the pardon for the other Watergate defendants. Can you tell me when you became aware that that study was in the works?

MR. BUCHEN. I learned from Mr. Hartmann and Mr. Hushen that this matter was brought up at the early morning conference that the two of them had.

Q. Who brought it up?

Q. Today, for the first time?

Q. Did you say there was a connection between his consideration of a pardon for the others and the reaction against the pardon for Nixon? And secondly, if you are the President's lawyer and you are not working on it, who is?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I don't know, Ron. I really don't.

Q. What about the first part of that question; is he trying to dampen down the reaction by giving out pardons to the others?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I don't interpret studying a problem as predicting what the results would be.

Q. Mr. Buchen, as a lawyer, can you see a distinction between a President granting a pardon to a former President and granting pardons or not granting pardons to

former subordinates for involvement in the same illegal acts?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, there certainly is a distinction. I will later have available for distribution—because I don't think there will be many questions on it—a memorandum, a copy of a memorandum that Mr. Jack Miller prepared for the Special Prosecutor in which he rather carefully documents the reason why the situation of his client is distinguishable from the situation of anybody else even remotely involved in the acts, or Watergate-related events.

And as you will remember I quoted the letter from Mr. Jaworski who did say he thought there was a distinction. That was on Sunday.

Q. Phil, could I ask you this question: Does not the mere fact that the White House has made a statement saying that pardons for all Watergate defendants are under study, does that not intrude upon the judicial process to the point that the trial for the Watergate defendants, the trial now scheduled for September 30, is somehow intruded upon and interfered with by this statement?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I don't think so. You see, after all, the fact that there can be a pardon hangs over the trial of anybody. That is not a unique situation. The power to pardon exists in the Federal Constitution and, I believe, in every State Constitution.

Q. This is a matter of great and intense national interest. It is not like the case of any defendant. This is a case of specific defendants that have been involved in a great national drama or what have you, so it is a different case, is it not?

MR. BUCHEN. Yes, but the Presidential pardon power, as well as that of a Governor of a State, hangs over the judicial process all the time.

Q. What purpose was served by announcing it this morning, or authorizing Jack Hushen to announce it this morning?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I was not party to that determination, so I can't tell you.

Q. What purpose was served by the intention of releasing the Ruth-Jaworski letter on the 10 points?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, as I indicated, it was given to me on a confidential basis. The comments that have been made around town is that there was not a consideration given of what was, what someone else called "are there any possible time bombs," and we felt that it would be in the interest—provided Mr. Jaworski consented—that we do provide you with the information on which the President in part acted before he decided to grant the pardon.

Q. In this study that is being undertaken, sir, what is your understanding of the philosophy behind it—that families of all Watergate defendants have suffered enough, or what other considerations?

MR. BUCHEN. I can't go beyond the statement Jack gave you. That is all I know.

Q. Where did it first come up?

Q. Where did this subject of possible clemency for all other Watergate defendants first come up? You didn't make that clear. You said "an early morning conference."

Q. What morning?

MR. BUCHEN. This morning, I understand.

Q. What were the circumstances?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't know, except it was reported to me by Mr. Hartmann and Mr. Hushen that it was raised this morning.

Q. Where?

MR. BUCHEN. I assume with the President. I don't know the circumstances.

Q. Is this a reaction, Mr. Buchen? Is this consideration of the study, consideration of pardons, and the announcement of this study—is this a reaction to the popular outcry against the pardon of the former President?

MR. BUCHEN. I don't think so, because the fact that two people are brought into his confidence this morning and that confidence has been shared with you today, doesn't mean that that is when the thought came.

I explained on Sunday when the question was asked me as to whether any thought was given to the way in which the pardon power might be exercised, if at all, respecting other people involved, I said that to my knowledge—meaning that as far as I knew—no thought had been given. But that didn't mean that the thought processes weren't going on unbeknownst to me, or unbeknownst to the people who got the reports this morning.

Q. Mr. Buchen, in going back to my other question, you said mercy is never untimely. Was the President not merciful 10 days ago when he said it would be untimely, and was the President lacking in mercy when he told the committee that the American people wouldn't stand for it?

What caused him to be suddenly merciful? Could you tell us what happened?

MR. BUCHEN. I wish you would come up here and explain the theory of mercy. You can probably do a much better job than I can.

But let me tell you: It is not whether to be merciful, but how he could be merciful; and I do not think he was aware that he could act before there was any formal indictment when he made his statement before the press.

Q. Wasn't the President briefed on that very point before the news conference? Wasn't he briefed that there would be a question on pardon and this was a policy adopted?

MR. BUCHEN. That is right.

Q. Why was that policy changed—that there would be no pardon until there was due process?

MR. BUCHEN. You have lost me; I am sorry.

Q. He announced a policy at that news conference, and you say he was briefed on that policy.

MR. BUCHEN. He said that he would make no commitments. His intention then was to make no commitments on the pardon until something had been brought to him.

Q. Why was that changed?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, because after the conference I assume he reflected on the matter, and then asked me to find out whether or not he could move quicker than he had indicated at the press conference.

Q. Did you brief him prior to the news conference that the best policy was for him to wait until there was some—

MR. BUCHEN. No, I did not.

Q. With whom was he in touch with at that point? Can you tell us who he consulted between Wednesday and Friday when he asked you to begin your research into precedents?

MR. BUCHEN. I have no notion; I really don't, Pete.

Q. Mr. Buchen, what is your understanding of the status of the investigation referred to in the memo? Is Jaworski going on with his investigation into these points? Is he going to make the material public?

MR. BUCHEN. I know nothing more than appears in the memorandum.

Q. The Watergate coverup, it says, is the subject of a separate memorandum. Has that memorandum reached you?

MR. BUCHEN. It has not.

Q. Do you know what it concerns?

MR. BUCHEN. I can imagine what it concerns, but I have not seen it.

Q. Mr. Buchen, is it indicated to you, as a lawyer reading from this, that that, number one, is ongoing, and unlike this listing of 10 points which according to the memo may prove to have some direct connection, but then says there is no point we can prove regarding the connection with Mr. Nixon—does it indicate to you that is a different story entirely when it comes to the coverup?

MR. BUCHEN. As you know, this memorandum was issued before the pardon, so I don't know what the effect of the pardon has on the investigation referred to in the last paragraph.

Q. You must have had some indication from the Special Prosecutor as to where he stands with regard to the coverup investigation.

MR. BUCHEN. I do not.

Q. In preparing your advice for the President, did you address at all the time element of granting this pardon, with specific reference to the possibility that the Watergate coverup trial might be affected since the jury had not been sequestered?

MR. BUCHEN. I did not discuss that with the President, but I understand, of course, that, one, it is not certain the jury would be sequestered. I assume it is available to the attorneys for the defendant to waive any such request; and, second, I am not sure that a story like this could possibly have been kept from the jury, however tightly sequestered.

Q. Mr. Buchen, did you get from Mr. Ziegler or from Mr. Nixon, either after Mr. Becker returned here or while

he was there, some sort of commitment that the President would not in the future make statements protesting his innocence?

MR. BUCHEN. We did not.

Q. Mr. Buchen, are you saying that the President did not know or understand at the time of the August 28 press conference that the pardoning power could be exercised before indictment or conviction?

MR. BUCHEN. I certainly had not so advised him, and he had not asked my advice.

Q. You didn't say that? Do you have reason to believe that, that he didn't realize he could move before the indictment was voted?

MR. BUCHEN. That I don't know. I didn't ask him.

Q. You so far have not really given us any explanation for why Mr. Ford changed his mind after that press conference with the possible exception of his having received this documentation of the investigation.

Does that mean that the investigation turned out to be so serious that he thought the former President couldn't withstand it?

MR. BUCHEN. No; I think more significant than that was the advice that I reported Sunday, namely, that before there could be a trial, there would have to be a delay of a year or more, and I think that was the matter that concerned him most.

Q. Don't many trials take a year or more to come to the court or to settle? And why is Mr. Nixon to be treated any differently in this respect than anyone else?

MR. BUCHEN. Every defendant under the law is entitled to a prompt trial provided he can have a fair trial by an impartial jury.

Q. When did you advise the President of the long delay of 9 months or a year? Was that after the press conference?

MR. BUCHEN. He asked me after the press conference, or that Friday, to find the answer. So, apparently someone had told him that that probably would be the case.

But he wanted his own lawyer to ask the Special Prosecutor who would be the best judge of how long it might take, and that is the reason I went to Mr. Jaworski, so we would have an expert opinion, because I don't claim to be an expert. On the other hand, I also have read the cases that are cited by Mr. Nixon's own attorney who makes the same argument very effectively in a memorandum that you can all take back to your legal counsel, because I don't think you want to read it all.

Q. However, you did know that indictments could be very quick, the question of laying out the charges on the public record would not have taken very long—maybe a month; is that correct?

MR. BUCHEN. As you know, the word came out that the former President—then the President—was about to be named as an unindicted coconspirator, so that the indictment that is involved—that involves the present defendants, spells out everything that would probably have come out of an indictment of Mr. Nixon alone.

Q. But it is not the same, really.

MR. BUCHEN. I think it is pretty good evidence of what that jury intended to do, and would have done if there had not been a pardon.

Q. Was consideration given to the timing of when this jury would have done this, vis-a-vis the November elections?

MR. BUCHEN. It had nothing to do with the elections. However, it was evident that if it was the President's decision to grant a pardon before the indictment, he would have to act fairly soon because it was not possible, of course, to guide the grand jury in the time it would act.

Q. May I clear up a question here?

MR. BUCHEN. Let me get Phil first.

Q. In view of the last sentence in this memorandum, didn't you have any qualms about whether you could give the President full legal advice on what he could do? When it says here there are other matters and other memoranda which you have not seen, how could you give the President full advice on what he could do on the pardon in view of that?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, because we believed, of course, that the evidence before the House Judiciary Committee on this very point that resulted in the article that brought a unanimous vote ultimately, and based on particularly the June 23 tapes, gave every indication of what was involved in the alleged Watergate coverup. I didn't think we needed to know any more than that.

Q. I think my notes are correct, that is, you told us earlier, "I do not think he (the President) was aware that he could grant a pardon before an indictment when he made his press conference statement." Is that right?

MR. BUCHEN. As far as I know, I don't believe that he was or that he understood what, if any, problems—I am talking legal problems now—would arise if he acted before indictment.

Q. The President seemed to say in his news conference that he wouldn't act on the pardon until after an indictment, and your explanation, that there would be 9 months or a year, perhaps longer, before a trial, doesn't really go to the question of why he changed his mind about waiting until after an indictment to act on a pardon.

MR. BUCHEN. Well, I guess all I can go back to is my own analogy. If you are going to—if you do come to the conclusion you ought to consider mercy, it doesn't seem to be very relevant to consider what other steps you ought to require the man to whom you are granting mercy must take.

Q. And at the news conference he had not made up his mind yet?

MR. BUCHEN. He had not made up his mind.

Q. You are saying the main reason he changed his mind was because somebody told him there would be this long delay, and he asked you to check it out, and you did and said it would be. And then he decided to grant it right away. In the same period, did somebody tell him

that a 9-month or a year delay would wreck Nixon's health?

MR. BUCHEN. Not that I know of.

Q. Has there been any discussion about President Nixon testifying in the trials—has there been any discussion about the former President not wishing to testify or be a witness?

MR. BUCHEN. Well, he is under subpoena so he has no choice.

Q. I know, but if you are considering pardons, if there is consideration for others that would spare the former President from testifying, is that a consideration in this study?

MR. BUCHEN. I have not started the study, so I don't know.

Q. In your discussion of the coverup memorandum a moment ago, you said the June 23 tape told you everything you needed to know about that.

MR. BUCHEN. I didn't say everything. I also said the findings of the House Judiciary Committee.

Q. Right, and earlier you spoke of the necessity, the acceptance of the pardon, the necessity for the pardon. Does this mean that you and the President, in offering this pardon to the President, were making a presumption of guilt?

MR. BUCHEN. First, take the "you" pronoun out of that, and perhaps I can answer it. I did advise the President that a pardon could be characterized as implying guilt on the part of the person who was pardoned, because there is no other reason for granting a pardon. But that did not deter or affect his determination to act when he finally made up his mind to do so.

Q. From the perspective of the person who accepts the pardon, does the acceptance of the pardon amount to a tacit admission of guilt?

MR. BUCHEN. You can so read it. The question never came up, because I couldn't find in any cases where that question was litigated, so I can't give you any authority. But it just takes common sense and logic to reach that inference.

Let's have one of the women.

Q. Thank you.

Throughout this, we have heard solely about the consideration of an indictment and the lengthy period of time between indictment and trial. Did you try to determine from Mr. Jaworski the possibility of a plea from the former President? Now faced with the prospect of a multi-count indictment, as he was and as I am sure Mr. Miller advised him, it seems extremely likely there might have been a plea far sooner than there would ever have been an indictment and trial. Did you ask for any timing on this, and if not, why not?

MR. BUCHEN. I did consult, of course, with Mr. Nixon's attorney, and I was pretty sure from what he told me that in his mind there would never be a plea.

Q. There would have been a trial then? You are saying

he would have gone the whole route had he not been pardoned?

MR. BUCHEN. I believe so.

MR. HUSHEN. Let's take two more questions. We've been out here for 45 minutes. Two more questions.

Q. Maybe you have answered this. Why did President Ford want mercy for Richard Nixon?

MR. BUCHEN. Because I think he truly believed it would be in the best interests of the country.

Q. Mr. Buchen, if you are done with that answer, I would like to ask you, as a lawyer, do you think it not fair and proper that, if the President considers amnesty or granting a pardon for persons convicted for or indicted for burglary, perjury, conspiracy in Watergate-related crimes, that he should give equal consideration to pardoning other persons indicted or convicted of burglary, perjury, or conspiracy in non-Watergate related crimes?

MR. BUCHEN. I wish I were a better student of the ethics or morality of mercy, but I believe a representative of the clergy would substantiate my remarks that throughout our religious history—and I don't mean just the Christian religion—there has always been a separate category of mercy that we know has never been equally dispensed, and we know that it is an act of grace that is many times inexplicable.

I am sure all of us in the room have sought mercy on matters that we wanted to blame ourselves for or some adverse consequences, and we didn't always get mercy.

Mercy seems to work in very unequal fashion. That is a point on which Jerry terHorst and I have disagreed. He has a notion, as he said, that mercy should be dispensed with—in the same even-handed fashion as we would like to see justice dispensed.

But, I believe, history tells us mercy doesn't work the same way.

Q. Mr. Buchen—

MR. HUSHEN. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Q. Mr. Buchen, is there any limitation on the power of pardons?

MR. BUCHEN. I refer you to—

Q. Is there any limitation on this at all?

MR. BUCHEN. I refer you to the Constitution.

Q. Is there anything he could do that was more than this?

MR. BUCHEN. No, not that I could find in the Constitution; no.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: Deputy Press Secretary John W. Hushen introduced Mr. Buchen at 12:49 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. For Mr. Buchen's news conference of September 8, see page 1108 of this issue.

The White House Press Office also made available copies of the following documents:

—Memorandum to the Special Prosecutor from Henry Ruth of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force, concerning matters involving Mr. Nixon which were still under investigation.

—Memorandum to the Special Prosecutor from Herbert J. Miller, Jr., attorney, on behalf of Richard M. Nixon.

VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN OF ISRAEL

Exchange of Remarks Between the President and the Prime Minister at the Welcoming Ceremony on the South Lawn. September 10, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Rabin:*

It is a very real pleasure for me to have the opportunity of welcoming both of you to the United States.

You are returning as the leader of a great country. You are returning to meet many of your friends over the years that you knew so well during your service here as Ambassador to the United States.

I trust that you and Mrs. Rabin will thoroughly enjoy this visit back to the United States.

The United States, Mr. Prime Minister, has been proud of its association with the State of Israel. We shall continue to stand with Israel. We are committed to Israel's survival and security.

The United States for a quarter of a century has had an excellent relationship with the State of Israel. We have cooperated in many, many fields—in your security, in the well-being of the Middle East, and in leading what we all hope is a lasting peace throughout the world.

Many of our people have a close personal relationship and association with your citizens, your fellow citizens in Israel, and we hope and trust that this relationship will grow and expand.

Over the last few months, there has been movement in the Middle East for a lasting and durable peace. Israel has cooperated; Israel has been helpful. And we hope and trust that in the months ahead the foundation which has been laid will be built upon.

We want, you want, and others throughout the world want a lasting and durable peace in the Middle East.

The first steps have been taken; others will follow. And I am certain and positive that, as we meet here during the next several days, we can contribute to the building of a better and finer peace in the Middle East.

I hope that you and Mrs. Rabin have a delightful and warm welcome, which you so richly deserve, in the United States.

THE PRIME MINISTER. Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, I am grateful to you for your kind invitation to come to Washington and for your warm words of welcome.

As you know, Mr. President, I am not a complete stranger in this country, nor, indeed, in this city. But this is the first time that I come here in my capacity of Prime Minister of Israel.

You, Mr. President, have very recently undertaken new and awesome responsibilities, and I feel certain, therefore, that you can appreciate the weighty load that rests on my shoulders.

I represent a country which is faced—which is facing manifold problems, great challenges, but also great and new opportunities for internal progress and for peace with her neighbors.

In the performance of my new duties, I am encouraged, as all my predecessors have been, by their binding friendship and by the ever-deepening ties which bind the people of Israel with the people of this, the greatest democracy, and with its leaders.

Ever since the renewal of Jewish independence in the land of our forefathers, after long generations of suffering and martyrdom, Israel has

enjoyed generous aid and support on the part of the United States. Our gratitude for this sustenance will be recorded forever in the annals of our people.

During all these times since 1948, Israel has seen periods of trials and hardships. Yet she never swerved, even for a moment, from her supreme national goal, which is the quest for peace with her Arab neighbors.

So far, to our nation's deep sorrow, this goal has eluded us. Despite the recent test of arms, Israel is prepared to continue to seek progress towards peace.

We have in recent months demonstrated that we have taken risks for peace to see whether new efforts may possibly bring us nearer to its achievement.

I know, in this quest for peace in our region, we have in you, Mr. President, and in your colleagues in the Government of the United States, a strong and determined partner.

Indeed, you, Mr. President, pronounced the commitment of the United States to the quest of world peace as the central theme in your inaugural address only a few weeks ago.

The people of Israel stand united in the conviction that war is futile, that it cannot solve problems, that only human suffering is brought in its wake. As far as our part of the world is concerned, we are convinced that there is no issue, however complicated it may now appear, that it cannot be resolved by patient negotiations.

What is needed is an equal measure of desire and determination on all sides to achieve peace.

Much depends at this stage on what other governments in the area are prepared to do. At any rate, we in Israel are ready for the peace-making effort.

I must, however, with a full sense of responsibility, add this: As you, Mr. President, assumed high office you conveyed to your people and to the world the message that a strong America is a paramount guarantee for peace in the world. This is true in the same measure as far as Israel and her own region are concerned. Only a strong Israel which has the capacity to deter aggression and to defend herself successfully by her own strengths, has a chance of winning peace.

I cannot underline strongly enough our conviction that the constant maintenance of Israel's strength is an absolute prerequisite for the attainment of solutions to the problems of our troubled region.

On these and other matters of common interest and concern, I shall be exchanging views with you, Mr. President, and your colleagues, within the next few days. I look forward to doing so in the spirit of confidence and of the cultivation of a good future which has linked our governments and our people for so many years.

I am confident that I shall return to Jerusalem assured of the United States' determination to support the well-being of Israel within a Middle East that we hope that will finally be advancing on the road towards a just and durable peace which assures security and progress for all its people.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

Conference on Inflation

The President's Remarks to Labor Leaders and Members of Congress at the Second of a Series of Meetings Preliminary to the Summit Conference. September 11, 1974

Let me at the outset wish you all a good morning and to express my deep appreciation for your attendance at this very important and very critical meeting.

Naturally, I am very pleased to have in attendance the distinguished Members of the House and the Senate—both Democratic as well as Republican—and I am especially pleased to see so many outstanding labor leaders in the United States. And I warmly welcome each and every one of you.

Obviously, we have gathered here to deal with inflation and the immediate danger that is threatening every American, young and old, poor and well-to-do.

It is a very critical issue. I think the future of labor union members and all other Americans depends upon what we can achieve together in this campaign against inflation. And I wish to reemphasize my appreciation for your participation.

Some of you have generously accepted an additional burden by agreeing to participate in such other meetings. By so doing, you have indicated that you share with me the conviction that inflation is the most critical national domestic issue facing the United States.

I am grateful for your willingness to work together with me on a problem that transcends America's many special interests, whether Republican or Democratic, labor or business, urban or rural.

I think it also goes beyond any divisions based on age, sex, race, color, or creed.

The enlistment of trade unionists in the war against inflation is consistent with the patriotic involvement of American labor in every great challenge that our Nation has faced. Without the productive dedication of American labor, World War II might have ended very differently.

Labor built America, and labor is America. Together we must now preserve and enhance the economic base of our existence from everybody's enemy, the scourge of inflation. I have described it as public enemy number one in America, and it might be expanded actually to say that it is a worldwide problem.

We need your advice and we need your guidance on this issue of such overwhelming concern to all your members. I want your ideas on steps which can help the individual as well as the Nation.

Today's meeting is a part of the series that culminates in the conference on inflation on September 27 and 28. Since this is only a one-day session, let's get directly to the point. Let's dispense with formality. Let's be frank. Let us also try to keep our comments brief and specifically on target.

I should say that the meeting we held last week with 28 outstanding economists was, by all standards, a success.

I must confess I was dubious that we could get that many divergent economists together and have them come up with a superb performance, which they did, and I am confident in this room we can have the same constructive results.

I will certainly welcome, however, any detailed statement that anyone wishes to make in the form of a written proposal, and please submit these directly to me, if you will, within the next several days. This will give us adequate time to consider them before the conclusion of the designated time frame.

You are aware of the severity of inflation although inflation is unfortunately no novelty in our economic history.

Its present form is the worst we have experienced in 27 years. Consumer prices are increasing at an unacceptable annual rate of 11 percent. Statistics alone are inadequate to describe the inflation in human terms; cold and impersonal numbers and percentages cannot describe the impact on individuals' lives.

While everyone is hit by inflation, some obviously are hit much harder. I am thinking of families in the low- and moderate-income levels, of older people who are struggling, trying to live on modest incomes, or young people whose initial experience with the employment scene may not generate real confidence in our economic system. These are very real human problems which must guide the actions of Government as well as the decisions in the private sector.

Government has a particular obligation to act responsibly, and we will. We will make a concerted effort to cut the budget and reduce our expenditures to show our willingness to sacrifice. But we shall wield our budgetary knife ever so carefully so as not to sacrifice the meat while trimming the fat.

Within our general budgetary restraint, we shall be mindful of the need to increase what we allocate to the essential, while we decrease what we apportion to programs which are to some extent discretionary.

We also must exercise care to prevent our recently overheated economy from cooling off too rapidly. We must, at all costs, avoid a damaging recession.

We are now making a cooperative effort, in response to the initiative of the distinguished majority leader of the United States Senate and other Members of the Congress, on a bipartisan basis. The legislative and executive branches are working together, and this is evidenced by the people who are here from both political parties to seek short-term answers to short-term problems and long-term answers to long-term problems.

In May of 1973, the Administration requested enactment of the Job Security Assistance Act. This proposal is an important part of our policy to assist in a period of rising unemployment. It would modernize the unemployment

compensation system without violating the relationship between the States and the Federal Government.

I recognize the concern of many that unemployment might rise because of the policies we must follow to fight inflation. I am watching the unemployment rate very, very closely. This Administration, as I said the other day, will act with compassion. We will not permit the burden of necessary economic restraint to fall on those members of society least able to bear the cost.

The unemployment rate in August, announced last Friday, was 5.4 percent. But we certainly cannot be complacent about any American lacking work. The present situation calls for full use of currently available tools and dollars. As a consequence, I have instructed the Department of Labor to accelerate the obligation of currently available funds under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act.

The Secretary of Labor will immediately disburse \$65 million to those communities in which unemployment is at the highest level. By the end of the month, he will make available another \$350 million under the CETA Title II program. This \$415 million will finance some 85,000 public sector jobs in State and local governments.

Added to the almost \$550 million obligated for public service employment in June from the FY 1974 appropriation, and about \$50 million in prime sponsorship under CETA Title I as allocated for this purpose, currently available resources will provide approximately 170,000 public service jobs this coming winter.

The effect of these actions, based on the tools and the dollars we have, will be to double the number of federally funded public service jobs. In addition, \$1.3 billion will be available to State and local governments for manpower programs.

Beyond this, drawing on the outcome of the conference on inflation, and your suggestions, we will develop contingency plans against the possibility that unemployment might give evidence of rising to substantially higher levels.

If the employment statistics demonstrate the need in the future, we will be ready to present such plans to the Congress and work together to assure a mutually satisfactory course of action before the end of this session.

To the leaders of our labor organizations and to the captains of industry, I make a sincere appeal for restraint. It must be a self-imposed restraint. As I have said before, there will be no controls imposed on wages and prices, as far as I am concerned. Settlements at the bargaining table are the sole responsibility of the participants, so long as they respect the public interest.

We need your help today, not merely for my Administration but for the whole Nation. I hope this discussion will not only be productive of ideas to preserve the American dollar but will demonstrate that in a time of crisis we remain a nation united.

With those opening observations and comments, I would like to move now to some observations and comments.

First, I would like to call on my friend George Meany, who will make his comments.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:47 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. At the conclusion of the morning session of the conference, the President hosted a luncheon for the participants in the State Dining Room.

The conference with labor leaders, as well as the conference with economists held on September 5, 1974, was broadcast live on public television.

Presidential Clemency and Pardons

Statement by the President. September 11, 1974

The announcement yesterday by Mr. Hushen concerning study of the entire matter of Presidential clemency and pardons was prompted by inquiries to the White House Press Office concerning Mrs. John Dean's reported statement in reference to pardoning of her husband and similar public statements on behalf of others.

Such a study is, of course, made for any request concerning pardon of an individual.

However, no inference should be drawn as to the outcome of such study in any case. Nor is my pardon of the former President, under the unique circumstances stated by me in granting it, related to any other case which is or may be under study.

NOTE: The statement was read by Senator Hugh Scott at a news conference at the White House by Senator Scott and Representative John J. Rhodes following the President's first meeting with the Republican Congressional leadership.

The statement refers to Deputy Press Secretary John W. Hushen's answer to a reporter's question at his news conference at the White House on Tuesday, September 10, 1974. The exchange follows:

"QUESTION. Mrs. Dean is now talking about a pardon for John Dean; what is the President's feeling about pardon for any of the other people involved in the whole Watergate thing?"

"MR. HUSHEN. I am authorized to say that that entire matter is now under study."

Fayetteville, North Carolina

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at Pope Air Force Base To Attend Ceremonies at the World Golf Hall of Fame. September 11, 1974

Thank you very, very much for coming out in such great numbers. I am very, very grateful.

It is a particular pleasure to be here in the great State of North Carolina. It is a pleasure to be—or have come down with me, Senator Jesse Helms, and it is always nice to see an old friend of mine like Congressman Earl Ruth, who I knew a long, long time ago back in the days

when both he and I were in the Navy. I guess that is not a good thing to say here with all of you. [Laughter]

As a matter of fact, I got to know Congressman Ruth when we were both stationed here in the Navy over at Chapel Hill. So, I spent a bit of my military career in Chapel Hill before going to sea with the Navy.

It is nice to be in North Carolina because I have had the privilege and pleasure of knowing so many, many good people from this State.

But in addition—and this is the main point I would like to make—this air base, which is so vitally important, is not one that just belongs to the State of North Carolina but it belongs to all of us.

I come from the State of Michigan. We are as proud as all of the North Carolinians are of Pope Air Force Base and the people who are here, and Fort Bragg and the others.

We feel that the contribution made by the Defense Department—the 2,200,000, roughly, men and women in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, the people who are civilians and work for the Defense Department are an extremely vital part of our security and the security of the free world.

And when we talk about security today, we are talking not only about security from attack but we are talking about a deterrence against war. And one major part of my service in the Presidency is to be sure that the Defense Department is strong enough to deter war and to protect our great country from any aggression.

I know there are people who think that we can slash the money for the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, Marines, and spend money for other programs. I don't think we can hurt our military establishment without hurting our security.

And so, to the extent that I have any influence, I am going to make sure that we have adequate funding for the weapons system, research and development, operations and maintenance, personnel, so that all of you feel that the service you are performing is with the best of equipment, in the best of environment, and for the best interests of every one of 211 million Americans.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:47 p.m. at Pope Air Force Base, Fayetteville, N.C.

World Golf Hall of Fame

*The President's Remarks at the Opening of the Hall of Fame in Pinehurst, North Carolina.
September 11, 1974*

Honored inductees, Governor Jim Holshouser, Lieutenant Governor Hunt, ladies and gentlemen:

Back in late July of this year, I participated in the induc-

tion ceremonies for four or five professional football players in Canton, Ohio, at their Hall of Fame.

It was a little more logical for me to participate in that even though I was never good enough on the gridiron to play professional football, but I did play at the University of Michigan and coached at Yale, and it was a very important part of my life for a substantial part of my youth.

Shortly after that, I got a letter of invitation while I was still the first instant Vice President to come and participate in these ceremonies. Well, I think my record is clear. I have no background that would justify my professional appearance here, but I thought maybe by coming, it would be helpful to me to get a little rub-off from some of the people who are inductees and others who are participating.

I can only say, regardless of which sport, I think, whether it is golf, professional or college football, or any one of the other wonderful athletic areas of competition, so much is added to America's society by the things that you learn and the things that you do.

So I am always a willing participant in anything that involves athletics. I think it is great and wholesome, not only for the United States but the world.

And, naturally, I wish to compliment and congratulate Don and Bill and those who had the vision and the foresight. I am sure you realize what a thrill it is for a weekend golfer like myself to walk the same fairways today with Byron Nelson, Gene Sarazen, Ben Hogan, Sam Snead, Arnold Palmer, Jack Nicklaus, Gary Player, Patty Berg.

I always have idols in athletics, and I don't apologize for it now. These are the kind of idols that I think are good and wholesome for America.

And then, of course, there are the immortals who are not here today. They are here in spirit: Walter Hagen, Harry Vardon, Francis Ouimet, Babe Didrikson Zaharias, and that great statesman of golf, of course, Bobby Jones.

I think it is fair to say that there is another great golfer who I know is actually watching us here today. He wasn't a professional, but his love for golf was profound, and I think he did as much as any man in this century to make golf one of the world's number one participant sports. And I, of course, on this occasion refer to Ike Eisenhower.

Ike would be deeply honored that some of his golfing gear is to be included in the World Golf Hall of Fame here in Pinehurst.

As President Eisenhower knew so very well, golf is a very special game, and it is not hard to understand its popularity. Fortunately, golf is a game that crosses all borders and is played in virtually every country in the world.

Today we are dedicating the World Golf Hall of Fame, and I think the word "world" is vitally important.

This is an international event and participating with my good friend, Jim Holshouser, who has proclaimed the "Grand Week of Golf" are, of course, athletes from all over the world. The list is long, and I won't read it at the present time.

I think Americans sometimes lose sight of the fact that many things we value most have been bequeathed to us by other nations. Golf, for instance, has a centuries-old history and is just as popular in scores of other countries throughout the world. And I think that is why history's most spectacular chip shot struck such a responsive chord among people in so many nations. No one will ever forget that moment when Alan Shephard, swinging his home-made six-iron, lofted a ball off the surface of the moon.

That was a great chip shot for all mankind.

And in conclusion, let me say, we made it to the moon because of a technology built upon the knowledge and the discoveries by all the nations of the earth. We made it to the moon because of the shared experiences of the human race.

And that chip shot symbolized all that in one of the most natural languages shared by all—the language of golf.

Congratulations to the inductees and thank you all for being here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:28 p.m. at the World Golf Hall of Fame, Pinehurst, N.C.

In his remarks, the President referred to William H. Maurer, board chairman, and Donald C. Collett, president, World Golf Hall of Fame.

World Golf Hall of Fame

The President's Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Inductees Into the Hall of Fame. September 11, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Governor Jim Holshouser, my good golfing partner, the Governor of South [North] Carolina, Senator Jesse Helms, my old friend Earl Ruth:

But I do wish to acknowledge and pay special tribute to the inductees who I tremendously admire and greatly respect. And I have really enjoyed listening to the stories that each of them have given. And it is an awfully hard act to follow after the tales they have told and the incidents that they have related.

It has always been one of the great things that I have admired—excellence. And I have spent a great deal of time in the last few years on Saturday afternoons and Sunday afternoons watching various tournaments.

I usually take with me—and sit in front of the television and take a pile of work, and in between this shot and that shot, I try to concentrate. But I really am more interested in the excellence that they demonstrate to the American people. I admire excellence. I respect it.

And it seems to me that this is what we want in this country and what we want in the world. And to be here this afternoon and this evening, and to get better acquainted with those I have known, and to meet others

that I have not known in the sport of golf has been a great and an exhilarating day for me. And I compliment and congratulate every one of them because they epitomize excellence in probably one of the most competitive areas of athletic competition that I have ever seen.

And I just hope that they, through their example, give to all Americans the kind of spirit, the kind of drive, the kind of dedication that is so essential if we are to achieve what is the best for everybody in this country and throughout the world.

If I may, I would like to tell you the most memorable golfing experience I ever had. I was at the Burning Tree course, which is one of those courses in Washington, D.C. I was playing with Ben Hogan, and Arnold Palmer, and Byron Nelson. And they came up to me, and they said they were looking for another great, great golfer to join them. I said, "Well, here I am." And they said, "Good. Can you help us look for one?"

I didn't mind that so much, but what really hurt me was when Arnold Palmer asked if I would not wear his slacks except under an assumed name.

I do appreciate the honor of the invitation from Don and Bill, but as I stand before all of you golfing immortals, one thought keeps running through my mind. I have an 18 handicap, and I guess I played it that way today in between the first and 18th hole. You need me as a good golfer like Sam Snead needs another tomato can.

They say you can always tell a good player by the number of people in the gallery. You have heard, and we have all heard, of Arnie's Army. My group is called Ford's Few.

I figured it out, that my problem is I have a very wild swing, and I demonstrated it on a number of occasions for Patty and some of the others this afternoon. Back on my home course in Grand Rapids, Michigan, they don't yell "Fore," they yell "Ford."

And you know, all of these fine Secret Service men you have seen around me today, and elsewhere—when I play golf, I am told they qualify for combat pay.

But I try to keep my hand in whenever I can. Personally, I thoroughly enjoy playing golf with Henry Kissinger. Henry is undoubtedly one of the greatest, one of the finest, and one of the very best diplomats the world has ever known, and fortunately for us, he has been carrying out that responsibility on behalf of our country. I will tell you why I say that: Last week, I was in a sand trap, which I frequently find myself in. There was a water hazard beyond that, and then some 95 feet or more to the pin, and Henry conceded the putt.

But this afternoon, I had one of the greatest thrills of my lifetime, the chance to play a few holes with the superstars of world golfing, and I thoroughly enjoyed it and they were most considerate of my difficulties.

I can't tell you how I felt out there surrounded by such legendary names as Berg, Hogan, Nelson, Nicklaus, Palmer, Player, Sarazen, Snead. And in all honesty, it was

something like being in a golfer's heaven, and I appreciate the opportunity to be there.

But as the cliché goes, tonight I have good news and some bad news. The good news, that four of our honorees—Jack Nicklaus, Arnold Palmer, Gary Player, and Sam Snead—will be competing in the World Open beginning tomorrow.

The bad news is today they shared the course with me. And I will tell you what I mean.

In 1972, I played with Sam Snead in the Pro-Am before the Kemper Open, and he didn't win. In 1973, I played with Miller Barber before the Kemper Open, and he didn't win. And this year, I played with Tom Weiskopf before the Kemper Open, and then I played with Dave Stockton up at Pleasant Valley in the Pro-Am, and neither of them won the tournament.

Now, you know why, I am sure, in Washington I am known as the President of the United States, and in golf, I am sort of known as the jinx of the links.

Frankly, I figured it out, that Snead, Barber, Weiskopf, and Stockton blew about \$165,000 in prize money by their performance with me in the several Pro-Amateurs that I indicated. But if you think they are unhappy, you should see the Internal Revenue Service.

As you undoubtedly know by now, I thoroughly enjoy golf, not only the competition but the people. I enjoy the exercise it provides, the competitive challenge, the good fellowship before and after each game.

But if I had to single out one attribute of golf above all others, it would be found in the very simple statement from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and I quote, "Golf is played on the honor system. A player is expected to count his own strokes even though he may miss the ball completely, to acknowledge the fact promptly if he violates a rule and incurs a penalty, and to avoid interfering in any way with his opponents or his fellow competitor's play."

Golf is one of the few games where honor is more important than the rules. Without good sportsmanship, golf could not exist. Without trust, another name for good sportsmanship, governments cannot exist.

But there is still one more lesson to be learned from golf. And I have never seen a tournament, regardless of how much money, or how much fame, or prestige, or emotion was ever involved, that didn't end with the victor extending his hand to the vanquished.

I have enjoyed sitting there watching on television the pat on the back, the arm around the shoulder, the praise for what was done right, and the sympathetic nod for what wasn't. These are as much a part of golf as life itself, and I would hope that understanding and reconciliation are not limited to the 19th hole.

Before I leave—and let me express to Don and Bill my great enjoyment to be with all of you—I would like to

thank them and you for asking me. It was a delightful day, after a few kind of tough ones.

This afternoon for a few hours, quite unsuccessfully, I tried to make a hole in one. Tomorrow morning I will be back in Washington trying to get out of one.

And thank all of you for making this a most welcome "mini" vacation.

Thank you, and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 p.m. at the World Golf Hall of Fame, Pinehurst, N.C.

In his remarks, the President referred to William H. Maurer, board chairman, and Donald C. Collett, president, World Golf Hall of Fame.

Bipartisan Congressional Leadership Meeting

Remarks of Deputy Press Secretary John W. Hushen Following the Meeting. September 12, 1974

The President met for about an hour and a quarter with the bipartisan Congressional leadership to discuss international developments and foreign assistance legislation. That took place in the Cabinet Room. In this meeting, the President sought Congressional support for increased levels of economic and military assistance to Indochina.

He also discussed with them his concerns over a number of amendments in the Foreign Assistance Act which would severely limit his authority to conduct U.S. foreign policy. The President told the leaders that he was disappointed with recent moves to drastically cut military assistance to Vietnam and asked that reconsideration be given to these actions.

The President said the Administration has asked for minimal levels to assure adequate replacement of equipment on the one-for-one basis provided for in the Paris agreement, and he said that the recent cuts will seriously reduce South Vietnam's abilities to defend itself in the face of increasing North Vietnamese military actions.

The President also pointed out that economic assistance to Vietnam has been cut nearly in half by Congressional action and that such amendments would not permit the United States to help in the vital reconstruction process necessary to give South Vietnam an opportunity to build a viable, self-sufficient economy capable of maintaining its freedom.

NOTE: Mr. Hushen made the remarks at his news conference at the White House on Thursday, September 12, 1974. They were not issued in the form of a White House press release.

LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES

The President's Message to the Congress. September 12, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In my first address before a Joint Session of Congress, I spoke of "communication, conciliation, compromise and cooperation." The Congress responded. We have communicated, conciliated, compromised, and cooperated.

I thank the bipartisan leaders and all Members for this working partnership. So far, despite some spats, we have had a good marriage.

Landmark bills in the fields of *Education, Housing-Community Development, and Pension Reform* were passed. For these examples of cooperation of real benefit to so many Americans, I am grateful.

I had serious objections to the *SBA loan legislation, Public Works Appropriations, and D.C. Medical School bill*. Recognizing congressional interest in particular elements of each measure, I signed them.

No effort was made to override measures that I had to veto. Congress responded promptly to my request for a *Council on Wage and Price Stability*.

Of the specific proposals I am singling out today, some are in the conference stage. Others have passed only one body. A few have passed neither. But virtually all have been the subject of hearings and are in the mark-up phase.

NOMINATIONS

Of utmost importance for Congress in its fall term is the consideration of *Nelson Rockefeller* as my nominee for Vice President of the United States. The Administration will assist the Congress in all appropriate ways to expedite this nomination. The precedent for this procedure under the 25th Amendment to the Constitution has been established. I am sure there will be no inordinate delay in moving forward Governor Rockefeller's nomination.

There are other nominations before the Senate, some pending since last January. There are other candidates for Federal office in varying stages of clearance. I expect to be able to submit them to the Senate within a few days. I would hope Congress could expedite action on all these nominees so that none will have to be held over to 1975.

REDUCING 1975 SPENDING

Responding to the initiative of the distinguished majority leader of the Senate and other members of the Congress, I have convened bipartisan summit meetings on the issue of inflation. Many of you are participating. The legislative and executive branches are working together.

We are seeking short-term answers to short-term problems and long-term answers to long-term problems.

A concerted effort must be undertaken to bring spending down to manageable proportions. An important first step in this effort is to bring Federal outlays under control in 1975, making possible a balanced budget in 1976.

I need the help of the Congress in reducing 1975 spending below \$300 billion. Several important cooperative steps by the Congress will be required to achieve this difficult target.

First, the Congress must resist temptations to add to spending totals on legislation now being considered. Responsible action calls for agreements on cuts, not increases. I solicit suggestions on any programs that might be curtailed or stopped. Let me know about any spending that seems unnecessary or inflationary.

In the same vein, I would hope the Congress could pass specific legislation proposed in the February Budget submission that would reduce 1975 spending by almost \$700 million.

Immediate action should be taken on the rescissions that I am proposing in my first message to the Congress under the newly-enacted *Budget and Impoundment Control Act*. Moreover, the deferrals transmitted to Congress under the same Act should be supported. Overturning these actions could increase spending by as much as \$600 million in 1975 and by far more in 1976 and future years.

As a matter of highest priority, I need your support of my recommendation to defer the next *Federal pay raise* from October to January. It will be my intention to deal fairly with the just concerns of Federal workers. But I am asking them to join in the sacrifice I want all Americans to share. This action will reduce 1975 outlays by \$700 million. It will also set an example of wage restraint for the private sector. Let us practice what we preach.

These efforts are essential if our cooperation is to keep spending under \$300 billion. We simply cannot afford to fail.

APPROPRIATIONS

Eight of fourteen regular appropriations bills have been enacted. These measures in total represent a reduction of \$532 million from the Administration's Budget in spending authority and \$144 million in outlays for the current fiscal year. These are helpful moves in the right direction. I urge that this momentum be maintained.

There are seven money bills that require action during the balance of the session.

The *Agriculture* money bill was vetoed on the basis of excessive funding; the *Defense* appropriation is in conference with very sharp reductions. Levels below the House bill would be extremely unwise. *State-Justice-Commerce* is also in conference and undoubtedly will show a reduction in the Budget; *Labor-HEW* appropriations, however, appear to be moving in the direction of exceeding the Budget substantially.

Appropriations for *Military Construction* and *Foreign Assistance* have not yet passed the House of Representatives.

There is ample time to consider the remaining appropriations bills before adjournment. In addition, I will be sending essential but carefully limited *Supplemental Requests* for fiscal year 1975. I trust they will be considered an urgent priority.

LEGISLATION

It is unnecessary to submit a complete list of Administration legislative initiatives to this Congress. Leaders and Members know them as

well as I do. I recognize that the inevitable consequence of any legislative Message in the twilight of the 93rd Congress is to suggest deferment of some desirable legislation in favor of imperatives that are realistic in the time we have left.

The *Trade Reform bill* has passed the House of Representatives but remains pending before the Senate Finance Committee. Efforts are underway to find a reasonable and mutually acceptable compromise to restrictive language that would deny Most Favored Nation status and Export-Import credits to the Soviet Union. I want to emphasize the importance I attach to the granting of Most Favored Nation status to the USSR. Careful attention should also be given to the importance of Title V concerning tariff preferences for developing countries and providing appropriate limits for Trade Adjustment Assistance. This legislation is close to enactment. It would be a tragedy not to pass it.

In the area of foreign policy, Congress should enact the *Export-Import Bank Authorization*, *Asian and African Development Bank Authorizations*, and the *Foreign Assistance Act*.

I know that a troublesome piece of legislation for me—and perhaps one of the most important for the Nation—is the Foreign Assistance Act. I am disturbed over the deep cuts in many essential and worthwhile programs which contribute to our overall efforts to attain peace and stability in the world. In addition, the bill contains several restrictions on the Executive which would reduce my ability to meet obligations to American security and that of our friends abroad. I respect and strongly support the role of Congress in the area of foreign policy. But under the Constitution, the Executive is the spokesman for the Nation and must have adequate freedom of action. I may recommend changes in our approach to foreign aid in the coming year and will propose realistic programs in the national interest. I strongly urge this Congress to continue the current programs unencumbered by amendments which prevent the effective implementation of policy.

There are several significant problems in the *State Department Authorization*. I have requested Secretary of State Kissinger to work with appropriate leaders in an effort to resolve these differences.

The *USIA Authorization* has been passed by both bodies and should be finally considered by a conference committee. The House version is preferred.

Both bodies have passed an extension of the *Defense Production Act*. I hope the differing versions will be reconciled and sent to me for signature.

To promote more effective management of the Government's approach to our national energy resources, the Administration recommended creation of an *Energy Research and Development Administration*. This key legislation has now passed both Houses and hopefully will soon be considered by a conference committee. In its consideration of this legislation, I recommend to the conference committee that the provision calling for an Energy Policy Council be deleted and several other undesirable provisions be revised in accordance with current discussions.

To increase the availability of clean natural gas through competitive pricing of newly developed gas supplies, I urge this Congress to enact the *Natural Gas Supply bill*. As we enter the winter months, our energy resources must be effectively utilized for the benefit of all Americans.

Gas deregulation which would increase supply is a vital part of the Administration's response to the energy shortage.

Of major importance to our ability to provide sufficient energy in the years ahead is a proposal for the Federal Government to grant permits for construction, licensing and operation of *Deepwater Ports* beyond the three-mile limit. The House has passed a bill. Hopefully, the Senate will also move forward on this key measure.

Among the many energy-related bills before Congress, is the important *Energy Tax Package*. This measure imposes a windfall profits tax on the selling price of domestic crude oil, eliminates the percentage depletion deduction for U.S. taxes on foreign production of oil and gas, and limits foreign tax credits available to U.S. oil and gas companies operating in foreign lands.

We learned from the recent oil embargo that we must be better prepared to reduce the impact of any future supply interruptions. At the time of the embargo our Naval petroleum reserves, set aside through the foresight of the Congress for the specific purpose of assuring adequate supplies of essential fuels, could not be used in time to contribute to our national defense requirements.

In a moment of need, oil in the ground is useless. We must have authority to produce and deliver our emergency petroleum reserves to the user. Presently, the *Navy Petroleum Reserves at Elk Hills, California*, have proven reserves of approximately one billion barrels. The *Navy Petroleum Reserves in Alaska*, although unexplored, have estimated reserves of up to 33 billion barrels. I intend to consult with the Congress on the best way to assure that the reserve capacities of these fields are in a state where they can contribute effectively to our national security in any future energy crisis.

The House and Senate conferees are now addressing the difficult issues involved in striking a balance between the environmental effects of surface coal mining under the proposed *Surface Mining Act* and the nation's need for coal as an essential source of energy. This issue has been under consideration throughout this Congress. It would greatly reduce the problem of opening new coal mines and increasing production if acceptable mined area legislation can be enacted. I am asking Secretary of the Interior Morton to continue discussions with legislative leaders in an effort to reach an agreement over troublesome provisions in this measure.

The *Illegal Aliens* legislation is necessary to establish clear guidelines regarding the law for employment of aliens who work in this country. The House has already passed a bill. I would hope the Senate could consider this measure during the fall term.

Real progress was made on the House floor when the Conference report on the *Veterans Education Bill* was substantially reduced in terms of Federal expenditures. I hope the Senate will now act in the same spirit. This can be done by reducing the benefit limit to the original Senate bill. It provided a substantial increase—18.2 percent. But cost-of-living increases for our veterans in school are necessary. I urge the Senate to reaffirm its original rate increase and send the bill to me so benefits can begin.

In May of 1973, the Administration proposed the *Job Security Assistance Act*. This measure is an important part of our policy to assist in a period of rising unemployment. It would modernize the unemployment compensation system without violating the relationship between the States and the Federal government.

I recognize the concern of many that unemployment might rise because of the policies we must follow to fight inflation.

I am watching the unemployment rate very closely. This Administration will act with compassion. We will not permit the burden of necessary economic restraint to fall on those members of society least able to bear the costs.

The unemployment rate in August, announced last Friday, was 5.4 percent. While we certainly cannot be complacent about any American lacking work, we are thankful that the number is not larger.

The present situation calls for full use of available tools and dollars.

I have asked Secretary of Labor Brennan to accelerate the obligation of currently available funds under the *Comprehensive Employment and Training Act*.

The Secretary will immediately disperse \$65 million to those communities in which unemployment is highest. By the end of the month he will make available another \$350 million under CETA Title II. This \$415 million will finance some 85,000 public sector jobs in State and local governments. Added to the almost \$550 million obligated for public service employment in June from the FY 1974 appropriation, and about \$50 million in other funds, currently available resources will provide 170,000 public service jobs this coming winter. The effect of these actions will be to double the number of federally funded public service jobs. In addition, \$1.3 billion will be available to State and local governments for manpower programs.

Beyond this, I have requested the Secretary of Labor, in consultation with my economic advisors, and drawing on the outcome of the Conference on Inflation, to develop contingency plans against the possibility of substantially increased unemployment. If future unemployment statistics demonstrate the need, we will be ready to present plans to the Congress and to work together to assure a mutually satisfactory course of action.

There are several health authorizations that require extension this year. They are the *Health Manpower Act*, *Health Services Act* and the *Health Resources Planning Act*. All are necessary but, unfortunately, each currently has objectionable features in program provisions and excessive authorizations. I have requested Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Weinberger to cooperate fully with appropriate committees in an effort to enact reasonable legislation. I will continue to seek a sound compromise on the *Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan*.

The House recently passed the *Federal Mass Transportation Act*. While the funding was kept to a level which I can support, certain structural changes in that bill are necessary. I am asking Secretary of Transportation Brinegar to work closely with the Senate in an effort to develop an acceptable bill.

The Administration's proposal to improve the *regulatory climate in the surface transportation industry* is presently before the Congress. This bill, with certain modifications to ensure greater reliance on competitive market forces, would contribute substantially to the efficiency and

vitality of this Nation's private sector transportation system. I urge the Congress to act promptly to complete its work on this important legislation.

The *Amtrak Authorization* legislation is now ready for Conference. Since major problems exist with the Senate version, I hope the Conference will adhere as closely as possible to the House measure and soon present it for my signature.

I assume the Congress will pass the *Military Construction Authorization bill*, including expansion of the support facility at Diego Garcia.

The *Export Administration Act* is ready for conference action and should be reported soon.

Legislation to restore financial integrity to the *Railroad Retirement system* has not been enacted by either House. I urge legislation be adopted to accomplish this objective without resorting to a subsidy from either the Social Security System or the general taxpayers.

Court congestion impairs fair and speedy trials. The Administration supports legislation to create new *Federal District Court Judgeships*. While this measure has been slow to move, I would hope Congress could expedite consideration in order to alleviate overcrowded court calendars.

A bill to renew my authority to submit *Executive Reorganization Plans* has been sent to the Congress. During the past 25 years all Presidents have used this authority to improve management in the executive branch. I would like my Administration also to be able to utilize this effective tool of good government. I urge prompt bipartisan consideration of this bill.

It is apparent that I have referred to some legislative matters and omitted reference to others. This is not an inventory of my total legislative concerns. I will send the traditional message to the Congress in January covering the broad spectrum of legislative programs. This will afford me an interim opportunity for detailed study and review.

The 93rd Congress, in which I am proud to have served, has an opportunity to join with the Executive Branch at this turning point of history. We can respond together in the constructive harmony that ought to exist between Republicans and Democrats, between Federal and local governments, between the Executive and Legislative branches, and between America and other nations. A momentous challenge confronts me as well as the 93rd Congress. Together, we can summon forth the reserves of energy, imagination, and devotion necessary to generate a new and proud era of American achievement. We cannot and will not fail the American people.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 12, 1974.

Assistant to the President

*Announcement of Appointment of
William J. Baroody, Jr. September 12, 1974*

The President today announced the appointment of William J. Baroody, Jr., as Assistant to the President. Mr. Baroody was Special Assistant to the President from

February 4, 1973, to January 30, 1974, and since then has been Special Consultant to the President. From June 6, 1973, to January 30, 1974, Mr. Baroody also served as Deputy to Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs Melvin R. Laird.

As Assistant to the President, Mr. Baroody will head the Office of Public Liaison. He will be responsible for providing liaison with major nongovernmental organiza-

tions in the private sector, including farm, labor, veterans, business, civic, academic, ethnic, consumer, youth, senior citizens, and professional groups.

Prior to joining the White House Staff, Mr. Baroody served in the Department of Defense from 1969 to 1973 and in a staff capacity in the Congress from 1961 to 1969. At the Department of Defense, he was Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense from February 1, 1969, and was assigned additional responsibility for the long-range planning and net assessment functions of the Secretary of Defense in 1971. He received the highest civilian award that can be given by the Secretary of Defense, the Defense Distinguished Civilian Public Service Award, in January 1973.

In the Congress, Baroody was research director of the House Republican Conference from 1968 to 1969. Prior to that, he served as legislative assistant and press secretary to then Congressman Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin, having joined Mr. Laird's staff in July of 1961.

Mr. Baroody was born on November 5, 1937, in Manchester, N.H. He was graduated from Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., with a degree in English in 1959 and pursued graduate work in political science at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He served as an officer in the U.S. Navy from 1959 to 1961 on the U.S.S. *Chilton*, based at Norfolk, Va. He is married to the former Mary Margaret Cullen. They have nine children and reside in Alexandria, Va.

Counsel to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Phillip E. Areeda. September 12, 1974

The President today announced that he will appoint Professor Phillip E. Areeda of the Harvard Law School to serve as Counsel to the President and a member of his senior staff. The appointment will be made on October 14. In the interim, Mr. Areeda will serve as a part-time consultant while arranging his transition from Harvard from which he will take a leave of absence. Mr. Areeda will be associated with Philip W. Buchen, who is also Counsel to the President and who has today been given Cabinet rank.

Mr. Areeda has been a professor at Harvard since 1961. Before that, he was Assistant Special Counsel to President Dwight D. Eisenhower. During 1969, he served as Executive Director of the President's Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control. At Harvard, Professor Areeda specialized in antitrust law and other subjects related to law and economics. He is the author of the first volume of *Antitrust Analysis* (2d ed. 1974) and joint author of the first volume of an antitrust treatise which has been sub-

stantially completed and which will be published in a year or so.

Born on January 28, 1930, in Detroit, Mich., Mr. Areeda received his A.B. degree summa cum laude in 1951 from Harvard College and his LL.B. degree summa cum laude in 1954 from the Harvard Law School. He held a traveling fellowship from Harvard in 1954-55 and served in the United States Air Force from 1955 through 1957. He joined the staff of President Eisenhower in 1956.

U.S.-Bulgarian Consular Convention

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for Advice and Consent to Ratification. September 12, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification the Consular Convention between the United States of America and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with an Agreed Memorandum and a related exchange of letters, signed at Sofia on April 15, 1974. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

The signing of this Convention is a significant step in the gradual process of improving and broadening the relationship between the United States and Bulgaria. Consular relations between the two countries have not previously been subject to formal agreement. This Convention will establish firm obligations on such important matters as free communication between a citizen and his consul, notification to consular officers of the arrest and detention of their citizens, and permission for visits by consuls to citizens who are under detention.

I welcome the opportunity through this Consular Convention to strengthen the ties between the United States and Bulgaria. I urge the Senate to give the Convention its prompt and favorable consideration.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 12, 1974.

U.S.-Canadian Extradition Treaty

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty for Advice and Consent to Ratification. September 12, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and

Canada, signed at Washington on December 3, 1971, as amended by an exchange of notes of June 28 and July 9, 1974.

The Treaty is one of a current series of extradition treaties being negotiated by the United States and contains provisions regarding extradition for the offenses of aircraft hijacking, narcotics and conspiracy to commit listed offenses.

The Treaty will facilitate the mutual efforts of the United States and Canada in combating international crime. In addition, modernization of the extradition relations between the United States and Canada is especially important in light of the ease of travel between the two countries. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty as amended and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 12, 1974.

Citizenship Day and Constitution Week, 1974

Proclamation 4312. September 12, 1974

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

As we near our Nation's two hundredth anniversary, let all of us, as equal partners in a Nation of justice under law, resolve to work, with all our strength and common sense, to achieve ". . . a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity. . . ." Through such a rededication to the spirit and principles of the Constitution we can build a better future for every individual American, and a better America for all.

Now, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, in compliance with the joint resolutions of the Congress of the United States, call upon appropriate Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on Citizenship Day, September 17, 1974—the 187th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. I urge Federal, State, and local officials, as well as leaders of civic, educational and religious organizations to conduct appropriate ceremonies and programs on that day.

I also designate as Constitution Week the period beginning September 17 and ending September 23, 1974, and urge all Americans to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in their schools, churches and in

other suitable places in order to foster a better understanding of the Constitution, and of the rights and responsibilities of United States citizens.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:13 a.m.,
September 13, 1974]

Visit of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and Prime Minister Rabin at a Dinner Honoring the Israeli Prime Minister. September 12, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Rabin, and honored guests:*

It is a great privilege and honor for Mrs. Ford and myself to be host to the two of you on this occasion and to warmly welcome you back to the United States in this capacity as the Prime Minister of your great country.

But I would also like to extend our warm welcome for all of your friends who are here and the many, many friends throughout the whole United States who are also good and firm friends of the two of you and to extend to you, representing your country, the depth and the warmth of the feeling that we in the United States have for Israel.

As I was sitting here chatting with you and talking to Mrs. Rabin, I couldn't help but note that 1948 was a somewhat significant year as far as your country is concerned, and it just happened that it was quite a year as far as the Fords were concerned. It was the year that we were married—

MRS. RABIN. And the Rabins.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh! [*Laughter*]—and the year that I got elected to Congress but, more importantly, certainly, the year that Israel gained its independence.

And I am pleased to note that our country was the first of all countries in the world at that time to recognize Israel. And we were proud to do it then, and we are proud that it was done by America at that time.

It is especially nice to have the opportunity of meeting with you yesterday, and today, and tonight, tomorrow, a person who is a soldier, a diplomat, and a political leader, and to know that you represent your country so effectively and so well.

The American people have a great deal of understanding and sympathy and dedication to the same kind of

ideals that are representative of Israel. And, therefore, I think we in America have a certain rapport and understanding with the people of Israel.

We, as two nations who believe in peace, have sought by joint action in conjunction with others a durable and stable peace in the Middle East which I think all of us agree is in the best interest of your country and the Middle East—the world as a whole.

We, as a country, are proud to be associated with Israel in this mutual effort to move and to continue to move in the direction of an even better, more stable, and more equitable peace in the Middle East.

I can't tell you how pleased that we are to have the opportunity of expressing our gratitude for all of the things that our countries have done together and all of the things that I hope that our two countries can continue to do in the future.

We have mutual aims and objectives. We have a friendship that is durable and growing. We have the kind of relationship that I think, if expanded worldwide, would be beneficial to all mankind.

And so if I may, Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to ask all of our guests here tonight to stand and to offer a toast to your President, and to you and Mrs. Rabin.

To the President.

THE PRIME MINISTER. *Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, distinguished guests:*

In the name of my wife and myself, I would like to thank you very much for inviting us and taking care of us during our visit here.

I remember, Mr. President, meeting you while you were the minority leader in the House. I had many talks then with you; I learned very much to admire you. And I know that by assuming the responsibilities of the President of the United States, you have taken upon yourself tremendous—tremendous role not only for this country. But I believe that the President of the United States is the leader of the free world and has to bear in mind, if you would allow me to say so, not only the well-being of this country but the well-being of all countries that strive for freedom, for democracy, because in the world that we live today, it is not always possible to a small country to do it against odds.

The relations between the United States and Israel started many years ago. When our country was reborn we faced many problems. The first one was the absorption of many newcomers, immigrants, the remnants of the holocaust of Europe, the Second World War, the refugees that came from the Arab countries. I believe that we were a country that half of its population were refugees.

And then the United States offered Israel economic aid, technical aid, that made it possible to us to absorb these people, our brothers, in a way that the transformation from refugees to be part of our creative society was very much facilitated by your help.

During the years other problems appeared. The threat from outside became more apparent, and the United States added also military aid in terms of supplying us arms to be able to defend ourselves by ourselves.

I think that 26 years from 1948 have proved that your support to us was used in the best way for the well-being of our people and for preservation of a democracy and the free country in that part of the world.

And I would like to thank you and to thank everybody in this country that has made it possible till today.

I don't know, Mr. President, if you have seen it. I have given a small present to you. It is a sculpture, a sculpture that describes the struggle between David and Goliath. I believe it is not only a story from the Bible, it is a story that started then and continues on till the present days.

And if there is something that symbolizes Israel today, it is the spirit of David facing Goliath. And the meaning of the spirit is, on the one hand, to seek peace, to believe in peace. We are a Jewish state, and we believe that part of being a Jew means to seek peace, to search peace, but on the other hand, to realize that peace is attainable only for those who are ready to take risks to dare to withstand Goliaths.

I believe that this is what is significant to Israel today, the spirit of David seeking peace and, at the same time, being ready and capable to meet some Goliaths.

I hope and I believe, Mr. President, that under your leadership the relations between our two countries will continue, will be strengthened in the unique spirit that was so significant till today, the search of peace and the understanding that strength helps to achieve peace.

Allow me, Mr. President, to raise my glass to the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:58 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Radio and Television Directors' Association

The President's Filmed Remarks to the Association's Conference in Montreal, Canada. September 13, 1974

I would very much rather be giving you this greeting in person than on film. It has been far too long since I have had a chance to meet with you and your organization.

I well remember that 1968 conference in Los Angeles when you asked me to discuss the legislative plans of the newly elected Republican Administration. A lot has happened since then.

And unpredictable as the future can be, I can tell you one thing for sure about my new job. To the very best

of my ability to make it so, this will be an open Administration, and that means open to all newsmen.

You and your organization can perform a very vital service for those of us in Government through your questions and your reports.

We get a wealth of information fed back to us about what people are thinking, what their concerns are, and their hopes and aspirations. And this is even more important to me as President than it has been in the past.

The members of your organization know so well the communities and the people they serve. Over the years I was able to pay particular attention to the work of two of your members, the late Dick Cheverton at WOTV, and that of Jack Hogan at WZZM-TV, both stations in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Their work and their involvement in the community problems and projects provide eloquent testimony to the dedication of your members.

I believe the news media's concern with community affairs is vitally important. Half jokingly, I have urged Washington correspondents to go back to their hometowns occasionally, for 6 months or so each year, to get reacquainted with what the people are thinking and doing.

By the same token, I suggest it might be profitable for you who work outside Washington to spend a few months in our Capital every so often. We all would benefit from such an exchange of ideas, attitudes, and experiences.

As you may know, most of our White House press staff are experienced journalists. One of them, Bill Roberts, served as president of your organization. I know that to the best of their abilities they will do what they can to help you.

And while some people say that Government and the news media are in a sense adversaries, I hope we can always remain friendly adversaries.

I trust your conference will prove stimulating and professionally helpful. I congratulate your president, Tom Frawley, on completion of a successful year, and wish your new president and officers well in meeting and surmounting the challenges and the concerns of the broadcast journalists.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The remarks were filmed for use at the conference on Friday, September 13, 1974.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

September 7

The President met at the White House with American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts who will make up the crew of the joint Apollo-Soyuz mission in 1975. The crew members were accompanied by Soviet Ambassador A. F. Dobrynin.

September 9

During his visit to Pittsburgh, the President stopped at a school complex in Moon Township to greet students and faculty members.

The President met with Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, and F. Bradford Morse, Under Secretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs.

At the invitation of the Government of Japan, the President will visit Japan for 3 days beginning November 19, 1974.

September 10

Former Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom met with the President at the White House.

September 12

The President today accepted with deep regret the resignation of Henry B. Turner as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Administration, effective September 20, 1974.

The President today accepted, with regret and with appreciation for his contributions in the area of arms control, the resignation of Robert H. Miller as Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The President today accepted with regret the resignation of George E. Johnson as a Governor of the United States Postal Service.

The President today acknowledged the retirement from active service of Martin Pence as Chief Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Hawaii, effective November 19, 1974.

The President today accepted the resignation of Kenneth A. Guenther as Alternate U.S. Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, effective August 31, 1974. The President expressed his appreciation for Mr. Guenther's contributions to the work of the Bank.

September 13

A group of black mayors and black Republican leaders met with the President at the White House.

Gov. Winfield Dunn, of Tennessee, chairman of the Republican Governors Association, met with the President to discuss fall gubernatorial campaigns.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin met with the President to conclude 3 days of meetings.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted September 10, 1974

The following-named persons to be Representatives of the United States of America to the Twenty-ninth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

JOHN A. SCALL, of the District of Columbia

W. TAPLEY BENNETT, Jr., of Georgia

STUART SYMINGTON, United States Senator from the State of Missouri

CHARLES H. PERCY, United States Senator from the State of Illinois

THOMAS H. KUCHEL, of California

The following-named persons to be Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the Twenty-ninth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

OLIVER C. CARMICHAEL, Jr., of Indiana

JOSEPH M. SEGEL, of Pennsylvania

WILLIAM E. SCHAUFEL, Jr., of Ohio

CLARENCE CLYDE FERGUSON, Jr., of New Jersey

BARRARA M. WHITE, of Massachusetts

The following-named persons to be the Representative and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the Eighteenth Session of the General Confer-

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted September 10, 1974—Continued

ence of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

Representative:

DIXY LEE RAY, of Washington

Alternative Representatives:

JOHN A. ERLWINE, of Maryland

ABRAHAM S. FRIEDMAN, of New York

DWIGHT J. POSTER, of Nebraska

GERALD F. TAPE, of Maryland

Withdrawn September 12, 1974

CLIFFORD G. MCINTYRE, of Maine, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Railway Association for a term of 2 years, which was sent to the Senate on May 30, 1974.

Submitted September 12, 1974

CLIFFORD G. MCINTYRE, of Maine, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Railway Association for a term of 2 years (new position).

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved September 7, 1974

H.R. 13871..... Public Law 93-416
An act to amend chapter 81 of subpart G of title 5, United States Code, relating to compensation for work injuries, and for other purposes.

S. 821..... Public Law 93-415
Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released September 9, 1974

Advance text: remarks to the Sixth International Conference on Urban Transportation

Released September 11, 1974

Advance text: remarks to the conference on inflation

Advance text: remarks at a dinner at the World Golf Hall of Fame, Pinehurst, N.C.

News conference: following the President's meeting with the Republican Congressional leadership—by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative John J. Rhodes

Released September 13, 1974

News conference: on the President's meeting with black mayors and black Republican leaders—by Robert Blackwell, mayor, Highland Park, Mich.; Timothy Jenkins, chairman, the Match Institution; and Stanley S. Scott, Special Assistant to the President

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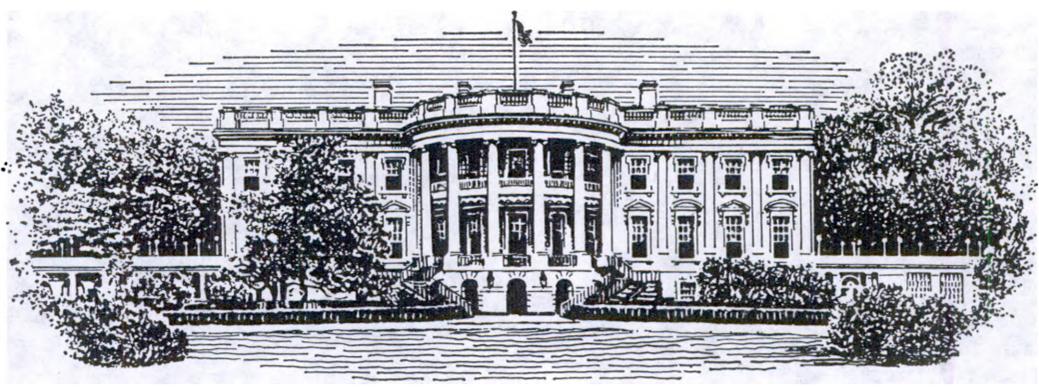
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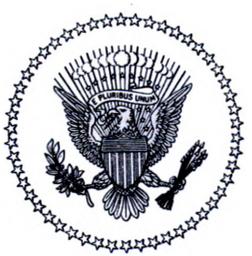
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, September 23, 1974



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 20, 1974

Emergency Assistance for Alaska

Announcement of Emergency Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Because of the Loss of Power Generating Capability for Kodiak. September 14, 1974

The President today declared an emergency for the State of Alaska because of the impact of the loss of power generating capability. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief efforts in designated areas of the State.

The emergency situation in the city of Kodiak resulted from a fire which severely damaged large generators belonging to the Kodiak Electric Authority, and the subsequent loss of a United States Coast Guard generator which had been assisting in supplying power to the city. The President's declaration of an emergency will allow the Federal Government to provide supplementary generators to temporarily restore power to the affected community until permanent restoration of power is accomplished.

Federal relief activities in Alaska will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance.

Mr. William H. Mayer, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region 10, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal emergency assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters

The President's Remarks Announcing the Program. September 16, 1974

Good morning:

In my first week as President, I asked the Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense to report to me, after consultation with other Governmental officials and private citizens concerned, on the status of those young Americans who have been convicted, charged, investigated, or are still being sought as draft evaders or military deserters.

On August 19, at the national convention of Veterans of Foreign Wars in the city of Chicago, I announced my intention to give these young people a chance to earn their return to the mainstream of American society so that they can, if they choose, contribute, even though belatedly, to the building and the betterment of our country and the world.

I did this for the simple reason that for American fighting men, the long and divisive war in Vietnam has been over for more than a year, and I was determined then, as now, to do everything in my power to bind up the Nation's wounds.

I promised to throw the weight of my Presidency into the scales of justice on the side of leniency and mercy, but I promised also to work within the existing system of military and civilian law and the precedents set by my predecessors who faced similar postwar situations, among them Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Harry S Truman.

My objective of making future penalties fit the seriousness of each individual's offense and of mitigating punishment already meted out in a spirit of equity has proved an immensely hard and very complicated matter, even more difficult than I knew it would be.

But the agencies of Government concerned and my own staff have worked with me literally night and day in order

to develop fair and orderly procedures and completed their work for my final approval over this last weekend.

I do not want to delay another day in resolving the dilemmas of the past, so that we may all get going on the pressing problems of the present. Therefore, I am today signing the necessary Presidential proclamation and Executive orders that will put this plan into effect.

The program provides for administrative disposition of cases involving draft evaders and military deserters not yet convicted or punished. In such cases, 24 months of alternate service will be required which may be reduced for mitigating circumstances.

The program also deals with cases of those already convicted by a civilian or military court. For the latter purpose, I am establishing a Clemency Review Board of nine distinguished Americans whose duty it will be to assist me in assuring that the Government's forgiveness is extended to applicable cases of prior conviction as equitably and as impartially as is humanly possible.

The primary purpose of this program is the reconciliation of all our people and the restoration of the essential unity of Americans within which honest differences of opinion do not descend to angry discord and mutual problems are not polarized by excessive passion.

My sincere hope is that this is a constructive step toward a calmer and cooler appreciation of our individual rights and responsibilities and our common purpose as a nation whose future is always more important than its past.

At this point, I will sign the proclamation that I mentioned in my statement, followed by an Executive order for the establishment of the Clemency Board, followed by the signing of an Executive order for the Director of Selective Service, who will have a prime responsibility in the handling of the matters involving alternate service.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:21 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

For related releases, see the following four items.

Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters

Proclamation 4313. September 16, 1974

ANNOUNCING A PROGRAM FOR THE RETURN OF VIETNAM ERA DRAFT EVADERS AND MILITARY DESERTERS

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

The United States withdrew the last of its forces from the Republic of Vietnam on March 28, 1973.

In the period of its involvement in armed hostilities in Southeast Asia, the United States suffered great losses.

Millions served their country, thousands died in combat, thousands more were wounded, others are still listed as missing in action.

Over a year after the last American combatant had left Vietnam, the status of thousands of our countrymen—convicted, charged, investigated or still sought for violations of the Military Selective Service Act or of the Uniform Code of Military Justice—remains unresolved.

In furtherance of our national commitment to justice and mercy these young Americans should have the chance to contribute a share to the rebuilding of peace among ourselves and with all nations. They should be allowed the opportunity to earn return to their country, their communities, and their families, upon their agreement to a period of alternate service in the national interest, together with an acknowledgement of their allegiance to the country and its Constitution.

Desertion in time of war is a major, serious offense; failure to respond to the country's call for duty is also a serious offense. Reconciliation among our people does not require that these acts be condoned. Yet, reconciliation calls for an act of mercy to bind the Nation's wounds and to heal the scars of divisiveness.

Now, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States, pursuant to my powers under Article II, Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution, do hereby proclaim a program to commence immediately to afford reconciliation to Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters upon the following terms and conditions:

1. *Draft Evaders*—An individual who allegedly unlawfully failed under the Military Selective Service Act or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, to register or register on time, to keep the local board informed of his current address, to report for or submit to preinduction or induction examination, to report for or submit to induction itself, or to report for or submit to, or complete service under Section 6(j) of such Act during the period from August 4, 1964 to March 28, 1973, inclusive, and who has not been adjudged guilty in a trial for such offense, will be relieved of prosecution and punishment for such offense if he:

- (i) presents himself to a United States Attorney before January 31, 1975,
- (ii) executes an agreement acknowledging his allegiance to the United States and pledging to fulfill a period of alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service, and
- (iii) satisfactorily completes such service.

The alternate service shall promote the national health, safety, or interest. No draft evader will be given the privilege of completing a period of alternate service by service in the Armed Forces.

However, this program will not apply to an individual who is precluded from re-entering the United States under 8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(22) or other law. Additionally, if individuals eligible for this program have other criminal charges outstanding, their participation in the program

may be conditioned upon, or postponed until after, final disposition of the other charges has been reached in accordance with law.

The period of service shall be twenty-four months, which may be reduced by the Attorney General because of mitigating circumstances.

2. *Military Deserters*—A member of the armed forces who has been administratively classified as a deserter by reason of unauthorized absence and whose absence commenced during the period from August 4, 1964 to March 28, 1973, inclusive, will be relieved of prosecution and punishment under Articles 85, 86 and 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice for such absence and for offenses directly related thereto if before January 31, 1975 he takes an oath of allegiance to the United States and executes an agreement with the Secretary of the Military Department from which he absented himself or for members of the Coast Guard, with the Secretary of Transportation, pledging to fulfill a period of alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service. The alternate service shall promote the national health, safety, or interest.

The period of service shall be twenty-four months, which may be reduced by the Secretary of the appropriate Military Department, or Secretary of Transportation for members of the Coast Guard, because of mitigating circumstances.

However, if a member of the armed forces has additional outstanding charges pending against him under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, his eligibility to participate in this program may be conditioned upon, or postponed until after, final disposition of the additional charges has been reached in accordance with law.

Each member of the armed forces who elects to seek relief through this program will receive an undesirable discharge. Thereafter, upon satisfactory completion of a period of alternate service prescribed by the Military Department or Department of Transportation, such individual will be entitled to receive, in lieu of his undesirable discharge, a clemency discharge in recognition of his fulfillment of the requirements of the program. Such clemency discharge shall not bestow entitlement to benefits administered by the Veterans Administration.

Procedures of the Military Departments implementing this Proclamation will be in accordance with guidelines established by the Secretary of Defense, present Military Department regulations notwithstanding.

3. *Presidential Clemency Board*—By Executive Order I have this date established a Presidential Clemency Board which will review the records of individuals within the following categories: (i) those who have been convicted of draft evasion offenses as described above, (ii) those who have received a punitive or undesirable discharge

from service in the armed forces for having violated Article 85, 86, or 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973, or are serving sentences of confinement for such violations. Where appropriate, the Board may recommend that clemency be conditioned upon completion of a period of alternate service. However, if any clemency discharge is recommended, such discharge shall not bestow entitlement to benefits administered by the Veterans Administration.

4. *Alternate Service*—In prescribing the length of alternate service in individual cases, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the appropriate Department, or the Clemency Board shall take into account such honorable service as an individual may have rendered prior to his absence, penalties already paid under law, and such other mitigating factors as may be appropriate to seek equity among those who participate in this program.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:47 p.m., September 16, 1974]

Presidential Clemency Board

Executive Order 11803. September 16, 1974

ESTABLISHING A CLEMENCY BOARD TO REVIEW CERTAIN CONVICTIONS OF PERSONS UNDER SECTION 12 OR 6(j) OF THE MILITARY SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT AND CERTAIN DISCHARGES ISSUED BECAUSE OF, AND CERTAIN CONVICTIONS FOR, VIOLATIONS OF ARTICLE 85, 86 OR 87 OF THE UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE AND TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY WITH RESPECT THERETO

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States, and in the interest of the internal management of the Government, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President a board of 9 members, which shall be known as the Presidential Clemency Board. The members of the Board shall be appointed by the President, who shall also designate its Chairman.

SEC. 2. The Board, under such regulations as it may prescribe, shall examine the cases of persons who apply for Executive clemency prior to January 31, 1975, and who (i) have been convicted of violating Section 12 or 6(j) of the Military Selective Service Act (50 App. U.S.C. § 462), or of any rule or regulation promulgated pursuant to that section, for acts committed between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973, inclusive, or (ii) have received punitive or undesirable discharges as a consequence of violations of Article 85, 86 or 87 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (10 U.S.C. §§ 885, 886, 887) that occurred between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973, inclusive, or are serving sentences of confinement for such violations. The Board will only consider the cases of Military Selective Service Act violators who were convicted of unlawfully failing (i) to register or register on time, (ii) to keep the local board informed of their current address, (iii) to report for or submit to preinduction or induction examination, (iv) to report for or submit to induction itself, or (v) to report for or submit to, or complete service under Section 6(j) of such Act. However, the Board will not consider the cases of individuals who are precluded from re-entering the United States under 8 U.S.C. 1182(a) (22) or other law.

SEC. 3. The Board shall report to the President its findings and recommendations as to whether Executive clemency should be granted or denied in any case. If clemency is recommended, the Board shall also recommend the form that such clemency should take, including clemency conditioned upon a period of alternative service in the national interest. In the case of an individual discharged from the armed forces with a punitive or undesirable discharge, the Board may recommend to the President that a clemency discharge be substituted for a punitive or undesirable discharge. Determination of any period of alternate service shall be in accord with the Proclamation announcing a program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.

SEC. 4. The Board shall give priority consideration to those applicants who are presently confined and have been convicted only of an offense set forth in section 2 of this order, and who have no outstanding criminal charges.

SEC. 5. Each member of the Board, except any member who then receives other compensation from the United States, may receive compensation for each day he or she is engaged upon the work of the Board at not to exceed the daily rate now or hereafter prescribed by law for persons and positions in GS-18, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 3109), and may also receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in the government service employed intermittently.

SEC. 6. Necessary expenses of the Board may be paid from the Unanticipated Personnel Needs Fund of the President or from such other funds as may be available.

SEC. 7. Necessary administrative services and support may be provided the Board by the General Services Administration on a reimbursable basis.

SEC. 8. All departments and agencies in the Executive branch are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Board in its work, and to furnish the Board all appropriate information and assistance, to the extent permitted by law.

SEC. 9. The Board shall submit its final recommendations to the President not later than December 31, 1976, at which time it shall cease to exist.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 16, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:47 p.m.,
September 16, 1974]

NOTE: The White House announced the appointment of the following persons as members of the Presidential Clemency Board:

DR. RALPH ADAMS, 59, educator, has been president of Troy State University in Troy, Ala., for 10 years. He is a graduate of Birmingham-Southern College with LL.B. and J.D. degrees from the University of Alabama, and a brigadier general, Air National Guard of Alabama.

JAMES P. DOUGOVITA, 28, is a full-time teaching aide of minority students in the department of applied technology, Michigan Technological University. Mr. Dougovita is a veteran and has been awarded the Combat Infantryman Badge, Silver Star, Bronze Star, Purple Heart, and is now a captain in the Michigan National Guard.

ROBERT H. FINCH, 51, is a lawyer and partner in the firm of McKenna, Fitting & Finch in Los Angeles, Calif. He was formerly Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and Counselor to President Nixon.

CHARLES E. GOODELL, 48—Chairman—is a former Senator from New York who is currently in the private practice of law. He was a Ford Foundation Fellow at Yale and was a graduate of Williams College.

REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, 57, is president, University of Notre Dame, and holds honorary degrees from numerous colleges and universities. He is a permanent Vatican delegate. He has served as Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and as a member of the Committee on an All-Volunteer Armed Force.

VERNON E. JORDAN, 39, is executive director of the National Urban League, an organization concerned with the advancement of the minority groups. Mr. Jordan is a lawyer by profession and served previously as the executive director of the United Negro College Fund, director of the voter education project, Southern Regional Council, and as Attorney-Consultant in the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

JAMES MAYE, 31, is executive director of Paralyzed Veterans of America in Washington, D.C. He is a graduate of Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Va., and received his master's degree from Virginia Commonwealth University.

AIDA CASANAS O'CONNOR, 52, is a woman lawyer with a master of laws degree from George Washington University, Washington, D.C. She is a member of the Bar of the State of New York, the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, U.S. District Court of Puerto Rico, and the Supreme Court of the United States. Presently she is assistant counsel to the New York State division of housing and community renewal in New York City.

GEN. LEWIS W. WALT, USMC (Ret.), 61, retired after 34 years in the Marine Corps and is a veteran of the Second World War, the Korean and Vietnamese wars. He was an Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps. He has received the Navy Cross, Silver Star, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, the Purple Heart, and numerous other military decorations.

Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters

Executive Order 11804. September 16, 1974

DELEGATION OF CERTAIN FUNCTIONS VESTED IN THE PRESIDENT TO THE DIRECTOR OF SELECTIVE SERVICE

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, pursuant to my powers under Article II, Sections 1, 2 and 3 of the Constitution, and under Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The Director of Selective Service is designated and empowered, without the approval, ratification or other action of the President, under such regulations as he may prescribe, to establish, implement, and administer the program of alternate service authorized in the Proclamation announcing a program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.

SEC. 2. Departments and agencies in the Executive branch shall, upon the request of the Director of Selective Service, cooperate and assist in the implementation or administration of the Director's duties under this Order, to the extent permitted by law.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 16, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:48 p.m.,
September 16, 1974]

Program for the Return of Vietnam Era Draft Evaders and Military Deserters

*Fact Sheets Concerning the Program.
September 16, 1974*

The President has today issued a proclamation and Executive orders establishing a program of clemency for draft evaders and military deserters to commence immediately. This program has been formulated to permit these individuals to return to American society without risking criminal prosecution or incarceration for qualifying offenses if they acknowledge their allegiance to the United States and satisfactorily serve a period of alternate civilian service.

The program is designed to conciliate divergent elements of American society which were polarized by the protracted period of conscription necessary to sustain United States activities in Vietnam. Thus, only those who were delinquent with respect to required military service between the date of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution (August 4, 1964) and the date of withdrawal of United States

forces from Vietnam (March 28, 1973) will be eligible. Further, only the offenses of draft evasion and prolonged unauthorized absence from military service (referred to hereinafter as desertion) are covered by the program.

Essential features of the program are outlined below.

1. *Number of Draft Evaders.* There are approximately 15,500 draft evaders potentially eligible. Of these some 8,700 have been convicted of draft evasion. Approximately 4,350 are under indictment at the present time, of whom some 4,060 are listed as fugitives. An estimated 3,000 of these are in Canada. A further 2,250 individuals are under investigation with no pending indictments. It is estimated that approximately 130 persons are still serving prison sentences for draft evasion.

2. *Number of Military Deserters.* Desertion, for the purposes of this program, refers to the status of those members of the Armed Forces who absented themselves from military service without authorization for 30 days or more. During the Vietnam era it is estimated that there were some 500,000 incidents of desertion as so defined. Of this 500,000 a number were charged with offenses other than desertion at the time they absented themselves. These other offenses are not within the purview of the clemency program for deserters. Approximately 12,500 of the deserters are still at large of whom about 1,500 are in Canada. Some 660 deserters are at present serving sentences to confinement or are awaiting trial under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

3. *Unconvicted Evader.* Draft evaders will report to the U.S. attorney for the district in which they allegedly committed their offense.

Draft evaders participating in this program will acknowledge their allegiance to the United States by agreeing with the United States attorney to perform alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service.

The duration of alternate service will be 24 months, but may be reduced for mitigating factors as determined by the Attorney General.

The Director of Selective Service will have the responsibility to find alternate service jobs for those who report. Upon satisfactory completion of the alternate service, the Director will issue a certificate of satisfactory completion to the individual and U.S. attorney, who will either move to dismiss the indictment if one is outstanding, or agree not to press possible charges in cases where an indictment has not been returned.

If the draft evader fails to perform the agreed term of alternate service, the U.S. attorney will be free to, and in normal circumstances will, resume prosecution of the case as provided in the terms of the agreement.

Aliens who fled the country to evade the draft will be ineligible to participate in the program.

4. *Unconvicted Military Absentees.* Military absentees who have no other pending charges may elect to participate in the program. Military deserters may seek instructions by writing to:

- (a). Army—U.S. Army Deserter Information Point, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind. 46216
- (b). Navy—Chief of Naval Personnel, (Pers 83), Department of the Navy, Washington, D.C. 20370
- (c). Air Force—U.S. Air Force Deserter Information Point, (AFMDC/DPMAC) Randolph Air Force Base, Tex. 78148
- (d). Marine Corps—Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, (MC) Washington, D.C. 20380

Those who make such an election will be required to execute a reaffirmation of allegiance and pledge to perform a period of alternate civilian service. Those against whom other charges under the Uniform Code of Military Justice are pending will not be eligible to participate in the program until these other charges are disposed of in accordance with the law. Participants in the program will be separated with an undesirable discharge. Although these discharges will not be coded on their face in any manner, the Veterans Administration will be advised that the recipients were discharged for willful and persistent unauthorized absence. They will thus not be eligible for any benefits provided by the Veterans Administration.

The length of required alternate civilian service will be determined by the parent Services for each individual on a case-by-case basis. The length of service will be 24 months but may be reduced for military service already completed or for other mitigating factors as determined by the parent Service. After being discharged each individual will be referred to the Director of Selective Service for assignment to prescribed work. Upon certification that this work has been satisfactorily completed, the individual may submit the certification to his former Service. The Service will then issue a special new type of discharge—a clemency discharge—which will be substituted for the previously awarded undesirable discharge. However, the clemency discharge shall not bestow entitlement to benefits administered by the Veterans Administration.

5. *Alternate Civilian Service.* Determining factors in selecting suitable alternate service jobs will be:

(a) *National health, safety or interest.*

(b) *Noninterference with the competitive labor market.* The applicant cannot be assigned to a job for which there are more numerous qualified applicants than jobs available.

(c) *Compensation.* The compensation will provide a standard of living to the applicant reasonably comparable to the standard of living the same man would enjoy if he were entering the military service.

(d) *Skill and talent utilization.* Where possible, an applicant may utilize his special skills.

In prescribing the length of alternate service in individual cases, the Attorney General, the military department, or the Clemency Board shall take into account such honorable service as an individual may have rendered prior to his absence, penalties already paid under the law, and such other mitigating factors as may be appropriate to seek equity among participants in the program.

6. *No Grace Period.* There will *not* be a grace period for those outside the country to return and negotiate for clemency with the option of again fleeing the jurisdiction. All those eligible for the program and who have no additional criminal charges outstanding who re-enter the United States will have 15 days to report to the appropriate authority from the date of their re-entry. However, this 15-day period shall not extend the final date of reporting of January 21, 1975, as set forth in the proclamation.

7. *Inquiries.* Telephone inquiries may be made to the following authorities:

Evaders:

Department of Justice:	(202) 739-4281
Military Absentees:	
U.S. Navy:	(202) 694-2007 (202) 694-1936
U.S. Marine Corps:	(202) 694-8526
U.S. Army:	(317) 542-3417
U.S. Air Force:	(512) 652-4104
U.S. Coast Guard:	(202) 426-1830

PROCEDURES TO BE FOLLOWED

UNCONVICTED DRAFT EVADER AND MILITARY ABSENTEE

DRAFT EVADER

Report to United States attorney where offense was committed

Acknowledge allegiance to the United States by agreeing with the United States attorney to perform 24 months alternate service or less based on mitigating circumstances

Perform alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service

Director of Selective Service issues certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service

Receipt by United States attorney of a certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service

Dismissal of indictment or dropping of charges

MILITARY ABSENTEE

(including Coast Guard)

Report as prescribed by the military department concerned or for members of the Coast Guard report to the Secretary of Transportation

Oath of allegiance to United States

Agree with the concerned military department to perform 24 months alternate service or less based upon mitigating circumstances

Upon request, military department forgoes prosecution and issues undesirable discharge

Perform alternate service under the auspices of the Director of Selective Service

Director of Selective Service issues certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service

Receipt of a certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service by the concerned military department

Clemency discharge substituted for undesirable discharge

CONVICTED DRAFT EVADER AND MILITARY ABSENTEE

DRAFT EVADER

Apply to Clemency Board
Clemency Board may recommend clemency to the President

Clemency Board may condition recommendation of clemency on period of alternate service
President may grant clemency

MILITARY ABSENTEE
(including Coast Guard)

Apply to Clemency Board
Clemency Board may recommend clemency to the President, including substitution of a clemency discharge for a punitive or undesirable discharge
Clemency Board may condition recommendation of clemency on period of alternate service
President may grant clemency, including substitution of a clemency discharge for a punitive or undesirable discharge

Supreme Allied Commander, Europe

Announcement of Appointment of Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., To Succeed Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster. September 16, 1974

The President announced today that Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., has been appointed Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. The President's nomination of General Haig to the post was approved by NATO's Defense Planning Committee, which met today at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. The new appointment will become effective on December 15, 1974.

The President also appointed General Haig to be Commander of United States Forces in Europe, effective November 1, 1974.

General Haig will be replacing Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, who will be retiring. In agreeing to his release as SACEUR, the 14 NATO Governments on the Committee expressed their lasting gratitude for General Goodpaster's distinguished service. On behalf of the American people, President Ford joins in extending his appreciation to General Goodpaster for a job well done.

NOTE: The announcement was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Republican National Committee

The President's Remarks at a Luncheon for Members of the Committee and of the Republican National Finance Committee. September 16, 1974

Thank you very much, Nelson, Mary Louise, Dick, George, Senator Bill Brock, Congressman Bob Michel, members of the National Republican Committee, members of the Finance Committee, and others:

It is really a great privilege and a high honor to have an opportunity of participating with all of you on this fine occasion.

At the outset, let me congratulate Mary Louise on being unanimously selected this morning. That is a lot better than I did before the Congress, and I suspect it might be a little better than what Nelson will do. [*Laughter*]

I also wish to congratulate all of you on the selection of Dick Obenshain. As Nelson said, it reflects in this team the recognition that we wish to give as a political party to the women throughout the country who over the years have done as much, if not more, to make our political system work by working in the grass roots, unselfishly dedicating themselves to the necessary efforts that had to be made the length and the breadth of our country.

And Mary Louise, I am positive will end up being an outstanding Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

We have been a long time working on trying to make the Republican Party a viable, effective party in all 50 States. When I came to the Congress 26 years ago, the Republican Party was practically prohibited from having an impact politically in a number of our States in the South.

Patiently, constructively, and effectively, today the Republican Party is viable. It is constructive in every one of our 50 States. And the Republican Party can only expand and broaden that total effort by making certain that the voices in that area of our country are heard, and heard at the highest level.

And in Dick Obenshain we have a man who will represent that overall viewpoint and represent it well, as he has in the State of Virginia, where now we have a second Republican Governor elected, one after another, where we now have more Republican Congressmen on our side of the aisle than the opposition does on their side of the aisle.

We want this kind of effort made in every State, and Mary Louise and Dick, in my judgment, make that kind of a team.

But let me say, speaking of a team, I believe that Nelson Rockefeller and myself will make a good team, reflecting your views and the views of the Republicans and independents and, I trust, a good many Democrats, in trying to head the executive branch of the Government.

At the time that I made the announcement of Nelson's selection, I said I picked a strong man for a tough job.

And I am even more convinced today that his selection is in the best interests of this country, and he will be a great person.

The Governor is going to be given plenty of work to do politically, within the executive branch of the Government, in the field of domestic as well as foreign policy, and it is a pleasure for me to see the way it has all worked so far, and I am sure that this team will do the best job we possibly can in the months ahead, primarily for the country but also reflecting our political philosophy.

May I say also that the White House at the present time has in my judgment one of the finest members of the White House team to concentrate exclusively on the problems relating to politics. Dean Burch, a Counsellor with Cabinet status, is in charge of the White House political activities and relationships.

A former Chairman of the National Committee, an outstanding and long dedicated Republican, a person who performed superbly on the Federal Communications Commission—I think we are lucky to have Dean, and if you have any political problems, talk to Dean. He has an open door to my office and always will.

Dean has as an assistant, one of you from the Republican National Committee, and here I speak of Gwen Anderson, who was my political adviser while I was Vice President.

So again, in Dean, from the great State of Arizona, and Gwen, from the great State of Washington—they make a broad and effective Republican organization, operating in the White House.

Now, we all hate to say goodbye to George Bush, our new U.S. representative to the People's Republic of China. George, as all of you know, was a hard campaigner when he was first campaigning for the House of Representatives. He served extremely well in the House. He was a strong representative of our Government at the United Nations. He has been, I think, an excellent National Chairman in a most difficult time.

And so, with all that background, with all the wonderful personality and talent that he has, along with Barbara, our country will be extremely well represented in the People's Republic of China, and I just know they will enjoy it and do an extremely good job for all of us in that great responsibility.

A few months ago, when Ray Bliss asked me to come out to make a speech in Chicago to a regional gathering of Republicans, I went and made some remarks that I won't dwell on this morning, but I would like to say that what I said there is the criteria by which we will meet the campaign problems of 1976. The campaign will be in the hands of the Republican National Committee.

But that is all I am going to say about 1976, because we have a more important job in 1974.

A few months ago there were dire predictions about the fate of the Republican candidates from Governor down

through local offices, from candidates for the United States Senate, candidates for the House of Representatives in the Federal Congress.

I can remember some great predictions by some of our adversaries who said we were going to have a net loss of 100 or a net loss of 50, and there was great glee on the part of some of our adversaries that they were going to have a veto-proof Congress.

Well, we took on that challenge, and we pointed out what a veto-proof Congress would mean. It would mean a Congress that would spend more and more—and I repeatedly alerted people around the country that if we had a veto-proof Congress, they better tighten their seat belts because they were going right through the sky in spending. They backed off from that, and we on the other side have coined, I think, a better campaign slogan, because it involves our number one public enemy domestically, inflation.

What we want to elect to Congress—Senators and Members of the House—is an inflation-proof Congress, and we will get it with Republican candidates.

And I am quite frank to tell you that those Members of Congress who support our efforts to win the battle against inflation will get my wholehearted endorsement.

But we need strong and tall candidates who will stand up and fight the battle of inflation in fiscal policy and in any other of those policies that involve saving this country from the ravages of inflation.

So, urge your incumbents who are running for reelection, urge your candidates who are seeking the high office of the Congress, to campaign, to vote for economy, for strength in our battle against inflation.

You can have a big impact. Your influence can be significant. And we have got some tough votes coming up right soon in the Senate and in the House. Let them hear from you, that you want them to vote for economy, to hold down the lid.

And if we win some of these battles—and I hope we can—with the help of Republicans, the help of a necessary number of Democrats, then I think we will have defeated our public enemy number one.

But there are some other issues which I think we can affirmatively talk about. We can honestly say that we have turned a great deal of the power that was accumulating in Washington away and sent it back to our local units of government, to our States.

We have revenue sharing. It is a most important part of New Federalism. I can remember 5, 6, 7 years ago, maybe longer, talking to Nelson Rockefeller when he was Governor, working with him when he was active in the Governors' Conference.

I can recall vividly working with Bill Brock and Bob Michel and other Members of the Congress on trying to get the Congress to undertake a general revenue sharing program.

It is now law. It is about halfway through. Approximately \$16 billion of Federal money has gone back to States and local units of government so that they can establish at the local or State level that priorities that vary from New York to California, or Michigan to Florida, or communities in one State or another, have totally different problems.

And this vast amount of Federal money going without restriction for decisionmaking at the local and State level, I think, is a great achievement for a Republican Administration. And this Administration is going to continue it.

We want the legislation extended so that this effort will get even stronger in the months ahead.

So, I think we can take credit as Republicans for a program that is very meaningful and very substantial. But there are other things that have to be done, and they involve the area of foreign policy.

I always said and I believed then that America and the world was fortunate to have a great statesman in Henry Kissinger as our Secretary of State. And I have learned to an even greater degree how effective, how able, what a great teammate he is as he and I work on the problems involving peace throughout the world.

We have peace at the present time. We have peace for several reasons. One, we have peace because the United States is strong militarily. And we are not going to weaken our national security, despite the pressure from some sources.

Peace is related to strength. Weakness inevitably brings on war. History tells us that story.

In the interim while we are keeping strong, we are going to make conscientious efforts to negotiate with the Soviet Union, broadening our détente, seeking to make our total effort one of negotiation, not necessarily confrontation.

We are going to be working intimately with the problems of the Middle East, trying to move forward the successful efforts of disengagement which took place last fall.

We will concentrate in seeking to obtain a just and durable peace in that very difficult area of the world, but that is not the only area where we must concentrate. The Pacific, where over a period of about 10 years almost 60,000 Americans lost their lives—that was a great sacrifice, a sacrifice for an objective that many Administrations, not just one, felt was in the best interests of the United States and the world at large.

We cannot afford to throw away the sacrifices of those people. So, we must maintain our own strength and help our allies who are trying to retain the gains that were made in Vietnam and elsewhere in the Pacific.

We have the problem of Western Europe. The key to peace in the minds of many is the strengthening of NATO. We are working to keep better cooperation, stronger military and economic policies moving ahead.

I am encouraged, and we are going to be meeting from time to time, Secretary Kissinger and others, with those who can have a meaningful impact on the NATO or-

ganization, keeping it strong militarily, economically, diplomatically, and otherwise.

When you look at the other areas—Latin America, we are not going to neglect Latin America. We are going to work for greater cooperation there, and the activities of Dr. Kissinger in this area in the last 5 or 6 months have been significant.

We are not going to neglect Africa. We have and we will continue to work with those nations in that area of the world.

So anyplace you go, our broad policy of global peace will get our first and top attention because if we are going to keep peace, we can solve more easily our problems at home.

As I close, let me just thank all of you for the wonderful job you did in endorsing Mary Louise and Dick. Let me thank George for his tireless efforts, effective ones, and let me thank the Republican leadership in the House, Hugh Scott, John Rhodes, and their associates, and let me express to my staff that have been so helpful to me that I am grateful, and we are moving, and we are going to move with the Republican workers throughout the country. It is vital for us to carry our banner high, because I think we can do a great job for the country as a whole.

Thank you very kindly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. at the Mayflower Hotel. Earlier in the day, the President had held a breakfast meeting with members of the nominating committee of the Republican National Committee at the White House.

Prior to the luncheon, members of the Republican National Committee had elected Mary Louise Smith of Iowa as Republican National Chairman and Mrs. Smith had appointed Richard D. Obenshain of Virginia as Cochairman.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, this press conference is being held at a time when many Americans are observing the Jewish religious New Year. It begins a period of self-examination and reconciliation. In opening this press conference, I am mindful that the spirit of this holy day has a meaning for all Americans.

In examining one's deeds of the last year and in assuming responsibility for past actions and personal decisions, one can reach a point of growth and change. The purpose of looking back is to go forward with a new and enlightened dedication to our highest values.

The record of the past year does not have to be endlessly relived, but can be transformed by commitment to new insights and new actions in the year to come.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am ready for your questions. Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

QUESTIONS

PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, some Congressional Republicans who have talked to you have hinted that you may have had a secret reason for granting President Nixon a pardon sooner than you indicated you would at the last news conference, and I wonder if you could tell us what that reason was?

THE PRESIDENT. At the outset, let me say I had no secret reason, and I don't recall telling any Republican that I had such a reason.

Let me review quickly, if I might, the things that transpired following the last news conference.

As many of you know, I answered two, maybe three, questions concerning a pardon at that time. On return to the office, I felt that I had to have my counsel undertake a thorough examination as to what my right of pardon was under the Constitution. I also felt that it was very important that I find out what legal actions, if any, were contemplated by the Special Prosecutor.

That information was found out, and it was indicated to me that the possibility exists, the very real possibility, that the President would be charged with obstructing justice and 10 other possible criminal actions.

In addition, I asked my general counsel to find out, if he could, how long such criminal proceedings would take, from the indictment, the carrying on of the trial, et cetera, and I was informed that this would take a year, maybe somewhat longer, for the whole process to go through.

I also asked my counsel to find out whether or not, under decisions of the judicial system, a fair trial could be given to the former President.

After I got that information, which took 2 or 3 days, I then began to evaluate, in my own mind, whether or not I should take the action which I subsequently did.

Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Throughout your Vice Presidency, you said that you didn't believe that former President Nixon had ever committed an impeachable offense. Is that still your belief, or do you believe that his acceptance of a pardon implies his guilt or is an admission of guilt?

THE PRESIDENT. The fact that 38 members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Democrat and Republican, have unanimously agreed in the report that was filed that the former President was guilty of an impeachable offense, I think, is very persuasive evidence.

And the second question, I don't—

Q. Was it an admission of guilt?

THE PRESIDENT. Was the acceptance of the pardon by the President an admission of guilt? The acceptance of a pardon, I think, can be construed by many, if not all, as an admission of guilt.

Yes, Mr. Nessen [Ron Nessen, NBC News].

Q. What reports have you received on Mr. Nixon's health, and what effect, if any, did this have on your decision to pardon him now?

THE PRESIDENT. I have asked Dr. Lukash, who is the head physician in the White House, to keep me posted in proper channels as to the former President's health. I have been informed on a routine day-to-day basis, but I don't think I am at liberty to give any information as to those reports that I have received.

You also asked, what impact did the President's health have on my decision. I think it is well known that just before I gave my statement, at the time that I gave the pardon, I personally wrote in a phrase "the threat to the President's health."

The main concern that I had at the time I made the decision was to heal the wounds throughout the United States. For a period of 18 months or longer, we had had turmoil and divisiveness in the American society. At the same time, the United States had major problems, both at home and abroad, that needed the maximum personal attention of the President and many others in the Government.

It seemed to me that as long as this divisiveness continued, this turmoil existed, caused by the charges and countercharges, the responsible people in the Government could not give their total attention to the problems that we had to solve at home and abroad.

And the net result was I was more anxious to heal the Nation—that was the top priority. And I felt then, and I feel now, that the action I took will do that. I couldn't be oblivious, however, to news accounts that I had concerning the President's health, but the major reason for the action I took related to the effort to reconcile divisions in our country and to heal the wounds that had festered far too long.

Q. Mr. President, after you had told us that you were going to allow the legal process to go on before you decided whether to pardon him, why did you decide on Sunday morning, abruptly, to pardon President Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't decide abruptly. I explained a moment ago the process that I went through subsequent to the last press conference. And when I had assembled all of that information that came to me through my counsel, I then most carefully analyzed the situation in the country, and I decided that we could not afford in America an extended period of continued turmoil. And the fact that the trial, and all of the parts thereof, would have lasted a year, perhaps more, with the continuation of the divisions in America, I felt that I should take the action that I did promptly and effectively.

FORMER PRESIDENT'S TAPES AND DOCUMENTS

Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask you a question about the decision relating to custody of the Nixon tapes and documents. Considering the enormous interest that

the Special Prosecutor's office had in those documents for further investigation, I am wondering why the negotiations with Mr. Nixon's representatives were conducted strictly between the counsel in your office without bringing in discussions with either Mr. Jaworski's representatives or those from the Justice Department.

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, I did receive a memorandum, or legal opinion, from the Department of Justice which indicated that in the opinion of the Department of Justice, the documents, tapes—the ownership of them—were in the hands of the former President. And historically, that has been the case for all Presidents.

Now, the negotiations for the handling of the tapes and documents were undertaken and consummated by my staff and the staff of the former President. I believe that they have been properly preserved, and they will be available under subpoena for any criminal proceeding. Now, the Special Prosecutor's staff has indicated some concern. I am saying tonight that my staff is working with the Special Prosecutor's staff to try and alleviate any concerns that they have. I hope a satisfactory arrangement can be worked out.

PREVIOUS STATEMENTS ON PARDON

Q. Mr. President, during your confirmation hearings as Vice President, you said that you did not think that the country would stand for a President to pardon his predecessor. Has your mind changed about such public opinion?

THE PRESIDENT. In those hearings before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, I was asked a hypothetical question. And in answer to that hypothetical question I responded by saying that I did not think the American people would stand for such an action.

Now that I am in the White House and don't have to answer hypothetical questions but have to deal with reality, it was my judgment, after analyzing all of the facts, that it was in the best interest of the United States for me to take the action that I did.

I think if you will reread what I said in answer to that hypothetical question, I did not say I wouldn't. I simply said that under the way the question was phrased, the American people would object.

But I am absolutely convinced when dealing with reality in this very, very difficult situation, that I made the right decision in an effort—an honest, conscientious effort—to end the divisions and the turmoil in the United States.

Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News].

SAFEGUARDING OF TAPES AND DOCUMENTS

Q. Mr. President, is there any safeguard in the tapes agreement that was made with Mr. Nixon, first, with their destruction in the event anything happens to him, because

under the agreement they will be destroyed, and secondly, should not the tapes be kept in the White House until the Special Prosecutor has finished dealing with them?

THE PRESIDENT. The tapes and the documents are still in our possession, and we are, as I said a moment ago, working with the Special Prosecutor's office to alleviate any concerns they have as to their disposition and their availability.

The agreement as to destruction is quite clear-cut. As long as Mr. Nixon is alive and during the period of time that is set forth, they are available for subpoena by a court involving any criminal proceedings. I think this is a necessary requirement for the protection of evidence for any such action.

THE CIA AND CHILE

Q. Mr. President, recent Congressional testimony has indicated that the CIA, under the direction of a committee headed by Dr. Kissinger, attempted to destabilize the Government of Chile under former President Allende.

Is it the policy of your Administration to attempt to destabilize the governments of other democracies?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer in general. I think this is a very important question.

Our Government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security. I am informed reliably that Communist nations spend vastly more money than we do for the same kind of purposes.

Now, in this particular case, as I understand it—and there is no doubt in my mind—our Government had no involvement whatsoever in the Allende coup. To my knowledge, nobody has charged that. The facts are we had no involvement in any way whatsoever in the coup itself.

In a period of time, 3 or 4 years ago, there was an effort being made by the Allende government to destroy opposition news media, both the writing press as well as the electronic press, and to destroy opposition political parties.

The effort that was made in this case was to help and assist the preservation of opposition newspapers and electronic media and to preserve opposition political parties.

I think this is in the best interest of the people in Chile and, certainly, in our best interest.

Now, may I add one further comment.

The 40 Committee was established in 1948. It has been in existence under Presidents since that time. That committee reviews every covert operation undertaken by our Government, and that information is relayed to the responsible Congressional committees where it is reviewed by House and Senate committees.

It seems to me that the 40 Committee should continue in existence, and I am going to meet with the responsible Congressional committees to see whether or not they want any changes in the review process so that the Congress, as

well as the President, are fully informed and are fully included in the operations for any such action.

Mr. Sperling [Godfrey Sperling, Jr., Christian Science Monitor].

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON PARDON DECISION

Q. In view of public reaction, do you think that the Nixon pardon really served to bind up the Nation's wounds? I wonder if you would assess public reaction to that move.

THE PRESIDENT. I must say that the decision has created more antagonism than I anticipated. But as I look over the long haul with a trial, or several trials, of a former President, criminal trials, the possibility of a former President being in the dock, so to speak, and the divisions that would have existed not just for a limited period of time but for a long period of time, it seems to me that when I had the choice between that possibility and the possibility of taking direct action hoping to conclude it, I am still convinced, despite the public reaction so far, that the decision I made was the right one.

Q. Mr. President, in regard to the pardon, you talk about the realities of the situation. Now those realities, rightly or wrongly, include a good many people who speculate about whether or not there is some sort of arrangement—they even, some of them, call it a deal—between you and the former President, or between your staff and his staff—resignation in exchange for a full pardon.

The question is: Is there or was there, to your knowledge, any kind of understanding about this?

THE PRESIDENT. There was no understanding, no deal between me and the former President, nor between my staff and the staff of the former President, none whatsoever.

ACCESS TO INCOME TAX RETURNS

Q. Mr. President, sir, there is a bill that the Treasury Department has put forward, I think it is about 38 pages. Under this bill, which deals with getting hold of the returns, Internal Revenue returns, of citizens of the country, you could take action to get those returns whenever you wanted to.

I wonder if you are aware of this and if you feel that you need to get those returns of citizens?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding that a President has, by tradition and practice and by law, the right to have access to income tax returns. I personally think that is something that should be kept very closely held. A person's income tax return is a very precious thing to that individual, and therefore, I am about to issue an Executive order that makes it even more restrictive as to how those returns can be handled.¹ And I do think that a proposed piece of legislation that is coming to me and subsequently will be submitted, as I recollect, to the Congress would also greatly tighten up the availability or accessi-

¹ See page 1176 of this issue.

bility of income tax returns. I think they should be closely held, and I can assure you that they will be most judiciously handled as far as I am concerned.

OWNERSHIP OF PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS

Q. Mr. President, looking beyond the Nixon papers and in view of some criticism in Congress, do you believe we may have now reached the point where Presidential White House papers should remain in the Government's hands as the property of the Government?

THE PRESIDENT. As far as I am personally concerned, I can see a legitimate reason for Presidential papers remaining the property of the Government. In my own case, I made a decision some years ago to turn over all of my Congressional papers, all of my Vice Presidential papers, to the University of Michigan archives.

As far as I am concerned, whether they go to the archives for use or whether they stay the possession of the Government, I don't think it makes too much difference.

I have no desire, personally, to retain whatever papers come out of my Administration.

Mr. Mollenhoff [Clark R. Mollenhoff, Des Moines Register and Tribune].

THE PARDON DECISION

Q. Mr. President, at the last press conference you said, "The code of ethics that will be followed will be the example that I set." Do you find any conflicts of interest in the decision to grant a sweeping pardon to your life-long friend and your financial benefactor with no consultation for advice and judgment for the legal fallout?

THE PRESIDENT. The decision to grant a pardon to Mr. Nixon was made primarily, as I have expressed, for the purpose of trying to heal the wounds throughout the country between Americans on one side of the issue or the other. Mr. Nixon nominated me for the office of Vice President. I was confirmed overwhelmingly in the House as well as in the Senate. Every action I have taken, Mr. Mollenhoff, is predicated on my conscience without any concern or consideration as to favor as far as I am concerned.

CONDITIONAL AMNESTY AND THE PARDON DECISION

Q. If your intention was to heal the wounds of the Nation, sir, why did you grant only a conditional amnesty to the Vietnam war draft evaders while granting a full pardon to President Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. The only connection between those two cases is the effort that I made in the one to heal the wounds involving the charges against Mr. Nixon and my honest and conscientious effort to heal the wounds for those who had deserted military service or dodged the draft. That is the only connection between the two.

In one case, you have a President who was forced to resign because of circumstances involving his Administration, and he has been shamed and disgraced by that resignation. In the case of the draft dodgers and Army and military deserters, we are trying to heal the wounds by the action that I took with the signing of the proclamation this morning.

REPORTS ON WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

Q. Mr. President, another concern that has been voiced around the country since the pardon is that the judicial process as it finally unwinds may not write the definitive chapter on Watergate and perhaps with particular regard to Mr. Nixon's particular involvement, however total, however it may have been in truth. My question is, would you consider appointing a special commission with extraordinary powers to look into all of the evidentiary material and to write that chapter and not leave it to later history?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it seems to me as I look at what has been done, I think you find a mass of evidence that has been accumulated. In the first instance, you have the very intensive investigation conducted by the House Committee on the Judiciary. It was a very well-conducted investigation. It came up with volumes of information.

In addition, the Special Prosecutor's office under Mr. Jaworski has conducted an intensive investigation and the Special Prosecutor's office will issue a report at the conclusion of their responsibilities that I think will probably make additional information available to the American people.

And thirdly, as the various criminal trials proceed in the months ahead, there obviously will be additional information made available to the American people. So, when you see what has been done and what undoubtedly will be done, I think the full story will be made available to the American people.

SUCCESSORS TO GENERAL HAIG AND PRESS SECRETARY TER HORST

Q. Mr. President, could you give us an idea who will succeed General Haig, and how are you coming on your search for a Press Secretary?

THE PRESIDENT. Do I have a lot of candidates here? [Laughter] No shows. [Laughter]

I have several people in mind to replace General Haig, but I have made no decision on that. It was just announced today that the NATO countries have accepted him as the officer handling those responsibilities.²

I think he is to take office succeeding General Goodpaster on December 15. He assumes his responsibilities as the head of U.S. military forces November 1. In the next few days undoubtedly I will make the decision as to the individual to succeed him.

² See page 1155 of this issue.

As far as the Press Secretary is concerned, we are actively working on that, and we hope to have an announcement in a relatively short period of time.³

THE FORMER PRESIDENT'S HEALTH

Q. Mr. President, prior to your deciding to pardon Mr. Nixon, did you have, apart from those reports, any information either from associates of the President or from his family or from any other source about his health, about his medical condition?

THE PRESIDENT. Prior to the decision that I made granting a pardon to Mr. Nixon, I had no other specific information concerning his health other than what I had read in the news media or heard in the news media. I had not gotten any information from any of the Nixon family.

The sole source was what I had read in the news media plus one other fact. On Saturday, before the Sunday, a member of my staff was working with me on the several decisions I had to make. He was, from my staff, the one who had been in negotiations on Friday with the President and his staff. At the conclusion of some decisions that were made, I asked him, how did the President look, and he reported to me his observations.

But other than what I had read or heard and this particular incident, I had no precise information concerning the President's health.

Yes, Mr. Joyce. [Thomas H. Joyce, Newsweek Magazine].

POSSIBILITY OF A DEPRESSION

Q. Mr. President, your own economic advisers are suggesting—say the economy is very bad and they're very pessimistic—we are hearing the word "depression" used now. I wonder how you feel about whether we are heading for a depression?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say very strongly that the United States is not going to have a depression. The overall economy of the United States is strong. Employment is still high. We do have the problem of inflation. We do have related problems, and we are going to come up with some answers that I hope will solve those problems.

We are not going to have a depression. We are going to work to make sure that our economy improves in the months ahead.

FOOD AID POLICY

Q. Mr. President, in the face of massive food shortages and the prospects of significant starvation, will the United States be able to significantly increase its food aid to foreign countries, and what is our position going to be at the Rome conference on participation in the world grain reserves?

³ See page 1177 of this issue.

THE PRESIDENT. Within the next few days a very major decision in this area will be made. I am not at liberty to tell you what the answer will be because it has not been decided.

But it is my hope that the United States for humanitarian purposes will be able to increase its contribution to those nations that have suffered because of drought or any of the other problems related to human needs.

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Q. Back to the CIA, under what international law do we have a right to attempt to destabilize the constitutionally elected government of another country, and does the Soviet Union have a similar right to try to destabilize the Government of Canada, for example, or the United States?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to pass judgment on whether it is permitted or authorized under international law. It is a recognized fact that historically, as well as presently, such actions are taken in the best interest of the countries involved.

ADMINISTRATION OPENNESS AND CANDOR

Q. Mr. President, last month when you assumed the Presidency, you pledged openness and candor. Last week you decided on the ex-President's pardon in virtually total secrecy. Despite all you have said tonight, there would still seem to be some confusion, some contradiction.

My question is this: Are your watchwords of your Administration still openness and candor?

THE PRESIDENT. Without any question, without any reservation. And I think in the one instance that you cite, it was a sole decision, and, believe me, it wasn't easy. And since I was the only one who could make that decision, I thought I had to search my own soul after consulting with a limited number of people. And I did it. And I think in the long run it was the right decision.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's second news conference was held at 8 p.m. on Monday, September 16, 1974, in the East Room at the White House. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

United States Ambassador to Spain

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Peter M. Flanigan. September 17, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Peter M. Flanigan, of Purchase, N.Y., to be Ambassador to Spain. Mr. Flanigan will succeed Adm. Horacio Rivero.

He was associated with the New York investment banking firm of Dillion, Read & Co., Inc., from 1949 to 1969,

serving as vice president from 1954 to 1969. He was appointed Assistant to the President in 1969 and also served as Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy until June of this year, when he resigned.

He was born in New York on June 21, 1923. Mr. Flanigan was a graduate cum laude of Portsmouth Priory, in Rhode Island, and received his B.A. summa cum laude from Princeton University in 1945. He served as a Navy carrier pilot in the Pacific theater during World War II.

He is married to the former Brigid Snow, and they have four children.

United States Ambassador to the Republic of Chad

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Edward S. Little. September 17, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward S. Little, of Toledo, Ohio, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Chad. He will succeed Edward W. Mulcahy, who is now Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

He is currently the Acting Coordinator, Office of Cuban Affairs, of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. In 1969, he became the Country Director of the North Coast, of the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, after serving as Deputy Chief of Mission in Bern, Switzerland. He attended the National War College from 1965 to 1966. He was Special Assistant to the Secretary of State from 1962 to 1965 after serving as Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department. From 1957 to 1959, he was the Officer in Charge of Caribbean Affairs before becoming the Deputy Director of the Office of Caribbean and Mexican Affairs. He was an international economist with the Bureau of Economic Affairs from 1956 to 1957.

Mr. Little was born on July 20, 1918, in Toledo, Ohio. He received his A.B. from Swarthmore College in 1939 and his M.A. in 1940 from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He was awarded his Ph. D. from American University in 1959. He served overseas with the U.S. Navy from 1942 to 1946. He began his Government career as an economist with the Department of Agriculture in 1940. In 1946, he served with the Office of Price Administration before joining the State Department in 1947. In Washington, he served as international economist in the Bureau of Economic Affairs, and as staff assistant in the Bureau of European Affairs before being assigned to Madrid as an economic officer in 1952.

He is married to the former Marian McCarty, and they reside in Alexandria, Va.

Department of the Army

***Announcement of Intention To Nominate
Harold L. Brownman To Be Assistant Secretary for
Installations and Logistics. September 17, 1974***

The President today announced his intention to nominate Harold L. Brownman, of Rockville, Md., to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics. He will succeed Eugene E. Berg, who resigned effective July 15, 1974.

In March of 1973, he became Deputy Director for Management and Services of the Central Intelligence Agency after serving as Director of Special Projects. In 1967, he became vice president of systems for LTV ElectroSystems, Inc. From 1958 to 1967, he was assistant to the division director of the Airborne Instruments Laboratory, which is a division of Cutler-Hammer. He had previously served, in 1958, as program director of the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp. From 1957 to 1958, he had been laboratory manager of the Fairchild Controls Corp. after serving as research engineer of the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp.

Mr. Brownman was born on May 21, 1923, in New York City and received his B.E.E. from the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. In 1949, he received his M.E.E. from the Polytechnic Institute. He joined the teaching staff of the Polytechnic Institute in 1946. In 1948, he became an engineer with the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Company. From 1950 to 1952, he was an engineer with SERVO Mechanisms before joining TELE Register Corp. as an engineer. In 1954, he became senior engineer of the American Bosch Arma Corp. until joining the Fairchild Corp.

He is married to the former Edith Heller, and they have three children. They reside in Rockville, Md.

Department of the Navy

***Announcement of Intention To Nominate
H. Tyler Marcy To Be Assistant Secretary for
Research and Development. September 17, 1974***

The President today announced his intention to nominate H. Tyler Marcy, of Brewster, Mass., to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development. He will succeed David Samuel Potter, who was appointed Under Secretary of the Navy on August 27, 1974.

Since 1972, he has been a self-employed consultant after serving as director of technology for the IBM Corp. in Armonk, N.Y., from 1968 to 1972. In 1962, he became vice president, general products division, systems development division, of the IBM Corp. He had previously been laboratory manager for IBM in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. From 1956 to 1957, he was assistant manager of product development for the IBM Corp. and was employed in the navigation computer, character recognition, data processing systems for IBM in Endicott, N.Y. In 1946, he became associate director for the special projects department for the M. W. Kellogg Co.

Mr. Marcy was born on September 14, 1918, in Rochester, N.Y., and received his B.S. degree from M.I.T. He received his M.S. from M.I.T. in 1941 before working in the servomechanism laboratory at M.I.T. He is a member of the Instrument Society of America and the Institute of Electrical Electronic Engineers.

He is married to the former Cynthia Spencer, and they have five children. They reside in Brewster, Mass.

Department of the Navy

***Announcement of Intention To Nominate
Gary Dean Penisten To Be Assistant Secretary for
Financial Management. September 17, 1974***

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gary Dean Penisten, of Southport, Conn., to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Financial Management. He will succeed Robert D. Nesen, who resigned effective May 1, 1974.

He is currently manager, group finance operation, power generation business group, for the General Electric Co. He served as manager, strategic planning operation of the industrial and marine turbine business division, from 1971 to 1972. He had served as manager, finance, medium steam turbine, of the generator department. In 1965, he served as manager for the program and staff management after he had been audit administrator since 1963. From 1958 to 1963, he served as a cost estimator and junior to the supervising traveling auditor of the corporate audit staff, after having trained in the appliance park project since 1953.

Mr. Penisten was born on May 14, 1931, in Lincoln, Nebr., and received his B.S. degree from the University of Omaha in 1953. He served as a first lieutenant in the United States Army Reserve from 1950 to 1963.

He is married to the former Nancy M. Golding, and they have four children. They reside in Southport, Conn.

Department of Commerce

Announcement of Intention To Nominate James Leonard Pate To Be Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs. September 17, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Leonard Pate, of Akron, Ohio, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs. He will succeed Sidney L. Jones, who was appointed as a Deputy Assistant to the President on July 10, 1974.

Mr. Pate is currently the director of business research and chief economist for the B. F. Goodrich Co. in Akron. From 1965 to 1968, he served as a consultant to various private industries. In 1968, he became an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, and later became the senior economist.

He was born in Mt. Sterling, Ill., on September 6, 1935, and received his A.B. degree from Monmouth College in 1963. He received his M.B.A. degree in 1964 from Indiana University. He served as an assistant professor of economics at Monmouth College from 1965 to 1968. Previously, he had been a teaching associate at the Graduate School of Business at Indiana University from 1964 to 1965, where he had also been a graduate assistant.

He and his wife, Donna, have three children, and they reside in Akron, Ohio.

National Mediation Board

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Kay McMurray for Reappointment as a Member of the Board. September 17, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kay McMurray, of Hinsdale, Ill., for reappointment as a member of the National Mediation Board for a term expiring July 1, 1977. He was initially appointed on October 3, 1972, to serve a term expiring July 1, 1974.

Mr. McMurray was born March 18, 1918, in Oakley, Idaho, and received his A.B. degree from Stanford University in 1940. He joined United Air Lines in 1940 and became a captain in 1942 after attending flight school and serving as a copilot for 13 months. During this time, he was elected to the United Air Lines pilot negotiating committee. From 1949 to 1953, Mr. McMurray returned to Boise, Idaho, where he was assistant to the president of Inland Empire Insurance Co., a registered representative (NYSE) with Wegener & Daly, and legislative representative for the Western Highway Institute.

From 1953 to 1971, Mr. McMurray was executive administrator of the Air Line Pilots Association, and from 1971 to 1972 he was special consultant to the president of United Air Lines.

Mr. McMurray is married. He and his wife have three children.

The National Mediation Board was established in 1934 and consists of three members, not more than two of whom may be members of the same political party. The Board designates its own Chairman annually. The principal duty of the Board is to mediate differences between the railroads, the express and Pullman companies, and the airlines on the one hand, and their employees on the other, growing out of their attempts to make and maintain agreements establishing rates of pay, rules, and working conditions of the employees as directed by the Railway Labor Act.

National Employ the Handicapped Week, 1974

Proclamation 4314. September 17, 1974

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

The single greatest difficulty facing the handicapped person is not his or her own disability but rather the attitudes of society toward that disability. Yet handicapped people have proven themselves capable of performing a wide range of jobs with great diligence, skill, and efficiency.

As scientists, teachers, Government officials, aerospace engineers—in nearly every occupation—otherwise qualified but handicapped Americans have contributed significantly to our Nation's progress.

Let us resolve in 1974 to make use of the talents and abilities and energies of the handicapped. Our Nation needs them.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the joint resolution of Congress approved August 11, 1945, as amended (36 U.S.C. 155), designating the first week in October of each year as National Employ the Handicapped Week, do hereby call upon the people of the United States to observe the week beginning October 6, 1974, for such purpose.

I urge the Nation's Governors, Mayors, and all other public officials, as well as leaders in every area of American life, to join with the handicapped themselves in active participation in this observance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:17 p.m.,
September 17, 1974]

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*The President's Address to the 29th Session of the General Assembly.
September 18, 1974*

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, your Excellencies:

In 1946, President Harry Truman welcomed representatives of 55 nations to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. Since then, every American President has had the great honor of addressing this Assembly.

Today, with pleasure and humility, I take my turn in welcoming you, the distinguished representatives of 138 nations.

When I took office, I told the American people that my remarks would be "just a little straight talk among friends." Straight talk is what I propose here today in the first of my addresses to the representatives of the world.

Next week, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will present in specifics the overall principles which I will outline in my remarks today. It should be emphatically understood that the Secretary of State has my full support and the unquestioned backing of the American people.

As a party leader in the Congress of the United States, as Vice President, and now as President of the United States of America, I have had the closest working relationship with Secretary of State Kissinger. I have supported and will continue to endorse his many efforts as Secretary of State and in our National Security Council system to build a world of peace.

Since the United Nations was founded, the world has experienced conflicts and threats to peace, but we have avoided the greatest danger—another world war. Today, we have the opportunity to make the remainder of this century an era of peace and cooperation and economic well-being.

The harsh hostilities which once held great powers in their rigid grasp have now begun to moderate. Many of the crises which dominated past General Assemblies are fortunately behind us. And technological progress holds out the hope that one day all men can achieve a decent life.

Nations too often have had no choice but to be either hammer or anvil, to strike or to be struck. Now we have a new opportunity—to forge, in concert with others, a framework of international cooperation. That is the course the United States has chosen for itself.

On behalf of the American people, I renew these basic pledges to you today.

—We are committed to a pursuit of a more peaceful, stable, and cooperative world. While we are determined never to be bested in a test of strength, we will devote our strength to what is best. And in the nuclear era, there is no rational alternative to accords of mutual restraint between the United States and the Soviet Union, two nations which have the power to destroy mankind.

—We will bolster our partnerships with traditional friends in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to meet new challenges in a rapidly changing world. The maintenance of such relationships underpins rather than undercuts the search for peace.

—We will seek out, we will expand our relations with old adversaries. For example, our new rapport with the People's Republic of China best serves the purposes of each nation and the interests of the entire world.

—We will strive to heal old wounds, reopened in recent conflicts in Cyprus, the Middle East, and in Indochina. Peace cannot be imposed from without, but we will do whatever is within our capacity to help achieve it.

—We rededicate ourselves to the search for justice, equality, and freedom. Recent developments in Africa signal the welcome end of colonialism. Behavior appropriate to an era of dependence must give way to the new responsibilities of an era of interdependence.

No single nation, no single group of nations, no single organization can meet all of the challenges before the community of nations. We must act in concert. Progress toward a better world must come through cooperative efforts across the whole range of bilateral and multilateral relations.

America's revolutionary birth and centuries of experience in adjusting democratic government to changing conditions have made Americans practical as well as idealistic. As idealists, we are proud of our role in the founding of the United Nations and in supporting its many accomplishments. As practical people, we are sometimes impatient at what we see as shortcomings.

In my 25 years as a Member of the Congress of the United States, I learned two basic practical lessons:

First, men of differing political persuasions can find common ground for cooperation. We need not agree on all issues in order to agree on most. Differences of principle, of purpose, of perspective will not disappear. But neither will our mutual problems disappear unless we are determined to find mutually helpful solutions.

Second, a majority must take into account the proper interest of a minority if the decisions of the majority are to be accepted. We who believe in and live by majority rule must always be alert to the danger of the "tyranny of the majority." Majority rule thrives on the habits of accommodation, moderation, and consideration of the interests of others.

A very stark reality has tempered America's actions for decades and must now temper the actions of all nations. Prevention of full-scale warfare in the nuclear age has become everybody's responsibility. Today's regional conflict must not become tomorrow's world disaster. We must assure by every means at our disposal that local crises are quickly contained and resolved.

The challenge before the United States [Nations] is very clear. This organization can place the weight of the world community on the side of world peace. And this organization can provide impartial forces to maintain the peace.

And at this point I wish to pay tribute on behalf of the American people to the 37 members of the United Nations peacekeeping forces who have given their lives in the Middle East and in Cyprus in the past 10 months, and I convey our deepest sympathies to their loved ones.

Let the quality of our response measure up to the magnitude of the challenge that we face. I pledge to you that America will continue to be constructive, innovative, and responsive to the work of this great body.

The nations in this hall are united by a deep concern for peace. We are united as well by our desire to ensure a better life for all people.

Today, the economy of the world is under unprecedented stress. We need new approaches to international cooperation to respond effectively to the problems that we face. Developing and developed countries, market and nonmarket countries—we are all a part of one interdependent economic system.

The food and oil crises demonstrate the extent of our interdependence. Many developing nations need the food surplus of a few developed nations. And many industrialized nations need the oil production of a few developing nations.

Energy is required to produce food and food to produce energy—and both to provide a decent life for everyone. The problems of food and energy can be resolved on the basis of cooperation, or can, I should say, [be] made unmanageable on the basis of confrontation. Runaway inflation, propelled by food and oil price increases, is an early warning signal to all of us.

Let us not delude ourselves. Failure to cooperate on oil and food and inflation could spell disaster for every nation represented in this room. The United Nations must not and need not allow this to occur. A global strategy for food and energy is urgently required.

The United States believes four principles should guide a global approach:

First, all nations must substantially increase production. Just to maintain the present standards of living the world must almost double its output of food and energy to match the expected increase in the world's population by the end of this century. To meet aspirations for a better life, production will have to expand at a significantly faster rate than population growth.

Second, all nations must seek to achieve a level of prices which not only provides an incentive to producers but which consumers can afford. It should now be clear that the developed nations are not the only countries which demand and receive an adequate return for their goods. But it should also be clear that by confronting consumers with production restrictions, artificial pricing, and the prospect of ultimate bankruptcy, producers will eventually become the victims of their own actions.

Third, all nations must avoid the abuse of man's fundamental needs for the sake of narrow national or bloc advantage. The attempt by any nation to use one commodity for political purposes will inevitably tempt other countries to use their commodities for their own purposes.

Fourth, the nations of the world must assure that the poorest among us are not overwhelmed by rising prices of the imports necessary for their survival. The traditional aid donors and the increasingly wealthy oil producers must join in this effort.

The United States recognizes the special responsibility we bear as the world's largest producer of food. That is why Secretary of State Kissinger proposed from this very podium last year a world food conference to define a global food policy. And that is one reason why we have removed domestic restrictions on food productions in the United States.

It has not been our policy to use food as a political weapon, despite the oil embargo and recent oil prices and production decisions.

It would be tempting for the United States—beset by inflation and soaring energy prices—to turn a deaf ear to external appeals for food assistance, or to respond with internal appeals for export controls. But however difficult our own economic situation, we recognize that the plight of others is worse.

Americans have always responded to human emergencies in the past, and we respond again here today. In response to Secretary General Waldheim's appeal and to help meet the long-term challenge in food, I reiterate: To help developing nations realize their aspirations to grow more of their own food, the United States will substantially increase its assistance to agricultural production programs in other countries.

Next, to ensure that the survival of millions of our fellow men does not depend upon the vagaries of weather, the United States is prepared to join in a worldwide effort to negotiate, establish, and maintain an international system of food reserves. This system will work best if each nation is made responsible for managing the reserves that it will have available.

Finally, to make certain that the more immediate needs for food are met this year, the United States will not only maintain the amount it spends for food shipments to nations in need but it will increase this amount this year.

Thus, the United States is striving to help define and help contribute to a cooperative global policy to meet man's immediate and long-term need for food. We will set forth our comprehensive proposals at the World Food Conference in November.

Now is the time for oil producers to define their conception of a global policy on energy to meet the growing need and to do this without imposing unacceptable burdens on the international monetary and trade system.

A world of economic confrontation cannot be a world of political cooperation. If we fail to satisfy man's fundamental needs for energy and food, we face a threat not just to our aspirations for a better life for all our peoples but to our hopes for a more stable and a more peaceful world. By working together to overcome our common problems, mankind can turn from fear towards hope.

From the time of the founding of the United Nations, America volunteered to help nations in need, frequently as the main benefactor. We were able to do it. We were glad to do it. But as new economic forces alter and reshape today's complex world, no nation can be expected to feed all the world's hungry peoples.

Fortunately, however, many nations are increasingly able to help. And I call on them to join with us as truly united nations in the struggle to produce, to provide more food at lower prices for the hungry and, in general, a better life for the needy of this world.

America will continue to do more than its share. But there are realistic limits to our capacities. There is no limit, however, to our determination to act in concert with other nations to fulfill the vision of the United Nations Charter, to save succeeding generations from the

scourge of war, and to promote social progress and better standards, better standards of life in a larger freedom.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. at the United Nations General Assembly in New York City. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

- During his visit to New York City to address the General Assembly, the President:
- met with Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations;
 - met with Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, President of the General Assembly;
 - attended a reception in the Indonesian Lounge for representatives to the United Nations;
 - attended a luncheon in the South Lounge hosted by Secretary General Waldheim; and
 - attended a reception at the United States Mission to the United Nations for members of the U.S. delegation to the 29th General Assembly and members of the U.S. Mission staff.

Deferral of Federal Pay Raise

Statement by the President Urging the Senate To Sustain the Deferral. September 18, 1974

I have labeled inflation fighting as my number one priority. To win will require the cooperation of all branches of Government and all of the American people.

Tomorrow, the Senate will consider a vital part of this effort—my decision to defer a pay increase for Federal employees from October 1974 to January 1975. This deferral will save the American taxpayers \$700 million and will help the Federal Government in its campaign to bring inflation under control.

I realize that I am asking Federal employees to make a sacrifice, but now is the time when all of us must set an example of fiscal restraint for the rest of the Nation.

The Senate can do its part by voting to sustain my action on the 3-month Federal pay deferral. I see this vote as the first test of our common effort to put our economic house in order.

This is one of the most significant votes the Congress is being called upon to take in the fight against inflation. I am confident the Senate will act responsibly and in the best interests of all Americans.

Release of American Prisoner in Laos

Statement by the President Following the Release of Emmet Kay. September 18, 1974

With all Americans, I welcome the news that Mr. Emmet Kay has been released as part of the prisoner exchange in Laos. This release marks a major positive step in carrying out the Vientiane Accords which ended the

war in that country last year. We are encouraged by this development and hope it will be followed by other positive steps to achieve peace and reconciliation in Laos.

At the same time, I remain concerned about the many Americans still unaccounted for in Southeast Asia. As Vice President, and during my time in the Congress, I had the opportunity to meet with the families of a number of our missing men. I have the highest regard for the strength and courage these families have shown in the long period since their loved ones were lost.

It has now been more than 18 months since the Paris Agreement on Vietnam was signed in January 1973. In addition to the return of prisoners, that Agreement contained specific provisions on accounting for the missing and the return of the remains of the dead. The record shows that there has been almost no compliance with these humanitarian provisions. Although the Government of North Vietnam returned the remains of 23 American servicemen who died in captivity, there has been no progress on accounting for the missing and no further arrangements for the return of the remains of the dead.

The Communist side has refused to permit searches in areas under their control for crash sites, graves, and other information on the MIA's. We are prepared to carry out such searches by unarmed American teams, and we stand ready to discuss arrangements for the conduct of such searches by teams from neutral countries, the International Red Cross, other humanitarian organizations, or by local authorities. The important thing is that we get on with this job now.

The families of our men have waited too long already, and I am sure that families of those of other nationalities who remain unaccounted for have a similar desire to know the fate of their loved ones. There should be no political or military controversy about this humanitarian problem, and I call for renewed efforts to resolve it.

NOTE: Emmet James Kay, a civilian pilot on contract with the Agency for International Development, was released by the Pathet Lao on September 18, after 16 months of captivity.

Washington Press Club

The President's Remarks at the Swearing In of Ronald A. Sarro as President of the Club. September 18, 1974

Thank you very much, Wauhillau, Miriam, Ron, Betty, all of you.

Obviously, it is a great privilege and a great pleasure for me to be here tonight.

When I received the printed invitation for this affair this evening, one phrase in particular caught my attention. It said, "Come honeymoon with us."

You people sure know how to hurt a fellow.

As you might imagine, I don't agree with those who have called me the Evel Knievel of politics, but I do think beyond a doubt, beyond a shadow of a doubt, you don't need to have a pool at the White House to get in deep water.

Really, I didn't realize how much the honeymoon was over until this morning when the Metro started to build a new station in the Oval Office.

When I first said "yes" to being here tonight, I was then Vice President and had a lot more time on my hands. You know people say a lot of nice things about Vice Presidents. But it is almost like being the best man at a wedding—you never get a chance to prove it.

As all of you know, on August 9 I became President, and I wasn't sure that my schedule would allow me enough time to be here with all of you tonight. But then 3 weeks ago, Maggie Hunter—she cornered me at Ron Nessen's Sunday pool party, and who can say "no" to Maggie Hunter in a bathing suit?

And frankly, I am very glad she did ask me, because it is a real pleasure to be here and see so many familiar faces in the audience.

For instance, I saw, as I came in, my very good friend, Sarah McClendon. Some people say that Sarah is very outspoken. Not by anyone that I know.

But anybody in public life is well aware of how important the judgments of the press are. I am firmly convinced that if the good Lord had made the world today, he would have spent 6 days creating the heavens and the earth and all the living creatures upon it. But on the seventh day, he would not have rested. He would have justified it to Helen Thomas.

I also want to say a special "hello" to all my fellow survivors of Air Force Two who are here tonight, and I see many in the audience. Be honest, now, all of you who flew with me in Air Force Two. Don't you really miss it?

This is the only plane that the Air Force has that has to stop for red lights.

When Governor Nelson Rockefeller saw this plane, he was really in a state of shock. As a matter of fact, I think he thought about reconsidering the nomination.

He said, "Is this Air Force Two? I have something that goes much faster."

And I said to Nelson, "Is it a jet?"

Nelson said, "No, it is a lawnmower."

Before closing, I would like to congratulate the very popular Ron Sarro on the occasion of his being elected to the presidency of the Washington Press Club. I understand that Ron really put his heart and his soul into this campaign. He was even going to set up a campaign organization called "The Committee to Re-elect Ron President" until somebody pointed out that is CREEP spelled sideways.

But when it comes to a reporter's intuition, and really being ahead of his time, you just can't beat Ron Sarro.

Do you know that in 1970—that is quite a while ago—Ron wrote a book called "Are You Safe From Burglars?"

I don't know how many people bought it—obviously not enough—but I do deeply appreciate your asking me to be here tonight on this very historic occasion, the inauguration of the first male president of the Washington Press Club.

As one President to another, Ron, I salute you, and I also salute the members of the Washington Press Club for breaking down the barriers of sexual discrimination.

I think all of you know where I stand on this issue. As I prove every morning at breakfast time, I certainly don't believe that a woman's place is in the kitchen.

If our country is to survive and to prosper, we need the best efforts of all Americans—men and women—to bring this, I think, proper attitude and atmosphere and results in America.

And besides, as one of the great philosophers once said—and it was Henry A. Kissinger—"Nobody will ever win the battle of the sexes. There is just too much fraternizing with the enemy."

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:50 p.m. at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel.

In his remarks, the President referred to Wauhillau LaHay, former president of the Washington Press Club, Miriam Ottenberg, chairman of the Press Club's inaugural party committee, and Marjorie Hunter, a reporter for the New York Times.

Following his remarks, the President administered the oath of office to Mr. Sarro.

U.S.-Soviet Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Protocol to the Treaty for Advice and Consent to Ratification. September 19, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Protocol to the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. This Protocol was signed in Moscow on

July 3, 1974. I ask the Senate's advice and consent to its ratification.

The provisions of the Protocol are explained in detail in the report of the Department of State which I enclose. The main effect of the Protocol is to limit further the level and potential extent of ABM deployment permitted by the 1972 ABM Treaty. The Protocol furthers fundamental United States objectives set forth in President Nixon's message to the Senate of June 13, 1972, transmitting the Agreements reached at SALT ONE.

The ABM Treaty prohibits the deployment of operational ABM systems or their components except at two deployment areas, one centered on a Party's national capital area and the other in a separate area containing ICBM silo launchers. The Protocol would amend the Treaty to limit each Party to a single ABM deployment area at any one time, which level is consistent with the current level of deployment. However, each side would retain the right to remove its ABM system and the components thereof from their present deployment area and to deploy an ABM system or its components in the alternative deployment area permitted by the ABM Treaty. This right may be exercised only once.

This Protocol represents a further advance in the stabilization of the strategic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. It reinforces the ABM Treaty provision that neither Party will establish a nationwide ABM defense or a base for such a defense.

I believe that this Protocol strengthens the ABM Treaty and will, as an integral part of the Treaty, contribute to the reduction of international tension and a more secure and peaceful world in which the security of the United States is fully protected. I strongly recommend that the Senate give it prompt and favorable attention.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 19, 1974.

United States Participation in the United Nations

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the 28th Annual Report, Covering Calendar Year 1973. September 19, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to send to the Congress the 28th annual report on United States participation in the work of the United Nations.

This report, covering Calendar Year 1973, encompasses the wide range of activities carried on by the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations. It demonstrates the growing conviction of United Nations members that many problems of international concern are best resolved through multilateral action, utilizing the machinery of mature international institutions.

In the fall of 1973 the United Nations demonstrated once again its ability to foster peace by the crucial role it played in the Middle East. Following the outbreak of war, the Security Council arranged a ceasefire and deployed United Nations troops to supervise disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt and, later, between Israel and Syria. We cannot know what might have happened in the absence of such United Nations action. However, it is clear that the efforts of the United Nations, combined with bilateral diplomacy, are still crucial to promoting a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East dispute.

One area of increasing concern is the production and distribution of adequate supplies of food. Our concern with feeding the world can no longer be limited to relief activities in aid of victims of natural disasters. Population growth and better living standards have increased the total demand for food which in turn has increased the demand for energy sources and fertilizer. The pressure of these interlocking demands has pushed against limited supplies and caused spiraling prices. This is a worldwide problem requiring worldwide action for its solution. Secretary Kissinger proposed to the United Nations General Assembly in September 1973 that the organization sponsor a World Food Conference. The General Assembly acted favorably on this proposal and the Conference will be held in Rome in November 1974. The United States also took an active participation in the preparation for the first United Nations Conference on World Population, convened in Bucharest in August 1974.

The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which convened an organizational session in December 1973, is another example of how the United Nations can be utilized to attack contemporary world problems. The goal of the Law of the Sea Conference is a comprehensive international convention to govern man's use of the oceans. We need new understandings to govern international navigation, rational management of the ocean's living and non-living resources, and the protection of the life-sustaining processes of the marine environment. Success in the efforts to resolve conflicting claims over ocean jurisdiction would remove a major and growing source of conflict from the international arena.

The regular economic and social activities of the United Nations' family of organizations continued to absorb over 90 percent of its funds and personnel during 1973. In

addition to the traditional operational programs, many special conferences during the year provided opportunities for nations to enlarge their understanding of and work toward consensus on such major international economic and social issues as development assistance, the role of multinational corporations, commodity agreements, and the economic rights and duties of states. Perhaps the most important series of negotiations were those held to carry out the first biennial review and appraisal of the progress toward the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade. In these negotiations delegations from all parts of the world worked for months to formulate a report that refined the broad measures necessary to improve the world's economic and social situation. The United States played a leading role in these negotiations.

Unfortunately, not all international problems dealt with by the United Nations were successfully approached in 1973. For example, it is generally believed in the United States that terrorism against innocent third parties, including the hijacking of aircraft, is a matter of international concern that calls for international solutions. The divergence of political views among member states, however, has made it impossible to agree on either a general definition of terrorism or a remedy for it. Despite the limit thus placed on the effectiveness of the United Nations forum in dealing with the problem, a start was made in 1973 with the adoption by the General Assembly of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents. On the other hand, neither the International Conference on Air Law nor the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization, which met simultaneously, made progress on measures to improve security for aircraft passengers.

An important part of the United Nations record in 1973 was the admission to membership of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and The Bahamas—admissions the United States supported. The United Nations has thus become still more representative of the world community.

Our participation in the United Nations reflects our fundamental belief that to assure a peaceful world it is necessary to cooperate with other nations in a multilateral framework on mutually agreed upon activities. This report records the successes and failures, the hopes and frustrations of many of those activities. Above all it records what we tried to accomplish through the United Nations to further the many interests that our citizens and our country share with the world community.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 19, 1974.

NOTE: The 416-page report is entitled "U.S. Participation in the UN, Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1973."

Johnny Horizon '76 Clean Up America Month, 1974

Proclamation 4315. September 19, 1974

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

Although our Nation's 200th birthday is less than two years away, much has been accomplished through the Johnny Horizon '76 Program toward improving the environment of our country for this historic event. But much remains to be done. To date, thousands of schools; churches; youth groups; chambers of commerce; conservation, civic and commercial organizations and millions of private citizens have joined in partnership with Johnny Horizon '76 in a wide range of projects to create environmental awareness and to beautify America.

Our most precious environment is the area in which we live—our city streets and rural towns—and this is where each individual can effectively exercise his responsibility. This has been exemplified by the many action projects which have been undertaken thus far across our country.

We need to continue these improvements. To dramatize this need, the Congress has by House Joint Resolution 1070, 93rd Congress, requested the President to proclaim the period of September 15, 1974, to October 15, 1974, as "Johnny Horizon '76 Clean Up America Month."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period September 15 through October 15, 1974, as Johnny Horizon '76 Clean Up America Month and ask our Nation's attention to the Johnny Horizon '76 environmental awareness and action program for America's 200th birthday and related Bicentennial activities. I urge representatives of business, industry, labor, Government, civic groups, and other citizens to continue to join together to demonstrate the significant results that can be realized when Americans translate their concern into affirmative action. I further urge a continuation of neighborhood and community cleanups, beautification programs, resource recovery and education programs, energy and wildlife conservation efforts and other worthwhile activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four and of the Independence of the United States of America, the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:55 p.m.,
September 20, 1974]

Federal Pay Raise

*Statement by the President Following Senate Action Disapproving Deferral of the Raise.
September 19, 1974*

While disappointed in today's Senate vote, I am in agreement with the Congress that Federal employees deserve this pay increase. It was painful for me to ask the Congress to defer this raise for 3 months. I know I had asked the Congress to do a difficult thing. But there was a compelling reason. I refer to the inflationary momentum which I regard as domestic public enemy number one. That is why I had requested the Congress and the Federal employees to cooperate.

Now that the Congress has acted, I will proceed to reach a decision as quickly as possible, within the prescribed discretionary limits, on the precise amount of the raise.

The need to reduce Federal spending continues. I sincerely hope that the Congress will join with me in this effort.

Alexandria, Virginia

The President's Remarks at a Reception at the Belle Haven Country Club for Representative Stanford E. Parris. September 19, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Stan.

I think most of you know I was originally scheduled to get together and help Stan, if he thought it might be helpful, before I got this new job and this new responsibility. I wanted to do it then, and I am here now because the Fords lived in Stan's Congressional district a good part of the time in the last several years, and we thought as a constituent of Stan's that he did a first-class job.

We talked with our neighbors. That was their impression, and, of course, it fortified my own deep conviction that Stan was an outstanding Member of the Congress.

I had an opportunity to work with him following his swearing in. I was impressed not only with his background when he served all of you so well; I was impressed with Stan's willingness to look at an issue and to decide it on its merits.

He was independent when he thought he was right and I was wrong. It didn't happen too often. [Laughter] But when he agreed with me, he was a strong and staunch ally and was very effective in helping to get others to join us in whatever the issue was.

So, on the basis of his experience, on the basis of Stan's willingness to be a real team player, and yet on the respect that I had for him to be independent when he thought it was the right thing to do, I am delighted to

be here and to show to all of you and to any others that might be interested that I think Stan Parris has done a great job, and I surely hope he is reelected.

It was a wonderful thing for me to meet, as I came to the door, your fine Governor, Mills Godwin. I said to Mills, when he was campaigning last fall, that I envied the State of Virginia when he was a Democratic Governor because I thought he did a great job. And I was so pleased to contribute to a very minor degree last fall when he was a candidate, because I think he has proven to all of us that the State of Virginia is lucky to have him as a Governor.

I see some of my former House colleagues here. They are the kind of people that, in my judgment, make a good representative in the House of Representatives.

Bob, it is nice to see you. Is anybody else here? Dan? Is Kenny here? Well, those are the kind of people that I think are first-class.

I did see Dick Obenshain, and I think you know how strongly I feel about him. He is our new Cochairman of the Republican Party in the United States, and we are fortunate to have Dick joining us in trying to broaden our party's representation on a nationwide basis.

I just would like to conclude by expressing my appreciation for all of you being here to show your support for Stan. Stan is a first-class Member of the House of Representatives, and I am going to rely on him in this session, and I know that he will be back so I can rely on him in the next Congress.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:45 p.m. at the Belle Haven Country Club, Alexandria, Va.

In his remarks, the President referred to members of the Virginia Congressional delegation: Robert W. Daniel, Jr., W. C. (Dan) Daniel, and J. Kenneth Robinson.

Budget Deferrals and Rescissions

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Deferrals and Rescissions. September 20, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

The recently enacted Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 provides new procedures for executive reporting and congressional review of actions by the executive branch affecting the flow of Federal spending. It thereby serves to make the Congress a full partner in the continuing struggle to keep Federal spending under control.

The new law provides that the executive branch may seek to alter the normal course of spending either through deferrals of spending actions or by asking the Congress to rescind authority to spend. The use of funds may be deferred unless either House of the Congress enacts a resolution requiring that they be made available for

spending. For executive rescission proposals to take effect, the Congress must enact rescission bills within 45 days of continuous session.

Following these procedures, I am today reporting the first in a series of deferrals and proposed rescissions.

As is often the case in the institution of new procedures, and in the implementation of new laws, there are questions as to what the law may require of the executive branch and what the Congress may expect. In this instance, the Attorney General has determined that this act applies only to determinations to withhold budget authority which have been made since the law was approved.

However, I am including in today's submission to the Congress reports on some actions which were concluded before the effective date of the act. While these items are not subject, in the Attorney General's opinion, to congressional ratification or disapproval as are those addressed in the recent law, I believe that it is appropriate that I use this occasion to transmit this information to the Congress.

Reasonable men frequently differ on interpretation of law. The law to which this message pertains is no exception. It is particularly important that the executive and legislative branches develop a common understanding as to its operation. Such an understanding is both in keeping with the spirit of partnership implicit in the law and essential for its effective use. As we begin management of the Federal budget under this new statute, I would appreciate further guidance from the Congress. The added information on the status of funds not subject to Congressional action is being made available with this in mind. It will also permit a better understanding of the status of some funds reported previously under the earlier impoundment reporting law.

Virtually all of the actions included in this report were anticipated in the 1975 budget, and six of them were taken before July 12, when the new procedures came into effect. Failure to take these actions would cause more than \$20 billion of additional funds to become available for obligation. The immediate release of these funds would raise Federal spending by nearly \$600 million in the current fiscal year. More significantly, outlays would rise by over \$2 billion in 1976 and even more in 1977, the first year in which the new procedures for congressional review of the budget will be in full effect.

The deferrals of budget authority being reported today total \$19.8 billion. The major deferrals are:

- Grants for waste treatment plant construction (\$9 billion). Release of all these funds would be highly inflationary, particularly in view of the rapid rise in non-Federal spending for pollution control. Some of the funds now deferred will be allotted on or prior to February 1, 1975.
- Federal aid highway funds (\$4.4 billion for fiscal year 1975 and \$6.4 billion for fiscal year 1976). Release of these funds would also be highly infla-

tionary and would have to be offset by cuts in higher priority programs. Some of the funds are being withheld pending resolution of court cases concerning the environmental effects of proposed highway construction.

- Various programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (\$39.6 million). Pending enactment of the 1975 appropriations, HEW funds are being provided under a continuing resolution. Amounts available under the continuing resolution above the budget request are deferred to preserve the flexibility of the Congress and the Administration in arriving at a final decision on the funding levels for these programs.

The larger of the two rescissions which I am proposing would write off the \$456 million of budget authority provided for rural electric and telephone loans at a 2 percent interest rate. The release of these funds would be inconsistent with the legislation enacted in 1973, which limits the availability of 2 percent loans to cases of special need. Loans to borrowers who meet the specified criteria can be financed out of funds provided by the pending Agriculture Appropriations Act.

The deferrals and rescissions covered in this first report are those believed to be of particular interest to the Congress and which would have significant impact on budget spending if released. They are summarized in the attached table. A second report of a series on additional deferrals and rescissions will be submitted to the Congress soon.

Budgetary restraint remains a crucial factor in our efforts to bring inflation under control. In today's environment, we cannot allow excess Federal spending to stimulate demand in a way that exerts further pressures on prices. And we cannot expect others to exercise necessary restraint unless the Government itself does so.

The responsible apportionment of congressional appropriations and other Federal budget authority is an essential—though often controversial—element of budget execution. Sound management principles and common sense dictate that Federal agencies spend money in an orderly fashion and only to the extent necessary to carry out the objectives for which the spending authority was provided. Current economic conditions require extra care to assure that Federal spending is held to the minimum levels necessary.

The deferrals and rescissions described in the attached report represent an essential step toward the goal of reducing spending and achieving the balanced budget we seek by fiscal year 1976. These actions, by themselves, will not be enough. However, failure to take and sustain this important step would jeopardize our ability to control Federal spending not only during the current fiscal year but, more importantly, for several years to come.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 20, 1974.

Department of the Army

***Announcement of Intention To Nominate
Harold L. Brownman To Be Assistant Secretary for
Installations and Logistics. September 17, 1974***

The President today announced his intention to nominate Harold L. Brownman, of Rockville, Md., to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics. He will succeed Eugene E. Berg, who resigned effective July 15, 1974.

In March of 1973, he became Deputy Director for Management and Services of the Central Intelligence Agency after serving as Director of Special Projects. In 1967, he became vice president of systems for LTV ElectroSystems, Inc. From 1958 to 1967, he was assistant to the division director of the Airborne Instruments Laboratory, which is a division of Cutler-Hammer. He had previously served, in 1958, as program director of the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp. From 1957 to 1958, he had been laboratory manager of the Fairchild Controls Corp. after serving as research engineer of the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corp.

Mr. Brownman was born on May 21, 1923, in New York City and received his B.E.E. from the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. In 1949, he received his M.E.E. from the Polytechnic Institute. He joined the teaching staff of the Polytechnic Institute in 1946. In 1948, he became an engineer with the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Company. From 1950 to 1952, he was an engineer with SERVO Mechanisms before joining TELE Register Corp. as an engineer. In 1954, he became senior engineer of the American Bosch Arma Corp. until joining the Fairchild Corp.

He is married to the former Edith Heller, and they have three children. They reside in Rockville, Md.

Department of the Navy

***Announcement of Intention To Nominate
H. Tyler Marcy To Be Assistant Secretary for
Research and Development. September 17, 1974***

The President today announced his intention to nominate H. Tyler Marcy, of Brewster, Mass., to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Research and Development. He will succeed David Samuel Potter, who was appointed Under Secretary of the Navy on August 27, 1974.

Since 1972, he has been a self-employed consultant after serving as director of technology for the IBM Corp. in Armonk, N.Y., from 1968 to 1972. In 1962, he became vice president, general products division, systems development division, of the IBM Corp. He had previously been laboratory manager for IBM in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. From 1956 to 1957, he was assistant manager of product development for the IBM Corp. and was employed in the navigation computer, character recognition, data processing systems for IBM in Endicott, N.Y. In 1946, he became associate director for the special projects department for the M. W. Kellogg Co.

Mr. Marcy was born on September 14, 1918, in Rochester, N.Y., and received his B.S. degree from M.I.T. He received his M.S. from M.I.T. in 1941 before working in the servomechanism laboratory at M.I.T. He is a member of the Instrument Society of America and the Institute of Electrical Electronic Engineers.

He is married to the former Cynthia Spencer, and they have five children. They reside in Brewster, Mass.

Department of the Navy

***Announcement of Intention To Nominate
Gary Dean Penisten To Be Assistant Secretary for
Financial Management. September 17, 1974***

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gary Dean Penisten, of Southport, Conn., to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Financial Management. He will succeed Robert D. Nesen, who resigned effective May 1, 1974.

He is currently manager, group finance operation, power generation business group, for the General Electric Co. He served as manager, strategic planning operation of the industrial and marine turbine business division, from 1971 to 1972. He had served as manager, finance, medium steam turbine, of the generator department. In 1965, he served as manager for the program and staff management after he had been audit administrator since 1963. From 1958 to 1963, he served as a cost estimator and junior to the supervising traveling auditor of the corporate audit staff, after having trained in the appliance park project since 1953.

Mr. Penisten was born on May 14, 1931, in Lincoln, Nebr., and received his B.S. degree from the University of Omaha in 1953. He served as a first lieutenant in the United States Army Reserve from 1950 to 1963.

He is married to the former Nancy M. Golding, and they have four children. They reside in Southport, Conn.

Department of Commerce

Announcement of Intention To Nominate James Leonard Pate To Be Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs. September 17, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Leonard Pate, of Akron, Ohio, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs. He will succeed Sidney L. Jones, who was appointed as a Deputy Assistant to the President on July 10, 1974.

Mr. Pate is currently the director of business research and chief economist for the B. F. Goodrich Co. in Akron. From 1965 to 1968, he served as a consultant to various private industries. In 1968, he became an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, and later became the senior economist.

He was born in Mt. Sterling, Ill., on September 6, 1935, and received his A.B. degree from Monmouth College in 1963. He received his M.B.A. degree in 1964 from Indiana University. He served as an assistant professor of economics at Monmouth College from 1965 to 1968. Previously, he had been a teaching associate at the Graduate School of Business at Indiana University from 1964 to 1965, where he had also been a graduate assistant.

He and his wife, Donna, have three children, and they reside in Akron, Ohio.

National Mediation Board

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Kay McMurray for Reappointment as a Member of the Board. September 17, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kay McMurray, of Hinsdale, Ill., for reappointment as a member of the National Mediation Board for a term expiring July 1, 1977. He was initially appointed on October 3, 1972, to serve a term expiring July 1, 1974.

Mr. McMurray was born March 18, 1918, in Oakley, Idaho, and received his A.B. degree from Stanford University in 1940. He joined United Air Lines in 1940 and became a captain in 1942 after attending flight school and serving as a copilot for 13 months. During this time, he was elected to the United Air Lines pilot negotiating committee. From 1949 to 1953, Mr. McMurray returned to Boise, Idaho, where he was assistant to the president of Inland Empire Insurance Co., a registered representative (NYSE) with Wegener & Daly, and legislative representative for the Western Highway Institute.

From 1953 to 1971, Mr. McMurray was executive administrator of the Air Line Pilots Association, and from 1971 to 1972 he was special consultant to the president of United Air Lines.

Mr. McMurray is married. He and his wife have three children.

The National Mediation Board was established in 1934 and consists of three members, not more than two of whom may be members of the same political party. The Board designates its own Chairman annually. The principal duty of the Board is to mediate differences between the railroads, the express and Pullman companies, and the airlines on the one hand, and their employees on the other, growing out of their attempts to make and maintain agreements establishing rates of pay, rules, and working conditions of the employees as directed by the Railway Labor Act.

National Employ the Handicapped Week, 1974

Proclamation 4314. September 17, 1974

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

The single greatest difficulty facing the handicapped person is not his or her own disability but rather the attitudes of society toward that disability. Yet handicapped people have proven themselves capable of performing a wide range of jobs with great diligence, skill, and efficiency.

As scientists, teachers, Government officials, aerospace engineers—in nearly every occupation—otherwise qualified but handicapped Americans have contributed significantly to our Nation's progress.

Let us resolve in 1974 to make use of the talents and abilities and energies of the handicapped. Our Nation needs them.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, in accordance with the joint resolution of Congress approved August 11, 1945, as amended (36 U.S.C. 155), designating the first week in October of each year as National Employ the Handicapped Week, do hereby call upon the people of the United States to observe the week beginning October 6, 1974, for such purpose.

I urge the Nation's Governors, Mayors, and all other public officials, as well as leaders in every area of American life, to join with the handicapped themselves in active participation in this observance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:17 p.m.,
September 17, 1974]

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*The President's Address to the 29th Session of the General Assembly.
September 18, 1974*

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, your Excellencies:

In 1946, President Harry Truman welcomed representatives of 55 nations to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. Since then, every American President has had the great honor of addressing this Assembly.

Today, with pleasure and humility, I take my turn in welcoming you, the distinguished representatives of 138 nations.

When I took office, I told the American people that my remarks would be "just a little straight talk among friends." Straight talk is what I propose here today in the first of my addresses to the representatives of the world.

Next week, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will present in specifics the overall principles which I will outline in my remarks today. It should be emphatically understood that the Secretary of State has my full support and the unquestioned backing of the American people.

As a party leader in the Congress of the United States, as Vice President, and now as President of the United States of America, I have had the closest working relationship with Secretary of State Kissinger. I have supported and will continue to endorse his many efforts as Secretary of State and in our National Security Council system to build a world of peace.

Since the United Nations was founded, the world has experienced conflicts and threats to peace, but we have avoided the greatest danger—another world war. Today, we have the opportunity to make the remainder of this century an era of peace and cooperation and economic well-being.

The harsh hostilities which once held great powers in their rigid grasp have now begun to moderate. Many of the crises which dominated past General Assemblies are fortunately behind us. And technological progress holds out the hope that one day all men can achieve a decent life.

Nations too often have had no choice but to be either hammer or anvil, to strike or to be struck. Now we have a new opportunity—to forge, in concert with others, a framework of international cooperation. That is the course the United States has chosen for itself.

On behalf of the American people, I renew these basic pledges to you today.

—We are committed to a pursuit of a more peaceful, stable, and cooperative world. While we are determined never to be bested in a test of strength, we will devote our strength to what is best. And in the nuclear era, there is no rational alternative to accords of mutual restraint between the United States and the Soviet Union, two nations which have the power to destroy mankind.

—We will bolster our partnerships with traditional friends in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to meet new challenges in a rapidly changing world. The maintenance of such relationships underpins rather than undercuts the search for peace.

—We will seek out, we will expand our relations with old adversaries. For example, our new rapport with the People's Republic of China best serves the purposes of each nation and the interests of the entire world.

—We will strive to heal old wounds, reopened in recent conflicts in Cyprus, the Middle East, and in Indochina. Peace cannot be imposed from without, but we will do whatever is within our capacity to help achieve it.

—We rededicate ourselves to the search for justice, equality, and freedom. Recent developments in Africa signal the welcome end of colonialism. Behavior appropriate to an era of dependence must give way to the new responsibilities of an era of interdependence.

No single nation, no single group of nations, no single organization can meet all of the challenges before the community of nations. We must act in concert. Progress toward a better world must come through cooperative efforts across the whole range of bilateral and multilateral relations.

America's revolutionary birth and centuries of experience in adjusting democratic government to changing conditions have made Americans practical as well as idealistic. As idealists, we are proud of our role in the founding of the United Nations and in supporting its many accomplishments. As practical people, we are sometimes impatient at what we see as shortcomings.

In my 25 years as a Member of the Congress of the United States, I learned two basic practical lessons:

First, men of differing political persuasions can find common ground for cooperation. We need not agree on all issues in order to agree on most. Differences of principle, of purpose, of perspective will not disappear. But neither will our mutual problems disappear unless we are determined to find mutually helpful solutions.

Second, a majority must take into account the proper interest of a minority if the decisions of the majority are to be accepted. We who believe in and live by majority rule must always be alert to the danger of the "tyranny of the majority." Majority rule thrives on the habits of accommodation, moderation, and consideration of the interests of others.

A very stark reality has tempered America's actions for decades and must now temper the actions of all nations. Prevention of full-scale warfare in the nuclear age has become everybody's responsibility. Today's regional conflict must not become tomorrow's world disaster. We must assure by every means at our disposal that local crises are quickly contained and resolved.

The challenge before the United States [Nations] is very clear. This organization can place the weight of the world community on the side of world peace. And this organization can provide impartial forces to maintain the peace.

And at this point I wish to pay tribute on behalf of the American people to the 37 members of the United Nations peacekeeping forces who have given their lives in the Middle East and in Cyprus in the past 10 months, and I convey our deepest sympathies to their loved ones.

Let the quality of our response measure up to the magnitude of the challenge that we face. I pledge to you that America will continue to be constructive, innovative, and responsive to the work of this great body.

**SUMMARY
PROPOSED RESCISSIONS AND DEFERRALS
(DOLLARS IN THOUSANDS)**

<i>Item</i>	<i>Budget Authority</i>
<i>Rescissions:</i>	
Appalachian Regional Development Programs: Air- port Construction*-----	\$40, 000
Agriculture: Rural Electrification Administration: Loans*-----	455, 635
<i>Deferrals:</i>	
To be deferred part of year:	
Corps of Engineers—General construction-----	108
Health, Education and Welfare:	
Library resources-----	5, 437
Higher education:	
(University community services)-----	2, 906
(Land grant colleges)-----	9, 500
(State postsecondary education commissions)---	350
School assistance in federally affected areas-----	16, 000
Rehabilitation services (innovation and expan- sion)-----	5, 000
Public assistance (Child welfare services)-----	375
Environmental Protection Agency: Construction Grants*-----	9, 000, 000
General Services Administration: Automatic data processing fund-----	4, 300
To be deferred for entire year:	
Agriculture: Agriculture research service (Construc- tion)*-----	770
Commerce: Fisheries loan fund*-----	4, 039
Interior:	
Oregon and California Grant lands*-----	23, 693
Construction and rehabilitation-----	1, 055
Upper Colorado River Basin fund-----	1, 150
State: International Center, Washington, D.C.-----	500
Transportation: Federal-aid highways	
1975 & prior programs-----	4, 370, 090
1976 program-----	6, 357, 500
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission: Payment to Vietnam prisoners of war-----	10, 500
General Services Administration: Automatic data processing fund-----	14, 000
Total-----	20, 322, 908

*Action taken prior to enactment of the Impoundment Control Act on July 12, 1974.

NOTE: For the President's memorandum to the heads of departments and agencies concerning the rescissions and deferrals, see the following item.

Budget Deferrals and Rescissions

The President's Memorandum to the Heads of Departments and Agencies. September 20, 1974

I have today sent to the Congress my first special message under Title X of the recently enacted Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. A copy of that message is attached.

The package I have submitted contains reports on budget authority totalling \$20.3 billion. Included among these items are some which are not covered by the new Act, but release of virtually any of them would lead to

spending above that contemplated by the FY 1975 Budget.

Gaining congressional support for the items contained in this transmittal, and for those I will be sending up in the future under this Act, is absolutely vital if we are to make any headway against inflation by controlling Federal expenditures. This Government must set an example of fiscal restraint for the people of America and the world.

Each of you knows my position on cutting back below 1975 Budget levels. I need your strong assistance in supporting this first critical step, and the others that follow, to meet our budgetary goals. I know I can count on you to work closely with the Congress in order to gain the necessary acceptance of the deferrals and rescissions I propose today and in the future.

GERALD R. FORD

Counsel to the President

Announcement of Appointment of William E. Casselman II. September 20, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of William E. Casselman II, as a Counsel to the President. Mr. Casselman will be associated with Philip W. Buchen, who is Counsel to the President with Cabinet rank, and with Phillip E. Areeda, whose appointment as Counsel to the President and member of his senior staff has been announced to begin October 14.

Mr. Casselman had served as Legal Counsel to the Vice President since December 12, 1973. From 1971 to 1973, he was General Counsel of the General Services Administration. In 1969, he was appointed Deputy Special Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations. From 1965 to 1969, he was Legislative Assistant to Congressman Robert McClory of Illinois.

Mr. Casselman is admitted to the District of Columbia and Virginia State Bars and is a member of the American and Federal Bar Associations. He currently serves on the National Council of the Federal Bar Association and was the 1973-74 chairman of the general counsels committee. He is a recent recipient of the Association's distinguished service commendation. From 1971 to 1973, he served as a member of the Administrative Conference of the United States.

Born on July 8, 1941, in Washington, Pa., and raised in Deerfield, Ill., Mr. Casselman holds a J.D. degree from the George Washington University Law School and a B.A. degree in government from Claremont Men's College. He is married to the former Caroline Murfitt of Weston, Mass. They have two daughters and reside in Alexandria, Va.

United States Tariff Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Daniel Minchew as a Member of the Commission. September 20, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Daniel Minchew, of Baxley, Ga., to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission. He will succeed Jefferson Banks Young, who resigned effective June 24, 1974.

Since 1971, Mr. Minchew has been Administrative Assistant to Senator Herman E. Talmadge, in charge of the Senator's Washington and Georgia offices. In 1969, he became the legislative director of the United States-Japan Trade Council after having served as assistant Washington representative of the National Cotton Council from 1966 to 1969. He had previously been an instructor at the University of Georgia in the department of political science.

Mr. Minchew was born on September 9, 1939, in Savannah, Ga. He received his A.B. degree from the University of Georgia in 1961 and his M.A. from Oxford University in 1963. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the U.S. Senate Administrative Assistants and Secretary's Club.

He is married to the former Shirley Coffield of Eagle Creek, Oreg. They reside in Washington, D.C.

Postal Rate Commission

Announcement of Appointment of Clyde S. DuPont as a Commissioner. September 20, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Clyde S. DuPont of Virginia to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission. He will succeed Rod Kreger, who resigned effective January 7, 1974.

Since 1969, Mr. DuPont has been Minority Counsel for the Post Office and Civil Service Committee after having served as a professional staff member of the Judiciary Committee from 1967 to 1968. From 1964 to 1967, he was Legislative Assistant to Senator Hiram L. Fong, after having served as his research assistant and file clerk since 1960.

He was born on December 28, 1933, in Waiialua, Hawaii. He received his B.S. degree from Brigham Young University in 1959 and his J.D. degree from George Washington University Law School in February 1963. He served as a staff sergeant in the United States Air Force from 1952 to 1956. He is a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association.

He is married to the former Joan Kimball, and they have three children. They reside in Alexandria, Va.

The Career Civil Service

The President's Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies. September 20, 1974

Whatever else, recent experience has proven one thing about the Federal Government: It can continue to function and move ahead even under the most difficult circumstances. This is due chiefly to more than two million career civil servants who, day-in and day-out, give of themselves in a thoroughly dedicated and efficient manner to assure this continuity.

These men and women act in the best traditions of the career civil service which has demanded from them for more than 90 years the highest degree of professionalism and competence. In return, it has assured them of a competitive system free from political considerations either in their appointments or in their promotions.

I intend to keep it that way—and I call upon you to see to it that the merit principles contained in the Civil Service Act and the personnel laws and regulations are fully and effectively carried out in your department or agency. Appointments and promotions in the career service must not be made on the basis of either politics, race, creed or sex.

I have informed the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission of my determination to keep the Federal career service just that—a career service in which men and women can be accepted in the first place on their ability and promoted on their merit. I ask you to make sure your agency fully complies with both the letter and the spirit of the law in this regard.

GERALD R. FORD

White House Inspection of Tax Returns

Executive Order 11805. September 20, 1974

INSPECTION BY PRESIDENT AND CERTAIN DESIGNATED EMPLOYEES OF THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF TAX RETURNS MADE UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and in the interest of protecting the

right of taxpayers to privacy and confidentiality regarding their tax affairs consistent with proper internal management of the Government, and in the further interest of maintaining the integrity of the self-assessment system of Federal taxation, it is hereby ordered that any return, as defined in Section 301.6103(a)-1 of the Treasury Regulations on Procedure and Administration (26 CFR Part 301) as amended from time to time, made by a taxpayer in respect of any tax described in Section 301.6103(a)-1(a)(2) of such regulations shall be delivered to or open to inspection by the President only upon written request signed by the President personally.

Any such request for delivery or inspection shall be addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate and shall state: (i) the name and address of the taxpayer whose return is to be inspected, (ii) the kind of return or returns which are to be inspected, and (iii) the taxable period or periods covered by such return or returns.

In any such request for delivery or inspection, the President may designate by name an employee or employees of the White House Office who are authorized on behalf of the President to receive any such return or make such inspection, provided that the President will not so designate an employee unless such employee is the holder of a Presidential commission whose annual rate of basic pay equals or exceeds the annual rate of basic pay prescribed by 5 U.S.C. 5316. No disclosure of such return, or any data contained therein or derived therefrom shall be made by such employee except to the President, without the written direction of the President.

All persons obtaining access to such return, or any data contained therein or derived therefrom shall in all respects be subject to the provisions of 26 U.S.C. 6103, as amended.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 20, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:42 p.m.,
September 20, 1974]

Press Secretary to the President

The President's Remarks Announcing the Appointment of Ronald H. Nessen, With Mr. Nessen's Response. September 20, 1974

MR. HUSHEN. Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Jack.

This is an opportunity for me to make a very, very pleasing announcement. I think I am very, very fortunate on this occasion to have the opportunity of announcing

to all of you and to others, in fact, that Ron Nessen is going to be my Press Secretary.

Ron, as you know, has a superb reputation—standing—in the electronic media, but I was pleased to find out in my discussions with him that he has a background in the writing press.

So we are very fortunate to have someone like Ron who not only knows the writing but also the electronic press.

I had the opportunity of getting acquainted with Ron in the many, many trips that he took with me on Air Force Two. I think the number is some 57. So, in that luxurious aircraft—[laughter]—in the many travels we made around the country, I was given the opportunity of getting to know Ron very well.

I admired his skill and objectivity as a reporter. I enjoyed his company. I was greatly impressed with his ability and overall approach to the problems that I faced and others did.

So when I asked Ron if he would take the job, I couldn't have been more pleased.

I must say that this announcement comes at a somewhat unique time. I just spent 2½ hours with one of the leading Communists, and now I am about to meet with one of the most wealthy and influential capitalists.¹ So in between those two meetings, it is my privilege and pleasure to indicate to all of you that Ron Nessen will be my Press Secretary, and I couldn't be more pleased.

MR. NESSEN. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Fine, Ron. You are the boss.

MR. NESSEN. My wife said to tell you that this entitles you to one free dancing lesson. [Laughter]

THE PRESIDENT. I need it. [Laughter]

MR. NESSEN. Thank you very much for the trust you put in me, and I will try to live up to it.

THE PRESIDENT. I have no doubt about it, Ron.

So, I will turn the job over to Ron. He has my full backing and support, and I think I am very lucky to have somebody like him handling the job.

MR. NESSEN. You are not going to leave me out here all alone, are you?

THE PRESIDENT. You better get used to it. No, I am going to stand here until you finish your remarks.

MR. NESSEN. Well, I did want to say a couple of things.

I hope the White House Press Corps is ready for another Ron. I am a Ron, but not a Ziegler, I can tell you that.

I do want to say a couple of things. One is that I will never knowingly lie to the White House Press Corps. I will never knowingly mislead the White House Press Corps, and, I think, if I ever do, you would be justified in questioning my continued usefulness in this job.

¹ The President was referring to his meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko and David Rockefeller.

My concept of the job is that a Press Secretary does not always have to agree with the decisions of the President. I think a Press Secretary's job is to report to you the actions of the President, why he has taken the actions, how he has arrived at the action.

I don't think that the Press Secretary and the press are natural antagonists. I think we really both have the same aim. I have been out on the other side for a long time, and now I am on this side, but I think we have the same aim, which is to get as much news as possible about what goes on in this place to the American people.

Obviously, the Press Secretary needs to know what is going on to do that job, and I have been assured that I will know what is going on.

I don't expect to be a salesman for the President. I am not going to try to sell his programs to you.

I am apolitical. Like most of you, I have worked on covering most of the political campaigns of the last 15 years. The last time I voted, I am ashamed to say, was in 1960, when I voted for John Kennedy. Other than that, I have no affiliation with any political party.

I think my models in trying to do this job will be Bill Moyers for his knowledge and his honesty and the amount of information that he put out, Pierre Salinger for the good humor and the good fellowship and the grace that he brought to this job, and I would hope to be able to earn as much respect from you as Jerry terHorst had.

I think it is probably too late to go back to a honeymoon, but maybe we could have a trial reconciliation.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Ron.

We are very proud to have him, and we look forward to working together.

I will leave you to your friends.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: Deputy Press Secretary John W. Hushen introduced the President at 1:45 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Following Mr. Nessen's remarks, he answered reporters' questions. The White House press release also included the question-and-answer session.

For a release on the appointment of Mr. Nessen, see the following item.

Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Ronald H. Nessen. September 20, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Ronald H. Nessen of Maryland as Press Secretary to the President.

Mr. Nessen joined the staff of United Press International in Washington in 1956, working there until 1962, when he joined the National Broadcasting Co.

His first NBC assignment was in Washington, where he served from 1962 to 1965 as a White House correspondent during the term of President Johnson. He was assigned to Southeast Asia by NBC in 1965 and covered Vietnam until he was wounded by a grenade fragment in 1966. He returned to Washington and later that year was assigned to New York, where he anchored a weekly Vietnam television report and a 5-minute daily Vietnam report on the Today show.

In 1967, Mr. Nessen received a series of foreign assignments from NBC, covering Latin America, Asia, Africa, and then London. He returned to the United States, where he covered the Presidential campaign of 1968. After that, he was based in Washington, specializing in urban affairs. When Gerald Ford became Vice President, Mr. Nessen was assigned to cover most of the 118,000 miles traveled by the Vice President. When President Ford took office in August, 1974, Mr. Nessen became NBC's White House correspondent.

He was born in Washington, D.C., May 25, 1934. Mr. Nessen attended American University, where he majored in history.

He is married to the former Young Hi Song of Seoul, South Korea, and has two children, Edward 1½, and Caren, 18. The Nessens live in Bethesda, Md.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

September 14

The President met at the White House with the National Security Council.

Stanley R. Resor, U.S. Representative for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations, met with the President for consultation prior to the resumption of the talks in Vienna on September 24.

The President greeted Patti Albers, of Phoenix, Md., the one millionth visitor to the White House in 1974.

September 15

The President hosted a reception at the White House for members of the Republican National Committee and the Republican National Finance Committee.

September 16

The President met with the bipartisan Congressional leadership to discuss the program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.

September 17

The President met with the Cabinet at the White House.

The President met with Secretary of State Kissinger, Secretary of Agriculture Butz, OMB Director Ash, and Chairman Greenspan of the Council of Economic Advisers. They discussed the domestic crop situation, the Public Law 480 program, and the World Food Conference to be held in Rome in November.

The White House announced that the President has asked Dr. Paul W. McCracken, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, to serve as Special Consultant to the President to assist in the Summit Conference on Inflation.

William P. Clements, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Combined Federal Campaign, met with the President to discuss plans for the Campaign. Also participating in the meeting were Senator Edward W. Brooke and Speaker of the House Carl Albert, Vice Chairmen of the Campaign.

The President met with Secretary of Transportation Brinegar, Secretary of the Treasury Simon, Chairman Burns of the Federal Reserve Board, Chairman Greenspan of the Council of Economic Advisers, and other Government officials to discuss the financial condition of the international air carriers. Secretary Brinegar described the Administration's program of specific steps which are underway and will improve the financial health of U.S. flag carriers. On the following day, the White House announced that the President had decided that the Administration will not support the request of Pan American World Airways for direct Federal subsidy.

Former Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel met with the President.

The President hosted a working dinner for Senate bipartisan leaders and ranking committee members to discuss reductions in the fiscal 1975 budget.

September 18

The President met at the White House with a delegation of European parliamentarians who were visiting the United States as part of an annual program in which Members of the U.S. Congress and the European Parliaments exchange visits.

September 19

The President held a breakfast meeting at the White House with a bipartisan group of Congressional leaders and the Chairmen and ranking Republican members of

the Armed Services Committees to review procedures for Congressional oversight of CIA covert operations.

The President today accepted with deep regret the resignation of James R. Roach as a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships. The President expressed appreciation for the time and considerable skill Dr. Roach has dedicated to the work of the Board.

The President transmitted to the Congress the first annual report of the Federal Prevailing Rate Advisory Committee. The Committee was created to advise the Civil Service Commission on the Federal blue collar wage system.

The President went to the Capitol to attend a luncheon meeting with Republican members of the House Appropriations Committee. They discussed Federal spending and control of inflation.

The President greeted the crews of the SR-71 aircraft which set speed records in flights from New York to London and London to Los Angeles. Maj. James V. Sullivan and Maj. Noel F. Widdifield, USAF, flew from New York to London on September 1, and Capt. Harold B. Adams and Maj. William C. Machorek, USAF, flew from London to Los Angeles on September 11.

Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh met with the President.

September 20

The White House announced that, at the invitation of President Park, President Ford will visit the Republic of Korea on November 22-23.

Senator Henry M. Jackson met with the President at the White House to discuss further efforts to achieve an acceptable trade bill.

Soviet Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko met with the President at the White House.

The President announced the reappointment of Addie J. Key as a member of the Board of Advisers of the Federal Reformatory for Women for a term of 4 years.

David Rockefeller met with the President to discuss proposals for a national development bank which would assist in creating new communities and redeveloping older cities.

Governor Rafael Hernández-Colón of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico met with the President.

The President met with Andrew J. (Buck) May who is retiring as office manager and assignments editor of the White House photographic department.

The White House announced that Australian Prime Minister E. Gough Whitlam will meet with the President on October 4.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted September 17, 1974

WILLIAM D. ROGERS, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of State.

PETER M. FLANIGAN, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Spain.

EDWARD S. LITTLE, of Ohio, a Foreign Service officer of Class one, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Chad.

HAROLD L. BROWNMAN, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice Eugene E. Berg, resigned.

H. TYLER MARCY, of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice David Samuel Potter, elevated.

GARY DEAN PENISTEN, of Connecticut, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice Robert D. Nesen, resigned.

JAMES LEONARD PATE, of Ohio, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, vice Sidney L. Jones, resigned.

KAY McMURRAY, of Idaho, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1977 (reappointment).

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released September 16, 1974

Advance text: remarks announcing the program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters

Fact sheet: Presidential clemency board

News conference: on the President's amnesty proposal—by Laurence H. Silberman, Deputy Attorney General, Justice Department, Martin R. Hoffmann, General Counsel, Defense Department, and Byron V. Pepitone, Director, Selective Service System

Released September 17, 1974

Biographical data: Paul W. McCracken

Released September 18, 1974

Advance text: address to the United Nations General Assembly

Released September 20, 1974

Fact sheet: budget deferrals and rescissions

News conference: on budget deferrals and rescissions—by Roy L. Ash, Director, Office of Management and Budget

Fact sheet: Executive order on inspection of tax returns by the President and White House employees

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved September 17, 1974

H.R. 15172..... Public Law 93-417
An act to authorize the Secretary of State to prescribe the fee for execution of an application for a passport and to continue to transfer to the United States Postal Service the execution fee for each application accepted by that Service.

Approved September 18, 1974

H.J. Res. 1070..... Public Law 93-418
Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period of September 15, 1974, through October 15, 1974, as "Johnny Horizon '76 Clean Up America Month."

Approved September 19, 1974

H.R. 15406..... Public Law 93-419
An act to amend title 37, United States Code, to refine the procedures for adjustments in military compensation, and for other purposes.

S. 3052..... Public Law 93-420
An act to amend the Act of October 13, 1972.

H.R. 13267..... Public Law 93-421
An act to authorize Federal agricultural assistance to Guam for certain purposes.

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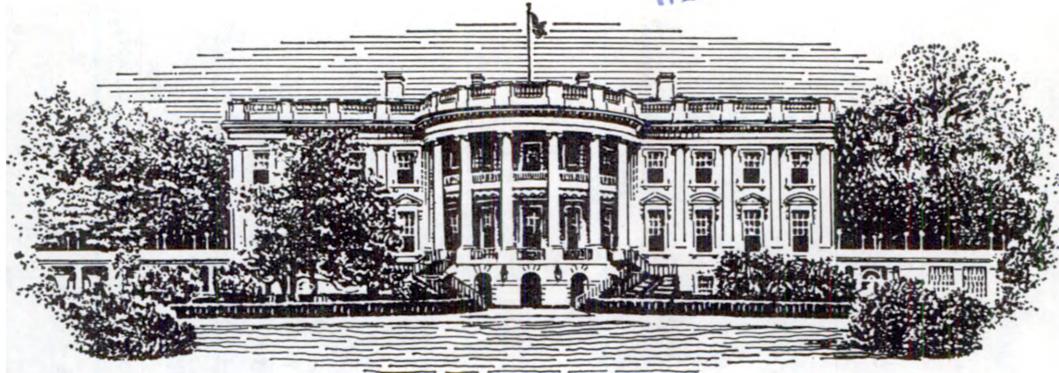
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 27, 1974

Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Act Amendments of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. September 21, 1974

I am today signing into law H.R. 9456, the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Act Amendments of 1974.

I share the concern of the Congress and the people about the problem of alcohol and drug abuse among our Nation's youth. At the Federal level, this concern has been expressed over the past 5 years in greatly increased efforts to find effective ways of dealing with the problem. The 1975 budget proposed Federal spending of over \$600 mil-

lion to support alcohol and drug abuse prevention and treatment—apart from law enforcement activities.

This act improves the overall program a number of ways. It includes alcohol education explicitly as a part of the program. It provides for comprehensive school and community demonstration activities which focus on the causes rather than on the symptoms of drug and alcohol abuse. Most important, it consolidates scattered activities under the Office of Education. This will provide more economical and higher quality development of educational and demonstrational materials. It will provide more effective thrust and more effective management.

In signing this bill into law, I wish to reemphasize my determination to keep the overall budget in line, in this area as in other areas of Federal activity. This act provides a means and a commitment for more effective management; it does not represent a commitment to greater spending.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 9456) is Public Law 93-422, approved September 21, 1974.

WORLD ENERGY CONFERENCE

The President's Address to the Ninth Annual Conference in Detroit, Michigan. September 23, 1974

President Groza, Steve Bechtel, Walker Cisler, Governor Milliken, Senator Griffin, Mayor Young, Minister MacDonald of Canada, other distinguished guests from abroad, and all participants in this special World Energy Conference:

On behalf of the American people, on behalf of my home State of Michigan, on behalf of the city of Detroit, it gives me a very great privilege and pleasure to welcome you to the city which some blame for the energy crisis.

But I hasten to add this, if I might: This is also a city [to] which we, along with the world's other great industrial nations, look for significant solutions that I know are possible. This is a "can do," a problem-solving city and State.

It was here in Detroit that the internal combustion engine was transformed from a plaything of the rich into basic transportation on which people all over the world now depend.

The whole structure of our world society rests upon the expectation of abundant fuel at reasonable prices. I refer to cities and suburbs, farms and factories, shopping centers and office buildings, schools and churches, and the roadways that connect them all.

The expectation of an assured supply of energy has now been challenged. The repercussions are being felt worldwide. There is widespread uncertainty and deep and serious apprehension. Today, at the opening of this conference, we are determined to provide guidance to a world in crisis.

Many people became aware that there was an energy problem for the first time last October, when the oil embargo was imposed. But those who were well informed about the energy situation had known for some time that a crisis was coming. With burgeoning demand all over the world, they knew that we could not forever expect a steady supply of low-priced fuel. The embargo merely brought to a head what experts had known for many years—that energy sources must be expanded and wasteful use eliminated to keep pace with the needs of a growing and modernizing world.

Everyone can now see the pulverizing impact of energy price increases on every aspect of the world economy. The food problem, the inflation problem, the monetary problem, and other major problems are directly linked to the all-pervasive energy problem.

The American response to the oil embargo and recent oil price increases, along with production decisions, has taken the form of a program for action under the general title "Project Independence." This integrated domestic energy program will seek in many, many different ways to reduce American consumption and to increase production of energy.

Officials of my Administration will more fully describe to this conference our determination to achieve energy independence. We will take tough steps to obtain the degree of self-sufficiency which is necessary to avoid disruption of our economy. We will make sure there is heat for our homes and power for the people who work in our plants. Realistically, this does not mean zero imports.

In the immediate future, we will expand our efforts to increase our energy efficiency. This will reduce the growing dependence on foreign petroleum. Project Independence will also require us to increase the output of existing domestic resources.

In mobilizing to achieve long-term goals, we will fully exploit one of our most powerful natural resources—U.S. technology. We are moving in this direction.

Last year, for example, the United States Government funding for energy research and development was approximately \$1¼ billion. This year, we will spend over \$2¼ billion. These funds, together with those provided by private industry, will support a growing national effort. In terms of joint private and public resources, it will mean a commitment in excess of the successful one made by John F. Kennedy to put a man on the Moon in the last decade.

I mention this highly successful Moon landing to dramatize the magnitude of the energy task before us, the dedication with which we approach it, and the national mobilization of attention and talent it will require.

We are also moving to improve the organization of the U.S. Government for carrying out our energy programs. A key step now awaiting final action by the Congress is the creation of an Energy Research and Development Administration. It will provide coordination and leadership, in cooperation with private industry, in developing the necessary technology to fulfill our long-range energy requirements.

Even if there had been no political interference in the production and distribution of petroleum, nations today would still be facing the problem of finding enough fuel at reasonable prices to continue the modernization of our world. Our needs then and now for energy are increasing much, much faster than our ability to produce it. But, in addition, most industrialized nations experienced the direct impact of the oil embargo which, obviously, greatly intensified the problem. All nations have been adversely affected by price increases.

When nations use their resources as political weapons against others, the result is human suffering. It is then tempting to speculate on how much better off man would be if nature had distributed vital resources more evenly around the world, making every nation self-sufficient. But perhaps nature had a better idea. Because vital resources are distributed unevenly, nations are forced to choose between conflict and cooperation.

Throughout history, nations have gone to war over natural advantages such as water, or food, or convenient passages on land and sea. But in the nuclear age, when any local conflict may escalate to global catastrophe, war brings unacceptable risks for all mankind.

Now, more than any time in the history of man, nations must accept and live peacefully with the fact that they need each other. Nations must turn to international cooperation as the best means for dealing with the uneven distribution of resources.

American foreign policy rests on two obvious new facts: First, in the nuclear age, there is no rational alternative to international cooperation. Second, the more the world progresses, the more the world modernizes, the more nations need each other.

As you know, a theme of the foreign policy of this Administration is "international cooperation in an interdependent world." Stressing interdependence, you may ask why is our domestic energy program called Project Independence? As I see it, especially with regard to energy, national sufficiency and international interdependence fit together and actually work together.

No nation can be part of the modern world and live unto itself. No nation has or can have within its borders everything necessary for a full and rich life for all its people. Independence cannot mean isolation.

The aim of Project Independence is not to set the United States apart from the rest of the world; it is to enable the United States to do its part more effectively in the world's effort to provide more energy. Project Independence will seek new ways to reduce energy usage and to increase its production. To the extent that we succeed, the world will benefit. There will be much more energy available for others.

As America expands existing sources and develops new ones, other nations will also benefit. We especially want to share our experience and our technology with other countries in efforts to increase their own energy supplies. We are also aware that in some respects other countries are ahead of us, and we will seek to learn from them.

Sovereign nations try to avoid dependence on other nations that exploit their own resources to the detriments of others. Sovereign nations cannot allow their policies to be dictated, or their fate decided, by artificial rigging and distortion of world commodity markets.

No one can foresee the extent of damage, nor the end of the disastrous consequences, if nations refuse to share nature's gifts for the benefit of all mankind. I told the United Nations assembly last Wednesday, and I quote: The attempt by any country to use one commodity for political purposes will inevitably tempt other countries to use their commodities for their own purposes.

There are three ways, fortunately, that this danger can and must be avoided:

- first, each nation must resolve not to misuse its resources;
- second, each nation must fully utilize its own energy resources;
- and
- third, each nation must join with others in cooperative efforts to reduce its energy vulnerability.

In doing so, we emphasize that our actions are not directed against any other nations, but are only taken to maintain the conditions of international order and well-being.

The quest for energy need not promote division and discord; it can expand the horizons of the world's peoples. I envision a strong movement towards a unifying cooperation to ensure a decent life for all.

I welcome the development in Brussels last Friday of a new international energy program by the Energy Coordinating Group of the Washington Energy Conference. We were pleased to participate in that meeting. The 12 nations reached an ad referendum agreement on a far-reaching cooperative plan to deal with such emergencies as embargoes by sharing available oil and by cutting consumption and using stocks on an equitable basis. While seeking conservation, we and the other nations will work for expanded production of both conventional and nonconventional fuels. The cooperating countries are also creating an international agency to carry out this program.

The United States welcomes this demonstration of international action rather than words.

Just as Americans are challenged by Project Independence, the world faces a related challenge that requires a "Project Interdependence." No single country can solve the energy problem by itself. As President, I offer America's partnership to every other nation willing to join in a common effort to expand the spirit flowing from the Washington Energy Conference. A start has been made in Brussels. The momentum must be continued if true interdependence is to be achieved.

The economy of the world is facing unprecedented challenges. Old remedies are inadequate for new problems. New and appropriate solutions must be found without delay, and I am absolutely convinced that they will be found.

I firmly believe that the unselfishness of all nations is in the self-interest of each nation. We all depend on each other in so many ways that there is no way in today's world for any nation to benefit at the expense of others—except for the very short term and at a very great risk.

Without having planned it, we find ourselves in the strange situation in which the most selfish individual can figure out that it is profitable to live by what we call the Golden Rule: We can help ourselves only if we are considerate and only if we are helpful to others.

The energy crisis is the clearest example of the world's interdependence. The industrialized nations need the oil produced by a few developing nations, and all developing nations need the technology, the services, and the products of industrialized nations.

The opportunity for a great advance for the whole world is tantalizingly apparent, but so is the danger that we will throw away this very, very rare opportunity to realize mankind's hopes. Let us build and implement a global strategy for energy.

If I may, I call on this World Energy Conference and other international organizations to accept the challenge of formulating Project Interdependence, a comprehensive energy program for the world to develop our resources not just for the benefit of a few but for all mankind.

This task is surely monumental, but the United States believes that it is possible, that it is essential. To help you in the beginning to take the first steps, let me propose some principles that could guide a global approach:

First, all nations must seek to increase production, each according to its resources and its level of technology. Some can develop known and available resources; others can try to improve methods of extraction or intensify exploration; and others are capable of developing new sources of energy appropriate to their own circumstances. But all nations can and should play a part in enlarging and diversifying the sources of usable energy. Diversification can help deter nations from resorting to monopolistic prices or practices.

Next, the rate of increase in consumption of energy must be reduced, and waste eliminated. Americans will do their part in this necessary effort. But all nations can contribute to discovering new ways to reduce the energy we consume, partly through common sense, partly through self-discipline, and partly through new technological improvements. Whatever energy-saving methods are developed anywhere must be communicated quickly to all concerned. Energy-saving possibilities are promising, especially for the short term, as production increases.

Third, a cooperative spirit, a cooperative conduct are essential to success in a global energy program. Nothing, in my judgment, could be more harmful than policies directed against other nations. If we lapse into confrontation of exporters on the one hand and consumers on the other, or an unseemly scramble of consumers being played off one against another, all hopes for a global solution will be destroyed.

Fourth, we must be especially attentive to the situation of the poorest nations which will suffer drastically if the energy problem does not come under control. Actually, they are the chief victims, even now, of the

uncontrolled inflation driving world prices up, far beyond their reach for all the goods and all the services they must import to survive.

Finally, a global strategy must seek to achieve fuel prices which provide a strong incentive to producers, but which do not seriously disrupt the economies of the consumer. We recognize the desires of the producers to earn a fair share or a fair price for their oil as a means of helping to develop their own economies. But exorbitant prices can only distort the world economy, run the risk of a worldwide depression, and threaten the breakdown of world order and world safety.

It is difficult to discuss the energy problem without lapsing, unfortunately, into doomsday language. The danger is clear. It is very severe. Nevertheless, I am very optimistic. The advantages of cooperation are as visible as the dangers of confrontation, and that gives me hope as well as optimism.

But good intentions will not be enough. Knowledgeable people, like all of you at this important conference, are needed to give understanding, analysis, technical competence, and solutions for the people and the leaders to consider.

I call on all of you to respond to the challenge and to propose to the world your recommendations for a global energy strategy. Whether you call it Project Interdependence or some other name is not the essential point. What is essential is the challenge be accepted and the job be done quickly and well.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now declare the Ninth World Energy Conference officially open, and thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. at Cobo Hall, Detroit, Mich.

Hurricane Disaster in Honduras

The President's Message to General Oswaldo Lopez, Chief of State of Honduras, Following the Disaster Caused by Hurricane Fifi, Together With Details on Relief Efforts. September 23, 1974

The President today sent the following message to General Lopez, Chief of State of Honduras:

Dear General Lopez:

On behalf of the Government and people of the United States, I extend our profound sympathy to you and the Honduran people on the tragic loss of life and suffering caused by the hurricane which struck your country. The close bonds of friendship between our countries evoke particularly strong feelings of solidarity with the Honduran people at times like these. You may be assured of our continuing interest in and support for the courageous efforts which you and your people are making to alleviate human distress and initiate recovery from this tragedy.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

The President has been receiving reports on the situation regularly and is following the activities directed at

assisting Honduran efforts to alleviate the suffering and begin the rebuilding in stricken areas. He has directed that appropriate government agencies apply their full efforts to providing relief and rehabilitation in an effective way. To this end AID's Disaster Relief Center has been functioning to coordinate our efforts. The Center has been in regular contact with the Embassy at Tegucigalpa, the Defense Department and the State Department.

Since September 18 when the U.S. Ambassador declared that a disaster existed requiring U.S. assistance, approximately 1/4 of a million dollars has been committed in search, rescue and relief actions. Four UH-1 helicopters were dispatched from the U.S. Southern Command in Panama. Two C-130 Hercules have been shuttling back and forth between the AID Disaster Relief stockpile in Panama and La Mesa Airport in Honduras. Three smaller U-21 observation planes have been assisting in surveying the damage. The relationship with the Honduran director of civil defense has been close and effective. To date, the United States has supplied communications equipment, three large water purification units, emergency and medical supplies, jeeps and transportation, including three large boats.

The Disaster Relief Center is coordinating efforts to bring international, Federal, State and private sector resources to bear. The Mississippi and California National Guard are sending cargo aircraft to Honduras with medical personnel, food and supplies. CARE is also releasing PL-480 food supplies which it has stored in Honduras.

NOTE: The item was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Disaster Assistance for Louisiana

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Hurricane Carmen. September 23, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Louisiana as a result of Hurricane Carmen, beginning about September 6, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the hurricane, disaster unemployment assistance, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Louisiana will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Joe D. Winkle, Regional Director for Federal Disaster Assistance, HUD Region VI, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

International Association of Chiefs of Police

The President's Remarks at the 81st Annual Convention of the Association. September 24, 1974

Chief Looney, distinguished guests, members of the International Association of Police:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have an opportunity of participating with you here this morning.

Frankly, if there had been enough room, I really wanted to bring the United States Marine Corps Band with me, but it might have been a little embarrassing. Can you imagine if they played "Hail To The Chief" and all 3,000 of you stood up? [*Laughter*]

But, frankly, I have to admit being a little worried and a little concerned about standing up here this morning. You can imagine how it feels to be facing 3,000 of the most capable, the most diligent, the most conscientious police officers in the world—and right outside, I am parked in front of a fire hydrant. [*Laughter*]

Six weeks ago, I told the American people and the Congress that we all have a lot of work to do. We have a long national agenda, and I stress today that the control of crimes, especially violent crime, is one of the top items on that agenda.

I think it is fair to say that all Americans can agree on some conclusions about crime. There is far too much of it. It can no longer be ignored. It can no longer be rationalized away. The time has come for all of us to act.

The point in dispute is precisely how crime can be reduced. I have some proposals that I will spell out later to both the Nation and to the Congress.

Crime is scarcely a new concern in this country. For more than 50 years, its level has steadily increased. Crime is still on the rise. In fact, most of our statistics seem to be on the increase. Prices are up; unemployment is up. In addition, we face some serious shortages.

One shortage particularly bothers me. This is the shortage of easy answers. We are faced with growing problems on all fronts, and there is no easy answer to any of them.

We all know that earthy description which President Truman gave to the Oval Office some years ago: "The buck stops here." When it comes to fighting crimes, most of the buck stops at your offices. You are in the front line; you are the top commanders in the war on crime.

As you well know, most police powers are reserved to the States and largely delegated to local communities. I think this is a good and key feature of our Federal system. It will remain a key feature as long as I have anything to do with it.

The Federal role is essentially supportive. The solution depends upon State and local efforts under the leadership and the guidance of all of you.

As you know, Washington provides direct assistance to States and local communities through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Grants have increased to about \$880 million annually and most of it in block grants to the States. That is a lot of money, and I look back to the first year, about 7 or 8 years ago, when it amounted to approximately \$50 million in the first instance.

But the total of \$880 million, which is roughly the annual appropriation now at the Federal level, it is actually only 5 percent of the total spent on State and local crime justice systems. Actually Federal money is essentially seed money.

Perhaps the most important activity of the Federal Government in this area is research and development. We have learned very valuable lessons about the nature of crime and its prevention.

We are cooperating with local agencies in pilot development and in testing new law enforcement tools.

In this process we have learned that there is need for better management, particularly the need to concentrate limited resources where they will be most effective.

There is also a need for greater citizen cooperation, particularly as ready and willing witnesses.

For effective management, we first have to have some hard decisions on priorities. As a starter, I would suggest a high priority on violent crime and street crime in the inner-city. There is where crime does the most damage to our whole urban structure. There is where crime most hurts the poor who already suffer enough.

One bright spot in the crime scene is the success of your efforts against urban crime. Your concentration on street crime seems to be paying off, and I compliment you and congratulate you. But as we move forward in this area with the success that you have, let's keep the effort moving stronger and stronger.

Another priority as I see it is the habitual offender—the so-called career criminal. Most crime, according to the statistics, is the work of a limited number of hardened criminals. We must take the criminal out of circulation. We must make crime hazardous and very costly. We must ensure that swift and prolonged imprisonment will *inevitably* follow each and every offense. Only then will we deter others from pursuing careers of crime.

Accordingly, I have directed the Department of Justice to undertake, in cooperation with State and local governments, a Career Criminal Impact Program. It will target and keep track of professional criminals. This program will also assign priority to cases of habitual criminals and expedite the process by which they are brought to justice.

Here in the District of Columbia we have already seen dramatic results in a very short time. Perhaps this can be adopted as a similar program in other urban areas.

In the U.S. Attorney's office, a special group known as the Major Violators Unit has been established. This unit tracks the cases of major repeat offenders. It ensures that these cases receive the most urgent attention of prosecutors. This unit has dramatically reduced the ability of case-hardened offenders to escape through the loopholes of the criminal justice system.

As I indicated, the results are already very impressive. For example, in the first month of operation, the Major Violators Unit substantially increased the conviction rate

for serious cases. The average time from arrest to trial has been reduced by at least 3 weeks. The career criminal now realizes that serious cases will no longer simply slip through the cracks in the system.

In this area, you know better than I that all this cannot be done by the police in isolation. Effective anticrime management requires the close cooperation of police, prosecutors, courts, and corrections. Where they work together, you not only will obtain a better conviction rate, but you will save unbelievable hours—police hours—that are now, unfortunately, wasted.

But to reduce the crime rate, we need the cooperation of one other party—namely, the public. Crime statistics, shocking as they are, often show us only the top of the iceberg. Too much crime goes unreported. A lot of witnesses never show up, especially after the fourth or fifth continuance.

A study in the District of Columbia shows that non-cooperation of witnesses was by far the most common reason for losing major cases. Throughout this Nation, nearly half the victims of assault, robbery, burglary, and larceny above \$50 failed to report the incident to the police. In larcenies below \$50, about 80 percent did not report.

I think it is reasonable to ask the question why, and, according to a survey, the results show that most victims are frustrated, fearful, and pessimistic about results. Even victims, unfortunately, do not want to get involved with all the paperwork, interrogations and repeated visits to the courthouse in cases that after several continuances may be dropped anyway. And sometimes—you know better than I—the victim fears reprisal.

Now, what can be done? First of all, we go back to good management. Fast action and better conviction rate of major crimes can help restore public confidence in the system. Better scheduling, better notification of witnesses, and fewer continuances will serve to cut down the terribly frustrating waste of the witness' time.

There are many other, many other things law enforcement professionals can do to encourage citizen cooperation and citizen initiative. Some communities have already launched very successful programs, and I congratulate each and every one of you in those instances.

LEAA has the information, the ideas, and some block-grant money to help you launch a program in your community—a program to overcome the sense of futility, frustration, and fear, and get the man on the street turned back to cooperation with the police.

Of course, the police can't do everything to win the war on crime, although you have done a magnificent job under most difficult circumstances. The police, plus the prosecutors, plus the courts, plus the prisons, cannot do the whole job. The community, and particularly the family, can be of tremendous help.

I think we on the outside recognize how difficult your job is. Under our constitutional system, the Federal Government, as I indicated earlier, can only give you limited aid and limited support, but I commit to you that this Administration will continue the kind of support that is needed and necessary for your job and the protection and the benefit of our fellow citizens.

Progress is slow, but it is my honest judgment that I think we are on the right track. We are beginning, as we move in the decade of the seventies, to learn how to fight modern crime more effectively. And as we move together, I think the results will be increasingly evident.

In the District of Columbia, for example, there has been a fortunate combination of good management methods, very ample resources, and outstanding leadership from Chief Jerry Wilson, who, unfortunately, is retiring this year. Reported crime in the District of Columbia shows a 40 percent drop during his tenure in office, spanning the last 5 years.

It was here in Washington that a sad but heroic chapter of police history was made last week. Officer Gail Cobb became the first policewoman in the United States killed in the line of duty. I commend this brave officer who gave her life to protect her community. To honor her memory, I ask this convention to stand in silent tribute to Officer Cobb, whose funeral is taking place at this very moment.

[At this point, a moment of silence was observed in memory of District of Columbia Police Officer Gail A. Cobb who was killed on September 20, 1974. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much.

This latest tragedy has a vital lesson for every American. Whatever the insufficiencies and inadequacies of our criminal justice system, the officer on the beat is laying his or her life on the line every single day to make our respective communities a better place in which to live.

The police officer, from the top to the bottom, deserves the respect and cooperation of every American, and, as I close, I pledge you my full cooperation here today.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Assistant to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Donald Rumsfeld. September 24, 1974

The President today announced that he will appoint Donald Rumsfeld as Assistant to the President with Cabinet rank and with responsibility for the coordination of White House operations.

Mr. Rumsfeld is presently U.S. Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with the rank and status of Ambassador,

a position he has held since February 1973. He will assume his duties on Friday while concurrently completing his assignment in Brussels over the coming month.

Born on July 9, 1932, in Chicago, Mr. Rumsfeld was elected to Congress from Illinois' 13th Congressional District in 1962 and was reelected three times. From 1969 to 1973, he served in various executive positions, including Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Counselor to the President, and Director of the Cost of Living Council during Phase II.

After graduation from Princeton University in 1954, Mr. Rumsfeld served in the U.S. Navy as a pilot and flight instructor. He was also associated with an investment banking firm in Chicago prior to his first election to Congress.

Mr. Rumsfeld is married to the former Joyce Pierson, and they have three children.

The President plans to nominate a successor for Ambassador Rumsfeld in the near future.

Assistant Press Secretary to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Thomas P. DeCair. September 24, 1974

The President today announced that he has appointed Thomas P. DeCair, of Kalamazoo, Mich., as Assistant Press Secretary to the President. He has been a member of the White House Press Office staff since May 1972.

From 1964 to 1967, Mr. DeCair was a reporter with the Kalamazoo (Michigan) Gazette and the Holland (Michigan) Evening Sentinel. From 1969 to 1972, he was director of advertising and publicity for the Simicon Co. in Holland, Mich.

He was born on June 6, 1945, in Spartanburg, S.C., and was raised in Kalamazoo, Mich. Mr. DeCair attended Kalamazoo College and was graduated, magna cum laude, in 1972 from Hope College, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He served in the U.S. Army from 1967 to 1969.

Assistant to the President

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National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung, and Blood Program

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Annual Report of the Director of the National Heart and Lung Institute. September 24, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

The "National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung, and Blood Act of 1972" created a National Heart and Lung Institute

and required the Director in consultation with the National Heart and Lung Advisory Council to prepare and submit to the President for transmittal to the Congress an annual report and a plan for the next five years.

This report is enclosed. It is a detailed and thorough description of what is being done in research and treatment of heart and lung diseases, with a thoughtful plan for what might be done in the next five years. The keynote of the report is the same as that of the NHLI's first program plan: "to marshal national resources for promoting and restoring health, and for preventing and treating disease more effectively. . . ."

That part of the report which deals with the future proposes certain expenditures for fiscal years 1976 through 1980 which are in excess of what has been requested in the 1975 budget. The report, of course, frankly says that it represents a parochial, although important, point of view, and does not take into account the competing claims on the Federal budget at any time.

There is no conflict, however, about the depth of this administration's commitment to find cures and preventions for diseases of the heart, blood vessels, lungs, and blood. From a commitment of \$182 million in 1971 to a proposed commitment of \$309 million in 1975, the Federal Government's concern and determination on this matter has grown steadily greater. My administration reaffirms that commitment.

This report shows that the money spent by the NHLI has been well spent. I hope that the NHLI's accomplishments will be further milestones in our progress for our Nation and for mankind against those diseases which wreak so much heartbreak, death, and misery.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 24, 1974.

NOTE: The 150-page report, entitled "National Heart, Blood Vessel, Lung, and Blood Program—First Annual Report of the Director of the National Heart and Lung Institute," was published by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Reception for Congressional Staff Members

The President's Remarks at the Reception for Aides to Republican Members of the House and Senate.
September 24, 1974

Needless to say, I am very grateful for the warm reception, and today we are paying tribute, as I look at it, to the unsung heroes and heroines of our Republican staff organization on Capitol Hill, and I might add their long-suffering spouses.

Frankly, again nobody has ever been able to really pin down the exact duties, as I see it, of a good staff assistant, but somebody did come up with a pretty good definition the other day as I was talking to someone about this prospective meeting, and he said, and I will quote: "A good staff assistant is someone who gets half the pay, a quarter of the office, and all of the blame." [Laughter]

Maybe this is telling tales out of school—and I have been accused of that before—but I once overheard a lady who was trying to get in to see her Senator, without too much success. The administrative assistant was, you know as they always do, trying to smooth the obviously unhappy constituent. He said, "Madam, perhaps I could help you. I am his AA." She gave him a sympathetic nod, and said, "Don't feel bad. If I worked for him, I would drink, too." [Laughter]

Needless to say, in closing, I do want to thank all of you most sincerely for the wonderful job you have done over the years that I had something to do with the Republican Party on Capitol Hill. Your talents, your cooperation, your dedication, the endless hours that all of you have given so freely I deeply appreciate.

And I have found that words alone don't very adequately express this appreciation, and so I have written a little poem. It is called "A Toast to Congressional Staffers." It goes like this:

"A toast to Congressional staffers:

They listen, write and edit.

They work and work and work and work,

And we take all the credit."

So, let me thank all of you again. I have done it on many occasions, but I say it most sincerely tonight because I know firsthand the effort, the result, and all of the good things that flow from what you have done for me and all others in the Republican leadership and the principles for which we stand.

I thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:49 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Portrait Unveiling at the Longworth House Office Building

The President's Remarks at the Unveiling of a Portrait of Representative Leonor K. Sullivan, Chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.
September 24, 1974

Dick, Mr. Speaker, our honored guest, Leonor, my many, many former colleagues and friends:

I have been accused of coming up to Capitol Hill so frequently lately that some people have suggested I was trying to build up my attendance record. [Laughter]

I think all of us know that my friendship with Leonor Sullivan goes back a long, long way. I had the privilege and honor of serving with her husband, John Sullivan, from 1948 until 1952. Leonor became a Member, as all of you know, in 1952, and ever since then, for 22 years, Leonor, we have been good friends. And I have valued and have been most grateful for that friendship.

We have discussed legislation on the floor of the House, and we have discussed it in the corridors, and we have discussed it in committee. We have shared thoughts and ideas on many other matters in the Longworth Building and in the Members Dining Room.

And so, after all these years, I come to this ceremony with a very special message. And Leonor, let me put it this way, Leonor, we can't go on meeting like this; Betty is getting suspicious. [*Laughter*]

But in this very busy day, I am particularly proud to be here, and I have looked forward to attending this ceremony, this very special and very well deserved occasion in your honor.

I think most of you know that I don't pretend to be an expert in the field of art. In fact, back in my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, we have a very large, modernistic piece of sculpture by the great Alexander Calder. He has several here in the District of Columbia. And every time I try to describe it to somebody or interpret it for somebody, poor Mr. Calder doesn't know whether to smile or sue. [*Laughter*]

But you don't have to be an expert to appreciate this wonderful portrait of Leonor. I have been impressed by what I have seen on the program, and I can't help but admire it in reality.

I have heard that a good painting is a mirror held to the soul of the subject. And Charles Fox, the portrait painter, has certainly captured the richness of Leonor Sullivan's character and her wonderful personality.

I understand that Mr. Fox has previously painted three Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Nixon—as well as many other very prominent people in public life, and I know that his portrait of Leonor will be a credit to his career as much as the career of Leonor Sullivan has been a credit to the Congress of the United States.

I don't have to repeat here all of the achievements, the accomplishments, the superb record of Leonor. She has been an outstanding Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

I think it is significant to point out, however, that—I think it was last year, Leonor—when the American maritime industry awarded her for her dedication, her success on behalf of the maritime industry, and made her an admiral of the ocean seas. This, I think, is unbelievable for someone who comes from the heartland of America to be so recognized by the maritime industry, an industry that I am sure watches and husbands that award for only those who have done superb work on behalf of our merchant marine.

So what I would like to say is, Leonor, whether it was on the Committee on Banking and Currency or whether it was on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, or whether it was on the floor of the House, there have been no other Members who I think enjoys the respect and admiration, Democratic or Republican, more than you.

But most of all, I am proud to call you a friend and to wish you the very best as you leave the Congress at the end of this session.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 6:30 p.m. in the Hearing Room of the Ways and Means Committee at the Longworth House Office Building.

The President later stated that he had been mistaken in his remarks in the last paragraph. Mrs. Sullivan is not planning retirement at the end of the session.

VISIT OF PRESIDENT GIOVANNI LEONE OF ITALY

Exchange of Remarks Between President Ford and President Leone at the Welcoming Ceremony on the South Lawn. September 25, 1974

PRESIDENT FORD. *Mr. President, and ladies and gentlemen:*

Mr. President, I warmly welcome you to the United States of America. I warmly welcome you on behalf of all Americans who are deeply grateful for the gifts of genius and beauty your country has given to all mankind. On behalf of the millions and millions of Americans who are proud to claim Italy as their ancestral homeland, I welcome you with a very special family affection.

You, Mr. President, are an honored leader of one of America's truest allies. In the past 3 decades, America has been very, very proud to have been associated with Italy in your successful efforts to build a democratic industrial society. I assure you, Mr. President, of America's continued commitment to a stable, free, and democratic Italy.

I also wish to restate most emphatically our intention to work closely with your country in strengthening Atlantic cooperation and Atlantic security. I think we must all admit that the road will not be easy. The problems of inflation and of assuring equitable access to fairly priced resources, for example, threaten the stability of every economy and the welfare of people in developed as well as in developing countries alike. The very, very nature of these problems defies solution by unilateral measures.

Mr. President, I look forward to our discussions over the next 2 days. I am confident that our talks will contribute to our mutual efforts to secure peace for all nations of the world. There is no doubt that they will serve to reinforce the ties that have bound our friendship over the many years.

Mr. President, you are most welcome to America.

PRESIDENT LEONE. Mr. President, I thank you for the invitation that you extended to me immediately after taking over your high office as President of the United States of America, thus confirming an invitation I had received last year. Thank you for the warm welcome you have given me and for the kind words of welcome that you have just spoken.

It is a great honor for me to represent Italy on this official visit to this great country, which is striking in its vitality and creative capacity, which is in the vanguard of progress, which is strong in its democratic institutions which date back to the birth of a free nation.

And it is precisely to celebrate with just pride the birth of a free nation that you are about to celebrate the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, which also carries the signature of an Italian, Guglielmo Paca.

It is an historic and solemn document which prepared the Constitution of the United States of America, among whose inspirers, may I recall with pride the name of a great Neapolitan lawyer, Gaetano Filangieri.

The relations between our two nations have deep and longstanding roots embodied by those millions of Italians, who at all times in every capacity, with their work and their intelligence and their thought, have made substantial contribution to the well-being and progress of this country.

Those relations are sustained by our common dedication to the principles of democracy and freedom and to the cause for peace.

Our common efforts, within the purview of our respective possibilities, are aimed at a constant quest for peace. The Atlantic Alliance is conceived and experienced by the United States, by Italy, and by all its members as an instrument for security and peace.

The commitment that Italy is pursuing with constancy, energy, and firmness is to achieve a unity that is not only economic, but also political so as to convey and channel the considerable resources of the old continent, in the light of its great traditions, to the service of the well-being of nations and the consolidation of peace.

The work of détente that Italy, like the United States and other countries, has been pursuing for years with constancy and firmness in

close cooperation with its allies, knowing that we have the will of the peoples of the world behind us.

And it is in the same spirit that we think we must study and tackle the great economic problems which beset the world and the even greater problems posed by modern civilization, problems which affect very closely our social and private lives.

The vastness and urgency of the task and the importance of the resources that it requires are such as to call for a global answer resulting from the joint efforts of all.

I feel certain, Mr. President, that our talks will consolidate the friendship between the people of America and of Italy, and that they will develop our already excellent relations.

And I should like to extend to you also, on behalf of the Italian Government represented here by our Foreign Minister Signor Moro, my warmest greetings and my good wishes to you for your Presidency, and I should like also to extend those greetings on behalf of my wife to Mrs. Ford and to your children.

And in conclusion, Mr. President, it is with great pride that I bring the fraternal greetings of the people of Italy to the great and generous people of the United States of America.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 11:09 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Giovanni Leone was given a formal welcome with full military honors. President Leone spoke in Italian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy

*The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting
the Final Report of the Council. September 25, 1974*

To the Congress of the United States:

It is a privilege for me to transmit to the Congress the final report of the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy.

This report, which supplements earlier work by the Council, addresses three issues of importance to Government at all levels: equal employment, labor management relations, and the development of workforce policies by State and local governments. Because the members of the Council have expressed themselves forcefully and forthrightly on these matters, their work should serve as a useful reference point for public officials everywhere. All of us should be indebted to the Council members for their dedicated service and wisdom.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 25, 1974.

NOTE: The 63-page report is entitled "More Effective Public Service—The Supplementary Report to the President and the Congress by the Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel Policy."

Public Law 480 Program

*The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting
the 1973 Annual Report on Activities Under
Public Law 480. September 25, 1974*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the 1973 annual report on agricultural export activities carried out under Public Law 480 (Food for Peace). This has been a successful program. It has provided a channel for humanitarian assistance, promoted economic development and, in general, supported foreign policy objectives of the United States.

Throughout the year, the Food for Peace program demonstrated its flexibility in a changing agricultural situation. Because of the tight commodity supply situation in the United States, shipments during the year were somewhat restricted. This was especially true of wheat and wheat product shipments. However, our food contributions to the drought-stricken African countries, including Ethiopia, were substantial. In both East and West Africa, United States food aid represented about 40 percent of the total supplied by the international community. The level of U.S. contributions to the World Food Program and the U.S. voluntary agencies was maintained and the Title I

concessional sales programs continued in such high-priority countries as Bangladesh, Bolivia, Cambodia, Israel, Pakistan, and Vietnam.

The Food for Peace program continues to be the primary U.S. food aid activity. Concessional sales programs continued to encourage recipient countries to establish self-help objectives and also support economic development projects. The program retains its emphasis on improving the nutrition of pregnant and nursing mothers, babies, and pre-school children, the most nutritionally significant periods of human life. Although most programs have aspects of agricultural market development, specific programs for trade expansion have been limited because of strong commercial demand. Such programs could be resumed under changed supply conditions.

As 1973 legislation authorized the extension of the Public Law 480 program through 1977, it will go on playing its vital role in terms of development assistance, trade expansion, and promotion of our foreign policy objectives.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 25, 1974.

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Annual Report on Activities Carried Out Under Public Law 480, 83d Congress, as Amended, During the Period January 1 Through December 31, 1973" (115 pp. plus tables).

National Commission for the Observance of World Population Year

Executive Order 11806. September 25, 1974

AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11763 OF JANUARY 17, 1974, TO EXTEND THE LIFE OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF WORLD POPULATION YEAR

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 2(e) of Executive Order No. 11763 of January 17, 1974 (39 F.R. 2349), is revised to read in its entirety as follows: "(e) The Commission shall conclude its work and make a report to the President not later than June 30, 1975, at which time the Commission shall be deemed to be terminated."

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 25, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:33 p.m.,
September 25, 1974]

President's Commission on White House Fellowships

*Announcement of Appointment of
Bruce H. Hasenkamp as Director of the Commission.
September 25, 1974*

The President today announced the appointment of Mr. Bruce H. Hasenkamp as Director of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships.

Mr. Hasenkamp was born on May 12, 1938, in Brooklyn, N.Y., was graduated cum laude from Dartmouth College with an A.B. in 1960, and received his J.D. from Stanford University in 1963.

He served on the Congressional staff of Honorable William B. Widnall of New Jersey during 1961 and 1962, was associated with the New York law firm of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett from 1963 to 1968, and then went on to become assistant dean of the Stanford Law School until 1973, when he left Stanford to become a consultant in educational management. He served as a first lieutenant with the U.S. Army in Korea and is a member of the Bar in California and New York.

Mr. Hasenkamp succeeds Mrs. Joan K. Benziger, Acting Director.

Combined Federal Campaign

*The President's Memorandum for Federal Employees
and Military Personnel. September 25, 1974*

Those of us who work for the Federal Government have a special responsibility to demonstrate our generosity and compassion toward fellow citizens and concern for our communities.

Through the Combined Federal Campaign, we have an opportunity to meet these commitments in a positive, productive way by supporting the services of voluntary health and welfare agencies, including the United Way, the American Red Cross, national health agencies, and international service agencies—organizations concerned with the welfare of human beings.

In supporting the Combined Federal Campaign, we are participating voluntarily as citizens in a uniquely American project, helping our neighbors—especially the aged, the infirm, the handicapped, the ill, and families in distress—through these voluntary charitable organizations.

By bringing the helping hand of voluntary organizations to those in need, whether at home or abroad, we strengthen what is best in our Nation and realize what is best in ourselves as a people. The amount you give must be a personal and voluntary decision. But I ask each of you to join with me in supporting this most worthy effort to the fullest possible extent.

GERALD R. FORD

Visit of President Giovanni Leone of Italy

Exchange of Toasts Between President Ford and President Leone at a Dinner Honoring the Italian President. September 25, 1974

PRESIDENT FORD. Mr. President, it is wonderful to have you and Mrs. Leone and your three sons with us this evening. As I said this morning, at the time you came and joined us, the United States has a great debt of gratitude and a great sense of friendship for Italy because of the many, many people in this United States who have an ancestral background from Italy.

As I read and listen and look around our country, some 10 percent of our people have a background from Italy. We have superb artists, we have outstanding individuals in science, we have some very renowned athletes, we have many, many people in public life who have had a background from your country. And we are proud of them and their contributions to our country.

But I think, Mr. President, the broadest relationship that we have is what Italy has contributed to the United States, without personal identification, in the field—in those areas that one could describe as grace, humanity, tolerance and an awareness of beauty.

We have a great American writer by the name of Mark Twain who once wrote—and he wasn't very complimentary to foreigners—but one of his nicer moments, he wrote, "The Creator made Italy from the designs of Michelangelo." And that was a nice comment. It was probably the best he ever made about any foreigners.

But to be serious, Mr. President, in all of the time that I had the privilege of serving in the Congress, the United States and Italy were building together. We were building in the process of reconstruction following the war. We were building in the process of Europe as a whole in the reconstruction period.

This 25-year span led, of course, to our alliance, where we have developed a friendship and an agreement for diplomatic, military, economic, and cultural expansion and reciprocity.

We dealt with Italy on a personal basis, and we have worked together in our relationships with our allies in Western Europe. And the net result has been a better relationship between us as people and our Governments on behalf of our people.

But, Mr. President, it was a pleasure for me to meet you this morning and to be reassured of your willingness to talk in a frank and candid way about our mutual problems. And from one who spent a good share of his life in the political arena in the United States, I was greatly impressed with your wise statesmanship and your great knowledge of the problems in Europe and the rest of the world.

And so, it was a privilege and a pleasure for me to meet you and to discuss these matters with you and to help in the process of building a better relationship between Italy and the United States.

And if I might, may I ask all of you to stand and join with me in a toast to the President of the Republic of Italy.

PRESIDENT LEONE. For the second time today, Mr. President, I take my set speech and I set it aside. I am putting it back into my pocket, because I want to speak from my heart. The set speech, the written paper, will remain. It will perhaps go into the archives of state, but my speech will spring from my heart.

You, Mr. President, have said some very nice things about me and about my country. Now the things you said about me, I am sure, were totally undeserved, and they merely stemmed from your very great kindness. But what you said about my country makes me very proud indeed.

You recalled the contribution that Italy has made to arts and to civilization. We present this heritage to you, which is the heritage of centuries. We present it to you as our friendly ally, not with pride—which might perhaps be justified—but as a sort of visiting card for you to understand us better.

Italy has inherited the greatest legal tradition of all times, and Italy is the mistress of the arts. It can, therefore, only pursue ideals of democracy and freedom for all. And what other nation can better support us in these ideals than the United States.

Your Constitution, Mr. President, the first written Constitution that ever existed, has laid the foundations of the free world. And we are making this visit to this great country with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Moro, who is an authoritative representative of my Government, to reassert four things: The first is the faithful, loyal, and constant friendship between our two nations which is based, as you said, in part also on our common ancestry.

The second point is the Atlantic Alliance. That is the second point we want to reassert. As I said this morning, it is seen by Italy, by the United States, and by all the member countries, as an instrument for détente and peace.

And we want to reassert, thirdly, our firm belief in the need to build a united Europe which will be complementary to the Atlantic Alliance and which will not be against America, but with the United States of America.

And, fourthly, we want to tell you how very much we support your policy of détente, in which you have the great cooperation of your Secretary of State, which policy of détente expresses the will of the peoples of the world that thirst for peace and justice.

Now, if these four points are confirmed—and they have already been confirmed, indeed, by our talks this morning with you, Mr. President, and this afternoon with your Secretary of State, and I am sure they will be reconfirmed again in the meeting you were kind enough to arrange

with me tomorrow—if they are reconfirmed, Mr. President, then I can only say that I thank God for allowing me to represent Italy in this great country.

And, Mr. President, you were good enough to extend your greetings to my whole family, and this is somewhat unusual, because in Italy we tend to hide our families away. And I have broken away from this tradition; I have brought my wife and children with me to present to you a typical Italian family, one that is a sound family, that is respectful of moral values, and that is united.

Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to say how satisfied I am with the talks that we have had, and how very glad I am that you have accepted my invitation to come and visit us in Italy. This has already made a favorable impression outside.

And I hope that the burden that is now weighing on your shoulders—but you have very square shoulders, indeed; I know that you are an athlete; I am not referring only to your physical strength—I hope that burden will yet give you some time to come to Italy where I can assure you of a very warm and affectionate welcome from the people of my country. And I hope that Mrs. Ford will be able to come with you.

And so I say to you, God bless you. And I invoke the blessings of God upon you as I do upon my own family.

And so I want to say now, thank you to the United States of America, and thank you very much for the music that you provided tonight. It was a touch of sentiment that I very much appreciated. I appreciated the Neapolitan song that was played.

I told you, Mr. President, in our private talk that Naples is my hometown. It is very beautiful, generous, and poor. And many parts of Italy are poor, and that causes us some concern.

I am mentioning this not with cup in hand at all, but merely as a matter of interest.

And so now, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I give you the toast: the health and prosperity of President Ford and his family, and the success and well-being of the people of America, and the consolidated friendship of the peoples of Italy and the United States of America.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 10:03 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Leone spoke in Italian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Philip Edward Coldwell To Be a Member of the Board. September 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Philip Edward Coldwell, of Dallas, Tex., to be a

member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of 14 years from February 1, 1966. He will succeed Andrew F. Brimmer who resigned effective August 31, 1974.

Since 1968, Mr. Coldwell has been president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas after joining them as an economist in 1952. He served as an economist until 1962 when he became first vice president.

He was born on July 20, 1922, in Champaign, Ill., and received his B.A. degree from the University of Illinois in 1946. He received his M.S. in 1947 and his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1952. He served in the United States Navy from 1942 to 1946 as a pilot.

He is married to the former Norma Elaine Abels, and they have two children. They reside in Dallas, Tex.

National Commission on Libraries and Information Science

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Three Persons for Reappointment as Members of the Commission. September 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate three persons for reappointment to be members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for terms expiring July 19, 1979. They are:

JOSEPH BECKER, of Pacific Palisades, Calif., president of Becker & Hays, Inc.

DR. CARLOS A. CUADRA, of Los Angeles, Calif., manager of library and documentation systems department of System Development Corp.

JOHN E. VELDE, JR., of Pekin, Ill., grain farmer and investment banker.

The Commission was established on July 20, 1970, to develop and recommend overall plans for the provision of library and information services adequate to meet the needs of all the people of the United States.

National School Lunch Week, 1974

Proclamation 4316. September 26, 1974

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

Winston Churchill once said that the best investment any society can make is putting milk into babies. By the same token, providing nutritious lunches for millions of

American school children is a concrete way of investing in our future well-being as a Nation.

Only healthy, well-nourished students can realize their fullest mental and physical potential and transform equality of opportunity from an ideal into a reality. Those who work in school lunch programs around the country—volunteers and employees of the Federal, State, and local governments which administer the National School Lunch Program are helping to realize this goal.

Recognizing the importance of their activities, and the good which this program does our Nation, Congress has designated the week beginning the second Sunday of October each year as National School Lunch Week, and has requested the President to issue annually a proclamation calling for observance of that week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby urge the people of the United States to observe the week of October 13, 1974, as National School Lunch Week and to give special attention to activities which will focus on good nutrition for our young people.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:26 p.m., September 26, 1974]

Legacy of Parks Program

Announcement of Transfer of 21 Parcels of Land for Park and Recreation Use Under the Program. September 26, 1974

The President today announced the transfer of an additional 21 parcels of land in 14 States for park and recreation use under the Legacy of Parks program. This program, which is under the direction of the Federal Property Council, was inaugurated in March 1971 with the first cost-free transfer of \$1.1 million worth of Federal property to the county of Nassau, N.Y.

The 21 properties total 2,493.25 acres and have an estimated market value of \$15,055,000. According to the Federal Property Council, these 21 new properties will serve a population of approximately 13,500,000. Today's announcement brings to 461 the number of Legacy of Parks properties in all 50 States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia.

Included in the 21 properties are one in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Kentucky, New York; North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin; two in Maryland and New Jersey; three in Illinois; and four in Virginia.

NOTE: The announcement also included a list and description of the lands to be transferred.

Chief of Staff, United States Army

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Gen. Frederick C. Weyand. September 26, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Army Vice Chief of Staff Gen. Frederick C. Weyand to be Chief of Staff of the United States Army. He will succeed Gen. Creighton W. Abrams who died on September 4, 1974.

General Weyand was born in Arbutle, Calif., on September 15, 1916. He was commissioned a second lieutenant on graduation from ROTC at the University of California in Berkeley in 1938 and entered on active duty in December 1940. In 1944 and 1945, he served successively in India, Burma, and China. During the Korean conflict, he served with the 3rd Infantry Division in 1950 and 1951 as a battlefield commander and operations officer. From 1954 to 1957, he served as military assistant and executive officer to the Secretary of the Army.

From 1958 to 1960, General Weyand was assigned in West Berlin as a commander of U.S. troops and then in France as Chief of Staff for the principal U.S. Army logistics command in Europe. He then served as the Army Chief of Legislative Liaison. From 1964 to 1967, General Weyand commanded the 25th Infantry Division in Hawaii and in South Vietnam. He served as Military Adviser to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, the Chairman of the U.S. delegation engaged in the early stages of negotiation with the Hanoi delegation in Paris, France, in 1969 and early 1970.

He returned to Vietnam in September 1970 as Deputy Commander of the U.S. Military Assistance Command. In June 1972, he succeeded General Abrams as Commander, USMACV, and was responsible for the final disengagement and return of the U.S. forces to the United States. In March 1973, after withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Republic of Vietnam, he assumed command of the United States Army, Pacific. General Weyand was sworn in as the Vice Chief of Staff of the Army on August 1, 1973.

He is married to the former Arline Langhart, and they have three children.

United States Permanent Representative on the NATO Council

*Announcement of Intention To Nominate
David K. E. Bruce. September 26, 1974*

The President announced today his intention to nominate David K. E. Bruce of the District of Columbia as United States Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with the rank of Ambassador. Ambassador Bruce has served since May 1, 1973, as the Chief of the United States Liaison Office to the People's Republic of China.

In 1970, he was appointed as head of the United States delegation to the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

From 1961 to 1969, he was Ambassador to Great Britain after having served as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. He has also served as Under Secretary of State, as United States Representative to the European Coal and Steel Community, and as Assistant Secretary of Commerce. In 1949, he became Ambassador to France, serving until 1952.

He was born on February 12, 1898, in Baltimore, Md., and received his B.A. degree from Princeton University in 1919. He was awarded his J.D. degree from the University of Maryland in 1921. He was admitted to the Maryland Bar and practiced in Baltimore until 1925. From 1925 to 1945, he was in the United States Foreign Service, business, farming, and the Office of Strategic Services.

He is married to the former Evangeline Bell, and they have three children.

VISIT OF PRESIDENT GIOVANNI LEONE OF ITALY

*U.S.-Italian Joint Statement Issued at the Conclusion of the Italian President's
Visit. September 26, 1974*

President Giovanni Leone of Italy made a State visit to the United States of America September 25-29, 1974, at the invitation of President Gerald R. Ford of the United States of America. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Leone, Minister of Foreign Affairs Aldo Moro, and other Italian officials.

During the visit, President Leone and President Ford held extensive and cordial discussions on a wide variety of international questions in which Minister of Foreign Affairs Aldo Moro and Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Henry A. Kissinger also participated. Minister Moro and Secretary Kissinger also held detailed talks on current issues of mutual interest.

President Ford and President Leone expressed their mutual satisfaction with the results of the talks. It was agreed that frequent consultations in the spirit of the Atlantic Declaration signed in Brussels on June 26 were a most desirable means of achieving better understanding of problems of common interest and possible solutions. They were in full agreement that such consultations should in no way prejudice other existing obligations. As a result of their exchanges of views, the two Presidents noted the broad agreement between them with respect to their policies in numerous areas:

1. They noted that their policies will continue to be guided by their desire for the maintenance of peace, adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, and promotion of a stable structure of peace which reflects the diverse nature and needs of the nations of the world. In this connection, both sides emphasized their commitment to overcoming the sources of tension and conflict which are divisive factors in the international community.

2. There was full agreement on the importance of the North Atlantic Alliance as an instrument which has guaranteed the security of its members, strengthened international stability, enhanced confidence among peoples, and thus has permitted them growing and fertile contacts with all the peoples of the world and provided the indispensable basis for the process of détente.

3. They reemphasized in this connection the importance they attach to the Atlantic Declaration and their determination to seek the fulfillment of the principles set forth in the Declaration in concert with their other NATO allies. President Ford underlined the importance the United States attaches to Italy's continuing valuable contributions to the Alliance.

4. They recognized the importance attached by the Nine members of the European Community to their efforts toward European union, and welcomed the reciprocal undertaking by the members of the Community and the United States to strengthen their relations on the basis of enhanced consultations within the broad framework of Atlantic cooperation. President Ford welcomed particularly the constructive role played by Italy in strengthening this cooperation.

5. They noted their determination that current negotiations in furtherance of détente on matters related to security and cooperation in Europe must result in enhanced stability in the relationships among all nations concerned. They also emphasized their continuing commitment to achieving balanced and effective international arms control agreements resulting in undiminished security for all nations.

6. They noted their concern with developments in the Mediterranean Basin and pledged their efforts to achieve equitable solutions. The United States noted in this connection that it looks to Italy, as a Mediterranean nation which has made a signal contribution to world civilization, to play a leading role in the common pursuit of lasting peace in that area.

7. They expressed their conviction that only international cooperative efforts can overcome the trade and financial problems confronting the nations of the world. They recognized that the solutions to national problems have their impact on the international community as a whole. While individual nations have primary responsibility for their own problems, the two Presidents recognize that the solutions required in a modern and complex interdependent world may go far beyond individual capabilities and require cooperation among members of the international community. In this regard, the United States has taken careful note of Italy's major efforts to meet its own domestic economic and financial problems and the responsiveness of the international community to these efforts. President Ford stated that the United States is prepared to play an appropriate, constructive and responsible role in a return to economic equilibrium in Italy.

8. They recognized the great importance of industrial, technical, and cultural cooperation among all nations and the imperative need for the equitable distribution of world resources among all nations. They agreed to facilitate initiatives in this regard in appropriate forums.

9. Finally, the two Presidents particularly noted the extraordinarily broad human ties between Italy and the United States of America, and the shared values and goals which bind together the Italian and American peoples.

10. President Leone extended to President Ford an invitation to visit Italy in the near future. President Ford accepted with pleasure.

Conference on Inflation

The President's Remarks Opening the Conference. September 27, 1974

Mr. Speaker, Senator Mansfield, Senator Scott, distinguished Members of the Congress of the United States, Members of the Cabinet, participants, observers, ladies and gentlemen:

At the first session of the Conference on Inflation, I asked that we get to work on a battle plan against public enemy number one. Important work has been done throughout the country. Today, the climax of our efforts is at hand. I welcome the many distinguished Members of the Congress and citizens from all sectors of American society. I deeply appreciate your commitment and your involvement.

I am also very pleased to welcome representatives from many foreign lands. This is, as we all know, an interdependent world. Inflation is an international problem. The efforts of each nation can become more effective if concerted action is achieved. The United States Government will consult with friends abroad as we move to combat an international threat.

I look forward to a productive series of discussions today and tomorrow morning.

In the great tradition of the American town hall, this conference includes the widest range of views and opinions. Inflation concerns all Americans. This is a joint executive-legislative undertaking in response to a bipartisan recommendation of the Congress. It demonstrates that Americans can still come together in an effective way to confront an immediate danger threatening every citizen.

There has been much talk at the various sessions throughout the country, but there has been action and a generation of ideas that will be used as tools for us on this occasion today and tomorrow.

We have taken a good look at many, many options, and we have already narrowed some of the options to those which would appear to be most effective and command the widest support.

I appreciate your willingness to work with me on the inflationary problem which transcends America's many special interests, whether Republican or Democratic, labor or business, urban or rural. Nor does inflation respect age, sex, race, color, or creed. And inflation certainly punishes most cruelly those least able to cope with it.

Today's conference, like others that preceded it, is wide open. All views and opinions are invited. This Administration's commitment to visible and responsive Government remains intact. I might not like everything I hear, but it is my solemn duty as President of the United States to give fair consideration to all views and to carefully weigh the possible courses of action.

At the outset of this session, a word about expectations is appropriate. In searching for the very best policies, let us recognize that there are no quick or easy solutions. No miracle cure has emerged from the pre-conference meetings. Inflation is a problem which we must deal with patiently and persistently. In this battle, there is no substitute for candor and hard work.

Spokesmen from the specialized meetings will report areas of general agreement. I have also asked them, and I think this is important, to report areas of disagreement and alternatives which the Congress and I must consider in making difficult decisions.

I, like all of you, have unlimited confidence in America. The battle against inflation will not be an easy one. It will require sacrifice and a strong common effort. It will require discipline, but I am certain and positive that we as Americans can and will win.

This Administration will seek to ensure that burdens are distributed equally. No group should be called upon to carry an unfair share of the burden.

America's traditional resourcefulness and ingenuity helped build the Nation and provide an abundance unknown by most other peoples of the world. Although Americans must increase their productive capacity, this by itself will not eliminate the scourge of inflation. Other actions and hard decisions are required. We cannot hope to satisfy all, but we will seek to act in the best interest of all.

I intend to constantly reassess policies and to change those that are not working. My actions will not be set in concrete. As President, I will continue to listen with all the openness with which I am capable and acting with all the decisiveness at my command. Together, with great confidence in America's capacity, let us begin.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:07 a.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel. The conference was broadcast live on public television. At the conclusion of the first day of the conference, the President hosted a reception for the participants at the White House.

LBJ Memorial Grove

The President's Remarks at Groundbreaking Ceremonies for the Memorial Honoring the 36th President of the United States. September 27, 1974

Mrs. Johnson, the Johnson family, Mr. Speaker, my former colleagues in the Congress, distinguished public officials, friends of Lyndon Johnson:

It is really a great honor and privilege for me to participate in this auspicious occasion today, to participate not only as President but as an old friend of the man we honor here on this occasion.

I think it is appropriate, before we talk about the man, to say a few words about another person. And I would like to make a comment or two, if I might, about our former First Lady who I am delighted to see here on this occasion.

I don't think there is an American in our society today, or maybe historically, who has done more to beautify America than Lady Bird Johnson. We all know there are countless trees, literally millions and millions of flowers that were planted across this land thanks to her efforts and are a true reflection—as I know her and many of you know her infinitely better than I—a true reflection of her warm, wonderful personality, who was a very great First Lady.

Lyndon Baines Johnson, long before he entered the White House, had already made his mark—his mark on history as a very great Member of the House of Representatives, subsequently the United States Senate, not only a Member but an inspirational and effective leader of the United States Senate.

As Senate Minority and subsequently as Senate Majority Leader, during former President Eisenhower's Administration, whenever America's welfare was concerned, Lyndon B. Johnson always put his country above his party.

His cooperation with the Eisenhower Administration—and I knew it somewhat intimately—on matters of foreign policy and national security was an outstanding one. It seems to me as I recollect—and I sought to last night—it was a model of bipartisan statesmanship.

But aside from his skill and his achievements in the field of the Congress and his relationship to a President, we all knew Lyndon Johnson as a big man, a strong man. And it was that strength, coupled with his faith in himself and his even stronger faith in America, that saw him through his Presidency.

Now, as much as Lyndon Johnson loved his great State of Texas, Mr. Governor, and as much as he loved that great land, his ranch along the Pedernales, I think part of his heart and a part of his spirit, that indomitable spirit, never left Washington, D.C.

Now it has a home in this beautiful setting overlooking Washington, adjoining the Potomac. From this peaceful, inspiring location, we can see the great dome of the Capitol where Lyndon Johnson rose to his first prominence. We can see the Jefferson Memorial, a monument to the great author of the Declaration of Independence. We can see the Lincoln Memorial, the shrine of a man of vision, a vision of freedom, a vision of human dignity. For all of this was an integral part of Lyndon Baines Johnson's own life.

One of the great heroes of the War Between the States, General Stonewall Jackson, expressed the feeling, I think, of this very moment. He expressed this feeling that we can use in this very occasion, and it was something like a hundred years ago. And let me quote, "Let us cross over

the river," Stonewall Jackson said, "and rest under the trees."

For those of us who knew the former President personally, this will always be a very special place. But for millions of Americans of this and, more importantly, future generations who never knew him in life, this grove will be a grove, a place of pleasure, rest, as well as comfort—a place where they can pay an appropriate silent tribute, a silent respect, to the memory of a President who served his country and his countrymen very well.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:24 p.m. at the LBJ Memorial Grove. The grove will consist of a living memorial of trees, shrubs, and trails located on the west bank of the Potomac River on a 15-acre site in Lady Bird Johnson Park. A granite slab from Texas will be inscribed with quotations from the former President.

Imports of Petroleum and Petroleum Products

Proclamation 4317. September 27, 1974

MODIFYING PROCLAMATION NO. 3279, RELATING TO IMPORTS OF PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, PROVIDING FOR THE LONG-TERM CONTROL OF IMPORTS OF PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS THROUGH A SYSTEM OF LICENSE FEES AND PROVIDING FOR GRADUAL REDUCTION OF LEVELS OF IMPORTS OF CRUDE OIL, UNFINISHED OILS, AND FINISHED PRODUCTS

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

I am advised by the Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration that certain technical changes to Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, are required. Among these technical changes are the clarification of certain definitions, a provision to eliminate conflict between the Oil Import Control Program and the Mandatory Petroleum Allocation Program, and the establishment of added capacity as the basis for import allocations to new, expanded, and reactivated refineries and petrochemical plants. In addition, the Administrator informs me that lowering the import fee schedule on natural gas products to the level assigned to crude oil will make United States interests more competitive in obtaining this valuable commodity in the world market.

The Administrator advises me that the changes set forth in this proclamation are consistent with the national security objectives of Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, and recommends that such changes be made.

I agree with the foregoing recommendations and findings of the Administrator.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, as amended, do hereby proclaim that, effective the date of this proclamation, Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, is hereby amended as follows:

1. Subparagraph (2) of paragraph (d) of Section 2 is amended to read as follows:

“(2) Entries for consumption of imports from Canada by pipeline may be made until midnight, May 15, of the allocation period following the allocation period in which any license authorizing such imports from Canada was issued.”

2. Subparagraph (3) of paragraph (b) of section (4) is amended to read as follows:

“(3) Except for (i) crude oil or unfinished oils imported under license or licenses for which a fee has been charged, (ii) crude oil sold, bought, or exchanged in order to comply with other Federal Energy Administration regulations, or (iii) crude oil or unfinished oils imported pursuant to specific relief granted pursuant to section 5, such regulations shall require that imported crude oil and

unfinished oils be processed in the licensee's refinery or petrochemical plant, except that imported crude oil or unfinished oils other than Canadian imports may be exchanged for domestic crude or unfinished oils if such exchanges are otherwise lawful, are effected on a current basis and reported in advance to the Administrator, and if the domestic crude or unfinished oils are processed in the licensee's refinery or petrochemical plant. Canadian imports may only be exchanged for other Canadian imports, in which case the Canadian imports obtained in the exchange must be processed in the licensee's own facility.”

3. Subparagraph (1)(i) of paragraph (a) of section 3 is amended to read as follows:

“(a)(1) Effective May 1, 1973, the Administrator shall, by regulation, establish a system of fees for licenses issued under allocations of imports of crude oil, unfinished oils, and finished products, over the above levels of imports established by section 2 of this proclamation. Such regulations shall require, among other appropriate provisions, that (i) with respect to imports, other than imports from Canada of motor gasoline and finished products, such fees shall be:

FEE SCHEDULE

[Cents per barrel]

	May 1, 1973	Nov. 1, 1973	May 1, 1974	Nov. 1, 1974	May 1, 1975	Nov. 1, 1975
Crude.....	10.5	13.0	15.5	18.0	21.0	21.0
Natural gas products.....	10.5	13.0	15.5	18.0	21.0	21.0
Motor gasoline.....	52.0	54.5	57.0	59.5	63.0	63.0
All other finished products and unfinished oils (except ethane, propane, butanes, and asphalt).....	15.0	20.0	30.0	42.0	52.0	63.0

4. A new subparagraph, (4), is added to paragraph (a) of section 3 to read as follows:

“(4) Persons seeking to import natural gas products under a duly issued natural gas products license shall certify the country of origin to the appropriate customs officer at the port of entry. Such natural gas products may be commingled with crude oil or other unfinished oils for purposes of transportation and may be re-separated prior to importation or imported as a mixture; Provided, that the importer certifies the volume of natural gas products contained.”

5. Paragraph (b) of section 3 thereof, is amended by inserting a new sentence between the first and second sentences to read as follows: “In the event that such bond is terminated or the face value of the bond is reduced below the outstanding liability of licenses issued pursuant to the bond, the Administrator shall immediately revoke all licenses issued pursuant to the bond.”

6. The fifth sentence of subparagraph (1) of paragraph (b) of section 4 is amended to read as follows: “Such allocations shall not exceed 75 percent of estimated

refinery capacity or the percentage of petrochemical plant capacity applicable.”

7. Subparagraphs (2), (3) and (4) of paragraph (g) of section 15 are amended to read as follows:

“(2) ‘Gasoline’ means a refined petroleum distillate, including naphtha, jet fuel, or other petroleum oils, (but not benzene which meets the ASTM distillation standards for nitration grade or cumene, ethylbenzene, isoprene, meta-xylene, ortho-xylene or para-xylene having a purity of 95 percent or more by weight) derived by refining or processing crude oil or unfinished oils, in whatever type of plant such refining or processing may occur, and having a boiling range at atmospheric pressure which falls completely or in part between 80° F and 400° F.

“(3) ‘Kerosene’ means any jet fuel, diesel fuel, fuel oil, or other petroleum oils derived by refining or processing crude oil or unfinished oils, in whatever type of plant such refining or processing may occur, which has a boiling range at atmospheric pressure which falls completely or in part between 400° F and 550° F.

“(4) ‘Distillate fuel oil’ means any fuel oil, gas oil, topped crude oil, or other petroleum oils (except refined petroleum wax) derived by refining or processing crude oil or unfinished oils, in whatever type of plant such refining or processing may occur, which has a boiling range at atmospheric pressure which falls completely or in part between 550° F and 1200° F.”

8. Section 12 is amended to read as follows:

“12. Commitments and obligations contained in long term allocations heretofore made shall be unimpaired by this proclamation or regulations issued thereunder.”

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:06 p.m., September 27, 1974]

National Hunting and Fishing Day, 1974

Proclamation 4318. September 27, 1974

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

No one has a fuller appreciation and respect for nature than the American sportsman. Hunters and anglers were among the first to warn us of the need to conserve America's fish and wildlife resources, and many of them have played an active, voluntary role in restoring and enriching America's splendid natural heritage.

In recognition of the significant contributions of American hunters and fishermen in enhancing and preserving our environment, and to dramatize the continued need for gun and boat safety, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 910, 93rd Congress, has requested the President to declare the fourth Saturday of September, 1974, as National Hunting and Fishing Day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Saturday, September 28, 1974, as National Hunting and Fishing Day.

I urge all of our citizens to join with outdoor sportsmen in the wise use of our natural resources and in insuring their proper management for the benefit of future generations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four and of the Inde-

pendence of the United States of America, the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:48 p.m., September 27, 1974]

Public Works and Economic Development Act Extension

Statement by the President Upon Signing H.R. 14883, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. September 27, 1974

It is with great pleasure that I sign today H.R. 14883, the 2-year extension of the Public Works and Economic Development Act.

From the time the Administration's proposed Economic Adjustment Act was sent to the Congress last February, significant debate has occurred regarding the proper Federal role in the economic development and adjustment process. This legislation has benefited greatly from the debate and incorporates many improvements which will enable the Economic Development Administration and the Regional Action Planning Commissions to be more effective in overcoming or preventing problems of economic distress. I believe this legislation is a fine example of the beneficial results of consultation and compromise between the Congress and the executive.

Perhaps the most noteworthy provisions of the Act are the changes that have been made in Title III and in the addition of the new Title IX. The improvements in Title III should strengthen State capacities to plan for and assist economic development, while preserving a strong development role for local areas and economic development districts. Title IX marks a new direction in our approach to economic adjustment and development. It permits States and local areas to develop comprehensive and flexible responses to actual or threatened severe unemployment problems. It will permit early action to adjust to economic dislocation problems, to minimize personal hardships, and improve the chances of an effective long-range solution to the problems of the communities.

In conjunction with the other titles of the Act and coupled with the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which contains provisions for special distribution of funds to areas of high unemployment, this title provides another tool available to States and communities to increase employment opportunities and offset particular local unemployment problems.

Despite these desirable new features in this bill, it does not provide for the comprehensive reform in our economic development and adjustment programs which I believe

is necessary. It retains too much direct Federal control over the allocation of the assistance funds. This reduces the ability of States and communities to realistically plan and manage their programs. It continues undue emphasis on public works as the solution to problems of unemployment and low income, and it continues to encourage a narrow categorical approach to the problems of distressed areas.

Although this Act represents substantial progress in the design of an effective Federal role in assisting economic development and adjustment, much remains to be done. During the next several months, and certainly before the expiration of this legislation, the Congress and the Administration must begin to consider changes to further improve the design of economic development and adjustment assistance. This extension, while valuable in itself, should be viewed as a transition period in which new approaches to relieving the burdens of unemployment and low incomes may be developed.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 14883) is Public Law 93-423, approved September 27, 1974.

Hurricane Relief in Honduras

*Statement by the White House Press Secretary
Announcing the Designation of AID Officials
To Visit Honduras To Assess Relief Efforts.
September 27, 1974*

President Ford today asked two high-level foreign assistance experts to visit flood-stricken Honduras in order to assess the damage from Hurricane Fifi and to report directly to him on current relief efforts and food needs.

The officials are Herman Kleine, Assistant Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) for Latin America, and Russell S. McClure, Foreign Disaster Relief Coordinator for AID. Following their arrival tomorrow night in the capital city, Tegucigalpa, they will confer with U.S. Ambassador Philip V. Sanchez and AID Mission Director Frank Kimball, who have been coordinating U.S. relief efforts there, and with officials of the Government of Honduras before visiting the affected areas.

AID's Foreign Disaster Relief Center continues to coordinate the relief and rehabilitation efforts of the U.S. Government in Honduras and other areas in Central America damaged by the hurricane. Two U.S. aircraft have been flying supplies and rescue missions daily since their arrival in the area.

The total sum spent by the U.S. Government in this effort has now reached \$300,000, and is growing as new shipments of food and medicine are airlifted to the area.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

September 21

John J. Stang, newly elected national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, met with the President at the White House.

Argentine Foreign Minister Alberto Juan Vignes met with the President.

Soviet Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko met with the President to continue their discussions of the previous day.

Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka met with the President.

September 23

During his visit to Detroit, the President met with Mayor Coleman Young to discuss urban problems.

The President hosted a working dinner for House bipartisan leaders and ranking committee members.

September 24

The President announced the appointment of Robert S. Ingersoll, Deputy Secretary of State, and Jack Franklin Bennett, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, as members of the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross.

The President today accepted the following resignations:

- Jerry W. Friedheim as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs;
- Sister Mary Emil as a member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars;
- Frederic H. Kellogg as a member of the Mississippi River Commission;
- Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., as Director of the National Institute of Education, effective November 1, 1974;
- Brian P. Gettings as United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia; and
- Anthony J. P. Farris as United States Attorney for the Southern District of Texas.

The President today acknowledged the retirement of Walter E. Hoffman as a United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia, effective September 3, 1974.

The President met with the Policeman of the Year, Howard G. Skillings, of St. Paul, Minn., and 10 police men and women who received honorable mention in the ninth annual awards program sponsored by the Interna-

tional Association of Chiefs of Police and Parade magazine.

Members of the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay met with the President to present their recommendations on the amount of the Federal employees pay increase to go into effect October 1.

British Foreign Minister James Callaghan met with the President.

The President announced the appointment of Stanley S. Carpenter, of Arlington, Va., and Aaron G. Marcus, of Honolulu, Hawaii, as Senior U.S. Commissioner and U.S. Commissioner, respectively, on the South Pacific Commission for terms of 2 years.

The President announced the appointment of Robert W. Schoning, Director of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in the Department of Commerce, as a Commissioner of the U.S. Section of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission for a term of 4 years, succeeding Philip M. Roedel who resigned.

The President attended a reception at the Longworth House Office Building for Illinois Representatives Leslie C. Arends, Harold R. Collier, and Kenneth J. Gray who are retiring at the end of the current session of the Congress.

September 25

The President today accepted with regret the resignation of Maj. Gen. Charles C. Noble as Chairman of the Red River Compact negotiations.

The President participated in a swearing-in ceremony at the White House for members of the Presidential Clemency Board. He then met with the Board to discuss their responsibilities under the program for the return of Vietnam era draft evaders and military deserters.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik met with the President.

September 26

The President held a breakfast meeting with the bipartisan Congressional leadership to discuss pending foreign assistance legislation.

The President transmitted to the Congress a report by the Secretary of Agriculture on activities of the Farmers Home Administration.

Italian President Giovanni Leone met with the President to conclude 2 days of meetings.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, met with the President.

September 27

Mrs. Ford entered Bethesda Naval Hospital for surgery.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved September 21, 1974

H.R. 9456..... Public Law 93-422
Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Act
Amendments of 1974.

Approved September 27, 1974

H.J. Res. 910..... Public Law 93-424
Joint resolution asking the President of
the United States to declare the fourth
Saturday of September, 1974, "National
Hunting and Fishing Day".

H.R. 14883..... Public Law 93-423
An act to amend the Public Works and
Economic Development Act of 1965 to ex-
tend the authorizations for a 2-year period,
and for other purposes.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include pro-
motions of members of the Uniformed Serv-
ices, nominations to the Service Academies,
or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted September 23, 1974

DANIEL MINCHEW, of Georgia, to be a mem-
ber of the United States Tariff Commis-
sion for the remainder of the term expir-
ing June 16, 1976, vice Jefferson Banks
Young, resigned.

Submitted September 24, 1974

PETER C. DORSEY, of Connecticut, to be United
States Attorney for the District of Con-
necticut for the term of 4 years, vice
Stewart H. Jones, resigned.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted September 24, 1974—Continued
GEORGE BEALL, of Maryland, to be United
States Attorney for the District of Mary-
land for the term of 4 years (reappoint-
ment).

JOHNNY M. TOWNS, of Alabama, to be United
States Marshal for the Northern District
of Alabama for the term of 4 years (re-
appointment).

FRANK X. KLEIN, JR., of California, to be
United States Marshal for the Northern
District of California for the term of 4
years, vice George E. Tobin, term expired.

KENNETH M. LINK, SR., of Missouri, to be
United States Marshal for the Eastern Dis-
trict of Missouri for the term of 4 years
(reappointment).

EDWARD S. KING, of New York, to be United
States Marshal for the Western District of
New York for the term of 4 years (reap-
pointment).

CHARLES W. KOVAL, of Pennsylvania, to be
United States Marshal for the Western Dis-
trict of Pennsylvania for the term of 4
years (reappointment).

MARSHALL F. ROUSSEAU, of Texas, to be United
States Marshal for the Southern District
of Texas for the term of 4 years (reap-
pointment).

Submitted September 26, 1974

PHILIP EDWARD COLDWELL, of Texas, to be a
member of the Board of Governors of the
Federal Reserve System for the unexpired
term of 14 years from February 1, 1966,
vice Andrew F. Brimmer, resigned.

The following-named persons to be members
of the National Commission on Libraries
and Information Science for terms ex-
piring July 19, 1979:

JOSEPH BECKER, of California (reap-
pointment).

CARLOS A. CUADRA, of California (reap-
pointment).

JOHN E. VELDE, JR., of Illinois (reappoint-
ment).

DAVID K. E. BRUCE, of Virginia, to be the
United States Permanent Representative
on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty
Organization, with the rank and status of
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-
tentiary.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released September 23, 1974

Advance text: address to the World Energy
Conference

Released September 24, 1974

Advance text: remarks to the International
Association of Chiefs of Police

Announcement: intention to nominate
George Beall for reappointment as United
States Attorney for Maryland

Announcement: intention to nominate Peter
C. Dorsey as a United States Attorney for
Connecticut

Released September 25, 1974

News conference: following the President's
meeting with the Presidential Clemency
Board—by Charles E. Goodell, Chairman,
Presidential Clemency Board

Released September 27, 1974

Advance text: opening remarks to the Con-
ference on Inflation

Advance text: remarks at LBJ Memorial
Grove groundbreaking

Informal remarks: at a reception for partici-
pants in the Conference on Inflation

Statement by the White House Press Secre-
tary on Mrs. Ford's hospitalization and
surgery

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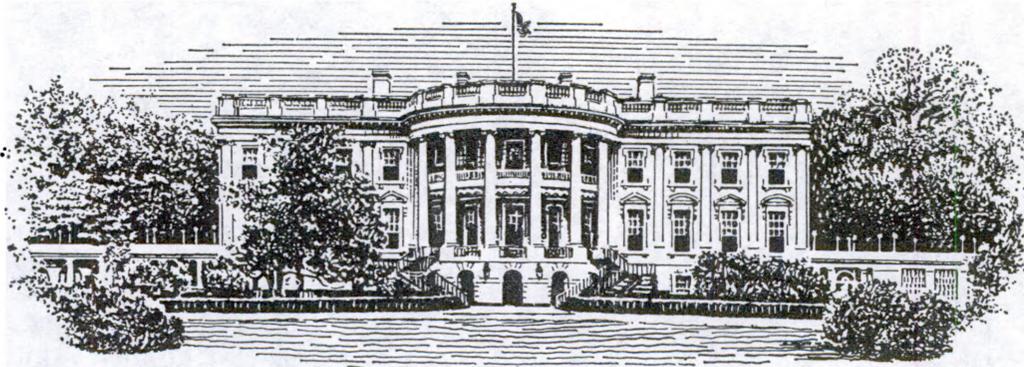
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

QUARTERLY INDEX
Third Quarter—July—September 1974

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In an effort to meet the needs of both the occasional and the specialized user of the Weekly Compilation, two basic approaches are incorporated in this index:

● Bold-face entries in general indicate the *format* of documents, such as Addresses and Remarks of the President or Statements by the President, or *groupings* which

may be of interest to certain researchers, such as Appointments and Nominations or Meetings With Foreign Leaders.

● Other entries reflect *subject matter* of the documents. The following lists of bold-face entries and some of the major subject entries are presented in the hope that they may help the user to narrow his search.

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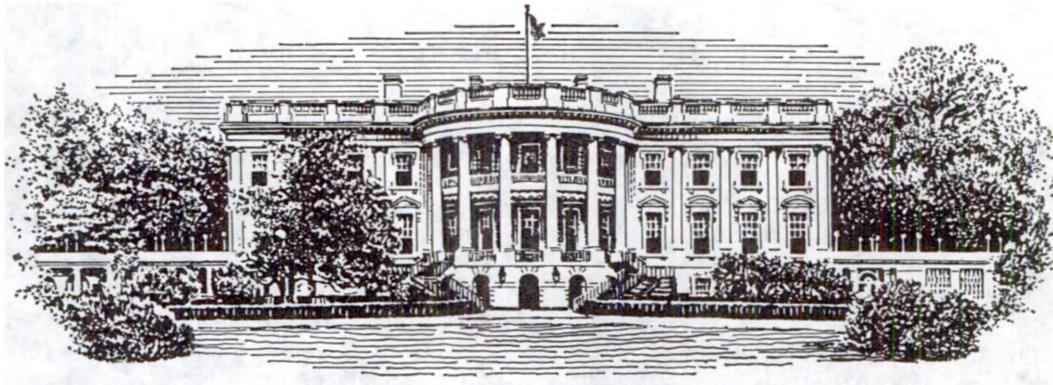
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, October 4, 1974

Conference on Inflation

The President's Remarks at the Closing of the Conference. September 28, 1974

Ladies and gentlemen, companions in this conference, and my fellow Americans:

Just one personal note, if I might. I just returned from the hospital where I saw Betty as she came from the operating room. Dr. Lukash has assured me that she came through the operation all right.

It has been a difficult 36 hours. Our faith will sustain us, and Betty would expect me to be here.

I thank each and every one of you for your contributions to this summit. For most summits, there is no way to go except down. From this summit, we are going to start going up. This is not the end, but it is the beginning of a battle against inflation and waste which will not end until it is won.

I have vowed and asked all of you to resolve here that we will celebrate our Nation's 200th birthday with our economy healthy and strong, with prosperity as well as peace that brings the solid realities of a great republic.

Thousands and thousands of dedicated men and women have come together in this series of inflation conferences to map the strategies and the tactics of our all-out war against America's domestic enemy number one. All of you will be the Founding Fathers—if we succeed. If we fail, then certainly we will all hang separately.

General George Washington's words at the start of our Nation are equally appropriate at this time, and I quote: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the rest is in the hands of God."

And God helps those who help themselves. On this principle, Americans in two centuries have astonished the world, and time and time again have confounded the pessimists and the cynics who said it couldn't be done.

You have discussed many ideas. You have spoken candidly. And as a result, I, along with other Americans, have gained a far better understanding of our economic problems. Perhaps we have caught glimpses of the political problems, and we understand those, but even in our controversies, we have all developed a super sense of direction. You have done your homework well. Now it is my turn.

In the days immediately ahead, I will offer to the American people and to the Congress a program of action which will help bring balance and vitality to our economy. This program could not be formulated without your participation and without the support of millions of other Americans who have given us their ideas. I think all agree on one point: Inflation must be stopped. But this Administration will respond not with words but with action and with programs.

As your President, the only special interest I have, the only special interest I represent is the American people—housewives struggling with rising grocery prices, workers whose real purchasing power has eroded because of inflation, businessmen trying to control rising costs, families needing new homes but unable to find mortgage money to buy them, those thousands of unemployed who want work, the elderly locked into pension programs earned years ago—indeed, all 213 million Americans.

I pledge to you that I will not shrink from the hard decisions needed to meet the problems facing each and every one of us. This is a critical hour in America's history. It requires that Americans once again rise above petty partisanship or factional interests in any segment of our society. The very future of our political and economic institutions, indeed our whole way of life, is literally at stake.

A fundamental fact of human history is precisely this: Nations which cannot impose on themselves a disciplined management of their fiscal and monetary affairs are doomed to economic disorder and widespread inflation. Such discipline is imperative, it is urgent if we are to achieve a stable and expanding economy.

The American people have repeatedly demonstrated their ability to submerge personal and group interests to the general welfare. When they know the chips are down, they are really down—and they have done it in the past, and they will do it again—they will respond as they always have.

As part of the demanded discipline, I will send to the Congress a plan of action to keep Federal outlays for fiscal year 1975 at or under \$300 billion. Every dollar the Federal Treasury must borrow is a dollar not available to the home buyer or the businessman trying to expand or other citizens who may be borrowers for good and sufficient reasons.

A coherent national policy on energy is essential for economic stability. It must encourage prudent use of available energy. There must be an assured future energy supply to enable consumers and businessmen to plan in a confident and orderly way. I will soon propose a national energy program aimed at assuring adequate internal supplies while reducing dependence on external sources. At this very minute, Secretaries Kissinger and Simon are exploring with their counterparts from four major industrial nations a coordinated plan to cope with a world energy crisis and world economic dislocations.

Today, I can announce three actions I have just taken:

First, I have directed the consolidation by Executive order of all the Federal Government economic efforts, domestic and international, under a new Economic Policy Board. The Secretary of the Treasury, Bill Simon, will serve as Chairman of this Board and as my principal spokesman on matters of economic policy.

I have appointed Bill Seidman, who has done so well with this conference, to serve as my Assistant for the coordination and the implementation of economic affairs and also as Executive Director of the new Economic Policy Board.

In addition to Secretary Simon and Bill Seidman, I have appointed eight Cabinet officers as members of this board. They include Henry Kissinger, Rog Morton, Earl Butz, Fred Dent, Pete Brennan, Caspar Weinberger, Jim Lynn and Claude Brinegar.

In addition, membership includes the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Roy Ash; the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Alan Greenspan; and the Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy, William Eberle. Dr. Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, will attend meetings of this board, which will start work immediately.

Second, I have established by Executive order a White House Labor-Management Committee whose counsel and recommendations will not only be sought by me but given to me man-to-man and face-to-face. Eight distinguished labor leaders and eight distinguished business executives comprise its membership. The objective of this commit-

tee is not only to serve as advisers to me on major economic policies but to help assure effective collective bargaining, promote sound wage and price policies, develop higher standards of living, boost productivity, and establish more effective manpower policies.

Dr. John T. Dunlop, a dedicated public servant and professor of economics at Harvard University, has agreed—and we are very thankful—to serve as coordinator of this Committee.

Representing labor on this Committee will be President George Meany of the AFL-CIO; Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO; President I. W. Abel of the United Steel Workers of America; President Murray H. Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; President Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union of North America; President Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters International Union; and, President Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers; and, President Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers.

Representing management on the committee will be John Harper of the Aluminum Company of America; Reginald H. Jones of General Electric; Steve Bechtel of the Bechtel group; Richard Gerstenberg of General Motors; Rawleigh Warner of the Mobil Oil Company; Walter Wriston of the First National City Bank; Arthur Wood of Sears, Roebuck and Company; and, R. Heath Lary of U.S. Steel.

I am proud to announce this group of 16 distinguished, outstanding Americans.

A third announcement: The Council on Wage and Price Stability, recently established by Congress at my request and with my deep appreciation, is another arm I will use in the fight on inflation. I have asked Dr. Albert Rees, a distinguished economist and professor of economics at Princeton, to direct the Council's work. We are fortunate to have Dr. Rees with us.

And may I express to all the people—those that I have mentioned and others that will help—their willingness to step in and help the country and 213 million people.

But nobody knows better than I that councils and committees cannot win this war. The most important weapon in the fight against inflation is the spirit of the American people. This spirit is no secret weapon; it is renowned all over the world. And I call on each of you in this room, but, more urgently, on each of you at home watching on television, and all the other Americans across this vast land who either hear or read my words, I urge them, as I know they will, to join with all of us in a great effort to become inflation fighters and energy savers.

I know all across our country the question everyone asks me is, "What can I do to help?"

I will tell you how we can start. Right now, make a list of some 10 ways you can save energy and you can fight inflation. Little things that become habits—they do become habits—they don't really affect, in some instances,

your health and happiness. They are habits that you can abandon if we are all faced with this emergency.

I suggest that each person exchange your family's list with your neighbors, and I urge you and ask you to send me a copy. Some of the best ideas come from your home rather than from the White House. The success or failure of our fight against inflation rests with every individual American. Our country is above all a union, and you and I can make it a more perfect union as our fathers did.

One of our delegates yesterday, Sylvia Porter, the well-known newspaper columnist on economics, has kindly consented to help me get this voluntary citizens program organized and underway, and I thank you very, very much, Sylvia.

It was dramatically pointed out here yesterday that inflation strikes our society very unevenly. Government must concern itself with those on whom the burden falls excessively. For instance, we must provide productive work for those without jobs. We must adjust our tax system to encourage savings, stimulate productivity, discourage excessive debt, and to correct inflation-caused inequities. And I can assure the American people that the executive branch and the Congress working together will effectuate and implement such a program.

May I add a very special word to our distinguished foreign guests. What you heard here yesterday and today may remind each of you of the current problems of your own country's economy. The problems of people are not very different in these days wherever they live and work.

The whole world suffers from inflation. I assure you the United States is seeking honest solutions that will help, not hinder, other nations' efforts to advance or to restore their economic health. I will have extensive consultations with leaders of other governments aimed at strengthening international institutions and to assure that we never again experience worldwide and interacting inflations and deflations.

There are more difficult decisions ahead for me and for the Congress. From the many alternative policies which we have heard here given in good faith, listened to in good faith, we can and will fashion a coherent and consistent program. I will present my recommendations to the Nation and to the Congress within the next 10 days.

Finally, you will understand my two compelling reasons for canceling all but my most essential appointments and travel plans in order to be here in Washington. I will devote every minute that I can to forge the mass of evidence and the evaluations generated by this conference into concrete action—into concrete plans and legislative proposals.

A great leader of this country—of this century, I should say—in whom the unbeatable willpower of his American heritage combined with English eloquence, rallied his em-

battled countrymen from almost certain defeat by a blunt promise of blood, toil, tears, and sweat.

I trust we can avoid blood and tears, and we will. But I do offer you plenty of toil and plenty of sweat. I will roll up my sleeves and work every bit as hard as you do, starting this weekend, until every American is enlisted as an inflation fighter and as an energy saver until this job is done.

Thank you and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:37 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

For related releases, see the following two items and pages 1216, 1217 of this issue.

President's Economic Policy Board

Announcement of the Formation and Membership of the Board and the Designation of Treasury Secretary Simon as Chairman and of L. William Seidman as Executive Director of the Board and as Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs. September 28, 1974

The President announced today the formation of a new Economic Policy Board which will oversee the formulation, coordination, and implementation of all economic policy and named Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon as Chairman.

Secretary Simon will act as the principal spokesman for the executive branch on matters of economic policy. The new Board will be the focal point for economic policy decisionmaking, both domestic and international. Secretary Simon will also chair an Executive Committee of the Board which will meet daily.

The President also announced the appointment of L. William Seidman as Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs. In addition to a wide range of other duties, Mr. Seidman will serve as a member and Executive Director of the Economic Policy Board and its Executive Committee. In his new roles, Mr. Seidman will be responsible for coordinating the implementation of economic policy and providing liaison with the Presidential staff and with other governmental activities.

Secretary Simon and Mr. Seidman will have responsibility for ensuring that there is adequate coordination among existing and proposed committees relating to economic policy. Secretary Simon will serve as Chairman, and Mr. Seidman as Deputy Chairman, of the Council on Wage and Price Stability as well as the Council on International Economic Policy, the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies, and the President's Committee on East-West Trade Policy.

The other members of the Economic Policy Board will be:

SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER
 SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR ROGERS C. B. MORTON
 SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EARL L. BUTZ
 SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FREDERICK B. DENT
 SECRETARY OF LABOR PETER J. BRENNAN
 SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE CASPAR W. WEINBERGER
 SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT JAMES T. LYNN
 SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION CLAUDE S. BRINEGAR
 DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET ROY L. ASH
 CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS ALAN GREENSPAN
 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY WILLIAM D. EBERLE

Mr. Greenspan, Mr. Eberle, and a senior member of the Office of Management and Budget will serve as members of the Executive Committee. Dr. Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, will attend both Board and Executive Committee meetings when appropriate.

FRANK E. FITZSIMMONS, president of the Teamsters International Union

LEONARD WOODCOCK, president of the United Auto Workers
 ARNOLD MILLER, president of the United Mine Workers

The Committee shall consist of eight labor members and eight management members and a neutral coordinator, all to be designated by the President.

The Committee shall study and shall advise and make recommendations to the President with respect to policies that may be followed by labor, management, or the public which will promote free and responsible collective bargaining, industrial peace, sound wage and price policies, higher standards of living, increased productivity, and related manpower policies, and such other matters which could contribute to the longer-run economic well-being of the Nation.

The Committee shall encourage the establishment of labor-management committees (bipartite or tripartite) in particular sectors or industries as may be appropriate.

President's Labor-Management Committee

Announcement of Appointment of 17 Members of the Committee. September 28, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of 17 persons to serve on the President's Labor-Management Committee:

JOHN D. HARPER, chairman, chief executive officer and chairman of executive committee, Aluminum Company of America
 REGINALD H. JONES, chairman and chief executive officer, General Electric
 STEPHEN D. BECHTEL, JR., chairman of the board, Bechtel Corp.
 RICHARD C. GERSTENBERG, chairman and chief executive officer, General Motors
 RAWLEIGH WARNER, JR., chairman and chief executive officer, Mobil Oil Corp.
 WALTER B. WRISTON, chairman of the board, First National City Bank
 ARTHUR WOOD, chairman of the board, Sears, Roebuck and Company
 R. HEATH LARRY, vice chairman of the board, U.S. Steel
 DR. JOHN T. DUNLOP, former director of the Cost of Living Council (will serve as coordinator of the Committee)
 GEORGE MEANY, president, AFL-CIO
 LANE KIRKLAND, secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO
 I. W. ABEL, president of the United Steelworkers of America
 MURRAY H. FINLEY, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
 PAUL HALL, president of the Seafarers International Union of North America

Council on Wage and Price Stability

Announcement of Appointment of Albert Rees as Director of the Council. September 28, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Dr. Albert Rees, of Princeton, N.J., to be Director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. Since 1966, he has been a professor of economics at Princeton University.

In 1971, he became a member of the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee of the Cost of Living Council. In 1973, he became the Chairman of the Tripartite Food Industry Wage and Salary Committee of the Cost of Living Council. From 1966 to 1972, he served on the Board of Directors of the Social Science Research Council.

Dr. Rees was born on August 21, 1921, in New York City. He received his B.A. degree from Oberlin College in 1943. He was awarded his M.A. degree in 1947 and his Ph. D. in 1950 from the University of Chicago. In 1947 he was an instructor at Roosevelt College. From 1948 to 1966, he was a member of the economic faculty at the University of Chicago. In 1954 to 1955, he was a staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

He is married to the former Marianne Russ and has three children. He resides in Princeton, N.J.

Cabrillo National Monument, California

Proclamation 4319. September 28, 1974

ENLARGING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE CABRILLO
NATIONAL MONUMENT, CALIFORNIA

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

The Cabrillo National Monument in San Diego County, California, was established by Proclamation No. 1255 of October 14, 1913 (38 Stat. 1965), on approximately one-half acre of land that, along with other lands, had originally been set aside for military purposes in 1852. The monument was enlarged by Proclamation No. 3273 of February 2, 1959, and now is situated on approximately eighty and one-half acres of land. The present area of the monument is not adequate for the proper care and management of the historical landmarks and historical objects in the area and it has been determined that approximately fifty-six and six-tenths acres of land should be added to the monument site. That new land is contiguous to the monument site and constitutes a part of the lands set aside but no longer needed for military purposes.

The additional land is essential to the proper care and management of the historical landmarks and historical objects in the area, and it is in the public interest to re-define the boundaries of, and add those contiguous lands to the monument to preserve the historical landmarks and historical objects of the area.

Under section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225, 16 U.S.C. 431), the President is authorized "to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected. The monument, as enlarged by this Proclamation, will be confined to the smallest area compatible with the protection and management of the objects to be protected.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of Congress approved June 8, 1906, 34 Stat. 225 (16 U.S.C. 431), do hereby proclaim that, subject to valid existing rights, the lands owned or controlled by the United States within the following described lands are hereby added to and made a part of the Cabrillo National Monument:

[For the land description contained at this point in the proclamation, see the Federal Register of October 1, 1974.]

The withdrawal order of February 26, 1852, is hereby revoked as to the lands described above.

The lands added to the monument by this Proclamation are hereby transferred from the jurisdiction of the Department of the Navy to the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, and Proclamation No. 1255 establishing, and Proclamation No. 3273 enlarging, the Cabrillo National Monument are amended accordingly.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, deface, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved by this Proclamation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:05 a.m.,
September 30, 1974]

International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group

*The President's Remarks at the Opening Session of the
Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors.
September 30, 1974*

*Secretary Simon, distinguished officials, representatives of
many, many governments, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a very great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of making some preliminary remarks on this gathering here in the Nation's Capital of our country.

I extend to each and every one of you a very, very warm welcome. I and all Americans want your continuing friendship, and we welcome your constructive and thoughtful observations and recommendations. And I assure you at the outset that we will reciprocate in every way in order to make progress in this very vital area for each and every one of us.

We come together at an unprecedented time of challenge in our world's economy. But that makes my welcome to all of you—those of you who must solve these serious problems—an even warmer welcome.

The serious problems that confront us today are extremely complex and, I presume in some respects, controversial. We do this at a time of worldwide inflation

at a rate far, far in excess of what any one of us can tolerate.

We come here today at a time of unparalleled disruptions in the supply of the world's major commodity. We are here today at a time of severe hindrances to the real growth and the real progress of many nations, including, in particular, some of the poorest and most unfortunate among us.

We in America view these problems very soberly and without any rose-tinted glasses. But we believe at the same time the spirit of international cooperation which brought about the Bretton Woods Agreement a generation ago can resolve the problems today effectively and constructively.

My very capable Secretary of the Treasury, Bill Simon, will speak in greater detail on how we, the United States, view these problems and how we think they can be solved. But I think I can sum up in general our thinking quite briefly.

We in this country want solutions which serve very broad interests rather than narrow self-serving ones. We in America want more cooperation, not more isolation. We in America want more trade, not protectionism. We in America want price stability, not inflation. We in America want growth, not stagnation. We want for ourselves, as you want for yourselves, and we all want for the world a better life for ourselves and for those generations that follow.

You will help, and I am sure you will come forth with the kind of recommendations that will be beneficial. We want help to decide how this can best be done. The United States is fully prepared to join with your governments and play a constructive leadership role.

I say as I close, as I said at the outset, we want your friendship, your cooperation, and we, as a country, will maximize to reciprocate in every way possible.

Again, welcome to our Capital, Washington, D.C., and the very, very best in this period of serious deliberation.

Thank you very, very kindly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:08 a.m. at the Sheraton-Park Hotel at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation.

Interagency Committee on Emergency Medical Services

Announcement of Appointment of Five Members of the Committee. September 30, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of five persons as members of the Interagency Committee on Emergency Medical Services. They are:

PETER SAFAR, of Pittsburgh, Pa., physician, and chairman of the department of anesthesiology and critical care medicine, University of Pittsburgh. This is a 1-year term.

JOHN M. WATERS, of Jacksonville, Fla., director of public safety for Jacksonville. This is a 3-year term.

BARBARA A. WATTS, of Alexandria, Va., nurse, and coordinator of emergency services, Alexandria Hospital. This is a 3-year term.

KENNETH F. KIMBALL, of Kearney, Nebr., is a surgeon and physician in private practice. This is a 4-year term.

DAVID STEPHEN NELSON, of Winston-Salem, N.C., chairman of the department of emergency medicine and chairman of the disaster committee at Forsyth Memorial Hospital. This is a 4-year term.

The Committee was established by the Emergency Medical Services Systems Act of November 16, 1973, and in addition to those named above includes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, or his designee, who serves as Chairman, and appropriate scientific, medical, or technical representation from the Department of Transportation, the Department of Justice, the Department of Defense, the Veterans Administration, the National Science Foundation, the Federal Communications Commission, the National Academy of Sciences, and such other Federal agencies and offices (including appropriate agencies and offices of the Department of HEW) as the Secretary determines administer programs directly affecting the functions or responsibilities of emergency medical services systems.

The purpose of the Committee is to evaluate the adequacy and technical soundness of all Federal programs and activities which relate to emergency medical services and provide for the communication and exchange of information necessary to maintain the coordination and effectiveness of such programs and activities, and make recommendations to the Secretary respecting the administration of the program of grants and contracts under this title, including the making of regulations for such program.

National Commission for Manpower Policy

Announcement of Appointment of the Chairman and Members of the Commission. September 30, 1974.

The President today announced the appointment of 10 persons to be members of the National Commission for Manpower Policy. They are:

ELI GINZBERG, of New York City, professor of economics at Columbia University in New York City. Mr. Ginzberg is being named Chairman.

RUDOLPH ALVA CERVANTES, of Whittier, Calif., president of Rudy Cervantes Neckwear, Inc.

DOROTHY FORD, of Whittier, Calif., manager, personnel and employee development, Southern California Edison.

JOHN V. N. KLEIN, of St. James, N.Y., Suffolk County executive.

JUANITA KREPS, of Durham, N.C., vice president and professor of economics, Duke University.

JOHN H. LYONS, of Potomac, Md., president, Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers Union.

TOM MOODY, mayor of Columbus, Ohio.

JOHN W. PORTER, of East Lansing, Mich., superintendent of public instruction for the State of Michigan.

MILTON L. ROCK, of Cheltenham, Pa., managing partner of Hay Associates, Philadelphia, Pa.

REV. LEON H. SULLIVAN, of Rydal, Pa., pastor of Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

The total membership of the Commission is 17. In addition to the 10 members appointed by the President, the following are ex officio members: the Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Agriculture, and the Administrator of Veterans Affairs.

The Commission was established by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, Public Law 93-203 of December 28, 1973. The purpose of the Commission is to identify the manpower goals and needs of the Nation and assess the extent to which employment and training, vocational education, institutional training, vocational rehabilitation, economic opportunity, and other programs under this and related acts represent a consistent, integrated, and coordinated approach to meeting such needs and achieving such goals. The Commission will report annually to the President and to the Congress its findings and recommendations.

Occupational Safety and Health Programs for Federal Employees

Executive Order 11807. Dated September 28, 1974. Released September 30, 1974

As the Nation's largest employer, the Federal Government has a special obligation to set an example for all employers by providing a safe and healthful working environment for its employees.

For more than three years, the Federal Government has been seeking to carry out these solemn responsibilities under the terms of Executive Order No. 11612, issued in 1971 and based upon the authorities granted by the landmark Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 as well as section 7902(c) of title 5, United States Code.

Considerable progress has been achieved under the 1971 executive order, but it is now clear that even greater efforts are needed. It is therefore necessary that a new order be issued, reflecting this Nation's firm and renewed commitment to provide exemplary working conditions for those devoted to public service.

The provisions of this order are intended to ensure that each agency head is provided with all the guidance necessary to carry out an effective occupational safety and health program within the agency. Further, to keep the

President abreast of progress, this order provides for detailed evaluations of the agencies' occupational safety and health programs by the Secretary of Labor and transmittal of those evaluations, together with agency comments, to the President. In addition, the Federal Safety Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health is continued because of its demonstrated value as an advisory body to the Secretary of Labor.

Experience has shown that agency heads desire and need more detailed guidance from the Secretary of Labor to make their occupational safety and health programs more effective. This order provides that the Secretary of Labor shall issue detailed guidelines and provide such further assistance as the agencies may request.

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 7902(c)(1) of title 5 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SCOPE OF THIS ORDER

SECTION 1. For the purposes of this order, the term "agency" means an Executive Department, as defined in 5 U.S.C. 101, or any employing unit or authority of the Government of the United States not within an Executive Department. This order applies to all agencies of the Executive Branch of the Government; and by agreement between the Secretary of Labor (hereinafter referred to as the Secretary) and the head of an agency of the Legislative or Judicial Branches of the Government, the provisions of this order may be made applicable to such agencies. In addition, by agreement between the Secretary of Labor and the head of any agency, and to the extent permitted by law, the provisions of this order may be extended to employees of agencies who are employed in geographic locations to which the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 is not applicable.

DUTIES OF HEADS OF AGENCIES

SEC. 2. The head of each agency shall, after consultation with representatives of the employees thereof, establish and maintain an occupational safety and health program meeting the requirements of section 19 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (hereinafter referred to as the act). In order to ensure that agency programs are consistent with the standards prescribed by section 6 of the act, the head of each agency shall:

(1) Designate or appoint, to be responsible for the management and administration of the agency occupational safety and health program, an agency official with sufficient authority to represent effectively the interest and support of the agency head.

(2) Establish an occupational safety and health management information system, which shall include the maintenance of such records of occupational accidents, injuries,

illnesses and their causes, and the compilation and transmittal of such reports based upon this information, as the Secretary may require pursuant to section 3 of this order.

(3) Establish procedures for the adoption of agency occupational safety and health standards consistent with the standards promulgated by the Secretary pursuant to section 6 of the act; assure prompt attention to reports by employees or others of unsafe or unhealthful working conditions; assure periodic inspections of agency workplaces by personnel with sufficient technical competence to recognize unsafe and unhealthful working conditions in such workplaces; and assure prompt abatement of unsafe or unhealthful working conditions, including those involving facilities and/or equipment furnished by another Government agency, informing the Secretary of significant difficulties encountered in this regard.

(4) Provide adequate safety and health training for officials at the different management levels, including supervisory employees, employees responsible for conducting occupational safety and health inspections, and other employees. Such training shall include dissemination of information concerning the operation of the agency occupational safety and health program and the means by which each such person may participate and assist in the operation of that program.

(5) Submit to the Secretary on an annual basis a report containing such information as the Secretary shall prescribe.

(6) Cooperate with and assist the Secretary of Labor in the performance of his duties under section 19 of the act and section 3 of this order.

(7) Observe the guidelines published by the Secretary pursuant to section 3 of this order, giving due consideration to the mission, size and organization of the agency.

DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall provide leadership and guidance to the heads of agencies to assist them in fulfilling their occupational safety and health responsibilities by, among other means, taking the following actions:

(1) Issue detailed guidelines to assist agencies in establishing and operating effective occupational safety and health programs appropriate to their individual missions, sizes, and organizations. Such guidelines shall reflect the requirement of section 19 of the act for consultation with employee representatives.

(2) Prescribe recordkeeping and reporting requirements to enable agencies to assist the Secretary in meeting the requirements imposed upon him by section 24 of the act.

(3) Provide such consultation to agencies as the Secretary deems necessary and appropriate to ensure that agency standards adopted pursuant to section 2 of this order are consistent with the safety and health standards

adopted by the Secretary pursuant to section 6 of the act; provide leadership and guidance to agencies in the adequate occupational safety and health training of agency personnel; and facilitate the exchange of ideas and information throughout the Government with respect to matters of occupational safety and health through such arrangements as the Secretary deems appropriate.

(4) Perform for agencies, where deemed necessary and appropriate, the following services, upon request and reimbursement for the expenses thereof: (a) evaluate agency working conditions, and recommend to the agency head appropriate standards to be adopted pursuant to section 2 of this order to ensure that such working conditions are safe and healthful; (b) conduct inspections to identify unsafe or unhealthful working conditions, and provide assistance to correct such conditions; (c) train appropriate agency safety and health personnel.

(5) Evaluate the occupational safety and health programs of agencies, and submit to the President reports of such evaluations, together with agency responses thereto. These evaluations shall be conducted at least once annually for agencies employing more than 1,000 persons within the geographic locations to which the act applies, and as the Secretary deems appropriate for all other agencies, through such headquarters or field reviews as the Secretary deems necessary.

(6) Submit to the President each year a summary report of the status of the Federal agency occupational safety and health program, as well as analyses of individual agency progress and problems in correcting unsafe and unhealthful working conditions, together with recommendations for improving their performance.

FEDERAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

SEC. 4. (a) The Federal Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health, established pursuant to Executive Order No. 11612, is hereby continued. It shall advise the Secretary in carrying out responsibilities under this order. This Council shall consist of fifteen members appointed by the Secretary and shall include representatives of Federal agencies and of labor organizations representing employees. At least five members shall be representatives of such labor organizations. The members shall serve for three-year terms with the terms of five members expiring each year, provided that this Council is renewed every two years in accordance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act. The members of the Federal Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health established pursuant to Executive Order No. 11612 shall be deemed to be its initial members under this order, and their terms shall expire in accordance with the terms of their appointments.

(b) The Secretary, or a designee, shall serve as the Chairman of the Council, and shall prescribe such rules

for the conduct of its business as he deems necessary and appropriate.

(c) The Secretary shall make available necessary office space and furnish the Council necessary equipment, supplies, and staff services, and shall perform such functions with respect to the Council as may be required by the Federal Advisory Committee Act.

EFFECT ON OTHER POWERS AND DUTIES

SEC. 5. Nothing in this order shall be construed to impair or alter the powers and duties of the Secretary or the heads of other Federal agencies pursuant to section 19 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, sections 7901, 7902, and 7903 of title 5 of the United States Code, or any other provision of law, nor shall it be construed to alter the provisions of Executive Order No. 11491, as amended, Executive Order No. 11636, or other provisions of law providing for collective bargaining agreements and procedures. Matters of official leave for employee representatives involved in activities pursuant to this order shall be determined between each agency and these representatives pursuant to the procedures under Executive Order No. 11491, as amended, Executive Order No. 11636, or applicable collective bargaining agreements.

TERMINATION OF EXISTING ORDER

SEC. 6. Executive Order No. 11612 of July 26, 1971, is hereby superseded.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 28, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:30 p.m.,
September 30, 1974]

Disaster Assistance for American Samoa

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following a Drought. September 30, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the Territory of American Samoa as a result of the impact of a drought, beginning about September 7. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the Territory.

The President's declaration of a major disaster will provide funds for disaster unemployment assistance payments for those individuals who are unemployed as a result of the drought. Federal officials will continue to monitor the situation to determine what other assistance may be made available.

Federal relief activities in American Samoa will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the Territory eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and Territory assessments. Mr. Robert C. Stevens, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region IX, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the Territory in providing Federal assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Veto of Bill Providing for Sale of U.S. Phosphate Interests in Florida

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 10626 Without His Approval. September 30, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 10626, a bill that directs the Secretary of the Interior to convey all phosphate interests of the United States in approximately 40 acres in Polk County, Florida to John Carter and Martha B. Carter upon payment of administrative costs and the fair market value of the phosphate interests.

Present law provides that phosphate interests of the United States shall be disposed of under a leasing system. The Congress and the Executive Branch have developed an alternative policy of selling phosphate and other mineral interests when the surface is not owned by the United States and when at least one of two criteria is met. The criteria are that the mineral interests have no value or that they interfere with development of the surface that is more beneficial than mineral development. This policy is carried out through private legislation on a case-by-case basis, and it is solely for the benefit and convenience of surface owners.

The instant case meets neither of the two criteria. The land is prospectively valuable for phosphates, and we know of no proposed use of the surface with which the mineral interest would interfere. The land is presently being used for grazing cattle.

At least six private bills have been enacted to convey reserved mineral interests in the 93rd Congress, and every one of them has met one of the criteria. There are presently several private bills still pending before this Congress. Also pending is the Administration's proposed "National Resource Lands Management Act", and a similar Senate-passed proposal, S. 424, which would give

the Secretary of the Interior general authority to convey mineral interests to surface owners when one of the criteria is met. It is therefore clear that enactment into law of H.R. 10626 would conflict with established policy and would confuse our action on similar proposals in the future.

For these reasons I feel that the approval of H.R. 10626 would not be desirable.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 30, 1974.

Pardon for Former President Nixon

The President's Letter to the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the House Judiciary Committee Offering To Testify Before the Subcommittee Concerning the Pardon. September 30, 1974

Dear Bill:

This is to advise you that I expect to appear personally to respond to the questions raised in House Resolutions 1367 and 1370.

It would be my desire to arrange this hearing before your Subcommittee at a mutually convenient time within the next ten days.

Thank you for your help and assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[Congressman William Hungate, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of the letter was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

President's Economic Policy Board

Executive Order 11808. Dated September 30, 1974. Released October 1, 1974.

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY BOARD, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. There is hereby established the President's Economic Policy Board (hereinafter referred to as the Board).

SEC. 2. The Board shall consist of the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall be its Chairman, the Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Transportation, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy. The Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System is invited to attend meetings of the Board.

SEC. 3. The Economic Policy Board shall provide advice to the President concerning all aspects of national and international economic policy, will oversee the formulation, coordination, and implementation of all economic policy of the United States, and will serve as the focal point for economic policy decision-making. The Chairman of the Board shall act as the principal spokesman for the Executive Branch on matters of economic policy.

SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby established the Executive Committee of the Board. The Executive Committee shall consist of the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall be its Chairman, the Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy. The Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System is invited to attend meetings of the Executive Committee.

(b) The Executive Committee shall meet daily to consider matters involving responsibilities of the Board.

SEC. 5. The Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs shall be the Executive Director of the Board and of the Executive Committee, and, as such, shall be responsible for coordinating the implementation of economic policy and providing liaison with the Presidential staff and with other Governmental activities.

SEC. 6. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury shall be a member of the Council on Wage and Price Stability and be its Chairman. The Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs shall be a member of the Council and be its Deputy Chairman.

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury shall be the Chairman of the Council on International Economic Policy. The Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs shall be a member of that Council and be its Deputy Chairman.

(c) Section 1(b) of Executive Order No. 11269, as amended (prescribing the composition of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Policies), is further amended by inserting after "the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall be Chairman of the Council," the following "the Assistant to the President for

Economic Affairs, who shall be Deputy Chairman of the Council.”

(d)(1) Section 1 (1) of Executive Order No. 11789 (prescribing the composition of the President’s Committee on East-West Trade Policy) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) The Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs.”

(2) Section 2 of that Order is amended to read as follows:

“Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall be the Chairman of the Committee, and the Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs shall be its Deputy Chairman.”

SEC. 7. All departments and agencies shall cooperate with the Board, including the Executive Committee thereof, and shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide it with such assistance and information as the Chairman or the Executive Director of the Board may request.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 30, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:59 a.m.,
October 1, 1974]

President’s Labor-Management Committee

*Executive Order 11809. Dated September 30, 1974.
Released October 1, 1974*

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT’S LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States of America, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. There is hereby established the President’s Labor-Management Committee (hereinafter referred to as the Committee). The Committee shall consist of eight labor members and eight management members and a neutral coordinator, all to be designated by the President.

SEC. 2. The Committee shall study and shall advise and make recommendations to the President with respect to policies that may be followed by labor, management, or the public which will promote free and responsible collective bargaining, industrial peace, sound wage and price policies, higher standards of living, increased productivity, and related manpower policies, and such other matters which could contribute to the longer-run economic well-being of the Nation.

SEC. 3. The Committee shall encourage the establishment of labor-management committees (bipartite or tripartite) in particular sectors or industries as may be appropriate.

SEC. 4. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Committee and to furnish such information and assistance, not inconsistent with law, as it may require in the performance of its duties.

SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Treasury shall perform any functions with respect to the Committee as may be required by the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C., App. I).

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 30, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:59 a.m.,
October 1, 1974]

Regulation of Exports

*Executive Order 11810. Dated September 30, 1974.
Released October 1, 1974*

CONTINUING THE REGULATION OF EXPORTS

By virtue of the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended (12 U.S.C. 95a), and in view of the continued existence of the national emergencies declared by Proclamation No. 2914 of December 16, 1950, and Proclamation No. 4074 of August 15, 1971, and the importance of continuing (a) to exercise the necessary vigilance over exports from the standpoint of their significance to the national security of the United States; (b) to further significantly the foreign policy of the United States and to aid in fulfilling its international responsibilities; and (c) to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand, it is hereby ordered:

SECTION 1. Notwithstanding the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1969, as amended, the provisions for administration of that act contained in Executive Order No. 11533 of June 4, 1970 as continued in effect by Executive Order No. 11683 of August 29, 1972, shall continue in full force and effect and shall authorize the exercise and administration of export controls, under the authority vested in me as President of the United States by section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended (12 U.S.C. 95a).

SEC. 2. Except to the extent another basis is provided in the second sentence of section 3 of this Order, all rules and regulations issued by the Secretary of Commerce, published in title 15, chapter III, subchapter B, of the Code of Federal Regulations, parts 368 to 399 inclusive, and all orders, regulations, licenses and other forms of administrative action issued or taken pursuant thereto, shall until amended or revoked by the Secretary of Commerce, remain in full force and effect, the same as if issued or taken pursuant to this Order, except that the maximum fine which may be imposed under part 387.1(a)(1) shall not exceed \$10,000 and that the civil penalty provided for under part 387.1(b)(3) will not be applicable to any violation of the regulations under this Order.

SEC. 3. The delegations of authority in this Order shall not affect the authority of any agency or official pursuant to any other delegation of Presidential authority, presently in effect or hereafter made, under section 5(b) of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended. Those regulations issued under the Export Control Act of 1949, as amended, to implement foreign policy set forth in Executive Orders Nos. 11322 of January 5, 1967 and 11419 of July 29, 1968, shall until amended or revoked by the Secretary of Commerce continue to apply as regulations issued under such orders.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
September 30, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:59 a.m.,
October 1, 1974]

U.S. Military Assistance to Turkey

Statement by the President. October 1, 1974

Last night, the Eagleton amendment to the continuing resolution authority was passed by the Senate. Today, the continuing resolution itself will be brought to a Senate vote.

It is my conviction that approval of the continuing resolution, containing the Eagleton amendment or similar language, would destroy any hope for the success of the initiatives the United States has already taken or may take in the future to contribute to a just settlement of the Cyprus dispute. This view is shared by Secretary of State Kissinger, who is now in New York where he is making a major effort in his talks with Greek and Turkish representatives to bring about progress.

If the Eagleton amendment or similar language is adopted by the Congress, the United States will have lost its negotiating flexibility and influence. It thus hurts the very countries and objectives it purports to help.

It is my intention, therefore, to withhold my consent to any continuing resolution which reaches my desk containing language such as that found in the Eagleton amendment. I can, however, accept, and indeed endorse, the language relating to military assistance to Turkey contained in the continuing resolution as reported to the full Senate by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

I deeply appreciate the constructive efforts of the Democratic and Republican leadership in both the Senate and House of Representatives in their support for an amendment which would assist the diplomatic efforts of Secretary Kissinger in seeking an equitable solution to the Cyprus question. I hope a majority of the Senate will respond to this bipartisan leadership effort.

Defense Production Act Amendments of 1974

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law. October 1, 1974

I have signed S. 3270, the Defense Production Act Amendments of 1974.

The Defense Production Act was first passed in 1950 at the beginning of the Korean war, as a means of expanding the Nation's industrial capacity and enabling the Federal Government to produce and allocate critical materials in times of national emergency and for national security and other purposes. Since 1950, the act has provided ongoing authorization for the Government to assure that we have the productive capacity that would be needed for wartime mobilization.

The legislation I have signed extends the Defense Production Act until June 30, 1975. It also makes two significant changes in that act.

First, S. 3270 completely revises the financing mechanisms for loan and purchase activities under the act. All such activities will no longer be funded through Treasury borrowing but through regular, more straightforward appropriations process.

Secondly, S. 3270 creates a National Commission on Supplies and Shortages. This Commission will study our supply picture and make recommendations on those institutional adjustments which may be needed to ensure that we can respond quickly and effectively to potential resources and commodity shortages.

For the last 6 months, a special Administration task force has been at work identifying and assessing potential threats to our imports of critical, nonfuel raw materials. The findings of this task force are completed, and

they will be discussed with the new Commission on Supplies and Shortages and should be of significant help to the Commission in carrying out its mandate.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3270) is Public Law 93-426, approved September 30, 1974.

Federal Pay Increases

Statement by the President Announcing a 5.52 Percent Pay Increase. October 1, 1974

The law on pay rates for Federal employees requires that they be paid salaries comparable with private enterprise and provides for an annual review process by which this comparability shall be determined and maintained.

Under that process, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission serve jointly as the President's agent for Federal pay.

Acting as my agent, Mr. Ash and Mr. Hampton have completed their review of pay comparability and have concluded that an average increase of 5.52 percent is justified this year. Accordingly, I have determined that Federal employees will receive a pay hike of that amount, and I have directed that it be placed in effect as of the beginning of the next applicable pay period.

In making this determination, I have also received two other recommendations. One was from the representatives of the Federal employees, who proposed an increase of 8.4 percent. The second was from an Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, consisting of three distinguished nongovernment experts in labor relations and pay policy.

I met with this second group and listened to a well-reasoned preparation of their views. In brief, they agree with the method used by my agent to arrive at the 5.52 percent figure but feel that an extra 1.7 percent should be added to make a total increase of 7.22 percent. This additional sum is based on a special study which was made at the direction of the Advisory Committee and covered increases that have occurred in the private sector since the completion of the annual BLS [Bureau of Labor Statistics] survey upon which the agent's recommendation is based.

I have given careful and sympathetic consideration to both of these additional proposals. Federal employees, like all other citizens, are suffering financially from the current high level of inflation. However, the comparability law requires that my sympathy for Federal employees be bal-

anced by concern for the taxpayers who pay the bills. In today's economy, it is clear that one of the best services we can render to the taxpayer as well as the Federal worker is to keep the Federal budget within bounds to help alleviate current economic problems.

After weighing these considerations, I have concluded that I should not go beyond the clearly justified increase recommended by my agent. This increase gives full weight to the findings of the full-scale BLS survey made this year in the traditional manner. To depart from past practice by use of a special survey to support a higher increase than can be justified by normal methods does not seem to me to be the right thing to do at this time.

Economic Stabilization Program

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Cost of Living Council's Quarterly Report. October 1, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 216 of the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, as amended, I am hereby transmitting to the Congress the final quarterly report of the Economic Stabilization Program. This report covers the first three months of 1974 as well as the month of April, 1974—the last month before legislative authority for the program expired.

When the Economic Stabilization Program was begun in 1971, President Nixon emphasized his hope that it would be temporary. This objective has now been met, as all mandatory wage and price controls have been lifted, except for those on petroleum which have been mandated separately by the Congress.

Looking back, I believe this program gave all Americans a better appreciation of how powerful the forces of inflation are in our economy and how difficult it is to harness them. It also gave us convincing proof that wage and price controls are not the right way to solve the long-range problems of our economy. In retrospect, this may have been the program's greatest lasting value.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 1, 1974.

NOTE: The report covering the period January 1, 1974, through May 1, 1974, is entitled "Economic Stabilization Program Quarterly Report" (Government Printing Office, 607 pp.).

American Revolution Bicentennial Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Marjorie W. Lynch To Be Deputy Administrator. October 2, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marjorie W. Lynch of Yakima, Wash., to be Deputy Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. She has been an Associate Director of the ACTION agency since October 15, 1973.

From 1961 to 1971, she served in the Washington State Legislature before becoming Regional Director of ACTION. After serving until 1973 as Regional Director she was appointed an Associate Director of the ACTION agency in October of 1973.

Mrs. Lynch was born on November 30, 1920, in London, England, and graduated from a private school in Croydon, Surrey, England. She resides in Yakima, Wash.

American Revolution Bicentennial Board

Announcement of Appointment of Three Members of the Board. October 2, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of three persons to be members of the American Revolution Bicentennial Board:

CAROL L. EVANS, of Detroit, Mich., legal assistant and law clerk, Patmon, Young and Kirk Professional Corp.

ANDREW McNALLY III, of Chicago, Ill., chairman of the board, Rand McNally and Co.; chairman of the Illinois Bicentennial Commission.

J. DUANE SQUIRES, of New London, N.H., retired professor emeritus, Colby College; presently chairman of the New Hampshire American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, New London, N.H.

The Board consists of 11 members as follows: Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, John W. Warner; two Members of the House appointed by the Speaker, Lindy Boggs and M. Caldwell Butler; two Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, Joseph M. Montoya and Edward W. Brooke; Chairman and Vice Chairman of the American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Council; Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton; and three members appointed by the President from officers or staff of State bicentennial commissions or comparable State bodies.

The Chairman and Vice Chairman are elected by the members of the Board.

The Board shall be empowered to (1) receive advice and information from the Council and the Administrator with respect to the development of policy and guidelines to carry out the purposes of the act; and (2) give final approval to grants to be made under the authority of section 9 of the act; and (3) review, approve, disapprove, or ratify from time to time, all basic policy and guidelines, including the proposed annual budget to be presented by the Administrator.

It shall be a duty of the Board to make a continuing study of the activities of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. The Board shall, from time to time, but not less than every 6 months, report to the Committees on the Judiciary of the Senate and House and to the Senate and House of Representatives concerning the results of its studies, together with such recommendations as it may deem desirable. It shall make a final report thereon by June 30, 1977. The Board shall terminate on June 30, 1977, or on the date of the filing of the final report, whichever is sooner. The Board was created by Public Law 93-179 of December 11, 1973.

Board of Parole

Announcement of Intention To Nominate George J. Reed and William E. Amos as Members of the Board. October 2, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate two persons for appointment as members of the Board of Parole for terms of 6 years:

GEORGE J. REED, of Eugene, Oreg., who was Chairman of the Board of Parole from 1969 to 1972.

WILLIAM E. AMOS, of College Park, Md., member of the Board of Parole since 1969 and Chairman of the Youth Correction Division since 1972.

The Board of Parole consists of eight members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It has sole authority to grant, modify, or revoke paroles of all U.S. prisoners. It is responsible for the supervision of parolees and prisoners released upon the expiration of their sentences with allowances for statutory good times. U.S. probation officers supervise parolees and mandatory releases.

The Board has additional responsibility in cases in which the committing court specifies that the Board of Parole shall determine the date of parole eligibility of the prisoner. It may, under its rules, discharge parolees from supervision.

The Board also has the responsibility of determining, in accordance with the provisions of section 504 of the

Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, whether the service as officials in the field of organized labor of persons convicted of certain crimes is contrary to the purposes of that act.

Fire Prevention Week, 1974

Proclamation 4320. October 2, 1974

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

Losses by destructive fires, many of which could have been prevented, constitute a tragic waste of our Nation's human and material resources. Destructive fire is a burden affecting all Americans and constitutes a public health and safety problem of major magnitude.

Our great Nation, blessed with unparalleled technological resources, has the highest per capita rate of death and property loss from fire of all the major industrialized nations in the world. Of most concern is the needless loss of human life. Each year over 12,000 Americans die and over 300,000 are seriously injured and maimed. The tragic part is that the large majority of the deaths and injuries victimize the very young and the aged. In 1973, nearly 2.7 million fires caused in excess of \$3 billion in direct property damage, with the total costs of fire, including fire departments costs, estimated at well over \$11 billion.

I believe that our continuing high rate of losses due to fire is totally unacceptable. This shameful and needless waste of our people and resources, with its adverse effect on our economy, is one which our Nation and local communities can ill afford. As I have stated before, curbing inflation and improving the state of our economy are the highest priorities in this Administration. Fire loss reduction and fire prevention are activities directly related to reducing economic loss and should be a part of our overall national effort.

Of vital concern, and an area in which there is a major need for improved fire safety, is the place where we live: our homes. Each year, more than half the deaths caused by fire—about 6,600 on the average—have occurred in our homes. Last year alone, 73 per cent of all building fires occurred in residences while the loss and damage to homes amounted to more than \$1 billion. For the last 20 years, home fires have accounted for about two-thirds of all building fires. Improved home fire safety is essential if we are to control this human and economic waste.

Most fires are caused by carelessness, lack of knowledge, or hazardous conditions which can be corrected. Much of the tragic waste associated with unwanted fires can

be avoided. More emphasis on fire prevention programs and activities throughout the country is needed. Vigorous community fire departments, both paid and volunteer, which have effectively conducted fire prevention programs have contributed substantially to the local and national welfare by reducing significantly the number and effects of destructive fires. Those fire departments which confine their roles to putting out fires and rescuing its victims need to expend more effort on fire prevention. This should include educating children on the principles of fire safety, educating adults on fire safety in homes through residential inspections, enforcing fire protection and prevention codes and standards, and ensuring that adequate fire safety features are designed into our buildings and structures. All citizens need to know the basics of fire prevention, how to report fires, how to extinguish simple fires, and how to react if fire occurs in their homes or places of work. Progress can be made in reducing our fire losses if every American recognizes his and her responsibility for eliminating fire hazards and for participating in the community fire prevention programs. Therefore, it is vital that everyone support and participate in local fire prevention activities, not only during Fire Prevention Week, but at all times. In this way we can reduce the needless losses caused by unwanted fires.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning October 6, 1974, as Fire Prevention Week.

I call upon all citizens, individually and as a Nation, to support, participate in, and promote the fire prevention programs and activities of their local community fire departments and of the National Fire Protection Association.

I urge State and local governments, business, labor, and other organizations, as well as schools, civic groups, and public information agencies, to observe Fire Prevention Week, to provide useful fire safety information to the public, and to enlist the active participation of all citizens in year-round fire prevention programs.

I also urge all Federal agencies, in cooperation with the Federal Fire Council, to set an example for the Nation by conducting effective year-round fire prevention programs, including employee fire safety training programs and drills.

Let us all work together in reducing the unnecessary waste of human life and property from fire.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this second day of October in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:32 p.m.,
October 2, 1974]

Office of Management and Budget

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Paul H. O'Neill To Be Deputy Director. October 3, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Paul H. O'Neill, of Fairfax, Va., to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. This will be the first time that this position will be filled by a nomination to the Senate. He succeeds Frederick V. Malek who was appointed February 2, 1973, and whose resignation was accepted on August 12, 1974.

Since 1973, Mr. O'Neill has served as Associate Director for Human and Community Affairs for the Office of Management and Budget. In 1971, he became Assistant Director of the Office of Management and Budget for Human Resources and General Government Programs after having served as Chief of the Human Resources Programs Division. From 1969 to 1970, he was Associate Division Director for Program Coordination in the Office of Management and Budget. He was Budget Examiner for the United States Bureau of the Budget from 1967 to 1969. From 1961 to 1966, he was a Systems Analyst with the Veterans Administration.

He was born on December 4, 1935, in St. Louis, Mo., and received his B.A. degree from Fresno State College. He received his M.B.A. from Indiana University in 1966. He also did graduate work at Claremont Graduate School and George Washington University.

Mr. O'Neill is married to the former Nancy Jo Wolfe, and they have four children. They reside in Fairfax, Va.

Leif Erikson Day, 1974

Proclamation 4321. October 3, 1974

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

Nearly one thousand years ago, Leif Erikson and his small crew of Norse explorers embarked upon a courageous voyage through unknown seas that led them to the bountiful shores of the New World.

Today most of the world's frontiers have been explored but there are still personal frontiers that are no less challenging and forbidding than those faced so many years ago. As we push forward, let us draw inspiration from the indomitable spirit and undaunting determination of Leif Erikson. His achievement is a beacon for all men and women of vision who navigate the rough waters of uncertainty and adversity.

I am honored to comply with the request of the Congress of the United States, in a joint resolution approved September 2, 1964 (78 Stat. 849), that the President proclaim October 9 in each year as Leif Erikson Day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Wednesday, October 9, 1974, as Leif Erikson Day and I direct the appropriate Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings that day.

I also invite the people of the United States to honor the memory of Leif Erikson on that day by holding appropriate exercises and ceremonies in suitable places throughout our land.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this third day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:11 p.m., October 3, 1974]

Budget Deferrals and Rescissions

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Deferrals and Rescissions. October 4, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith report on additional rescissions and deferrals for the fiscal year 1975, as required by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. Proposed rescissions which accompany this message total \$182 million and deferrals total \$3,239 million.

Included in this second submission to the Congress under the new act are reports on actions concluded before the effective date of the act and thus are not subject, in the opinion of the Attorney General, to the provisions of the new act. I am reporting this additional information because I believe that it is appropriate to keep the Congress informed on the status of all funds withheld from obligation.

The attachment to this message lists the items reported and identifies those actions taken prior to the effective date of this act.

Failure to take the actions reported would result in \$3.4 billion of additional budget authority becoming available for obligation. This would increase Federal spending in the current fiscal year by \$12 million and in fiscal year 1976 by over \$220 million. Additional spending would be even greater in 1977, the first year in which the new procedures for congressional review of the budget will be in effect.

These actions are essential both to assure efficient management of funds and to help keep Federal spending from rising beyond current estimates. These are essential steps to achieve the degree of fiscal restraint we need in order to curb inflation.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 4, 1974.

NOTE: The attachment detailing the deferrals and rescissions is printed in the Federal Register of October 8, 1974.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

September 28

The White House announced that, because of Mrs. Ford's surgery, the President would not be able to fulfill speaking engagements at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, and at the UPI editors convention in San Francisco, Calif., on Wednesday, October 2. The President asked Vice President-designate Rockefeller to substitute for him.

French Foreign Minister Jean Victor Sauvagnargues met with the President at the White House.

September 29

Brazilian Foreign Minister Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira met with the President at the White House.

October 1

Members of the Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board met with the President at the White House.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, met with the President.

The President met with a group of mayors and business leaders to discuss mass transit legislation pending in the Congress.

October 2

Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott visited the President at the White House to bring to him a document signed by the entire membership of the Senate expressing its collective best wishes to Mrs. Ford and its hope that she would have a speedy recovery.

The White House announced that, at the invitation of the United States Capitol Historical Society, Mrs. Ford will serve as Co-Chairperson of the National Advisory Board for the Bicentennial "Son et Lumiere" (sound and light show) which will be installed on the East Front of the Capitol.

Members of the Economic Policy Board met with the President at the White House.

October 3

The President talked by telephone with Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., concerning mass transit legislation pending in the Congress.

Members of the Economic Policy Board met with the President at the White House.

Members of the Labor-Management Committee met with the President.

The President hosted a dinner at the White House honoring retiring Members of Congress.

October 4

Members of the Republican Congressional leadership met with the President at the White House.

Australian Prime Minister E. Gough Whitlam met with the President.

The President today accepted the resignation of William S. Whitehead as member and Chairman of the Renegotiation Board, effective December 31, 1974.

The President met twice with members of the Economic Policy Board.

The following Ambassadors presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Oval Office: Rusmin Nurjadin of Indonesia, Illa Salifou of Niger, Menelas D. Alexandrakis of Greece, Willy Van Cauwenberg of Belgium, Age Robert Tammenoms Bakker of the Netherlands, and Khamphan Panya of Laos.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted October 2, 1974

MARJORIE W. LYNCH, of Washington, to be Deputy Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (new position).

GEORGE J. REED, of Oregon, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1980 (reappointment).

WILLIAM E. AMOS, of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1980 (reappointment).

Submitted October 3, 1974

PAUL H. O'NEILL, of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget (new position).

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved September 30, 1974

S. 3270..... Public Law 93-426
Defense Production Act Amendments of 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

S.J. Res. 244..... Public Law 93-425
Joint resolution to extend termination date of Export-Import Bank.

Approved October 1, 1974

H.R. 6395..... Public Law 93-429
An act to designate certain lands in the Okfenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Georgia, as wilderness.

H.R. 12000..... Public Law 93-428
Egg Research and Consumer Information Act.

H.R. 13595..... Public Law 93-430
An act to authorize appropriations for the Coast Guard for the procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments, to authorize appropriations for bridge alterations, to authorize for the Coast Guard an end-year strength for active duty personnel, to authorize for the Coast Guard average military student loads, and for other purposes.

S. 210..... Public Law 93-431
An act to authorize the establishment of the Boston National Historical Park in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

S. 3301..... Public Law 93-427
An act to amend the Act of October 27, 1972 (Public Law 92-578).

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released September 28, 1974

News conference: following Mrs. Ford's surgery—by Rear Adm. William M. Lukash, USN, Physician to the President; Capt. William J. Fouty, USN, Chairman of Surgery, National Naval Medical Center; J. Richard Thistlethwaite, consultant to the National Naval Medical Center, and professor of surgery, George Washington University Medical School

Released September 30, 1974

Advance text: remarks at the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group

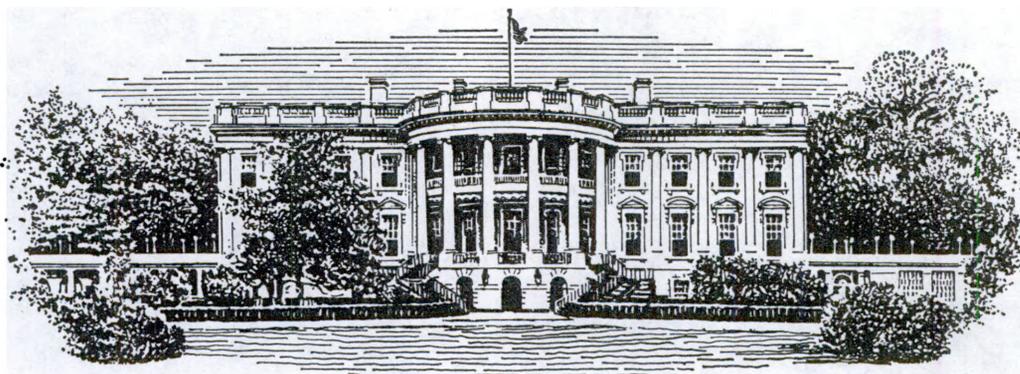
News conference: on his appointment as Assistant to the President—by Donald Rumsfeld

Released October 4, 1974

Summary: proposed budget rescissions and deferrals

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Weekly Compilation of OCT 22 1974
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, October 14, 1974



*The University
of Michigan
Reference*

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 F.R. 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

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There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, October 11, 1974

Cancellation of Grain Contracts

*Statement by the White House Press Secretary.
October 5, 1974*

Representatives of Continental Grain Co. and Cook Industries, Inc., met today with President Ford and other officials of the United States Government, to discuss recent grain contracts by the two companies with the Soviet Union. The President expressed his strong concern over the potential domestic impact that such sales could have at a time when the U.S. is experiencing a disappointing harvest of feed grains.

After discussions with Secretary Simon, Secretary Butz, and Ambassador Eberle, the company representatives evidenced their full willingness to be responsive to these crucial domestic concerns. The two companies are now making arrangements for the cancellation of these contracts, in accordance with the Government's request.

Government-to-government discussions are also being undertaken, and Secretary Simon is planning to meet with appropriate officials of the Soviet Union during his visit to that country next week.

Grain exporters are being invited to Washington, D.C., on October 7 to help formulate a system of voluntary cooperation and reporting that will assure reasonable supplies to both domestic and foreign users. It is anticipated that this voluntary cooperative effort will enable the United States to avoid the imposition of general export controls.

NOTE: The statement was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Child Health Day, 1974

Proclamation 4322. October 5, 1974

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

For more than four decades, America has set aside a special day each year to emphasize the importance of child health.

In these decades, we have written a story of significant progress in child health, as the national infant mortality rate has been sharply cut and many childhood diseases have been conquered or diminished in their severity. For many handicapped children, in particular, advances in surgical techniques and treatment have created new hope for happy, productive lives.

We can be proud of this progress. Yet, as every parent knows, the threat of serious disease still hangs over the lives of our children, striking fear in the hearts of those who love and cherish them. Our challenge—and the one to which this Administration will be committed—is to continue steadfastly in reducing the health hazards to children through adequate programs which will assure their continued good health throughout childhood.

The Congress has, by the Joint Resolution of May 18, 1928 (36 U.S.C. 143), requested that the President of the United States annually issue a proclamation declaring the first Monday in October as Child Health Day.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Monday, October 7, 1974, as Child Health Day.

I invite all agencies and organizations concerned with

child health to unite upon that day in the observance of such activities as will accelerate our progress towards the promotion and protection of child health.

In addition, Child Health Day is an appropriate time to salute the work which the United Nations, through its specialized agencies and the United Nations Children's Fund, is doing to improve the health of the children around the world.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:50 a.m.,
October 7, 1974]

Federal Civilian and Military Pay Increases

*The President's Message to the Congress.
October 7, 1974*

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, I hereby report on the comparability adjustment I am ordering for the Federal statutory pay systems in October 1974.

The Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, who serve jointly as my agent for Federal pay, have recommended a 5.52 percent average increase in Federal statutory pay rates. The Federal Employees Pay Council and other employee organizations have proposed an increase of 8.4 percent. The Advisory Committee on Federal Pay has agreed with the method used by the agent to arrive at the 5.52 percent, but has recommended that it be augmented by an additional 1.7 percent, producing a total increase of 7.22 percent. This additional 1.7 percent is based on a special study of pay increases that have occurred in the private sector since completion of the annual Bureau of Labor Statistics survey on which the agent's recommendation is based.

I have decided that I must choose the 5.52 percent increase, without the additional 1.7 percent. The Advisory Committee has made a forceful case for the additional amount, both in their report and in their meeting with me. However, I do not feel that in the context of our current economic situation, I should go beyond the clearly justified increase recommended by my agent. This increase gives full weight to full scale Bureau of Labor Statistics

survey findings of this year in the same manner as last year.

The time lag between the annual BLS survey and the resulting pay adjustment has been an integral part of our Federal pay-setting system since the principle of pay comparability was first adopted. The overriding need of the nation at present is clearly to dampen the fires of inflation. To depart from past practice by the use of a special survey to support a higher increase than can be justified by normal methods does not seem to me to be the right thing to do at this time.

I have noted the Advisory Committee's recommendation that the results of the annual survey of private sector pay be made available by July 1 of each year rather than the present date of August 1. I am in full agreement that an earlier arrival of the survey results would be highly desirable, since it would provide more time for all the parties involved in the annual pay comparison to give thorough consideration to the very complex issues involved. Therefore, I shall see what can be done so that the survey results will reach my agent by July 1 of each year.

I am transmitting herewith the reports of my agent and the Advisory Committee, as well as a copy of the Executive order I have promulgated to put this pay increase into effect. Also transmitted herewith is a copy of an Executive order I have promulgated to increase basic pay and basic allowances for quarters and subsistence for members of the uniformed services, in accordance with section 1009 of title 37, United States Code, as added by Public Law 93-419 of September 19, 1974.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 7, 1974.

NOTE: For the text of the Executive orders increasing Federal civilian and military pay, see the following two items.

Federal Civilian Pay Increases

Executive Order 11811. October 7, 1974

ADJUSTING RATES OF PAY FOR CERTAIN STATUTORY PAY SYSTEMS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by subchapter I of chapter 53 of title 5 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

General Schedule

SECTION 1. The rates of basic pay in the General Schedule contained in section 5332(a) of title 5 of the United States Code are adjusted as follows:

“GENERAL SCHEDULE

“Grade	“Annual rates and steps									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
GS-1.....	\$5, 294	\$5, 470	\$5, 646	\$5, 822	\$5, 998	\$6, 174	\$6, 350	\$6, 526	\$6, 702	\$6, 878
GS-2.....	5, 996	6, 196	6, 396	6, 596	6, 796	6, 996	7, 196	7, 396	7, 596	7, 796
GS-3.....	6, 764	6, 989	7, 214	7, 439	7, 664	7, 889	8, 114	8, 339	8, 564	8, 789
GS-4.....	7, 596	7, 849	8, 102	8, 355	8, 608	8, 861	9, 114	9, 367	9, 620	9, 873
GS-5.....	8, 500	8, 783	9, 066	9, 349	9, 632	9, 915	10, 198	10, 481	10, 764	11, 047
GS-6.....	9, 473	9, 789	10, 105	10, 421	10, 737	11, 053	11, 369	11, 685	12, 001	12, 317
GS-7.....	10, 520	10, 871	11, 222	11, 573	11, 924	12, 275	12, 626	12, 977	13, 328	13, 679
GS-8.....	11, 640	12, 028	12, 416	12, 804	13, 192	13, 580	13, 968	14, 356	14, 744	15, 132
GS-9.....	12, 841	13, 269	13, 697	14, 125	14, 553	14, 981	15, 409	15, 837	16, 265	16, 693
GS-10.....	14, 117	14, 588	15, 059	15, 530	16, 001	16, 472	16, 943	17, 414	17, 885	18, 356
GS-11.....	15, 481	15, 997	16, 513	17, 029	17, 545	18, 061	18, 577	19, 093	19, 609	20, 125
GS-12.....	18, 463	19, 078	19, 693	20, 308	20, 923	21, 538	22, 153	22, 768	23, 383	23, 998
GS-13.....	21, 816	22, 543	23, 270	23, 997	24, 724	25, 451	26, 178	26, 905	27, 632	28, 359
GS-14.....	25, 581	26, 434	27, 287	28, 140	28, 993	29, 846	30, 699	31, 552	32, 405	33, 258
GS-15.....	29, 818	30, 812	31, 806	32, 800	33, 794	34, 788	35, 782	*36, 776	*37, 770	*38, 764
GS-16.....	34, 607	35, 761	*36, 915	*38, 069	*39, 223	*40, 377	*41, 531	*42, 685	*43, 839	
GS-17.....	*40, 062	*41, 397	*42, 732	*44, 067	*45, 402					
GS-18.....	*46, 336									

“* The rate of basic pay for employees at these rates is limited by section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code to the rate for level V of the Executive Schedule (as of the effective date of this pay adjustment, \$36,000).”

Schedules for the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration

SEC. 2. The schedules contained in section 4107 of title 38 of the United States Code, for certain positions within the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration, are adjusted as follows:

“Section 4103 Schedule

- “Associate Deputy Chief Medical Director, at the annual rate provided in section 5316 of title 5 of the United States Code for positions in level V of the Executive Schedule.
- “Assistant Chief Medical Director, \$46,336*.
- “Medical Director, \$40,062 minimum* to \$45,402 maximum*.
- “Director of Nursing Service, \$40,062 minimum* to \$45,402 maximum*.
- “Director of Chaplain Service, \$34,607 minimum to \$43,839 maximum*.
- “Director of Pharmacy Service, \$34,607 minimum to \$43,839 maximum*.
- “Director of Dietetic Service, \$34,607 minimum to \$43,839 maximum*.
- “Director of Optometry, \$34,607 minimum to \$43,839 maximum*.

“*The salary for employees at these rates is limited by section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code to the rate for level V of the Executive Schedule (as of the effective date of this pay adjustment, \$36,000).”

“Physician and Dentist Schedule

- “Director grade, \$34,607 minimum to \$43,839 maximum*.
- “Executive grade, \$32,129 minimum to \$41,768 maximum*.
- “Chief grade, \$29,818 minimum to \$38,764 maximum*.
- “Senior grade, \$25,581 minimum to \$33,258 maximum.
- “Intermediate grade, \$21,816 minimum to \$28,359 maximum.
- “Full grade, \$18,463 minimum to \$23,998 maximum.
- “Associate grade, \$15,481 minimum to \$20,125 maximum.

“Nurse Schedule

- “Director grade, \$29,818 minimum to \$38,764 maximum*.
- “Assistant Director grade, \$25,581 minimum to \$33,258 maximum.
- “Chief grade, \$21,816 minimum to \$28,359 maximum.
- “Senior grade, \$18,463 minimum to \$23,998 maximum.
- “Intermediate grade, \$15,481 minimum to \$20,125 maximum.
- “Full grade, \$12,841 minimum to \$16,693 maximum.
- “Associate grade, \$11,070 minimum to \$14,391 maximum.
- “Junior grade, \$9,473 minimum to \$12,317 maximum.

Foreign Service Schedules

SEC. 3. (a) The per annum salaries of Foreign Service officers in the schedule contained in section 412 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 867), are adjusted as follows:

“Class 1.....	*\$43, 851	*\$45, 313	*\$46, 336
Class 2.....	34, 373	35, 519	*36, 665	*\$37, 811	*\$38, 957	*\$40, 103	*\$41, 249
Class 3.....	27, 221	28, 128	29, 035	29, 942	30, 849	31, 756	32, 663
Class 4.....	21, 816	22, 543	23, 270	23, 997	24, 724	25, 451	26, 178
Class 5.....	17, 726	18, 317	18, 908	19, 499	20, 090	20, 681	21, 272
Class 6.....	14, 628	15, 116	15, 604	16, 092	16, 580	17, 068	17, 556
Class 7.....	12, 285	12, 695	13, 105	13, 515	13, 925	14, 335	14, 745
Class 8.....	10, 520	10, 871	11, 222	11, 573	11, 924	12, 275	12, 626

“*The salary for employees at these rates is limited by section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code to the rate for level V of the Executive Schedule (as of the effective date of this pay adjustment, \$36,000).”

(b) The per annum salaries of staff officers and employees in the schedule contained in section 415 of the

Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U.S.C. 870(a)), are adjusted as follows:

Class 1.....	\$27,221	\$28,128	\$29,035	\$29,942	\$30,849	\$31,756	\$32,663	\$33,570	\$34,477	\$35,384
Class 2.....	21,816	22,543	23,270	23,997	24,724	25,451	26,178	26,905	27,632	28,359
Class 3.....	17,726	18,317	18,908	19,499	20,090	20,681	21,272	21,863	22,454	23,045
Class 4.....	14,628	15,116	15,604	16,092	16,580	17,068	17,556	18,044	18,532	19,020
Class 5.....	13,114	13,551	13,988	14,425	14,862	15,299	15,736	16,173	16,610	17,047
Class 6.....	11,758	12,150	12,542	12,934	13,326	13,718	14,110	14,502	14,894	15,286
Class 7.....	10,541	10,892	11,243	11,594	11,945	12,296	12,647	12,998	13,349	13,700
Class 8.....	9,450	9,765	10,080	10,395	10,710	11,025	11,340	11,655	11,970	12,285
Class 9.....	8,473	8,755	9,037	9,319	9,601	9,883	10,165	10,447	10,729	11,011
Class 10.....	7,596	7,849	8,102	8,355	8,608	8,861	9,114	9,367	9,620	9,873."

Salary Limitation

SEC. 4. Notwithstanding the rates of basic pay or salaries established by sections 1, 2, and 3 of this order, under section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code no rate of basic pay or salary may be paid which is in excess of the rate now or hereafter provided for level V of the Executive Schedule.

Prior Orders Superseded

SEC. 5. The following orders are hereby superseded:

- (1) Executive Order No. 11413 of June 11, 1968;
- (2) Executive Order No. 11474 of June 16, 1969;
- (3) Executive Order No. 11524 of April 15, 1970;
- (4) Executive Order No. 11576 of January 8, 1971;
- (5) Executive Order No. 11637 of December 22, 1971;
- (6) Executive Order No. 11691 of December 15, 1972, as amended; and
- (7) Executive Order No. 11739 of October 3, 1973.

Effective Date

SEC. 6. This order shall take effect as of the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning on or after October 1, 1974.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 7, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:27 p.m.,
October 7, 1974]

Military Pay Increases

Executive Order 11812. October 7, 1974

ADJUSTING THE RATES OF BASIC PAY, BASIC ALLOWANCE FOR SUBSISTENCE AND BASIC ALLOWANCE FOR QUARTERS FOR MEMBERS OF THE UNIFORMED SERVICES

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, including the Federal Pay Compar-

bility Act of 1970, and section 1009 of title 37 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The rates of monthly basic pay for members of the uniformed services within each pay grade are adjusted upwards as set forth in the following tables:

Commissioned Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205			
	2 or less	Over 2	Over 3	Over 4
O-10 ¹	\$2,705.70	\$2,800.80	\$2,800.80	\$2,800.80
O-9.....	2,397.90	2,461.20	2,513.40	2,513.40
O-8.....	2,172.00	2,237.10	2,290.20	2,290.20
O-7.....	1,804.50	1,927.80	1,927.80	1,927.80
O-6.....	1,337.70	1,470.00	1,565.70	1,565.70
O-5.....	1,069.80	1,256.70	1,343.10	1,343.10
O-4.....	902.10	1,097.70	1,171.80	1,171.80
O-3 ²	838.20	936.90	1,001.40	1,108.20
O-2 ²	730.50	798.30	958.80	990.90
O-1 ²	634.20	660.30	798.30	798.30

Commissioned Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205			
	Over 6	Over 8	Over 10	Over 12
O-10 ¹	\$2,800.80	\$2,908.20	\$2,908.20	*\$3,131.10
O-9.....	2,513.40	2,577.00	2,577.00	2,684.10
O-8.....	2,290.20	2,461.20	2,461.20	2,577.00
O-7.....	2,013.60	2,013.60	2,130.90	2,130.90
O-6.....	1,565.70	1,565.70	1,565.70	1,565.70
O-5.....	1,343.10	1,343.10	1,384.20	1,458.00
O-4.....	1,192.80	1,245.90	1,330.50	1,405.80
O-3 ²	1,161.00	1,203.00	1,267.50	1,330.50
O-2 ²	1,011.60	1,011.60	1,011.60	1,011.60
O-1 ²	798.30	798.30	798.30	798.30

Commissioned Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205			
	Over 14	Over 16	Over 18	Over 20
O-10 ¹	*\$3,131.10	*\$3,355.20	*\$3,355.20	*\$3,579.30
O-9.....	2,684.10	2,908.20	2,908.20	*3,131.10
O-8.....	2,577.00	2,684.10	2,800.80	2,908.20
O-7.....	2,237.10	2,461.20	2,630.40	2,630.40
O-6.....	1,618.80	1,875.00	1,971.00	2,013.60
O-5.....	1,555.50	1,672.20	1,768.20	1,821.30
O-4.....	1,470.00	1,533.90	1,576.50	1,576.50
O-3 ²	1,363.20	1,363.20	1,363.20	1,363.20
O-2 ²	1,011.60	1,011.60	1,011.60	1,011.60
O-1 ²	798.30	798.30	798.30	798.30

Commissioned officers who have been credited with over 4 years' active service as enlisted members

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	Over 14	Over 16	Over 18	Over 20	Over 22
O-3.....	\$1,384.20	\$1,384.20	\$1,384.20	\$1,384.20	\$1,384.20
O-2.....	1,171.80	1,171.80	1,171.80	1,171.80	1,171.80
O-1.....	990.90	990.90	990.90	990.90	990.90

Commissioned officers who have been credited with over 4 years' active service as enlisted members

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205	
	Over 26	Over 30
O-3.....	\$1,384.20	\$1,384.20
O-2.....	1,171.80	1,171.80
O-1.....	990.90	990.90

Commissioned Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205		
	Over 22	Over 26	Over 30
O-10 ¹	*\$3,579.30	*\$3,802.50	*\$3,802.50
O-9.....	*3,131.10	*3,355.20	*3,355.20
O-8.....	*3,024.90	*3,024.90	*3,024.90
O-7.....	2,630.40	2,630.40	2,630.40
O-6.....	2,130.90	2,310.60	2,310.60
O-5.....	1,885.50	1,885.50	1,885.50
O-4.....	1,576.50	1,576.50	1,576.50
O-3 ²	1,363.20	1,363.20	1,363.20
O-2 ²	1,011.60	1,011.60	1,011.60
O-1 ²	798.30	798.30	798.30

Warrant Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	2 or less	Over 2	Over 3	Over 4	Over 6
W-4....	\$853.80	\$915.90	\$915.90	\$936.90	\$979.80
W-3....	776.40	842.10	842.10	852.30	862.50
W-2....	679.80	735.00	735.00	756.60	798.30
W-1....	566.40	649.50	649.50	703.50	735.00

Warrant Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	Over 8	Over 10	Over 12	Over 14	Over 16
W-4....	\$1,022.70	\$1,065.30	\$1,140.30	\$1,192.80	\$1,235.10
W-3....	925.80	979.80	1,011.60	1,043.70	1,074.90
W-2....	842.10	873.60	905.40	936.90	969.60
W-1....	767.10	798.30	831.00	862.50	894.60

Warrant Officers

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	Over 18	Over 20	Over 22	Over 26	Over 30
W-4....	\$1,267.50	\$1,309.50	\$1,353.00	\$1,458.00	\$1,458.00
W-3....	1,108.20	1,150.80	1,192.80	1,235.10	1,235.10
W-2....	1,001.40	1,033.20	1,074.90	1,074.90	1,074.90
W-1....	925.80	958.80	958.80	958.80	958.80

¹ While serving as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Chief of Staff of the Army, Chief of Naval Operations, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, or Commandant of the Marine Corps, basic pay for this grade is \$4,195.80* regardless of cumulative years of service computed under section 205 of title 37 of the United States Code.

² Does not apply to commissioned officers who have been credited with over 4 years' active service as enlisted members.

*The rate of basic pay for military personnel at these rates is limited by section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code, as added by the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970, to the rate for level V of the Executive Schedule.

Commissioned officers who have been credited with over 4 years' active service as enlisted members

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	Over 4	Over 6	Over 8	Over 10	Over 12
O-3.....	\$1,108.20	\$1,161.00	\$1,203.00	\$1,267.50	\$1,330.50
O-2.....	990.90	1,011.60	1,043.70	1,097.70	1,140.30
O-1.....	798.30	852.30	884.10	915.90	948.00

Enlisted Members

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	2 or less	Over 2	Over 3	Over 4	Over 6
E-9 ¹	0	0	0	0	0
E-8.....	0	0	0	0	0
E-7.....	\$568.20	\$613.20	\$636.00	\$658.20	\$681.00
E-6.....	490.80	535.20	557.40	580.50	602.70
E-5.....	430.80	469.20	491.70	513.00	546.60
E-4.....	414.30	437.40	462.90	499.20	518.70
E-3.....	398.40	420.30	437.10	454.20	454.20
E-2.....	383.40	383.40	383.40	383.40	383.40
E-1.....	344.10	344.10	344.10	344.10	344.10

Enlisted Members

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	Over 8	Over 10	Over 12	Over 14	Over 16
E-9 ¹	0	\$969.90	\$992.10	\$1,014.60	\$1,038.00
E-8.....	\$813.90	836.70	858.90	881.40	904.20
E-7.....	702.30	724.50	747.30	781.20	803.10
E-6.....	624.90	647.40	681.00	702.30	724.50
E-5.....	568.80	591.60	613.20	624.90	624.90
E-4.....	518.70	518.70	518.70	518.70	518.70
E-3.....	454.20	454.20	454.20	454.20	454.20
E-2.....	383.40	383.40	383.40	383.40	383.40
E-1.....	344.10	344.10	344.10	344.10	344.10

Enlisted Members

Pay grade	Years of service computed under section 205				
	Over 18	Over 20	Over 22	Over 26	Over 30
E-9 ¹	\$1,060.80	\$1,081.80	\$1,138.80	\$1,249.20	\$1,249.20
E-8.....	925.50	948.30	1,003.80	1,116.00	1,116.00
E-7.....	825.60	836.70	892.80	1,003.80	1,003.80
E-6.....	735.90	735.90	735.90	735.90	735.90
E-5.....	624.90	624.90	624.90	624.90	624.90
E-4.....	518.70	518.70	518.70	518.70	518.70
E-3.....	454.20	454.20	454.20	454.20	454.20
E-2.....	383.40	383.40	383.40	383.40	383.40
E-1.....	344.10	344.10	344.10	344.10	344.10

¹ While serving as Sergeant Major of the Army, Master Chief Petty Officer of the Navy or Coast Guard, Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force, or Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps, basic pay for this grade is \$1,518.60 regardless of cumulative years of service computed under section 205 of title 37 of the United States Code.

SEC. 2. The rates of basic allowance for subsistence authorized members of the uniformed services are adjusted upwards as set forth in the following table:

Basic Allowance for Subsistence Rates

Officers: ----- \$50.52 per month.
 Enlisted members: \

When on leave or authorized to mess separately----- \$2.41 per day.
 When rations in kind are not available----- \$2.71 per day.
 When assigned to duty under emergency conditions where no messing facilities of the United States are available----- \$3.61 per day.

SEC. 3. The rates of monthly basic allowance for quarters authorized members of the uniformed services by pay grade are adjusted upwards as set forth in the following table:

Monthly Basic Allowance for Quarters Rates

Pay grade	Without dependents	With dependents
Commissioned Officers		
O-10.....	\$243.00	\$303.90
O-9.....	243.00	303.90
O-8.....	243.00	303.90
O-7.....	243.00	303.90
O-6.....	223.50	272.70
O-5.....	209.10	252.00
O-4.....	188.70	227.40
O-3.....	167.10	206.40
O-2.....	146.40	185.40
O-1.....	114.90	149.40
Warrant Officers		
W-4.....	\$182.10	\$219.30
W-3.....	164.10	202.20
W-2.....	144.60	183.30
W-1.....	130.80	169.80
Enlisted Members		
E-9.....	\$138.00	\$194.40
E-8.....	128.70	181.80
E-7.....	110.40	170.40
E-6.....	101.10	158.40
E-5.....	97.80	146.40
E-4.....	86.10	128.10
E-3.....	76.20	110.70
E-2.....	67.50	110.70
E-1.....	63.30	110.70

SEC. 4. Notwithstanding the rates of basic pay established by section 1 of this order, no rate of basic pay may be paid under section 5308 of title 5 of the United States Code, which is in excess of the rate now or hereafter provided for level V of the Executive Schedule.

SEC. 5. The following Executive Orders are hereby superseded:

- (1) Executive Order No. 11414 of June 11, 1968;
 - (2) Executive Order No. 11475 of June 16, 1969;
 - (3) Executive Order No. 11525 of April 15, 1970;
 - (4) Executive Order No. 11577 of January 8, 1971;
 - (5) Executive Order No. 11638 of December 22, 1971;
 - (6) Executive Order No. 11692 of December 15, 1972, as amended; and,
 - (7) Executive Order No. 11740 of October 3, 1973.
- SEC. 6. This order shall take effect October 1, 1974.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 7, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:27 p.m.,
October 7, 1974]

Marine Mammal Commission

Announcement of Appointment of Richard A. Cooley as a Member. October 7, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Richard A. Cooley, of Santa Cruz, Calif., to be a member of the Marine Mammal Commission, for a term expiring May 13, 1977. He succeeds John Ryther who resigned effective November 13, 1973.

Since 1970, Dr. Cooley has been professor of geography at the University of California at Santa Cruz. From 1966 to 1970, he was associate professor of geography at the University of Washington. He was a Wage Adjustment Analyst for the Department of Labor in 1952, after having served with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in 1951.

He was born on June 15, 1925, in Raton, N. Mex., and received his B.A. degree from the University of New Mexico in 1951. He was awarded his M.A. degree from the University of Chicago in 1955 and his Ph. D. from the University of Michigan in 1962.

Dr. Cooley is married to the former Alice Sigismund, and they have two children. They reside in Santa Cruz, Calif.

Veterans Day, 1974

Proclamation 4323. October 7, 1974

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

On this Veterans Day, we pay tribute to those men and women whose service in our Armed Forces has contrib-

uted so profoundly to mankind's age-old quest for peace.

From Valley Forge to Vietnam, on battlefields around the globe, in World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, Americans have selflessly answered the call to arms whenever our freedoms and the freedoms of others have been threatened by tyranny and aggression.

Our Veterans have earned our deep and lasting gratitude for their valor, their patriotism, and their willingness to sacrifice so that others might remain free.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby call on all Americans to join in observing Monday, October 28, 1974, as Veterans Day. I urge both public ceremony and private contemplation in recognition of the precious gifts of freedom and security that are ours because those we honor have stood in our defense.

Let us give special consideration on that day to those who have died in our Nation's wars and those who have been disabled. Let this be a day of remembrance for those veterans who are in our hospitals, a day on which our appreciation is expressed tangibly by our visits and our attention.

Further, let this be a day on which all Americans take special cognizance of the needs of those young veterans who are currently readjusting to civilian life. Let us give them personal help and encouragement.

I direct the appropriate officials of Government to arrange for the display of the flag of the United States on this day. I request officials of Federal, State and local governments to support its observance and I urge schools, churches, unions, civic and patriotic organizations to participate in appropriate public ceremonies throughout the Nation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:56 p.m.,
October 7, 1974]

National Farm-City Week, 1974

Proclamation 4324. October 7, 1974

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

The two hundred years which have passed since America's birth has witnessed a dramatic change in our society. From a primarily rural nation, we have grown to a country of great cities and towns, and farmers now make up less than five percent of our national population.

As we have learned from our recent food shortages, however, the cities have not lost their fundamental dependence upon the farms for the basics in life. Nor are our farms any less dependent upon our urban centers for their products and services.

There is, indeed, a continuing partnership, often recognized but little honored. It is that partnership we must build upon to achieve a new abundance and prosperity in the future.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the period November 22 through November 28, 1974 as National Farm-City Week.

I invite our civic and business groups, our agricultural organizations, our service clubs, our labor unions, our schools and other interested groups to participate in this observance. I request the United States Department of Agriculture, our land-grant educational institutions, and all appropriate organizations and Government officials to mark the significance of National Farm-City Week with special events and activities.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:57 p.m., October 7, 1974]

Federal Employment of Cooperative Education Students

Executive Order 11813. October 7, 1974

PERMITTING COOPERATIVE EDUCATION STUDENTS TO BE GIVEN CAREER OR CAREER-CONDITIONAL APPOINTMENTS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by sections 1301 and 3301 of title 5 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. As used in this order, "cooperative education" describes a program which provides for a formally arranged schedule of periods of attendance at an institution of higher learning combined with periods of study-related work in a Federal agency under a Schedule B appointment. Together, the periods of work and study satisfy requirements for a bachelor's degree and provide experience necessary for a career or career-conditional appointment to an administrative, professional, or technical position in the Federal Government upon the student's graduation.

SEC. 2. Under this order, the appointment of a cooperative education student under Schedule B of the civil service rules may be converted noncompetitively to a career-conditional or career appointment if the student:

(1) has completed within the preceding 90 days a cooperative education program that meets the provisions of this order;

(2) has satisfied all requirements leading to the award of a bachelor's degree by the college or university in which the student completed his or her cooperative education curriculum;

(3) is recommended for such appointment by the employing agency; and,

(4) satisfies all other applicable requirements and conditions prescribed by the Civil Service Commission for career and career-conditional employment.

SEC. 3. The Civil Service Commission shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this order and to provide for the coordination of the planning, implementation, and evaluation of employment of cooperative education students throughout the Government. The regulations shall provide for the periodic evaluation of the work of each cooperative education student and shall require that continuation in the program be dependent upon a finding of satisfactory performance.

SEC. 4. Executive Order No. 11202 of March 5, 1965, is hereby revoked.

SEC. 5. This order shall become effective immediately.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 7, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:56 p.m., October 7, 1974]

Burlington, Vermont

The President's Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Senator George D. Aiken. October 7, 1974

I was warned when I came up here that it would be difficult to say anything about George Aiken, but trying to follow him in Vermont is unbelievable.

George and Lola, Senator Stafford, Helen, Dick Mal-lary, distinguished candidates and office holders, ladies and gentlemen:

It is wonderful to be here; it is a tremendous privilege and pleasure. And let me express three special words of gratitude and appreciation.

Number one, last night I spent an hour or so with Betty at the hospital, and I was telling her that I was coming up to Vermont. And we were talking about the wonderful expressions of sympathy and best wishes she

had gotten, some 20,000, from all over the country, and she indicated that there had been some warm and very friendly letters from Vermont and New England.

Let me say to all of you on behalf of those who have wished her well and who have included her in their prayers, I, for her, as well as for myself, am very, very thankful.

Number two, I thank the Springfield High School band for doing two things. Number one, you did play the Michigan victory song, which is nice to hear, particularly when we do well, but it is something that I remember with great fondness; and number two, I am a great exponent of Scott Joplin's ragtime, and some of you who heard it I am sure would appreciate it, as I did. Thank you very, very much.

About 35 years ago I was at Yale Law School, and I tried to learn to ski. And I spent a good bit of my time in New England, Vermont, particularly, in the old equipment and the old roads and the rope tows and some of the old Harold Burke techniques which I have been trying to forget for the last several years.

But all of you who were there at the time who were then skiing, I thank you for your hospitality as well as your warm welcome tonight. It is wonderful to be here in Burlington.

Before I begin, I want you to know that I am not exactly a stranger here, not only from the skiing a few years ago but I have been in Vermont, and I was here on this precise campus. As a matter of fact, I was here on a very similar function 9 years ago almost to the day, October 2, 1965.

Now, I know that you Vermonters have a great reputation for being honest, for being direct, but I never knew just how honest and direct you were until that visit.

On that occasion, I gave a little talk and then I was taken to a reception in another part of the town. And at the reception a very sweet, very nice grandmother came up to me and put her gloved hand in mine and said, "I heard you gave a speech here tonight." And trying to be a little modest, I said, "Oh, that was nothing." And she said, "That's just what I heard." [Laughter]

So, with that thought of that sweet grandmother that was so kind rather fresh in my mind, I want you to know I am standing here tonight with all the confidence and self-assurance of the man who sells life insurance to Evel Knievel. [Laughter]

But it is a real pleasure to be here. I have had many wonderful times in Vermont and I have thoroughly enjoyed my association with your Members of the Congress that I have known so well.

I do have fond memories of skiing up here a long time ago, and, as you know, I pledged an open and honest Administration when I was sworn in, and I have tried to apply that honesty to all aspects of my life. So, I was in a little bit of trouble when Bob Stafford asked me if

I was much of a skier. I said, "Well, let's just say I can ski for hours on end," and you know which end I am talking about.

I am particularly pleased, and I say this very sincerely, to have an opportunity to participate in George Aiken Day. There is an old expression—at least we out in Michigan knew, and I think it is pretty widely known in the country: "Let George do it." And for more than 40 years, the citizens of Vermont have let George do their bidding in the State House, in the Governor's mansion, and in the United States Senate.

I say to each and every one of you now, you have been fortunate to have such an outstanding public servant represent you in any and every public office. I congratulate you.

I think you can best summarize it by saying that George was a public servant for all seasons. He has the enviable ability to cut through the chaff and get to the very heart of any and every matter. We who served with him in the Congress, even though I was on the other end of the Capitol, know that he was noted for his strong independence of mind. Some have criticized him for that characteristic. Frankly, I praise him for it, and all of you should, too.

George has given the Nation the benefit of his down-to-earth wisdom, his leadership, and his guidance in many, many areas. You in Vermont know those areas infinitely better than I—education, electric power development, betterment of rural America, and more importantly today, foreign relations. This very different, this wide spectrum of legislative expertise and activity—I think they only suggest the breadth and the depth and the greatness of this man.

Those who served with him a part of the time of this exemplary tenure in the Congress, we are in debt for 34 years of Senatorial service to America as well as to Vermont. And I think it is very safe to say, and it ought to be said, that he, George Aiken, is in no one's debt.

I understand it is unbelievable that in George's last campaign 6 years ago, he spent the grand total of \$17.04 for his reelection. Can you imagine anyone spending that much for a political campaign in this day and age?

I think George Aiken is the only man that I know who could go to a supermarket today to buy 5 pounds of sugar with a dollar bill and come back with some change. [Laughter]

George, with your understanding and forgiveness, I don't think those of us who know her can forget Lola Aiken's service to Vermont in her own right. You know as well as I, and probably better, her great and long service on George's staff, and then his wife who has given her life in dedicated service to the State of Vermont, to your senior Senator. And I think it might be said that whatever Lola wants, Lola gets.

Driving from the airport, George and Lola were in the car with me, and I said to her—which Betty had asked me to indicate to her—how grateful my Betty was for the thoughtful card and note and the kind message that Betty received from Lola Aiken. It was this expression which is typical of her which has made her so popular in Washington, and I think so popular here in Vermont.

And to you, as well as George, Lola, I express heartfelt gratitude not only for Vermont and Washington, but for the Nation as a whole, and it is my privilege and honor to be here on this occasion.

But you know as it has been since the days of Ethan Allen, the Green Mountain State continues to produce outstanding leaders. I have known quite a few in my 25 years in the House and a few months since then.

Bob Stafford came to the House after I had been there a few years. He was a former Governor. He came with a great reputation as an individual who had served so well. And I can only say that it is wonderful to see him rise with deserved recognition in the United States Senate.

Bob, it is nice to be here with you and Helen tonight.

Dick Mallary came a couple of years ago and he, like Bob, had a wonderful reputation for superb service in your State legislature. A former Speaker, a man who was an expert in fiscal and financial affairs, he was instantly recognized in the House of Representatives for this experience, his integrity, and his skill. And it is a pleasure for me to see that he is your candidate for the United States Senate.

Dick, I look forward to you extending and expanding the contributions that you have made in the past to the future, on behalf of not only Vermont but to the country as a whole. Good luck. It is wonderful to see you coming down the path.

I have to be frank though. I hate to see good people like Bob Stafford leave the House and good people like Dick Mallary leave the House, because my heart really was in the House of Representatives. It was my home for nearly—or over 25 years.

And with the departure of Dick Mallary, I just hope and trust that Jim Jeffords will follow and be in the great image, in the great pattern of people like Charlie Plumley, Bob Stafford, Win Prouty, Dick Mallary. These are the kind of people that you have sent in the past and the kind that I hope you will send in the future, and Jim Jeffords is in that mold. Jim, good luck to you.

Mr. Chairman, it was wonderful that you recognized Jennette Prouty, a dear friend of Betty's and myself. Just nice to see you, Jennette.

We have had some other fine people appear on the program. I was delighted to see that there was a Kennedy that I could endorse. I know that he will be a first-class Governor when you elect him on November 5.

Let me, if I might, speak about a problem that I think transcends the borders of Vermont, a problem that is of

great importance to people whether they are from the State of Washington or Vermont or Michigan or Florida.

I would like to say a word or two about one of my very chief concerns: the preservation of a two-party system in our country.

In the wake of Watergate, the national polls tend to indicate that the number of independent voters is growing, and I understand that. There is great disillusionment, for good and sufficient reasons. The number of party voters, both Republicans and Democrats, is shrinking rapidly, tragically. Unfortunately, we in the Republican Party are not doing as well as our Democratic friends.

I am deeply concerned about this, not for the sake of our party or the Democratic Party, but in all sincerity, for the fate of the country. For I am convinced that the future of America is very directly tied to the good aspects of politics in this country, and I use it in the proper context: the politics that have made America grow from 13 poor struggling colonies almost 200 years ago with some 3 million people primarily on the borders of the Atlantic Ocean, to a nation today with some 213 million people with 48 States within the Continental limits, plus Alaska and Hawaii.

I am convinced that politics in the best sense can and will be in the future the salvation of our system. And the politics of America is bound up in the two-party system.

I think most of us know that a two-party system, the one we have had in America, has contributed stability, opportunity, and freedom. These things do not just sort of happen. They do not happen automatically. These very treasured elements—stability, opportunity, and freedom—they are the outgrowth of a political continuity and stability that followed in the development of a two-party system in America.

It seems to me, as I have looked back over the history, that this approach that has been so strong in the development of self-government—it offers diverse people and segments of our population a choice, a choice without chaos.

I think historically a two-party system has worked well in America. It was not envisaged by our Founding Fathers. There is nothing in the Constitution that says we should have two political parties and no others. As a matter of fact, we went through somewhat of an evolutionary process and finally fell into the pattern of a two-party system.

But as we look back over the last century, the evolution of a two-party system in this country has been the foundation of political balance and strength. This is not just a personal view of my own. It is a lesson that we have learned and relearned, not only in America but in other countries.

As we look around the globe, we find that in those countries where there are many, many political parties—and some countries do have many—there is instability, there is chaos, there is a lack of direction, whether it is in

foreign policy or domestic policy. Or if we look at those countries where there is a one-party system—you are familiar with the facts of the extermination of freedom. So what I am saying is that the alternatives to a two-party system, many, many political parties with chaos, or one political party with a loss of freedom, that is not what we want in America.

Well, you could look in some of these areas of the globe today, not a few but many, where you have a mass of small, regional, or class-oriented splinter groups, and none of those groups are strong enough or imaginative enough to give leadership to the country.

And you can look in the other direction and see where those countries that have a dictatorial, dogmatic kind of government, the people do not really have a chance. What worries me about the extremes on either side, one party or many parties, is there is always the possibility of a man on horseback or a demagogue on a pedestal, and tragically the result is too often the same.

What we need in America is two strong political parties; free, vital, broad enough to encompass people from all segments of our society, from all economic portions of our society. This wide spectrum of political diversity can serve as the twin pillars of democracy.

I happen to think this spectrum that we represent is broad enough to have many, many people in the State of Vermont who have a similar political philosophy to those of us in Michigan who belong to the Republican Party, but at the same time, in your State as well as in ours, there is a sufficiently broad spectrum in the public to appeal to those that want to be Democrats.

This competition between two major political parties is healthy. I have often said, and I believe very deeply, that competition in business is good for business and good for the consumer. Competition in the political arena is good for the candidates, but more importantly, it is good for the voters. And we need the two-party system to develop, to maintain, and to stimulate that future in our political structure.

President Eisenhower once outlined what our vision should be as members of one great political party, and he, of course, embraced the Republican Party. Ike said, "We see our party not as an end in itself, but as a magnificent means, a means through which countless thousands of devoted citizens can cooperate in the conquering of problems that beset free men everywhere." I think Ike expressed it about as well as anybody that I know.

Now, at the moment, you are as familiar as I am with the biggest problem that I think our country faces domestically. It is besetting free men everywhere throughout the globe, and I speak very candidly of inflation.

We have inflation here that is serious—double-digit inflation—we do not like, we are not going to tolerate. But it is not just in the United States. And this concern is one of my prime interests in solving, as it is yours.

In the 2 months that I have been privileged to be your President, I probably spent as much, if not more time in listening to people who had ideas, listening to groups that had suggestions, trying to sort out the many, many things that came to us in the Nation's Capital from people all over the United States.

I am sure in the many, many communications that we have gotten and suggestions we have received, Vermont contributed its share. Tomorrow, before a Joint Session of the Congress, I will outline a comprehensive plan to deal with inflation, and I will recommend a two-pronged attack or a two-pronged undertaking.

First, I will call for strong, broad, and firm legislative action by the Congress in a number of areas, but it will require a responsive action by the Congress with the President if we are going to meet this challenge.

In addition, I will call upon the American people, 213 million of you, to join with me and the Congress in an effort to move ahead to accomplish success, to win the battle over inflation, and at the same time, to maintain a growing economy. And I know that I can call upon the fine legislators like George Aiken, Bob Stafford, Dick Mallery, who worked with me and with their colleagues in the Senate and the House.

We must win this battle, our public enemy number one, if we are going to save the political fabric of this country and the political fabric of countries that believe in freedom around the world.

Yes, I am going to ask every citizen to enlist, every citizen in this country to participate, to make a sacrifice. And I am going to call upon the Federal Government to sacrifice, and State and local units of government to tighten their belts, and others to cooperate in winning the struggle against our public enemy number one.

I am particularly mindful of the unemployed and the retired people living on already small and fixed incomes. And we have to have a program that is designed to protect those who are least fortunate, and there will be a program aimed to be compassionate and helpful.

But it will be a fair program, as I said the other day to some news commentator. I do receive a lot of advice in this area, and I must reveal one thing. I am not going to ask for—and I got this advice from George and Bob and Dick. They said, "Don't ask for any increase in the Federal gasoline tax."

So let me give you a preview. Let me give you one sneak preview. I am not going to ask for any increase in the gasoline tax, and any speculation to the contrary is untrue.

Now, if I might close with just one final comment. I, as all of you, particularly your Governmental officials, have great faith in our system. I know there are skeptics and pessimists who from time to time wonder whether our system can survive in the competitive world that we face. But every time I listen to a pessimist, I cannot help but recall what Winston Churchill once said when he was

asked to comment about a free society. And as I recall—and I am paraphrasing a bit—Winston Churchill said: Democracy is the worst form of government except it is better than any other that has ever been tried. I believe in that and so do you.

And then they tell the story—and I was in Philadelphia a few weeks ago—that Continental Congress that met for the purpose of writing our Constitution, or I should say our Constitutional Convention—they had representatives from 12 of the 13 States, some 55 of them. They worked long and hard from May until September. When they finished their labors—and there were compromises between the big States and the small States, between the big cities and the rural communities—they finally fashioned probably the greatest document in the history of mankind for the governing of people.

And after they had all signed and left that hall, the

last one to leave was Benjamin Franklin. He strolled down those steps and as he got to the cobblestone street, he was asked this question by a bystander: “Mr. Franklin, what have you given us—a monarchy or a republic?” And according to the story, Ben Franklin said, “We have given you a republic—if you can keep it.”

I do not have to talk to Vermonters about keeping the Republic. You have done it for 200 years.

But what I am saying is we have done it for 200 years, but we must do it today by sacrifice and vision and wisdom for the next 200 years. And George Aiken represents the kind of leadership that has built and constructed the future for those of us who will carry on.

Thank you very kindly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:31 p.m. at Patrick Gymnasium at the University of Vermont.

Prior to the dinner, the President attended a reception for Republican contributors at the Ramada Inn, Burlington, Vt.

VISIT OF FIRST SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK OF POLAND

Exchange of Remarks Between the President and the First Secretary at the Welcoming Ceremony on the South Lawn at the White House. October 8, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. First Secretary, it is a very distinct pleasure for me to welcome you and Mrs. Gierek to the United States. As you know, Mr. First Secretary, the family ties that bind our two peoples together in a very special way are very, very old, indeed, older actually than the United States itself.

You have already visited Jamestown, Virginia, where the first Poles arrived in 1608, only one year after it was first settled. From that day to this day, large numbers of your countrymen have helped to build this country and to mold our great American traditions.

America treasures these contributions to our growth, to our culture, and to our history. During your stay in this country, Mr. First Secretary, you and Mrs. Gierek will be able to see for yourself the character of our country and the role that men and women from Poland have played in America's history.

Our two nations have thus a fine foundation upon which to build. I have watched with very great interest the substantial growth of our bilateral trade in the last 2 years since the establishment of the joint Polish-American Trade Commission. And continuing expansion of contacts between officials and private citizens, in the fields of such activities as science, technology, and the arts is another evidence of the dynamic development of Polish-American relations.

You, Mr. First Secretary, will surely agree with me that we must not allow our satisfaction with past progress to slow our pace or slacken our efforts in the future. We must use the opportunity your visit affords to seek

new avenues of bilateral cooperation in many, many fields, including energy and environmental areas.

In many other areas of common interest, for example, our participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and our participation in the force reduction talks, we are engaged in common endeavors for peace.

Today, economic problems almost everywhere are very, very severe. That stability of the world is in danger, and almost everywhere it develops, as well as in developing countries, the welfare of people on a global basis unfortunately is actually threatened.

Mr. First Secretary, Poland knows too well, perhaps better than any other nation, the fearful experience of war and its very painful consequences. A thorough review of all the dangers to peace for ourselves and the world must surely be a matter of highest priority.

We seek a peaceful world and a more prosperous world. Poland is a world leader in coal production and coal research. Poland has a very major role, a role to play in contributing solutions to the world energy problem, and you, Mr. First Secretary, with a lifetime of expertise, are able to make a very important personal contribution in this specific area. I look forward to exchanging views with you on the energy problem.

Mr. First Secretary, we, all of us in America, are pleased that you and Mrs. Gierek are here. I am confident, Mr. First Secretary, that our meetings will deepen the friendship of our two peoples and broaden the cooperation of our two nations.

Thank you very much.

FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK. *Mr. President, Mr. Secretary of State, ladies and gentlemen:*

I wish to thank you for your words of cordiality which you, Mr. President, have addressed to me, to Mrs. Gierek, and to members of my delegation. I take these words of yours as being directed to the people of Poland and to the Polish State on behalf of which and upon your invitation I am visiting the United States.

I am pleased to have made this visit, as it adds new testimony to the friendly ties that have linked our two nations since the times of George Washington and Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

I rest assured that it is the desire of both our peoples not only to preserve these traditional relations but also to strengthen them through closer and broader cooperation in the world of today.

Indeed, Socialist Poland, dynamically developing her new potential and creating as she does new living conditions for her people is vitally interested in this. I trust that the talks we shall hold and agreements we shall conclude will greatly contribute towards this end, that they will open up broader prospects for cooperation between our countries.

I am pleased to have made this visit, also, because it represents yet another reaffirmation of international détente which my country views as extremely significant and to which we try to make our utmost contribution.

That process which originates from the very essence of the contemporary world, from the need for and necessity of peaceful coexistence among states with differing political systems has been considerably enhanced in recent years.

We of Poland can only welcome it in our profound conviction that it is in the interest of all nations to make that process further extend

universal and irreversible. Precisely for this reason there is wide appreciation today that it is you, Mr. President, who is steering the United States policy towards this direction.

I am pleased to have made this visit, as it will enable me to get to know the United States, to acquaint myself with the outstanding accomplishments of the progress of civilization of the American people, whose history and achievements have since the very outset been and continue to be so much enriched by the Americans of Polish extraction.

Mr. President, I am profoundly convinced of the propitious conditions today and the right time for expansion of Polish-American cooperation in its new dimensions and in all fields of endeavor.

Mine is also a firm belief that we can work closer together for the great cause of peace. That is the purpose of my visit here, and I am happy that you too share these aspirations of ours.

Please accept, Mr. President, the best wishes from Poland to the United States, from the Polish people to the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:43 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, was given a formal welcome with full military honors. First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

U.S. Military Assistance to Turkey

Statement by the President. October 8, 1974

Yesterday the House of Representatives, once again acting against the almost unanimous advice of its leadership, amended the continuing resolution granting funds for our foreign aid programs. The amendment requires an immediate cessation of all U.S. military assistance to Turkey and is, in my view, a misguided and extremely harmful measure.

Instead of encouraging the parties involved in the Cyprus dispute to return to the negotiating table, this amendment, if passed by the Senate, will mean the indefinite postponement of meaningful negotiations. Instead of strengthening America's ability to persuade the parties to resolve the dispute, it will lessen our influence on all the parties concerned. And it will imperil our relationships with our Turkish friends and weaken us in the crucial Eastern Mediterranean.

But most tragic of all, a cutoff of arms to Turkey will not help Greece or the Greek Cypriot people who have suffered so much over the course of the last several months. We recognize that we are far from a settlement consistent with Greece's honor and dignity. We are prepared to exert our efforts in that direction. But reckless acts that prevent progress toward a Cyprus settlement harm Greeks, for it is the Greek government and the Greek Cypriots who have

the most to gain from a compromise settlement. And it is they who have the most to lose from continued deadlock.

Thus I call upon the Senate to accept the original conference report language on Turkish arms aid and to return the bill to the House of Representatives once again. And I ask the House of Representatives to reconsider its hasty act and, working with the Senate, pass a bill that will best serve the interests of peace.

National Council on Educational Research

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Five Members of the Council. October 8, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate five persons to be members of the National Council on Educational Research for terms of 3 years expiring on June 11, 1977. They are:

- LARRY A. KARLSON, of Spokane, Wash., instructor in the human services program, Spokane Falls Community College, Spokane, Wash. He succeeds James S. Coleman, whose term has expired.
- ARTHUR M. LEE, of Flagstaff, Ariz., head of the American enterprise program for Northern Arizona University. He succeeds Vincent J. McCoola, whose term has expired.
- JAMES GARDNER MARCH, of Stanford, Calif., professor of higher education and political science in the School of Education of Stanford University. He succeeds Vera Martinez, whose term has expired.

CARL H. PFORZHEIMER, Jr., of Purchase, N.Y., senior partner of Carl Pforzheimer and Co. This is a reappointment.
 WILSON C. RILES, of Sacramento, Calif., superintendent of public instruction for the State of California. This is a reappointment.

The National Council on Educational Research was established by the Education Amendments of 1972 (Public Law 92-318), which also established the National

Institute of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The purpose of the Council is to establish policies for the Institute and advise the Assistant Secretary for Education and the Director of the NIE on development of the Institute's programs. The Council is to report annually to the President and the Congress.

THE ECONOMY

The President's Address Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress. October 8, 1974

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished guests, my very dear friends:

In his first inaugural address, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said, and I quote: "The people of the United States have not failed . . . They want direct, vigorous action, and they have asked for discipline and direction under our leadership."

Today, though our economic difficulties do not approach the emergency of 1933, the message from the American people is exactly the same. I trust that you are getting the very same message that I am receiving: Our constituents want leadership, our constituents want action.

All of us have heard much talk on this very floor about Congress recovering its rightful share of national leadership. I now intend to offer you that chance.

The 73d Congress responded to FDR's appeal in 5 days. I am deeply grateful for the cooperation of the 93d Congress and the Conference on Inflation, which ended 10 days ago.

Mr. Speaker, many—but not all—of your recommendations on behalf of your party's caucus are reflected in some of my proposals here today. The distinguished Majority Leader of the Senate offered a nine-point program. I seriously studied all of them and adopted some of his suggestions.

I might add I have also listened very hard to many of our former colleagues in both bodies and of both the majority and the minority, and have been both persuaded and dissuaded. But in the end, I had to make the decision, I had to decide, as each of you do when the rollcall is called.

I will not take your time today with the discussion of the origins of inflation and its bad effect on the United States, but I do know where we want to be in 1976—on the 200th birthday of a United States of America that has not lost its way, nor its will, nor its sense of national purpose.

During the meetings on inflation, I listened carefully to many valuable suggestions. Since the summit, I have evaluated literally hundreds of ideas, day and night.

My conclusions are very simply stated. There is only one point on which all advisers have agreed: We must whip inflation right now.

None of the remedies proposed, great or small, compulsory or voluntary, stands a chance unless they are combined in a considered package, in a concerted effort, in a grand design.

I have reviewed the past and the present efforts of our Federal Government to help the economy. They are simply not good enough, nor

sufficiently broad, nor do they pack the punch that will turn America's economy on.

A stable American economy cannot be sustained if the world's economy is in chaos. International cooperation is absolutely essential and vital. But while we seek agreements with other nations, let us put our own economic house in order.

Today, I have identified 10 areas for our joint action, the executive and the legislative branches of our Government.

Number one: food. America is the world's champion producer of food. Food prices and petroleum prices in the United States are primary inflationary factors. America today partially depends on foreign sources for petroleum, but we can grow more than enough food for ourselves.

To halt higher food prices, we must produce more food, and I call upon every farmer to produce to full capacity. And I say to you and to the farmers, they have done a magnificent job in the past, and we should be eternally grateful.

This Government, however, will do all in its power to assure him—that farmer—he can sell his entire yield at reasonable prices. Accordingly, I ask the Congress to remove all remaining acreage limitations on rice, peanuts, and cotton.

I also assure America's farmers here and now that I will allocate all the fuel and ask authority to allocate all the fertilizer they need to do this essential job.

Agricultural marketing orders and other Federal regulations are being reviewed to eliminate or modify those responsible for inflated prices.

I have directed our new Council on Wage and Price Stability to find and to expose all restrictive practices, public or private, which raise food prices. The Administration will also monitor food production, margins, pricing, and exports. We can and we shall have an adequate supply at home, and through cooperation, meet the needs of our trading partners abroad.

Over this past weekend, we initiated a voluntary program to monitor grain exports. The Economic Policy Board will be responsible for determining the policy under this program.

In addition, in order to better allocate our supplies for export, I ask that a provision be added to Public Law 480 under which we ship food to the needy and friendly countries. The President needs authority to waive certain of the restrictions on shipments based on national interest or humanitarian grounds.

Number two: energy. America's future depends heavily on oil, gas, coal, electricity, and other resources called energy. Make no mistake, we do have a real energy problem.

One-third of our oil—17 percent of America's total energy—now comes from foreign sources that we cannot control, at high cartel prices costing you and me \$16 billion—\$16 billion more than just a year ago.

The primary solution has to be at home. If you have forgotten the shortages of last winter, most Americans have not.

I have ordered today the reorganization of our national energy effort and the creation of a National Energy Board. It will be chaired with developing—or I should say charged with developing a single national energy policy and program. And I think most of you will be glad to know

that our former colleague, Rog Morton, our Secretary of Interior, will be the overall boss of our national energy program.

Rog Morton's marching orders are to reduce imports of foreign oil by 1 million barrels per day by the end of 1975, whether by savings here at home, or by increasing our own sources.

Secretary Morton, along with his other responsibility, is also charged with increasing our domestic energy supply by promptly utilizing our coal resources and expanding recovery of domestic oil still in the grounds in old wells.

New legislation will be sought after your recess to require use of cleaner coal processes and nuclear fuel in new electric plants, and the quick conversion of existing oil plants. I propose that we, together, set a target date of 1980 for eliminating oil-fired plants from the Nation's base-loaded electrical capacity.

I will use the Defense Production Act to allocate scarce materials for energy development, and I will ask you, the House and Senate, for whatever amendments prove necessary.

I will meet with top management of the automobile industry to assure, either by agreement or by law, a firm program aimed at achieving a 40 percent increase in gasoline mileage within a 4-year development deadline.

Priority legislation—action, I should say—to increase energy supply here at home requires the following:

- One, long-sought deregulation of natural gas supplies,
- Number two, responsible use of our Naval petroleum reserves in California and Alaska,
- Number three, amendments to the Clean Air Act; and
- Four, passage of surface mining legislation to ensure an adequate supply with commonsense environmental protection.

Now, if all of these steps fail to meet our current energy-saving goals, I will not hesitate to ask for tougher measures. For the long range, we must work harder on coal gasification. We must push with renewed vigor and talent research in the use of nonfossil fuels. The power of the atom, the heat of the sun and the steam stored deep in the earth, the force of the winds and water must be main sources of energy for our grandchildren, and we can do it.

Number three: restrictive practices. To increase productivity and contain prices, we must end restrictive and costly practices whether instituted by Government, industry, labor, or others. And I am determined to return to the vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws.

The Administration will zero in on more effective enforcement of laws against price fixing and bid rigging. For instance, non-competitive professional fee schedules and real estate settlement fees must be eliminated. Such violations will be prosecuted by the Department of Justice to the full extent of the law.

Now, I ask Congress for prompt authority to increase maximum penalties for antitrust violations from \$50,000 to \$1 million for corporations, and from \$50,000 to \$100,000 for individual violators.

At the Conference on Inflation we found, I would say, very broad agreement that the Federal Government imposes too many hidden and

too many inflationary costs on our economy. As a result, I propose a four-point program aimed at a substantial purging process.

Number one, I have ordered the Council on Wage and Price Stability to be the watchdog over inflationary costs of all Governmental actions.

Two, I ask the Congress to establish a National Commission on Regulatory Reform to undertake a long-overdue total reexamination of the independent regulatory agencies. It will be a joint effort by the Congress, the executive branch, and the private sector to identify and eliminate existing Federal rules and regulations that increase costs to the consumer without any good reason in today's economic climate.

Three. Hereafter, I will require that all major legislative proposals, regulations, and rules emanating from the executive branch of the Government will include an inflation impact statement that certifies we have carefully weighed the effect on the Nation. I respectfully request that the Congress require a similar advance inflation impact statement for its own legislative initiatives.

Finally, I urge State and local units of government to undertake similar programs to reduce inflationary effects of their regulatory activities.

At this point, I thank the Congress for recently revitalizing the National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality. It will initially concentrate on problems of productivity in Government—Federal, State and local. Outside of Government, it will develop meaningful blueprints for labor-management cooperation at the plant level. It should look particularly at the construction and the health service industries.

The Council on Wage and Price Stability will, of course, monitor wage and price increases in the private sector. Monitoring will include public hearings to justify either price or wage increases. I emphasize, in fact reemphasize, that this is not a compulsory wage and price control agency.

Now, I know many Americans see Federal controls as the answer. But I believe from past experience controls show us that they never really stop inflation—not the last time, not even during and immediately after World War II when, as I recall, prices rose despite severe and enforceable wartime rationing.

Now, peacetime controls actually, we know from recent experience, create shortages, hamper production, stifle growth and limit jobs. I do not ask for such powers, however politically tempting, as such a program could cause the fixer and the black marketeer to flourish while decent citizens face empty shelves and stand in long waiting lines.

Number four: We need more capital. We cannot “eat up our seed corn.” Our free enterprise system depends on orderly capital markets through which the savings of our people become productively used. Today, our capital markets are in total disarray. We must restore their vitality. Prudent monetary restraint is essential.

You and the American people should know, however, that I have personally been assured by the Chairman of the independent Federal Reserve Board that the supply of money and credit will expand sufficiently to meet the needs of our economy and, that in no event will a credit crunch occur.

The prime lending rate is going down. To help industry to buy more machines and create more jobs, I am recommending a liberalized 10 percent investment tax credit. This credit should be especially helpful to capital-intensive industries such as primary metals, public utilities, where capacity shortages have developed.

I am asking Congress to enact tax legislation to provide that all dividends on preferred stocks issued for cash be fully deductible by the issuing company. This should bring in more capital, especially for energy-producing utilities. It will also help other industries shift from debt to equity, providing a sounder capital structure.

Capital gains tax legislation must be liberalized as proposed by the tax reform bill currently before the Committee on Ways and Means. I endorse this approach and hope that it will pass promptly.

Number five: Helping the casualties. And this is a very important part of the overall speech. The Conference on Inflation made everybody even more aware of who is suffering most from inflation. Foremost are those who are jobless through no fault of their own.

Three weeks ago, I released funds which, with earlier actions, provide public service employment for some 170,000 who need work. I now propose to the Congress a two-step program to augment this action.

First, 13 weeks of special unemployment insurance benefits would be provided to those who have exhausted their regular and extended unemployment insurance benefits, and 26 weeks of special unemployment insurance benefits to those who qualify but are not now covered by regular unemployment insurance programs. Funding in this case would come from the general treasury, not from taxes on employers as is the case with the established unemployment programs.

Second, I ask the Congress to create a brand new Community Improvement Corps to provide work for the unemployed through short-term useful work projects to improve, beautify, and enhance the environment of our cities, our towns, and our countryside.

This standby program would come alive whenever unemployment exceeds 6 percent nationally. It would be stopped when unemployment drops below 6 percent. Local labor markets would each qualify for grants whenever their unemployment rate exceeds 6.5 percent.

State and local government contractors would supervise these projects and could hire only those who had exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits. The goal of this new program is to provide more constructive work for all Americans, young or old, who cannot find a job.

The purpose really follows this formula: Short-term problems require short-term remedies. I therefore request that these programs be for a 1-year period.

Now, I know that low- and middle-income Americans have been hardest hit by inflation. Their budgets are most vulnerable because a larger part of their income goes for the highly inflated costs of food, fuel, and medical care.

The tax reform bill now in the House Committee on Ways and Means, which I favor, already provides approximately \$1.6 billion of tax relief to these groups. Compensating new revenues are provided in this prospective legislation by a windfall tax, profits tax on oil producers, and by closing other loopholes. If enacted, this will be a major contribution by

the Congress in our common effort to make our tax system fairer to all.

Number six: stimulating housing. Without question, credit is the lifeblood of housing. The United States, unfortunately, is suffering the longest and the most severe housing recession since the end of World War II. Unemployment in the construction trades is twice the national average.

One of my first acts as President was to sign the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. I have since concluded that still more help is needed, help that can be delivered very quickly and with minimum inflationary impact.

I urge the Congress to enact before recess, additional legislation to make most home mortgages eligible for purchase by an agency of the Federal Government. As the law stands now, only FHA or VA home mortgages, one-fifth of the total, are covered.

I am very glad that the Senate, thanks to the leadership of Senator Brooke and Senator Cranston, has already made substantial progress on this legislation. As soon as it comes to me. I will make at least \$3 billion immediately available for mortgage purchases, enough to finance about 100,000 more American homes.

Number seven: thrift institutions. Savings and loan and similar institutions are hard hit by inflation and high interest rates. They no longer attract, unfortunately, adequate deposits. The executive branch, in my judgment, must join with the Congress in giving critically needed attention to the structure and the operation of our thrift institutions which now find themselves for the third time in 8 years in another period of serious mortgage credit scarcity.

Passage of the pending financial institution bill will help, but no single measure has yet appeared, as I see it, to solve feast or famine in mortgage credit. However, I promise to work with you individually and collectively to develop additional specific programs in this area in the future.

Number eight: international interdependency. The United States has a responsibility not only to maintain a healthy economy at home, but also to seek policies which complement rather than disrupt the constructive efforts of others.

Essential to U.S. initiatives is the early passage of an acceptable trade reform bill. My Special Representative for Trade Negotiations departed earlier this afternoon to Canada, Europe, Japan, to brief foreign friends on my proposals.

We live in an interdependent world and, therefore, must work together to resolve common economic problems.

Number nine: Federal taxes and spending. To support programs, to increase production and share inflation-produced hardships, we need additional tax revenues.

I am aware that any proposal for new taxes just 4 weeks before a national election is, to put it mildly, considered politically unwise. And I am frank to say that I have been earnestly advised to wait and talk about taxes anytime after November 5. But I do say in sincerity that I will not play politics with America's future.

Our present inflation to a considerable degree comes from many years of enacting expensive programs without raising enough revenues

to pay for them. The truth is that 19 out of the 25 years I had the honor and the privilege to serve in this Chamber, the Federal Government ended up with Federal deficits. That is not a very good batting average.

By now, almost everybody—almost everybody else, I should say—has stated my position on Federal gasoline taxes. This time I will do it myself. I am not—emphasizing not—asking you for any increase in gas taxes.

I am—I *am* asking you to approve a 1-year temporary tax surcharge of 5 percent on corporate and upper-level individual incomes. This would generally exclude from the surcharge those families with gross incomes below \$15,000 a year. The estimated \$5 billion in extra revenue to be raised by this inflation-fighting tax should pay for the new programs I have recommended in this message.

I think, and I suspect each of you know, this is the acid test of our joint determination to whip inflation in America. I would not ask this if major loopholes were not now being closed by the Committee on Ways and Means' tax reform bill.

I urge you to join me before your recess—in addition to what I have said before—to join me by voting to set a target spending limit—let me emphasize it—a target spending limit of \$300 billion for the Federal fiscal budget of 1975.

When Congress agrees to this spending target, I will submit a package of budget deferrals and rescissions to meet this goal. I will do the tough job of designating for Congressional action, on your return, those areas which I believe can and must be reduced. These will be hard choices and everyone of you in this Chamber know it as well as I. They will be hard choices, but no Federal agency, including the Defense Department, will be untouchable.

It is my judgment that fiscal discipline is a necessary weapon in any fight against inflation. While this spending target is a small step, it is a step in the right direction, and we need to get on that course without any further delay. I do not think that any of us in this Chamber today can ask the American people to tighten their belts if Uncle Sam is unwilling to tighten his belt first.

And now, if I might, I would like to say a few words directly to your constituents and, incidentally, mine.

My fellow Americans, 10 days ago I asked you to get things started by making a list of 10 ways to fight inflation and save energy, to exchange your list with your neighbors, and to send me a copy.

I have personally read scores of the thousands of letters received at the White House, and incidentally, I have made my economic experts read some of them, too. We all benefited, at least I did, and I thank each and every one of you for this cooperation.

Some of the good ideas from your home to mine have been cranked into the recommendations I have just made to the Congress and the steps I am taking as President to whip inflation right now. There were also firm warnings on what Government must not do, and I appreciated those, too. Your best suggestions for voluntary restraint and self-discipline showed me that a great degree of patriotic determination and unanimity already exists in this great land.

I have asked Congress for urgent specific actions it alone can take. I advised Congress of the initial steps that I am taking as President. Here

is what only you can do: Unless every able American pitches in, Congress and I cannot do the job. Winning our fight against inflation and waste involves total mobilization of America's greatest resources—the brains, the skills, and the willpower of the American people.

Here is what we must do, what each and every one of you can do: To help increase food and lower prices, grow more and waste less; to help save scarce fuel in the energy crisis, drive less, heat less. Every housewife knows almost exactly how much she spent for food last week. If you cannot spare a penny from your food budget—and I know there are many—surely you can cut the food that you waste by 5 percent.

Every American motorist knows exactly how many miles he or she drives to work or to school every day and about how much mileage she or he runs up each year. If we all drive at least 5 percent fewer miles, we can save, almost unbelievably, 250,000 barrels of foreign oil per day. By the end of 1975, most of us can do better than 5 percent by car pooling, taking the bus, riding bikes, or just plain walking. We can save enough gas by self-discipline to meet our 1 million barrels per day goal.

I think there is one final thing that all Americans can do, rich or poor, and that is share with others. We can share burdens as we can share blessings. Sharing is not easy, not easy to measure like mileage and family budgets, but I am sure that 5 percent more is not nearly enough to ask, so I ask you to share everything you can and a little bit more. And it will strengthen our spirits as well as our economy.

Today I will not take more of the time of this busy Congress, for I vividly remember the rush before every recess, and the clock is already running on my specific and urgent requests for legislative action. I also remember how much Congress can get done when it puts its shoulder to the wheel.

One week from tonight I have a longstanding invitation in Kansas City to address the Future Farmers of America, a fine organization of wonderful young people whose help, with millions of others, is vital in this battle. I will elaborate then how volunteer inflation fighters and energy savers can further mobilize their total efforts.

Since asking Miss Sylvia Porter, the well-known financial writer, to help me organize an all-out nationwide volunteer mobilization, I have named a White House coordinator and have enlisted the enthusiastic support and services of some 17 other distinguished Americans to help plan for citizen and private group participation.

There will be no big Federal bureaucracy set up for this crash program. Through the courtesy of such volunteers from the communication and media fields, a very simple enlistment form will appear in many of tomorrow's newspapers along with the symbol of this new mobilization, which I am wearing on my lapel. It bears the single word WIN. I think that tells it all. I will call upon every American to join in this massive mobilization and stick with it until we do win as a nation and as a people.

Mr. Speaker and Mr. President, I stand on a spot hallowed by history. Many Presidents have come here many times to solicit, to scold, to flatter, to exhort the Congress to support them in their leadership. Once in a great while Presidents have stood here and truly inspired the most skeptical and the most sophisticated audience of their co-equal partners in

Government. Perhaps once or twice in a generation is there such a joint session. I don't expect this one to be.

Only two of my predecessors have come in person to call upon Congress for a declaration of war, and I shall not do that. But I say to you with all sincerity, that our inflation, our public enemy number one, will, unless whipped destroy our country, our homes, our liberties, our property, and finally our national pride, as surely as any well-armed wartime enemy.

I concede there will be no sudden Pearl Harbor to shock us into unity and to sacrifice, but I think we have had enough early warnings. The time to intercept is right now. The time to intercept is almost gone.

My friends and former colleagues, will you enlist now? My friends and fellow Americans, will you enlist now? Together with discipline and determination, we will win.

I thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:02 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol, after being introduced by Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

Death of Paul G. Hoffman

Statement by the President. October 8, 1974

Paul Gray Hoffman's life was not one success story but many. A talented, dynamic businessman, he went on to serve both America and the world as an inspired public servant and a great humanitarian.

His work with the Studebaker Packard Corp. marked him as one of the giants of American industry. At the end of World War II, as the first Administrator of the Marshall Plan, his intelligence and compassion helped to rebuild a Europe that was in ruins. Mr. Hoffman served with equal distinction in important posts at the United Nations and with the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic.

His life was as long as it was eventful. To his wife Anna, a distinguished public servant in her own right, and to the other members of the family, Mrs. Ford and I express our deepest sympathy and regret on the passing of a great and beloved American.

NOTE: Paul G. Hoffman, 86, died in New York City, on October 8, 1974.

He served as the first Administrator for Economic Cooperation under the Marshall Plan in 1948, and was president of the Ford Foundation from 1950 to 1953. He was managing director of the United Nations Special Fund, later the United Nations Development Program, from 1959 to 1972.

Mr. Hoffman was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom on June 21, 1974.

Visit of First Secretary Edward Gierek of Poland

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and First Secretary Gierek at a Dinner Honoring the First Secretary. October 8, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. First Secretary, and Mrs. Gierek, our wonderful guests:*

It is a great privilege and pleasure to have you and Mrs. Gierek here with us this evening. We have had a very delightful dinner, and we had a very helpful and constructive discussion during the day, and I am looking forward to further discussions tomorrow.

Mr. First Secretary, I come from a part of our country where we have roughly 30,000 people with a Polish heritage or background. And as I grew up, Mr. First Secretary, I had many wonderful personal experiences with families that had a Polish background, families that had the same great family strength, families that had a tremendous religious dedication, individuals with a Polish heritage that became leaders in our community, outstanding scholars, athletes, public servants.

And so I had a great exposure to the finest, the best, with individuals who had come from your country to ours.

And then in 1958 or '59, I had the opportunity to go to Poland, and I wondered as I went to Poland whether

there would be so many comparable, wonderful people in Poland as I had known in my hometown in Michigan in the United States.

And I found, Mr. First Secretary, that instead of 30,000, there were 30 million. And all of them had the same warmth, friendship, family dedication, deep conviction, and all of them wanted to uplift their community, their state, and make their country a better and finer place in which to live.

So it seemed to me, Mr. First Secretary, that it was very easy for Poland and our country to start building a foundation some years ago which has now developed into a great relationship, a relationship predicated on understanding, a relationship that has a far broader vision.

We want to help one another and we do. But we want to build from our relationship a broader effort to improve world relations between countries that did not understand one another, but who now hopefully will, blocs that did not understand one another, but hopefully will. And the net result is that because of our citizens who came from Poland, settled here, and have become so strong and vital in our society and yours, who are so strong and so vital in Europe, I hope and trust that we can move together in cooperation and economic matters, cultural matters, educational matters, environmental matters, and set an example for all nations because we do understand one another and we can, by history, work together.

And so I ask all of our guests here tonight to rise and join with me in offering a toast to the First Secretary and to Mrs. Gierek and offer them the best from all of us in the United States to the First Secretary, to the Polish people.

FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK. Dear Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

I thank you, Mr. President, for your kind and friendly words. I thank you for the hospitality you have shown us, which both Mrs. Gierek and I greatly appreciate and sincerely hope to heartily reciprocate.

From the outset of our sojourn on the American soil, we have been accompanied by a good, matter-of-fact, and friendly atmosphere. This gladdens us and reaffirms in our profound conviction that my visit here will prove fruitful.

Our conversations with you, Mr. President, have above all reassured me in this. We have exchanged, in their course, views on the most important issues of Polish-American relations and on the further development of the process of international détente.

We have reached important conclusions which will be set down on our joint documents. I am confident that the results of our meetings will open up a new stage in the mutual relations between both our countries and nations.

I highly value, Mr. President, this direct contact with you, with the leader of the United States, who, by his own deep understanding of and positive approach to

issues of the present-day cooperation between our two nations, confirms the willingness to develop it further in the friendly attitude toward Poland.

I am also satisfied over my meetings with the Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and with all eminent associates of yours.

It is my conviction, Mr. President, that there exist very favorable conditions to a significant expansion of Polish-U.S. cooperation which is the common concern of ours. These conditions, as you have pointed out a moment ago, stem from our longstanding tradition of friendly, mutual bonds, dating back to the times of the founding of the United States begun by the participation of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Pulaski, and other sons of the Polish people who struggled for the independence of the United States.

These bonds were subsequently strengthened by the sympathy toward and interest of the democratic forces of the American Nation in the cause of Polish independence. And they were amply reaffirmed in our joint struggle for freedom, greatest in history, as it were, conducted by the great anti-Fascist coalition in the years of World War II.

These traditions have remained alive although their early postwar phase has fortunately become a closed historical chapter.

As a result of its own heroic struggle and its cooperation with all other freedom-loving forces, the people of Poland found its road to durable independence, to enviable security, to dynamic development.

The people of Poland found it in its new Socialist homeland, in its consciously chosen alliance with the USSR and other Socialist countries, in its active foreign policy of international security and peaceful cooperation.

Modern Poland, Mr. President, with a more than 1,000-year history and great traditions of love for freedom and progress, is proud of the great historic achievements of the past three decades which have essentially altered the course of our nation's tragic past and verily transformed the country, elevating it onto a new place in Europe and the world at large.

The Poland of today, one of the world's top ten industrial producers, is a country of a dynamic economy, of high cultural and scientific standards, and constantly growing standards of living.

In recent years we have endowed her development with a still greater dynamism and higher quality. We still have much to accomplish. But the decisive stage is behind us and Poland could now enter the phase of accelerated growth of her economy. And the aspirations of my people are indeed in keeping with these vital needs and aspirations of all.

It is from this position and for this purpose that we also desire to eject new impetus and quality to our cooperation with other countries of the world. We are delighted to see considerable progress achieved in Polish-

American relations, particularly in recent years. But we take it only as a harbinger of a much broader cooperation.

We therefore attach special importance to development of economic cooperation which establishes most durable of bonds and provides for a material base of cooperation in all other fields.

We conceive of the United States as one of our principal partners in the West. There exist all opportunities that it be so. The essential thing is to create conditions that would make us seize of all those opportunities.

I strongly believe that arrangements we are now adopting and the agreements we are concluding will be a decisive contribution towards this end. In the overall framework of relations between our two countries, a major positive role can no doubt be played by the multi-million strong group of Americans of Polish ancestry as good citizens of the United States and at the same time retaining their emotional ties with their old land.

They have always been one of the important factors of mutual rapprochement between our two nations, and they can further make a substantial contribution to their friendly cooperation.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: Our thoughts constantly turn to the great and common cause of all mankind, the cause of peace.

The Polish nation which paid the highest price for its freedom and is fully cognizant of the value of peace, attaches great importance to the process of détente which has been developing in recent years. We see in it a true road toward the strengthening of international security and development of cooperation among nations on the basis of peaceful coexistence of states with different political systems. This is the prime need and necessity of our time.

Let me say, Mr. President, that Poland fully appreciates the far-reaching and all-round significance of Soviet-American agreements for the cause of world peace and general improvement of international relations.

It was with greatest satisfaction that we welcomed progress already achieved here, and together with other countries we have noted with great appreciation the promise that these propitious trends will be continued.

It is only natural that Poland should attach particular significance to progress of détente and to consolidation of the facts of nearly three decades of peace in Europe. We have been actively cooperating to insure the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We believe that there exist very realistic conditions for its successful conclusion in the months to come.

We shall continue to make our constructive contribution to the Vienna talks on troops and arms reduction in Central Europe.

We are convinced that the United States is also vitally interested in a lasting peace on our continent and can

indeed make a substantial and constructive contribution to that cause. We rest assured of the indivisibility of and the universal need for peace and of the desire common to all nations for security, justice, and a better morale.

I trust that also in the strivings to achieve these great objectives closer cooperation between both our countries is possible and necessary.

My first day in Washington, and above all, the talks I had with you, Mr. President, reaffirm me in my conviction that together we can open up new, broader prospects for the development of Polish-U.S. cooperation. I am reassured in this also by the good climate in which all our meetings are held and which is typical of the friendly relations obtaining between our two peoples.

Mr. President, I should like to propose a toast. To your very good health and all success in steering the affairs of the great United States, for the speediest recovery of Mrs. Ford, to your good health, ladies and gentlemen, to the development of friendly cooperation between our peoples and states, to world peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Secretary Kissinger's Trip to the Middle East

Remarks of the President and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger Upon the Secretary's Departure for the Middle East. October 9, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. It is nice to see you all, and I just came out with all the Cabinet members and others in the Administration to express our appreciation to the Secretary of State for going on this vitally important mission and to indicate my full support and the support of the Administration for the, I think, tremendous efforts to bring peace in an area of the world that has been so volatile and controversial that it is important for the world, as well as the countries involved, that the maximum efforts for peace be made.

This country and this Administration are going to work with the skill and imagination of Dr. Kissinger in seeking that result.

We wish you the very best.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I appreciate very much, Mr. President, your coming out to see me off. The problem of contributing to peace in the Middle East is a very complicated one, but as I have had occasion to say before, it is a source of pride to all Americans that it is the United States that all parties trust, and that we will attempt to make some progress.

I would like to say to the President that this is the first time in a long time that one can go on these missions with an America that is at peace with itself.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., where Secretary Kissinger was departing for a 7-day trip to seven Middle East countries.

Right of Privacy Legislation

Statement by the President. October 9, 1974

Legislation to protect personal privacy is making significant progress in the Congress. I am delighted about the prospect of House and Senate action at this session.

Renewed national efforts to strengthen protections for personal privacy should begin in Washington. We should start by enacting uniform fair information practices for the agencies of the Federal Government. This will give us invaluable operating experience as we continue to examine and recommend needed actions at the State and local level and in the private sector.

The immediate objective should be to give every citizen the right to inspect, challenge, and correct, if necessary, information about him contained in Federal agency records and to assure him a remedy for illegal invasions of privacy by Federal agencies accountable for safeguarding his records. In legislating, the right of privacy, of course, must be balanced against equally valid public interests in freedom of information, national defense, foreign policy, law enforcement, and in a high quality and trustworthy Federal work force.

Immediately after I assumed the chairmanship, as Vice President, of the Cabinet-level Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy, I asked the Office of Management and Budget to work jointly with the Committee staff, the executive agencies, and the Congress to work out realistic and effective legislation at the earliest possible time. Substantial progress has been made by both the Senate and the House on bills extending personal privacy protections to tens of millions of records containing personal information in hundreds of Federal data banks.

H.R. 16373, the Privacy Act of 1974, has my enthusiastic support, except for the provisions which allow unlimited individual access to records vital to determining eligibility and promotion in the Federal service and access to classified information. I strongly urge floor amendments permitting workable exemptions to accommodate these situations.

The Senate also has made substantial progress in writing privacy legislation. S. 3418 parallels the House bill in many respects, but I believe major technical and substan-

tive amendments are needed to perfect the bill. I do not favor establishing a separate commission or board bureaucracy empowered to define privacy in its own terms and to second guess citizens and agencies. I vastly prefer an approach which makes Federal agencies fully and publicly accountable for legally mandated privacy protections, and which gives the individual adequate legal remedies to enforce what he deems to be his own best privacy interests.

The adequate protection of personal privacy requires legislative and executive initiatives in areas not addressed by H.R. 16373 and S. 3418. I have asked executive branch officials to continue to work with the Congress to assure swift action on measures to strengthen privacy and confidentiality in income tax records, criminal justice records, and other areas identified as needed privacy initiatives by the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy.

Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1975

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. October 9, 1974

I am pleased to have signed H.R. 16243. Although not all Administration recommendations were accepted, I recognize and appreciate bipartisan efforts made by the House-Senate conference committee to produce a defense appropriations bill acceptable to both Houses and sufficient for our national security needs.

The bill has, however, a major drawback. The \$700 million funding for South Vietnam is inadequate to provide for all of their critical needs, if South Vietnam's enemies continue to press their attacks. It may, therefore, be necessary to approach the Congress early next year to work out some solutions to meet critical needs which arise.

Each year the President of the United States must sign into law an appropriations bill for our defense. From my experience in Congress, I know all too well the conflicts this defense bill can produce in the name of economy and other national interests. Thus, as I sign such a bill for the first time as President, I want to renew my pledge to build a new partnership between the executive and legislative branches of our Government, a partnership based on close consultation, compromise of differences, and a high regard for the constitutional duties and powers of both branches to work for the common good and security of our Nation.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 16243) is Public Law 93-437, approved October 8, 1974.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF OCTOBER 9, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.*

I never promised you a rose garden, but I guess Ron Nessen did. So, I hope you enjoy this new setting and the new format, and I hope I enjoy it, too.

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA

I do have one business announcement. I am pleased to announce this afternoon that President Echeverría of Mexico and I have agreed to hold a meeting on the U.S.-Mexican border on Monday, October 21.

I am very much looking forward to this opportunity to meet with President Echeverría in the Nogales area, and we plan to visit both sides of the border. The United States and Mexico have a long tradition of friendly and cooperative relations. It is my hope that our meeting will contribute to maintaining that relationship and to strengthen the good will between our countries over the years to come.

At this meeting, we will discuss, obviously, a wide range of subjects of interest to both countries.

One of the first responses to our WIN program yesterday was John Osborne's signing up, and I have his application right here. Thank you, John.

Well, the first question. Dick Lerner [Richard E. Lerner, United Press International].

QUESTIONS

INFLATION AND RECESSION

Q. Mr. President, a few things were left unsaid in your economic address yesterday. I was wondering if you could say now if the United States is in a recession, and how soon Americans can expect to see a meaningful reduction of inflation and unemployment?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not think the United States is in a recession. We do have economic problems, but it is a very mixed situation, and that was the reason that we had some 31 specific recommendations in my speech yesterday.

We have to be very, very careful to make sure that we don't tighten the screws too tightly and precipitate us into some economic difficulty. And, at the same time, we had to have provisions and programs that would meet the challenge of inflation.

I am convinced if the Congress responds, if the American people respond in a voluntary way, that we can have, hopefully early in 1975, some meaningful reduction in the rate of inflation.

Yes, Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

INCOME SURTAX

Q. Mr. President, no one that I know of has suggested that inflation can be licked within a year, and yet the sur-

tax you seek is only for one year. Is there a pretty good chance you will next year have to go back and ask for it all over again, assuming you get it this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not think that the surtax requested to be applicable in calendar year 1975 will have to be extended beyond December 31, 1975. We are in a temporary situation. And the surtax on both personal and corporate income will provide us sufficient income to meet the additional expenses for our community improvement program and, at the same time, will help to dampen inflation by reducing the amount of money of 28 percent of the taxpayers of this country.

And you might be interested. I checked on it this morning—there has been some criticism of this surtax, both political and otherwise—for a family of four, with a \$20,000 gross income, that is wages, the one-year extra tax will amount to \$42, which is 12 cents a day.

For a person on a \$15,000 a year income, family of four, there is no extra tax.

And if you take it to \$16,000 a day—a year, I mean—the added cost of the 5 percent surtax is \$3, which is less than one cent a day.

Yes.

FURTHER ECONOMIC MEASURES

Q. Mr. President, following up on Dick Lerner's question, if your economic program does not have the impact that you hope it will by early 1975, what other measures might be necessary? What proposals do you have in mind to follow on this program if it indeed is unsuccessful?

THE PRESIDENT. I am confident, in the first instance, that if all 31 of the recommendations are implemented, including those that I have asked the Congress to give me, that the program will work. We are going to concentrate on making it work. I, therefore, don't think we should speculate about something that I don't think will take place.

GASOLINE TAXES AND RATIONING

Q. Mr. President, some people think—a great many people, in fact—think that your proposals were not tough enough, or at least tough on the wrong people. In view of your somewhat apocalyptic vision of what will happen to this country if we don't lick inflation, why didn't you propose mandatory gasoline taxes or gasoline rationing in order to conserve fuel, for example?

THE PRESIDENT. We believe that the surtax charges that we have recommended are a more equitable approach to the achievement of greater income so we could give some relief to the less well-off, the people who are suffering greater hardship.

We took a look at the gasoline tax recommendations, and we found that this might be harmful to people, and it would be more harmful to the people less able to pay. And in balancing out all of the tax proposals, we came to the conclusion that what we have recommended, which affects only 28 percent of the personal income taxpayers

in this country, was the appropriate way to raise the revenue and dampen inflation.

Q. If the purpose is to conserve fuel, because oil being such a large factor in inflation, why not gasoline rationing now?

THE PRESIDENT. We believe that the American people will respond to our volunteer program. In my recommendations yesterday to the Congress, I said we would cut the foreign importation of fuel by 1 million barrels per day, which is 1 million out of the 6 million that is currently imported per day.

Now, the American people last year in a much greater crisis where we had the embargo, responded very, very well and did as well, if not better, than we are asking them to do now.

So I don't think we have to put a tax on gasoline users to achieve our objective. And if we can do it by volunteer action, I think it is far preferable and more in the tradition of the American system.

Yes, sir.

PROJECT INDEPENDENCE

Q. Mr. President, in June of last year, President Nixon recommended a program. He called for \$10 billion for 5 years in the hope of making the United States self-sufficient in energy.

Now it is 16 months, can you update that for us?

THE PRESIDENT. I must confess that we haven't done as well in Project Independence as I think most of us had hoped. This concerns me, and one of the reasons that I indicated yesterday that I was appointing Secretary of Interior Morton to head up the energy council was to get this moving.¹ We are going to concentrate in this area.

Now all of the blame can't be placed on the executive branch. There have been a number of legislative proposals before the Congress that would increase domestic supplies. Unfortunately, in too many cases the Congress has not responded, so the Congress has to share some of the blame with the executive branch.

But I can assure you that with Rog Morton heading this new organization, we are going to do a better job, and I think we will get the cooperation of the American people.

Yes, sir.

MEETINGS WITH SOVIET LEADERS

Q. I am sure you have other questions on economics, but let me ask just one on international affairs. There are reports that you are planning some sort of a summit conference with Chairman Brezhnev of the Soviet Union. Can you give us some details on that?

THE PRESIDENT. When I took the oath of office, I indicated that I would continue our country's efforts to

broaden and to expand the policies of détente with the Soviet Union.

Since I have been in office, I have had a number of discussions with responsible leaders in the Soviet Union. About 10 days ago, I met with their Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko.

Dr. Kissinger is going to the Soviet Union the latter part of this month to continue these discussions.

Now, as you well know, Mr. Brezhnev has been invited to come to the United States in 1975. If there is a reason for us to meet before that meeting in the United States, I will certainly consider it.

ARMS PROPOSALS FOR SOVIET UNION

Q. To follow up a little, do you expect the United States to have any kind of a proposal on arms to present to the Soviet Union before the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT. We are resolving our position in this very important and very critical area. When Dr. Kissinger goes to the Soviet Union the latter part of this month, we will have some guidelines, some specific guidelines, for him to discuss in a preliminary way with the Soviet Union.

WAGES AND PRICES

Q. If inflation is as serious a problem as you have said, can you point to any of your proposals that would persuade businesses to lower prices now or that would encourage labor unions to moderate their wage demands in forthcoming contracts?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said in my remarks before the Congress yesterday, there is no quick fix or no immediate panacea in the fight against inflation. It has taken us roughly 10 years to get this unfortunate momentum for price increases at its present rate.

We do have in the 31-proposal package that I submitted some recommendations which will increase supply of very important ingredients. And we have in those recommendations some proposals to remove some of the restrictive practices of the Government, of private industry, of labor. And if those restrictive practices are eliminated, I think we can look forward to a reduction in prices both in the private sector and as far as the Government is concerned.

PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, at your last news conference you assured us that there had been no deal made on the Nixon pardon either with the former President or with any of his staff members. Since there have been published reports that the pardon was indeed discussed with former Chief of Staff Haig, I wonder if you could tell us the nature of that conversation, if those reports are indeed accurate?

THE PRESIDENT. Since this last press conference, I have agreed to appear before the Hungate subcommittee of the

¹ See pages 1240 and 1271 of this issue.

House Committee on the Judiciary. I will appear before that subcommittee, and until I do appear, I think it is most appropriate that I defer any comment on that subject.

INFLATION

Q. Mr. President, two of your main anti-inflation proposals, the tax surcharge and cutting Government spending, are intended to curb inflation by reducing demand. But many economists do not believe that this is a demand inflation. They believe it is a wage-price spiral and a shortage inflation.

In view of that, how can the tax surcharge and the cut in Government spending reduce inflation if they are directed at a kind of inflation that we don't have?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer that question in two parts if I might.

If the Federal Government reduces its expenditures, and we are going to do it by roughly \$5 billion, it makes money more easily available in the money markets of the United States so that home purchasers will have more money at a better rate of interest to borrow so they can build homes. This will stimulate the home-building industry and, I think, provide jobs.

Now, the 5 percent surtax is only on 28 percent of the total personal income taxpayers in this United States, the people who are better able to pay these minimal amounts extra. I don't think taking away from a family who is earning \$20,000 the sum of \$42 a year is going to have any serious adverse impact on the purchasing power of that family.

Q. I am not sure that we are talking about the same thing, Mr. President. I am talking about the fact that these are proposals directed at reducing demand and many economists don't think we have that kind of inflation. You are talking about stimulating home building, and I am forced to repeat my question: Why are we attacking the wrong kind of inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. I respectfully disagree with you. I think, if we stimulate home building because we are reducing Federal expenditures and providing more money in the market place, I think we are stimulating production. And I think the people who are being taxed, or I hope will be taxed, aren't going to lose sufficiently of their earned income that they are going to cut down significantly in what they buy in the market place.

OIL DEPLETION ALLOWANCES

Q. This morning, Secretary Simon indicated that the Administration was still supporting oil depletion allowances. You, yesterday, endorsed the Ways and Means package which calls for the phase-out of oil depletion allowances. How do you reconcile your speech and Secretary Simon's testimony this morning?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that bill before the Committee on Ways and Means has a number of very good features,

and it has some that I don't necessarily embrace in toto and I am sure that Secretary Simon doesn't. But I do believe that on balance, it is important for me to endorse that bill.

And when you endorse a bill of that magnitude, I think you have to take it as a package because it does close some of the loopholes. It provides a sufficient amount of income so we can grant additional relief to the people in the lowest brackets of income taxpayers.

It is my recollection that that bill does phase out not only foreign oil depletion allowance but it provides for a gradual phase-out of the domestic oil depletion allowance.

I am not going to quibble with the committee in every detail. I think we have to buy a package that has far more good in it than those things that I might object to.

Q. Mr. President, is it your own view that the oil depletion allowance should be phased out?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer is yes.²

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Q. Mr. President, on another question other than the economy, on a subject you haven't talked about before I don't believe, what is the Federal role in public education as you see it? And I have a follow-up.

THE PRESIDENT. The role of the Federal Government—

Q. How little?

THE PRESIDENT. —in the field of education is about what we are currently doing with the Federal aid to education legislation for primary and elementary schools. And I just signed the new education act. It was a step in the direction of consolidating some 35 categorical grant programs into six or seven. I think this is approximately the role of the Federal Government in primary and secondary education.

In higher education, if my recollection is correct, I voted for the existing higher education act. Therefore, I feel that it fundamentally is what the Federal Government should do in this area.

Q. Specifically, what are your views on Federal aid to private and parochial schools?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have personally expressed, over a long period of time, that I think a tax credit pro-

² At his news conference on Thursday, October 10, 1974, Press Secretary Ron Nessen said:

"The President, after reviewing the transcript of yesterday's news conference, asked me to state more precisely his position on the oil depletion allowance.

"As long as the price of oil continues to be controlled, the President believes the elimination of the percentage depletion on domestic oil production would be a mistake.

"The President feels that oil should be sold on a free market basis, and he thinks that many oil producers would be glad to trade percentage depletion in order to achieve the important result of a free market for oil.

"As for the foreign oil depletion allowance, the President believes that should be phased out immediately and finally."

posal is a good proposal. The Supreme Court, unfortunately a year or so ago, in effect, declared such a program—I think it was in the Pennsylvania case—as unconstitutional. I think that is regrettable because competition in education, between private and public, is good for the student. There is no reason why there should be a monopoly in education just on the public side. And private education has contributed over a long period of time at the primary, secondary, and graduate levels significantly to a better educated America. And I would hope that we could find some Constitutional way in which to help private schools.

ACCESS TO INCOME TAX RETURNS

Q. In the matter of income tax privacy, Mr. President, can you explain the difference between your Executive order on White House practices, which is very tough on safeguarding the taxpayers, and the legislation which you sent to the Hill, which Congressional experts say is weaker than what went on under the Nixon Administration when there were reported attempts by the White House to subvert the Internal Revenue Service?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if that legislation is weaker than the Executive order that I issued, we will resubmit other legislation.

Mr. DeFrank [Thomas M. DeFrank, Newsweek].

TRANSITION FUNDS FOR THE FORMER PRESIDENT

Q. Mr. President, you recently asked Congress to appropriate \$850,000 to cover transition expenses of former President Nixon. The House has already cut that figure down to \$200,000. The Senate seems likely to do the same.

Some of your aides have said in the last few days that they believe that the cutback from \$850,000 to \$200,000 is both stingy and punitive, and I use their words.

I am wondering if you agree with them that the cutback is stingy and punitive and whether or not you intend to ask the Congress to restore some of those funds?

THE PRESIDENT. A recommendation was made to the Congress for the figure of \$850,000 for the transition period. About 10 years ago Congress passed a law which provided for transition expenses for an outgoing President. The amount that was submitted on this occasion was roughly comparable to the amounts that have been made available to other Presidents who were leaving office.

Now, the facts and the figures I think can be shown that what was recommended for Mr. Nixon was comparable to others. The Congress, of course, has the right to take whatever action it wants, but under the circumstances, I am not going to use such language myself. I will let the Congress make its decision, right or wrong.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel then, or are you going to ask, the Congress to restore some of that funding, or do you believe they should restore it?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't the bill before me, yet. It is still up on the Hill, and until it comes down here, I don't think I should make any judgment.

GIFTS BY GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER

Q. Mr. President, have you inquired into the matter of gifts by Governor Rockefeller, and, if so, does a question of possible impropriety occur in any instance, in your judgment?

THE PRESIDENT. The gifts by Governor Rockefeller to the three individuals that I am familiar with—I have looked into the one that involved Dr. Kissinger—but I think to put this in proper perspective you have to recognize that Governor Rockefeller is a very wealthy man, and that he has been extremely generous with many, many charities over a good many years, and he obviously has sought to compensate former employees or friends for whatever services they performed.

In the case of Dr. Kissinger, I have been assured that every tax that could be applied has been paid and that all legal problems involving that particular case were solved satisfactorily. Under those circumstances, I do not think there was any impropriety in the relationship between Dr. Kissinger and former Governor Rockefeller.

Q. Since you are familiar only with the Kissinger gift, do you plan to inquire into the others?

THE PRESIDENT. I will, but I haven't as deeply because Mr. Morhouse and Mr. Ronan are or were State employees. But I assume that in those two cases, as I found out in the Dr. Kissinger case, that the law had been adhered to and that there was no impropriety.

Yes.

MASS TRANSIT LEGISLATION

Q. Sir, if you accept that mass transit is an essential part of the energy-saving program, can you explain why you did not lend your support to a comprehensive Federal mass transit bill now before Congress, in your very important speech yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer to that is very simple. I had some considerable part in working out the compromise on the Williams-Minish bill. If you will recall, I had about 15 mayors from all over the country down here to see me, including some business people.

I told them I wanted to help. Within a day or so, I called Senator Williams. After it was suggested, we worked out a figure and a time and a formula. And as a result, Senator Williams, in conjunction with other Members of the Congress, arrived at a mass transit bill that provides for a little over \$11 billion over a period of 6 years with a formula between capital outlays and operating expenses.

I think we made a big step forward, and I compliment the Congress for cooperating. And there was no need for me to mention in that speech yesterday something that was *fait accompli* the day before.

SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER

Q. Mr. President, in your recent U.N. speech, you added some last-minute remarks praising Secretary of State Kissinger, and last night you made an extraordinary move of going out to Andrews Air Force Base to see him off on his trip abroad.

Are you upset by the criticism that Secretary Kissinger is receiving from the press, the public, and Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. I would put it this way, Mr. Jones [Phil Jones, CBS News], I am very fond of Dr. Kissinger on a personal basis. I have tremendous respect and admiration for the superb job that he has done since he has been the Director of the National Security Agency (Council) and also as Secretary of State.

I think what he has done for peace in the world, what he is continuing to do for peace throughout the world, deserves whatever good and appropriate things I can say about him and whatever little extra effort I can make to show my appreciation. And I intend to continue to do it.

Yes.

Q. Sir, do you feel that his effectiveness is being undermined by this criticism?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen any adverse effects so far. We are making headway and, I think, constructively in all of the areas where I think and he thinks it is important for us to do things to preserve peace and build a broader base for peace.

Yes.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY

Q. Mr. President, at your first news conference you told us that you probably would run for a term of your own. Since then there has been what you have termed the surprisingly harsh reaction to the pardon of former President Nixon and the tragic illness of your own wife. Do you still plan to be a candidate in 1976?

THE PRESIDENT. The words that I used, if I recall accurately, were I would probably be a candidate in 1976. I have seen nothing to change that decision, and, if and when there is, I will promptly notify you.

BOSTON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Q. Mr. President, Boston's Mayor, Kevin White, has appealed to the Federal Government to send U.S. marshals to help restore order in Boston's school desegregation crisis. And black groups have asked for federalizing the National Guard and sending in Federal troops. As the Chief Executive, what do you plan to do, and what comments do you have on this situation?

THE PRESIDENT. At the outset, I wish to make it very, very direct. I deplore the violence that I have read about and seen on television. I think that is most unfortunate. I would like to add this, however: The court decision in that case, in my judgment, was not the best solution to quality education in Boston.

I have consistently opposed forced busing to achieve racial balance as a solution to quality education, and, therefore, I respectfully disagree with the judge's order.

But having said that, I think it is of maximum importance that the citizens of Boston respect the law. And I hope and trust that it is not necessary to call in Federal officials or Federal law enforcement agencies.

Now, the marshals, if my information is accurate, are under the jurisdiction of the court, not directly under my jurisdiction. As far as I know, no specific request has come to me for any further Federal involvement, and, therefore, I am not in a position to act under those circumstances.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: President Ford's third news conference was held at 2:31 p.m. on Wednesday, October 9, 1974, in the Rose Garden at the White House. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

Visit of First Secretary Edward Gierek of Poland

Exchange of Remarks Between the President and First Secretary Gierek Upon Signing Joint Statements. October 9, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. First Secretary, we have just put our signatures on landmark documents.

The first, on principles of bilateral relations, recognizes the friendly state of those relations. It underlines our joint determination to not only continue this cooperation, but to further expand it for mutual benefit. We will make a joint contribution to peace and security throughout the world.

The second document is more specifically directed to economic, industrial, and technological cooperation. If it is to succeed, cooperation requires the careful and continuing attention of nations, as I am sure you will agree.

Over the past few years, we have made important advances in our economic and trade relations. We have now pledged our countries to even further advances toward realization of the full potential for cooperation that we both see and we desire. Our peoples will benefit and the economic international community will likewise benefit.

These documents should be reassuring to our friends and associates throughout the world. We discriminate against no one, nor do we prejudice any commitments we have already made to others. Indeed, the respect we show for each other and the cooperation that we seek is part of the international spirit we see emerging. This new spirit seeks to solve problems, not to make new tensions.

Mr. First Secretary, my signature on these documents is yet another expression of the deep interest of the people of the United States in the well-being of your nation and its deserved place in the international community. We welcome these documents for the contributions they will make to the spirit of cooperation and peaceful endeavor throughout the world.

THE FIRST SECRETARY. *Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:*

I do share, Mr. President, your appraisal of the weight of the documents we have just signed, the fruitful nature of our talks, and the importance of the agreements we have concluded. I greatly appreciate what you have said and wish to express my profound satisfaction over the headway we made and results we achieved during my visit to Washington. I especially enjoyed meeting with you, Mr. President, which I shall cherish in my memories as an important, sincere, and friendly encounter.

We are opening together a new chapter in relations between the Polish People's Republic and the United States of America. As of now, these new annals will be recording the future of our relations as well as our broader, closer, and more extensive cooperation. We are opening up that new chapter aware of the entire tradition of the friendly mutual relations between the Polish and American peoples, in the desire of tightening the bonds which we have inherited from the past and continue to maintain at present.

In enhancing the progress made in our bilateral relations in recent years, we are likewise creating a groundwork for expanded economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, for cultural exchanges, and various contacts between our respective peoples. Particularly important in this regard is expansion of reciprocally beneficial economic ties, which form the most durable basis for all other mutual relationships.

I firmly believe that the inauguration of a future-oriented phase of Polish-American relations concurs with the interests and wishes of our two peoples. We are doing it in accordance both with the principles and the spirit of peaceful coexistence among states with different systems. For the United States and modern, socialist Poland are precisely such states. Poland, for 30 years, has been shaping new conditions of life and development of her people. She remains faithful to her alliances and, in the best of her tradition, she is actively involved in the strife for progress and peace.

I trust, Mr. President, that the results of our meeting will also contribute to the strengthening of international détente. This latter process, in particular fortified by the improvement of Soviet-American relations which are of exceptional significance to world peace, has already brought about many favorable changes in the international

situation; it has reduced dangerous tensions and provided new vistas for constructive cooperation.

We can particularly sense this in Europe where the process has been advanced most. Yet, even there, a great deal still remains to be done in order to ensure peace for the entire future to come. May we all move further along that road to free mankind completely from the nuclear threat, to give the world of today and all its nations a feeling of lasting security, and to resolve successfully the great socio-economic and civilization problems which confront us now and are likely to emerge in near future.

I am happy, Mr. President, that, as has been reflected in our joint statement, we are in agreement as to the need for further action at making irreversible the progress achieved in peaceful relations among states with different socio-economic systems.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, tomorrow I shall be leaving Washington to visit other centers of your great and beautiful country. On behalf of Mrs. Gierek and persons accompanying me, as well as in my own name, I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for the friendly reception and hospitality accorded to us. Permit me at the same time to reiterate my very cordial invitation for you and Mrs. Ford, whom we wish a very speedy recovery, to pay a visit to Poland. With the fresh memories of our Washington encounter, I shall be looking forward to meeting you again, this time in our capital, the city of Warsaw.

I would also like to say once more how happy I was to have met the prominent Representatives of the U.S. Congress. My meeting with them has reaffirmed me of the congressional favorable attitude towards matters concerning further development of Polish-American cooperation.

I take this opportunity to thank the Secretary of State, as well as your other collaborators, for their contribution to the fruitful results of my visit to Washington. I thank all who helped make this visit a success.

Through you, Mr. President, I wish to convey to the American Nation my heartfelt greetings and best wishes which I am bringing from the people of Poland.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very, very much, Mr. First Secretary. I have enjoyed meeting you, becoming well acquainted with you, and I look forward to the opportunity of visiting Poland.

I told Mrs. Ford on the telephone today of your kind invitation, and she remembers vividly our visit to Poland some years ago. She, as well as I, are looking forward to a return to your nation and to meet again the wonderful Polish people.

I can assure you, Mr. First Secretary, that as you travel around the rest of the United States—and I wish you could stay longer and visit more places—that you will find a great warmth on the part of the American people for the people of Poland, and you will be welcome wherever you

go. I know the warmth of the welcome here will be equal wherever you visit in our country.

We hope you will come back. I look forward to seeing you in the future.

THE FIRST SECRETARY. I wish to thank you most heartily, Mr. President, and we are expecting you in Warsaw, and Mrs. Ford. We shall be trying to greet you, Mr.

President and Mrs. Ford, according to the Polish tradition and our saying, "My home is your home."

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:31 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

For the texts of the joint statements, see the following two items.

VISIT OF FIRST SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK OF POLAND

*Joint Statement of Principles by President Ford and First Secretary Gierek.
October 9, 1974*

The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek,

- having met in a cordial, businesslike and constructive atmosphere, which provided the opportunity for a useful and comprehensive exchange of views,
- mindful of the long-standing and rich traditions of relations between their two peoples and the feelings of friendship and respect toward each other,
- being convinced that further development of American-Polish relations and the expansion of mutual cooperation serves the interests of both nations and contributes to peace and security in the world,

agreed on a statement of principles of friendly relations and cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic.

I

The President and the First Secretary reaffirmed that bilateral relations between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic are founded on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and international law, and in particular the following inter-related principles:

- sovereign equality;
- refraining from the threat or use of force;
- inviolability of frontiers;
- territorial integrity of states;
- peaceful settlement of disputes;
- non-intervention in internal affairs;
- respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- cooperation among states;
- fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

II

The President and the First Secretary expressed their determination to develop relations of the two countries in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect.

They resolved to expand and encourage as appropriate the long range development of commercial, economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation of the two countries under conditions of reciprocity of advantages and obligations, in particular in agriculture, industry, transportation, health and environment.

They also resolved to continue to support the development of cooperation through the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission, between organizations, institutions and firms, as set forth in the "Joint Statement on the Expansion of Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic" signed on October 9, 1974. They affirmed that mutually beneficial economic relations are conducive to good political relations.

They will facilitate and support, through all appropriate means, agreements concerning exchange of experts, students, and other persons as well as exchanges in the fields of science, culture, the arts, education, and other fields, between their two governments or directly between research organizations, institutions and firms as well as people.

Being aware of the importance of cultural and scientific cooperation as a means of promoting mutual understanding and trust, they resolve to promote the development of cultural relations providing opportunities for the citizens of both nations to learn the language of each other and to acquire a better knowledge of their respective achievements and values.

They will support the expansion of contacts between citizens of the two countries, including tourism, as well as contacts between representatives of federal and local authorities and youth and vocational organizations.

They reaffirmed their commitment to develop further relations between the two countries through frequent consultations at various levels, on matters pertaining to their mutual relations, including implementation of the principles contained herein, as well as important international issues of mutual interest.

III

The President and the First Secretary welcomed the progress in recent years toward the general relaxation of tension and the development of peaceful relations between countries of different socio-economic systems. In this connection they stressed the importance of making that progress irreversible. They are determined to continue efforts aimed at strengthening these positive changes to which all countries, irrespective of their size and potential, can and should contribute in the interest of peace and security of all nations.

They will continue to work toward strengthening European security, in particular by contributing to the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the negotiations on Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

They stressed the importance of achieving effective measures of disarmament conducive to strengthening peace and security in the world.

They expressed their willingness to cooperate on various international matters concerning the consolidation of peace, international security and economic, social and cultural progress, with a view to making

their own contribution to the settlement of important international problems in the spirit of good will and mutual trust.

They recognized the necessity of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace, and in developing cooperation among all nations on the basis of the United Nations Charter.

They acknowledged that this Joint Statement does not infringe upon the obligations of the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic with respect to other states.

Washington, October 9, 1974

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

GERALD R. FORD

President of the United States of America

FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:

EDWARD GIEREK

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish
United Workers' Party

NOTE: The joint statement was signed in a ceremony in the Cabinet Room at the White House. For remarks at the ceremony, see the preceding item.

Visit of First Secretary Edward Gierek of Poland

Joint Statement on Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation Between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic. October 9, 1974

The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, —having held talks on the present state and further development of economic, industrial and technological cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic, agreed on the following statement:

I

The President and the First Secretary expressed gratification with the results achieved in their mutual economic and trade relations in recent years. They endorsed the guidelines for their further development that are set forth in this Joint Statement, and affirmed the positive role of these guidelines for the further development of mutual economic, industrial, and technological cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic.

Recognizing further growth of international trade as fundamental to economic development and improved standards of living, and guided by the provisions con-

tained in the Joint Statement on Principles of United States-Polish Relations, they reaffirmed their determination to seek continued expansion of economic and trade relations pursuant to a liberal export and import policy consistent with the legal requirements of each country and with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including most-favored-nation treatment. They also expressed confidence that their two countries' bilateral trade relations would be strengthened by the participation of their countries in the multilateral trade negotiations.

They recognize the existence of favorable prospects for further rapid development of bilateral trade in the coming years. They anticipate that their trade may reach \$1 billion in 1976 and grow to \$2 billion by 1980. They will seek to ensure the existence of proper conditions for economic relations in order that these goals may be achieved. Fields offering particular opportunities for the development of their economic relations include various light industries, food-processing, chemical and petrochemical industry, construction and transportation equipment, machinery, electronic and electrical equipment industries, coal mining and utilization and nonferrous metallurgy.

II

Considering industrial cooperation as a particularly important factor in the development of trade and the diversification of its structure, the President and the First Secretary will facilitate cooperation between American firms and Polish enterprises and economic organizations consistent with applicable laws and regulations of each of

the two countries, including long-term understandings in production; construction of new industrial facilities, as well as expansion and modernization of existing facilities; technological cooperation and research including exchanges of know-how, licenses and patents; training and exchange of technicians and specialists; organization of exhibits and conferences; and market and management research; in both countries and in third countries.

They affirmed that favorable consideration should also be given to new forms and methods of industrial cooperation suggested by interested firms and organizations. With a view to the development of economic cooperation, they will examine ways and means for the application of customs and fiscal facilitation for goods assigned to, and resulting from, cooperation projects within the provisions of customs legislation in force in the two countries.

III

Positively evaluating the development to date of scientific and technological cooperation between the United States and Poland, including cooperative projects undertaken in accordance with the United States-Polish Agreement on Science and Technology, the President and the First Secretary expressed the view that further cooperation of this kind in fields of interest to both countries should be pursued.

With a view toward the facilitation of projects for industrial and agricultural development, they, by mutual agreement, will exchange information concerning various fields in which the expansion of industrial and technological cooperation is desirable, and, on the basis of such exchange, will examine areas appropriate for consideration.

They positively evaluated the development to date of mutual financial and credit relations, especially the cooperation between the Export-Import Bank of the United States and the Bank Handlowy in Warsaw, which contributed to the rapid rise of trade and economic cooperation, and pledged continued cooperation in the development of these relations.

Attaching great meaning to the progress achieved in creating reciprocal trade facilities, they will examine ways of resolving administrative, tax, visa, and customs problems which may arise, and will facilitate as appropriate access to information concerning actual and potential markets, operation of business offices, trade promotion and other endeavors which contribute to the development of trade and economic cooperation.

Evaluating positively the work to date of the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission in developing and coordinating action in the area of mutual economic and trade relations, they will continue to work through the Commission to promote economic cooperation and resolve problems arising in the course of their economic, industrial and technological cooperation.

In issuing this Joint Statement, they express the hope that it will become an important practical contribution to utilization of the potential for development of economic, industrial, and scientific and technological cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic.

Washington, October 9, 1974

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

GERALD R. FORD

President of the United States of America

FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:

EDWARD GIEREK

First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Polish United Workers' Party

NOTE: The joint statement was signed in a ceremony in the Cabinet Room at the White House. For remarks at the ceremony, see p. 1255 of this issue.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The President's Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Former Governor William W. Scranton. October 9, 1974

Thank you very much, Hugh, and knowing of our long and warm friendship and our wonderful working relationship for so many years, I cannot express deeply enough my heartfelt thanks and wonderful appreciation for those kind words, and I thank you very, very much.

Bill and Mary, Dick Schweiker and Claire, Drew and Marilyn, my former colleagues in the House—and I know there are some here—would I be inappropriate if I asked all these former House members just to stand up because they are pretty important guys, too.

I saw Pete and Joe and John Ware and Larry Williams, and with these lights I cannot quite see them all, but let me express to them as well as to Dick and Hugh, my deep appreciation for their superb assistance and cooperation in some of the tough times we have had in recent weeks.

Let me add, if I might, my appreciation for the most kind communications and good thoughts and prayers from so many all over the country, as Hugh said, some 40,000 cards, telegrams, telephone calls, et cetera on behalf of Betty. She is doing great, and what you all have done has been material in making her get well much quicker. Thank you very, very much.

As some of you might have seen in the last few days, either through the newspapers or television, the White House has a new addition. My daughter, Susan, and Dave Kennerly, our new White House photographer, got together a few days ago and surprised Betty and me with an 8-month-old golden retriever.

This puppy has really taken over the White House. In fact, you may have seen some of us laughing up here dur-

ing dinner. As I reached in my pocket to get a match to light my pipe, look what I pulled out of the pocket—some dog biscuits. *[Laughter]*

Let me tell you the story about Susan and Dave and how they bought this dog. I first should preface that the Fords had had two previous golden retrievers. One lived 13 years and unfortunately died, and then another one died a year ago in August after 9 years. So we are fairly partial, I would say, to golden retrievers.

Well, Dave and Susan called up a very highly recommended individual who had contacts with the people who raise golden retrievers all over the country. Dave, as I understand it—who is communicating with the individual up in Minneapolis who happened to have a golden retriever about this age—Dave asked the individual if they had a dog and was it available, and the owner said they had this 8-month-old golden retriever, but the proprietor or the owner was a little cautious or very possessive about these dogs, and he asked in a very nice way who the dog's owner would be.

And they said, Dave and Susan, that they had to keep it a secret. Well, the kennel owner said they don't sell dogs that way. He would have to know who the dog's owner would be, and he wanted to know would the dog have a good home.

So, Dave and Susan very specifically assured the dog owner that it would have a good home. They explained that the parents were friendly and middle-aged and they had four children. The kennel owner said, "That sounds fine. What kind of a house do they live in?"

Susan and Dave said, "Well, it is a big white house with a fence around it." The kennel owner said, "This is a big dog. Will it have enough to eat? Does the father have a steady job?" On that question, they were stuck a bit. *[Laughter]*

Needless to say they got the dog and, in the appropriate spirit for the city of Philadelphia, we have named her "Liberty." One of those inquisitive reporters we have in Washington asked Susan who is going to take care of Liberty; who is going to feed her and groom her and take her out each night or every morning? And Susan did not hesitate one minute. She said, "Of course, it will be Dad." So, I have this feeling—this is one Liberty that is going to cost me some of mine. *[Laughter]*

But in a very broader sense, that is the true nature of liberty. It comes with both privileges and obligations. Freedom, we all know, is seldom free.

And it is a pleasure for me to be in Philadelphia again—the second time in less than a month—and for such a great purpose here tonight.

And I must say, having been in many political rallies in 25 or 26 years, the spirit, the participation, the look in your eye, and the feeling in the air gives me great hope for the things that we believe are good for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the great United States. And I thank you very much.

I think we all recognize that the strength of the Republican Party in this State is a tribute to Dick Frame, Tom McCabe, who has always been here and doing things when the going was the toughest—and I can tell you some stories about that, back in 1965—Sally Stauffer, and all of you who are here because you have conviction and dedication.

I am here because I want to thank so many of you for what you have done, and quite frankly, I am here to call upon you for a very great effort in the weeks ahead, because, in my judgment, so very much hangs in the balance, dependent on what you do. You have done it tonight, but the other things you can do between now and November 5.

I am, however, here because I wish to express my deep personal appreciation for an old and dear friend of mine, Bill Scranton. I think I have known Bill longer than I have known almost anybody here in this room tonight. He and I were in law school together, and that is a long time ago. He does not show it as much as I.

But we all know that a political party is not just a set of principles; it is also a group of people, and it will be judged, as we know, by the kind and the quality of the people that seek the recognition in the ballot box. I can assure you that is why Bill Scranton is such an asset to our party. He brings out nothing but the best in public service, and you in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania recognized that. And, Bill and Mary, we from outside the State are just as grateful for what you have done as all of you in the State of Pennsylvania. I thank you and congratulate you.

As I was sitting here, I looked around at the head table and there were three people on the podium, or at the head table, that I had the privilege of serving with in the House of Representatives—Bill Scranton, Hugh Scott, and Dick Schweiker.

Let me first speak about Hugh, if I might. He was a more senior Member of the House of Representatives when I came to Washington in January of 1949. He was friendly, courteous, helpful, and then you sent him to the United States Senate. We had many opportunities to work together during the early days of his Senate service, and then he and I became the Minority Leaders in the Senate and in the House.

I can say without any hesitation or qualification that I had nothing but the finest opportunities to work with Hugh, to do things on the plus side, to work together in total unison, and to fight for those things that are important to your State and to our country and to peace throughout the world.

And this working relationship, Hugh—then, when we were together in the Congress, and now—I cherish. And I am deeply grateful and thank you very, very much.

Then back in 1960 you all sent from his particular congressional district, Dick Schweiker, and then subsequently you sent him to the United States Senate. I

remember when Dick and Bill Scranton came to the House. I thought I was a pretty senior person and knew a lot and so forth. I did know one thing. I could tell that in Bill Scranton and Dick Schweiker the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had sent two first-class Members of the House.

When I ran for the Minority Leadership in 1965 and won by the landslide margin of 73 to 67, those two fellows were very, very helpful in my behalf.

So I express to Dick my appreciation, and I wish him the very best, because in the limited time that I served as the presiding officer, as a first instant Vice President, I noticed that Dick Schweiker did a great job for you in Pennsylvania, for the country, and, Dick, I know you will when all of these good people with thousands of others in Pennsylvania send you back for another 6 years.

If I might, I would like to make one observation. In the 8 or 9 years that I was the Minority Leader, I traveled an awful lot. You have no idea how many airports I have slept in and aircraft I have dozed in, because I wanted to help the party and good candidates the length and the breadth of the country.

Most years during that period of time I traveled some 200,000 miles each year. And during the period of this experience, I met many outstanding candidates for public office—Governors, et cetera. And I learned a bit about judging who was good and who was bad, and you sort of develop a capability of saying, "Gee, that fellow has got it, and this fellow does not have it."

I have known Drew Lewis over the last 4 or 5 years, and let me say to each and every one of you in this State: If you elect Drew Lewis to be your next Governor—and I think you will—you will elect one of the finest Governors I have had an opportunity to see.

When I was privileged to come to the great city of Philadelphia in September, I pledged then that with the help of the American people we would win the battle against inflation. Yesterday, before the joint session of the House and Senate, in trying to speak to the American people I outlined what I think was a fair and equitable plan to win this battle, and I asked the Congress and the American people to join me in this struggle. It has been a great experience that in the last 24 hours the American people have responded tremendously.

And the response of the Congress, basically, has been good. We have had some who have been critical, but I think they, in their own heart, know—as Hugh Scott said—they either buy this total plan or concept or design, or they have to come up with something else, because America cannot afford to lose this struggle.

As I said yesterday, I fully understand the reaction to some extent, or the criticism that a portion of the voters of this country might rise up in righteous wrath and turn them out of office if they would not face up to the tough decisions.

I tried to express yesterday, and I reiterate it tonight: I have an infinitely greater faith in the American people than those that want us to play politics with the economy and the strength of the political fabric of our country.

The American people want us to do what is right, not what is politically expedient. Some of you may have heard or watched—I had a press conference today, and one of my friends in the press made some comment or asked a question, well, wasn't this tax proposal that I suggested unfair and inequitable?

I am not sure this is the best audience for me to make the argument, but let me just take one or two examples, and I think you will agree with me when you see the facts. For a family with a gross income of wages of \$20,000 per year, the 5 percent surtax that I think is essential to provide the revenue that we can do other things that will indicate compassion for those that are less fortunate—for that family of four and gross income of \$20,000 a year, under this proposal they will pay \$42 more a year in Federal income taxes, which is about 12 cents a day.

This new tax will affect some 28 percent of the total Federal personal income taxpayers in this country. And I happen to think that those 28 percent good Americans—dedicated to the preservation of those things that are so essential for our children and our grandchildren—they won't fall back and criticize, they will step up and do what is right. And the politicians ought to do the same thing.

In the remarks I made about a month ago here in Philadelphia, saluting the convening of the First Continental Congress about 200 years ago, I cited—it was interesting, some of the parallels that Congress, that Congress and the 93d Congress today face.

One of the basic issues at that time, two centuries ago in this great city, was inflation. By taking tough positions then, inflation fighters of 1774 whipped that problem, just as the inflation fighters and energy savers in 1974 will whip this one.

As I tried to express and reiterated today, this is not something Hugh or Dick or Drew or Bill Scranton or my former colleagues in the House can do alone. The 1,500, or whatever the number here is tonight, can be massively helpful. And the millions of people throughout this country can do exactly the same. And if the mail I received or the communications that we have gotten are indicative of the feeling of the American people, they want to participate. They want to do something, and they will, because they know there is a challenge here at home and a challenge throughout the world to win this battle, and we will.

I don't have to portray to this group—you are very sophisticated and knowledgeable—but the problem is if we don't, we lessen our economic security here in America, we weaken our capability to govern ourselves, we

threaten our domestic stability and, we lose our leadership throughout the world. We don't want that.

What I ask you to do tonight is to help us in every congressional district in every State. Support those candidates that want to charge ahead, to whip, to whip inflation and to save energy. You can do it. You can send to the Congress those individuals whose records justifies it. And I am confident that those here tonight warrant and justify your support.

But let me take a minute, if I might, to talk about a particular subject that is related to inflation. The facts show that our energy problem is a major difficulty in the battle against inflation. We know that the cost of energy has gone up very substantially, primarily because of the fact that we import some 6 million barrels of oil from outside the Continental limits every 24 hours, and the cost of that oil has gone up unbelievably.

If we are to get a hold, if we are to grasp successfully the problems of energy, we have to do something affirmatively to find other sources. We have to develop and produce those resources at home—whether it is oil or coal or geothermal or solar or any one of the other alternatives, nuclear included, that will be a substitute—so we cannot be held up by others who come from lands across the oceans.

There are some 17—or were, I should say—some 17 bills before the Congress that would have helped significantly in this battle to provide alternative means of energy or to expedite the utilization of energy, the energy that we had. Thus far, two out of those 17 have been approved by the Congress. One more is probably going to come to my desk in the next several days. But that leaves some 14 major proposals that the Congress must act upon, if we are to get the kinds of energy sources and supplies that are needed to give us alternative opportunities to those that we relied on for so long, if we are to use those resources at home in a proper, effective way.

Let me say, here in Pennsylvania you have had a great experience. I talked to Hugh and Dick on the way up from Washington today. One of those bills is a proposal to provide reasonable environmental safeguards while permitting vitally needed increases in coal production through surface mining in Pennsylvania and other States.

If I might point out, each ton of unmined Pennsylvania coal makes it necessary for us to import four barrels of expensive foreign oil. You know better than I that Pennsylvania has a totally adequate and effective State law governing surface mining which has achieved a reasonable balance between productivity and environmental concerns. What we need at the Federal level is a piece of legislation comparable to that which you have in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and I hope the Congress will see the wisdom of putting the final touches on such legislation.

But in addition, we need some changes in what is called the Clean Air Act to remove unrealistic deadlines

and to permit the use of available domestic coal supplies. I think this can be done—the record is clear—without endangering the health of any of our citizens.

The Administration, for example, has proposed 13 amendments to the existing Clean Air Act. Unfortunately, neither the House nor Senate has held any meaningful hearings in this regard. I can assure you that if the Congress were to pass this legislation, it would help materially in us meeting the challenge of domestic energy and would help us immeasurably in cutting down 1 million barrels per day of foreign oil imports.

Let me make one observation concerning the elections in 1974, and I happen to think that we should concentrate on '74, not on '76, because we cannot afford in this country to have the wrong kind of a Congress for the next 2 years.

Some of our friendly adversaries on the other side of the aisle early this year were tremendously optimistic about the possibility that they were going to pick up a net gain of 50 House seats and maybe four or five U.S. Senate seats, and they were anticipating that they would have what they designated as a veto-proof Congress.

I said then, and I reiterate now, I do not think the American people want a veto-proof Congress. One of the basic, important, crucial aspects of our society is that our Government works on a system of checks and balances—executive, legislative, judicial. Fortunately, we are blessed with a two-party system in America that permits us to have two strong major political parties. And the fact that one checks the other and the pendulum swings back and forth has given us probably more liberty, more benefits than any other political system in the history of the United States. And if you ended up with a veto-proof Congress, that balance will be gone.

So, the American people, as I have traveled and listened, are saying, "We want to retain a balance," and so some of our good friends on the other side of the aisle, recognizing that the American people do not want a dictatorial political system, are backing off.

But it does depend on November 5 on what you do. In order to preclude a veto-proof Congress and to elect an inflation-proof Congress, you have to elect or re-elect Dick Schweiker and the Republican nominees for the House of Representatives on November 5, and I urge you to do so.

Let me simply close by thanking you again and saying a special kind word about a dear and close old friend of mine, Bill Scranton. I have known Bill, I indicated earlier, probably as long as anybody I have known in this room, and I have gotten to know his lovely wife, Mary.

I saw Bill as a law student, as a Member of the House, as a Governor. And when the Office of the Presidency was precipitated so quickly and I needed help, I asked Bill Scranton to come down and help me. He was a major factor in this difficult transition process from August 9, and

for the month or two after that. He epitomizes the highest qualities of character and service in Government.

And so I am especially honored, Bill, to join with the many, many people here tonight, to join them in honoring you and to, of course, honor Mary. You represent what many of us appreciate as the very, very best. We wish you the finest, and before you say "no," sometime I am going to call on you to come down and help us some more.

Bill, from a Michigander to a great citizen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, it is a privilege for me to give you this Distinguished Republican Award: to William W. Scranton, citizen and patriot extraordinary, by me, President of the United States.

Thank you, Bill.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:35 p.m., at the Philadelphia Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa. Prior to the dinner, the President attended a reception for Republican contributors in the Pennsylvania Ballroom at the Philadelphia Sheraton Hotel.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Fiscal Year 1975 Budget Cuts

*The President's Memorandum to the Heads of Cabinet Departments. Dated October 8, 1974.
Released October 10, 1974*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
THE SECRETARY OF LABOR
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, & WELFARE
THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SUBJECT: *Fiscal Year 1975 Budget Cuts*

As I noted at the last Cabinet meeting, the suggestions which you and others have made for reducing 1975 spending are insufficient if we are to hold spending to \$300 billion or below. I have asked Roy Ash and his staff to work with you and your staff in finding further reductions.

I recognize that this will be a very difficult task. There are few programs in which large cuts are desirable from the point of view of achieving agency missions. Nevertheless, under current economic conditions, it is essential that we present the Congress with a significant package of legislative and budgetary proposals that would allow us to reach our 1975 goal.

Time is short. We are well into the fiscal year. It is essential, therefore, that we complete work on our proposals so that I can send them to the Congress at an early date. I attach special urgency to this effort and look forward to your support and cooperation.

GERALD R. FORD

General Pulaski's Memorial Day, 1974

Proclamation 4325. October 10, 1974

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

On October 11, 1974, we will honor the 195th anniversary of the death of Casimir Pulaski, the selfless patriot who fought courageously for the cause of freedom both in Poland and in America. It was on October 11, 1779, that Pulaski gave his life for our young Republic, fatally wounded while leading a cavalry charge in the battle of Savannah.

Today, we pay grateful tribute to the heroic sacrifice of Casimir Pulaski. And as we do so, we also pay tribute to all Americans of Polish ancestry whose talents, energies, and devotion to freedom have contributed greatly to the growth of this Nation since the earliest days.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Friday, October 11, 1974, as General Pulaski's Memorial Day and I direct the appropriate Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on that day.

I also invite the people of the United States to observe the day with appropriate ceremonies in honor of the memory of General Pulaski and his dedication to the defense of liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:39 a.m.,
October 10, 1974]

UNESCO General Conference

*Announcement of Intention To Nominate
Representatives and Alternate Representatives
of the United States to the 18th Session in Paris.
October 10, 1974*

The President today announced his intention to nominate five persons to be Representatives and three persons

to be Alternate Representatives of the United States to the 18th Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The UNESCO General Conference session will be held in Paris, France, from October 16 to November 18, 1974.

Representatives:

R. MILLER UPTON, of Beloit, Wis., president, Beloit College in Beloit, Wis.

WILLIAM B. JONES, of Los Angeles, Calif., United States Permanent Representative to UNESCO.

ROSEMARY L. GINN, of Columbia, Mo., president, Lucas Brothers Publishing Company.

E. ROSS ADAIR, of Fort Wayne, Ind., associate in the law firm of Adair, Perry, Beers, McAllister and Mallers.

GORDON H. SCHERER, of Cincinnati, Ohio, attorney at law, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Alternate Representatives:

STEPHEN HESS, of the District of Columbia, senior fellow, Brookings Institution.

WILLIAM G. HARLEY, of the District of Columbia, president, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Washington, D.C.

J. ROGER PORTER, of Iowa City, Iowa, chairman, microbiology department, department of medicine, University of Iowa.

National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education

*The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Council's Eighth Annual Report.
October 10, 1974*

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith transmit the Eighth Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education. The Council is authorized by Public Law 89-329.

The Council again this year points to the problems caused by the multiplicity of legislative authorities, funding mechanisms, and responsible departments and agencies involved in the programs it has studied. While I cannot agree with all of the specific program recommendations contained in the Council's eighth report, I would call your attention to the members' support for the objectives and purposes of revenue sharing.

I share the Council's concern on the mechanics of decisionmaking under special revenue sharing. It is of vital importance that legislation be enacted which permits State and local determinations to prevail.

Policy makers at the State and local level are most capable of making decisions which respond to the needs of the people. At the same time, organizations with broad mandates such as the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities and the Fund for the Improvement of Post-secondary Education will continue their support of diverse

projects in many areas of social, cultural, and educational concern.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 10, 1974.

NOTE: The 53-page report is entitled "The Importance of Service: Federal Support for Continuing Education."

American Lutheran Church Convention

The President's Remarks at the Seventh General Convention in Detroit, Michigan. October 10, 1974

Dr. Preus, delegates to the Seventh General Convention of the American Lutheran Church, and friends:

I am deeply indebted to and most grateful for the extremely warm welcome and the wonderful opportunity to meet with all of you just for a few minutes here this evening.

I would like to address my remarks, if I might, not only to those who are here but also to the more than 2 million 500 thousand Lutherans each of you represent in this gathering here tonight, and the more than 9 million Lutherans in the United States, our homeland.

Very honestly and frankly, I am very moved by the theme of the American Lutheran Church—this convention—both as a President and as a Christian.

Ministering to a hungry world would serve, in my judgment, as a very stimulating, a very enthusiastic call to any assembly of committed people.

I think all of us recognize that the world hungers not only today but yesterday and tomorrow for food. And as I look at the facts and the figures in the office I presently hold, I think even more will be needed in the future.

Equally, perhaps more importantly, is the need, as I see it, for spiritual sustenance. Your President, Dr. David Preus, said it so well in his report to the convention, and let me quote, if I might:

"Bread is a little word designed to describe only the loaves we place in our mouth. It signifies the answer to all our deep human needs. It points beyond the loaf and the kernel of wheat to the Almighty, ministering in love to a hungry world."

As I entered this room, I was taken by the simple but very dramatic backdrop that has been provided by the Seventh American Lutheran Church General Convention—a child, a mother, a native mother with child, a couple, all looking hopefully toward the light that grows from the bread, and the cup, the wheat, and the grape.

I think the facts are that we all yearn to feed the starving, and when I say that, I mean all Americans. We all thirst for those who are living out their lives in desperation. We all want to win the fight against inflation, maintain peace, and assure justice for all people.

The lesson, I think, is that of every Sabbath, for everyone to hear in our churches and our synagogues, as Americans we must live it.

I am hopeful that we will be able to continue America's humane tradition, your theme of administering to the hungry, to the hungry in all 130 or more nations throughout the world. And as I have told the American people, sacrifices will be required.

Our lifestyles to some extent must be adjusted if we are to remain a source of strength for all peoples in all nations throughout the world. And if I could make one plea here tonight, I would like it to be in this context. I ask for your help in making that possible for all peoples throughout all the world.

Each and every one of us yearn to feed the starving. We all thirst for those living out their lives in some desperation, and there are literally thousands and millions that are doing that. We all want to do these things that are good for everybody.

But may I say just one word in a somewhat or slightly different tack. I note that the convention will be talking about the Bicentennial, and aren't we proud that our Nation is about to celebrate its 200th anniversary, two centuries of freedom and liberty for all people. And I must say that I have been greatly impressed with the originality reflected in the title that you at this convention have used, "The Commission on the Third Century of the American Life," and I commend you, Dr. Preus, and all of you here at this convention for that.

The understandable emphasis, I think, in the past has been what we recognize has been good for America. But it is my judgment, if I could offer just a bit of advice, that instead of looking at the past in toto, we should connect our great traditions and achievements of the past with what we can do in the future.

We must, as a Nation, build from the past and move forward to the future.

I thank you. I congratulate you. I am deeply grateful for the warm reception and the opportunity to just say hello, to commend you, and to encourage you for a most successful convention, and all the wonderful things that—I know from the friends that I have, my former colleagues in the Congress, Congressman Al Quie, and others—to do what is good for America, what is wonderful for the world.

I thank you and I urge—because I know it is true—you will have God's blessings.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:17 p.m. at Cobo Hall in Detroit, Mich.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Detroit, Michigan

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner in His Honor. October 10, 1974

Thank you very much. Max Fisher, Governor Milliken, Senator Bob Griffin, distinguished members of the executive branch in Lansing, members of the State legislature, public officials, ladies and gentlemen:

It is just wonderfully warming and refreshing to be here, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Before I begin, I really should tell you what a great day it has been today. In a State where automobiles are so much a part of our everyday life, you don't know how much fun it was driving in from the airport and seeing so many wonderfully nice people just come out and watch this Ford go by. [Laughter]

I have been asked by a good many friends of mine whether I will be able to stay for the next day or two and see that tremendously important, great traditional football game between Michigan and Michigan State this Saturday. Unfortunately, I won't be able to do so, but I do have to be honest. When the Wolverines are playing, asking me who I am rooting for is about as necessary as asking Bill Milliken and Bob Griffin how to get to Traverse City.

It is great to be here, as I indicated at the outset, among so many old friends and so many outstanding leaders who are here to pay tribute to Bill Milliken and the ticket.

If I might, I would like to relax a minute, and if I might, I would like to tell the latest shaggy dog story from Washington, and the truth is, it is accurate.

As a matter of fact, I was sitting up here talking to Max Fisher and Helen Milliken, and I was trying to light my pipe. And I reached into my pocket, and I picked out of the pocket a big dog bone, which I carry now because for the last 3 or 4 days we have had a new tenant at the White House.

Actually, it is a story of how my daughter, Susan, and Dave Kennerly, the new White House photographer, surprised me and Betty with an 8-month-old golden retriever last Saturday. In the process of trying to get this dog, because we had had a great affection for golden retrievers—we had two, one 13-year-old and one 9; both have died—so they called up a very highly recommended kennel and said they wanted to buy a golden retriever.

The owner of the kennel said, "That is fine, who will the dog's owner be?" They said it is a surprise, and they would like to keep it secret. Well, the kennel owner said he did not sell dogs that way. He would have to know who the dog was going to and whether it would have a good home or not.

So, Susan and Dave assured the kennel owner that the dog would have a good home. They explained that the parents are friendly, middle-aged, and have four children.

The kennel owner said, "Good. What kind of a house do they live in?"

Susan and Dave said, "Well, it is a big white house with a fence around it." Then the kennel owner went on to say—he was very inquisitive, protecting the dogs that he was trying to sell—the kennel owner said, "This is a big dog who will eat a lot. Does the father have a steady job?" Both Dave and Susan were stuck for an answer to that one. *[Laughter]*

Needless to say, they got the dog, and with it a very appropriate spirit of the Bicentennial. In that spirit we have named her "Liberty."

A reporter asked Susan and Dave, "Who is going to take care of Liberty? Who is going to feed her and groom her and take her out each night or every morning?" And Susan did not hesitate one minute, she said, "Daddy," which is typical. *[Laughter]*

So I have this feeling that this is one Liberty that is going to cost me some of my own. *[Laughter]*

But let me reiterate and reemphasize: It is wonderful to be back with all of you good Michiganders, and as I sat here talking with Max and Helen and others and looked out at this tremendous audience, I could not help but have the feeling that the enthusiasm, the numbers, the people—we are a reflection of the support that the people in Michigan will give to a great Governor, Bill Milliken, on November 5.

Bill, as you know, probably better than I, has done a superb job. The thing that I like about Bill is that he is a problem solver. Now, I may not agree with everything Bill has done, and I am sure it is reciprocated, but I do look at a person in the executive branch who has the conflicting advice and counsel of many people, who has the obligation to represent the cross-section of a great State, totaling 9 million people—he has to take into consideration the plusses and the minuses of a total population, and Bill Milliken has proved to me that he is a problem solver, and those are the kinds of people I like.

And, quite frankly, that is why I am here tonight, to do what I can in a small way to help the cause of a person who has done much for Michigan and can do infinitely more.

Bill, good luck.

If I might add parenthetically, his problem solving has not been in a small part of the spectrum. His problem solving has covered the waterfront, so to speak, with the environment, education, taxation, transportation.

What he has done in the field of education is really landmark. And all of us who feel that we must upgrade education for the future generations and for the benefit of our country, this should be a particular selling point for all of you as you go the length and the breadth of our great State.

Bill and I have discussed on a number of occasions since August 9, the problem of inflation and employment. Frankly, I took Bill's personal recommendations when I

had to make some of those decisions in the last week concerning our program to win the battle against inflation, and one of them that can be very helpful here in our State is the question of public service employment. I thank Bill for his specific understanding and recommendations in this regard.

And about a month ago, in accord with what Bill had proposed, I made available on a national basis a substantial amount of money, but for Michigan alone it was approximately \$35 million, which will be highly beneficial and very effective for some 300,000 unemployed in our State. And Bill, I thank you for the advice and good counsel on this program.

Let me say to the people of the city of Detroit, I had their problems in mind when I made some decisions in the last few days concerning the economy and energy. I think we all recognize that inflation strikes citizens most unevenly. There are those for one reason or another, because they are awfully young or they are rather old, who suffer in a discriminatory way inflation's evils.

Some of them do not have jobs or some of them are living on fixed incomes which are, unfortunately, too low under our current circumstances. But let me say that in our total package of programs—some 31 specific recommendations that I made last Tuesday—we had some ideas in there which we will implement with the help of the Congress and the American people.

To help the young and to protect the old, we have a Community Improvement Corps program which will give to the young people, particularly, but as well to the old, an opportunity to work with their hands and their minds to improve our environment, our communities.

It is aimed at the short-range problem that we have of getting us over the hump of a threatened recession and too high inflation. In this area, Bill Milliken was particularly beneficial because he knows that there are places in our State—that with the helping hand of the Federal Government, we can do things to improve the environment, to better our communities. And, of course, in speaking of Bill, I am delighted to recommend to you someone that I have gotten to know who will be a great partner with Bill as Lieutenant Governor, Lieutenant Governor Jim Damman.

Jim, good luck to you.

As Bob Griffin was speaking tonight, I reminisced a good bit in my own mind because in January of 1965, Bob Griffin did more to help me become Minority Leader than anybody else in the House of Representatives. And for all the trouble I have gotten in in the meantime, you can blame Bob Griffin. He was the campaign manager in the campaign where I challenged an older man, and we won by the landslide margin of 73 to 67.

But it was Bob's skill, his support, that made it possible, and it has been a great privilege and pleasure for me to watch Bob's progress as he went from the House to the

Senate, and from the Senate to the second leadership post on our side of the aisle.

Now, Bob and I have done a lot of things together. But he is a good bit younger, so we never played football together. But Bob is the kind of individual that I respect in politics. He is a team player, and I just hope and trust, as Bob moves along up the political ladder and in the priority list, that we in Michigan can see in Bob Griffin a higher and higher and more and more responsible role in our Federal Government. He deserves it, and he will make it.

Bob, it is nice to be here with you.

You have been introduced to the wives of the Members of the House. They are the ones that really are helpful in the tough times that a Member of the House has to make decisions. They look after the families, they are nice to their husbands, and I just think we owe a special round of applause to the wives of Marv Esch, Ed Hutchinson, Chuck Chamberlain, Al Cederberg, Phil Ruppe, and Bill Broomfield. We had anticipated that their husbands would be traveling with me coming out here. We have a few more accommodations now than we had a couple of months ago. But, unfortunately, all of them are in Washington staying on the job, and that is what you elected them to do.

So I think we should applaud them for being here with us tonight. And even though we missed all of the Republican Members of the delegation who could not be here, and that is sad, I would like to share some good news with you tonight.

It is often said that being President of the United States is the loneliest job in the world. To me, personally, that becomes a lot less lonely tomorrow. I am glad to report to all of you that Betty is coming home tomorrow.

And may I express to all of you her appreciation and mine, too, for the wonderful cards and letters and telegrams and telephone calls of good wishes and welcome. I can assure you that the some 20,000 or more that have come to the White House and to the hospital—it has been tremendously helpful. And she is coming home with a great spirit and a complete recovery, and I thank you for your help and assistance.

I should reemphasize that I learned in the last 2 months that the Presidency is a lonely job because the toughest decisions, the toughest decisions in the Federal Government, come to the President's desk. And these are the kinds of decisions that only the President can make under our system.

I always had doubts about it before, but I found it is true. And one of the toughest decisions that I had to make as President was whether or not to ask the Congress, 4 weeks before an election, to raise taxes on some individuals and on all corporate income.

I am sure you know what my decision was, but before giving you an illustration or two, let me say a choice I dis-

regarded was the proposal by some to put a 10 or 15 or 20 cent-per-gallon tax on gasoline. I discarded it because it was wrong under the circumstances.

Now, there have been some small tremors on Capitol Hill, and I am not blaming anybody for not immediately understanding how the proposed Federal surtax works. But let me illustrate how this tax actually is applicable to a good many taxpayers—a 5 percent surcharge on personal income.

Number one, it will affect only 28 percent of all individual tax returns. Seventy-two percent of the individual tax returns will have no additional income tax applied.

Number two, a 5 percent surcharge is not a repressive tax which will drive families to the wall to pay their taxes, nor will it significantly cut back their buying power.

Let me assure you: If we do not do something about double digit inflation, that will be infinitely more harmful; it will be far more injurious than a 5 percent surtax on the taxes that you are paying at the present time.

Let me illustrate quite categorically what it means. For a person with a \$15,000 income—wages—with a family of four, there won't be any extra tax. A family of four earning \$20,000 a year will have to pay an additional tax in a 12-month period of \$42, about 12 cents a day. Isn't that a good investment to stop double digit inflation? I think it is.

Let me ask you this: Wasn't it worthwhile to get this additional tax revenue, if the Congress responds, so that we can help to pay for some of the programs that are needed on a short-term basis, to help the people that are far worse off than we?

The program has to be fair; it has to be compassionate on one hand and calling for equity and sacrifice on the other. And that is what we have tried to do—to balance. We have also had to make sure that we tighten the screws enough to do something about inflation, but not to do too much so that we would continue down the road of some economic difficulty.

It was a finely-tuned, combined package of 31 proposals—enough pressure but enough flexibility; enough sacrifice but enough equity. And as we looked at it honestly and conscientiously, we tried to do something that would make it a program for success without severe penalty. And I urge you from the very bottom of my heart to come out and be a zealot, a salesman for a program that is good for America and fair to everybody. And I hope you will.

Speaking of responsibility—and this is a responsibility that we all have to take care of, public enemy number one—let me speak about another responsibility if I might. And here it is—a question, basically, of how the United States can continue in its leadership role in building peace, a peace that was established following World War II, so that we, in the last 25 or 30 years, could

enjoy the benefits in Western Europe of no conflict between the East and the West.

That building block of peace between the Soviet Union and its bloc allies and ours and our allies has been a cornerstone of non-aggression and understanding.

But we are at a very critical moment right now. I think many of you are aware of the Congressional action to cut off all military assistance to one of our NATO allies, Turkey. This Congress, I think, has made a serious mistake in this regard. The Congress arbitrarily made a decision, despite the opposition of the Democratic as well as Republican leadership in the House and Senate, and it is my unalterable conviction that such a drastic action under these circumstances will severely damage the interests of the United States and the free world.

Let me tell you why, if I could express my deep personal conviction. If this action of arbitrarily cutting off an ally is not reversed, history could well record that this Congress has embarked on a dangerous and misguided course of action which regrettably, tragically, catastrophically, could damage Greece—another ally—and undermine the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It is unbelievable to me that the Congress would act in such a way. As I have told you, the Democratic and Republican leadership of the House and Senate fought the action that was taken in both bodies, but, unfortunately, the majority in the House and Senate at this moment have prevailed in what they have done. They have not helped Greece, they have not helped NATO, they have not helped settle the problem in Cyprus one bit. They probably hurt all three.

Now the United States, because of the skillful diplomatic leadership of Dr. Henry Kissinger, is in a position to be helpful in the solution of this problem. And if we get some flexibility from the Congress—and the chips are down tomorrow—with 60 days of flexibility, we can make some progress. We can do something to help Greece and at the same time keep Turkey within the NATO organization, and, simultaneously, help to negotiate a meaningful constructive solution to the problems in Cyprus.

What I am trying to say to you is, if you have any influence on any of your Members of Congress—Democratic or Republican—urge them in the House of Representatives tomorrow to give us just 60 days to use our influence in trying to bring about a solution that will help Greece and keep Turkey within the alliance, and find a key to the problems of Cyprus. Just urge your friends in the House, both Democratic and Republican, to vote for the Mansfield amendment which passed the Senate yesterday.

I say this as strongly as I possibly can. And I say it because just a quarter of a century ago, when I first went to the House of Representatives, the Congress was under the control of the Republicans, and there was a Democratic President by the name of Harry Truman. And at that stage, just after World War II, there was a massive bi-

partisan effort to rebuild Europe and to lay the foundation for our alliance in Europe today.

A Democratic President from Independence, Missouri, was helped tremendously by a Republican Senator from Grand Rapids, Arthur Vandenberg. And those two people were the architects of a bipartisan foreign policy that gave us a foundation for peace and strength in Western Europe.

What I am saying to you and to my friends in the Congress—wouldn't it be tragic if there was a division between a Democratic Congress and a Republican President a quarter of a century later?

They and I have the obligation to work together, to build on this quarter of a century of progress, and we can and we will. Leadership on both sides of the aisle and both ends of the Capitol are working with me, but we need the help of a lot of others in the House as well as in the Senate if we want to help Greece, if we want to keep the NATO organization strong, if we want to solve the humanitarian problems in Cyprus.

Let me conclude with these final observations and comments. We have got not only problems at home in the economic field and problems in foreign policy around the world, but we have the basic problem of trying to maintain the political structure of our country.

I know that some people fear the demise of some of our basic political institutions, one of them being the two-party system. And if you look at the Gallup or Roper polls, you can see that the Republican party has suffered greatly according to their calculations. The Democratic party has not picked up, in fact they have lost a few, too, and there is a great mass in the middle who call themselves Independents.

I respect and admire Independents, but as I look back over the history of this country, I find that the periods of greatest political stability and progress and movement have come when we had two strong political parties. It seems to me that our history has been greater and more glorious when we have had no splinter parties, that we have been unified in one of two major political parties.

Independence is good, but if we are to make our system work in the traditional way where you have competition with the Democrats on one hand and the Republicans on the other, we have got to maintain these organizations which give to every American an opportunity to be a participant.

Now, I have some prejudice as to which party I think people ought to belong, but the main problem we have is to make sure that these two political parties survive, grow, and participate in a more meaningful way. This is the way that our party can nominate people like Bill Milliken, John Damman, Bob Griffin, the members of the Michigan Congressional delegation, the members of the State legislature. And so I plead with you to support a strong two-party system.

History throughout the world tells us this: If you have a multitude of political parties, you have chaos and you end up in that nation suffering with no progress. On the other hand, if you have one political party, we have the evils of dictation and all that goes with it.

So, let's make the choice of a two-party system. And this election has something to do with that—a catastrophic defeat, as some forecasters are predicting for the Republican Party, could have a terribly depressing effect on the Republican Party and could—could, I say, write the obituary.

I don't think it will happen to the Republican Party and all for which we stand, so as I close, let me say I am confident of our faith in the Republican Party. I am confident that our candidates will do well at the State level, the Federal level.

Why? Because they have good principles, they have done a good job. They deserve the support of the people of Michigan, but more importantly, it is important to preserve the strength, the fiber of a political system that has done more for more people in freedom, material things, and God's blessings—a political system of the United States.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 p.m. at Cobo Hall, Detroit, Mich.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Detroit, Michigan

Remarks of the President and Lt. Gov. James H. Brickley Upon Presentation of the Michigan American Revolution Bicentennial Medallion to the President. October 10, 1974

MR. BRICKLEY. Mr. President, on behalf of the Michigan Bicentennial Commission, I am very proud to present to you, the 38th President of the United States, Michigan's Bicentennial Medallion, the 38th one to be struck containing a caricature on the back that was designed for the President by a Michigan high school student who won a statewide high school contest for that purpose.

We are going to be doing many things, hopefully, in Michigan to celebrate that birthday, but I think we of the Bicentennial Commission, and all of us here, and certainly all of Michigan's citizens, will be most proud that of all the things, that you will be the President of this Republic on its 200th birthday in July of 1976.

Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Lieutenant Governor Brickley.

Jim, as I know, it is a wonderful, wonderful little object that I will have on my desk in the Oval Office. It will remind me of the great State that means so much to me and the people who mean so much to me.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The remarks began at 9:31 p.m. at Cobo Hall, Detroit, Mich., where the President was attending a Republican fundraising dinner in his honor. Lieutenant Governor Brickley is the chairman of the Michigan American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education

Announcement of Appointment of Four Members of the Council. October 11, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of four persons as members of the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education for terms of 3 years, expiring June 30, 1977:

RUTH O. CRASWELLER, of Duluth, Minn., fashion coordinator and public relations director of two Glass B. Block Stores and producer-hostess of a noontime television show, *The Scene Today*, for WSDM-TV, of Duluth. This is a reappointment.

KENNETH T. LYONS, of Norwood, Mass., national president, National Association of Government Employees, Boston, Mass. This is a reappointment.

ARMAND L. HUNTER, of Okemos, Mich., director, the Continuing Education Service, Michigan State University. He succeeds Mark Guerra whose term expired.

CHARLES H. LAWSHE, of Lafayette, Ind., vice president and dean of continuing education, Purdue University, West Lafayette. He succeeds Dorothy Bewley whose term has expired.

The Council advises the Commission on Education on the preparation of general regulations and policies to eliminate duplication of continuing education programs.

Mental Retardation

Statement by the President Following a Meeting With the President's Committee on Mental Retardation. October 11, 1974

Three years ago, America committed itself to cutting the rate of mental retardation in half by the end of the century. That is a notable goal, worthy of a great nation, and today in meeting with the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, I have renewed our commitment to that goal.

The problem of mental retardation deserves our attention not only for the sake of the more than 6 million afflicted Americans and their families but for all of us. The majority of retarded citizens can become productive members of society.

There are three important points about mental retardation that must be understood:

One, with appropriate training, retarded people are capable of continuing development in normal community settings. Primarily through its housing agencies, the Federal Government will help retarded adults obtain suitable homes. But the real help must come from the local level.

Two, corrective measures in early childhood can reduce the severity of a handicap. Young children should be screened for handicaps, and, when found, they should be corrected.

Three, since we know some of the causes of mental retardation, we know some ways to prevent it. Biomedical research may be helpful in extending this knowledge.

At present rates, some 4 million of our children expected to be born by the year 2000 will be retarded or become retarded. The members of the committee have advised me that it is realistic to believe that the number can be reduced by half, and I urge all segments of our society to do their part in achieving this objective.

To attain this goal, every prospective mother should have available to her good prenatal care, including the most current techniques of fetal diagnosis and genetic counseling where necessary. She should know the kind of diet which will promote proper growth of the fetus. Good care for mother and child should continue postnatally, with special attention for premature infants. Infants and young children should be screened at appropriate intervals for hearing, visual, and other defects which could impede their learning ability, so that defects may be corrected before the child falls far behind.

A healthy environment and an adequate, balanced diet are especially important throughout the younger years, as is vaccination against rubella and other diseases.

Our school systems must be strengthened, so that they can provide the appropriate education which both the law and our conscience say may not be denied to retarded or otherwise handicapped children. By appropriate education, I mean training in academic, vocational, and social skills which will enable these children to live up to their highest potential. And let us never underestimate how high that potential is.

In the last few years, great progress has been made in winning legal recognition for the rights of retarded citizens—not only the right to education but the right not to be confined in an institution without habilitative treatment, the right to be paid for work done, and other rights that belong to all citizens.

I urge employers to consider the very real job capabili-

ties of retarded persons and to use the U.S. Employment Service to the fullest possible extent in hiring retarded persons. If we forget stereotypes and look at retarded people as people, we will recognize what so many of them have already proved—that they can do hundreds of different jobs reliably and well.

There is urgent need to chart a concerted effort to minimize the occurrence of retardation and to assure humane services and full citizenship for those who are retarded. I encourage this committee to pursue to completion its report on the directions that effort should take over the next quarter century.

Finally, I call upon all Americans to become more familiar with the problems of retardation and the potentials of retarded people. With our understanding, they will thrive. With our love, they will flower.

Energy Reorganization Act of 1974

The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony at the White House. October 11, 1974

Before signing, I want to thank all the Members of Congress who are here. I can recall rather vividly when this recommendation came to the Congress, and I am especially pleased that I have an opportunity to sign the legislation which establishes ERDA.

I think it is a tremendous step forward. It is really the result of hard work by the Congress, and I think good recommendations by the Administration.

Now we are going to turn over to Rog—Rog Morton here—the overall responsibility to make sure that this, as well as the other parts of the energy program for this Government, proceeds as fast, and as effectively, and as efficiently as possible.

So, it is a particular pleasure for me to sign a rather short name with 11 pens, but I will do my best. [Laughter] I found that there was another left-handed President, President Garfield. We will get a couple more and see that those are properly passed out.

Thanks for coming down. I apologize for being late, but we had the President of Somalia, on his first visit in the Oval Office, and we had a very interesting conversation. I just could not break away.

So, thank you for waiting, and good luck to you, and I hope you all have a good vacation between now and November 11.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. As enacted, the bill (H.R. 11510) is Public Law 93-438, approved October 11, 1974.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Energy Reorganization Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. October 11, 1974

It is my privilege today to sign into law a bill which takes a big step forward in this Nation's program to face up to and solve its crucial energy needs for the future.

H.R. 11510 abolishes the present Atomic Energy Commission and establishes three new Federal entities:

1. The *Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA)* which, for the first time, will bring together into one agency major Federal programs of research and development for all forms of energy and will organize these programs for cooperation with industry, academic institutions, and other organizations in the Nation's rapidly expanding energy research and development effort.

2. The *Energy Resources Council* composed of the Secretaries of State and Interior, the Administrators of ERDA and the Federal Energy Administration, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and other members as I may designate. I am pleased that the Congress acted consistent with my suggestion for an interagency council, which I had announced in my Economic message October 8. It is, therefore, my pleasure to name the Secretary of the Interior to chair this Council and I am today issuing an Executive Order to assure prompt action.

3. The *Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC)* which will take over the licensing and regulation responsibilities previously performed by the Atomic Energy Commission.

My Administration is already committed to a greatly accelerated 5-year program of over \$10 billion for energy research and development. ERDA gives us the unified, high quality scientific, technical, and management organization to achieve the greatest benefit from this investment of public funds. By combining the research and development capabilities of AEC with the fossil fuels research capability of the Interior Department, and with energy research skills from EPA and the National Science Foundation, we are bringing together in ERDA the best of our government skills in energy research and development.

From these agencies, we will be drawing upon a highly respected team of scientists, engineers, and program managers, capable of making immediate contributions to research on all forms of energy. Bringing together these skills, using AEC as its base, represents the quickest way in which the Federal Government can work with industry and others in mobilizing the talents, facilities, and skills needed to undertake the major expansion and extension of the Nation's energy research and development programs.

The Energy Research and Development Administration is being given a broad range of challenging and important research missions:

1. It will continue the research of the present Atomic Energy Commission in nuclear fusion and fission, working with American industry to design, develop, and demonstrate increasingly more effective nuclear power systems to meet our growing electric power needs, and to see to it that these systems are completely safe in operation, economically feasible, and environmentally clean.

2. It will continue to expand fossil fuels research programs which the Department of the Interior initiated to capitalize on our immense national reserves of coal and oil shale, with emphasis on advancing the technology for the clean use of coal, including gasification and liquefaction.

3. It will continue to serve our national security needs by carrying on AEC's responsibility for the design, development, and fabrication of weapons systems for the Department of Defense.

4. It will maintain our nuclear materials production capability which serves both military and civilian needs, including international commitments for supplying nuclear reactor fuel.

5. It will give us greatly strengthened Government scientific and engineering capability to expand and upgrade our research into making use of new and potentially important forms of energy such as solar and geothermal sources.

6. It will move immediately into a substantial new effort in energy conservation research and development, including the utilization of the best scientific and engineering talent to find new ways to make our factories, our automobiles, our buildings, and our appliances more energy efficient and economical.

7. It will additionally continue and expand a program of environmental control technology and assessment of environmental and health effects of energy technologies.

8. It will continue strong basic research programs in such areas as physics, environmental and biological sciences and extend these scientific capabilities to support *all* energy areas—not just nuclear energy.

ERDA must and will become a lot more than the sum of its present parts. What is envisioned is nothing less than a *complete* energy research and development organization. It will be one which will fill in the gaps in our present research efforts and provide a balanced national research program. It will give proper emphasis to each energy source according to its potential and its readiness for practical use. It will closely integrate our energy research and development efforts with overall national energy policy.

In addition to creating ERDA, H.R. 11510 also creates a new Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) which will assume the licensing and regulatory responsibilities previously carried out under the Director of Regulation

within the Atomic Energy Commission. The highly technical nature of our nuclear facilities and the special potential hazards which are involved in the use of nuclear fuels fully warrant the creation of an independent and technically competent regulatory agency to assure adequate protection of public health and safety.

NRC will be responsible for the licensing and regulation of the nuclear industry under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act. This means that NRC will be fully empowered to see to it that reactors using nuclear materials will be properly and safely designed, constructed, and operated to guarantee against hazards to the public from leakage or accident. NRC will also exercise strengthened authority to assure that the public is fully safeguarded from hazards arising from the storage, handling, and transportation of nuclear materials being used in power reactors, hospitals, research laboratories, or for any other purpose.

With the creation of ERDA and NRC, the Federal Government has acted in a timely way to participate in the national effort to meet our future energy research and development needs. This action has been feasible through the very best kind of cooperation between the Congress and the executive branch. I want especially to express my appreciation and gratitude to those members of both Houses, who, by their leadership brought this legislation to reality.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 11510) is Public Law 93-438, approved October 11, 1974.

Activation of the Energy Resources Council

Executive Order 11814. October 11, 1974

In my address to the Congress on October 8, 1974, I expressed my intention to create a new National Energy Board, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the Interior, to develop, coordinate, and assure the implementation of Federal energy policy. Subsequent to my delivery of that address, the Congress completed action on the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974 which I have just approved into law. Section 108 of that act creates in the Executive Office of the President a new Energy Resources Council which would be charged with performing functions that are essentially the same as those I had intended to assign to the National Energy Board. Consequently, I have determined that it would serve no useful purpose to create that Board. Instead, I am now exercising the authority vested in me by section 108 of

the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, to activate immediately the Energy Resources Council, to designate the Secretary of the Interior as its Chairman, and to designate additional officials as members thereof.

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States of America by the Constitution and laws of the United States, particularly section 108 of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Section 108 of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974 shall be effective as of the date of this order and the Energy Resources Council shall be deemed to have been activated as of that date.

SEC. 2. The Council shall consist of the Secretary of the Interior, who shall be its Chairman, the Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Transportation, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration, the Administrator of the Energy Research and Development Administration (upon entry into office), the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, the Director of the National Science Foundation, the Executive Director of the Domestic Council, and such other members as the President may, from time to time, designate.

SEC. 3. The Energy Resources Council shall perform such functions as are assigned to it by section 108 of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, shall develop a single national energy policy and program, and shall perform such other functions as may be assigned to it, from time to time, by the President.

SEC. 4. All departments and agencies shall cooperate with the Council and shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide it with such assistance and information as the Chairman of the Council may request.

SEC. 5. The Committee on Energy, the establishment of which was announced on June 14, 1974, is hereby abolished.

SEC. 6. The Council shall terminate in accordance with the provisions of section 108 of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 11, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:28 a.m.,
October 15, 1974]

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

October 5

The President held a breakfast meeting at the White House with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmi.

Members of the Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board met with the President.

Vuong Van Bac, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Vietnam, met with the President.

The President hosted a formal reception for members of the diplomatic corps and their wives.

October 6

Members of the Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board met with the President at the White House.

October 7

AID Assistant Administrator Herman Kleine and AID Foreign Disaster Relief Coordinator Russell S. McClure met with the President at the White House following their trip to Honduras. The two senior AID officials reported on damage and relief efforts in Honduras following Hurricane Fifi.

The White House announced that President Ford and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing have agreed to meet in Martinique on December 14-16, 1974.

The President announced the appointment of Roman Pucinski, of Chicago, Ill., as a member of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, for the remainder of a term expiring January 17, 1976. Mr. Pucinski succeeds Arthur M. Lee who has resigned effective today.

The President announced the appointment of Teresita Deupi, of Springfield, Va., as a member of the National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services, for the remainder of a term expiring January 30, 1976. Mrs. Deupi succeeds John Ellis O'Neill who resigned effective July 10, 1974.

George W. Romney, chairman of the National Center for Voluntary Action, met with the President.

Representative Edward J. Derwinski, of Illinois, met with the President to discuss the status of U.S.-Polish relations. Representative Derwinski visited Poland during the summer and met at that time with First Secretary Edward Gierek.

The President met with the National Security Council. Archbishop Iakovos, archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, met with the President to discuss the situation in Cyprus.

The President has designated Armistead I. Selden, Jr., as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Special Ambassador, at ceremonies incident to the celebration of Fiji's 100th anniversary of the cession to the British Crown and its 4th year of independence within the British Commonwealth. These ceremonies will be held at Suva from October 8 through 12, 1974.

October 8

The President today acknowledged the retirement from active service of Charles M. Merrill, of San Francisco, Calif., as a United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, effective October 8, 1974.

October 9

The President transmitted to the Congress the seventh annual report of the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity.

October 10

The White House announced that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany has accepted the President's invitation to pay an official visit to the United States on December 5 and 6, 1974.

The White House announced that the First Lady has named Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld and Nancy Lammerding to serve as Press Secretary and Social Secretary, respectively.

The President met at the White House with a group of Midwestern Congressmen to discuss agricultural problems. Participants in the meeting included: Representatives Vernon W. Thomson, Wiley Mayne, Charles Thone, Mark Andrews, Gene Taylor, and William J. Scherle.

The President met with Representatives O. C. Fisher and Robert Price of Texas to discuss agricultural problems.

October 11

The President met at the White House with the Cabinet.

The President met with Mohamed Siad Barre, President of Somalia and Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

The President today accepted the resignation of Patrick J. Buchanan as Special Consultant to the President, effective November 15, 1974.

The President went by helicopter to Bethesda Naval Hospital to accompany Mrs. Ford on her return to the White House following surgery.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released October 7, 1974

Advance text: remarks at Burlington, Vt.

Released October 8, 1974

Advance text: address to a joint session of Congress on the economy

News conference: on the President's address to a joint session of Congress on the economy—by William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury; Frederic W. Hickman, Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy; Roy L. Ash, Director, Office of Management and Budget; and James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Released October 9, 1974

Advance text: remarks at Philadelphia, Pa.

Advance text: remarks at Detroit, Mich.

Released October 11, 1974

Fact sheet: Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA)

News conference: on the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974—by Frank Zarb, Associate Director for Natural Resources, Agriculture, Energy and Science, Office of Management and Budget; Dixie Lee Ray, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission; and Jack Carlson, Assistant Secretary for Energy and Materials, Department of the Interior

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted October 8, 1974

The following-named persons to be members of the National Council on Educational Research for terms expiring June 11, 1977:

LARRY A. KARLSON, of Washington, vice James S. Coleman, term expired.

ARTHUR M. LEE, of Arizona, vice Vincent J. McCoola, term expired.

JAMES GARDNER MARCH, of California, vice Vera M. Martinez, term expired.

CARL H. PPOREHEIMER, Jr., of New York (reappointment).

WILSON C. RILES, of California (reappointment).

Submitted October 10, 1974

The following-named persons to be Representatives and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the Eighteenth Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization:

Representatives:

R. MILLER UPTON, of Wisconsin

WILLIAM B. JONES, of California

ROSEMARY L. GINN, of Missouri

E. ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana

GORDON H. SCHERER, of Ohio

Alternate Representatives:

STEPHEN HESS, of the District of Columbia

WILLIAM G. HARLEY, of the District of Columbia

J. ROGER PORTER, of Iowa

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved October 4, 1974

H.R. 5507..... Public Law 93-432

An act to authorize the conveyance to the city of Salem, Illinois, of a statue of William Jennings Bryan.

Approved October 5, 1974

H.R. 11559..... Public Law 93-435

An act to place certain submerged lands within the jurisdiction of the governments of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, and for other purposes.

H.R. 15404..... Public Law 93-433

Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1975.

H.R. 16102..... Public Law 93-434

An act to amend the Emergency Daylight Saving Time Energy Conservation Act of 1973 to exempt from its provisions the period from the last Sunday in October, 1974, through the last Sunday in February, 1975.

S. 3320..... Public Law 93-436

An act to extend the appropriation authorization for reporting of weather modification activities.

Approved October 8, 1974

H.R. 16243..... Public Law 93-437

Department of Defense Appropriation Act, 1975.

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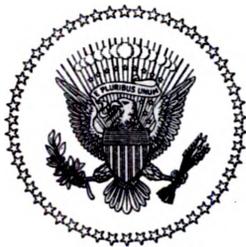
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**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

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of Michigan
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, October 18, 1974

Administrator of Veterans Affairs

Remarks of the President and Richard L. Roudebush at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Mr. Roudebush. October 12, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Roudy and Karen and my former colleagues in the Congress, and Government officials and friends:*

This is a landmark day in that a man who served in the Congress and helped to write some of the laws, a man who fought in the service of his country and who also participated very, very actively in veterans organizations, is going to be the Administrator of the Veterans Administration.

All of you know here, probably better than I, the magnitude of the responsibilities of the Veterans Administration, the magnitude not only in the facilities and the employees and the responsibilities but the great and important work that the VA does for people.

The number of veterans in this country is almost beyond comprehension when you go back through the war in Vietnam, Korea, and World War II. When you take into consideration World War I, the number of veterans that are in our population of 213 million is a very substantial portion.

So, Roudy, you have an obligation to do a first-class job on behalf of a good share of the population of this country, the people who have given dedicated service on behalf of freedom, on behalf of our national security.

All of us here and your fellow citizens expect that the Veterans Administration is going to have an outlook that is dedicated to the best in service.

I said at the VFW speech in Chicago that we were not going to treat veterans as a number in a computer. We were going to treat veterans as persons, individuals who had made sacrifices, sacrifices for our freedom and our way of life.

So, as you handle the problems of pensions and compensation, the problems of health service with our hospitals

and out-patient treatment, as you handle the problems that cover the life of the thousands and thousands of veterans, I am convinced that you will do a first-class job.

The obligation is great, but the person who has been selected and confirmed I know will do the job. And so, I congratulate you and the Members of the Congress with whom you served, the members of the various veterans organizations of which you were a part, and the individuals in the service with whom you participated. I congratulate you on behalf of all of them.

Good luck. We are counting on you.

MR. ROUDEBUSH. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Certainly, I want to first say how very deeply grateful I am to you, sir, for your confidence. I am also deeply grateful that you take the time from a schedule that must be backbreaking to have this public ceremony here today in the beautiful Rose Garden of the White House.

I am deeply grateful that my daughter could come out from Indiana—Karen, and be with me today. I am sure the President is aware of the fact that my father is in very bad condition, and my wife had to remain in Indiana and could not be present with us today. So, Karen appeared in her behalf.

I want to acknowledge the presence of my former colleagues in the Congress, in both bodies, and may I say to them I appreciate them coming. My comrades of the veterans organizations, I am very deeply grateful to you.

Mr. President, the charge you have given me is a tremendous one. I am aware of this. The task before the Veterans Administration, administering benefits for more than 29 million of our citizens—and when you take into account the families of those 29 million veterans, a total, an aggregate you might say, of over 100 million of our citizens, nearly half of our population—it is a tremendous undertaking.

But, Mr. President, I am happy to report to you today, although I have actually been aboard as the acting Administrator only a very short period of time, I think we have a new feeling at the Veterans Administration.

I think we have a great increase in our morale down there, and we appreciate your support, sir, and the sup-

port of our great veterans organizations, and I know that we are going to solve all the problems that do lie in front of us.

I am so happy that my colleagues from the VA, men like Odell Vaughn, could be here today, our Chief Benefits Director; Rufus Wilson, who runs our cemetery system, Mr. President, and Dr. Jack Chase, who of course, heads up the greatest hospital system in the world, all 171 of our hospitals, and I am just so happy that they could come down today.

So, Mr. President, I believe that is all I have to say at this time, but thank you all for coming. And to you, sir, I offer again my sincere thanks, my appreciation, and I assure you, sir, I will never let you down.

Thank you so much.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, thank you all for coming. It is wonderful to have you here on this beautiful day. We are proud of Roudy, and we know he will do a first-class job.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:51 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Veto of Railroad Retirement Act Amendments

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 15301 Without His Approval. October 12, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval, H.R. 15301, a bill which would finance a long-standing deficit in the Railroad Retirement System at the expense of the general taxpayer.

The Railroad Retirement System, under current law, is headed toward bankruptcy by the mid-1980s. This condition arises largely because benefits have been increased 68 percent since 1970 without requiring the beneficiaries of the system, railroad employees and employers, to pay the added costs.

This bill proposes to solve the financial problems of the Railroad Retirement System by placing a seven billion dollar burden on the general taxpayer, requiring him to contribute \$285 million to the Railroad Retirement Trust Fund each year for the next twenty-five years. In return for his seven billion dollar contribution, the general taxpayer would earn no entitlement to benefits and would receive no return on his investment.

At a time when the taxpayer is already carrying the double burden of taxes and inflation, legislation such as this is most inappropriate.

Recognizing the financial straits of the Railroad Retirement System, the Executive Branch in 1970 proposed and

the Congress authorized an independent study of the System. After eighteen months of careful work, the study group recommended that the benefits be financed ". . . on an assured, fully self-supporting basis by contributions from the railroad community through the crisis period of the next 20 to 30 years and then beyond."

Following receipt of the report, the Congress directed representatives of railroad employees and management to submit their combined recommendations for restoring financial soundness to the System, taking into account the report and the specific recommendations of the Commission.

The bill which is now before me is true neither to the recommendation of the Commission nor to the charge placed on the industry by the Congress.

Forcing the general taxpayer to carry an unfair burden is not the only defect in this bill. It would also establish a special investment procedure for the Railroad Retirement Trust Fund.

Under the bill, the interest paid by the Treasury on Railroad Retirement investments and Federal securities would rise when interest rates increase but would not fall when they decrease. This "heads I win; tails you lose" arrangement, with the taxpayer being the loser, has been suggested before, but never adopted. It should not be a part of the solution to the Railroad Retirement System's financial problem.

Furthermore, the provisions of the benefit formula are so complex that they would be extremely difficult to administer and virtually impossible to explain to the persons who are supposed to benefit from it. Now is the time to simplify the benefit structure of the Railroad Retirement System, not make it more complex. Splitting administrative responsibility between the Railroad Retirement System and the Social Security System over benefits that depend on entitlement under the Social Security Act is bad law. Full responsibility for administering Social Security benefits should be vested in the Social Security Administration, not divided among agencies with resultant uncertainty as to who should be held accountable.

I believe it is our obligation to the general taxpayer to see that the problems of this system are overcome by the industry and people it serves—those who have benefited from it in the past and will continue to receive its benefits in the future. Other industries—other parts of the transportation industry—pay for their own pension systems. There is no justification for singling out the railroads for special treatment.

There are only two ways this obligation can be met—by increasing revenues or by limiting benefits or by a combination of both. Administration spokesmen have proposed constructive ways to achieve this goal, but our proposals have not received serious consideration by the Congress.

We are in need of a better railroad retirement system and a financially sound one. This bill does not meet that

need. I urge the Congress to reconsider that need and to develop a new bill which is fair to the taxpayers as well as to the beneficiaries of the Railroad Retirement System. This Administration stands ready to help in any way it can.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 12, 1974.

NOTE: On October 16, 1974, the House of Representatives and the Senate voted to override the President's veto of the Railroad Retirement Act amendments. The bill (H.R. 15301) became Public Law 93-445, without the President's signature.

Veto of Atomic Energy Act Amendments

*The President's Message to the House of Representatives
Returning H.R. 15323 Without His Approval.
October 12, 1974*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning without my approval H.R. 15323, "To amend the Atomic Energy Act, as amended, to revise the method of providing public remuneration in the event of a nuclear incident, and for other purposes."

The first eleven sections of the bill basically carry out recommendations of the Atomic Energy Commission, and I would be glad to approve them if they stood alone.

Section 12, however, would provide that "the provisions of this Act shall become effective thirty (30) days after the date on which the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy submits to the Congress an evaluation of the Reactor Study, entitled 'An Assessment of Accident Risks in the U.S. Commercial Nuclear Power Plants,' AEC Report Number WASH-1400, except that it shall not become effective if within the thirty (30) day period after the Joint Committee submits its evaluation, the Congress adopts a concurrent resolution disapproving the extension of the Price-Anderson Act." The import of this section is that after I have approved the bill, the Joint Committee and the Congress would further consider whether it should ever become effective.

I cannot approve legislation under these circumstances—if, indeed, the bill can properly be called legislation rather than merely the expression of an intent to legislate. The presentation of a bill to me pursuant to Article I, section 7 of the Constitution amounts to a representation by Congress that, as far as it is concerned, the legislation is ready to become effective, subject perhaps to some extrinsic condition precedent, but not to further congressional deliberation. Here, however, Congress in effect requests my approval before it has given its own.

In this instance, the clear constitutional infirmity of the bill not only affects my powers and duties but directly en-

dangers substantial and important private rights. If the bill is unconstitutional, it will remain unconstitutional despite my signing it. As a result, a sure source of funds for prompt payment of public liability claims, a primary objective of the Price-Anderson Act, would be in doubt. The uncertainty over nuclear liability protection would also adversely affect that private investment which will be necessary as nuclear power assumes its vital role in meeting the nation's energy requirements. The public interest would not be served by approving legislation which creates these uncertainties.

I urge the Congress to reenact the bill promptly so as to remove the problems which Section 12 now raises.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 12, 1974.

Country Music Month, October 1974

Proclamation 4326. October 12, 1974

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

From the farms and mines and ranches of America has come a uniquely American art form—the sound which has become known as country music. Once heard only in certain regions of this Nation, the country sound now can be heard from Manhattan's skyscrapers to the beaches of Malibu. The growth of affection for country music in recent years is a heartening sign of the new interest that Americans take in things uniquely American.

A measure of that growth is that there are now more than one thousand radio stations in the United States that play country music exclusively and half of all the radio stations in America play country part of the time. Each day of the year, about twenty-five thousand hours of country music is beamed out into America. Truly, country music has come into its own.

It is a music which can be happy or sad, fast or slow, but it is always about life. The words of country music songs talk about life the way it is really lived. Country music is life with a melody.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, ask the people of this Nation to mark the month of October 1974, with suitable observances as Country Music Month.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:29 a.m.,
October 15, 1974]

Boston School Desegregation

*The President's Remarks Recorded for Use on Radio.
October 12, 1974*

Boston is a fine, proud city, the cradle of liberty, where many of the freedoms that we all so cherish today in this country, were born, 200 years ago. The people of Boston share a tradition for reason, fairness, and respect for the rights of others. Now, in a difficult period for all of you, it is a time to reflect on all that your city means to you, to

react in the finest tradition of your city's people. It is up to you, every one of you, every parent, child, to reject violence of any kind in your city, to reject hatred and the shrill voices of the violent few.

I know that nothing is more important to you than the safety of the children in Boston. And only your calm and thoughtful action now can guarantee that safety. I know that you will all work together for that goal, and have one more thing to be proud of in the cradle of liberty.

NOTE: As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

VISIT OF FIRST SECRETARY EDWARD GIEREK OF POLAND

Joint United States-Polish Communique. October 13, 1974

At the invitation of the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Ford, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, and Mrs. Gierek, paid an official visit to the United States October 8 through 13, 1974.

The First Secretary was accompanied by: Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mrs. Jagielski; Stefan Olszowski, Foreign Minister, and Mrs. Olszowski; Ryszard Frelek, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Witold Trampczynski, Polish Ambassador to the United States of America.

The First Secretary was also accompanied by a group of advisers and experts.

The official party also visited New York, Pittsburgh, and Houston.

During his stay in Washington, First Secretary Gierek held talks with President Ford on the development of relations between Poland and the United States as well as on international issues.

He also met with Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Caspar Weinberger, and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank William Casey.

The First Secretary paid a visit to Congress and met with members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. He also had talks with leading American businessmen and bankers.

Talks were also held between Foreign Minister Olszowski and Secretary of State Kissinger.

The talks and meetings were held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere and were characterized by a mutual desire to expand and strengthen the relations between Poland and the United States.

In the course of the talks, the President and the First Secretary noted with satisfaction the significant progress which has recently been made in Polish-American relations. Both leaders expressed their desire to fur-

ther develop these relations, which are based on the long-standing traditions of friendship and sympathy existing between the Polish and American peoples.

They agreed that the "Joint Statement on Principles of U.S.-Polish Relations" signed during the visit provides a firm basis for broad cooperation between the two countries and contributes to the process of strengthening world peace, security, and international cooperation.

The President and the First Secretary also attached importance to the "Joint Statement on the Development of Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic," which they signed. They agreed that the main directions and scope of cooperation stipulated in the field of trade, industrial and technological cooperation should contribute to the further advancement of bilateral economic relations.

The President and the First Secretary noted with satisfaction the rapid growth of trade between the United States and Poland in the past two years, accompanied by a substantial intensification of general economic relations between the two countries. They considered a mutual trade turnover of one billion dollars by 1976 and two billion dollars by 1980 to be a realistic and desirable goal.

They also agreed that the provisions contained in the "Joint Statement on the Development of Agricultural Trade between the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic" create possibilities for a further expansion of trade in food and agricultural products as well as for cooperation in various sectors of the agricultural economy.

They noted that the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission plays an important role in the development of trade and economic cooperation.

President Ford and First Secretary Gierek expressed their deep satisfaction at the conclusion during the visit of agreements in the fields of: Coal research; Health; Environmental Protection; Cooperation in Science and Technology; and Avoidance of Double Taxation.

They also welcome the conclusion of an agreement on the establishment of working relationships between the U.S. and Polish Chambers of Commerce.

Both leaders stressed the significance of the broad development of cultural and scientific cooperation between the United States and Poland and expressed their conviction that this cooperation should be further developed.

The President and the First Secretary emphasized the importance of historical traditions in strengthening the bonds of sympathy and friendship between the United States and Poland. A positive role in this strengthening of mutual relations has been played by American citizens of Polish descent. Both leaders undertook to encourage and support further development of those and other contacts between the American and Polish people.

The President and the First Secretary conducted a broad and useful exchange of views on the most important international issues with special emphasis on European questions. They agreed that there exist a number of spheres in which both countries can contribute to the strengthening of peace and international security.

Both leaders expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks they held and agreed that consultations will continue between the two countries at various levels on matters concerning their mutual relations, including the assessment of the implementation of the agreements that were concluded as well as on important international issues of mutual interest.

The First Secretary and Mrs. Gierek expressed their warm gratitude for the hospitality and friendliness accorded to them in the United States.

The First Secretary extended an invitation to the President of the United States and Mrs. Ford to pay an official visit to the Polish People's Republic at a time convenient to them. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Veto of Continuing Appropriations Resolution

The President's Remarks Upon Signing the Veto Message. October 14, 1974

Today, in the interest of preserving the ability of the United States to assist the Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus dispute, I am returning to the Congress without my approval the continuing resolution which the Congress has amended to cut off military aid to Turkey.

In so doing, I want to clear the air of a number of misunderstandings concerning the U.S. position toward the Cyprus crisis.

Since the outbreak of the crisis, our objectives have been to establish a ceasefire, to provide humanitarian aid to the refugees, to assist the parties toward a negotiation and a settlement, and to strengthen and to improve our historically friendly ties with Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus.

I have discussed these goals with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress and have received their unanimous and vigorous support. Our ability to pursue these goals depends, however, on being able to maintain a constructive relationship with the parties involved. The cutoff of assistance to Turkey is destructive of that relationship.

Further, it in no way helps the Greek people or the people of Cyprus who have suffered so much in the past months. In fact, by dashing hopes for negotiations, it prolongs their suffering.

We recognize clearly the need to ensure that the honor and the integrity of the Greek people be maintained. We seek a settlement which ensures that fundamental requirement. United States friendship with Greece has been established through generations of cooperation and mutual respect, based on shared values and common goals. I intend firmly to carry on and strengthen that relationship.

I cannot, however, carry out this pledge if my ability to act in the current crisis is undercut by restrictions imposed by the Congress. We all seek a peaceful resolution of this problem; we all seek justice for the people of Cyprus; we all seek to maintain the strength and cooperation in our relationship that is a cornerstone to Western security in the Mediterranean.

It is for these reasons that I return this resolution to the Congress and ask that it thoughtfully reconsider its position.

I pledge to continue working closely in partnership with the Congress to enable the United States to play a useful role in helping the parties toward a peaceful resolution of the Cyprus dispute.

I am now signing my veto message, which will be delivered today to the Congress.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:23 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Veto of Continuing Appropriations Resolution

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.J. Res. 1131 Without His Approval Because of Provisions Concerning Military Assistance to Turkey. October 14, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

At the beginning of my Administration I pledged to work closely and cooperatively with the Congress. I believe I have kept that promise. I have appeared before two joint sessions of the Congress, I have met frequently with the leadership of both Houses, and I have agreed to appear personally before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives—a step no other President has undertaken in more than a century.

These actions are an earnest of my commitment to a new partnership between the legislative and executive branches of our government. They reflect my deep belief that the antagonisms that have too long divided our Nation must be resolved, that hopes for partisan advantage must be put aside, and that we must get on with the business of doing the best we can for our country.

The cooperation I have received from the leadership of the Congress—Democratic and Republican alike—has been truly remarkable. The leaders have advised me and I have listened; I have explained my problems to them and they have responded with understanding and support. For this I am deeply grateful.

It is, therefore, with deep regret that I am returning today without my approval the recently passed Continuing Resolution, H.J. Res. 1131, granting funds for the operation of several departments and agencies and for the temporary continuation of our foreign aid programs. I take this step with great reluctance, but in the belief that I have no other choice.

The Continuing Resolution the Congress has passed and sent to me for signature contains an amendment requiring an immediate cut-off of all military assistance to Turkey. That amendment was passed despite my own public objection to it, and in the face of the unanimous opposition of the bipartisan leadership of both Houses of Congress. It is an act which is harmful even to those it purports to help.

The United States is making every effort to play a useful role in assisting the parties to a resolution of the Cyprus dispute. The Continuing Resolution as amended is entirely destructive of those efforts. Instead of encouraging the parties involved in the Cyprus dispute to return to the negotiating table, an arms cut-off to Turkey could mean the indefinite postponement of meaningful negotiations. Instead of strengthening America's ability to persuade the parties to resolve the dispute, it would lessen our influence on all the parties concerned. It would as well imperil our relationships with our Turkish ally and weaken us in the crucial Eastern Mediterranean. It directly jeopardizes the NATO alliance.

Most tragic of all, an arms cut-off would not help Greece or the Greek Cypriot people who have suffered so tragically over the past several months. We recognize that we are still far from a settlement consistent with the honor and dignity of Greece, and are prepared to exert our influence to that end. But reckless acts that prevent progress toward a Cyprus settlement harm Greece, for it is the Greek government and the Greek Cypriots who have the most to gain from a compromise settlement. And it is they who have the most to lose from continued deadlock.

It is for these reasons that I am vetoing the bill sent to me. I do so because, should this measure become law, it would be impossible for the United States to continue to play any meaningful role in assisting the parties to resolve

the Cyprus dispute. We would inevitably be forced to withdraw from the negotiations because the Congress would have taken from us the tools we need to affect the outcome.

My choice, then, is unavoidable; my responsibility clear. I ask that the Congress reconsider its action and send to me a bill that we can all support; a bill that provides the flexibility needed to carry forward the foreign policy of the United States.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 14, 1974.

NOTE: On October 15, 1974, the House of Representatives voted to sustain the President's veto. For the President's statement following the House action, see page 1284 of this issue.

State and Local Efforts To Fight Inflation

Telegram to Governors, Mayors, and County Executives. October 14, 1974

The nonpartisan voluntary Citizens' Action Committee to Fight Inflation has recommended a 10-point program which I plan to pass on to the Nation in a speech in Kansas City Tuesday evening. Two of their recommendations also can be implemented by State and local authorities: (1) conserve energy by enforcing the 55-mile per hour speed limit, and (2) eliminate outmoded regulations that keep costs of goods and services high and enforce regulations that advance efficiency, health, and safety.

The Committee also asked me to call upon all Governors, mayors, and other local officials to set up similar voluntary citizens' action committees to fight inflation in the States and communities. I urge you to assist by prompt action on the Committee's recommendations. Thanks for your cooperation.

Warm regards,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical telegrams sent to 54 Governors, 150 mayors, and 30 county executives.

National Legal Secretaries' Court Observance Week, 1974

Proclamation 4327. October 14, 1974

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

Our vast and complex system of justice cannot function without the skill and dedication of our Nation's legal

secretaries. Without these unsung heroines of the legal process, the wheels of justice would grind to a permanent halt. They deserve the praise, gratitude and respect not only of their employers but of the system which they serve so well. One way in which their employers can demonstrate their appreciation for jobs well done is by giving their legal secretaries greater opportunities to observe courtroom proceedings—to see more of the system in action.

To pay tribute to this fine group of Americans, and to encourage their exposure to courtroom proceedings, the Congress by House Joint Resolution 898 of the Ninety-third Congress, has requested the President to proclaim the second full week in October, 1974, as National Legal Secretaries' Court Observance Week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning October 14, 1974, as National Legal Secretaries' Court Observance Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. Furthermore, I call upon the legal community, throughout that week and during the ensuing year, to enhance their legal secretaries' understanding of their role in the administration of justice in this Nation by affording them more opportunities to observe actual courtroom proceedings.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:30 a.m.,
October 15, 1974]

Continuing Appropriations Resolution

Statement by the President Following Action by the House of Representatives Sustaining the President's Veto of the Resolution. October 15, 1974

I am deeply gratified by the House vote sustaining my veto of the continuing resolution. This wise and responsive action will serve the cause of peace on Cyprus while maintaining the strength of our vital security relationships in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I want to thank the Congressional leadership for its understanding and support. I look forward to working in partnership with the Congress to enhance the ability of the United States to assist the parties in negotiating a peaceful and lasting resolution of the Cyprus dispute and in responding generously to the humanitarian relief needs of the Cypriot people. At the same time, I ask Congress for prompt action to provide continued funding without encumbering restrictions for the operation of several departments and agencies.

Department of State

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Charles W. Robinson To Be Under Secretary for Economic Affairs. October 15, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles W. Robinson, of San Francisco, Calif., as Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He will succeed William J. Casey.

Since 1965, Mr. Robinson has served as president and general manager of Marcona Corp. of San Francisco, Calif. In 1961, he became president and managing director of the Marcona Mining Co., after having served as executive vice president and general manager since 1959.

From 1952 to 1960, he was with the Utah Construction Co., serving as assistant treasurer, assistant secretary, and vice president. In 1951, he was named manager of the Monterey Trading Co. in Panama. From 1950 to 1951, he was an associate with the management consulting firm of McKinsey & Co., Inc. In 1947, he was assistant to production services manager for the Golden State Dairy Products Co., serving until 1950.

Mr. Robinson was born on September 7, 1919, in Long Beach, Calif. He received his A.B. (cum laude) in 1941 from the University of California. He received his M.B.A. in 1947 from Stanford University Graduate School of Business Administration. He served with the United States Navy from 1941 to 1946. From 1941 to 1942, he attended the United States Naval Academy Post Graduate School. From 1942 to 1943, he was an engineering instructor at the United States Naval Academy Post Graduate School, and from 1943 to 1946 he was an engineering officer (lieutenant) at sea.

He is married to Tamara Robinson, and they have three children. They reside in San Francisco, Calif.

Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974

The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony at the White House. October 15, 1974

Distinguished Members of the Congress, and guests:

It is really a great privilege for me to have a part in what I think is historic legislation. As all of my good friends from the Congress know, a tremendous amount of work, a lot of extra labor, went into the putting together of this legislation.

Quite frankly, I had some strong reservations about one version or one provision or another of the legislation, and I suspect some of the people here on both sides of the aisle have the same.

But we got together in a spirit of cooperation, a willingness to work together, to give a little and take a little, and the net result is legislation that I think the American people want. It is legislation for the times.

I am not telling you any secrets. I have some reservations about the final version. But, in the spirit of cooperation and compromise, I think it ought to be signed and become a part of our statutory law.

I can assure you from what I have heard, from the American people in writing and other communications, they want this legislation. So, it will soon be law. I think we do recognize that this legislation seeks to eliminate to a maximum degree some of the influences that have created some of the problems in recent years. And if that is the end result, certainly it is worth all the labor and all the compromises that were necessary in the process.

Now, this is a major step in one direction. To a substantial degree, there will be a degree of public financing. As long as it stays within the checkoff system, I am willing to go along with it. And I hope that the American taxpayers, as they make out their returns in the years ahead, will be generous so that those campaigns can and will be adequately financed.

Well, what it all comes down to, in my judgment, is that between a Congress controlled by one party, a White House in the hands of another, and a working cooperation between the Senate and the House, and the hard working members of that conference—I guess you were part of that, weren't you, Wayne—[laughter]—we ended up with some legislation that I think deserves the support of the American people, and I think they will support it.

I congratulate the conferees, the House and the Senate, and the people from the outside who had a significant impact in urging the Congress and the White House to be forthcoming.

So, I think this is a good day for 213 million Americans.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. As enacted, the bill (S. 3044) is Public Law 93-443, approved October 15, 1974.

Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. October 15, 1974

Today I am signing into law the Federal Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.

By removing whatever influence big money and special interests may have on our Federal electoral process, this bill should stand as a landmark of campaign reform legislation.

In brief, the bill provides for reforms in five areas:

—It limits the amounts that can be contributed to any candidate in any Federal election, and it limits the amounts that those candidates can expend in their campaigns.

—It provides for matching funds for Presidential primaries and public financing for Presidential nominating conventions and Presidential elections through use of the \$1 voluntary tax checkoff.

—It tightens the rules on any use of cash, it limits the amount of speaking honorariums, and it outlaws campaign dirty tricks.

—It requires strict campaign financial reporting and disclosure.

—It establishes a bipartisan six-member Federal election commission to see that the provisions of the act are followed.

Although I support the aim of this legislation, I still have some reservations about it—especially about the use of Federal funds to finance elections. I am pleased that the money used for Federal financing will come from the \$1 checkoff, however, thus allowing each taxpayer to make his own decision as to whether he wants his money spent this way. I maintain my strong hope that the voluntary contribution will not become mandatory and that it will not in the future be extended to Congressional races. And although I do have reservations about the first amendment implications inherent in the limits on individual contributions and candidate expenditures, I am sure that such issues can be resolved in the courts.

I am pleased with the bipartisan spirit that has led to this legislation. Both the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee have expressed their pleasure with this bill, noting that it allows them to compete fairly.

The times demand this legislation.

There are certain periods in our Nation's history when it becomes necessary to face up to certain unpleasant truths.

We have passed through one of those periods. The unpleasant truth is that big money influence has come to play an unseemingly role in our electoral process. This bill will help to right that wrong.

I commend the extensive work done by my colleagues in both houses of Congress on this bill, and I am pleased to sign it today.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3044) is Public Law 93-443, approved October 15, 1974.

Future Farmers of America

The President's Remarks to the 47th Convention of the FFA at Kansas City, Missouri. October 15, 1974

Thank you very, very much, President Mark Mayfield, the 13,000 Future Farmers of America registered for this wonderful 47th Convention, the 500,000 Future Farmers of America in every State of the Union, and your guests:

It is a great privilege, and a very high honor to have an opportunity of participating in this wonderful convention, and I thank you. And I thank you on behalf of Betty because she wanted me to come, too.

One week ago I asked the Congress and the American people to help me revitalize the economy, slow inflation, and save energy. At that time I proposed specific and urgent actions.

The American people, I can report tonight, have responded magnificently. A great citizens' mobilization has begun and is beginning to roll. It is already evident here in this eager, up-beat convention of Future Farmers of America. And I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

In this last week, I have received inflation-fighter enlistments from Americans of every conceivable occupation, economic circumstances, and political persuasion. Support has been freely offered by organizations and groups representing all ages, races, religions, and reaching into every corner of our great land.

America is arousing itself, as it always does in time of great challenge, to prove that we are a people who can do anything we want to do when we really want to do it. We are going to win in America.

Now some have said that instead of asking Congress and the Nation to bite the bullet, I offered only a marshmallow. Well, I had already asked the Congress to postpone for 3 months a 5.5 percent pay increase for Federal Government employees which would have saved \$700 million. Congress wouldn't even chew that marshmallow. They haven't, as yet, shown much appetite for some of the other "marshmallows" in my latest message.

But if they don't like the menu, I may be back with some tough turkey.

It is my observation and view that the American people are hungry for some tough stuff to chew on in this crisis. I don't know of any better place to look to the future of America than right here in the 13,000 faces of the Future Farmers of America.

I don't see anyone in this auditorium, not one, wearing a button that says "lose." You want to win, and we are going to win.

When your State presidents came to Washington last July during a time of tension in our national affairs, I pointed out to them that people around the world have great faith in America. I asked Future Farmers to have confidence in themselves, in our system of Government, and in our free competitive society.

I appreciated their response and your response. I think it is well expressed in the creed of the Future Farmers. I believe with you, for example, "in the future of farming, with a faith born not of words but of deeds . . . in the promise of better days through better ways, even as the better things we now enjoy have come to us from the struggles of former years." It couldn't be expressed better.

Number one of the major points in my address to the Congress last week was food. In a war against inflation, farmers are the front line soldiers. They have done a great job in America, making our country the bread basket of the world.

To halt higher food prices, obviously we must produce more food. I called upon, in that message, every farmer to grow to full capacity, in return—and properly so—I promised every farmer the fuel and the fertilizer that he needs to do the job, plus a fair return for the crops that he produces.

It is not only the young people in this auditorium who must lend their hands and their hearts to this task. I need help from young Americans all over this great land. The creative energy and the enthusiasm of youth in my judgment is our sure guarantee of winning.

But in all honesty, youth has the most to gain. Restoring stability and strength to our economy doesn't call for sacrifices so much as for contributions to one's own future well-being.

Last Saturday, 22 members of the Citizens' Action Committee to Fight Inflation met with me at the White House. It was a beautiful fall afternoon, and I am sure many would have preferred on that committee to watch their favorite football game, or play some golf, or be with their family.

But I am deeply grateful that this fine committee took the time and made the effort to join with me on a Saturday to work on our national enemy number one.

Let me stress this point, if I could: This is a volunteer working committee, a completely nonpartisan group dealing with a nonpartisan problem. It will seek to mobilize America against inflation and for energy conservation.

I told the committee that if there was a scintilla of partisanship or if the group seemed to be merely a front for the White House, its efforts would be doomed to failure.

Columnist Sylvia Porter, who has agreed to serve as national chairperson of this committee, responded that if I tried to manipulate the committee or seek to influence its actions, she and the other members would not participate. We understand each other.

And I say with all the conviction that I have that I was greatly impressed with the membership of this committee and the cross section of America which it represents.

Let me illustrate, if I might, in addition to Sylvia Porter, the committee elected four co-chairmen. They are: Carol T. Foreman, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America; William J. Meyer, president of a small business company in Lansdale, Pennsylvania; Leo Perlis, director of community service of the AFL-CIO; and Frank Stanton, president of the National Red Cross.

A task force headed by Ralph Nader, one of the committee's members, came up with suggestions which coincide to a large extent with the views emanating from the Conference on Inflation which the Future Farmers of America and many other groups attended, and your fine president, Mark Mayfield, was one of the participants and made a substantial contribution on behalf of all of you.

I had touched upon some of the proposals in my message to Congress a week ago—grow more, waste less, drive less, and heat less. But the committee, last Saturday, added a few suggestions of their own. And I promised to pass the committee's recommendations along to all of you here tonight.

I will add some of the comments I have received, for example, in the mail at the White House from thousands upon thousands of individuals who responded enthusiastically to my request at the summit Conference on Inflation.

Committee recommendation number one: Bring budgeting back in style. Balance your family budget and expect your Government officials to do exactly the same thing.

I have already asked the Congress to work with me on this, the handling appropriately of the Federal budget. As to your family budget, I know how hard it is to balance, but many of your letters prove that it can be done. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Roland Spaek live in Holland, Michigan. He is a locomotive engineer working on a freight run between Grand Rapids and Chicago. Mr. and Mrs. Spaek describe in their letter to me how they are cutting their household budget, but they urge, and I quote, "Our Federal budget should be pared to the bone." Don't we all agree?

Robert Stewart writes from Waverly, Tennessee, that he has a heart condition, unfortunately, and draws a pension of only \$251.28 a month. This allows him just two meals a day. "But thank God, we are not on welfare," says Mr. Stewart. He asks me, and again I quote, "Cut our Government spending except for national defense." Again, I think his example is a good one for all of us to observe.

Committee recommendation number two was stated to me this way by Sylvia Porter: Learn how to use credit wisely. Postpone unnecessary borrowing. Wait for interest rates to come down, as they will, and pay down as much as you can, and pay off as quickly as you can. The cheapest way to buy anything, we all know, is to pay cash. But credit wisely used is essential to our way of life in America.

Committee recommendation number three is to save as much as you can and watch your money grow, which it will. Mrs. Frank Tennant writes from Climax, Michigan, that her husband works hard and she helps stretch the paycheck through systematic savings. Mr. Tennant is a self-taught machinist and a veteran who lost his leg in Korea. But it is his ability rather than his disability that comes through in his dear wife's letter. The Tennants report they do not use credit cards. They put something in their credit union each week and buy a Government bond every month. They should be applauded.

James Kincaid of Belleville, Illinois, suggests a new type of Government anti-inflation bond, purchased through payroll deduction in which the interest rate is more competitive.

Because I received many communications in this area, I have asked the Treasury Department to look into the possibility of issuing a new series of WIN bonds and report to me the feasibility of Mr. Kincaid's idea.

Meanwhile, if you can save more, the hard-pressed homebuilding mortgage market, homebuilders and home-purchasers need your dollars. For those who can't save much, or anything, under the present circumstances, here is a very simple formula—everytime the cost of living drops one percent in the Index, put just one percent of your spendable income into savings.

Committee recommendation number four: Conserve energy, save on fuel, and take the pressure off scarce supplies. The committee advocates observance of the 55-mile speed limit. It urges that we use public transit and car-pools. And they respectfully suggest that all of us walk a bit more.

Enforcement of the 55-mile speed limit is largely a State and local responsibility with voluntary cooperation from all of you which is an essential ingredient. Here, we can save both gasoline and lives. Yesterday, I wired every Governor and many local officials urging them to follow through on this recommendation.

At the same time, I directed the strict enforcement of the 55-mile speed limit, except in emergencies, on all Federal property and by drivers of all Federal Government cars, including my own. And I say this now, with some firmness, but some trepidation: I will ask for voluntary cooperation and compliance from the four younger Fords in our family.

From Hillsboro, Oregon, the Stevens family writes they are fixing up their bikes to do the family errands. They are also using fewer electrical appliances, turning the thermostat down, and the lights off.

Bob Cantrell, a 14-year-old in Pasadena, California, gave up his stereo to save energy. Bob urges the initiation of high school courses that teach students how to conserve energy. He adds, and I quote, "If a kid nags his parents to conserve energy long enough, it will help." And I might add from my own experiences, believe me, it will.

Committee recommendation number five is directed

at business and labor. It calls upon them not to raise prices or wages more than costs or services absolutely require.

Admittedly, this is a very complex subject, and it cannot be handled on a nationwide basis. I believe that local citizen action committees, including labor and management representation, should be set up in every community to interpret this recommendation, set realistic goals for themselves, and to report by Thanksgiving—just 6 weeks away—which plants, which stores, or other enterprises are doing the best job of holding the line in their community on costs and on prices.

If they do a good job, and we find the winners around the country in every community, in every State, I will then award WIN flags to the most outstanding as public recognition of their contribution to the fight on inflation.

Similar recognition will be given to outstanding energy savers, both individuals and groups. Saving energy is, of course, a major way to save costs.

The national committee will help local groups to organize.

Committee recommendation number six: To help offset pay increases, insist on productivity improvements where you work from the boss on down the line. In short, work better, waste less, both of time and materials.

And there is not a place where business is done or activity is undertaken where the boss and everyone else can't work better and save more. And we should urge them to do it as soon as possible.

Now, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Monson write from San Antonio to urge support of companies showing a higher degree of concern for energy solutions and the unemployment problems.

Mrs. Hannah Folsom of Ojai, California, offers an additional suggestion. She urges that steps be taken to cut down on the proportion of administrative personnel to productive workers in plants and stores and the like. I think this is a great idea.

And let me say to Mrs. Folsom, I will apply this good idea to the Federal bureaucracy.

Committee recommendation number seven proposes we make economizing fashionable. Let me repeat that—economizing fashionable. Shop wisely, look for bargains, go for the lowest-cost item, and, most importantly, brag about the fact that you are a bargain hunter. You should be proud of it.

The committee certainly is not suggesting Americans should buy less. We should all buy smarter, stick to a shopping list. The experts tell us that is the best way to get a real bargain.

Kathy Daly, a student at Sacred Heart High School in Weymouth, Massachusetts, has one formula for shopping wisely and saving energy. Kathy suggests buying warmer clothes this winter.

G. M. Knapp of Tucson, Arizona, puts it this way: "Only you can stop inflation. Buy only if you need it."

Committee recommendation number eight asks Ameri-

cans to work with others to eliminate outmoded regulations that keep the cost of goods and services high and to enforce regulations that advance efficiency, health, and safety.

W. A. Taylor of Cambridge, Massachusetts, points out that because of Interstate Commerce Commission regulations, many, many trucks return empty, deadheading, so to speak. I have already asked the Congress to undertake a joint review of restrictive and outdated rules by the Federal Government and its independent regulatory agencies.

Yesterday, I called upon Governors and mayors and others to do the same thing.

Committee recommendation number nine is do it yourself. Plant WIN gardens for yourself or within your community. Pool other do-it-yourself skills, and you can.

Sylvia Porter tells me that \$10 worth of seeds on a 25'-by-30' plot will grow \$290 worth of vegetables. And she contends that community gardens can grow even in the inner cities of our major metropolitan areas. Many letters to the White House propose WIN gardens.

Rick Jacobsen of the fifth grade at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, writes the White House that "we planted our own garden so we could save on vegetables." In southern areas of our country, there is still plenty of time to plant WIN gardens. The rest of us who come from the northern States can plan for the next spring.

Committee recommendation number ten asks Americans to assist in recycling programs and the reuse of scrap metals.

Margaret and Bill Dalton of High Falls, New York, write me on recycled paper that 1 ton of recycled fibers saves 17 live trees and a ton of waste.

Talbert and Elaine Stein of Detroit ask for more recycling centers at local sites so you don't have to travel so far to deposit a few cans or bottles.

Mrs. Laird Barber of Morris, Minnesota, wants to know if a national program can be organized to collect cans, glass, newspapers. The Citizens' Committee is going to stimulate local organizations throughout our country in this regard.

I cite these because they are typical of thousands and thousands of creative suggestions from Americans in all 50 States.

I would like to add, if I might, just two points on my own to round out the committee's ten to make it a daily dozen.

Number eleven, waste less in every way. Unfortunately, Americans have an international reputation as the world's worst wasters. We waste food, gasoline, paper, electricity, natural resources. As a matter of fact, we waste most everything. We litter our streets and countryside with waste.

One friend told me we could probably whip—just understand this—whip inflation with the contents of our trash cans.

In your own home, let me make a simple suggestion.

Just take one hour to make a trash inventory. In the letters that I have received at the White House are thousands of good suggestions, for instance, take all you want, but eat all you take.

The first words I can remember in my dad's house were very simple but very direct: Clean up your plate before you get up from the table. And that is still pretty good advice.

When you aren't using them, turn off the lights, turn off the television, turn off the radio, turn off the water, use less hot water, insulate attics and windows, shut doors, keep rooms at 68 degrees in wintertime when you are awake, and lower temperatures when you sleep.

Reducing waste, we know, can save money and energy at the very same time. It is a double duty for inflation fighters.

My 12th and final point is an important one to every one of us: Guard your health. One of the worst wastes we have in America is days lost through sickness. Statistically, we are one of the healthiest nations in the world and your governments and the medical profession are constantly trying to improve public health and disease prevention.

But the facts are we can do much better. This will materially strengthen our attack on inflation by increasing individual productivity, by reducing demand for health care and the checking of its soaring costs, by helping balance the family budget in this essential but unpredictable cost item.

The success of cooperative voluntary action will depend on a mutuality of effort, a sense of fairness, and a widespread support of goals. The benefits of such action will lead to greater civic efforts by millions of Americans and a focused awareness of what directions public policy should take toward economic justice for all.

I have requested the Governors of every State and the governing authorities of our territories and the District of Columbia to form WIN committees on the State and local levels. It is my observation that a chain reaction has started. Our Government will not dictate this drive but will use its existing mechanisms to assure the cumulative effort.

I have asked the Federal Energy Administration to continue and make public, to exhibit for all of us to look at, monthly reports on gasoline consumption so we can make sure that we save that 1 million barrels per day from foreign imports.

Earlier, I asked every American to drive or to cut his car mileage by 5 percent. That is not very hard. That would save one-fourth of the 1975 goal for petroleum savings.

Tonight, I ask, I ask those who can, to make it 10 percent, and I am ordering an even larger reduction for all Federal vehicles.

A national reporting system will be instituted before this year ends to assure a new year of less inflation and

greater self-confidence for all Americans. We will know exactly where we are going and how fast we are getting there.

As I listen and travel, I hear each day of new and exciting efforts by individuals and volunteer groups in our great country. This is the real WIN spirit of America. I am greatly encouraged. I think we are on our way.

With your help, each new day will bring more good news than bad news for our economy. Yes, there will be some setbacks. We will not be out of the economic trenches by Christmas. But I remind you, if I might, of just one fact: Every battle in history has been won by the side that held on for just 5 minutes longer. Our enemy in this battle has been called inflation. But perhaps Pogo was wiser when he said: I have met the enemy, and he is us.

If we, the people, can overcome ourselves as we have other enemies in our history, we will surely overcome our economic difficulties and come out a happier and a better people.

Let me close by reading you an energy-saving suggestion of an 8-year-old girl in Bristol, Virginia. Her name is Lurette Drumheller, and here is what she wrote: "Turn off lights when not needed, and if you are scared when you go to bed without the light on, tell your mother or father, and they will do something about it."

Lurette, we are not going to be scared of the dark, any of us, because we are all in this together—mothers and fathers, grandparents and great, great grandparents, sisters, and brothers—until together, we turn back on the lights of a brighter tomorrow in America.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:05 p.m. at the Municipal Auditorium, Kansas City, Mo. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

Kansas City, Missouri

The President's Remarks at a Breakfast for Republican Candidates. October 16, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Tom, Governor Bond, your associates of State government, public officials, wonderful people from Missouri and elsewhere.

It is a great privilege and pleasure to be here for this occasion.

I had a great meeting last night with some 13,000 or 14,000 Future Farmers of America. I looked outside this morning and the weather is super. I have met some grand people here today, and I ate breakfast I didn't have to make myself. [Laughter]

Let me just summarize by saying everything is up-to-date in Kansas City.

I might tell one story about the White House of the last few weeks. We have a new addition—you might have seen it on television or on the media. My daughter Susan and our new White House photographer, David Kennerly, got together and surprised me with a beautiful 8-month-old golden retriever.

The Fords have had two over the last 20-some years. The last one died a year ago in August.

Let me tell you the story of how Susan and David acquired this beautiful new dog for the White House. They called up a very highly recommended kennel and said that they wanted to buy a golden retriever puppy. The owner said that was fine, but who would the owner be.

They said it is a surprise, they wanted to keep it secret. Well, the owner said he didn't sell dogs that way. He would have to know whether the dog was going to have a good home.

So Susan and Dave said to him, said to the kennel owner, that the parents were friendly, they were middle-aged, and they lived in a big white house with a fence around it.

The kennel owner said that was good, do they own or rent?

Well, Dave and Susan were a little preplexed with that question, and they thought for a moment and said, "Well, I guess you might call it public housing."

The kennel owner said, well, that was all right—the way they explained it. They said the dog was healthy, and it was going to eat a lot. Does the father have a steady job?

Well, they were stuck for an answer with that one.

Well, we got the dog and in the true Bicentennial spirit, we named the dog Liberty. And one of the inquisitive reporters asked Susan, "Who is going to take care of Liberty? Who is going to feed her? Who is going to groom her? Who is going to take her out at night and bring her in in the morning?"

Of course, Susan, in a typical 17-year-old daughter fashion, said, "Daddy."

Well, I have a little feeling that this Liberty is going to restrict just a bit of mine, but with a great dog like that we are very fortunate.

Let me make about four points this morning. I can recall very vividly quite a few years ago when I first started campaigning for Republican candidates coming to the great State of Missouri. And at that time, if my memory is accurate, there wasn't a single statewide public office held by a Republican.

There was just one Republican Member of the House, Tom Curtis. A few years later, I had the privilege of coming back to campaign on behalf of our candidates. At that time, we had two Republican Members of the House of Representatives—Tom Curtis and that venerable Doc Hall.

And at that time, you had just elected a fine, outstanding Attorney General, Jack Danvers. And then, in 1972,

I came back and you had a superb ticket headed by Kit Bond. And on that occasion, you elected Kit, his running mate, Bill Phelps, and you also elected Gene Taylor to replace Doc Hall.

It just seems to me that what the Republican Party has presented to the State of Missouri at the State level is a ticket that believes in reform and who does something about it—a ticket that gives honesty and integrity and vision to the State of Missouri.

And I can tell you it is privilege and pleasure for me to be here in the company of this group of State officeholders represented at the top by Kit Bond. I congratulate you in this State for what you have done.

But the problem we face in 1974, particularly as I see it from Washington, is how we can strengthen the Congress, strengthen the Congress in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

Now, you have in Gene Taylor, of the Seventh District, a strong, strong Member of the House, a small businessman who knows not only his own business but the needs and requirements of the people of that Congressional District. And during the time that I was the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives early in the present Congress, Gene Taylor was a big help to me in fighting the problems that we face: inflation, inadequate defense programs—the problems that come up every day to make sure that our Government at the Federal level is run properly.

Gene Taylor, in my humble opinion, meets all the criteria for a great Member of the House of Representatives, and I hope the people in the Seventh District send him back to Washington with a resounding margin.

But at the national level in the two big areas of how we keep our economy strong and how we maintain the peace, I need a stronger Congress.

Let's take the first issue, the issue of how to put a lid on inflation on the one hand and keep our economy strong on the other. This is a very difficult line to draw. It requires leadership in the White House; it requires cooperation in the Congress; it requires the total cooperation of Governors and local officials throughout all 50 States.

Let me speak for a moment, if I might, about Kit Bond. When I arrived yesterday at the airport, Kit handed me his response to the telegram that I sent every Governor the day before asking for their help, their cooperation. And here is the letter that Kit sent me. It indicates that he and the people of Missouri have cooperated. And he indicates that he and his administration will continue that cooperation.

It means we have to save energy by driving less—the enforcement of the 55 mile speed limit, the conservation in your State government and its affairs. By driving less you save money and you save lives—and, as I recall the letter, Kit, a 31-percent reduction in lives saved on the highways of Missouri.

I congratulate you and the people of Missouri for this great achievement.

But what I am saying is that if we got from every Governor of every State the cooperation we have gotten from Kit and his associates, we would be well ahead of the program and the schedules that I have outlined.

But a moment ago I said we had to have the help and assistance of the Congress, and this brings us to my comments concerning an old and dear friend of mine, Tom Curtis. We served together in the House of Representatives for about 20 years.

Tom Curtis is one of the most expert individuals I have ever known in the Congress on the problems of taxation. He served on the Committee on Ways and Means with skill and dedication, total integrity, also served for a number of years on the Joint Economic Committee—the House and Senate, the experts that are drawn from both the House and the Senate to take a look not just at taxation but the total economic problems.

And from that experience, he can contribute significantly to not only Missouri but to the country as a whole when he is elected on November 5.

But I can speak from very personal relations with Tom Curtis. We were friends. Our families were good friends. I watched him day after day after day on the floor of the House, and he was the kind of a Congressman and he is the kind of a Senator that I would want to vote for if I lived in the State of Missouri.

I often say that one of the things our big spenders don't understand and don't realize is that as they try to allegedly help some beneficiaries and promise them this and promise them that—I think Tom would agree with me a hundred percent in this very simple statement—some of the big spenders don't understand that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

And in the economic message that I sent to the Congress a week ago Tuesday, I asked the Congress to set a spending limit of \$300 billion which is \$5.4 billion less than the proposed expenditures submitted to the Congress last January.

We can meet that target and it would be a lot more attainable if we had some of those "show me" Congressmen from Missouri like Gene Taylor and Tom Curtis.

They would ask those tough questions. What is the money for? What are you going to do with it? Why can't you trim it? Why can't we cut back in a reasonable, responsible way in this tough struggle that we have to get away from double-digit inflation, to give our country the leadership throughout the world in trying to set an example for other nations, to tighten our belts and bolster the free world as it meets in many ways the challenges of those who have a different philosophical view, a different ideology.

Well, the other question I would like to speak about this morning was brought home to me very vividly last

night and again this morning. One of our major objectives, in this case it is Democratic and Republican, is the maintenance of peace throughout the world—peace through negotiations, not through confrontation.

Last night, as I was having a cup of coffee working with some of my staff, I was sitting in a room in the Muehleback Hotel, and I looked up and there were two pictures of Harry Truman. One of those pictures showed Harry Truman, a great Democratic President, signing in May of 1947 the Greek-Turkish aid program. And history has a strange way of repeating itself. The cooperation between a great Democratic President from the State of Missouri and the cooperation of a great United States Senator from my home State, the State of Michigan, Arthur Vandenberg, brought together the United States in a program aimed at saving the Mediterranean—helping Greece and Turkey and laying the foundations for NATO, an alliance with our friends in Europe that has maintained the peace in that continent for better than a quarter of a century.

And right now, a Republican President is having some trouble with a Democratic Congress in almost the same way. I want to say here and now that the Democratic leadership in both the House and the Senate agree with me, but unfortunately, a majority of the Congress do not understand that some of the efforts that are being made are hurting Greece, precluding the possibility of a legitimate settlement of the problem of Cyprus, and undermining NATO which has given us peace in Western Europe for better than a quarter of a century.

And what we need in the Congress right now is Members who understand that the United States, if it has flexibility, if it has leadership, if it has unity between the Executive and the Congress, can continue to give the guiding hand for the maintenance of peace not only in Western Europe but in the Mediterranean and in other parts of the world.

And I know that I can count on people like Tom Curtis when he is there to help and assist in this great struggle for peace, not only on a temporary basis but on a permanent basis.

And one final comment: I have been reading the polls lately. If you read them, I guess in my position—and some others who feel so strongly about our party—they are a little discouraging. Well, the polls have been wrong in the past. But let me point out if the polls are right—and I don't assume they are—you can have what some of the most partisan members of the opposition say, a veto-proof Congress.

Now, what does that mean? It means that you will have a concentration of power in one of the three branches of the Federal Government. In effect, you will have a legislative dictatorship. One of the biggest strengths of America for the last 200 years has been balance—checks and balances.

Our forefathers put together in that Constitution a

system predicated on a strong President in the White House, a strong Congress in the legislative branch, a strong judicial system in the Supreme Court, one checking on the other, and that finely tuned balance has given us the great blessings that we have had for almost 200 years.

Now if you have a veto-proof Congress, you in effect have one branch of the Government dictating to at least one of the others.

Americans don't like dictatorships. They like a system of checks and balances. And so in order to maintain that balance, I think we have got to go out and make a massive effort aimed at a Congress that will cooperate to beat inflation, to strengthen our economy, a Congress that will give us the tools to maintain the peace and not handicap and hamstring us with restrictions that interfere with our capability to do the job, a Congress that will be cooperative, not a Congress that will be subservient, not a Congress that will be a dictator, but a Congress that is a part of the team with some give and take.

And so I say to you, the odds are tough, but I think those odds were pretty tough last Saturday when Missouri played Nebraska.

And those tough ballplayers from Missouri did a job, and if you do your job, if you enlist in this great struggle for the kind of representation Tom Curtis can give you, the kind of representation other candidates on the ticket can give you, you can win just as they did.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:36 a.m. at the Muchlebach Hotel, Kansas City, Mo. Prior to the breakfast, the President attended a reception at the hotel for a group of Republicans.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Sioux Falls, South Dakota

The President's Remarks at a Rally at the Sioux Falls Arena. October 16, 1974

Thank you very, very much, my good friend and former colleague in the House of Representatives, Jim Abdnor. And may I express from the bottom of my heart the tremendous welcome, the enthusiasm and warmth of this reception. I cannot in any words in my vocabulary express my deep gratitude and appreciation. Thank you very, very much.

And if I might on a very personal note: A good many years ago I matriculated to the University of Michigan. This was back in 1931, and I didn't have much money, but a woman here today and her husband made it possible for me to rent a room on the third floor—the cheapest part of their rooming house—at the cost of \$4.00 a week to go to the University. And I want to thank Elizabeth Van Wye, the widow of John Van Wye, who was con-

nected with your University for a long, long time. Elizabeth, it is nice to see you.

It is good to be back in South Dakota. I have been here a good many times. And I especially enjoy it here in the Mount Rushmore area. There are four faces on that great, great national monument. One is a Federalist, one is a Democrat, and two are historical pillars of the Republican Party. This is the kind of political scorecard that I like in South Dakota.

Naturally, I am delighted to be on the same platform with some truly fine, outstanding people who fit the tradition of Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, and other greats in our political system—people like Jim Abdnor, Leo Thorsness, John Olson, Larry Pressler.

As you know better than I—well, he mentioned as we were coming in that the hunting season opened in South Dakota last Saturday, and, by coincidence, you might have seen in the newspapers or on TV in the last week or so that the White House has a new addition.

My daughter Susan and David Kennerly, the new White House photographer, got together and surprised me and my wife Betty with a new, 8-month-old golden retriever. The Fords had two golden retrievers in the last 20 years. Unfortunately, both had passed away. So, I would like to tell you a story about how David and Susan acquired this new White House tenant.

They called up a very highly recommended kennel and said they wanted to buy a golden retriever puppy. The owner of the kennel said, "Fine. Who will the owner be?" And they said, "It is a surprise." They would like to keep it a secret.

Well, the kennel owner said he didn't sell his fine dogs under those circumstances. He would have to know if the puppy was going to have a good owner, a nice home.

So, Susan and David assured the kennel owner that it would be and that the parents were friendly, middle-aged, and lived in a big white house with a fence around it. The kennel owner said, "Well, that sounded all right. Do they own it, or do they rent it?"

Well, Susan and David thought a minute and said, "Well, I guess you might call it public housing."

Well, the kennel owner said that was all right. Now, he also added, "This is a big dog. It likes to eat. It will need a lot of food. Does the father have a steady job?"

Well, Susan and David were stuck with an answer to that question.

All I can say is I heard a lot about your great hunting out here. I sometime hope that I can come out and enjoy the great outdoor facilities and the great outdoor opportunities you have in South Dakota which I don't think are matched by any State in the Union.

Your fine Congressman, Jim Abdnor, flew with me from Washington, and I can assure you from the time that I had the close opportunity to work with him in the House of Representatives—he was sworn in in January of 1973—that you in South Dakota are fortunate to have

someone who understands the problems of the farmers, the problems of balancing a budget, the problems of handling taxes in the right and the best way. I just think you in South Dakota have a great, great Congressman in Jim Abdnor.

And having looked at a lot of Congressmen over 25 years—some of them kind of coming and going like Greyhound buses—Jim Abdnor is the kind of person I would vote to keep in Congress because he does a good job for his people at home.

Leo Thorsness—I heard about Leo before he got into the political arena, and his reputation then was one that I envied, a reputation of total dedication to this country, a dedication to principles under the most adverse circumstances, a man with a strong background based on real, deep conviction about the principles that are so essential to make our country an even better land in the future.

I know that Leo will be a full-time fighter against inflation on a year-in and year-out basis instead of once every 6 years at election time.

And I happen to think that Larry Pressler can do a great job for you in the Congress.

Leo and Larry will bring you, when elected November 5, a full strength of sound people handling your money and your problems in the House as well as the Senate.

And, of course, under the theory that I believe in, that we don't have to make all the decisions and all the judgments in Washington, that we need sound, responsible, thoughtful people at the State and local level, we need John Olson to be the next Governor of the State of South Dakota.

And if I might, in a very personal way, explain to you why I am here in South Dakota. There has been some criticism that maybe the President ought to stay in the White House, and work in the Oval Office, and never leave the banks of the Potomac.

I don't agree with that. I happen to believe that the American people have a right to see their President and to hear him defend the kind of programs that he believes are in the best interest of our country, both at home and abroad.

I think I get a better understanding of what people in South Dakota want and believe by being right here in this great auditorium rather than peering out some window in the White House.

You can tell me with criticism, with comments, with endorsements of what we are doing right or what we are doing wrong, and I can get it better at the grassroots than I can from some ivory tower on the banks of the Potomac.

And I thank you for coming here just to give me that advice. I appreciate it.

As I see it, we have got two or three major problems in this country. One, we have got to lick the battle of inflation and keep our economy strong at the same time.

And I submitted to the Congress a week ago, on Tuesday, a 31-proposition package that, if enacted, if you support it, will give us a better handle and success against inflation and, if enacted and supported by the American people, will keep us going on a steady, steady course upward to provide a better and better living for all our people.

And I happen to think guys like Jim Abdnor, Leo Thorsness are the kind of people that can work at helping in the problems not only at home but abroad.

What we need in this country is not a partisan foreign policy. Some 26 years ago it was my privilege to go as a brand new freshman Congressman to the Nation's Capital, and I was engulfed by a bipartisan foreign policy with a Democratic President, Harry Truman, working with a Republican Congress in the 80th Congress. And those two people representing the executive branch, on the one hand, and the Congress, on the other, gave us peace in Western Europe, helped us to build the kind of policy that has been good for us in Western Europe for almost 30 years.

What we need is a bipartisan foreign policy, and that can be supplied by Jim Abdnor, by Leo, by Larry Pressler. We need that kind of support if we are going to keep the peace and build the peace in the future. And I hope you support them for those two very, very good reasons.

I know the State of South Dakota is one of the greatest States in the Union for many reasons. But you have a particular pride, a special feeling about the contributions that this great State of South Dakota does in being a significant part of the breadbasket of not only the United States but the world.

Now let me talk, if I might, about the part that farmers and those associated with them can do in this great struggle to win the battle against inflation.

I have assured the farmers of this and every State that they will have all the fuel, all the fertilizer that they need to harvest their bountiful crops this year and next year. They will be in your hands.

Let me add one other thing while I am talking about fuel. Prior to my speech a week ago, everybody else but myself was telling the American people what I was going to say about gasoline taxes. Well, I have now said or given my own views, but I want to reiterate it right here to you in South Dakota: I am vigorously opposed to any additional Federal tax on gasoline, and I will fight it as hard as I possibly can.

We want to keep this country rolling, not parked on a dead-end street.

Let me add one special concern that I had for people of South Dakota when this issue was presented to me and I rejected it. I thought of the people of South Dakota and other States who have to travel not a couple of miles but many miles to go to the doctor or to the hospital. I thought about the people in South Dakota who have to go from

their farms or their ranch to the implement dealer or to the community where they trade.

A gasoline tax would unfairly, in my judgment, penalize those people. And for that reason, among many others, I rejected it. And we are not going to have it as long as I am in the White House.

There are some other things that have to be done, not just in agriculture, but they have to be done in agriculture. We have got to increase productivity. But I'd also like to add, when talking about productivity, that the statistics show that in the last 20 or more years, the farmers of America have increased their productivity more than any other segment of our economy in the whole United States, and I applaud you for it.

But just because you are the champs doesn't mean you can't do better. So I am urging every one of you to make that little extra effort to make sure that we get the maximum from our soil and from the toil of all of you.

Now there is one question that is always raised that if the farmer produces more, responds to the demands of people in this country and around the world, what kind of protection, what kind of guarantee does the farmer who has made this special effort get?

Let me add this: I promise a fair return, a fully fair and adequate return to the farmers of America, a fair profit on what you put in on your time, your labor, your investment, and your facilities. This is what you deserve, and this is what we have to guarantee.

Let me add, if I might, the problems and the concerns of the people of rural America will not be buried under the concrete of big city interests.

There is one comment I would like to make, and it is somewhat a sad one. I am particularly disturbed by the wasteful protest, the protest resulting in the slaughtering of calves in Wisconsin just yesterday, at a time when we are trying to increase the supply of food.

I fully recognize the frustration that prompted this shocking demonstration, but their actions, I think, even if they reflect on it themselves, will contribute nothing, nothing toward a solution to the problem that they face or the problems that our country faces.

I am aware of the cost-price squeeze in which livestock producers and feeders find themselves. I have requested from the Department of Agriculture and every other department in the Federal Government the reports that I can look at and analyze, and I will meet very shortly at the White House with fair representation of the farmers and ranchers to get their solutions from them directly.

I am disturbed by the disparity between the reduced earnings of the cattle growers and the higher prices charged to consumers throughout the Nation on the shelves of the supermarkets. And I am asking the new Council on Wage and Price Stability to examine the reasons behind this gap which is paid to the farmer and what must be paid on the other end of the line by the individual consumer.

Something is obviously wrong, and I intend to do what I can to find out the cause and do something about it.

Our livestock producers here in South Dakota obviously cannot tolerate a situation in which calves cost more to raise than they bring at the market place, but there certainly is a better way of redressing these legitimate grievances than by the drastic and wasteful destruction of our food supply.

Now there is another problem which equally concerns me—the tremendous cost-price squeeze in which America's dairymen find themselves. I met last Friday in Washington in the Cabinet Room with a representative group of dairy farmers on the one hand and a group of Democratic and Republican Congressmen and Senators on the other. And they outlined to me the practical problems that the dairy producers in their respective States are faced with.

I am very sympathetic to the problem. I understand the concern of those dairy producers that the United States dairy price system should not be allowed—and this is very important—that this price system should not be allowed to be undermined by efforts of foreign dairy producers.

Now some of these foreign dairy producers, as we know from the sampling that we have taken, are seeking to shift the burden of their own cost-price problems to the United States market, aided by artificial incentives from their own government.

And because of my own concern about the economic problems dairymen are facing, I intend today announcing that no action will be taken to change the present system of dairy import quotas without a thorough review of market conditions and full opportunity for our dairy producers to be heard at that time.

I think the record proves that our farmers can compete with any group of farmers or the farmers from any nation throughout the world. And I am looking forward to those negotiations where we can equalize our opportunities to compete with foreign markets around the world.

Now these are some of the reasons I am here, to listen to what you have to say, to get your reactions to what I say. I have a button up here that says "WIN." Win now. And I see some signs and I see some buttons in the crowd here.

People of the United States have always been strong. We have met adversity when we were challenged from abroad. We have met adversity when we were faced with internal difficulties—the Depression and the conflicts of one kind or another—that have plagued us over some 200 years.

But we found one answer in the political arena that gives us the opportunity to present alternative solutions, to permit candidates who have one philosophy, candidates who have another, to meet in the political arena. And we have developed over a period of some 200 years in this

great country a two-party system that is wholesome and healthy and gives us in all 50 States the opportunity to participate.

Now, this system of a two-party arrangement protects us because it is an integral part of a system of checks and balances, a system that is not in the Constitution but it is one that has been developed as our political challenges have gone from almost 200 years ago to today.

But if we ever lose the two-party system, if we ever go to a one-party system, we will have the same problems that they have behind the Iron Curtain. If we ever go to a multi-party system with five or ten parties, we will lose that strength that comes from what we have today.

And so, as you proceed with this great election in the State of South Dakota on November 5, what you are really doing is participating in the continuation of a system that has given us so much materially and ideologically, that has made America a blessed Nation for some 213 million people, a country that gives you the freedom of choice in many, many ways as well as politically.

And this election that comes up gives you an opportunity in the solemnity of the ballot box, a chance to make a choice, where you are the only judge, where you can decide what is best for your country.

Oh, I know there is no gun so mighty, no force so powerful as the quiet symbol of what you do and what others do throughout our country on November 5. It is the opportunity; it is the responsibility; actually, it is part of your contribution to a greater America. You can balance the ledger sheets of good government.

I have just an unbelievable faith in the people of South Dakota, as I do the people all over America. We can strengthen the two-party system. You can pick the best candidates, and we in America will be blessed by the good judgment of what you do in South Dakota and what your fellow Americans do in every State on November 5.

I thank you. It is a pleasure and a privilege to be here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:27 p.m. at the Sioux Falls Arena, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. Prior to the dinner, the President attended a reception at the AAA South Dakota Auto Club Headquarters for a group of Republicans.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Sioux Falls, South Dakota

The President's Remarks Upon Departure From the Sioux Falls Arena. October 16, 1974

Let me thank all of you—the young ones, the old ones, the middle-aged ones, the boys and girls, mothers and dads, grandmas and grandpas.

Well, it is just nice to be out here in this typical South Dakota weather in October, on October 15 [16]. Don't you always have it this way this time of the year?

Well, I am out here with some very good friends of mine—Jim Abdnor, who is your darned good Congressman, Leo Thorsness, Larry Pressler, and your candidate for Governor. And I appreciate your thoughtfulness concerning them.

But the main thing, I want to say a word or two to all of you. You have got the greatest, greatest country in the world, and all of you know it here in South Dakota just like we do in Michigan and people do in 48 other States. But if we are going to keep this kind of country, if we are going to maintain everything it stands for and do justice to the sacrifices that were made by your forefathers and mine, then we have to tighten our belts and sacrifice a little for another few months ahead of us.

Now the fact that you are all here gives me hope that in South Dakota you are going to do better than any other of the 50 States in the Union. I know that. Do I have your assurance?

You know, I have a little button here that says "WIN." I don't see any buttons on anybody in South Dakota that says "Lose." All you want is to win, not for yourselves, but for your country, and that is what I want, you want, and people in other States want.

So thank you for being here. It has been a tremendous, tremendous experience. I am deeply grateful. Good luck and God bless every one of you. Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. outside the Sioux Falls Arena, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

Lincoln, Nebraska

The President's Remarks at Lincoln Municipal Airport. October 16, 1974

Thank you very, very much. Charley Thone, distinguished public officials, candidates, all of you wonderful, wonderful people from Lincoln, the State of Nebraska, and elsewhere:

I am just tremendously impressed with the size of the crowd, the enthusiasm and, naturally, I am deeply appreciative of the kind, kind comments made concerning my wife, Betty. She is doing great, and it is the prayers and the good wishes of literally thousands and thousands of people, not only in America but elsewhere, that have made her recovery faster and better. And I thank you on behalf of her.

This has been a wonderful day, and we are three-quarters of the way through it. I started in Kansas City this morning with a breakfast. We had a wonderful meeting in South Dakota. We are here in Lincoln. We are going to Indianapolis for a dinner and a meeting tonight,

and back to Washington and the White House this evening.

Now I don't know what my scheduler wants for Christmas, but let me tell you I am going to give him a map so that he understands what travel means.

I am delighted to see Bob Devaney here. You know we Michiganders think we have some impact on the great success that Bob has brought to the State of Nebraska, the success that the cornhuskers have had. And I watched, as a has-been athlete and a onetime football player, some of the great games Nebraska has played under his leadership.

Let me just say this—and I pass no judgment because there is nothing I dislike more than grandstanding quarterbacks or Monday morning experts, and I don't know what happened over there the other day in the last few minutes of that ball game—but I have learned, as an ex-football player and an ex-football coach a long time back when the ball was round, that there is a great relationship between football or athletic competition and coaching and politics.

And if I might just say a word to Bob in that regard, I found that both as far as coaches and athletic directors are concerned—and politicians—that one day they will name a street after you, and the next day they will chase you down it. [*Laughter*]

As Charley Thone said in the introduction, I was born in Nebraska, in Omaha, just a few miles down the pike here. And I am proud of it, and I am delighted to be back here.

Now, I left when I was about 18 months old, and depending on how you put it, I was either exported or deported, but I am glad to be back under any circumstances.

It is wonderful to see Charley Thone here. I understand Charley's campaign theme is "Thone works." Well, I can attest to that. For quite a few years I was the Minority Leader in the House of Representatives while Charley was in the House, and I can say without any hesitation, qualification, or reservation, that Charley Thone was one of the hardest, most conscientious, most dedicated workers in the House of Representatives. And if I was in this district, Democrat or Republican, I would vote for Charley Thone.

And he had two other fine, fine Nebraskans alongside of him in the House of Representatives—John McCollister, an outstanding Member of the House, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the committee that has tremendous responsibilities that relate directly to the problems you have here in the State of Nebraska. And I am sure in this great crowd there are some people that can help John McCollister and, because I think so highly of him, I hope and trust that they will do everything they possibly can to see that Charley does come back to continue his fine work in the House of Representatives.

You do have in the State of Nebraska one of our senior

statesmen leaving, leaving of his own free will. We have Dave Martin who served so ably and so well. Dave is coming back, but I hope and trust that the people of that Congressional district send to replace Dave Martin Mrs. Helen Smith, who I am sure will carry on the fine tradition that Dave Martin established in the representation of that Congressional district.

And if Helen has friends here, go out and do the same thing for her that you have done for Dave Martin, and I would thank you for it.

It is Mrs. Haven Martin, Virginia Martin, and I apologize. (Mrs. Haven Smith)

But let me at this point make one or two observations and comments concerning some of the problems we have in America. I know that this great State—because I have visited many places in it; I traveled across a good portion of the State, north, south, east and west—I know that Nebraska is one of the most vitally important producers of food in all 50 States.

And I know, from talking with some of the members of the Congressional delegation, that farmers have had some difficult times for a wide variety of reasons—the elements; a lack of, maybe, fertilizer; and some other problems that I won't enumerate. But I want to compliment the farmers of the State of Nebraska for the job they have done. They deserve your applause and your support because they are real inflation fighters that have and can contribute.

In return for the request that I have made to each and every one of them that they produce to full capacity, I think we ought to make some commitments to them. And let me enumerate some commitments that I will make representing the executive branch of the Government.

Number one, I am committed to give them the fuel and the fertilizer for them to do the job. Even though we are going to cut back 1 million barrels of imported fuel oil every day, the farmers will get fuel and fertilizer if we have to allocate it arbitrarily.

Prior to my speech to the Congress a week or so ago, I was quoted extensively by a lot of people who thought they were reading my mind. And they were reading it on the belief that I was going to ask the Congress to pass an increase in the Federal gasoline tax. Well, some of these oracle readers or people who thought they could read my mind were 100 percent wrong. I did not ask for a gas tax; I am opposed to a gas tax; and, I know the Congress won't pass one.

About a week ago Saturday, I was faced with a real tough decision. There had been some very substantial orders placed for wheat and corn for shipment overseas.

Now, I am against the export controls for our farm commodities, and I do not intend to impose them. But at the same time, because I do feel I have an obligation to protect adequate reserves, we are going to monitor those sales. We will permit the sales of reasonable amounts

phased over a reasonable period of time so our farmers will be able to sell their commodities, because those commodities are important as we, a great country, sell those things abroad that are necessary for our balance of payments. So the farmers can have full assurance from me: There will be no blanket embargo on the products they produce on the land with their own toil.

One day last week, Charley Thone and a number of other Congressmen, Democrats as well as Republicans, along with some dairy farmers, came to the White House to talk to me about the problems of the dairy farmer. I know the dairy farmer in America has been hit by rising costs. I know the dairy farmer has been hit with some of the problems of getting an adequate price in the market place. The cost-price squeeze to the dairy farmer is a serious one. But I make a pledge here today as I did in Sioux Falls earlier: We are not going to let subsidized foreign dairy imports destroy the American dairy farmers' domestic market.

Now, having made these pledges to the farmers who have done so much over the years and who will do so much in the future, I feel obligated to make a comment on a sad and tragic incident that happened in Wisconsin yesterday.

Although I understand the frustrations of the farmers in Wisconsin who slaughtered their cattle yesterday, I am deeply concerned at this wasteful protest when we, as Americans, are trying to increase the supply of food for 213 million Americans and millions all over the world. Unfortunately, these actions contributed nothing to the solution of the problem or to the problem of inflation which concerns all of us.

I am aware, as I said earlier, of the cost-price squeeze in which livestock producers and feeders and dairymen find themselves. And to do whatever I can, I am meeting with representatives from those groups in Washington within a relatively short period of time to find out what they recommend that their Government do in this very serious problem, in this dilemma that they face.

I can only say that I hope and trust that what transpired in Wisconsin yesterday will not be duplicated. It didn't help them. It won't help solve the problem that they face, and it won't help the problem that we face as Americans, which is more food for all of us. And so I urge, to the extent that you can, that you counsel with them or with those who have any similar ideas. We are going to work with them. We are going to solve their problem, and they should not do in the future what a few did yesterday.

In conclusion, let me discuss very quickly these problems that I think we face here in Nebraska and others face around our 50 States. We have a problem concerning our economy.

About a week or 10 days ago, I submitted to the Congress, to the American people, a 31-provision program that is aimed at tightening up the screws on inflation and,

at the same time, giving us the strength to improve our economy. This program requires certain actions by the Congress. This program requires certain individual efforts by volunteers throughout the country. I have faith in the Congress and faith in the American people. We are going to win the battle against inflation, and we are going to have a strong, burgeoning economy so all of us will be better off.

The role of the United States on a global basis is aimed at building peace not only for ourselves but for the world as a whole. I was in Kansas City this morning, and I stayed last night in a hotel where a great Democratic President, 20-some years ago, signed a bill which was called the Greek-Turkish aid bill. And that legislation was sponsored and promoted and guided through the Congress by a great Republican Statesman from Michigan, Senator Arthur Vandenburg.

And as a result of bipartisan leadership in the field of foreign policy, and with a Democratic President and a Republican Congress, we laid the foundation for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which has kept the peace in Western Europe for almost 30 years.

And this kind of bipartisanship is essential today as it was during the days of Harry Truman and Arthur Vandenburg. And I can assure you that as a Republican President, I will work with a Democratic Congress to continue a bipartisan foreign policy that is good for America and good for the rest of the world.

One final point: I was reading the polls the other day, and the polls seem to indicate that the Republican Party is going to take some kind of a shellacking on November 5. I don't happen to agree with that, but that is what some of the experts were speculating and forecasting.

But let me tell you what could happen if they are right. They could end up with a veto-proof Congress, and what does that mean? It means that the important balance between the executive branch, the Congress, and the judicial branches of our Government will be upset. And if we look back over the history of this country, we know that balance in government has contributed significantly to the progress we have made, to the freedom that we have.

A veto-proof Congress will upset that balance. The American people don't want a dictatorship in the White House, or in the Congress, or in the court. They want a system of checks and balances that protect their freedom and give to each and every one of us a better life. And so I say, instead of a veto-proof Congress, I hope and trust that every one of you will work for an inflation-proof Congress on November 5.

And now, let me just conclude by thanking every one of you for being here. It is a thrill. It is a wonderful afternoon.

Charley, I thank you for the kind words in the introduction. I wish you well so you will be back to help us. I hope and trust that John McCollister is back, that Mrs.

Smith is with us so that they can join your two great Senators, Roman Hruska and Carl Curtis, with a good, strong Congress in 1975.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:18 p.m. at the Lincoln Municipal Airport, Lincoln, Nebraska.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Indianapolis, Indiana

The President's Remarks at a Dinner for Republican Candidates. October 16, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Mayor Dick Lugar.

I must say it is an unbelievable audience, tremendous in size, and overwhelming in enthusiasm. And I thank you not for whatever impact I might have had; I thank you because you are here to elect Dick Lugar to the United States Senate, and to pay tribute to an outstanding Governor of the State of Indiana, Doc Bowen, and to elect, re-elect those fine members of the Republican delegation in the House of Representatives in Washington like Bill Hudnut and the rest on November 5.

And may I say to the wonderful people who are blocked out by the news media—and they are all my friends—I am for an open Administration. And I apologize to the good friends—and the news media inadvertently, unavoidably are precluding me from looking at you—but I will be talking to you as much as I am to the others.

Governor Bowen, members of your administration, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Dick Lugar, of course, who I can't wait to be in the United States Senate, and all of you who participated in this great affair, I thank you from the very bottom of my heart. But let me say, I particularly appreciated the invitation to be here tonight because I had a suspicion that I wouldn't be among enemies, I would be among friendly Americans.

Frankly, I wanted to be visible, and I want to be an accessible President. And obviously I need it.

Let me tell you why. As I was walking through the lobby, a very friendly lady came up to me, shook my hand, and said, "I know you from somewhere, but I just can't remember your name." So in a friendly way, I tried to help her out. I said, "I am Jerry Ford." She said, "No, but you are close."

It is a pleasure to be with all of you here tonight—so many enthusiastic Republicans, discerning Independents, and wise Democrats. It has been my privilege to visit Indianapolis many times, and I have loved every visit. But I still come away, and particularly on this occasion, more impressed, more enthusiastic about the great future of this city and this great State, and I compliment you.

Obviously, one of the reasons why I feel so optimistic about Indianapolis is here with us tonight, Dick Lugar.

As I traveled around the country for 7 or 8 years, maybe a bit longer—I traveled some 200,000 miles a year and I had many, many opportunities to meet mayors, other public officials—and I can say without any hesitation or qualification that you in Indianapolis, as many of you claim, a vast majority, you have got the best darned mayor in the United States.

But, you know, the good thing about it is that Dick Lugar will do as much for Indianapolis and the State of Indiana and the country as he has done for this city, and that is a darned good recommendation why he ought to be the next United States Senator.

Dick has got a tough fight on his hands. I don't think we ought to gloss it over. I think we ought to be pragmatic and realistic about it. There is a lot of hard political muscle out to beat him. There is a lot of out-of-State money involved in trying to defeat Dick. But with your help, Dick Lugar can make it, and he deserves it.

And if I might add just a little personal note, I think we—when I say "we", I mean us Michiganders and all of the rest of us around the country—need a person like Dick representing Indiana and the country in the United States Senate, a man who will support economy in Government and fight inflation year around, not just in election time. He will vote in Washington as he talks in Indiana.

Let me just conclude this comment or two that I have made about Dick, but I think this represents my firm conviction and I would be remiss if I didn't say it. Dick is young, dynamic, honest, smart. He does his homework, he will be a full-time Senator for Indiana who will represent the responsible, the commonsense approach to the issues that Hoosiers believe are important for your State and for our country.

And Dick, I am looking forward to seeing you be sworn in on January 3, 1977 (1975).

I want to add one point that I have indicated at the outset. I have great respect and admiration for Doc Bowen. Again, I have met many mayors and Governors and other public officials, and as I travel around the country, I see the good ones and the bad ones.

It seems to me that you have got one of the best. But you know, I had planned to meet with Doc at the White House a few weeks or a month or so ago, but I found out that like so many doctors these days, he doesn't make house calls any more. So, I have come to see Doc in Indiana.

Well, he is popular. He is hard-working, a great inspiration to the Republican Party, and I know I speak for everyone here when I say how grateful Republicans and all other Hoosiers are for his tireless campaigning for a great candidate, Dick Lugar, in this election in 1974.

Thank you very much, Doc.

If I can take just a minute or two and speak from personal experience, from the bottom of my heart, and the

appreciation that I really feel. I served 25 years plus in the House of Representatives in Washington. It was the greatest experience of my life for many reasons.

But one of the reasons that it meant so much to me was the opportunity to be associated with, to depend on, to rely on the Indiana delegation. And I want to express my utmost gratitude and appreciation to people like Bill Bray, Earl Landgrebe, John Myers, Roger Zion, and Dave Dennis—men I can count on as President to win the battle against inflation. They are good fighters for good programs and they deserve your support down the line.

But there are some that are right in this area—I have spoken about those that are a little farther away from Indianapolis—right in the Marion County area, you have a special obligation, you who come from this particular part of this great State.

Bill Bray—gosh, he is a great guy and a first-class Congressman. Bud Hillis, a relative newcomer, but a darned fine Member of the House and one you should send back. And then we are right in the heartland of Bill Hudnut's district, and believe me, he deserves to be re-elected, and I mean it.

Whether it is Bill Bray, Bud Hillis, or Bill Hudnut, they are real inflation fighters and they deserve your entire, your total dedication if we are going to win this battle against inflation in the years ahead.

You know, speaking of Bill Hudnut, Bill is a great friend of mine, but you also know he is an ordained minister, which isn't a bad thing in politics today. [Laughter]

Frankly, I never knew Bill Hudnut was a minister until one day I saw him pick up a phone and call "Dial-A-Prayer," collect. [Laughter]

Well, in Bill's first term in the House of Representatives, he and I developed a very special relationship because our oldest son is going to theological school, and I was trying to get some advice and counsel. Yes, in the time that I served with Bill as a Member of the House when he was, I learned to have that sort of inward rapport, that close feeling that here was a person who had all the qualifications to be a first-class Member of the Congress.

And so I am particularly pleased to be in Indianapolis, which is the heartland of his district, and to add my voice—and if I could vote here—my vote for Bill Hudnut to be re-elected to the Congress of the United States.

And, Bill, I understand this is your 42d birthday. Congratulations.

Now, speaking of birthdays, I can't help thinking back to my 42d. Some of us, including myself, hate to think back that long. It was 19 years ago, in 1955. There is an old saying that many of us recollect, from time to time—the more things change, the more they stay the same.

Looking back for a moment to 1955, there seems something to it. In 1955, if you will refresh your memories, violence in Cyprus was making headlines; people were worried about peace in the Middle East; and threats of

inflation and recession weighed heavily on the minds of a lot of worried Americans.

Here we are 19 years later—strife in Cyprus, the Middle East is on a very difficult balance right at the moment. On the front page, of course, the economy in America is again a worry.

Americans have been rediscovering a lot of other things, too. In the wake of Vietnam, Watergate, the energy crisis, and the economic challenge, we are learning some of the very basic things that help to build America into the great country it is.

I have in mind, for example, things like the need for integrity in Government, a need for fiscal responsibility to fight inflation, the timeless balance created by Founders—those great Founders of our country almost 200 years ago between the three branches of Government, and the need for a balance in Congress through a viable two-party system.

I think it is the need for this balance and the challenge it faces in this election that I would like to say a few words about tonight.

A great English statesman of a few decades ago, Lord Acton, once said—it is a frequently, but I think appropriately, quoted comment from him—it goes like this: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Again and again the truth of those words has been well proven. Whenever any one branch of Government, any one person, or any class or faction in a country enjoys monopoly of power, corruption and extreme mismanagement are the inevitable result.

Only checks and balances, the free play of different ideas, and the vital competitive two-party system, in my judgment, can preserve a nation's freedom and deal adequately with corruption and wrongdoing in any part of our Government.

We need the built-in protection now and in the future of a strong, two-party political system in the United States, and the public must stand for it and fight for it and defend it.

Oh, I have listened to the forecasts and the speculation of people who look at the polls and say our party is going to take a shellacking, a licking, on November 5. Well, I don't happen to agree with that. But I do add this, and I say it to every one of you in this tremendous audience—one of the most impressive audiences I have seen in my many travels and many gatherings: Make no mistake. That is exactly what you are not going to get if you and other responsible citizens stay home on November 5.

You won't have that balance, you won't have that check and balance. If you stay home and do nothing—which I can't imagine you all doing here—you will only blindly penalize good Republican candidates for the unfortunate misdeeds of others.

And so such a development, as I see it, would be dangerous at any time, but today perhaps more than perhaps any other time in my political career. We need the maximum effort by all of you and all the people you can enlist and all of the people that you can persuade.

I think if you do that we will have people in Congress willing to work with us, people who will have a vision, people who will have determination, people who will have the vigor to do the right thing on the problems that we face at home and abroad.

Frankly, speaking of inflation, we need people on the Hill who won't go over the hill on the battle against inflation.

If we end up with a lopsided veto-proof Congress, as some people are saying they are going to get or they demand or they insist will be the result of the voters on November 5, let me say this: You will end up with a legislative dictatorship which is totally contrary to the concepts of a free government.

Our forefathers so wisely decided almost 200 years ago that we needed a strong President in the White House, we needed a strong Congress in the legislative branch, we needed a strong judicial system headed by the Supreme Court. But they were all co-equal, coordinates, and they were to be a check and balance, one against the other. And because we had that balance, we have had freedom and the greatest material benefits and blessings of any nation in the world.

But, if because of negligence, if because of a lack of enthusiasm or participation we end up with a veto-proof Congress, that delicate balance, that finely tuned relationship between the three branches of our Government will be destroyed, and we will have a legislative dictatorship. And believe me, if we have a legislative dictatorship, tighten your seatbelts, folks, the spending will go right out of the top of the dome of the Capitol.

What I am saying: Don't elect the spendthrift Congress; don't elect a veto-proof Congress. Fight inflation, and send back to the House as well as the Senate those individuals in favor of an inflation-proof Congress. That is what will save America.

You know I arrived in town, and as we flew in, I couldn't help but see the Indianapolis Speedway, and gee, that is a great thrill. Somebody said to me, a veto-proof Congress to fight inflation makes about as much sense as going into the Indianapolis Speedway—or the 500, I should say—on a skateboard.

In the economic program that I submitted to the Congress, we have 31 different provisions and proposals. It was a package finally put together with the best brains, the best talents, the greatest cooperation and participation by people all over the country.

We had some 12 or 15 minisummits, and we had two or three summits in Washington. And then after all these ideas came from so many, many people, we tried to dis-

card the ones that wouldn't work, and we decided to incorporate those that we thought will.

It was done for this particular purpose. We are faced with high inflation. We had to tighten the screws. On the other hand, in some areas of our country, we have got economic problems. Some people call them a recession, some people describe them otherwise, but the problem is, we do in some areas of this country face difficulties. So we had to devise a plan or a program that meant a dual challenge, a challenge that could be met if we had the right approach. One of those approaches was to hold down Federal spending. And believe me, that is an awfully important part of our program.

I said to the Congress, "You agree with me that we won't spend more than \$300 billion in this fiscal year, and I will find a way to do it." And we can.

And the kind of people that we have here in Congress on our side of the aisle and the kind you are going to send to Congress with Dick Lugar will help us find those ways.

But there also is another part of that program and I would like to talk about it. I suggested that the Congress ought to bite the bullet. Some people said that I only suggested they take a marshmallow bite. Well, if the Congress doesn't like what I suggested, we will give them some real tough turkey talk very soon.

Now, let me speak, if I might, about one aspect—the tax suggestions that I made. Let me, at the outset, say I am against, I won't recommend, I will oppose any addition to the gasoline tax as far as the Federal Government is concerned.

Now, let me just speak quite frankly. I think if we are going to be compassionate, we are going to balance the budget, we have to find some new areas of revenue. And there are, I am sure, some people who say I was not the wisest person to recommend some increases on certain elements of our population and taxes.

Well, I wonder if all of you know the real impact of that proposal—5 percent on personal income for everybody who files an income tax with taxable income of over \$15,000. And if it is that, you don't pay any additional tax. If you have a family of four and a \$20,000 income, you pay \$42 more a year or 12 cents every day. Aren't you willing to make that sacrifice to win the battle against inflation?

I just happen to think that the American people at this critical time, at this serious period in our American history, are willing to do battle today if we are going to preserve our form of Government, if we are going to win the battle against inflation and keep a healthy economy. Hoosiers have never backed away from anything and they are not going to back away from this struggle.

And you have the opportunity in this great State—as I look at the eyes of the people out here—to be the leaders, to be the leaders in meeting this challenge. Yes, I

think this inspirational group here tonight can be what all of us hope for and seek for, a group of 5,500 people who have got the courage and the wisdom, the vision, the imagination to meet the challenges, the challenges that are important to the preservation of those things that we think so dear, that have been given to us by the sacrifices of so many before us.

And let me conclude, if I might, by reminding Democrats, Independents, and Republicans, and the like, November 5 is just a few days away. It is closer than you think. And Congressional elections for the Senate and for the House are really what it is all about in 1974.

I think you have to sit back and take a close look at the stewardship of people who are candidates for re-election and candidates who seek election. I have no doubt that you can support the people who have served you on our side of the aisle, because they are first-class. I have no doubt that as you reflect in your home or in that voting booth, that you can support a person like Dick Lugar. If I were a Hoosier, believe me, I could support him with vigor and vehemence and with a good, clear conscience.

There is nothing in America really like the sanctity of the voting booth. That is where you have an opportunity to reflect on what is best for America. And as I talk to Dick, and as I have worked with our candidates and our incumbents from Indiana, my reflection in that voting booth would give me a clear message: They are the kind of people that will lick inflation. They are the kind of people that will give America the leadership in trying to preserve the peace. They are the kind of people that will fight for and preserve the two-party system. They are the kind of people that you will be proud of on the basis of personal integrity and Government service dedication. And they are the kind of people that will be a part of this great bipartisan effort that we have to have if we are going to solve our problems, either at home or abroad.

Yes, your support for them—not just for you individually, not just because of what they can do for your Congressional district or your city or your State, but more importantly, what they can do for what is good for America and what is good for people around the world.

They will be a part of a strong and responsive Congress. And as one commentator put it on television last week, and let me quote, "I am looking for a Congress that will praise the Lord and pass the legislation."

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 p.m. at the Indiana Convention-Exposition Center, Indianapolis, Indiana. Prior to the dinner, the President attended a reception at the center for a group of Republicans.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Pardon for Former President Nixon

Statement by the President Delivered Before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Together With the President's Responses to Questions From Subcommittee Members. October 17, 1974

We meet here today to review the facts and circumstances that were the basis for my pardon of former President Nixon on September 8, 1974.

I want very much to have those facts and circumstances known. The American people want to know them. And Members of the Congress want to know them. The two Congressional resolutions of inquiry now before this committee serve those purposes. That is why I have volunteered to appear before you this morning, and I welcome and thank you for this opportunity to speak to the questions raised by the resolutions.

My appearance at this hearing of your distinguished subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary has been looked upon as an unusual historic event—one that has no firm precedent in the whole history of Presidential relations with the Congress. Yet, I am here not to make history, but to report on history.

The history you are interested in covers so recent a period that it is still not well understood. If, with your assistance, I can make for better understanding of the pardon of our former President, then we can help to achieve the purpose I had for granting the pardon when I did.

That purpose was to change our national focus. I wanted to do all I could to shift our attentions from the pursuit of a fallen President to the pursuit of the urgent needs of a rising nation. Our Nation is under the severest of challenges now to employ its full energies and efforts in the pursuit of a sound and growing economy at home and a stable and peaceful world around us.

We would needlessly be diverted from meeting those challenges if we as a people were to remain sharply divided over whether to indict, bring to trial, and punish a former President, who already is condemned to suffer long and deeply in the shame and disgrace brought upon the office he held. Surely, we are not a revengeful people. We have often demonstrated a readiness to feel compassion and to act out of mercy. As a people, we have a long record of forgiving even those who have been our country's most destructive foes.

Yet, to forgive is not to forget the lessons of evil in whatever ways evil has operated against us. And certainly the pardon granted the former President will not cause us to forget the evils of Watergate-type offenses or to forget the lessons we have learned that a government which deceives its supporters and treats its opponents as enemies must never, never be tolerated.

The pardon power entrusted to the President under the Constitution of the United States has a long history and rests on precedents going back centuries before our Constitution was drafted and adopted. The power has been used sometimes as Alexander Hamilton saw its purpose: "In seasons of insurrection . . . when a well-timed offer of pardon to the insurgents or rebels may restore the tranquillity of the commonwealth; and which, if suffered to pass unimproved, it may never be possible afterwards to recall."¹ Other times it has been applied to one person as "an act of grace . . . which exempts the individual, on whom it is bestowed, from the punishment the law inflicts for a crime he has committed."² When a pardon is granted, it also represents "the determination of the ultimate authority that the public welfare will be better served by inflicting less than what the judgment fixed."³ However, the Constitution does not limit the pardon power to cases of convicted offenders or even indicted offenders.⁴ Thus, I am firm in my conviction that as President I did have the authority to proclaim a pardon for the former President when I did.

Yet, I can also understand why people are moved to question my action. Some may still question my authority, but I find much of the disagreement turns on whether I should have acted when I did. Even then many people have concluded as I did that the pardon was in the best interests of the country because it came at a time when it would best serve the purpose I have stated.

I come to this hearing in a spirit of cooperation to respond to your inquiries. I do so with the understanding that the subjects to be covered are defined and limited by the questions as they appear in the resolutions before you. But even then we may not mutually agree on what information falls within the proper scope of inquiry by the Congress.

I feel a responsibility as you do that each separate branch of our government must preserve a degree of confidentiality for its internal communications. Congress, for its part, has seen the wisdom of assuring that members be permitted to work under conditions of confidentiality. Indeed, earlier this year the United States Senate passed a resolution which reads in part as follows:

" . . . no evidence under the control and in the possession of the Senate of the United States can, by the mandate of process of the ordinary courts of justice, be taken from such control or possession, but by its permission." (S. Res. 338, passed June 12, 1974)

In *United States v. Nixon*, 42 U.S.L.W. 5237, 5244 (U.S. July 24, 1974), the Supreme Court unanimously recognized a rightful sphere of confidentiality within the

¹ *The Federalist* No. 74, at 79 (Central Law Journal ed. 1914) (A. Hamilton).

² Marshall, C. J., in *United States v. Wilson*, 32 U.S. (7 Pet.) 150, 160 (1833).

³ *Biddle v. Perovich*, 247 U.S. 480, 486 (1927).

⁴ *Ex Parte Garland*, 4 Wall. 333, 380 (1867); *Burdick v. United States*, 236 U.S. 79 (1915).

executive branch, which the Court determined could only be invaded for overriding reasons of the fifth and sixth amendments to the Constitution.

As I have stated before, my own view is that the right of executive privilege is to be exercised with caution and restraint. When I was a Member of Congress, I did not hesitate to question the right of the executive branch to claim a privilege against supplying information to the Congress if I thought the claim of privilege was being abused. Yet, I did then, and I do now, respect the right of executive privilege when it protects advice given to a President in the expectation that it will not be disclosed. Otherwise, no President could any longer count on receiving free and frank views from people designated to help him reach his official decisions.

Also, it is certainly not my intention or even within my authority to detract on this occasion or in any other instance from the generally recognized rights of the President to preserve the confidentiality of internal discussions or communications whenever it is properly within his constitutional responsibility to do so. These rights are within the authority of any President while he is in office, and I believe may be exercised as well by a past President if the information sought pertains to his official functions when he was serving in office.

I bring up these important points before going into the balance of my statement, so there can be no doubt that I remain mindful of the rights of confidentiality which a President may and ought to exercise in appropriate situations. However, I do not regard my answers as I have prepared them for purposes of this inquiry to be prejudicial to those rights in the present circumstances or to constitute a precedent for responding to Congressional inquiries different in nature or scope or under different circumstances.

Accordingly, I shall proceed to explain as fully as I can in my present answers the facts and circumstances covered by the present resolutions of inquiry. I shall start with an explanation of these events which were the first to occur in the period covered by the inquiry, before I became President. Then I will respond to the separate questions as they are numbered in H. Res. 1367 and as they specifically relate to the period after I became President.

H. Res. 1367* before this Subcommittee asks for information about certain conversations that may have occurred over a period that includes when I was a Member of Congress or the Vice President. In that entire period, no references or discussions on a possible pardon for then President Nixon occurred until August 1 and 2, 1974.

You will recall that since the beginning of the Watergate investigations, I had consistently made statements

*Tab A attached.

and speeches about President Nixon's innocence of either planning the break-in or of participating in the coverup. I sincerely believed he was innocent.

Even in the closing months before the President resigned, I made public statements that in my opinion the adverse revelations so far did not constitute an impeachable offense. I was coming under increasing criticism for such public statements, but I still believed them to be true based on the facts as I knew them.

In the early morning of Thursday, August 1, 1974, I had a meeting in my Vice Presidential office, with Alexander M. Haig, Jr., chief of staff for President Nixon. At this meeting, I was told in a general way about fears arising because of additional tape evidence scheduled for delivery to Judge Sirica on Monday, August 5, 1974. I was told that there could be evidence which, when disclosed to the House of Representatives, would likely tip the vote in favor of impeachment. However, I was given no indication that this development would lead to any change in President Nixon's plans to oppose the impeachment vote.

Then shortly after noon, General Haig requested another appointment as promptly as possible. He came to my office about 3:30 p.m. for a meeting that was to last for approximately three-quarters of an hour. Only then did I learn of the damaging nature of a conversation on June 23, 1972, in one of the tapes which was due to go to Judge Sirica the following Monday.

I describe this meeting because at one point it did include references to a possible pardon for Mr. Nixon, to which the third and fourth questions in H. Res. 1367 are directed. However, nearly the entire meeting covered other subjects, all dealing with the totally new situation resulting from the critical evidence on the tape of June 23, 1972. General Haig told me he had been told of the new and damaging evidence by lawyers on the White House Staff who had first-hand knowledge of what was on the tape. The substance of his conversation was that the new disclosure would be devastating, even catastrophic, insofar as President Nixon was concerned. Based on what he had learned of the conversation on the tape, he wanted to know whether I was prepared to assume the Presidency within a very short time and whether I would be willing to make recommendations to the President as to what course he should now follow.

I cannot really express adequately in words how shocked and stunned I was by this unbelievable revelation. First, was the sudden awareness I was likely to become President under these most troubled circumstances; and secondly, the realization these new disclosures ran completely counter to the position I had taken for months, in that I believed the President was not guilty of any impeachable offense.

General Haig in his conversation at my office went on to tell me of discussions in the White House among those who knew of this new evidence.

General Haig asked for my assessment of the whole situation. He wanted my thoughts about the timing of a

resignation, if that decision were to be made, and about how to do it and accomplish an orderly change of Administration. We discussed what scheduling problems there might be and what the early organizational problems would be.

General Haig outlined for me President Nixon's situation as he saw it and the different views in the White House as to the courses of action that might be available, and which were being advanced by various people around him on the White House Staff. As I recall there were different major courses being considered:

(1) Some suggested "riding it out" by letting the impeachment take its course through the House and the Senate trial, fighting all the way against conviction.

(2) Others were urging resignation sooner or later. I was told some people backed the first course and other people a resignation but not with the same views as to how and when it should take place.

On the resignation issue, there were put forth a number of options which General Haig reviewed with me. As I recall his conversation, various possible options being considered included:

(1) The President temporarily step aside under the 25th Amendment.

(2) Delaying resignation until further along the impeachment process.

(3) Trying first to settle for a censure vote as a means of avoiding either impeachment or a need to resign.

(4) The question of whether the President could pardon himself.

(5) Pardoning various Watergate defendants, then himself, followed by resignation.

(6) A pardon to the President, should he resign.

The rush of events placed an urgency on what was to be done. It became even more critical in view of a prolonged impeachment trial which was expected to last possibly 4 months or longer.

The impact of the Senate trial on the country, the handling of possible international crises, the economic situation here at home, and the marked slowdown in the decisionmaking process within the Federal Government were all factors to be considered and were discussed.

General Haig wanted my views on the various courses of action as well as my attitude on the options of resignation. However, he indicated he was not advocating any of the options. I inquired as to what was the President's pardon power, and he answered that it was his understanding from a White House lawyer that a President did have the authority to grant a pardon even before any criminal action had been taken against an individual, but, obviously, he was in no position to have any opinion on a matter of law.

As I saw it, at this point the question clearly before me was, under the circumstances, what course of action should I recommend that would be in the best interest of the country.

I told General Haig I had to have time to think; further, that I wanted to talk to James St. Clair. I also said I wanted to talk to my wife before giving any response. I had consistently and firmly held the view previously that in no way whatsoever could I recommend either publicly or privately any step by the President that might cause a change in my status as Vice President. As the person who would become President if a vacancy occurred for any reason in that office, a Vice President, I believed, should endeavor not to do or say anything which might affect his President's tenure in office. Therefore, I certainly was not ready even under these new circumstances to make any recommendations about resignation without having adequate time to consider further what I should properly do.

Shortly after 8:00 o'clock the next morning James St. Clair came to my office. Although he did not spell out in detail the new evidence, there was no question in my mind that he considered these revelations to be so damaging that impeachment in the House was a certainty and conviction in the Senate a high probability. When I asked Mr. St. Clair if he knew of any other new and damaging evidence besides that on the June 23, 1972, tape, he said "no." When I pointed out to him the various options mentioned to me by General Haig, he told me he had not been the source of any opinion about Presidential pardon power.

After further thought on the matter, I was determined not to make any recommendations to President Nixon on his resignation. I had not given any advice or recommendations in my conversations with his aides, but I also did not want anyone who might talk to the President to suggest that I had some intention to do so.

For that reason I decided I should call General Haig the afternoon of August 2. I did make the call late that afternoon and told him I wanted him to understand that I had no intention of recommending what President Nixon should do about resigning or not resigning, and that nothing we had talked about the previous afternoon should be given any consideration in whatever decision the President might make. General Haig told me he was in full agreement with this position.

My travel schedule called for me to make appearances in Mississippi and Louisiana over Saturday, Sunday, and part of Monday, August 3, 4, and 5. In the previous 8 months, I had repeatedly stated my opinion that the President would not be found guilty of an impeachable offense. Any change from my stated views, or even refusal to comment further, I feared, would lead in the press to conclusions that I now wanted to see the President resign to avoid an impeachment vote in the House and probable conviction vote in the Senate. For that reason I remained firm in my answers to press questions during my trip and repeated my belief in the President's innocence of an impeachable offense. Not until I returned to Wash-

ington did I learn that President Nixon was to release the new evidence late on Monday, August 5, 1974.

At about the same time I was notified that the President had called a Cabinet meeting for Tuesday morning, August 6, 1974. At that meeting in the Cabinet Room, I announced that I was making no recommendations to the President as to what he should do in the light of the new evidence. And I made no recommendations to him either at the meeting or at any time after that.

In summary, I assure you that there never was at any time any agreement whatsoever concerning a pardon to Mr. Nixon if he were to resign and I were to become President.

The first question of H. Res. 1367 asks whether I or my representative had "specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon." The answer is: "no."

I had known, of course, that the grand jury investigating the Watergate break-in and coverup had wanted to name President Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the coverup. Also, I knew that an extensive report had been prepared by the Watergate Special Prosecution Force for the grand jury and had been sent to the House Committee on the Judiciary, where, I believe, it served the staff and members of the Committee in the development of its report on the proposed articles of impeachment. Beyond what was disclosed in the publications of the Judiciary Committee on the subject and additional evidence released by President Nixon on August 5, 1974, I saw on or shortly after September 4 a copy of a memorandum prepared for Special Prosecutor Jaworski by the Deputy Special Prosecutor, Henry Ruth.* Copy of this memorandum had been furnished by Mr. Jaworski to my Counsel and was later made public during a press briefing at the White House on September 10, 1974.

I have supplied the Subcommittee with a copy of this memorandum. The memorandum lists matters still under investigation which "may prove to have some direct connection to activities in which Mr. Nixon is personally involved." The Watergate coverup is not included in this list, and the alleged coverup is mentioned only as being the subject of a separate memorandum not furnished to me. Of those matters which are listed in the memorandum, it is stated that none of them "at the moment rises to the level of our ability to prove even a probable criminal violation by Mr. Nixon."

This is all the information I had which related even to the possibility of "formal criminal charges" involving the former President while he had been in office.

The second question in the resolution asks whether Alexander Haig referred to or discussed a pardon with

*Tab B attached.

Richard M. Nixon or his representatives at any time during the week of August 4, 1974, or any subsequent time. My answer to that question is: not to my knowledge. If any such discussions did occur, they could not have been a factor in my decision to grant the pardon when I did because I was not aware of them.

Questions three and four of H. Res. 1367 deal with the first and all subsequent references to, or discussions of, a pardon for Richard M. Nixon, with him or any of his representatives or aides. I have already described at length what discussions took place on August 1 and 2, 1974, and how these discussions brought no recommendations or commitments whatsoever on my part. These were the only discussions related to questions three and four before I became President, but question four relates also to subsequent discussions.

At no time after I became President on August 9, 1974, was the subject of a pardon for Richard M. Nixon raised by the former President or by anyone representing him. Also, no one on my staff brought up the subject until the day before my first press conference on August 28, 1974. At that time, I was advised that questions on the subject might be raised by media reporters at the press conference.

As the press conference proceeded, the first question asked involved the subject, as did other later questions. In my answers to these questions, I took a position that, while I was the final authority on this matter, I expected to make no commitment one way or the other depending on what the Special Prosecutor and courts would do. However, I also stated that I believed the general view of the American people was to spare the former President from a criminal trial.

Shortly afterwards I became greatly concerned that if Mr. Nixon's prosecution and trial were prolonged, the passions generated over a long period of time would seriously disrupt the healing of our country from the wounds of the past. I could see that the new Administration could not be effective if it had to operate in the atmosphere of having a former President under prosecution and criminal trial. Each step along the way, I was deeply concerned, would become a public spectacle and the topic of wide public debate and controversy.

As I have before stated publicly, these concerns led me to ask from my own legal counsel what my full right of pardon was under the Constitution in this situation and from the Special Prosecutor what criminal actions, if any, were likely to be brought against the former President, and how long his prosecution and trial would take.

As soon as I had been given this information, I authorized my Counsel, Philip Buchen, to tell Herbert J. Miller, as attorney for Richard M. Nixon, of my pending decision to grant a pardon for the former President. I was advised that the disclosure was made on September 4, 1974, when Mr. Buchen, accompanied by Benton Becker, met with

Mr. Miller. Mr. Becker had been asked, with my concurrence, to take on a temporary special assignment to assist Mr. Buchen, at a time when no one else of my selection had yet been appointed to the legal staff of the White House.

The fourth question in the resolution also asks about "negotiations" with Mr. Nixon or his representatives on the subject of a pardon for the former President. The pardon under consideration was not, so far as I was concerned, a matter of negotiation. I realized that unless Mr. Nixon actually accepted the pardon I was preparing to grant, it probably would not be effective. So I certainly had no intention to proceed without knowing if it would be accepted. Otherwise, I put no conditions on my granting of a pardon which required any negotiations.

Although negotiations had been started earlier and were conducted through September 6 concerning White House records of the prior administration, I did not make any agreement on that subject a condition of the pardon. The circumstances leading to an initial agreement on Presidential records are not covered by the resolutions before this Subcommittee. Therefore, I have mentioned discussions on that subject with Mr. Nixon's attorney only to show they were related in time to the pardon discussions but were not a basis for my decision to grant a pardon to the former President.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh questions of H. Res. 1367 ask whether I consulted with certain persons before making my pardon decision.

I did not consult at all with Attorney General Saxbe on the subject of a pardon for Mr. Nixon. My only conversation on the subject with Vice Presidential nominee Nelson Rockefeller was to report to him on September 6, 1974, that I was planning to grant the pardon.

Special Prosecutor Jaworski was contacted on my instructions by my Counsel, Philip Buchen. One purpose of their discussions was to seek the information I wanted on what possible criminal charges might be brought against Mr. Nixon. The result of that inquiry was a copy of the memorandum I have already referred to and have furnished to this subcommittee. The only other purpose was to find out the opinion of the Special Prosecutor as to how long a delay would follow, in the event of Mr. Nixon's indictment, before a trial could be started and concluded.

At a White House press briefing on September 8, 1974, the principal portions of Mr. Jaworski's opinion were made public. In this opinion, Mr. Jaworski wrote that selection of a jury for the trial of the former President, if he were indicted, would require a delay "of a period from nine months to a year, and perhaps even longer." On the question of how long it would take to conduct such a trial, he noted that the complexities of the jury

selection made it difficult to estimate the time. Copy of the full text of his opinion dated September 4, 1974, I have now furnished to this subcommittee.*

I did consult with my Counsel, Philip Buchen, with Benton Becker, and with my Counsellor, John Marsh, who is also an attorney. Outside of these men, serving at the time on my immediate staff, I consulted with no other attorneys or professors of law for facts or legal authorities bearing on my decision to grant a pardon to the former President.

Questions eight and nine of H. Res. 1367 deal with the circumstances of any statement requested or received from Mr. Nixon. I asked for no confession or statement of guilt, only a statement in acceptance of the pardon when it was granted. No language was suggested or requested by anyone acting for me to my knowledge. My Counsel advised me that he had told the attorney for Mr. Nixon that he believed the statement should be one expressing contrition, and in this respect, I was told Mr. Miller concurred. Before I announced the pardon, I saw a preliminary draft of a proposed statement from Mr. Nixon, but I did not regard the language of the statement, as subsequently issued, to be subject to approval by me or my representatives.

The tenth question covers any report to me on Mr. Nixon's health by a physician or psychiatrist, which led to my pardon decision. I received no such report. Whatever information was generally known to me at the time of my pardon decision was based on my own observations of his condition at the time he resigned as President and observations reported to me after that from others who had later seen or talked with him. No such reports were by people qualified to evaluate medically the condition of Mr. Nixon's health, and so they were not a controlling factor in my decision. However, I believed and still do, that prosecution and trial of the former President would have proved a serious threat to his health, as I stated in my message on September 8, 1974.

H. Res. 1370* is the other resolution of inquiry before this subcommittee. It presents no questions but asks for the full and complete facts upon which was based my decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon.

I know of no such facts that are not covered by my answers to the questions in H. Res. 1367. Also:

Subparagraphs (1) and (4): There were no representations made by me or for me and none by Mr. Nixon or for him on which my pardon decision was based.

Subparagraph (2): The health issue is dealt with by me in answer to question 10 of the previous resolution.

*Tab C attached.

*Tab D attached.

Subparagraph (3): Information available to me about possible offenses in which Mr. Nixon might have been involved is covered in my answer to the first question of the earlier resolution.

In addition, in an unnumbered paragraph at the end, H. Res. 1370 seeks information on possible pardons for Watergate-related offenses which others may have committed. I have decided that all persons requesting consideration of pardon requests should submit them through the Department of Justice.

Only when I receive information on any request duly filed and considered first by the Pardon Attorney at the Department of Justice would I consider the matter. As yet no such information has been received, and if it does I will act or decline to act according to the particular circumstances presented, and not on the basis of the unique circumstances, as I saw them, of former President Nixon.

By these responses to the resolutions of inquiry, I believe I have fully and fairly presented the facts and circumstances preceding my pardon of former President Nixon. In this way, I hope I have contributed to a much better understanding by the American people of the action I took to grant the pardon when I did. For having afforded me this opportunity, I do express my appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, and to Mr. Smith, the Ranking Minority Member, and to all the other distinguished Members of this subcommittee; also to Chairman Rodino of the Committee on the Judiciary, to Mr. Hutchinson, the Ranking Minority Member of the full committee, and to other distinguished Members of the full committee who are present.

In closing, I would like to reemphasize that I acted solely for the reasons I stated in my proclamation of September 8, 1974, and my accompanying message and that I acted out of my concern to serve the best interests of my country. As I stated then: "My concern is the immediate future of this great country . . . My conscience tells me it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquility, but to use every means that I have to insure it."

TABLE A

H. RES. 1367
93d Congress
2d Session

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 16, 1974

Ms. ABZUG (for herself, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. JOHN L. BURTON, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EILBERG, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Ms. HOLTZMAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. STOKES, Mr. SYMINGTON, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the President of the United States is hereby requested to furnish the House, within ten days, with the following information:

1. Did you or your representatives have specific knowledge of any formal criminal charges pending against Richard M. Nixon prior to issuance of the pardon? If so, what were these charges?
2. Did Alexander Haig refer to or discuss a pardon for Richard M. Nixon with Richard M. Nixon or representatives of Mr. Nixon at any time during the week of August 4, 1974, or at any subsequent time? If so, what promises were made or conditions set for a pardon, if any? If so, were tapes or transcriptions of any kind made of these conversations or were any notes taken? If so, please provide such tapes, transcriptions or notes.
3. When was a pardon for Richard M. Nixon first referred to or discussed with Richard M. Nixon, or representatives of Mr. Nixon, by you or your representatives or aides, including the period when you were a Member of Congress or Vice President?
4. Who participated in these and subsequent discussions or negotiations with Richard M. Nixon or his representatives regarding a pardon, and at what specific times and locations?
5. Did you consult with Attorney General William Saxbe or Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did they give to you?
6. Did you consult with the Vice Presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller, before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts and legal authorities did he give to you?
7. Did you consult with any other attorneys or professors of law before making the decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon and, if so, what facts or legal authorities did they give to you?
8. Did you or your representatives ask Richard M. Nixon to make a confession or statement of criminal guilt, and, if so, what language was suggested or requested by you, your representatives, Mr. Nixon, or his representatives? Was any statement of any kind requested from Mr. Nixon in exchange for the pardon, and, if so, please provide the suggested or requested language.
9. Was the statement issued by Richard M. Nixon immediately subsequent to announcement of the pardon made known to you or your representatives prior to its announcement, and was it approved by you or your representatives?
10. Did you receive any report from a psychiatrist or other physician stating that Richard M. Nixon was in other than good health? If so, please provide such reports.

TAB B

Memorandum to: Leon Jaworski
From: Henry Ruth
Subject: Mr. Nixon

The following matters are still under investigation in this Office and may prove to have some direct connection to activities in which Mr. Nixon is personally involved:

1. Tax deductions relating to the gift of pre-Presidential papers.
2. The Colson obstruction of justice plea in the Ellsberg matter.
3. The transfer of the national security wire tap records from the FBI to the White House.
4. The initiating of wire tapping of John Sears.
5. Misuse of IRS information.
6. Misuse of IRS through attempted initiation of audits as to "enemies."
7. The dairy industry pledge and its relationship to the price support change.
8. Filing of a challenge to the Washington Post ownership of two Florida television stations.
9. False and evasive testimony at the Kleindienst confirmation hearings as to White House participation in Department of Justice decisions about ITT.
10. The handling of campaign contributions by Mr. Rebozo for the personal benefit of Mr. Nixon.

None of these matters at the moment rises to the level of our ability to prove even a probable criminal violation by Mr. Nixon, but I thought you ought to know which of the pending investiga-

tions were even remotely connected to Mr. Nixon. Of course, the Watergate cover-up is the subject of a separate memorandum.

cc: Mr. Lacovara

TAB C

September 4, 1974

Dear Mr. Buchen:

You have inquired as to my opinion regarding the length of delay that would follow, in the event of an indictment of former President Richard M. Nixon, before a trial could reasonably be had by a fair and impartial jury as guaranteed by the Constitution.

The factual situation regarding a trial of Richard M. Nixon within constitutional bounds, is unprecedented. It is especially unique in view of the recent House Judiciary Committee inquiry on impeachment, resulting in a unanimous adverse finding to Richard M. Nixon on the Article involving obstruction of justice. The massive publicity given the hearings and the findings that ensued, the reversal of judgment of a number of the members of the Republican Party following release of the June 23 tape recording, and their statements carried nationwide, and finally, the resignation of Richard M. Nixon, require a delay, before selection of a jury is begun, of a period from nine months to a year, and perhaps even longer. This judgment is predicated on a review of the decisions of United States Courts involving prejudicial pre-trial publicity. The Government's decision to pursue impeachment proceedings and the tremendous volume of television, radio and newspaper coverage given thereto, are factors emphasized by the Courts in weighing the time a trial can be had. The complexities involved in the process of selecting a jury and the time it will take to complete the process, I find difficult to estimate at this time.

The situation involving Richard M. Nixon is readily distinguishable from the facts involved in the case of *United States v. Mitchell, et al*, set for trial on September 30th. The defendants in the Mitchell case were indicted by a grand jury operating in secret session. They will be called to trial, unlike Richard M. Nixon, if indicted, without any previous adverse finding by an investigatory body holding public hearings on its conclusions. It is precisely the condemnation of Richard M. Nixon already made in the impeachment process, that would make it unfair to the defendants in the case of *United States v. Mitchell, et al*, for Richard M. Nixon now to be joined as a co-conspirator, should it be concluded that an indictment of him was proper.

The *United States v. Mitchell, et al*, trial will within itself generate new publicity, some undoubtedly prejudicial to Richard M. Nixon. I bear this in mind when I estimate the earliest time of trial of Richard M. Nixon under his constitutional guarantees, in the event of indictment, to be as indicated above.

If further information is desired, please advise me.

Sincerely,

LEON JAWORSKI
Special Prosecutor

[Philip W. Buchen, Esq., Counsel to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

TAB D

H. RES. 1370

93d Congress
2d Session

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 17, 1974

Mr. CONYERS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the President is directed to furnish to the House of Representatives the full and complete information and facts upon

which was based the decision to grant a pardon to Richard M. Nixon, including—

- (1) any representations made by or on behalf of Richard M. Nixon to the President;
- (2) any information or facts presented to the President with respect to the mental or physical health of Richard M. Nixon;
- (3) any information in possession or control of the President with respect to the offenses which were allegedly committed by Richard M. Nixon and for which a pardon was granted;
- (4) any representations made by or on behalf of the President to Richard M. Nixon in connection with a pardon for alleged offenses against the United States.

The President is further directed to furnish to the House of Representatives the full and complete information and facts in his possession or control and relating to any pardon which may be granted to any person who is or may be charged or convicted of any offense against the United States within the prosecutorial jurisdiction of the Office of Watergate Special Prosecution Force.

[The President read the statement at a hearing of the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary which began at 10 a.m. in the Rayburn House Office Building. The hearing was broadcast live on radio and television. Following his opening statement, the President responded to questions from subcommittee members, as follows:]

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the committee members of the subcommittee for this opportunity to make these views known.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. HUNGATE. Mr. President, on behalf of the subcommittee, we express our appreciation for your appearance here bringing facts that will be helpful to the American people and the Congress.

There will be some who will find the answers fully satisfactory and forthright. There will be others who will not. But I would hope that all would appreciate your openness and willingness to come before the American public and the Congress to discuss this important matter.

The gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Kastenmeier.

CONGRESSMAN ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, would like to join my colleagues in welcoming the President. I don't believe any of us could have anticipated a year ago, when the President then appeared as a nominee under the 25th amendment for Vice President, that you would once again appear before this committee as President of the United States.

I would only comment, no matter how well motivated the desire to put Watergate behind us, I can only acknowledge today that several key issues in the news this morning—the President's appearance before this committee, the trial downtown, the Watergate trial itself, and even the nomination of Mr. Rockefeller to be the Vice President, occasioned by a vacancy due to Watergate—all of these still command the attention of the American people, and I guess we will just have to be patient.

Mr. President, you indicated that you wanted to spare Mr. Nixon a criminal trial. Did you specifically have any other end in view in terms of protecting Mr. Nixon in terms of a pardon; that is to say, whatever a pardon would spare the President other than a criminal trial, were there any other adversities which a pardon would help Mr. Nixon with, as you saw it?

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated in the proclamation that I issued, and as I indicated in the statement I made at the time on September 8, my prime reason was for the benefit of the country, not for any benefits that might be for Mr. Nixon.

I exercised my pardon authority under the Constitution, which relates only to those criminal matters during the period from January 20, 1969, until August 9, 1974.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. I appreciate that, Mr. President, but it must have been something you foresaw which could happen to Mr. Nixon which justified a pardon, if in fact you were advised, and perhaps you were not, that there was no proceeding going to be commenced against Mr. Nixon, that nothing would happen to him, really a pardon may have been an empty gesture in that event?

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated, Mr. Kastenmeier, after the press conference on August 28 where three questions were raised about the pardon or the possibility of a pardon, I asked my Counsel to find out from the Special Prosecutor what, if any, charges were being considered by the Special Prosecutor's office.

As I indicated in my prepared statement, I received from Mr. Jaworski certain information indicating that there were possible or potential criminal proceedings against Mr. Nixon.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. But you did not determine, as a matter of fact, that there was any intention to proceed to indictment with any of those matters, is that not correct?

THE PRESIDENT. In the memorandum, I believe of September 4, from Mr. Jaworski, prepared by Mr. Ruth, there were 10 possibilities listed. On the other hand, there was, I think, well-known information that there was a distinct possibility of Mr. Nixon being indicted on the grounds of obstructing justice.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. The effect of the pardon in terms of the 10 possible areas of investigation as you saw it at the time was to terminate those investigations, as well as end any possibility of indictment on those grounds.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the power of pardon does cover any criminal actions during a stipulated period, and as the pardon itself indicated, it went from the day that Mr. Nixon first took the oath of office until he actually resigned on August 9.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. My question is, did you have reason to believe that other than the 10 areas of investigation and the coverup, that the former President might need to be protected in any other area where possibility of criminal prosecution existed?

THE PRESIDENT. I knew of no other potential or possible criminal charges, no.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. My time has expired, Mr. Chairman.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Smith.

CONGRESSMAN HENRY P. SMITH 3D. Mr. President, in regard to your answer on page 18 [p. 1305 of this issue] of your statement of whether you consulted with certain persons and in that connection and in connection with question number six of H.R. 1367, you stated in regard to the Vice Presidential nominee, Nelson Rockefeller, that your only conversation on the subject with him was to report to him on September 6, 1974, that "I was planning to grant the pardon."

Now, the question asks whether he gave you any facts or legal authorities and my question is, did he do so?

THE PRESIDENT. Nelson Rockefeller did not give me any facts or legal authorities. He was in my office to discuss with me the proceedings concerning his nomination, and at the conclusion of a discussion on that matter, I felt that I should inform him of the possible or prospective action that I would be taking, but he gave me no facts, he gave me no legal advice concerning the pardon.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH. Mr. President, as you were minority leader of the Congress before you became Vice President of the United States, did you at any time discuss the wisdom or advisability of a possible Presidential pardon for President Nixon with President Nixon or any of his representatives or any member of the White House Staff?

This was in the period before you became Vice President.

THE PRESIDENT. The answer is categorically no. Before I became Vice President, Mr. Smith, I, on several occasions—I can't recall how many—indicated to President Nixon himself that I thought he should not resign.

If my memory is accurate, Mr. Smith, before I became Vice President, there were individuals both in the Congress and otherwise who were advocating that Mr. Nixon resign.

I do recall on one or more occasions telling Mr. Nixon in my judgment he should not, because I thought that would be an admission of guilt, and on the information I had at that time, I did not believe Mr. Nixon was guilty of any impeachable offense.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH. Thank you, Mr. President. You touched upon your observations of President Nixon's health, and I wonder whether at any time before you became Vice President of the United States did you learn any facts about his physical or mental health which later became relevant to your decision to pardon Mr. Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. Before I was Vice President I saw Mr. Nixon periodically, coming to the White House for leadership meetings or for other reasons, and during that period, I had the distinct impression that his health was good.

I didn't see any discernible change, in my own opinion, until the last day or two of his Presidency. I did notice the last time I saw him in the Oval Office on August 9—

I thought he was drawn and possibly a little thinner, but that is the only observation I made.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from California, Mr. Edwards.

CONGRESSMAN DON EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, on pages 10 and 11 [pp. 1303–1304 of this issue] of your statement, you indicate that there were some general discussions with General Haig and Mr. St. Clair, before the resignation, about the pardon power in general.

Did they have any reason to carry a message to then President Nixon that this pardon power could possibly be used on his behalf if he resigned?

THE PRESIDENT. None whatsoever. Categorically no.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. Then why, Mr. President, those general discussions about pardon?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I indicated in my prepared statement, General Haig came to me first to apprise me of the dramatic change in the situation, and as I indicated in the prepared statement, told me that I should be prepared to assume the Presidency very quickly, and wanted to know whether I was ready to do that.

Secondly, he did indicate that in the White House among the President's advisers there were many options being discussed as to what course of action the President should take, and in the course of my discussion on August 1 with General Haig, he outlined, as I did in the prepared text, the many options that were being discussed.

He asked for any recommendations I would make and as I indicated in the prepared text, I made none.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. Thank you.

Mr. President, Mr. Buchen said several times, and I believe you mentioned, that the pardon did involve a certain aspect of mercy. Would not the same considerations of mercy apply to the Watergate defendants downtown who now are putting forth as their chief defense their allegation that they were merely acting under orders of Mr. Nixon, then President and their boss?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Edwards, in light of the fact that these trials are being carried out at the present time, I think it is inadvisable for me to comment on any of the proceedings in those trials.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. Mr. President, put yourself in the position of the high school teacher, shall we say, in Watts or the barrios of San Jose or Harlem, and if you were such a teacher, how would you explain to the young people of America the American concept of equal justice under law?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Edwards, Mr. Nixon was the 37th President of the United States. He had been preceded by 36 others. He is the only President in the history of this country who has resigned under shame and disgrace.

I think that that in and of itself can be understood, can be explained to students or to others. That was a major, major step, and a matter of, I am sure, grave, grave deliberations by the former President, and it certainly, as I have said several times, constituted shame and disgrace.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, do you think that it is wise to pardon a man before indictment or trial for offenses that are completely unknown to you and which might possibly be terribly serious?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I indicated, Mr. Edwards, I did to the best of my ability check with probably the best authority in the country on what, if any, charges would be made against Mr. Nixon. Those were, or potentially were, serious charges.

I think that in taking the action I did concerning those charges, I was exercising in a proper way the pardon authority given a President under the Constitution.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Dennis.

CONGRESSMAN DAVID W. DENNIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, I would like to state that I, too, share with my colleagues, deep appreciation for your appearance here before our subcommittee this morning.

Mr. President, on page 7 [p. 1303 of this issue] of your statement where you were talking about your second interview with General Haig in the afternoon of August 1, you state that, "I describe this meeting because at one point it did include references to a possible pardon for Mr. Nixon."

I take it that you have spelled out what those references were over on page 9 [p. 1303 of this issue], where the options are spelled out and page 10 [p. 1303 of this issue] where you state that you inquired as to what was the President's pardon power.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it is spelled out in the item instances 1 through 6, the various options involving a pardon.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. And does that include everything that was said at that time on the subject of pardon, substantially?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. Mr. President, I note that on page 10 [p. 1303 of this issue] you state that you asked the General as to what the President's pardon power was, and he very properly replied that he had certain information but couldn't give legal opinion.

When, where, and from whom did you ultimately obtain the opinion that you were entitled under the doctrine of *Ex Parte Garland* and so on, to issue a pardon when there has been no charge or no conviction?

THE PRESIDENT. When I came back to the Oval Office, Mr. Dennis, following the press conference on August 28, where three questions were raised by the news media involving a pardon, I instructed my counsel, Mr. Buchen, to check in an authoritative way what pardon power a President had. And he, several days later—I don't recall precisely—came back and briefed me on my pardon power as President of the United States.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. Mr. President, the exercise of executive clemency is, of course, a well-recognized part of the legal system in this country, exercised by you and all your predecessors, is that not the fact?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. And you have given this committee, as I understand your testimony this morning, your complete statement as to your reasons for exercising that power in this particular case?

THE PRESIDENT. I have, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. And in answer to my friend, Mr. Edwards, you have stated the fact that you felt that for an ex-President of the United States to resign under these circumstances was sufficient, strong punishment, and that that should answer the problems of those who have raised the question of equal justice under law?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. And that you would consider other possible pardons on the facts of those particular cases when and if they were presented to you?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. And that there was no condition attached to this pardon and no sort of agreement made in respect thereto before it was granted?

THE PRESIDENT. None whatsoever, sir.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. Thank you, Mr. President. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from South Carolina, Mr. Mann.

CONGRESSMAN JAMES R. MANN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, Mr. Kastenmeier asked you about the termination of the investigation by the Special Prosecutor's office. Was it your intention, by the pardon, to terminate the investigation by the Special Prosecutor's office in the 10 areas that you received the report from that office upon?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the net result of the pardon was, in effect, just that; yes, sir.

CONGRESSMAN MANN. And is that part of the reason that you didn't consult with Mr. Jaworski with reference to the tape agreements as to how that might affect his further investigations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I pointed out, the tape agreement was initiated between my legal counsel and Mr. Nixon sometime before the question of a pardon ever arose.

The reason for that, Mr. Mann, is that I came into office and almost immediately there were demands and requests, not only from the Special Prosecutor, as I recall, but from other sources as to those tapes and other documents. And one of the first things I did when these problems came to my desk was to ask the Attorney General for his opinion as to the ownership of those tapes or any other documents.

And once we got that information, then we felt that there ought to be some discussion as to where the tapes

and other documents would be held and under what circumstances.

CONGRESSMAN MANN. Of course, the mandate of the Special Prosecutor's Office was not directed solely at President Nixon.

But is it not so that the pardon in effect terminated that investigation insofar as other parties, other possible defendants, in getting to the true facts of the matters that have disturbed our national political life during these past 2 years?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not believe that the action I took in pardoning President Nixon had any impact on any other mandate that that Special Prosecutor's office had.

CONGRESSMAN MANN. What response would you have if the Special Prosecutor's Office now requested access to certain of the tapes now in the custody of the Government?

THE PRESIDENT. The material that is still held by the Government, in my understanding of the Supreme Court decision, permits the Special Prosecutor to obtain any of that material for its responsibility, and I, of course not in a personal way, would make certain that that information was made available to the Special Prosecutor's office.

CONGRESSMAN MANN. According to press reports, Mr. Clement Stone visited Mr. Nixon on September 2 and thereafter met with you in Washington. Are you at liberty to tell us the gist of the communication involving President Nixon from Mr. Stone to you?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Stone came to see me about a program that he has used very successfully in his business, a program which he is very proud of, and he was urging me to institute it in the various bureaus and departments of the Federal Government.

There was no other message conveyed by him from Mr. Nixon to me.

CONGRESSMAN MANN. Did you ever discuss the pardon with former President Nixon after his resignation and prior to the granting of the pardon?

THE PRESIDENT. Will you repeat that again, please?

CONGRESSMAN MANN. Did you have any personal conversation with former President Nixon concerning the pardon, between his resignation and September 8?

THE PRESIDENT. Absolutely not.

CONGRESSMAN MANN. Now, in response to Mr. Edwards' question about equal justice under the law, I know that you make a distinction that here we are talking about the office of President of the United States.

But let's assume that we are talking about the president of a bank or Governor of a State or Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and in our minds those are very high political offices. Do you think any of those persons who are allegedly criminally culpable through resignation should be entitled to any treatment different from any other citizen?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Mann, I don't think I should answer a hypothetical question of that kind. I was dealing with reality, and I have given, in my best judgment, the

reasons for the action that I took. And to pass judgment on any other person or individual holding any other office in public or private, I think it would be inappropriate for me.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. You have heard the maxim that the law is no respecter of persons. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly it should be.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Mayne.

CONGRESSMAN WILEY MAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, I believe that the Chairman and others in their questioning have established very clearly that your appearance here today is an entirely voluntary one on your part, that it was your idea, that you had not been requested by the committee to come in person, that we had indicated that it would be entirely satisfactory as far as we were concerned if some assistant appeared instead.

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct, sir.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. I do not think, however, that it has yet been made clear in the record, and I think this should be, that it is also true that you were willing to come and to tell this full story, as you have done, before the committee and on television before the American people, much earlier than today. Is that not true?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I think the original schedule was set for about a week ago. I have forgotten the exact date.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. My recollection, and you can correct me if I am wrong, is that as early as September 30, you offered and volunteered to appear before the subcommittee at our next regular meeting, which would have been on October 1, but it was indicated to you that that would be too early for the committee to be able to accommodate such an appearance.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't recall that detail, but when I indicated that I would voluntarily appear, a member of my staff met with, I think, Chairman Hungate, and between them they tried to work out what was an acceptable, agreeable time as to when I should appear.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. There was, of course, the concern which developed in the subcommittee as to whether there would be any possible jeopardy to the impaneling of the jury in the Watergate cases, but I think this timetable should be established, and I would ask the Chairman if that is not his recollection, that originally, the President did say that he would be glad to appear on October 1.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Not being under oath, the Chair is glad to reply. The gentleman's recollection is the same as mine.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just think the point should be made that there has been no stalling at all or delay on the part of the President in

making this appearance, but that he was not only willing to make the statement but to do it much earlier.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. If the gentleman would yield briefly—that is precisely the fact, and it was consideration on behalf of many of us concerning the proper effect on any trials that held us till this day.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. Now, Mr. President, I think there was perhaps one part of Mr. Kastenmeier's questioning of you that was left unanswered, and I am going to try to go into that again.

Did you, by granting this pardon, have any intention of stopping the investigations of any other defendants or potential defendants?

THE PRESIDENT. None whatsoever.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. Mr. President, ever since I first heard of the Watergate break-in, I have felt that this was a matter which should be fully investigated and prosecuted, and that anyone found to be criminally involved should be punished as provided by the law, and I have repeatedly stated I thought our American system of justice, as administered in the courts, was fully capable of handling the situation if permitted to proceed without interference.

I have been apprehensive that the activities of some of the legislative committees and the large amount of publicity attending upon those activities might make it impossible for our court system to function as it should, and I have also been fearful that the executive branch would intervene to limit or handicap the normal functioning of the courts.

Now, Mr. President, I must say to you I am deeply concerned that both the legislative and executive branches have indeed interfered with our courts making it extremely difficult for the traditional American system of justice to proceed in the regular manner in this case, and I was very disturbed by the granting of this pardon, particularly at such an early stage, even though, certainly, there is no question that under the law, you had the right to act as you did.

Now, I realize that hindsight is always better than foresight, but I am wondering if after all that has happened and with further opportunity for reflection, if you do not now feel that you perhaps acted too hastily in this case.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Mayne, I have thought about that a great deal because there has been criticism of the timing. But as I reviewed my thoughts prior to the granting of the pardon, I had to look at this factual situation: If I granted the pardon when I did, it would, as quickly as possible, achieve the results that I wanted, which was to permit our Government, both the Congress and the President, to proceed to the solution of the problems.

Now, some people say in their criticism—and I understand it and I am not critical of the points they raise—I should have waited until Mr. Nixon was indicted, in-

ferring that I should have then pardoned him, if I was going to do so. Well, other people say that I should have waited until he was convicted, if he was convicted, and at that time, I should have pardoned him.

Others have indicated that I should have waited for a conviction and a jail sentence, if that were the result. Now, all of that process, whether it is the indictment, the possible conviction, a conviction plus a jail sentence, would have taken, as I have tried to explain, at least a year and probably much longer.

And during that whole period of time, Mr. Mayne, all of the things that I wanted to avoid, namely the opportunity for our Government, the President and the Congress, and others, to get to the problems we have, would have been, I think, deeply upset and roadblocked.

So, I am convinced, after reflection, as I was previously, that the timing of the pardon was done at the right time.

CONGRESSMAN MAYNE. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The Representative from New York, Ms. Holtzman.

CONGRESSWOMAN ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Ford, I too, wish to applaud your historical appearance here today. At the same time, however, I wish to express my dismay that the format of this hearing will not be able to provide to the American public the full truth and all of the facts respecting your assurance of a pardon to Richard Nixon.

Unfortunately, each member of this committee will have only 5 minutes in which to ask questions about this most serious matter, and unfortunately, despite my urging, the committee declined to provide sufficient time for each committee member to ask the questions that were appropriate.

The committee declined to prepare fully for your coming by calling other witnesses, such as Alexander Haig, Mr. Buchen, Mr. Becker, and has failed to insist also on full production of documents by you respecting the issuance of this pardon.

I must confess my own lack of easiness at participating in a proceeding that has raised such high expectations and unfortunately, will not be able to respond to them.

I would like to point out, Mr. President, that the resolutions of inquiry which have prompted your appearance here today have resulted from very dark suspicions that have been created in the public's mind.

Perhaps these suspicions are totally unfounded, and I sincerely hope that they are. But nonetheless, we must all confront the reality of these suspicions and the suspicions that were created by the circumstances of the pardon which you issued, the secrecy with which it was issued, and the reasons for which it was issued which made people question whether or not, in fact, it was a deal.

THE PRESIDENT. May I comment there? I want to assure you, the members of this subcommittee, the Mem-

bers of the Congress, and the American people, there was no deal, period, under no circumstances.

CONGRESSWOMAN HOLTZMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate that statement, and I am sure many of the American people do, as well. But they also are asking questions about the pardon, and I would like to specify a few of them for you so that perhaps we can have some of these answered.

I think, from the mail I have received from all over the country, as well as my own district, I know that the people want to understand how you can explain having pardoned Richard Nixon without specifying any of the crimes for which he was pardoned. And how can you explain pardoning Richard Nixon without obtaining any acknowledgement of guilt from him? How do you explain the failure to consult the Attorney General of the United States with respect to the issuance of the pardon, even though in your confirmation hearings you had indicated the Attorney General's opinion would be critical in any decision to pardon the former President?

How can this extraordinary haste in which the pardon was decided on and the secrecy with which it was carried out be explained, and how can you explain the pardon of Richard Nixon, accompanied by an agreement with respect to the tapes which, in essence, in the public's mind, hampered the Special Prosecutor's access to these materials, and this was done, also, in the public's mind, in disregard of the public's right to know the full story about Richard Nixon's misconduct in office.

And, in addition, the public, I think, wants an explanation of how Benton Becker was used to represent the interests of the United States in negotiating a tapes agreement when at that very time, he was under investigation by the United States for possible criminal charges?

And how, also, can you explain not having consulted Leon Jaworski, the Special Prosecutor, before approving of the tapes agreement? And I think, Mr. President, that these are only a few of the questions that have existed in the public's mind before and unfortunately still remain not resolved. And since I have very brief time, I would like to ask you, in addition to these questions, one further one, and that is that suspicions have been raised that the reason for the pardon and the simultaneous tapes agreement was to insure that the tape recordings between yourself and Richard Nixon never came out in public. To alleviate this suspicion once and for all, would you be willing to turn over to this subcommittee all tape recordings of conversations between yourself and Richard Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. Those tapes, under an opinion of the Attorney General which I sought, according to the Attorney General—and, I might add, according to past precedent—belong to President Nixon. Those tapes are in our control. They are under an agreement which protects them, totally, fully, for the Special Prosecutor's office or for any other criminal proceedings.

Those tapes will not be delivered to anybody until a satisfactory agreement is reached with the Special Prosecutor's office. We have held them because his office did request that, and as long as we have them held in our possession for the Special Prosecutor's benefit, I see no way whatsoever that they can be destroyed, that they can be kept from proper utilization in criminal proceedings.

Now, those tapes belong to Mr. Nixon according to the Attorney General, but they are being held for the benefit of the Special Prosecutor, and I think that is the proper place for them to be kept.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Hogan.

CONGRESSMAN LAWRENCE J. HOGAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am frankly amazed at my good friend, the gentelady from New York, and her accusatory opening speech, because certainly, the gentelady knows it is the usual and ordinary and routine procedure of this subcommittee and this committee, to operate under the 5-minute rule.

There is nothing extraordinary about us today allocating 5 minutes of time for questioning to each member of the committee. We always operate this way.

Her other observation about not doing any preparatory work by calling other witnesses was rejected as far as I recall by all other members of the subcommittee on the basis that this resolution of inquiry is directed to the President of the United States and properly so.

So, it would be totally inappropriate for the resolution of inquiry to address itself to individuals other than the subject of that resolution of inquiry.

Mr. President, I would like to join, too, in commending you for your statement and your openness and candor in coming in this very historic event.

Frankly, I am concerned at some of the questioning by my colleagues, asking questions, if all men are not equal under the law, because certainly, being the outstanding lawyers that they are, they know that the pardoning power itself is inherently inequitable, but for a larger purpose, it grants to the Chief Executive of the Federal Government or the State, in the case of State crimes, to pardon individuals who may or have been indicted or convicted of crimes.

So, we should not expect this to apply as if there were a trial of these criminal offenses. And furthermore, we also know that in our system of criminal justice, even the prosecutors themselves exercise prosecutive discretion. There is no question whatsoever that the Constitution gives to the President of the United States broad and absolute power to pardon individuals of criminal offenses.

We also know, from the debates of the framers of the Constitution, that they specifically rejected, including in the Constitution the words "after conviction."

They also, in the debate at that time, indicated situations where it might be necessary or desirable to grant

a pardon even before indictment, as was the case in this instance.

Mr. President, I know that you followed very carefully the deliberations of this committee during the impeachment inquiry, and I know you are also aware that this committee unanimously concluded that the President was guilty of an impeachable offense growing out of obstruction of justice.

So, in a sense, couldn't we not say that this was at least the basis for a possible criminal charge which was already spread on the record with ample evidence to justify it? So, those who say you should have waited until there were formalized charges really are overlooking the fact that there was a very formalized charge and indictment, if you will, by this committee.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the unanimous vote of the House Committee on the Judiciary, all 35 members, certainly is very, very substantial evidence that the former President was guilty of an impeachable offense.

There is no doubt in my mind that that recommendation of this full committee would have carried in the House, which would have been even more formal as an indication of criminal activity, or certainly to be more specific, an impeachable offense. And, of course, the prospects in the Senate with such a formidable vote in the committee and in the House would have been even more persuasive.

CONGRESSMAN HOGAN. Mr. President, referring to the memorandum from Mr. Ruth to Mr. Jaworski enumerating the 10 possible criminal offenses, it is true that this committee addressed itself, if I am not mistaken, to every single one of these charges and assessed evidence as to each one of them, and we found them wanting, that they were not sufficient justification for an impeachable offense.

The last paragraph of that memorandum says, and I quote, "None of these matters at the moment rises to the level of our ability to prove even a probable criminal violation by Mr. Nixon."

Now, this memorandum does not include the obstruction of justice which I addressed myself to earlier, so I think we can logically assume that there would not have been any indictments resulting from Mr. Jaworski's activities other than in the area of obstruction of justice and with further corroboration of that point, I allude to a story in the Wall Street Journal yesterday where Mr. Jaworski—who, incidentally, not only agrees with your pardon but also the legality and the timeliness of it—and he says very specifically that there was going to be no additional disclosures resulting from his activities that the public was not already aware of relating to Mr. Nixon.

So, those who are saying we should wait until there is a formal charge I think are missing the point that there already has been a formal charge approved by this committee.

Mr. President, don't you feel that the very acceptance

of the pardon by the former President is tantamount to an admission of guilt on his part?

THE PRESIDENT. I do, sir.

CONGRESSMAN HOGAN. So, those who say again that they would have preferred that the President admit his culpability before a pardon being issued again are overlooking that fact?

THE PRESIDENT. The acceptance of a pardon, according to the legal authorities—and we have checked them out very carefully—does indicate that by the acceptance, the person who has accepted it does in effect admit guilt.

CONGRESSMAN HOGAN. Thank you, Mr. President, and again I would like to express my personal appreciation for your candor and your openness and your cooperation with the co-equal branch.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Mr. President, as you can see, the peculiar strength of this subcommittee lies in the fact that the subcommittee members bring so much knowledge to it and the subcommittee Chairman takes so little away.

And I noticed in page 10 [p. 1304 of this issue] of your statement that when you were first hit with the possibility of this responsibility, you indicated you wanted to talk to your wife before making a decision.

Mr. President, did you do that?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly did, Mr. Chairman, because the probability or possibility of my becoming President obviously would have had a significant impact on her life as well as our lives.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. That destroys my theory that, if you had talked to her, you would have waited until indictment or Christmas Eve, one or the other.

Let me ask if any attempt was made by you or your representative to contact the Federal Pardon Attorney as to his opinion as to customary procedures followed in issuing a pardon?

THE PRESIDENT. I did not, sir.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Mr. President, I go to page 20 [p. 1306 of this issue] of the statement, and I am addressing myself to the health question. In the first responses provided, the press releases, in one of these, page 3, it refers to September 16 now as the date of this press conference after the pardon decision in which you were quoted, "I asked Dr. Lukash, who is the head physician in the White House, to keep me posted in proper channels as to the former President's health. I have been informed on a routine day-to-day basis, but I don't think I am at liberty to give information."

My question is, Mr. President, had he reported prior to the pardon date or only after?

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Lukash gave me no information concerning President Nixon's health prior to the time that I issued the pardon. He did, at my request, when I heard rumors about the former President's health, keep me

posted in proper channels, but that all occurred after the pardon took place.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The gentleman from Indiana is seeking recognition.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would just like to request that we make a part of the record the text of the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in *Ex Parte Garland* 4 Wall. 333 and also the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in *Burdick against the United States*, 236 U.S. 79, which deals with the point that a pardon must be accepted.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Without objection, it will be made part of the record.

CONGRESSMAN DENNIS. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to make a part of the record, if I may, the article referred to by my colleague Mr. Hogan, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of October 16, 1974, and is headed "The Pardon of Nixon Was Timely, Legal, Jaworksi Believes."

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Without objection, it is so ordered, and now briefly—

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman, may I add to something I said just to make it correct?

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Somebody asked about when I last saw the President. I said that I had seen him on the 9th. I did as he departed, but I had also seen the President the morning of the 8th at the time I was asked to come and see him, and at that time we spent an hour and 20 minutes together, or thereabouts, when he told me that he was going to resign.

So, I saw him both the 8th and the 9th, just to make the record accurate.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. All of us are aware of our time constraints. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin for a question.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to, for the record, indicate that the statement of the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Hogan, the effect that the proposal that this subcommittee try to contact certain staff members, such as General Haig and others, was supported by me.

I think it would have been excellent. We have in the past done very well in terms of staff work preliminary to hearings that might have helped put some of the questions Ms. Holtzman had to rest.

Mr. President, you indicated that as far as Mr. Haig was concerned, that he had suggested certain options to you, but did not in fact make a recommendation to you with respect to the pardon, is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct. I answered that, I think, as fully as I can in my prepared statement. He discussed the options. He made no recommendation.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. Which other persons to you personally made recommendations that the former

President be pardoned from that time in early August to the day of September 6 when you made your decision?

THE PRESIDENT. No other person, to my knowledge, made any recommendation to me from that time until the time that I made a decision about September 6; nobody made any recommendation to me for the pardon of the former President.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. With respect to discussions between General Haig and Mr. Nixon, or other matters in question, too, you indicated you had no personal knowledge, both in writing and I think in your statement today.

I take it you would have no objection if the subcommittee sought to question Mr. Haig or others on the subject before us this morning to supplement this hearing and this inquiry?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that is within my prerogative. I have come here to testify as to the specific facts, as I know them, but what the subcommittee does is a judgment for the subcommittee and not me.

CONGRESSMAN KASTENMEIER. The Chair is advised that the House is in recess waiting for the conclusion of this hearing before reconvening, so if I might, I will yield to Mr. Hogan for a question at this point, and then to Ms. Holtzman for a question, and we will then conclude.

Mr. Hogan.

CONGRESSMAN HOGAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, on page 20 [p. 1306 of this issue] of your statement you talk about the health issue and that you had not gotten any official reports from physicians that were controlling in your decision. You state that observations were reported to you from others.

Now, there have been press reports that Dr. Kissinger is alleged to have said to you that he feared that former President Nixon would commit suicide. That's appeared in several news accounts. Is there any truth to that?

THE PRESIDENT. There is no truth to it whatsoever as far as I know.

CONGRESSMAN HOGAN. It appeared in the New York Times, the Washington Post on two occasions, and is alluded to in a research paper prepared for the subcommittee.

THE PRESIDENT. There was no discussion between Dr. Kissinger and myself that included any such comment.

CONGRESSMAN HOGAN. I think if I might add a gratuitous comment, Mr. Chairman, that much of the controversy has been generated by the press, by just such erroneous statements that have been given wide circulation.

Thank you, Mr. President.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. I will ask for one concise question because we want to respect the time.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. President, what were the precise instructions given to Benton Becker by you when he went to San Clemente to negotiate Mr. Nixon's acceptance of the pardon?

THE PRESIDENT. The precise instructions given to Mr. Becker were actually given by my counsel, Mr. Buchen. In general I knew what they were. They were instructions to negotiate the protection of those documents, including the tapes, for the benefit of the Special Prosecutor in whatever use he felt was essential, and at the same time to keep them inviolate during a period of time which we felt was a proper one.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS. But not to offer the pardon unless that agreement had been negotiated?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Edwards, those negotiations as to the custody or ownership of the documents, including tapes, were undertaken prior to August 27, because we were or more less besieged—when I say “we,” the White House—as to what to do with those documents, including tapes.

That negotiation had no relevance whatsoever to the decision on my part to pardon the President.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. The Chair would remind all of the constraints of time, and call on Ms. Holtzman for one final question.

CONGRESSWOMAN HOLTZMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ford, you've stated that the theory on which you pardoned Richard Nixon was that he had suffered enough, and I am interested in that theory because the logical consequence of that is that somebody who resigns in the face of virtually certain impeachment or somebody who is impeached should not be punished because the impeachment or the resignation in face of impeachment is punishment enough.

And I wondered whether anybody had brought to your attention the fact the Constitution specifically states that even though somebody is impeached, that person shall nonetheless be liable to punishment according to law.

THE PRESIDENT. Ms. Holtzman, I was fully cognizant of the fact that the President on resignation was accountable for any criminal charges. But I would like to say that the reason I gave the pardon was not as to Mr. Nixon, himself. I repeat, and I repeat with emphasis, the purpose of the pardon was to try and get the United States, the Congress, the President, and the American people focusing on the serious problems we have both at home and abroad, and I was absolutely convinced, then, as I am now, that if we had this series—an indictment, a trial, a conviction, and anything else that transpired after that—that the attention of the President, the Congress, and the American people would have been diverted from the problems that we have to solve.

That was the principal reason for my granting of the pardon.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Mr. Smith.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH. Mr. Chairman, just before we adjourn this hearing, I again would like to commend the President and thank him for coming.

I think, Mr. President, that you have probably opened a new era between the executive and the legislative departments, and I am very happy for it.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chairman, I want to express to you and to the other members of the committee or subcommittee my appreciation for the fine manner and, I think, the fair way in which this meeting was held this morning.

I felt that it was absolutely essential because I am the only one who could explain the background and the decisionmaking process. And I hope, as I said in my opening statement, Mr. Chairman, that I have at least cleared the air so that most Americans will understand what was done and why it was done.

And again I trust that all of us can get back to the job of trying to solve our problems, both at home and abroad.

I thank you very, very much.

CONGRESSMAN HUNGATE. Mr. President, on behalf of the subcommittee, we express our appreciation to you for your appearance here today and recognition of the responsibility we all have to complete this work and get on with the business.

The transcripts will be furnished as quickly as possible to members of the subcommittee.

The subcommittee will adjourn subject to call of the Chair.

Second Veto of Continuing Appropriations Resolution

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.J. Res. 1163 Without His Approval Because of Provisions Concerning Military Assistance to Turkey. October 17, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I greatly regret that for the second time I must return without my approval the Continuing Resolution granting funds for the operation of several departments and agencies and for the temporary continuation of our foreign aid programs, H.J. Res. 1163.

My previous veto message and my public statements on this matter have clearly expressed our objectives with respect to the resolution of the Cyprus dispute as well as the dangers posed by legislative restrictions destroying our ability to assist the parties involved. The Congress, despite the best efforts of the bipartisan leaders of both Houses, has for the second time refused to recognize the realities of the situation.

While the language of this new bill is different, its effect is similar to the earlier Continuing Resolution which required my veto on October 14. I need not reiterate the extensive comments which I made at that time and

which again compel a veto. The provisions of this bill as they would apply to Turkey would do nothing to bring an end to the suffering of the Cypriot people, would do nothing to encourage the two sides to resolve the dispute peacefully, and would bring a further deterioration of the posture of the NATO alliance in the crucial Eastern Mediterranean. It is for these reasons and those previously stated that I must reluctantly veto the bill before me.

In addition, I am compelled to point out again that should this measure become law, the United States would have lost the ability to play a useful role in this dispute and would in effect have to withdraw from the negotiations. Should the Congress force such an action, it must do so in the clear knowledge that it assumes full responsibility for the situation which would then prevail.

I ask that the Congress not choose that path but that it reconsider its action and provide a bill which will permit the continued execution of United States foreign policy in a constructive and responsible manner.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 17, 1974.

NOTE: On October 17, 1974, the President signed a continuing appropriations resolution (H.J. Res. 1167). See page 1320 of this issue.

Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting Amendments to the Convention for Advice and Consent to Ratification. October 17, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate, amendments to seven regulations contained in Chapters II, III, IV and V of the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960, and an amendment replacing and superseding the regulations in Chapter VI of that Convention, all of which were adopted on November 20, 1973, by the Assembly of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) at its eighth session.

The amendments to Chapters II, III, IV and V are directed toward the improvement of safety of navigation and were recommended by the Maritime Safety Committee of IMCO at its 24th through 27th sessions. The amendment to Chapter VI, Carriage of Grain, will replace and supersede the existing Chapter VI in its entirety. It is directed toward the improvement of safety requirements for the carriage of grain in bulk, and was recommended by the Maritime Safety Committee at its 27th session.

The United States Delegation to the IMCO Assembly actively supported the amendments, some of which had

been formulated at United States initiative. The enclosed report of the Department of State provides additional information concerning the amendments.

The amendments represent significant improvements in the standards for ship safety. I recommend that the Senate give its advice and consent to acceptance of the amendments by the United States.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 17, 1974.

International Telecommunication Convention

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for Advice and Consent to Ratification. October 17, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

For advice and consent to ratification, I herewith transmit to the Senate the International Telecommunication Convention reached at Malaga-Torremolinos on October 25, 1973. This transmittal also includes the Annexes and Final Protocol to the Convention, as well as a report by the Department of State.

This new Convention will abrogate and replace the International Telecommunication Convention of 1965. It generally follows the provisions of the 1965 Convention with a considerable number of minor improvements and a few major modifications to take account of technical developments in the field and developments in international organizations.

One notable change from the 1965 Convention is the deletion of the separate membership of the territories of the several member States, including the United States. Although this change will deprive the United States of its vote on behalf of the territories, the redistribution of financial obligations which accompany this change will result in a relatively lower financial contribution from this country.

The International Telecommunication Convention constitutes the procedural and organizational framework for the orderly conduct of international telecommunications, and it is in the public and commercial interest of the United States to continue to play an active role within this framework. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this new Convention, and subject to a reservation noted in the State Department report, give its advice and consent to ratification.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 17, 1974.

Ramadan

Message of the President. October 17, 1974

On the occasion of the special feast days concluding Ramadan, Mrs. Ford and I wish to extend our warmest greetings to all Americans of the Islamic Faith.

For nearly two hundred years, our nation has derived its strength from the diversity of its people and of their beliefs. That strength has been greatly enhanced by your own religious heritage.

I am sure that the completion of your month of fasting will bring home to you more than ever the importance of religious responsibilities in daily life. Fellow citizens of all faiths join you in this sentiment. We will be with you in spirit as you reaffirm your commitment to principles which exalt man's existence.

May your celebration and the special message of these holy days fortify and uplift each of you and add to our vitality as a nation.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The message was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Veto of Freedom of Information Act Amendments

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 12471 Without His Approval. October 17, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 12471, a bill to amend the public access to documents provisions of the Administrative Procedures Act. In August, I transmitted a letter to the conferees expressing my support for the direction of this legislation and presenting my concern with some of its provisions. Although I am gratified by the Congressional response in amending several of these provisions, significant problems have not been resolved.

First, I remain concerned that our military or intelligence secrets and diplomatic relations could be adversely affected by this bill. This provision remains unaltered following my earlier letter.

I am prepared to accept those aspects of the provision which would enable courts to inspect classified documents and review the justification for their classification. However, the courts should not be forced to make what amounts to the initial classification decision in sensitive and complex areas where they have no particular expertise. As the legislation now stands, a determination by the

Secretary of Defense that disclosure of a document would endanger our national security would, even though reasonable, have to be overturned by a district judge who thought the plaintiff's position just as reasonable. Such a provision would violate constitutional principles, and give less weight before the courts to an executive determination involving the protection of our most vital national defense interests than is accorded determinations involving routine regulatory matters.

I propose, therefore, that where classified documents are requested the courts could review the classification, but would have to uphold the classification if there is a reasonable basis to support it. In determining the reasonableness of the classification, the courts would consider all attendant evidence prior to resorting to an *in camera* examination of the document.

Second, I believe that confidentiality would not be maintained if many millions of pages of FBI and other investigatory law enforcement files would be subject to compulsory disclosure at the behest of any person unless the Government could prove to a court—separately for each paragraph of each document—that disclosure “would” cause a type of harm specified in the amendment. Our law enforcement agencies do not have, and could not obtain, the large number of trained and knowledgeable personnel that would be needed to make such a line-by-line examination of information requests that sometimes involve hundreds of thousands of documents, within the time constraints added to current law by this bill.

Therefore, I propose that more flexible criteria govern the responses to requests for particularly lengthy investigatory records to mitigate the burden which these amendments would otherwise impose, in order not to dilute the primary responsibilities of these law enforcement activities.

Finally, the ten days afforded an agency to determine whether to furnish a requested document and the twenty days afforded for determinations on appeal are, despite the provision concerning unusual circumstances, simply unrealistic in some cases. It is essential that additional latitude be provided.

I shall submit shortly language which would dispel my concerns regarding the manner of judicial review of classified material and for mitigating the administrative burden placed on the agencies, especially our law enforcement agencies, by the bill as presently enrolled. It is only my conviction that the bill as enrolled is unconstitutional and unworkable that would cause me to return the bill without my approval. I sincerely hope that this legislation, which has come so far toward realizing its laudable goals, will be reenacted with the changes I propose and returned to me for signature during this session of Congress.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 17, 1974.

Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974

*The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony
at the White House. October 18, 1974*

Let me at the outset express my appreciation to the Congress for responding so quickly and, I think, basically so well, in passing this housing legislation, which is needed for an industry that is in serious trouble.

We cannot tolerate a building program at the present rate for homebuilding. And this legislation which the Congress has passed will materially help, in my judgment, in turning the corner as far as the housing industry is concerned.

It is not new, and other things have to be done, but it will provide a shot in the arm for the housing industry. I regret, of course, that it didn't include condominiums and apartments, but be that as it may, it is good legislation. We will make it work.

I wish there was a little more flexibility in one or two of the provisions, but nevertheless, considering the time factor, I compliment the Congress for moving so quickly and, particularly, Senator Cranston and Senator Brooke, who were instrumental in the first instance. But I think the credit goes to the Congress as a whole in moving ahead so rapidly at a time when the housing industry needed help.

So, it is a privilege and a pleasure for me to sign this bill in the presence of a number of Members who had a very major factor in making this possible.

I do thank you all very, very much. As I said, we are going to move ahead, I hope, in some other areas, and we will get a lot more homes built.

Thank you all for being here.

I should have said the Secretary is going to start implementing, I think, this next Tuesday. I do want to compliment the Secretary, who I think worked with the Congress and did a fine job in moving with the Congress and getting it through, and now he is going to make it work.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:36 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. As enacted, the bill (S. 3979) is Public Law 93-449, approved October 18, 1974.

Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974

*Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill
Into Law. October 18, 1974*

It is with great pleasure today that I am signing into law S. 3979, the Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974.

In my remarks to the joint session of the Congress on October 8, I urged the Congress to enact, before recess, additional legislation to make most home mortgages eligible for purchase by an agency of the Federal Government. I also remarked that I remembered how much Congress can get done when it wants to.

I am most pleased that exactly one week after my remarks, the Congress responded with passage of the Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974.

This bill authorizes the Government National Mortgage Association in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to make commitments at predetermined interest rates to purchase mortgages, both on new and existing homes, which are not Federal Housing Administration insured or Veterans Administration guaranteed—the so-called “conventional” mortgages which comprise about 80 percent of all mortgages. The advantage of the plan is that with the GNMA commitment, the homebuyer, builder, and lender have an assured source of financing at a known, favorable interest rate. The cost to the Government is limited to the loss which GNMA realizes if its selling price for a mortgage is less than its original purchase price.

Like most emergency measures, this bill has some minuses. Notwithstanding the increasing proportion of American families that choose each year to live in apartments or condominiums, the bill unfortunately does not cover conventional mortgages for apartment or condominium projects. Moreover, I had hoped that this help for the housing industry could be delivered with a minimum inflationary impact, and I know that the Congress intended the program to be self-supporting. However, the bill establishes a rigid, illogical interest ceiling formula that fails to relate interest income to actual borrowing costs and to cover adequately administrative costs.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3979) is Public Law 93-449, approved October 18, 1974.

Department of Labor

The President's Remarks at the Dedication of the New Department of Labor Building. October 18, 1974

Secretary Brennan, Secretary Weinberger, Administrator Sampson, former Secretaries of Labor, distinguished leaders of organized labor, reverend clergy:

It is really a great privilege and pleasure for me to have the opportunity of saying a few words this morning and to subsequently participate in the cornerstone laying.

Now, let me at the outset say that at the White House this morning I received an honorary membership in the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, from Tom Murphy. This was the shortest apprenticeship that any bricklayer, mason, or plasterer ever went through. But I thank them, nevertheless.

And may I add to what the Secretary of Labor said a moment ago. He gave me, as I came to the podium, this wonderful resolution signed by those who were here, and some are here this morning—the Vocational Industrial Youth Organization. I thank them, and express my deep gratitude for their resolution.

Well, Mr. Secretary and distinguished guests, this building will house the administration of programs that vividly demonstrate America's sense of concern, compassion, and equity.

Enormous progress, as you have mentioned, Mr. Secretary, has been made since 1913 when the Department of Labor started its work. Its most urgent concern then, as we look back on history, was child labor. Unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation did not exist at that time. Neither did the dozens and dozens of other programs of assistance to America's working men and women.

Since 1913, which, incidentally, was the year that I was born, the United States has protected workers with a very broad network of legislative and administrative safeguards.

In recent years, we have sought to attack the problems of hard-core unemployment. We have sought to assist the chronically unemployed who lack the skills required for today's job market.

Over the past 10 years, the manpower training programs of the Department helped provide over 9½ million workers with the skills needed to move up that important job ladder. Working standards have been upgraded as they should have been, and job discrimination has been curbed, although I think we have to recognize not totally ended. We will work on that; we will continue to make a maximum effort in that regard.

I am very, very proud, Mr. Secretary, of the 13,000 people who work in this Department, and I am told some 5,000 will work in this new building.

In demonstrating the competence and the creativity of their work, they help State and local governments cut

through Federal red tape and afford these units maximum latitude in adapting programs to local needs.

The 13,000 people that work for the Department, not only here but all over the world—primarily, of course, in our country—they help to build a constructive State-Federal relationship.

In short, they help the working people of this country who we all recognize are the indispensable ingredients of America's greatness.

During the economic summit meeting last month, I got some good advice from Secretary Brennan and from our national labor leaders on how to cope with our number one problem, a problem which affects every citizen, every worker, every one of us. And, of course, I refer to public enemy number one—inflation.

What is needed to whip inflation, it was suggested, are compassionate, sensible, equitable policies presented to the American people with honesty and with candor.

In outlining my programs to Congress to overcome this threat, I tried my very best to meet this standard, to offer policies that are compassionate, that are sensible, and, of course, are equitable.

In calling on the American people to join in this effort, I used the very same yardstick. And let me, if I might, emphasize this particular point. Whatever they deal with, whether the economy at home or our foreign relations abroad, the programs and policies of this Administration will continue to be predicated on these same basic principles.

Now, Mr. Secretary and distinguished guests, the building we dedicate today demonstrates that Labor Day is not confined to a single day in September. Every day is Labor Day in the view of this Administration toward America's working men and women.

I thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:28 a.m. at the new Department of Labor Building.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Continuing Appropriations Resolution

Statement by the President Upon Signing H.J. Res. 1167 Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Its Provisions Concerning Military Assistance to Turkey. October 18, 1974

I have signed, with serious reservations, the continuing resolution (H. J. Res. 1167) providing necessary funds after a 3-week delay for the operation of several departments and agencies and for the temporary continuation of our foreign aid programs.

Despite two vetoes of similar versions of this bill and my public statements concerning the damage to our diplomacy

that would result from its restrictions on military aid to Turkey, Congress has nevertheless persisted by clear majorities in a course which I consider ill-advised and dangerous.

The restrictions imposed in this bill on our military assistance to Turkey create serious problems. Without substantial benefit to any other country, these restrictions threaten our relations with a country which is a close ally, which is the eastern anchor of an alliance vital to the security of the United States, and which plays a fundamental role in the strategic interests of the United States in the Eastern Mediterranean area. It is for these reasons—the national security interests of the United States—that we have been providing military assistance to Turkey.

The problem created by these legislative restrictions with respect to our relations with Turkey are not compensated for in any way by benefits to Greece or the Greek Cypriots. Contrary to the intentions of the supporters of these restrictions, this bill can only hinder progress toward a settlement of the Cypriot dispute which is so much in the interest of both Greece and the people of Cyprus.

As a result of my vetoes of two earlier versions of this continuing resolution, the Congress has eased the most troublesome of the earlier restrictions. Nevertheless, the risks created by the remaining ones fail to provide compensating benefits. I will, of course, do my best to accomplish the goals which we had set before the Congress took this action. Whatever we can still do to assist in resolving the Cyprus dispute will be done. But if we fail despite our best efforts, those in the Congress who overrode the Congressional leadership must bear the full responsibility for that failure.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.J. Res. 1167) is Public Law 93-448, approved October 17, 1974.

Energy Conservation by the Federal Government

The President's Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies. October 18, 1974

Last year, Federal agencies were directed to reduce anticipated energy use during fiscal year 1974 by seven percent. I have now been advised that actual results for the year will show a reduction of about 24% from anticipated energy demand—more than tripling the original objective. This savings is equivalent to about 90 million barrels of oil and \$725 million in energy costs to the Federal taxpayer. Part of this savings was due to the severe petroleum shortages we experienced during the embargo and to the mild winter, but the total savings reflects serious and dedicated efforts to conserve energy.

I congratulate you and your employees for this fine achievement. The success of the Federal Energy Management Program provides an excellent example for all Americans, both of what can be accomplished in efforts to conserve energy and of the dedication and sacrifice which employees of the Federal Government are bringing to this important task.

I hereby direct that the Federal Energy Management Program be continued through fiscal year 1975. I am today establishing a new energy conservation goal for the Federal agencies for fiscal year 1975 of 15 percent savings below energy consumed in fiscal year 1973. This will result in energy savings equivalent to approximately 55 million barrels of oil during the year.

To achieve this new savings goal, it is imperative that all Federal agencies examine facilities and operations, including Government owned-contractor operated activities, for energy conservation potential during the remainder of this year. In addition, I am asking the Administrators of the Federal Energy Administration and General Services Administration to recommend to Secretary Morton, Chairman of the Energy Resources Council, a multi-year program to increase energy efficiency of all Federal facilities and operations. These two officials will also provide instructions and guidelines to assist you in evaluating the economic efficiency of energy conservation improvements.

I look forward to your continued cooperation and assistance in this energy conservation effort.

GERALD R. FORD

Energy Conservation

Statement by the President. October 18, 1974

During the past month, I have made clear that the United States must and will act to increase its energy independence. One effective way—which can have immediate payoff—is to reduce unnecessary energy demands.

Today, I have ordered that the Federal Government continue during the current fiscal year its energy savings program. I have directed that agencies hold energy consumption to levels 15 percent below the amount consumed in fiscal year 1973. In addition, I have instructed the Administrators of the Federal Energy Administration and General Services Administration to recommend to Secretary Morton, Chairman of the Energy Resources Council, a multi-year program to assure that energy efficiency is considered in all decisions involving Federal facilities and operations.

Last year, actions by Federal agencies saved the equivalent of 90 million barrels of oil. Both these accomplish-

ments and these new goals can serve as examples for all sectors—for business and industry, State and local governments, and for all our citizens in their daily activities.

The new objective for Federal energy conservation is one step. We are now working with industry to find ways to reduce energy requirements for its activities and products. We will continue working with all sectors to find other steps that can be taken to conserve energy.

I again urge all Americans to join in this effort with serious voluntary actions to conserve energy. All of us contribute daily to the demand for energy. We can all act to reduce that demand.

Regulation of Cigarette Tar and Nicotine Content

The President's Letter to Dr. Jonathan E. Rhoads, Chairman of the National Cancer Advisory Board. October 18, 1974

Dear Dr. Rhoads:

I have received and reviewed a preliminary copy of the 1974 annual report of the National Cancer Advisory Board.

In several places, the Board's report recommends Federal regulation of the tar and nicotine content of cigarettes. The report does not, however, provide an assessment of the scientific evidence at hand which should provide the basis for such regulation.

In order that all concerned may be fully informed, I would like to request that the National Cancer Advisory Board review the existing scientific evidence on an urgent basis and provide me with an assessment of the extent to which there exists a scientific basis for responsible regulation of cigarettes.

I recognize that all questions of regulation necessarily involve a certain amount of reasonable disagreement as well as the exercise of sound judgment. Nevertheless, it is critically important that our judgments be soundly based so that we may proceed with the greatest amount of wisdom.

I know I can count on the National Cancer Advisory Board to provide me with scientific advice on this important matter of public concern. I would greatly appreciate the Board's assessment by December 1, 1974.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable Jonathan E. Rhoads, Department of Surgery, School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania, 36th and Hamilton Walk, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104]

Postal Rate Commission

Announcement of Reappointment of Clyde S. DuPont as a Commissioner. October 18, 1974

The President today announced that he has reappointed Clyde S. DuPont of Alexandria, Va., to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission.

From 1969 to October 1974, Mr. DuPont was minority counsel for the Post Office and Civil Service Committee after having served as a professional staff member of the Judiciary Committee from 1967 to 1968. In 1964, he was named legislative assistant to Senator Hiram L. Fong, serving until 1967.

He was born on December 28, 1933, in Waiialua, Hawaii. He received his B.S. degree from Brigham Young University in 1959 and his J.D. degree from George Washington University Law School in February 1963. He served as a staff sergeant in the United States Air Force from 1952 to 1956. He is a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association.

He is married to the former Joan Kimball, and they have three children. They reside in Alexandria, Va.

Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1974

The President's Remarks Upon Signing Proclamation 4328. October 18, 1974

I am about to sign the Drug Abuse Prevention Week Proclamation, and I will sign it in the presence of these three very important members of the team who give leadership to our effort in trying to handle the entry of drugs from outside of the country, the handling of those who abuse our laws as far as drugs are concerned, and the problem of trying to, through research, find answers to the drug problem in advance.

So, on this occasion, it is a privilege for me to sign this proclamation, which I hope will have an impact on our very sizable effort of about \$750 million a year in meeting the challenge of the drug problem in the United States.

Thank you very much, gentlemen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House at a signing ceremony attended by Ambassador Sheldon B. Vance, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for narcotics matters, Dr. Robert L. DuPont, Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, and John R. Bartels, Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1974

Proclamation 4328. October 18, 1974

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

The drug trade, by destroying individual lives and dividing families and communities, strikes at the heart of our national well-being.

America's response has not been passive. During the past half decade, we have given the highest priority to eliminating this threat to the very fabric of our society.

Our enforcement programs, undertaken with the cooperation of 60 other nations, are aimed at stamping out the drug trade at all levels, from the growing process to street sales.

We are also rendering special Federal assistance to local law enforcement agencies. As a result, drug arrests are up, major traffickers have been jailed, and supplies have been reduced. But too many Americans still are victimized by drug abuse.

We must redouble our efforts to cut supplies and punish suppliers. And we must make a national commitment to rehabilitate former users.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week of October 20-26, as Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1974.

An important focus of our effort should be on the community acceptance of former drug abusers. For without a way back into society, the former addict still is prey to the pressures and pointlessness that contributed to his abuse in the first place. Let us begin, this week, to search out the techniques and resources we will need to help former drug abusers find their place in productive society—techniques and resources that will complement the work presently being carried out at the 1,240 Federally funded treatment centers and service points in more than 350 communities across the Nation.

I call upon officials at every level of government, upon educators, medical professionals, and communicators, upon the business community and the civic groups of our Nation, upon the churches and clergy, and upon all who bear the special trusts of community leadership, to rededicate themselves during this week to the total banishment of drug abuse from American life.

I again urge every American to commit himself wholeheartedly, beginning now, to this supremely important humanitarian cause.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence

of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:45 a.m.,
October 19, 1974]

Meeting With President Francisco da Costa Gomes of Portugal

*Joint United States-Portuguese Communiqué.
October 18, 1974*

At the invitation of President Ford, His Excellency Francisco da Costa Gomes, President of the Republic of Portugal, visited Washington on October 18. President Costa Gomes, who was accompanied by the Foreign Minister, Dr. Mario Soares, had meetings with President Ford and with Secretary of State Kissinger and was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Secretary Kissinger.

President Costa Gomes outlined the achievements of the Portuguese Government in light of recent events in restoring civil and political liberties to Portugal and in creating the basis for a return to democracy. He reported on the negotiations which had led to the independence of Guinea-Bissau and explained his government's plans for the granting of self-determination and independence to the remaining overseas territories. He reaffirmed his government's commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty and its desire to develop even closer ties to the United States.

President Ford expressed his admiration for the statesmanship shown by Portuguese leaders in undertaking to restore democracy to Portugal by holding free elections soon and in making possible the enjoyment of the right of self-determination and independence by the peoples of Portugal's overseas territories. He noted with pleasure President Costa Gomes' reaffirmation of Portugal's commitment to NATO and expressed his confidence that ties between the United States and Portugal will become ever closer.

The two Presidents agreed that, as these developments proceed, it would be in our mutual interest to intensify the cooperation between the two countries to embrace new activities in a broad range of areas, such as education, health, energy, agriculture, transportation and communications, among others. They agreed that this expansion of their cooperation could begin with technical talks in the fields of agriculture, public health, education and financial and economic matters, as requested by the Portuguese authorities.

They also agreed that the two countries should continue and intensify negotiations relating to cooperation in the Azores.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

October 12

In observance of National Newspaper Carrier Day, the President greeted a group of newspaper carriers at the White House.

The President today accepted the resignation of Joseph S. Brown as an Assistant Inspector General for Foreign Assistance in the Department of State, effective October 14, 1974.

Members of the Citizens' Action Committee To Fight Inflation met with the President.

October 14

A group of small business leaders met with the President at the White House.

October 15

Canadian Ambassador Marcel Cadieux called on the President to present him with a set of coins struck in honor of the 1976 Olympic Games to be held in Montreal.

The White House announced that Stanton D. Anderson has asked the President to withdraw his nomination as U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica for personal reasons. The President has acceded to Mr. Anderson's request.

Ambassador George Bush met with the President prior to assuming his post as Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking.

A group of handicapped persons and others who work with the handicapped met with the President to discuss the needs and problems of handicapped persons and their views on what the Government can do to help them.

October 16

During his visit to Kansas City, Mo., the President met with Senator Robert Dole to discuss the wheat situation in Kansas.

October 17

A group of Hispanic American leaders met with the President at the White House to discuss concerns of the Spanish-speaking community.

Aziz Ahmed, Pakistani Minister of State for Defense and Foreign Affairs, met with the President.

Secretary of State Kissinger and Secretary of the Treasury Simon met separately with the President to report on their respective trips to the Middle East and the Soviet Union.

October 18

Senators Henry M. Jackson and Jacob K. Javits and Representative Charles A. Vanik met with the President at the White House to discuss the pending trade bill and the agreement reached on emigration from the Soviet Union.

The White House announced that Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada has accepted President Ford's invitation to visit the United States on December 4.

The White House announced that Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria has accepted President Ford's invitation to visit the United States on November 12.

The President greeted winners of the National Civil Service League awards in the Rose Garden.

The President met with the National Security Council.

The Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board met with the President.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved October 11, 1974

- H.R. 10088..... Public Law 93-440
An act to establish the Big Cypress National Preserve in the State of Florida, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 11510..... Public Law 93-438
Energy Reorganization Act of 1974.
- H.R. 11546..... Public Law 93-439
An act to authorize the establishment of the Big Thicket National Preserve in the State of Texas, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 18032..... Public Law 93-441
An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to change the alloy and weight of the one-cent piece and to amend the Bank Holding Act Amendments of 1970 to authorize grants to Eisenhower College, Seneca Falls, New York.
- S. 1276..... Private Law 93-92
An act for the relief of Joe H. Morgan.
- S. 2337..... Private Law 93-93
An act for the relief of Dulce Pilar Castin (Castin-Casas).
- S. 2382..... Private Law 93-94
An act for the relief of Caridad R. Balonan.
- S.J. Res. 192..... Private Law 93-95
Joint resolution to grant the status of permanent residence to Ivy May Glockner formerly Ivy May Richmond nee Pond.

Approved October 14, 1974

- H.J. Res. 898..... Public Law 93-442
Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the second full week in October, 1974, as "National Legal Secretaries' Court Observance Week".

Approved October 15, 1974

- H.R. 4861..... Public Law 93-444
An act to amend the Act of October 4, 1961, providing for the preservation and protection of certain lands known as Piscataway Park in Prince Georges and Charles Counties, Maryland, and for other purposes.
- S. 3044..... Public Law 93-443
Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.

October 16, 1974

error's note: On October 16, 1974, a bill became law without the President's signature. H.R. 15301 was vetoed by the President in a message to the House on October 12, 1974 (see page 1278 of this volume of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). The veto was overridden by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The legislative number, public law number, and title of the act are as follows:

- H.R. 15301..... Public Law 93-445
An act to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to revise the retirement system for employees of employers covered thereunder, and for other purposes.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved October 17, 1974

- H.J. Res. 1167..... Public Law 93-448
Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1975, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 6202..... Private Law 93-96
An act for the relief of Thomas C. Johnson.
- H.R. 6477..... Private Law 93-97
An act for the relief of Lucille de Saint Andre.
- S. 2001..... Public Law 93-447
An act to redesignate the Alamogordo Dam and Reservoir, New Mexico, as Sumner Dam and Lake Sumner, respectively.
- S.J. Res. 123..... Public Law 93-446
Joint resolution authorizing the procurement of an oil portrait and marble bust of former Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Approved October 18, 1974

- H.R. 3532..... Private Law 93-98
An act for the relief of Donald L. Tyndall, Bruce Edward Tyndall, Kimberly Fay Tyndall, and Lisa Michele Tyndall.
- H.R. 5641..... Public Law 93-453
An act to authorize the conveyance of certain lands to the New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico.
- H.R. 7135..... Public Law 93-455
An act to amend the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, as amended, with respect to the settlement of claims against the United States by members of the uniformed services and civilian officers and employees for damage to, or loss of, personal property incident to their service.
- H.R. 7954..... Public Law 93-456
An act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in a deed conveying certain lands to the State of New York and to provide for the conveyance of certain interests in such lands so as to permit such State, subject to certain conditions, to sell such land.
- H.R. 9054..... Public Law 93-457
An act to amend the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to execute a subordination agreement with respect to certain lands in Lee County, South Carolina.

- H.R. 11537..... Public Law 93-452
An act to extend and expand the authority for carrying out conservation and rehabilitation programs on military reservations, and to authorize the implementation of such programs on certain public lands.

- S. 283..... Public Law 93-451
An act to declare that the United States holds in trust for the Bridgeport Indian Colony certain lands in Mono County, California.

- S. 634..... Public Law 93-458
An act to declare that certain federally owned lands shall be held by the United States in trust for the Kootenai Tribe of Idaho, and for other purposes.

- S. 3362..... Public Law 93-454
Federal Columbia River Transmission System Act.

- S. 3979..... Public Law 93-449
Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved October 18, 1974—Continued

- S.J. Res. 251..... Public Law 93-450
Joint resolution to extend the authority of the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released October 12, 1974

News conference: on a meeting with the President—by Sylvia Porter, Chairperson, Citizens' Action Committee to Fight Inflation

Released October 15, 1974

Advance text: address to the Future Farmers of America
Fact sheet: Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974

Released October 16, 1974

Advance text: remarks at a GOP candidates breakfast at Kansas City, Mo.
Advance text: remarks at a rally at Sioux City, S. Dak. (2 releases)
Advance text: remarks at Lincoln Municipal Airport, Lincoln, Nebr.
Advance text: remarks at a dinner at Indianapolis, Ind.
News conference: following a meeting with industry representatives on energy matters—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, and Frederick B. Dent, Secretary of Commerce

Released October 17, 1974

News conference: following the President's meeting with Hispanic-American leaders—by Fernando De Baca, Special Assistant to the President; Jose Aceves, president and executive director, Latin American Members Association; Jose Casanova, National Hispanic Assembly; and Antonio Morales, American G. I. Forum of the United States

Released October 18, 1974

Fact sheet: Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974
News conference: on the pending trade bill and the agreement reached on emigration from the Soviet Union—by Senator Henry M. Jackson, Senator Jacob K. Javits, and Representative Charles A. Vanik
News conference: on the Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974—by James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted October 16, 1974

CHARLES W. ROBINSON, of California, to be Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, vice William J. Casey.

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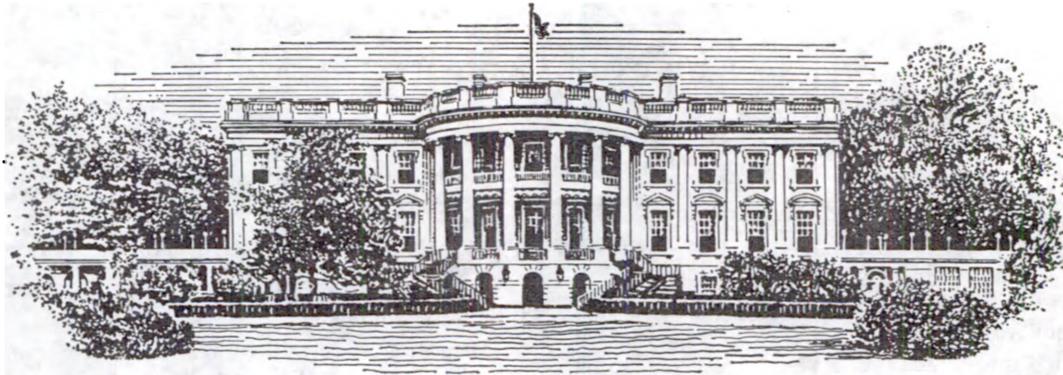
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**PRESIDENTIAL
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, October 25, 1974

Greenville, South Carolina

The President's Remarks at the Greenville-Spartanburg Jet Airport. October 19, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Jim Edwards, Strom Thurmond, Jesse Helms over here, and Secretary Dent, my old friend General Westmoreland and Mayor Baehr, and all of you from South Carolina:

As I said a moment ago, it is a great privilege and pleasure to be back in South Carolina. I have had this opportunity on a number of occasions in the past over the years, and I thank you now for the warm hospitality extended me then. And I deeply appreciate this tremendous crowd, the wonderful enthusiasm here on this occasion at this airport, and I can't express deeply enough my gratitude, my appreciation. Just thank you very, very much.

But let me say I am here primarily for three, maybe four reasons. Number one, I am here to enlist every one of you as well as all of your friends throughout the State of South Carolina in our WIN effort, which is to "Whip Inflation Now."

And I am here—and I am proud to be—to indicate my pride in the Republican candidates for State and Federal offices in the great State of South Carolina.

I am also here to extend my acquaintanceship, my friendship with people in the State of South Carolina. The ones that I have known and gotten acquainted with over the years are the kind of people we Michiganders like, and I hope I can find many, many more like you in the travels through the State of South Carolina today.

Within the last 10 days or 2 weeks, on two occasions I addressed myself to the basic problems we face in the Nation—number one, to whip inflation; number two, to keep our economy strong and growing; and number three, to enlist every one of you as well as 213 million other Americans in this effort which involves saving not only our economy through prudent use of our funds, through the prudent use of our energy but through the efforts of every one of you in wasting less and saving more.

Now let me speak, if I might, as to how you can participate and cooperate. You see on my lapel here a button that says W-I-N, WIN. It means "Whip Inflation Now."

So far, in the White House we have received over 100,000 communications from citizens all over this great country—rich, poor, old, young—individuals who understand that it is essential, it is vital, that if we are to preserve our way of life, our economy, our Government, that we have to enlist in this battle, a battle to save America.

And so I urge every one of you here to write the White House, and we will send you a WIN button which indicates that you have pledged yourself and that you will get others to join in this struggle which is crucial to the future of our great country.

Now in this program that I submitted to the Congress about 10 days ago, there were 31 different proposals. It was a comprehensive program aimed at winning the battle against inflation, keeping our economy strong and constructive and moving forward. It was a plan and a program to conserve energy and to develop our natural resources so we would have more supplies and not be in a practical problem of allocating shortages.

Now the Congress has a responsibility to move on that program, and one of the ingredients of that program was to ask the Congress to set a ceiling of \$300 billion on Federal spending which would amount to about a \$5.4 billion saving.

I regret to tell you that the Congress has not sent to my desk this spending limitation.

Now what we need in Congress are candidates who will cut red tape, who will cut the budget, and, in effect, cut the mustard. And I urge you to make sure that the ones you elect this fall meet those criteria.

Now let me say a word or two, if I might, about some of the gentlemen that have appeared here, others you will see between now and November 5. I indicated at the outset that I am proud of the candidates that the Republican party have fielded in the State of South Carolina. They are good people. They are seeking to give to you and South Carolina competition.

A long time ago I competed in college athletics and I found there that competition was good for everybody.

Later, I practiced law, and I found that competition in the legal field was good. I have been in the Congress, or I was in the Congress, for almost 26 years. I found that competition in Congress was good for America. Competition is one of the basic ingredients of the American system.

Competition is good for everybody. And so I am proud to be here and to say that in Jim Edwards, Carroll Campbell, you have good candidates for the two highest State offices in South Carolina.

They are the kind that believe in reform. They have experience in State government. And I think all of you would be proud to support their candidacy.

But I am also delighted to be in South Carolina to speak up with pride for Gwen Bush, Marshall Parker, Len Phillips, Bob Watkins. These are candidates who come from you, the people of South Carolina, who want to represent you.

And it seems to me that it is important in South Carolina, as it is in every one of the other 49 States, that we develop this competition, a strong two-party system, that will give to all of you in this great State an opportunity to make a choice.

And, as I said a moment ago, I am proud of the people that my party has fielded to give you that choice.

I happen to know Floyd Spence and Ed Young from your State who served with me in the House of Representatives—fine, fine Members of Congress. They represent your State with the kind of forward-looking attitude, the kind of voting record, that is good for your State and good for our Nation.

And of course it has been my privilege over a long period of time to know your great Senator, Strom Thurmond, who has the same point of view, the same strength.

So let me just say that in Strom Thurmond, Ed Young, Floyd Spence, we have given you the kind of people that I think are good for your State, are good for our country. And I hope and trust, as you meditate and contemplate between now and November 5, you will feel as I do, the pride in the kind of candidates that are represented by the party that is headed by Strom Thurmond in the great State of South Carolina.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 a.m. at the Greenville-Spartanburg Jet Airport, Greenville, S.C.

Anderson, South Carolina

The President's Remarks at a Ceremony Dedicating the Anderson Independent and the Daily Mail Building. October 19, 1974

Thank, you very, very much, Marshall Parker. Governor West, Senator Thurmond, Senator Hollings, John Ginn, distinguished President and Chairman of the Board of the

owners of these two fine newspapers, the wonderful citizens of the Third Congressional District in the State of South Carolina:

It is a very high privilege and a great honor for me to have the opportunity of being in Anderson on this occasion, and I thank you for your warm and very friendly welcome. It is just nice to be here.

I am here for four reasons, and let me indicate them at the outset.

I am here because I like the people of South Carolina. I am here because I like the philosophy, the political philosophy of the people of South Carolina. I am also here to do a little selling on a program that I think will strengthen America and make us stronger and better and make us even more proud of a great country, the United States of America. And I am here to participate in an auspicious occasion, the dedication of this fine facility for these two outstanding newspapers.

As I said at the outset, I am here because I like the people of South Carolina. And, I think, since I have been in South Carolina four times in the last 12 or 13 months, I have some individuals on the platform who can attest—Governor West, Senator Thurmond, Senator Hollings, they have been with me on several or all of these occasions—and they know from firsthand experience that the people of South Carolina have a deep affection in my heart. I like what they believe, and I like how they react, and you are just darned nice people. I thank you for your hospitality.

I also indicated that I have a great sympathy for and adherence to the philosophy of the people of South Carolina. I know that you in South Carolina believe that it is important to have strong local government and to have strong State government, and you also believe in the freedom and independence of the individual.

You also recognize that the Federal Government is important, but you want your Federal Government to be a partner and not the dominating force as the problems arise and the solutions are sought.

You believe in a partnership between State, local, and Federal Government. And that is the kind of philosophy in which I believe.

There is another little observation I would like to make—and I don't mean to be critical of those who differ with me—but oftentimes in the 25-plus years that I served in the Congress of the United States, I saw well-intentioned individuals in the House as well as in the Senate who believed that if they gave and gave and gave to individuals that in the longrun perhaps that was helpful and beneficial.

But oftentimes, as I sat in the Chamber of the House of Representatives and watched this effort being made, I frequently wondered whether those who pushed and worked for those programs of piling one Federal program on top of another day after day after day, whether they ever realized and recognized that a government big

enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

We want a Government that does what we as individuals can't do, but we don't want a Government in Washington so big that at some time or some point down the road it can take from us everything we have.

One of the things that I liked about Marshall Parker is that I feel that his philosophy and mine coincide almost identically. And, Marshall, it is nice to see you, and I thank you for your very kind and friendly words.

As I said, I am here to do a little propagandizing and selling for a program that I think is good for America. We, as a Nation, I found in the 60 or 70 days that I have been President, we have some problems. We have the problem of inflation. We have the problem of trying to keep the economy strong and get it stronger so that we have jobs, that we have profits, that we have a better, better life for all our people.

And so, about 10 days or 2 weeks ago, I submitted to the Congress and to the American people a 31-point program. I think it is well-thought-out, I think it is well-constructed, so it would follow that important path of whipping inflation on the one hand and providing a strong economy on the other.

I am confident that the Congress will support it. They did some things before their recess that began yesterday or the day before. There is more on the matter to be done when they return after November 5.

But also, it is important that 213 million Americans, individually as well as collectively, join in this struggle to keep America strong.

We have these WIN buttons—W-I-N—"Whip Inflation Now." We have had already over 100,000 people write the White House enlisting in this crusade. And I urge that every one of you here do exactly the same—waste less, save more, and build a better America, conserve our energy, and tackle the problems of inflation, and strengthen the longrun economy of the greatest country in the history of mankind.

The fourth reason I am here is to speak about the importance of the news media and to congratulate the owners, publishers of these two fine newspapers.

Now I have been warned on occasion that it is sometimes risky to expose myself to the press. I don't happen to necessarily agree with that philosophy, although I did have a press conference in the Rose Garden the other day at the White House, and I must confess that not everything turned out or turned up roses.

But those are the problems you face in meeting the good friends of the news media. But, as it should be and in keeping with my own personal philosophy of being as accessible as possible to the press, I intend to continue frequent, open, friendly meetings with the news media. I think that is good for the country, for the press, and I hope for myself.

And although I wouldn't call this gathering here today a press conference, I am delighted to participate in the dedication of the new Anderson Independent and the Anderson Daily Mail building. I congratulate the owners, the publishers, the employees, and also the subscribers, because you are all an integral part of the dissemination of the news thoroughly, accurately, and without fear of reprisal. And I know that what comes from these two newspapers will be in the highest traditions of the news media.

I hope to continue the traditions that I established as a Member of Congress and as Vice President of meeting with the press, and I hope and trust that the relationship that I have had with the press will continue.

I don't think I do things any differently today than I did when I was a Member of the Congress or even as Vice President. The only difference seems to be that they pay more attention to what I say. [Laughter]

There have been a lot of changes in America in all of our lifetimes, but there is one thing that must be preserved above all others. And I refer here very specifically to the first amendment and all of the rest of the Constitution that Senator Thurmond, Senator Hollings, myself, at the Federal level, and Governor West have sworn to uphold, and that is the Constitution of the United States—the greatest document ever written in the history of mankind—that gives more freedom and more opportunity to more people than any other document drafted by man.

Now we must have a climate of trust and understanding between the Government and the people. This is essential if our system is to work. The Anderson newspapers and the rest of America's press have much to do with that climate, and, of course, so do those of us who hold high office.

Now I don't put as much emphasis on public relations as I do on human relations. As John Ginn said—I will say it a little differently—we can all disagree without being disagreeable. That is an important ingredient in maintaining progress in America.

I don't think it is the function of the press to propagandize for any party, any President, or any section of the public. They, as well as the rest of us, should call them as we see them. And I say to every journalist on the occasion of this dedication, that I am particularly pleased to see a new building housing two fine newspapers at a time in our Nation's history when too many newspapers have been folding throughout the Nation.

We need more, not fewer, news media and including newspapers. Every reporter, as I see it, is now under an even greater responsibility to report without fear and without favor, and every newspaper has the responsibility to keep alive the tradition of a free press.

Now I happen to differ with those who categorize the journalists I know, and others, as a different kind of American. I prefer to consider everyone on his or her merits and to treat each one of them as I would expect

to be treated if our jobs were reversed. I think this is the way we have to deal with one another, whether it is a politician and the news media, or a politician and a constituent, or a competitor in one business or another.

And although I have had a lot of adversaries in my lifetime in the political arena, to my knowledge I have no enemies, nor will I ever have a list of enemies in this White House that I now occupy.

Now there are four of us on the platform who have had a few years, if you total them all up, in political life. And Marshall Parker, of course, was in your State legislature and is seeking election to the Congress of the United States. And if I might just say one nice thing in addition about Marshall, he is the kind of guy I would like to have in the House of Representatives.

But the point I was trying to make is that between the Governor and Strom and Fritz and Marshall and myself, we have been exposed to the press, and I suspect all of us in one way or another have been criticized by the press. I am not sure any one of us like it particularly.

But what is more important, I would be more concerned if the press of this country were not free to criticize me or the others that I have mentioned.

But let me say that the ceremony we have undertaken is a dedication to the perpetuation of a free press and the great role that the press plays in our society. And any time I can participate in an occasion that pays tribute to one part or all of our Constitution, I am honored and pleased.

And so I congratulate John Ginn and his associates. I congratulate all of you. I thank you again.

And join me in that campaign to WIN. We don't want to be a loser. We will be a winner for America.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. at the Anderson Independent and the Daily Mail Building, Anderson, S.C. Prior to his remarks, the President participated in the unveiling of the dedication plaque for the new newspaper building.

Rock Hill, South Carolina

*The President's Remarks at the Rock Hill Mall.
October 19, 1974*

Len Phillips, Strom Thurmond, Mayor Lyle, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a real thrill to be here in Rock Hill, to see this tremendous gathering, and to see the enthusiasm that you have in the warm welcome that you are giving me. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Now, some of you may not have noticed when this fine young lady came up to give the Pledge of Allegiance. I shook hands with her and thanked her, Len Phillips

shook hands and thanked her, but you know what Strom Thurmond did? He kissed her.

Well, you know we have had a wonderful day so far. We were in Spartanburg, we were in Anderson, and now we are here in Rock Hill. It is obvious to me that when you get a little tired, the days get a little longer. It is great to come to South Carolina and get revitalized.

I found that it gives you new life. Don't take my word for it. Ask Strom Thurmond.

You know, the motto of the sovereign State of South Carolina is "Prepared in Spirit and Resources." Strom Thurmond certainly has that. In fact, there are two days in particular when Strom really proves that he is prepared in spirit and resources. One is election day, the other is Father's Day.

I do, of course, want to add something that I say from the bottom of my heart. I have known Strom Thurmond all the time that I have been in Congress, the Vice Presidency, and the Presidency, and I can say nothing but the very finest about your senior Senator.

He is strong, he is courageous, he is intelligent, he is dedicated, he is a great Senator, and I admire him, as I am sure all of you do.

But Strom and I need some help. Strom needs a good strong Congressman from the Fifth Congressional District from the great State of South Carolina, and Len Phillips will be that on November 5.

During the day, I have had an opportunity to talk to Len. I know that Len Phillips has worked to develop his own business, and, in the process of making that business successful, he has learned that you have to pay your bills. He has learned that you have to run a business effectively, that you have to take in more than you spend. And Len Phillips also knows that that is also the way you ought to run the Federal Government.

Strom Thurmond was telling me on the way over here today that in the last 23 years the Federal Government has balanced its budget, I think 5 out of the 23. That is not a very good record. You couldn't run your household, your church, your business, your Boy Scout organizations, your schools, with that kind of record.

Now what we need in Washington to win the battle against inflation, among other things, is Members of the House as well as Members of the Senate who will stand up and be counted and spend less, so we can win the battle against inflation.

And Len Phillips will help Strom Thurmond and me in that most important, vital, essential responsibility.

I came down here for the purpose of renewing my acquaintanceship with many of the people of South Carolina. I came down to make some new friends. I came down here also for the purpose of enlisting all of you in the battle against inflation.

Now Strom and Len Phillips and I, we can do part of the job, but if we are going to win this battle against

inflation, with those words up there—WIN—and with that button that I have—and I see many on others, “Whip Inflation”—we have to have your help.

About 10 days ago, I gave a speech to the Congress of the United States, and I laid out in cold turkey 31 proposals whereby we could have a plan and a program to win. The Congress has a part of it, the President has a part of it, and all of you have a part of it with 213 million other Americans.

One hundred thousand-plus have written to the White House in the last week or so and enlisted. I urge you, every one of you, to join with Strom and Len Phillips and myself, enlist in the battle against inflation so that we can win for America.

I have said, and I think we all must concede, that inflation is public enemy number one. The plan and the program that I have suggested, that I have proposed, recommended, will put the lid on inflation. At the same time, it will do those things that are needed and necessary to provide us an expanding economy, a strong economy, a good economy.

But if we don't win this battle by conserving energy, by doing the other things that are an integral and important part of it, the great blessings of this country will not be for our younger generation.

I admire the sacrifices that have been made by the senior citizens who are here. I admire and respect you, and we thank you. You have done much to give us all what we have today.

But we have an obligation to these young people in the bands, the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Girl Scouts. We have an obligation to them, as this group had to us.

And so what we have to do is join the ranks, arm-in-arm, shoulder-to-shoulder, to spend less, and that means spend less of your taxpayer dollars so that we will have more for you to spend for yourself, for your city, for your State, for your country.

One of the important things to me and something that I like and enjoy about people from South Carolina is the political philosophy that you have—a philosophy that says, yes. The Government at the local, State and Federal level, they are important, but the philosophy that you have that you can stand and will stand on your own two feet is what I believe in, and I respect you, I admire you, for it.

Now we recognize that there are circumstances and problems that are beyond the scope and beyond the capability of individuals. But there are unfortunately people in the Congress and elsewhere in our society who think every problem has to be solved by some Government program or excessive Federal spending.

I don't agree with that. But what worries me, what worries me is that the people who have this philosophy are too strong, are getting too much of a stranglehold on some of our areas in our Federal Government and elsewhere. What they don't tell us when they propose all these benefits that they are going to give you from our Government, they don't tell you the end result, the final conclusion. They don't inform you that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

Now, South Carolina is one of the great States of this Union. South Carolina has had a long history and tradition of being strong in a crisis, whether it was from outside our continental limits, or whether it was from within. You have measured up to the challenges abroad and at home.

And you in South Carolina know that the strength of our form of government is one of balance. You had people that represented your great State when our Founding Fathers drafted the Constitution and when they went to the city of Philadelphia and put together that Constitution. They wove into it the concept of balance, a strong President in the White House, a strong Congress in the legislative branch, a strong judicial system, headed by the Supreme Court, a system of checks and balances to give freedom and opportunity to everybody, to move ahead and live their own private lives.

But at some moments in our history there has been a shift of that balance. Now there are people who want to impose on this system a veto-proof Congress.

What does that mean? It means that they want to remove the checks and balances. They want all power in the Congress. The American people want balance for the protection of themselves, their families, their local, their State government.

We don't want a veto-proof Congress. We want a Congress that will reflect your views in Rock Hill, your views in South Carolina, working in a partnership with the President. And so instead of a veto-proof Congress, I urge you to give me an inflation-proof Congress in November.

And I say from the bottom of my heart—because I know what he stands for, I know what his philosophy is, I know he has courage, I know he has character, I know he has background and experience—you can help Strom Thurmond in his struggles to do a good job in the United States Senate, you can help me, you can help yourselves, you can help the State of South Carolina, you can help America by electing Len Phillips to the United States Congress.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:27 p.m. at the Rock Hill Mall, Rock Hill, S.C.

Greenville, South Carolina

The President's Remarks at a Luncheon at the Greenville Memorial Auditorium. October 19, 1974

Distinguished guests at the head table, all of you wonderful South Carolinians:

It is just a wonderful experience for me to be here in South Carolina. We arrived early, had a fine airport reception at Spartanburg. We had a delightful meeting down in Anderson. And we had a fantastic meeting in Rock Hill.

It is just wonderful to be here in Greenville, and I thank you all for your hospitality, your enthusiasm, and I like all of you wonderful people from South Carolina. Thank you very much.

I wish Betty were with me. She had planned to come, but we had a little problem develop. But let me say, as I left this morning, she said to say hello to everybody from South Carolina. She is feeling great. Thank you very, very much.

We had an interesting experience over at Rock Hill. They had a little 7- or 8-year-old girl come up and give the Pledge of Allegiance. I was sitting next to Len Phillips, and on Len's right was Senator Thurmond.

This young lady, after leading the Pledge of Allegiance, came by, and I thanked her, and Len Phillips thanked her, and then Strom Thurmond, he kissed her.

Well, this sort of makes me think of the motto of the great sovereign State of South Carolina: "Prepared in Spirit and Resources." You know, Strom Thurmond certainly exemplifies that.

I think there are 2 days in particular every year which prove that Strom has really been prepared in spirit and in resources. One is election day, and the other is Father's Day.

But all kidding aside, one of the great experiences that I have enjoyed in the 26 years that I have been in Washington, almost all of it in the Congress, was getting to know an outstanding Senator like Strom Thurmond—courageous, a man of character, dedication, devotion. You are just lucky to have him in the State of South Carolina.

Well, it is great, especially to be here in Greenville. They tell me it is the textile capital of the world. On the other hand, I would have been not at all surprised if I had found nobody here today. I thought everybody would be at the Clemson homecoming, and I apologize if I have kept you from it.

I am grateful for the sacrifice that you have made, and I am also indebted to you for being here to join with me in paying tribute to one of your fellow South Carolinians, the Secretary of Commerce, Fred Dent, who has done a superb job as the head of the Department of Commerce.

Fred, we are grateful.

Next Monday I understand the Southern Textile Exposition opens here in Greenville, which will be another reminder of the great contribution that this area, this State, makes to a healthy American economy.

The textile industry, the apparel industries, are important to this State, but they are equally important to our country as a whole. And I am fully aware of the competitive situation that is facing the textile industry and the apparel industry. But let me say that if we win the battle against inflation, if we get through the Congress with the help of the American people, the economic program that I submitted to the Congress and to the American people about 10 days ago, the textile and the apparel industry in this State will thrive even better than it ever has in the past and will make an equally great, if not greater, contribution to the industrial well-being of our great country.

I am confident that that program is good. I believe the Congress will recognize it, and I trust when they get back from this next election, they will adopt it. It will be good for all of us.

I have already said to you what a friend and what a great Congressman I think Strom Thurmond is. He sort of bridges that generation gap, and he gets the support, as he deserves it, from young and old, from all segments of our society, or your society, in South Carolina. And I congratulate you for having the wisdom of having Strom represent you for so long and so well.

But to go along with Strom, I think that you need a strong State government because Strom, and Floyd Spence, and Ed Young, and your new Republican Congressman you are going to elect are going to continue to transfer the power from Washington back to the States, and back to local units of government, which is where we can have the best government because it is closer to the people.

If you are going to implement that program of seeking to get government at the local and State level, you need a person like Jim Edwards as the next Governor of the great State of South Carolina.

Jim has had the experience in the State legislature. He is a mover. He is a reform-oriented individual in politics. And this is what you need and what South Carolina needs if we are going to achieve a concept to implement the program of New Federalism.

There is always better government at the local and State level, particularly if you have people like Jim Edwards and his running mate, Carroll Campbell, as Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State of South Carolina.

It has been my observation in some 26 years in politics that a political monopoly, one party in absolute power too long, is never a good thing, statewide or nationally. Jim Edwards can clear away the cobwebs and bring some new life, new dedication to State government here in South Carolina.

Obviously, he has Strom's and my full support, and I hope and trust that you will give it from yourself to him. And I can't help but be impressed by the fact that in Gwen Bush you have a mighty fine candidate for the United States Senate.

And as I have traveled around the State today and as I have been here before, I am proud to have on our ticket the quality candidates that I have seen and talked with. Of course, you are familiar with Floyd Spence up here, one of those real fine, strong, dedicated Members of the House of Representatives.

Then Ed Young, he joined us at the time of the 1972 election—strong, tough, able, dedicated. When I was the Minority Leader of the House, he was great, he was wonderful, he helped me tremendously, and I hope that you send Ed back, along with Floyd.

Marshall Parker was with me up in Anderson. Fantastic. We dedicated a new building for the two newspapers up there. I expected maybe a couple—300 or 500 people. How many were there, Strom? Ten thousand, ten thousand people. I think Marshall Parker is going to win, and he will be a great Member of the House of Representatives.

Then we just came from Rock Hill. How many people were there, Strom? Ten or twelve thousand in Rock Hill, a tremendous crowd. The enthusiasm convinces me that Len Phillips is going to win that election in that Fifth Congressional District.

Bob Watkins, who I met for the first time today in the Fourth District—Bob is a good candidate. I certainly wish him the very, very, very best.

A few moments ago, I mentioned the need and the necessity for the two-party system, how it has grown and thrived under the leadership and the guidance, the inspiration of Strom Thurmond. I happen to think that a two-party system brings competition to the political arena.

I know from my own experience that competition in athletics is good for the players, the spectators. I know that competition in business is good for the businessman, for the consumer. I know in education or law or any other field of endeavor, competition is a necessary ingredient if we want the best produced for those who will be the beneficiaries.

And it is exactly true in politics. A two-party system generates that kind of competition. It gives individuals who go into that sacred voting booth a choice. And, gee, we want a choice.

And that brings up something that I would like to speak on, if I might. A choice today as far as the battle against inflation is concerned is a choice on the one hand between the big spender or the savers. And I happen to believe from personal observation—and I watched it for 25 years in the House of Representatives—the Republican Members of the House and the Senate are primarily the savers, and their opposition are the spenders.

And if we are going to win the battle against inflation, we have to have more savers than spenders. That is why you ought to have Republicans.

I know that some of the people who want a different kind of a Congress are saying. Because they have read some of the polls, they have listened to some of the political seers, they are just wringing their hands for the opportunity of getting in their grasp what they call a veto-proof Congress.

A veto-proof Congress—what does that mean? It means that it will totally upset the basic concept that has been so good for America—balance. Our forefathers, particularly yours from South Carolina, when they joined with others and met in the city of Philadelphia to draft our Constitution, wove into our constitutional balance, checks and balances.

They didn't want a dictator in either the Congress, or the White House, or the courts. And they had this system of checks and balances, and because of it, we have ended up with freedom and opportunity and material blessings beyond any expectation.

But if they get in their grasp a veto-proof Congress, they will upset that balance. I don't think we want a veto-proof Congress which would be a legislative dictatorship. You want balance so the President has an input, the Congress has an input, the Supreme Court has an input.

So we have a mission, in my humble judgment, between now and November 5, to maximize our efforts to make sure, to make positive, that they don't get this legislative dictatorship which some of them want.

If I have my choice—let's forget the veto-proof Congress, let's get an inflation-proof Congress. Doesn't that make a lot more sense?

I can't help but say a word or two at this point about a conversation I had not too many months before he died with the late, great President and General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Obviously, he was a hero to literally millions of Americans, beloved by all. He came into the Presidency with the massive support of people from all over the country, both political parties.

I don't think Ike really considered himself a politician. No one, on the other hand, knew better than General Eisenhower how vital a two-party system is to the future of this country.

Just a few months before his death at his farm in Gettysburg, I had an opportunity to talk to Ike. He shared with me his own personal views and convictions on the two-party system. And what he told me is even more timely today than it was then.

And if I can paraphrase his words, this is roughly what he said: We are tending too much in the direction of a one-party system in the United States. We are awfully close to a political monopoly of power in America.

Ike went on to explain, as only he could say it—he said the stakes were very high, he said that if we have an ap-

proximately equal balance, an approximate equality in the Congress in both political parties, it will keep one political party from running away with things. It will keep one political party from bowing to the extremists. But if we lack this balance in the Congress, if one party stays in power far too long, it will become increasingly difficult to stop its successes.

And this is what has been happening for far too long on Capitol Hill, in the House as well as in the Senate. We have a party controlling the Congress today that has controlled the national legislative process for 38 out of the last 42 years and for the past 20 straight years.

It is a Congress, in my judgment, that is stacked against fiscal responsibility. And if they increase their power instead of lose, if they multiply their strength, let me just make one observation: With a veto-proof Congress of the kind of membership they will get, tighten your seatbelts, folks. They will spend the dome of the Capitol right off Capitol Hill.

So what I am urging you to do here in a great State like South Carolina, to make sure that you contribute—Floyd Spence, Ed Young—re-elect them. Make sure that you add to the South Carolina delegation—and you have got some outstanding candidates that can serve that will avoid, will roadblock, will hamstring that kind of a veto-proof Congress.

That kind of representation in the House of Representatives will fight a legislative dictatorship, will preclude it. And so what I am saying to you is, do your best to send us some more troops. If you do, we can save the two-party system. And if you send us those new Congressmen, then I think the chances are very good that you will have Jim Edwards and Carroll Campbell running your State here in South Carolina.

What we want are people who are strong, effective, dedicated, honest, men of experience, men who will truly represent the kind of philosophy in which all of you believe.

And now let me simply conclude with this observation. You know, I think it is more than just whatever material interest you might have. I think you have a far broader reason to make a maximum effort. And the fact that you are here at a fundraising lunch is indicative of your concern.

But you have roughly a few more days than 2 weeks to do more. And it is not just a personal satisfaction. You have almost an honor and a duty to do something about it.

I happen to think the chips are down. It really results in a sacred duty. Robert E. Lee once said, and I quote: "Duty is the sublimest word in our language. Do your duty in all things. You cannot do more. You should never wish to do less."

That admonition from a great American ought to be your motto between now and November 5. That is what I ask of each and every one of you. Do your best, yes,

your best for your party, your State, and your Nation. And if we all do it, we can transform these difficult days, the problems at home, and our challenges abroad. And instead of looking at America from the dim eyes of the prophets of doom and gloom, we can look at the future of America that will be the America of our fondest visions.

And we have that obligation—an obligation to ourselves, yes, but more importantly, to those generations to come. That is what you want. That is what I want. That is what we must do.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:01 p.m. at the Greenville Memorial Auditorium, Greenville, S.C.

Greensboro, North Carolina

The President's Remarks at the Greensboro-High Point-Winston-Salem Regional Airport. October 19, 1974

I just said to my former colleagues in the House as they were playing the Michigan Victor's Song, I hope we are winning up there in Madison, Wisconsin.

Bill, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Governor Jim Holshouser, our other candidates for the Congress, Jim Carson, the candidate for the Attorney General's office, and all of you who are here:

It is just great to be in Greensboro, and you are wonderful. I love it, and I appreciate it. Thank you very, very much.

Let me start out by saying I am no stranger to North Carolina. I was down here a couple of months ago and played golf. For your safety's sake, I want you to know I didn't bring my golf clubs.

But anyhow, I have been here a good many times. I served here for 9 months in the Navy. I went to law school here one summer. I have been down here to make a good many political campaign speeches. I had one son that went to Wake Forest University. I had another one that was entered in Duke this year, but decided he wanted to go out and be a ranch hand for 12 months, so he may come back.

But anyhow, I like North Carolina, and I am proud of my association with it.

This is a great crowd, but I want to warn you, this morning we started bright and early from Washington, D.C. We flew to Spartanburg, and then to Anderson, South Carolina, Rock Hill, and then to Greenville. They had anywhere from 7,000 to 12,000 people down there to see a Republican President, and, believe me, they are on the move, and so are you in North Carolina.

Why do I say that? You have a great crowd here, and most of you, I am sure, would rather be out watching a good football game or doing something else.

But here is what you have done in the short span of time that I was in the Congress about 25 years. You have now a Republican Governor in Jim Holshouser, and he is a first-class chief executive.

And you have in Jesse Helms an outstanding Member of the United States Senate. You should be proud of him.

And I can speak with some considerable authority about the great people you have in the House of Representatives—Jim Broyhill, Earl Ruth, “Vinegar Bend” Mizell, Jim Martin, and pretty soon, about November 5, you are going to have Steve Ritchie and Ward Purrington. And if you don’t, gee, I will be disappointed.

With all this power you have got here, you ought to make certain and positive that somebody as able as Steve and somebody as able as Ward takes the oath of office on January 3 in the House of Representatives. They will save you money, they will win the battle against inflation, they will give you good representation, and you will be darned proud of both of them. Do your best.

Now let’s talk about the United States Senate. In Bill Stevens you have got an opportunity to put a fellow in that high office to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Jesse Helms. Isn’t that what you want? Somebody who is going to be strong, determined, dedicated? And I will be so pleased if the great State of North Carolina sends that kind of Member to the United States Senate.

Now let me make two or three points. I know it is a little chilly, but nevertheless I want to talk heart-to-heart, straight-to-straight to you. I have gotten a lot of advice in recent weeks that I ought to sit in Washington, D.C., as President of the United States, read the polls, and get discouraged, and wring my hands, and, you know, look out the window of the Oval Office and say, “Gee, things are terrible.”

I think that is a lousy approach to the responsibilities of the President of the United States. I know all these experts are saying these things, that you can’t change the results, and if I tried and I lost, then my Presidency for the next 2 years will go down the drain. I don’t believe that. It is a lot better for me to be out talking to you in Greensboro than sitting around the Oval Office and wringing my hands.

I don’t understand people who want to admit defeat. I have got a WIN button on, not a loser’s button.

You know, the first election I ever participated in, boy, it taught me a good lesson, and it wasn’t a lesson taught me by a Republican. It was a lesson that I learned from a good Democrat, Harry Truman. He was man enough, strong enough, convinced enough to come out here and fight for what he believed was right, and we are.

Harry Truman didn’t win in 1948 by sitting in the Oval Office looking at all the polls. He came out here and fought and won. And America, under his leadership, had a great, great next 4 years.

I want your help right here in Greensboro, and I want your help in Charlotte, in Raleigh, and I want it every-

place else, in Winston-Salem. You have got an obligation, and so do I, and we don’t achieve it by sitting on our hands and wringing our hands and saying, “Gentlemen, the polls look terrible. What is the matter with us? Have we lost that old fighting spirit?” Have you?

All right, now let’s talk about the issues. The issue is very clear. We have got a problem in the economy. We have got inflation that is too high, resulting from spending too much money for the last 20 years.

Look, the sun is even coming out.

We spent too much money for the last 20 years, and if my figures are right, you know who controlled the Congress for 19 out of the last 25 years? Our Democratic friends. They are the ones that made all the money available to be spent, and if we spent too much money, it is on their shoulders, not on ours.

But let’s be reasonable and responsible about what we ought to do about it. I presented to the Congress about 10 days ago a good economic package that will whip inflation and keep our economy growing and constructive so young people will have jobs and older people will be taken care of. Now, how can you beat that?

Now the problem is on the shoulders and on the backs of Congress. I have heard some criticism of my plan, but I haven’t heard any solution. You know a lot of talk is cheap, but a program presented for action will save America, and a lot of talk won’t do much good.

And so, I urge you to put pressure on the Congress—Democrats and a few Republicans, too. They have to step up and bite the bullet because the chips are too high. The chips are so high for the future and the preservation of this country.

We have got to lick inflation. If we don’t it will tear our Government asunder. It will destroy all the principles we believe in. It will weaken us in our resolution to keep peace abroad.

We have a great, great responsibility, individually and collectively. We can’t just brush it off. We can’t back away and say it is somebody else’s responsibility. We, individually and collectively, have to stand up and fight for what we know is right.

Now, I am confident, I am optimistic, I believe in Bill Stevens, Ward Purrington, Steve Ritchie, Jim Broyhill, Jim Martin, Earl Ruth, Vinegar Bend Mizell—those are strong, fine people. They are good and they will do what is right for North Carolina.

They will do what is right for the country, and, therefore, I leave this great State with a conviction that instead of a veto-proof Congress, that some of the power-hungry people want, a veto-proof Congress, we are going to end up with an inflation-proof Congress, and that is pretty darned good for America.

One final point, if I might. About 200 years ago our forefathers put together the greatest document for the governing of people in the history of mankind. How well it has done for us. We have got freedom, we have oppor-

tunity, we have done pretty well materialistically. We are blessed, we are so blessed. And a basic ingredient of that is balance—balance, a system of checks and balances that doesn't let any one political party, any one President, any one Congress be the dictator. Americans don't like dictators.

But the people who want a veto-proof Congress in effect want a legislative dictatorship. They want one branch of the Federal Government to dominate and control all other branches of the Federal Government, and that is completely opposite of the fundamental concept of our Constitution.

And so, the best way I think you can avoid that legislative dictatorship is to make sure that you keep our Members of the House that I have mentioned—Jim Broyhill, Vinegar Bend, Jim Martin, and Earl Ruth—and add to them so that we avoid the veto-proof Congress, that is, a legislative dictatorship, and that we give to America a balance which is the basic ingredient that has contributed to our progress and our growth and our freedom and our liberties and opportunities.

Really, I look in your eyes and I plead with your hearts, and I beg with your mind that you maximize your efforts in the next 10 days, 2 weeks, or 2 weeks and a half, because the stakes are very, very high.

And what you do, each one of you, can make a difference—your own vote and the votes that you can convince that America doesn't want a legislative dictatorship. America wants a sound economic program, America wants good candidates like the ones we have serving them in the Congress.

Yes, I plead with you, I beg of you, not for yourselves, not for me, but for our country. Do your best.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:54 p.m. at the Greensboro-High Point-Winston-Salem Regional Airport, Greensboro, N.C.

Louisville, Kentucky

The President's Remarks at a Dinner at Freedom Hall, October 19, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Marlow. John Sherman Cooper, Thruston Morton, Gene Snyder, Tim Lee Carter, Governor Nunn:

You know, all of them have been so nice and so great. They have said some awfully nice things. They all call me Mr. President now. If you only knew what they used to call me. But it is nice to have them a bit circumscribed—at least publicly.

But it is wonderful to be here, and the truth is, I have had a super day. I went to the great State of South Carolina, and we had four unbelievable, stupendous meet-

ings. There were 5,000, 10,000, 12,000. They had a wonderful fundraising gathering—can you imagine—in the State of South Carolina, and they had an unbelievable airport gathering. And here tonight you have so many great people. I think it is indicative of the reaction of the American people to some things I will try to discuss later on.

Now it would be terribly remiss for me not to express my appreciation to Marlow Cook. I got into this situation where I find myself—not by any choosing of my own—but when I was nominated, it was Marlow Cook who said, "I want everything on the record. I want everything you have done, everything you have said laid out." And that is typical of Marlow. He wants it on the record.

And I expressed to him and expressed to the Senate committee and subsequently to the House committee the record as it was. This Administration is open, candid, forthright. It may not be popular in some respects because we have to call them as we see them.

But the thing that I admire most about Marlow Cook is that he is straightforward, he is honest, he is strong, he is dedicated, and he is a darned good Member of the United States Senate. He sort of follows in the pattern of John Sherman Cooper and Thruston Morton. We are a little different, you know. We all have a different style. I am not sure I could do as well as John or as well as Thruston.

But the truth is, the great State of Kentucky has a tradition of fine, fine Members of the United States Senate, and Marlow Cook follows in that pattern.

It was my good fortune to serve in the House of Representatives for almost 26 years, and during the time that you spend in a legislative body, you see Members of the House come and go. And you learn to pick out the ones that have class, that have capability, that have all of the attributes that are essential to make the right decision. Not that they always agree with me, but they have the capability of doing a superb job for the people that they represent, and every district is a shade different from other districts throughout the country.

And I can assure you from my almost—well, more than a quarter of a century of service in the House of Representatives—the State of Kentucky couldn't be better represented in their respective districts than by Tim Lee Carter and by Gene Snyder. And I mean it from the bottom of my heart.

As I was saying, we had a wonderful reception all day long, and I am just as enthusiastic tonight as I was at the first meeting at the Spartanburg Airport this morning, because of the response and the reaction that I find among the American people.

There has been a little criticism by some of the members of the news media that maybe I was getting out—to Kentucky and to South Carolina and to South Dakota and to Kansas, to Nebraska—they know where I am going for the next couple of weeks. They have by innu-

endo said maybe I should sit and think in the Oval Office. Well, let me just put it this way: I think there are an awful lot of fine brains and good ideas out in Kentucky that might be more helpful than if I sat there and listened to a bunch of bureaucrats in Washington, D.C.

The first time I ran for Congress was back in 1948, and I remember a great Democrat, and I mean a great Democrat. All of the polls said he was going to lose. They predicted that he was not only going to lose, but lose badly. As I recollect, one of our great newspapers in this country, early in the evening of that election, printed a headline that his opponent won.

Well, let me just say this: We have got the same kinds of polls that I am sure that he saw, and I don't believe those polls any more than he did. I happen to think that the American people want somebody from the White House to come out and fight for what they believe is right, regardless of what the polls say, and I intend to do what Harry Truman did.

Harry Truman had the strength and the will and the desire, and he thought he was right, and he went out and sold himself and his policies and his programs to the American people. He didn't sit around the Oval Office cogitating this and that. He wanted to find out what was in the minds of the American people, and those suggestions are pretty darned important.

I intend to do the same thing because I happen to think the policies we are pursuing abroad and the policies we are pursuing at home are right, and I intend to try and sell them to the American people. The last thing I am going to do is be barricaded in Washington, D.C., by people who don't want our point of view sold to the American people.

I may have a little trouble at home. I might say I got special dispensation from Betty to come here for Marlow Cook. She was here a few weeks ago, and she loved it. And you were all great to her, and she said give all of you her very, very best. She is doing great.

Now, what are the fundamental issues we face as a nation? I could go on in the foreign policy area, but the facts of life are we are moving ahead, we are making headway in foreign policy. This Administration is going to continue the policy of strength and peace, of negotiation rather than confrontation.

But let's talk about what the real facts of life are here at home. It has been alluded to by others before me. Some of our opponents are alleging, in fact are almost believing themselves, that they are going to end up with significant gains in the House and the Senate, and the net result is they will have a veto-proof Congress.

If I could take just a minute, let me illustrate what that means. But I have to go back just a little bit and point out, if I might, what your forefathers and what mine did.

When they sat down in the city of Philadelphia to draft a Constitution for the benefit of a new nation, a new nation which is now almost 200 years old, most of them had come from areas in Western Europe where they had been dominated and dictated to by a king or some other kind of dictatorial authority.

And they, after having fought for freedom, decided that they wanted a system of checks and balances. They wanted a strong President in the White House; they wanted a strong Congress heading the legislative branch; they wanted a strong judicial system headed by the Supreme Court.

But in the process of weaving that Constitution together, they determined that they wanted a system of checks and balances. They wanted a tri-party form of government with three co-equal branches, one looking after the other two, and vice versa.

And how blessed we have been, how fortunate this country has been because of that finely tuned system. No one person, no one party of our Government, no segment of our society has dominated. And the net result is that we made progress maintaining our freedom, giving opportunity to people, and giving us material blessings beyond anything that has happened to any nation or to any people in the history of mankind.

But this system of checks and balances requires that everybody in each of the three branches has an equal part. But some of our opponents are looking at the prospects, they have looked at the polls—I don't agree with the polls, but that is immaterial—They look at the polls and they say, "Oh, boy, we have got a legislative dictatorship with a veto-proof Congress."

What does that mean to you, to your friends, your neighbors, your associates? A veto-proof Congress means a legislative dictatorship. Do you want a dictatorship in any one of the three branches of our form of government? Of course you don't. You want that same finely tuned balance that made so much for all of us and those that are to follow.

A legislative dictatorship in this country is not good for America. And what does that mean that you have to do on November 5, or I should say between now and November 5? It means that you show your support financially, your support at the polls, your support by convincing others that a person like Marlow Cook is going to be reelected to the United States Senate because he is for you, and he won't be a part of any legislative dictatorship.

He may listen to me; he doesn't always agree with me. He is going to be a representative of the great Commonwealth of Kentucky, and that is what you want, and that is why I am here to make sure that he is going to be reelected.

And the same holds true in the House of Representatives with Tim Lee Carter and Gene Snyder. I used to

have to talk to both Gene and Tim Lee. Occasionally, I had a little difficulty with them. They didn't always do as I said, or as I wanted, but they were independent; they were strong. They represented you, and I admired them for it, and I respected them.

But they are the kind of people that I think you in the great Commonwealth of Kentucky should have representing you, and they are the opposite of those that will bend with the individuals who talk about a veto-proof Congress and a legislative dictatorship.

But let me present the alternative. I can assure you, as I think Marlow said, that if you get a veto-proof Congress and the kind of people that will be elected on the other side of the aisle, I can tell you what will happen in the way of spending. Let me put it just as bluntly as I can. If you get a veto-proof Congress, boy, tighten your seatbelts. You are going right through the roof of the United States Capitol as far as the Federal treasury is concerned.

They have spent too much already, and if they get another 40 or 50 or 75 in the House of Representatives and another seven or eight in the United States Senate like they are talking about, the key to the Treasury will be thrown away and the money will pour out unbelievably. That is the record. I mean we can lay it out.

And speaking of excessive Federal spending, let me talk about the second point. Ten days—11 days ago, I submitted to the Congress and to the American people a 31-point program aimed with three basic objectives: one, to save energy; number two, to tighten the screws on inflation; and, number three, to keep our economy moving in a healthy, constructive way, so that in the years ahead we would be able to compete overseas, we would be able to provide jobs at home, and that we would be strong and capable of meeting any competition anyplace else in the world.

I happen to think this was a sound, finely tuned program that calls upon the Congress to react favorably in a number of areas, and the American people to react.

I followed it up with a speech in Kansas City last Monday or Tuesday night, asking the American people to respond to what I call WIN—"Whip Inflation Now."

You can do something about it; the Congress can do something about it. One of the basic ingredients of that program is to hold the lid on Federal spending, and it has been said here tonight that the Congress in the last 25 years has had some 19 years of deficit spending. You couldn't run your family, your church, your business, your schools, with that kind of a record.

We have in the months ahead, between now and next June 30, to save about \$5.4 billion. I can count on Marlow Cook; I can count on Tim Lee Carter; I can count on Gene Snyder. They will hold the lid, but if you elect their opponents, there is no hope, there is no prospect,

there is no possibility. Their opponents will do just the opposite.

So if you want your Government to set an example so that when I or others ask you to sacrifice just a bit, you ought to have people like Marlow and Gene and Tim Lee Carter in the Congress. I can't ask you in good conscience, I can't ask you with any degree of conscientiousness to help if Uncle Sam is going to just spend money, you know, like it was out of style.

So, I need some help in the Congress because no money is spent by the Federal Government unless the Congress appropriates it—which brings up an interesting fact.

We think the Congress—the Government, I should say—has done a bad job in handling your tax money. Do you realize that 38 of the last 42 years, the opposition has controlled the Congress? So if they have spent too much money, I think you can honestly say it is the opposition's responsibility, and they controlled the Congress the last 20 years.

So I really think if the national debt is too high—\$485 billion—if they spent much too much money, we can legitimately look at the opposition and say, "You control the Congress, you control expenditures, you are responsible."

What we need is not only Marlow and Gene and Tim Lee Carter, but we need these other good candidates who are just as dedicated to fight for fiscal responsibility, not only because it is sound economically, but because it is right is this battle that we face in trying to whip public enemy number one—inflation.

You know, I submitted, as I said a moment ago, 31 plans for programs, or particulars for a winning battle against inflation. And I have heard some criticism about it. They have nitpicked here and they have nitpicked there, and so forth. Well, some of the critics remind me a little bit of Secretariat—they are running very fast, but not producing very much. [*Laughter*]

So when we come right down to it, we have got some problems that have to be solved, and I happen to think the reelection of Marlow or reelection of Gene and Tim Lee—that is highly essential. But if we are going to win the battle against inflation, we have to accept and fight for and be dedicated to this kind of sound economics. It calls for a little sacrifice upon the part of every one of us. It calls upon us to be compassionate, because we are going through a traumatic experience that I suspect few of you had anything to do in creating. But the fact is that the United States can't afford to have double-digit inflation as we try to meet the challenges from abroad.

I am encouraged with what I see, and I happen to think that the Congress, after it gets through this next election, will respond. If we don't, if we just abandon our responsibilities, this kind of inflation will tear the fabric of our political society asunder. It will destroy what we

have inherited from those that preceded us. It will completely knock out the capabilities of the United States to be the leader in the world in trying to solve the problems of peace, whether it is in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Greece and Turkey, whether it is in Western Europe, or Southeast Asia. If we don't have a strong economy at home, we can't go to the other countries with the firm hand and the respect that is so essential to get them to solve their problems wherever they might be in the world as a whole.

And I happen to have great faith in the kind of people that you have elected to statesmanship. I say John Sherman Cooper, who is going to be our Ambassador to East Germany, Thruston Morton, who was an Assistant Secretary of State as well as a Member of the Senate and Member of the House—they come from the Bluegrass, but they had a vision infinitely beyond that. And they know, as well as I do, that America at this moment has a responsibility as well as an opportunity to do things that no other nation in the free world can do to help solve those problems in the Middle East, to negotiate the differences between two good allies—Greece and Turkey—to keep NATO together, to work in the vineyard in trying to achieve a responsible policy of détente with the Soviet Union, to open up new vistas in the Pacific with the People's Republic.

This country, if we are strong at home, can do these things. But we can't be strong at home if we don't have a Congress that is responsive, a Congress that will fight in the battle against inflation, a Congress that will give us the tools to keep our economy moving ahead as we travel that very narrow path between too much inflation and not enough stimulation to provide the jobs for those who are coming into the working market.

We need individuals who have the strength at home and the vision abroad. And I hope and trust, as I close a long but wonderful day, that I can see in this audience tonight in Louisville—I don't know how many are here, but it is a great audience—people who will not only do what you have done by being here, but between now and November 5, will maximize your effort—yes, to a degree for yourself, but I think everybody I see in this audience has a broader objective, to do what you can to help Kentucky and America.

We are the last and strongest fortress for the free world, and if we fail—and I happen to think that 1974 is sort of a testing ground—if we fail, all that we have inherited and all we stand for and all we hope to pass on to others, could go down the drain.

So you can do something. You have done it already, but you can do more. It is sort of a 24-hour-a-day job between now and November 5. I am confident as I have met many of you, as I have heard others, as I know this great

Commonwealth and you and your associates will do what is needed and necessary for Marlow, because the Congress needs him, I need him, you need him. I hope you will do the same for Tim Lee and Gene and the others. That is good for America.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:28 p.m. at Freedom Hall, Louisville, Ky.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Federal Columbia River Transmission System Act

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law. October 19, 1974

I am pleased to sign into law S. 3362, the Federal Columbia River Transmission System Act. In an era of deepening concern over the Nation's energy well-being, this bill is a solid step forward in meeting our energy requirements on an orderly, planned basis.

The Congress is to be congratulated for enacting this important legislation. Its passage is also a tribute to the broad-based support this measure received from the region's electric utilities, business and labor organizations, and State and local governments.

This partnership has also produced the Pacific Northwest-Pacific Southwest intertie and the Columbia River Basin treaty with Canada. These agreements are vital to a sound interregional power system and serve the overriding need for conserving our energy resources. Transfers of surplus hydropower from the Pacific Northwest to California have already conserved over 16 million barrels of vital oil this year. This is an outstanding example of partnership planning and demonstrates once again that the Federal establishment can work in close concert with State and local government and industry to solve problems at the regional level.

This bill authorizes the Bonneville Power Administration to issue revenue bonds and to use the proceeds in carrying out its mission. Such bonding authority, together with provisions enabling BPA to utilize its revenues, should eliminate the need for congressional appropriations. The legislation does provide for continuing congressional review of the BPA program.

In sum, this new law will assist in the efforts outlined in my speech to the Congress last week to assure efficient use of America's precious energy resources.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3362) is Public Law 93-454, approved October 18, 1974.

Meeting With President Echeverría of Mexico

Exchange of Remarks Between President Ford and President Luis Echeverría Alvarez Upon Arrival at Nogales, Mexico, on the U.S.-Mexican Border. October 21, 1974

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. *Your Excellency, Mr. Gerald Ford, President of the United States of America:*

We bid you welcome to Mexico. The people of Mexico receive you with the expression of their friendship for the American people. Through me, our people wish to offer you the most cordial welcome, to convey a cordial greeting which we would ask you to take back with you for all the American people.

Coexistence between Mexico and the United States of America has been a long one. We have an extensive borderline between us. And all along this border for a long time now the sometimes dramatic and even tragic problems have been left behind.

During the last decades, it has been possible to solve the problems that affect us both through civilized practices by applying norms of law and of reciprocal respect. And now during the very difficult period that the entire world is living through, we both, the United States, in these difficult times, and Mexico are making efforts so that our coexistence will be a harmonious one, an understanding one, and a respectful one.

In our country, within our country domestically, we are struggling to foster social justice in accordance with old moral guidelines and with a spirit of cooperation which we believe would benefit all the countries of the world.

Internationally, we struggle to achieve norms of cooperation, balance, understanding on the part of each nation for all other countries. In Mexico, we believe that inflation is only one of the manifestations of lack of balance between the interests of the one and the other—between the rich and the poor, between the people that are just developing and the industrialized countries. We feel that we have to reach an equilibrium in order to fight against these problems. And we believe that it is possible that we can trust international relations and that we can find a system of cooperation that would lead to international balance, that would lead to peace and not to war.

We should understand that whatever problem comes up in any corner of the world—in Asia, Africa, Oceania, Latin America—are problems that affect all of us, even the richest and most industrialized countries, because we must understand that the destiny of mankind is one and indivisible.

President Ford, this is the doctrine of Mexico, sir, with which we receive you with great cordiality: We want you to feel at home among us.

PRESIDENT FORD. *Mr. President, amigos:*

I am delighted to be here this morning to meet with you on our border at Nogales. I am delighted and highly honored to participate in these meetings today, which will be partly held in Mexico and partly held in the United States, which symbolizes, Mr. President, the relationship between our two countries.

It is a working partnership of mutual cooperation which exemplifies the spirit behind the new dialogue into which we have entered with all nations of Latin America and which we will not forget, Mr. President, which started last year at Tlatelolco in Mexico City.

In our meetings today, Mr. President, let us give new meaning to the special relationship of us as two good neighbors—Mexico and the United States—through frank and friendly consultations.

It is very significant, Mr. President, that my first trip outside of the United States as President of our country is to Mexico—our long-time friend and very good neighbor. It provides a living demonstration of how we are inextricably linked by historical ties, by geographical position, by our mutual desire to be good neighbors.

It is my fervent wish that this meeting will mark the beginning of a very close personal relationship between us and contribute to the close cooperation and the very friendly relation of our peoples and our Governments.

Our relationship is of very great mutual benefit. Each of our countries, Mr. President, receives much from the other—material goods of all kinds, increased understanding through tourism and cultural exchanges, and the enrichment of human life and consciousness through expanded knowledge and warm, warm friendship.

This exchange is especially evident in the border area. I thank all of you who have come here to welcome me and to see this spirit of friendship which exists between President Echeverría and myself representing our two countries.

Actually, we witness today the flow of people, goods, food, music, art, and language. We note the existence of a binational commission—not one, but several—and binational groups of many kinds. We see the efforts by people on both sides of the border to work together in a joint effort to solve the everyday problems of their respective lives.

There are countless other instances demonstrating the strong, the vital, the flourishing, and friendly relations that exist between us. And, in this border area, Mr. President, we also see living examples of how two governments disposed to work together in good will can meet and solve problems.

Along our common border, we have jointly faced and together resolved problems of flood control, sanitation, minor border adjustments necessitated by the vagaries of the Rio Grande.

We are extremely proud, Mr. President, of our recent resolution of long-standing and complex issues involving

the salinity of the water of the Colorado River delivered to your country. Our successful efforts in these areas over the past few years are precedents for the solution of problems that may arise in the future. We must continue to draw upon the spirit of mutual respect, good will which made this cooperation possible in the past.

Mr. President, let us today consider how we can cooperate in solving common problems which will result in a better and better life for the people of our two countries and for all the people everywhere.

Muchas gracias.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 9:45 a.m. at Nogales on the U.S.-Mexican border. President Echeverría spoke in Spanish; as printed above, his remarks follow the translation by an interpreter.

Following a wreath-laying ceremony at the monument to Benito Juarez, the two Presidents flew to Magdalena de Kino, Mexico, where they laid a wreath at the tomb of Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino and held the first of two meetings. They then flew to Tubac, Ariz., for a luncheon and the conclusion of their meetings.

Meeting With President Echeverria of Mexico

Exchange of Toasts Between President Ford and President Echeverría at a Luncheon in Tubac, Arizona. October 21, 1974

PRESIDENT FORD. *Mr. President, distinguished guests, friends:*

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to have our distinguished guest here in Tubac, Arizona, and to reciprocate on this occasion for the warm welcome that he and the people of Mexico gave to me and to the American people during the day, which was an unbelievably pleasant, warm, and just a wonderful opportunity to be together.

I am most grateful to you, Mr. President, for having suggested that we meet in Magdalena de Kino for the meetings that we had during the day. Your sense of history, your understanding of the great role that Father Kino played in the history of this part of the world, made it an ideal setting for the discussions that we had on very important matters.

Mr. President, the Jesuit priest whose statue is in the United States Capitol and whose statue is in the state capitol of Sonora and the capitol of Arizona, lived and worked here almost three centuries ago. His efforts gave the first great stimulant to progress among the people of this part of the North American continent, and we are all proud of his contribution to this flourishing part of our Nation as well as yours.

Mr. President, with the horse, the cross, and the plow, he explored this area of your country as well as ours. He

not only served his faith, Mr. President, but he also introduced agriculture, livestock to the inhabitants of this area. And all of these ingredients, Mr. President, are vital to the progress of your country as well as ours.

Father Kino lives in the memories of those in the town that we visited this morning. On both sides of the border we owe him a very great debt of gratitude. The heritage of Father Kino is an inspiration for all of us to continue the work that he started three centuries ago.

Mr. President, as I am sure you realize, I am a great believer in personal dialogue. I believe that the straight talk that you and I had today contributed significantly to a better understanding, greater cooperation, and greater potentialities for your country as well as ours.

Mr. President, we had straight talk today with openness and candor, and as a result, it seems to me, that the relationship between your country and mine has increased very significantly.

Your great patriot, Benito Juarez, said over 100 years ago, and I quote, "Respect for the rights of others is peace." And this relationship that has been built between Mexico and the United States is built on that foundation which is solid rock.

Mr. President, we have discussed a number of very important issues and we have done it with openness and candor, and the spirit that we discussed these matters, I think, will be the foundation upon which we can continue the dialogue—a dialogue that will be beneficial to Mexico as well as to the United States, to Latin America, and to the world as a whole.

Mr. President, we are greatly honored to have on the soil of the United States the President of Mexico and his official party. We believe that the relationship between us will grow from this beginning under my Administration and during your time as President, and we will work together to build a better and better world in this hemisphere as well as throughout the globe.

May I offer a toast to the President of Mexico and to the people of the great country of Mexico and to the growing and improved relationships between our people, our country, and you and myself.

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. *Mr. President of the United States of America:*

I believe, Mr. President, that among the many important points of agreement that we have reached during this very brief visit, but a very intensive one, we can mention the enormous success of this visit.

The cordiality, the expressions of welcome and affection with which you have been received in Magdalena and in Nogales, we all know would have been the same whatever part of the country you would have visited.

It is not only the fact of the coexistence between Mexicans and North Americans and United States citizens that intensifies the bonds that bring our two countries together.

It is not only the relationship that exists on the two sides of the border, it is the fact that throughout all our history, the American history and the Mexican history, we have been able to bring up our problems very openly, we have been able to foster and foment our friendship.

When you and I, Mr. President, explored the different possibilities of meeting along the border area, we decided to meet in this vast region which was at that time a desert and which Father Kino discovered and civilized.

Father Kino's untiring work, Father Kino's great foresight and vision and all his dedication are examples that are to be followed in the work that needs to be done in this very vast desert area in which we are at present.

In researching the work that was done by Father Kino, many students of the United States and many students of history of Mexico participated, and, similarly, to the way in which they joined forces and participated, we can join forces in order to solve the problems of the United States and of Mexico.

May I say out loud, Mr. President, that to deal with you personally is very gratifying, that, very simply and very directly and fully informed, you take up the most complex matters, that you do not elude the problems with a great many high sounding phrases, and that it is easy to perceive that you are imbued with good faith in our bilateral relations, and that this will be beneficial for an international life which every day becomes more complex throughout the world and which makes it necessary for political leaders to contribute with the greatest intelligence and experience and all of their good will.

We know that the world is living through very difficult times and that it is only through the spirit of understanding, of frankness that we can transcend these difficult times so that they will not become too long.

And, Mr. President, I do believe that if in the future the problems and all other matters that should come up are to be dealt with as we have dealt with our problems today in this border area, we will have done a great deal to lighten our burden and to solve these problems.

Mr. President, it has been a great pleasure for me to meet you personally, to dialogue with you, Mr. President, in the direct and clear manner in which you speak, not only from conviction but also because this is your way. And in Mexico, we have no doubt that this is a very, very favorable sign so that the friendship between the two countries will become deeper and will continue into the future, strengthened, vigorous, and without ever being blemished.

Gentlemen, I offer a toast to the health of the President of the United States and of the friendship of the two countries.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 4:20 p.m. at the Tubac Country Club, Tubac, Ariz. President Echeverría spoke in Spanish and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Meeting With President Echeverría of Mexico

News Conference of President Ford and President Echeverría at Tubac, Arizona. October 21, 1974

PRESIDENT FORD. It has been a very great privilege and pleasure, Mr. President, to have the opportunity of visiting your country today and to discuss with you a number of very important issues. And let me just emphasize one.

You, of course, are the author and promoter of some very far-reaching action in the United Nations which we believe, as a charter for economic development throughout the world, has very great merit and very great support, and I compliment you for it. And I can assure you that I and Secretary Kissinger will work with you and others in your Government in trying to find the key and the answer to the economic development of all parts of our great globe.

It is nice to have you in the United States, and I thank you for the warm welcome given to me by you as well as all the people of Mexico.

Yes.

Q. I would like to address a question to both Presidents. Among the issues you discussed today, was there a discussion of American access to the recently discovered oil deposits in Southern Mexico, and could you give us an estimate of the size of those deposits?

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. Yes, Mexico is selling to whoever wants to buy the oil at the market price in the world market. We sell our surplus oil. I hope that we can drill for more oil in Mexico in order to be able to export a greater amount.

We have sold to the United States, to Uruguay, to Brazil, and to Israel, and we hope to continue to sell without making any differences among the buyers in order to contribute to satisfy the demand.

Q. I would like to know, President Ford, if, during your talks, there was any mention made of the Trade Reform Act and, if so, what are the repercussions that this will have for Mexico?

PRESIDENT FORD. I am very happy and very pleased that you raised the question. The new trade legislation, which I hope will pass the Congress this year, will significantly increase the trade relations between Mexico and the United States, helping to balance the trade between Mexico and the United States.

This trade legislation which I have worked very hard to promote, which I believe will pass the United States Senate, and I believe the Congress, will be very helpful in making good trade relations between the United States and Mexico.

Q. Can you tell us whether any progress has been made on a new approach resolving the question of migrant farmworkers from Mexico and the related questions involved in that?

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. Yes. Yes, we did discuss this point and I brought up in the name of Mexico, I told the President of the United States that we have definitely desisted from our intention of signing an agreement, and this is due to the fact that we made a revision of the previous agreement and we saw that in practice, in the way it works, it is not good. It gives opposite results from the ones we want.

What happened at that time was that, attracted by this agreement that we had with the United States, the migrant workers, or the would-be migrant workers, would come to the border cities of the United States. And then it happened that they did not receive a contract, and then they stayed at the border city and increased the number of the population or else they went illegally into the United States.

Now, with the policy of self-criticism that at present prevails in Mexico, we have reviewed this matter, and we have come to realize and accept that the responsibility belongs to Mexico.

In Mexico, we need to increase the sources of employment. We need to send more resources out into the countryside. We need to organize the farmers in a better way. We need to keep them within the land. I do not know if President Ford has anything to add because we analyzed this point jointly.

PRESIDENT FORD. As you can see, we discussed this matter in great depth. It has a long history. It has current problems. In fact, we have some new problems. And in order to get an up-to-date reading on what should be done, how we can best help, we have decided to reanalyze through a commission that will bring up the data that involves those going from Mexico to the United States and will update data that will involve individuals who are in the United States seeking employment, trying to find the right answer. And this revitalized commission, I think, will give both of us, and our countries, better answers to solve the problem.

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. Now, however, there is a point that Mexico insists upon in reference to the migrant workers—whether they are legally in the country or illegally in the country. That is, Mexico insists that they enjoy the rights and prerogatives that is granted by the law to any person.

When a person is contracted legally and comes to work in the United States, this person under contract has certain rights—the right to a decent salary, the right to social security, and that is to say all the rights that are granted by the law. This is when the person comes to work legally.

Now, if the migrant worker comes in illegally, he still has some rights that must be observed—this is basic.

Q. I have a question for President Ford. I would like to ask President Ford whether the hemispheric problems were taken up and if they did take up the hemispheric problems, what is the attitude of the United States with reference to Cuba and if this attitude is to be maintained at the next Conference of Foreign Ministers.

PRESIDENT FORD. We did take up the question of the United States' attitude toward Cuba. I indicated that we had not seen any change in the attitude of Mr. Castro or any of the other individuals in the Cuban Government and, inasmuch as there had been no change, no attitude that was different regarding the United States, it was not expected that our attitude would change toward Cuba.

We did discuss the meeting that is to be held in Quito, I think, on November 7 or 8, where the matter will be brought before the OAS. But our attitude, as of the present time, is since no change in the attitude of Cuba, we certainly have to retain our point of view concerning them.

Q. President Echeverría, I wonder if you could answer one part of Mr. Shaw's [Gaylord Shaw, Associated Press] question which was not answered, and that is, can you give us some estimate of the size of the new oil discovery in Mexico?

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. Yes, the discoveries are very important and significant, and the significance we can find in the following figures. Of the 640,000 barrels a day that are obtained throughout all of Mexico, 37 percent—that is 241,000 barrels—come from only a few wells. This has made it possible for us now to begin to export, after having transcended the stage where it was necessary for us to import in order to satisfy our own consumption.

Therefore, this is very important for the Mexican economy, first and foremost, if we take into account the prices that prevail for oil in the world market, prices which we respect.

Q. This is a question for both Presidents. Can you give us a list of the specific agreements that you reached today?

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. Actually, no, we did not come to international agreements. It was the first meeting between the President of the United States and the President of Mexico in order to get together to discuss, to analyze, very frankly, very openly, very clearly, very directly, some of the problems that have already been dealt with in this room.

For me, the most important part of our meeting is the way in which President Ford underlined to me personally, and later on here during our meeting in this place, the importance that he gives the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

And I thank President Ford and the people of the United States for this opinion that has been expressed to me because, actually, this is a complete change from what it was before, and this is very valuable support for

this charter that is gaining ground within the United Nations, and for the already 100 and some odd countries that are supporting the charter.

The United States had never before expressed as much interest as it has now in the approval of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Of course, it rather matters that we still have to elucidate, that we have to define, but I feel very optimistic that we shall.

REPORTER. *Muchas gracias.*

NOTE: The conference was held at the Tubac Country Club, Tubac, Ariz., at 5:10 p.m. on Monday, October 21, 1974. President Echeverría spoke in Spanish and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Meeting With President Echeverría of Mexico

Exchange of Remarks Between President Ford and President Echeverría at Tucson, Arizona, at the Conclusion of Their Meetings. October 21, 1974

PRESIDENT FORD. Mr. President, it has been a very great privilege and an extremely high honor for me to have had this opportunity early in my Administration to meet with you and your very distinguished delegation, to have visited Nogales and Magdalena de Kino in your very great nation, and to have had the honor of your hospitality in Tubac. Let me say that the reception received in Magdalena, in Nogales, was unbelievable, and I can say to all of my friends here in Arizona we could not have had a warmer greeting and a friendlier reception.

Now, Mr. President, the time has been all too short, but what we have shared together has been most valuable to me in the handling of the problems that we see down the road. It provided a very opportune moment for a warm welcome, to know you personally, to be able to establish a close personal friendship—the friendship between the Presidents of two great countries—a neighbor to the north for Mexico and a good neighbor to the south from the United States. This opportunity provided us the establishment of a first-hand dialogue which is so important in the understanding and cooperation of our peoples and our governments. It provided a chance, Mr. President, to hear your points of view representing your great country and your great people on matters of mutual concern to our countries and to give me an opportunity to express to you the views of our people and our Government.

To me, Mr. President, the personal relationship we have initiated today is equal to the substantive discussions we have held. I am confident that the meeting beginning

early today and ending shortly will be only the beginning of a close, personal relationship, an important link in the special relationship which unites our countries.

Mr. President, during my short visit to your side of the border this morning, you and the people made me feel very much at home, and I assure you that the warmth of this friendship by our people to you I hope equals that of your people to me.

As I say goodbye and take leave, let me wish you a safe and pleasant return journey, Mr. President. I will not say goodbye, but rather, following the tradition of your country, I will say *hasta luego*.

I know there will be other opportunities in the future to meet, to discuss the vital questions, but, more importantly, to get better acquainted.

It is a privilege and a pleasure to have had this opportunity on your border and ours.

Mr. President, I thank you.

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRÍA. President Ford, it is only due to the great spirit of friendship which unites our two countries that it has been possible in a few hours, and without any personal contact between the two of us previously—it has been possible, I repeat, to revise the enormous amount of matters that we have between our two countries.

We are practicing—and this is well for the people of the United States and for the people of Mexico to know—we are practicing a simple type of democracy, a democracy in which there is no secrets, a democracy in which there is nothing hidden, a democracy that is characterized by frankness.

I believe that this conference between the United States and Mexico can set an example—can set an example that should be followed by all—by the great and the small countries, by the industrialized nations and the developing nations.

I see that from here on in, with good will, with the study of our common problems, with mutual understanding, the relationship between our two governments will improve.

Mr. President, in expressing my gratitude for your personal acquaintance, Mr. President, and for the hospitality that has been shown to us by the United States and also this expression of good will on the part of the people of the United States, I, too, wish to say *hasta luego*, until we meet again, because we hope that we will have you in Mexico City so that the Mexican people will get to know you as I do.

Mr. President, in taking my leave, I do so with a warm handshake, with an *abrazo*—Mexican style—with an embrace that we hope will travel to all the homes of the United States and convey the great affection of Mexico.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 5:35 p.m. at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Tucson, Ariz. President Echeverría spoke in Spanish and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

National Council on Crime and Delinquency

The President's Filmed Remarks to the Council's Meeting in New York City. October 21, 1974

It is a pleasure for me to address this gathering of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. I only regret that a tight schedule has forced me to appear on film instead of in person.

In a year when we as a nation have begun to pay long-overdue attention to conserving our energy and natural resources, it is only fitting that we have also taken a major stride forward in preserving our greatest resource of all—our Nation's youth.

It was in this spirit that on September 7 I signed S. 821, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, into law.

While not agreeing with all the provisions of the act, I strongly believe in its overall purpose. We must save as many of our young people as we can before they become trapped in a life of crime. And we owe every juvenile the full protection of his or her constitutional rights.

In signing this bill, I said that it represents a constructive effort to consolidate and make more efficient the various Federal programs to assist States and localities in dealing with juvenile delinquency. The direction of our Federal programs has been fragmented for too long.

This restructuring will better assist State and local governments to carry out the responsibilities in this field—a responsibility which should remain at the local level. I also expressed the hope that the result will be greater security for all citizens and more purpose, sense, and happiness in the lives of young Americans.

No group worked longer or harder for the passage of this milestone legislation than you have. No group deserves greater credit for transforming it from a goal to a reality.

I am proud that the signing of this measure was one of my earliest official acts as President of the United States, and I salute you for your magnificent work in making it possible.

Again, I only regret that I cannot be with you in person this afternoon, speaking from the same rostrum as Francis Dale and Elliot Richardson.

The more all of us do to prevent juvenile crime, the more we protect its potential victims—before, rather than after the damage has been done.

You have my personal assurance that I am fully committed to meeting the Federal Government's fair and attainable share of this responsibility. Working together with the general public and State and local governments,

we can make the year ahead another year of progress—of making America a better, safer country for young and old alike.

NOTE: As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The President's Remarks at a Breakfast Honoring Senator Henry Bellmon. October 22, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Henry. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great privilege and a very high honor for me to have the opportunity to join with you this morning for a cause that I think is of very great national significance.

It has been a good morning. I don't know what I have enjoyed more. I have seen so many good, loyal Sooners on the one hand, who are sitting down to a breakfast I didn't have to make myself.

It is a particular pleasure, as I indicated at the outset, to participate in something that pays honor to Henry Bellmon. You know, Henry is known as a very tightfisted Member of the Congress. He really looks after your tax dollars.

To be perfectly honest, however, I didn't know how tightfisted Henry was until the waiter came up and gave me the check a few minutes ago. [*Laughter*]

But it is significant for me to come to the great State of Oklahoma and to see what has happened and transpired in the years that I have been in politics in Washington, to see the Republican Party in this State grow from a political party that had literally no organization, very few winnable candidates, to a party that has an organization, that has won with good candidates. And the net result is that you have in the United States Senate, in Henry Bellmon and Dewey Bartlett, two of the very, very best Members of the Senate that I have been able to observe.

And, of course, both Henry and Dewey served as superb Governors of your State, and it is a pleasure and a privilege to me to meet Jim Inhofe and to see the quality of the candidate that you are offering to the citizens of Oklahoma in Jim, and I congratulate you.

If I might, I would like to say a word about the two-party system. In January of 1949 when I came to the United States Congress, there were a good many States in this Union that had no two-party system, and Oklahoma was one of them.

Because you developed people as fine, fine candidates, and because you have developed an organization, you have now made Oklahoma a two-party system—a State

that has a viable two-party contest and competition. As a consequence, you have put Oklahoma on the map as a State that offers the kind of competition in the political arena that is good, healthy, and beneficial to your State.

I think most of you would agree that competition in business results in a better product and a better price as far as the consumer is concerned. I happen to think competition in professions—the law and medicine—competition in politics is likewise good, and Oklahoma has been the beneficiary of people like Henry and Dewey and Happy Camp. These are the kind of candidates that, in my opinion, make Oklahoma better represented in the Congress of the United States.

Now, let me say just a word or two about the slate that I think you have presented to the State of Oklahoma in 1974. In the travels that I have made around the country both as a Minority Leader, as Vice President, and the last 21½ months as President of the United States, I have an opportunity to see firsthand the candidates that the Republican Party submits to the voters in various States of the Union.

In the course of serving in the Congress for 25-plus years, you see Members of Congress—both in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives. When I look at what Oklahoma has contributed in Henry and Dewey in the United States Senate, and Happy Camp in the House of Representatives, I think that every one of you could be very, very proud. They do a first-class job not only in what they do, but in how they perform in every way, and I hope and trust that you will return Henry to stand alongside with Dewey and that you will reelect Happy and give him some help in the Oklahoma delegation.

I have known Henry more particularly in the last several years, because I presided over the United States Senate for about 9 months. And sitting there looking, watching, observing, I came to the conclusion that Henry was a thoughtful, hard-working, activist type who took the practical experience that he had learned in his long years as a citizen of Oklahoma and put those practical experiences, that exposure to the problem, to be used in the legislative actions that he took.

Now, some point has been made, I am told, of how Henry has differed with White House views. The truth is, I respect Henry for his forthrightness, for his independence, for his willingness to put the cards on the table.

I was reading the paper last night, one of the Oklahoma papers, and I noticed a comment to the effect—by one of your fellow Oklahomans—that I was coming to Oklahoma for the purpose of pardoning Henry Bellmon. Let me tell you, I am here to praise him, not to pardon him.

You know, on the question of whether Henry and I agree on everything, the question as to whether Henry has agreed with the White House on every issue—naturally, we try to go down the same path. Philosophically,

our interests, our views are identical. Sometimes we, of necessity, for one reason or another, have to differ—not in the objective but in trying to come to the ultimate answer. There are honest differences as to the method by which you can achieve a certain aim, a certain objective.

Now, Henry and I share—we have talked about it before, we talked about it last night—we share in the desire to achieve quality education for every child in every State. That is our aim, that is our objective. Now, there may be some differences as to how that is achieved and accomplished, but let me say that in this very difficult area, I am impressed with Henry's recommendation that a commission be established for the purpose of trying to get some uniformity, some sensible answers out of the United States courts as far as quality education is concerned, and I commend you for that recommendation, Henry.

The Congress has been under some challenge and, I think, some of our institutions in Government have been challenged as to integrity, as to forthrightness. In Henry Bellmon, I know of no person in the United States Senate or in the Congress who is more forthright, who has more integrity. It is a quiet sort of deep-seated belief that you have to be honest, you have to have maximum candor. I respect you for that, Henry. We have had too little of that in recent years and, frankly, that was one of the prime reasons that I thought it was vitally important last week for me to appear before a Congressional committee.

There have been some challenges to the wisdom or the method as to why I had taken the action I did concerning my predecessor. But it seems to me that in this day and age, when our system of Government is under such challenge from many, many sources, that the best way to lay aside, hopefully, once and for all any challenge as to why and under what circumstances I should, as the first President of the United States, appear voluntarily before a Congressional committee. They had their chance. I appeared, and I hope and trust the answers satisfied this committee of the Congress.

What I am trying to say is that today there is no higher ingredient essential to the future of this country than openness, candor. And I say this in Oklahoma because I know from firsthand experience, in Henry you have a person whose life is an open book, whose attitude is one of candor, forthrightness, and total integrity. I can't think of a higher ingredient essential in the election of 1974. Congratulations, Henry.

I can recall vividly the first time I met Happy Camp. Where was it, Happy, that I came—Enid? Six years ago, I visited Enid, Oklahoma, and had an opportunity to see that great part of your superb State, and believe me, it was a great experience for two reasons: One, I met an outstanding candidate for the Congress of the United States who had experience in the State legislature, and everything they told me about Happy at that time has come true—that he was able, he was knowledgeable, he

was experienced, and he had that kind of strong, tough character that was needed. Happy, I sure hope that you come back to continue your outstanding work.

I have had an opportunity to look over the slate that the Republican Party has presented. I only know the incumbents, and I have had the privilege of meeting Jim, but if you want a two-party system to grow and thrive, I think you have to give maximum consideration to the rest of the candidates if we are to have this essential competition which is good for the voters, and, I think, good for the country.

Let me make one or two observations concerning some substantive matters. When I became President on August 9, that is about 2½ months ago, we were faced at that time with a very serious economic situation. We were faced with what is commonly called today double-digit inflation—inflation of 10 percent per year, inflation that we were not accustomed to in this country.

At the same time, we were faced with—in some areas of our economy, it is almost paradoxical—some softness. There was concern in some areas that there was a loss of vigor in the economy, and we had the alternative, which was also very difficult, of increasing inflation.

Now, as a result of these almost paradoxical circumstances, we started what was called a summit meeting, a program of getting the views of people from all over the country, from all segments of our society, with their specific recommendations as to what ought to be done.

We covered the country literally in, as I recall, about 10 different minisummits. We invited people to give their views, their recommendations, and we concluded it with a rather historic economic summit in Washington, D.C. After accumulating all of this evidence, all of these proposals, we sat down and filtered them out and came up with a 31-point program which is a program very, I think, wisely devised to meet the challenge of inflation on the one hand, and the problems of a softening economy in some areas of America on the other.

I hope and trust that the Congress will respond. I trust that the American people will respond, because it called upon them to volunteer to do certain things in the area of energy conservation, to do certain things in the area of wasting less and saving more.

So far, the response from the American people has been excellent. So far, the Congress has done a part-time job. I ask particularly for a proposal in the Congress to set a spending ceiling of \$300 billion, which is about \$5,400 million less than the budget that was submitted in January of this year. If we are to call upon the American people, whether it is individual or otherwise, to sacrifice, it seems to me that the Federal Government itself—the White House, the Congress, the executive branch—must do the same. We cannot expect people, 213 million Americans, to sacrifice as we get over this economic hump unless the Government does it.

So, the Congress, unfortunately, did not respond, but I can tell you that in Henry and in Dewey and in Happy Camp you have the kind of people that do respond to a requirement to hold down Federal spending, and I compliment you for it.

Something that has, I think, attracted a great deal of attention that ought to be discussed quite frankly is the demand on the part of some of our opponents—opponents, philosophically, who are saying this election on November 5, which is 15 days away—for what is commonly called a veto-proof Congress.

A veto-proof Congress, in my judgment, would have two serious end results. Number one, undoubtedly, it would result in the election of candidates who would be bigger spenders, not bigger savers. So if we cannot hold down Federal spending with this Congress, I can assure you a veto-proof Congress will be a Congress that will spend more and more and more, and they will do it over Presidential veto.

So if you want a Congress that is fiscally responsible, I think you have to defeat what is broadly called a veto-proof Congress. I think we ought to have an inflation-proof Congress, not a veto-proof Congress.

But there is a broader problem that I see if a veto-proof Congress is elected. And what would that mean in numbers? For example, to get a veto-proof Congress, they need on the other side of the aisles roughly 50 more Members, so they would have not what the margin is today—roughly three-to-two—but a margin that is far better than two-to-one. And in the United States Senate, it would undoubtedly call for the defeat of Henry and Pete Dominick and some of the other stalwarts.

Now, if a veto-proof Congress is elected, it will destroy, to a substantial degree, the necessary balance that we have in the Federal Government. Let's go back historically just a minute. Our forefathers put together probably the greatest document for the governing of people when they wrote the Constitution of the United States.

They didn't want an all-powerful President. They didn't want an all-powerful Congress. They didn't want a judicial system that would dominate all branches of the Government. They wanted a system of checks and balances. And the net result is we have had for almost 200 years this finely tuned form of government which is a system of checks and balances. And the consequence is we have ended up with more freedom, more opportunity, and more material blessings than any people in the history of the world.

But if a veto-proof Congress is elected that finely tuned balance will not exist, because one branch of the Federal Government, one of the three, will totally dominate at least one of the others, and possibly the third. And that system of checks and balances will be gone. Much of the freedom, much of the opportunity, much of the material

blessings that all of us and our predecessors have enjoyed, will be in jeopardy.

So in a broad, philosophical sense, as well as the fiscal aspect that I discussed, the challenge is in the next 15 days for all of us to maximize our efforts.

Let me close with one comment, if I might. Some of those on the other side of the political aisles, some of the news media, have suggested that I, as President, ought to stay in Washington and worry about the polls and do nothing about the situation.

I respectfully disagree with those who make that recommendation. I happen to think by coming to Oklahoma City, by going to Cleveland on the way back to Washington tonight, and by other trips throughout our country, I am going to be the beneficiary of some valid recommendations, observations, and proposals.

It seems to me that it is wholesome and very healthy for a President to listen to people other than those you see on the banks of the Potomac, and I am here in Oklahoma for that purpose. I am going to be in Cleveland tonight for that purpose, and I am going to be elsewhere between now and November 5.

I am the beneficiary of what I can learn in all 50 States, and I hope and trust, as I speak to people such as you here this morning, I can stimulate you individually and collectively to broaden your effort, to influence your friends, to protect that very important ingredient in our Government—checks and balances—and also to the maximum degree, to do what you can to make sure we have an inflation-proof Congress, not a veto-proof Congress.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:35 a.m. in the Crystal Ballroom at the Skirvin Plaza Hotel, Oklahoma City, Okla.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The President's Remarks at a Rally at the Myriad Center. October 22, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Senator Henry Bellmon. Thank you, Happy Camp. Thank all of you for being here.

It is a great, great opportunity for me to meet many, many of you again and to see so many enthusiastic, vigorous individuals—Republicans, Democrats, and independents—who want to make sure that Henry Bellmon is reelected.

It should be obvious to you that it is a great pleasure for me to be back in Oklahoma again, the home of Will Rogers, who never met a man he didn't like, and the home of the Oklahoma Sooners, a team who never met a team they couldn't lick.

Yes, it is great to be here in "Switzer Land" again.

As an old football player—I mean old—when I played it was back when the ball was round—it is nice to see Ron Shotts here and Rod Choate. It is wonderful to see one of those great All-American running backs. As a former lineman myself, I have always envied—as I am sure Rod does over here—those men in the backfield who seem to get a little more publicity than some of us linemen.

I never regretted their achievements. We always thought we helped a bit. But let me say this. I was once introduced at a dinner given at the University of Michigan. I was introduced by an old teammate from the University, and I will never forget his introduction.

He happened to say in the course of that introduction, "It might interest you to know that I played football with Jerry Ford for 2 years, and it made a lasting impression on me. I was a quarterback. Jerry Ford was the center. And you might say it gave me a completely different view of the President."

Let me comment, if I might, on some views and perceptions of the coming election. I am convinced that a campaign can come from behind and win, and you are going to do it in Oklahoma.

I am totally convinced that this State has energy, not only in its oil fields, on its football fields but also in the open-minded spirit of its population, including Democrats and independents, as well as Republicans.

Oklahoma, as a State, has produced a great winning football team, and it is going to produce a great winning Republican team this fall.

I am deeply honored to be introduced by one of the most independent men in the United States Senate, and I refer to your distinguished Senator, Henry Bellmon, who is so highly regarded in Washington—and I say this with some authority and great respect. He is respected by both Democrats as well as Republicans. I have heard that Henry Bellmon is the only honest-to-goodness dirt farmer in the United States Senate. He calls the shots as he sees them.

And a person with that strength of independence obviously, on some occasions, will differ with me, but I respect that independence of thought, that independence of action, as well as his total dedication to honesty and candor and forthrightness serving in the United States Senate. You must reelect Henry Bellmon.

In the 25-plus years that I served in the House of Representatives I found that it takes some courage to make unpopular decisions. It takes some courage to be your own man. And I say with the depth of my conviction that I respect individuals who have those qualities.

Henry, because of his background, is a top authority on agriculture and the expansion of food production. He is, therefore, a person of utmost importance in our battle against inflation.

In addition, Henry is sought on both sides of the political aisles for his knowledge about oil and energy. And

I am glad to know that Henry Bellmon is energetically seeking a vast new nuclear development park through the Atomic Energy Commission near Muskogee, and I commend and congratulate you, Henry, for that effort.

A man who served 4 years in the State House as Governor, a man who has served almost 6 years as the United States Senator does not have to prove his devotion to the people of Oklahoma. It is obvious that he has their best interests at heart, and as a team, he and Senator Dewey Bartlett represent, in my judgment, Oklahoma's finest, especially in the areas of food and energy, the State's leading industries. And both of them are vitally important to us in the other 49 States.

Since all but one of Oklahoma's delegation, Happy Camp, are Democrats, a balance is provided by keeping these two Republican Senators in the Senate delegation. But Happy needs some help in the House, and we have some good Republican candidates on the ticket in other districts.

In the First District, George Mizer, Jr., of Oklahoma Cherokee heritage, is a forthright, courageous man. A former U.S. Navy pilot, he has shown brilliance in management as well as in business. He has acquired a reputation of integrity, and he has accumulated considerable political experience. I think you and Oklahoma need George in Washington.

In the Second District, Ralph Keen is an excellent candidate. Ralph is a distinguished attorney. He has served as general business manager of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. He is the kind of a man who will represent all the people of this great State regardless of political labels or background. You need Ralph in Washington.

In the Fifth District, Marvin "Mickey" Edwards, an outstanding newspaperman, is your candidate. He served in the national leadership of the Young Republicans as a member of the State Republican executive committee and as a delegate to the 1972 GOP National Convention. Mickey needs your help.

And now, if I might say just a word about my former colleague and dear friend, Happy Camp. Six years ago I visited Enid, Oklahoma, to campaign for Happy as a new candidate for the House of Representatives. All the promises that were made to me that Happy would be an excellent Member of the House, all those promises were kept by his performance. It would certainly make me happy to see Happy back in the House of Representatives, and I think it would make you happy, too.

Traveling around the country as I am pleased and honored to do—as a matter of fact, for several years I traveled about 200,000 miles a year—I had the opportunity of meeting many Governors of various States, Democrats and Republicans, and you learn after a period of time to look at their records to see them. I can say, after having met Jim Inhofe, that your candidate for Governor is a first-class candidate, and I hope he is elected.

But now, let's talk about 1974, not 1976. This is a year of decision, as I see it, for the survival of the two-party system in our great country. It is a year when we seek to elect a new Congress in the war against inflation. It is a year in which I strongly appeal to all voters—Democratic, Republican, and independent—to elect candidates who will fight against inflation.

Henry Bellmon has a reputation not only in Oklahoma but in Washington as a tight-fisted man with your tax dollar. He has been a general in the war against wasteful Federal spending. He has been against topheavy bureaucratic dictatorship in Washington. He has been against a legislative dictatorship by those who would wreck the budget and waste our dollars on far-out schemes and programs. I think you need—we do, I do—Henry Bellmon to continue as the man in his command post in the coming attack against the Federal treasury.

You need the other Republican candidates who are here to today to help Henry, and Dewey Bartlett, and Happy Camp. You can expand your Oklahoma delegation of inflation fighters.

Now, let me ask you this very simple question: Why do I, as your President, call for the election of more fighters in the war against inflation? If the Democrats, for example, gain seven Senate seats on November 5 and 25 or more House seats on that day, they will have, in effect, the Congress veto-proof.

Such a Congress, unrestrained by any veto powers of the President, could resurrect those wild spending programs of the years of 1965 and 1966. Refresh your memory, if you will. The election of these additional extremists in the Democratic Party, and they would come from that element, could threaten the internal balance of our legislative process.

In my judgment, this would endanger our basic concept of Government in America, the system of checks and balances. I have found in my time in the Congress of the United States that one of the greatest protections we all have—it is not a part of the Constitution as such, but it has grown up with our political history—I have found that a two-party system is good for America in every State—in all 50 States—and I am deeply concerned that this system of checks and balances through a two-party system faces its greatest threat in our lifetime on November 5.

I ask all voters across the political spectrum—Democrat, independent, and Republican—to think as inflation fighters and not along strictly partisan political lines.

The record ought to be reviewed, and let me take just a minute, if I might. The Democrats have controlled the national legislature, our Congress in Washington, for 38 out of the last 42 years. The last 20 years they have controlled it consecutively. Fiscal responsibility has not been in this instance, for this span of time, honored except in words—they certainly have not honored it in votes.

During this period of time, unfortunately, Pandora's box of inflation has been opened. Today's Congress is stacked, in my judgment, against fiscal responsibility.

Let me cite another thing here that ought to awaken our concern, our interest. For 19 out of the 25-plus years that I served in the House we ended up with deficits in the Federal treasury. For 19 out of 25 years, your Federal Government spent more money than it took in. Twenty-three of the 25-plus years that I served in the House, the Democrats controlled the Congress. I think these statistics, these facts, illustrate who has been responsible for the irresponsible spending of your tax dollars.

Now, if this heavy spending majority in the Congress of the United States is substantially increased in the next Congress, the two-party system will be in jeopardy. We must not permit a legislative dictatorship. We must elect an inflation-proof Congress and not a veto-proof Congress.

It is essential to every working man, every housewife, every citizen that we have a Congress in the great tradition of our political history, a Congress that respects the common sense of checks and balances, the common sense of protecting your pocketbook and your job. From my experience, a veto-proof Congress for 1975 and 1976 could literally run the country through a lopsided power over legislation and spending. It could mean a Congress so deficient, so lacking in internal balance through a huge influx of a group of freshmen Democrats—unfortunately, the probability is they would be the most liberal spenders, more liberal in spending your tax dollars than even those who have been there—that a mandate for more spending will be what many will read on November 5.

Let me refresh your memory just a moment, if I might. Think back to what happened in 1964. The Democrats gained 34 House seats giving them a total of 295 to 140 on our side of the aisle. For 2 years, unsound legislation was pushed through the Congress by a vigorous President and a rubber-stamp House and Senate. Interest rates climbed; the value of the dollar began to decline.

We have been trying ever since to repair that damage. We recovered some ground in 1966. The American people saw the mistake they made in 1964. There was a net gain of 47 Republicans in the House. To this extent, this righted that imbalance. We prevented, as a consequence, the unsound legislation being further pushed, and we, to some extent, recaptured and held the lid.

But let me say this as I look at the past.

The Republican Party is resilient, it is strong—because of the sound principles that I have learned in my time in political life—it is in the great tradition of our great country. We have good people, good candidates. And we, as a party, have the capability and the ability to come back to start from your own 2-yard line and score on November 5.

The man and woman power in this audience here today, if you will rally around the great candidates that you

have, if you explain the true legislative issues and the differences between one candidate and another, the difference between an inflation fighter and an inflationary spender, I am sure that your friends and your fellow Oklahomans will understand and make the right decision November 5.

I must repeat a point with great emphasis. A veto-proof Congress could roadblock vital legislation, including measures that I have recommended to increase energy on the one hand and stifle and handicap the anti-inflation proposals that I have made on the other.

A veto-proof Congress would undermine the philosophy of revenue sharing which gives to local people far more control in the use of their tax dollars. A veto-proof Congress would mean a flow of power away from the local communities. A veto-proof Congress would mean the concentration of power again in Washington, D.C.

I think most of us in this audience agree that you get wiser spending, better spending, if your locally-elected officials and your State officials have the power. We can do infinitely better in solving the problems if you can keep your eye on those people right here locally. You can do it far better, and your money will be infinitely better spent, than if you have to go 1,200, 1,500 miles to Washington to see what is being done.

I think, with the efforts that you can make, you can retain that power at home and keep it from the bureaucrats in Washington.

I am not a peddler of despair. I happen to believe that games can be won, political elections can be won, with a massive effort and determination. We must correct what is wrong, strengthen what is right, and move forward rather than backward.

I think this will help to solve the problems at the local, the State, and the national level.

I don't know of a State in the Union that I have found that has more belief in and dedication to the free enterprise system, to individual initiative, and Oklahoma is the leader in making certain and positive that our country continues to have the adherence and the belief in, the conviction in free enterprise and individual freedom. And I think the people in this audience, whether they are Democratic or Republican or independent, share that view.

As a result, if we do what we should between now and November 5, we can continue to move forward as a great Nation. We can reduce Federal spending. We can whip inflation. We will open a new era of achievement in State and local governments. The body politic and the economic condition and resources of America can be strengthened.

We have in our heart and our minds in some 213 million Americans the capability of continuing to be a leader in the world. We are entering the final stretch. It is like the last few minutes of a ballgame. We are in the final days of a great political campaign, convinced that

we have the right philosophy, the best candidates, and a good organization.

I am not downhearted about the fate of the Republican Party in Oklahoma or elsewhere, and I am far from downhearted about the prospects for our great country. As I travel around—and I am delighted that I am here because of the enthusiasm—I see nothing but strength and optimism and dedication and conviction on the part of our Americans everywhere I go.

Now if I might, let me conclude with one final observation. We have to whip inflation now. We have to strengthen our economy, and we must have peace abroad.

When I came to the Congress on January 3, 1949, we had a Democratic President—I think a good one—Harry Truman. We had a Republican Congress for the 2 previous years. Recall, if you will, that this was right after World War II, a war that involved some 16 million Americans on a global basis, and there was the feeling in our country and a bipartisan attitude that if Democrats and Republicans joined together, we could lay the foundation for peace on a global basis.

This bipartisanship—a Democratic President and a Republican Congress—did lay the foundation. We helped to rebuild; we strengthened our relations on a global basis. And, as a result, I think there has been great progress in meeting the challenges from enemies as well as friends.

I am concerned about the breach of this bipartisanship between a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. But I hasten to add, a very good friend of mine, a good and fine Oklahoman—the Speaker of the House, Carl Albert of McAlester, Oklahoma—understands that there has to be a working relationship, a unity, a bipartisanship in foreign policy. But, unfortunately, this Congress, dominated by the opposition, does not seem to understand it.

I am concerned that if we get a Congress that is veto-proof, a Congress that has the wrong philosophy—both domestically and internationally—the possibility for the next 2 years when our country faces the challenges in the Middle East, the challenges in the Mediterranean, the challenges in the Caribbean and Latin America, the challenges in the Pacific—as we try to work to broaden détente, as we try to continue the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, as we, in the White House, and those in the Congress who understand bipartisanship and who believe that partisanship should end at the water's edge—if we get the wrong kind of Congress, peace could be in jeopardy.

So I end my remarks here today by pledging with you to give to America—not to me—a Congress that will be farsighted, visionary, imaginative, and cooperative, so that we can have peace abroad, so we can work on our problems at home.

I thank you for the welcome. I urge you to send back Henry Bellmon, Happy Camp, and a good slate of Republicans.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. in the Main Arena at the Myriad Center, Oklahoma City, Okla.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Immunization Action Week, 1974

Proclamation 4329. Dated October 21, 1974.

Released October 22, 1974

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

This Nation has always been committed to fostering the health of its people, and particularly of its children. Immunization against disease has been an exciting chapter in that effort. The United States can take pride in the dedicated research which has produced safe and effective vaccines against polio, measles, rubella, and other childhood diseases.

Cooperation by the medical profession and public health organizations in distributing these vaccines to children has achieved dramatic reductions in diseases which can kill, cripple, or cause birth defects, including mental retardation. Because of their tragic consequences, we dare not let down our guard against a resurgence of these diseases.

The President's Committee on Mental Retardation has brought to my attention an alarming decline of immunity levels among pre-school children. Last year more than 40 percent of these children were unprotected against either polio, measles, rubella, diphtheria, pertussis, or tetanus. On polio, for example, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Center for Disease Control reports that immunization levels dropped from 79 percent in 1963 to 60 percent in 1973.

Our children are America's future. Let us make that future a healthy one, for their sake and the Nation's sake.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 20, 1974, as "Immunization Action Week," and call upon all parents, educators, and medical personnel to exert renewed efforts during this week and throughout the year to immunize every American child against diseases for which vaccines are available.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence

of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:56 p.m.,
October 21, 1974]

NOTE: The text of the proclamation was released at Oklahoma City, Okla.

Cleveland, Ohio

The President's Remarks at a Dinner for Republican Candidates. October 22, 1974

Thank you very, very much. Bud, Bob Taft, Ralph Perk, distinguished members of the official family in the great State of Ohio, and candidates, and ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor for me to have an opportunity to be back in Cleveland.

In talking to Bud, it brought back some very great memories. A good many years ago, longer than I would like to remember, I had my first opportunity of meeting Bud Humphrey. He was an aspiring football player at Yale University, and I was a young and not very competent football coach. But Bud made it then, and he has made it since.

I also had the privilege in those days, a good many years ago, of coaching Bob Taft and Bud Brown and working with Del Latta. It is just nice to be here with old friends that have done so well and contributed so much. And I thank you very, very much, Bud and Bob, Bill and Del.

You know when I was down at Ohio State about a month ago, and they were so kind to ask a Michigander to make a commencement address and were so kind to make available two tickets to the Michigan-Ohio State game, I thought it was wonderful. And I went back to Washington, and I had my daily meeting the next morning with Henry Kissinger—we usually discuss things for about an hour every morning—and I found that Henry is a great football enthusiast. And I said to Henry, the people at Ohio State had been generous and invited me and given me two tickets to come out to their classic game between the Buckeyes and the Wolverines, and I said, "Henry, would you not like to join me?"

And he said, "Well, what time is it, or what is the date?"

And I gave him the date. He looked sorely disappointed. He said, "The Japanese have invited you to a Presidential visit to Japan during that period of time."

And I looked at Henry, and I said, "That is the first mistake you have ever made."

Let me thank Jack Dwyer and Tim Timkins, and all of you, for participating in this affair, and the many

others that you have, on behalf of the Republican Party and its candidates. Those who head these meetings and work to make them successful seldom get the recognition that they deserve.

Let me say from the bottom of my heart, I am deeply grateful, as all the rest of us are, for what you have done, Jack, and you, too, Tim.

Before I get into some substance, I would like to thank Virginia Coy for creating this wonderful button. It says, as I am sure all of you know, "President Gerald Ford, Model A-1 Ford."

Thank you, Virginia. That is very kind.

Some of us here are old enough to remember what a Model A Ford was. As I recall, it was brand new. It was economical. It was dependable. It was uncomplicated. And it got us where we wanted to go. And that is exactly the kind of Ford I would like to be.

And to you, Virginia, and Frank, I express my deep appreciation and gratitude.

As I intimated, I am no stranger to Ohio. I think the first two times I came to Ohio was down in Columbus. We were lucky once and were badly beaten the second time, but the people were friendly and very kind.

I have been to Cleveland several times in recent years. In fact, I was here in this very hotel—and perhaps in this same room—just a few months ago.

Now, all of you in Ohio have a great reputation for being honest and very frank—direct is another way of saying it—but I never knew how honest and direct Ohioans were until that last visit. After making my remarks that night, I was invited to a reception in another part of town. And at the reception a very sweet, wonderfully thoughtful grandmother came up to me, put her gloved hand in mine and said, "I heard you gave a speech here in Cleveland tonight."

And trying to be a little modest, I said, "Oh, it was nothing." And she said, "That is exactly what I heard."

Well, such a warm and personal touch is, of course, what we all like to hear, but I am deeply grateful on this occasion for Bud's introduction. As I said, our friendship goes back a long, long time, and I appreciate, Bud, your very kind and your very thoughtful remarks here tonight.

From my experiences going back in the 1930's when I first got interested in collegiate athletics but also interested in politics, I found that people from Ohio had a very emphatic way, a reputation, for carrying the ball and winning. I think that is indicative of the kind of Congressional team you have in Washington.

You cannot argue with the scoreboard. Your Congressional delegation on the Republican side of the aisle is outstanding, and I hope and trust that you in Ohio will keep that strong, affirmative, dedicated team in Washington representing all of you on November 5.

I am told that the prospects in the political arena, as Kent McGough has said, are good for the retention of your circumstances in the State legislature, that you have

a good chance to win the State House, and, of course, Kent's report concerning the Governorship is very encouraging.

Oh, I know that some of the pollsters and the speculators in the political arena are saying that Jim Rhodes does not have a chance. I have known Jim Rhodes a long, long time. I count on him, I count on him as a winner, not as a loser. And that is important from the point of view of the State of Ohio, and I trust that every one of you will make a maximum effort between now and November 5 to make sure that Jim is a winner.

You know, it is pretty hard to get candidates of proven experience in conducting the high office of Governor. It is very difficult to find individuals who have experience and capability who will carry on.

Now, you know I am a sports fan—a has-been, but a sports fan. At the same time, I like politics. As I read the sports page and look at what is possibly the result here in the State of Ohio, I can't help but think that Jim Rhodes is the Cornelius Greene of politics. Jim also knows how to carry the ball and score. So, let's have Jim as your next Governor in January 1975.

It has been my experience over a period of time when I was in Congress, when I was Vice President, and more recently as President, to get to know Ralph Perk. As one travels as I do from one city to another, as I sit in meetings with mayors from all over the country, it is my honest observation that Ralph Perk has done a superb job as the mayor of this great community. He ranks at the very top as a mayor of a big city, and it is my judgment that that is the kind of a person you want in the United States Senate to represent you for the next 6 years. Ralph, I hope you win.

I said a few moments ago that your Congressional delegation is outstanding on our side of the aisle. Let me repeat it. They are the kind of people that I have worked with as minority leader, as Vice President, and more recently, as President.

I think your delegation is quality. Your delegation's capability is exemplified by the high standards that Bob Taft himself represents. Bob Taft, first in the House, more recently in the Senate, has done the kind of a job that is in the great tradition of the Taft family. And Bob, I know you are not a candidate, but you certainly are the kind of a person that I would want representing me in the United States Senate, and I congratulate you.

Of course, Chuck Mosher, over here, I have known all the time he was in the House, does a superb job. Bill Stanton, sitting next to him, two of the fine, fine, outstanding Members of the House of Representatives, I know because I worked with them on a day-to-day basis. I have to concede they did not always agree with me, but I will also confess I am not always right. And I can assure you that when they take a position, whether it is with me or against me, I respect their judgment. And you—and I

say this from the very bottom of my heart—Chuck Mosher and Bill Stanton are the kind of Representatives that I know do a first-class job for their constituency, and believe me, you need them back in the House of Representatives.

Then, in the great delegation that you have in the House there is Del Latta, Sam Devine, Don Clancy, John Ashbrook, Bill Harsha, Bud Brown, Chuck Whalen, Chalmers Wylie, Clarence Miller, Ralph Regula, and Tenny Guyer. It is an outstanding group. It is big in numbers but strong in character and responsibility. The State of Ohio should be proud of every one of them.

But I think it is important if you make your effort to increase the number and in the Cleveland area you do have some excellent candidates. Kent has introduced them. There is George Mastics, Bill Franz, Bill Mack, and Bob Franz. I am convinced with a little extra effort you can help add to the quality as well as the quantity in the Ohio delegation in the House of Representatives.

I am pleased to have a telegram that was delivered to me out in Oklahoma City this morning. I was out there making a plea to reelect a great United States Senator, George [Henry] Bellmon. But on the way I got a telegram from my very dear friend, Bill Minshall. I will paraphrase it, and I will paraphrase it with some interpolation on my own.

What Bill says is he endorses, supports every Republican candidate on the ticket and he specifically speaks of those candidates for the House of Representatives. I hope Bill's good, sound advice will be supported as the voters go to the polls this coming November 5. Bill—I am sorry he is leaving. He was a dear friend and a darned good Member of the House, but it is my judgment that George Mastics will be an outstanding successor to Bill Minshall.

I never had the privilege of serving in the State legislature. Whether it was right or wrong, I ran for Congress in the first instance. But I have learned, over a period of time, to have nothing but respect and admiration for those who make the laws in a great State like Ohio or Michigan.

Of course, here in this area, you have some fine members of the State legislature, or candidates for those positions of responsibility—Tom Corts, Paul Matia, and Charlie Bolton. And every time I hear that name or read it, my mind goes back to the great experiences I had in the House of serving with Frances Bolton, Ollie Bolton. It would be great to have another Bolton starting up the political ladder. And I certainly hope that Charlie is successful on November 5.

Of course, it is an observation that I can make as an outsider coming in, even though I have been here many times for a good many reasons over a long period of time, that the people in Ohio are responsive to the needs—the needs of the hour, the day, the time, the year. The people that you have sent to Congress that I have known are

problem-solvers, and you ought to be proud of the job they have done and what they can do for you in the future.

I have been told by some of my friends in the press that lately my speeches have gotten a little partisan—well, that I am using the word “Republican” too frequently. The truth is they are right. I intend to do more of it because I happen to think our party has the best candidates, and I am proud of the party and its candidates.

As a matter of fact, I think I am a little restrained, at least relatively so. They may not have seen anything yet as we go in the next 2 weeks because the issues are very, very important and the quality of the candidates are vital.

Speaking of restrained, there is a great quotation from an English parliamentarian by the name of Edmund Burke. And let me use it if I might: “There is, however, a limit at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue.” We are close to that point. [*Laughter*]

I think it is important that the public know precisely what I am saying so there is no danger whatsoever of any misunderstanding. The message is simply this, it is very concise, I think it is very proper, and that message is this: Inflation is the chief problem we face in this country and throughout the free world. Rising prices in America cannot and will not be stopped by a free-spending Congress.

It is just that simple. This Congress that we have had for the last 2 years has been controlled by the Democratic Party just as it has been for 38 out of the last 42 years and for the last 20 years consecutively.

Now, some elements of the Democratic Party are not satisfied with the domination and the control they have had 38 out of 42 years, the last 20 years consecutively. They want complete and total domination. They want—and they have said so openly—they want to elect what they call a “veto-proof Congress,” one where the numbers are so overwhelming that they can override any Presidential veto.

It is my honest judgment that that kind of numerical control would be tantamount to a legislative dictatorship, and I don't think a legislative dictatorship coincides with our great history, our great traditions, our Constitution.

If that happens, ladies and gentlemen, let me put it this way: Buckle your seat belts. It is going to make the inflation rate look like it is tied to a Moon shot, because Federal spending will go out of sight. It will be far beyond anything that has happened in the past.

Those of us like Chuck Mosher and Bill Stanton and Bob Taft, who have served in the House as well as in the Senate, know that the inevitable tendency, the almost irreversible direction of a Congress dominated by the free spenders on the Democratic side, will mean more and more and more spending. And that is not the way to control inflation.

I think it is interesting to note that a recent Gallup poll indicates that a majority of the American people

blame big government, big government spending, for the rampant inflation, the double-digit inflation spiral that is plaguing us at this moment.

Inflation, as I see it, is public enemy number one. But one point of view that I think is often overlooked, every penny, every dollar, that is spent by the Federal Government, is appropriated by the Congress.

A President can't spend a nickel that Congress has not appropriated, and so, as we look at the control of the Congress for the last 42 years—38 out of the last 42 controlled by the opposition—if we have spent too much, the blame has to inevitably rest with those who had the control.

Now if that is true, and I think it is, I would like to challenge the American people tonight to follow through with their belief that Government spending is a basic cause of inflation. And I would like to urge those who feel that way to make their votes consistent with their views—to elect a Congress, men and women, who are committed to curbing Federal spending and thereby checking inflation.

To quote Edmund Burke once again, and I quote as follows: “The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.” And I think that forewarning is most applicable today because every poll you read and every political pundit who writes is saying there is a great apathy throughout the country, that people are disgusted and discouraged about politics, and therefore they are not going to vote.

Yes, I have been told from various sources that this apathy even extends in the great State of Ohio. People are not going to vote. They are disgusted; they are discouraged; they are turned off by politics. They are going to sit this one out.

Frankly, I don't believe it. That kind of attitude—it is akin to setting fire to your house to keep warm. That is not the way to change things. That is not the way to reverse the situation.

And so I, with as much sincerity as I can, urge Republicans in Ohio, and actually in the rest of the country, to vote November 5 like you have never voted before. I don't mean more than once. [*Laughter*] But at least once, and to get many others to do the same.

Confound the doomsayers. Fool the pessimists, the pollsters, who are putting out this propaganda. And I respectfully urge you to work as you have never worked before for the candidates that deserve your support. Work on those thoughtful independents and some of the wise Democrats who believe as you do. At least they are open-minded enough to be convinced by the views and the recommendations that you personally hold.

Work, if you might, at preserving the two-party system, this system, which has provided so much in the way of freedom and opportunity and material blessings for all of those that preceded us and 213 million people today—no other nation has been so blessed as we.

I think it is perfectly obvious, as we look at the voting patterns in the last few months, that apathy is the chief villain. Some people think it has just happened this year, but as you look back—and my good friend Ray Bliss knows it probably better than I—some of these statistics show that this apathy has been much, much too evident, even since 1960. And let me quote a statistic or two that shows how bad it has been and how evil it might be in 1974.

Take the national percentages of votes cast in Congressional off-year elections like the one coming up. Based on the total number of eligible voters, only 46.3 percent turned out to cast ballots in 1962. Unbelievable. Only 45.6 percent took the time to do so in 1966. And the percentage of eligibles who voted in the last off-year election—1970—was even lower—43.8 percent.

On the basis of these figures, one computer program suggests that only 42.7 percent of eligible voters will cast ballots for Congressional races and candidates 2 weeks from Friday. I think we ought to be ashamed. Think of those who have given so much over the recent two or three decades to save the opportunity for us to vote, to participate in free elections, and to find that some 42 percent are going to participate 2 weeks from Friday.

If that happens—and I trust it won't—it means that the composition of the next Congress that will be sworn in January 3, 1975, will be decided by slightly more than 4 out of every 10 voters. In short, the majority would let the minority decide.

What really concerns me even to a greater degree is the inclination of the American people to consider politics something they would rather not be involved in. Obviously I think that is wrong. Let's not make politics a spectator sport. If you can get 85,000 people to come out on a Saturday to watch Ohio State win—and they always do—why can't we get 5 million voters to the polls in the State of Ohio on November 5? I think you can.

The sad fact is that in America, one of our fellow citizens in thirty has anything to do with politics. Now that obviously does not include all of you because you are interested, you participate in one way or another. You contribute, you work, you help in every way you can with the party. But one person out of every thirty in this great country has anything to do with the political system, and yet it is that part of our system—politics—which makes our Government good or bad.

The selection of candidates, working in a campaign, researching the issues, raising or helping to contribute for the election of good candidates or even running for office—those should be honorable things. Those should be something that people want to do that feel an obligation to do.

I think what this Nation needs, less than 2 years from now, before the celebration of our 200th anniversary, is not less, but more citizen participation in politics.

Oh, I know, it is frequently written and more often said that politics is a dirty word which should be elimi-

nated from government. Let me remind you, from the viewpoint of one who has been in it 26 years, that politics is government—government in action. And there is nothing wrong with this political system of ours that a massive injection of citizen involvement will not cure.

Having spent almost a quarter of a century on Capitol Hill as a Member of the House—and I am proud of it—I am convinced of the importance of getting out and away from Washington to find what the people of this great country beyond the Potomac are thinking and are concerned about. And that is why I am here tonight.

Now, I have had a lot of advice from people who say I should sit in the Oval Office and contemplate and listen to advisers who in the main send things into the office and to a substantial degree they are pretty much permanent residents of Washington, D.C.

I don't think that is the role of a President. In the first place, as I travel, I find that I get a tremendous amount of beneficial input from people, whether it is in Oklahoma City, whether it is in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, or whether it is in Cleveland, Ohio.

Your views are important to me—as vital, as critical, as those I get from those who are in Government in Washington. And to sit there and be shielded, to be barricaded, in my judgment is not what a President ought to do. And in addition, the President ought to be out trying to sell what he, at least, believes is the right course of action for our policies, whether they are those policies involving our problems at home or our problems abroad.

Now we have just 14 days, and we have got some very critical decisions to make. You can have an impact, not just on a one-day basis but for another 24 months on the kind of Government you are going to have.

You want Senators and Representatives who won't go over the hill in the battle against inflation. You want Members in the United States Senate and in the House of Representatives who will cut red tape, who will cut the budget, and more importantly, cut the mustard.

Yes, Congressional elections are what our elections are all about in America—certainly this year. Every 2 years in the House and every 6 years in the United States Senate these Members go before you to have their record looked at, analyzed, compared to the promises made by those who are challenging them.

I happen to think, after knowing intimately the records of our candidates, that ours deserve your full, unequivocal, unhesitating support. And it would please me tremendously to see a tremendous Republican victory in the great State of Ohio.

There is one thing we cannot forget. There is no weapon so mighty, no force so powerful, as the quiet, symbolic voice of the American citizen spoken in the privacy of the voting booth on election day. And that voice is not only heeded but it is heard by your elected officials, and they won't forget it in the next few years.

I hope that you will send a message to the Congress. You represent the consumer, the working man and woman, the housewife, the plain citizen. Tell them that you are sick and tired of rising prices, that you want something done about it.

Let the Congress know that you want some affirmative action on what I think was a sound, constructive, 31-point program for the controlling of inflation on the one hand and a stimulant in a constructive way for our economy on the other.

Yes, we can whip inflation. We can keep the economy moving. We can save energy. But Congress has to act. And so far their performance, controlled by the opposition, has been minimal.

I happen to think what this country needs is a responsive and responsible House as well as Senate. We need men and women who will, in the words of one television commentator, praise the Lord and pass the legislation.

Let me conclude with one final plea. I came to Washington in January of 1949—young, enthusiastic, stimulated by what had transpired in the previous 2 years. We had a Democratic President, Harry Truman, and the previous 2 years, we had had a Republican Congress, the so-called 80th Congress.

And that Democratic President and that Republican Congress, seeing the evils and failures of the 1920's and 1930's in the handling of foreign policy of this country, decided that on a bipartisan basis we ought to forget partisanship and move in foreign policy for the country regardless of your party affiliation.

We had the Marshall Plan. We had foreign aid. We had decisions made by President Truman supported by a Republican Congress. And we laid the foundation, the groundwork for a quarter of a century or more of, I think, constructive foreign policy.

This last Congress, despite the leadership of the Democrats as well as the Republicans, started to tear apart this bipartisanship. We have a Republican President and a Democratic Congress, and I fear that if this destruction of a bipartisan foreign policy goes on, our leadership in this country, as a country at the head of the free world, trying to avoid and avert a catastrophic situation, if this bipartisanship is destroyed by one roadblock, one hindrance, one limitation after another, no President, me or anyone that follows me, can do a job for peace—a job for peace.

We need a Congress that will stand up and go shoulder-to-shoulder with the President who wants to find and keep peace in the Middle East, who wants to find the key to the problems between the Greeks and the Turks over Cyprus, a President who wants to see that the Mediterranean is free of Soviet domination.

Teamwork between the Congress and the President can insure this kind of success whether it is making NATO stronger, making Western Europe a bastion of strength economically and diplomatically.

Yes, we need the kind of cooperation in the Congress to make sure that we do what is right in Latin America, that we try to help Africa to become an emerging continent, raising the levels that are so essential for them as well as for others.

We need the kind of cooperation between the Congress and the President to see that the Pacific does not have another kind of conflagration that lasted for 10 years in Vietnam.

I am worried. This last Congress in my judgment, despite the leadership on both sides of the aisle, began to tear apart that cooperation between a President and the Congress. I happen to think if you work, if you do what you can, we can have a Congress in the next 2 years that will stand with the President who wants the peace, who believes we have a unique opportunity in this time in history to build for peace, not for a year, but for longer.

Now, I ask for your help. I ask for your support—not just for me, not for the Republican Party, but for the country, and millions and millions of people all over the world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:40 p.m. in the Gold Room at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Veto of National Wildlife Refuge System Bill

*The President's Message to the House of Representatives
Returning H.R. 11541 Without His Approval.
October 22, 1974*

To the House of Representatives:

I am withholding my approval from H.R. 11541, a bill which would amend the National Wildlife Refuge System Administration Act of 1966. I am advised by the Attorney General and I have determined that the absence of my signature from this bill prevents it from becoming law. Without in any way qualifying this determination, I am also returning it without my approval to those designated by Congress to receive messages at this time.

This bill would amend section 4(d) of the Act of October 15, 1966, by adding a new standard in determining the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to allow certain rights-of-way across lands of the National Wildlife

Refuge System. This new standard would require the Secretary to review all reasonable alternatives to the use of such area, and then make a determination that the proposed right-of-way use is the most feasible and prudent alternative for such purpose.

If we are to have adequate energy-transmission and communication facilities, we must have rights-of-way on which to locate them. Of course, when such lands have a special status as wildlife refuges or national parks, we must fully protect this status when portions of these areas are sought for use as rights-of-way.

However, I believe that such protection is properly provided under existing law which requires environmental impact review and further requires the Secretary of the Interior to determine that granting a right-of-way across a national wildlife refuge or national park must be compatible with the purposes for which the park or refuge had been established. Only last year, Congress enacted legislation which had the effect of reiterating this protection in the case of refuges.

In short, our wildlife refuges are properly protected by existing law. We should avoid changes in the law that could create further obstacles and delays in the construction of vitally needed facilities, particularly those facilities designed to help meet urgent energy needs.

Accordingly, I am withholding my approval from H.R. 11541.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 22, 1974.

NOTE: The text of the message was released at Cleveland, Ohio.

National Capital Service Area Boundaries

Executive Order 11815. October 23, 1974

DELEGATING TO THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION THE FUNCTION OF ESTABLISHING THE METES AND BOUNDS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL SERVICE AREA

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 739 (g) of the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act (87 Stat. 828; Public Law 93-198), and as President of the United States, the Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission is authorized and directed to exercise all authority and to carry out all duties vested in the President by section 739(g) of the above cited law with respect to establishing the metes and bounds of the National Capital Service Area. Prior to establishing said metes and bounds, the

Chairman shall consult with the appropriate representative of the District of Columbia Government.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 23, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:15 p.m.,
October 23, 1974]

Secretary of the Treasury

*Executive Order 11816 Delegating Certain Functions
to the Secretary. October 23, 1974*

DELEGATION OF CERTAIN REPORTING FUNCTIONS UNDER THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, section 301 (a) of Part III of Executive Order No. 10973, as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

“(a) The functions conferred upon the President by subsection (a) (2) and (b) of section 514 of the Act, by the second sentence of section 612(a) of the Act, and by subsections (f) and (g) of section 634 of the Act.”

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 23, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:16 p.m.,
October 23, 1974]

President's Committee on Mental Retardation

*Announcement of Appointment of Seven Members of
the Committee. October 23, 1974*

The President today announced the appointment of seven persons to be members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation for terms expiring May 11, 1977. They are:

GERALDINE MCCARTHY CLARK, of Bountiful, Utah, specialist, programs for the mentally retarded, Utah State Board of Education. She succeeds Frank R. DeLuca whose term expired.

BILL J. DOGGETT, of Austin, Tex., deputy commissioner for mental retardation services, Texas Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation. He succeeds Aris Mallas whose term expired.

JAMES N. JULIANA, of Ocean City, N.J., president, James N. Juliana Associates Inc., Washington, D.C. This is a reappointment.

DR. PHILLIP UVALDO MARTINEZ, of Albuquerque, N. Mex., neurosurgeon, Neurosurgical Associates. He succeeds Kenneth S. Robinson whose term expired.

DR. WILL BETH STEPHENS, of Merion, Pa., professor, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. This is a reappointment.

MARGARET B. ULLE, of Sherwood Forest, Md., past board member, National Association for Retarded Children. This is a reappointment.

CECIL B. JACOBSEN, of McLean, Va., assistant professor and director, reproductive genetics unit, George Washington University. This is a reappointment.

The President's Committee on Mental Retardation is comprised of 21 members appointed by the President from public or private life and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Labor, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Secretary of HEW serves as Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee was established by Executive order in 1966 to provide advice and assistance to the President on the subject of mental retardation. It is required to report to the President at least once annually its recommendations on how to reduce the incidence of mental retardation and care for the mentally retarded.

National Cancer Advisory Board

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Second Annual Report of the Board.
October 23, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accord with section 410B(g) of the "National Cancer Act of 1971" (P.L. 92-218), I am transmitting the second annual report of the National Cancer Advisory Board on the progress of the National Cancer Institute.

As the Board's report indicates, the activities of the National Cancer Institute are progressing smoothly. The report highlights several areas in which significant scientific advances are being made.

In several instances, the Board raises major policy issues and makes recommendations to the Congress. For example, the Board's report urges Federal regulation of cigarettes. It should be pointed out that there is considerable dispute as to whether there exists adequate scien-

tific evidence on which to base safe levels of tar and nicotine under responsible regulatory action. In response to the Board's concern, I have asked the National Cancer Advisory Board to provide me with an assessment of the scientific evidence that would provide a basis for responsible Federal regulation of cigarettes.

While I think it is important for the Congress to have the benefit of the Board's views, those views must necessarily be considered along with other diverse and responsible points of view.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 23, 1974.

NOTE: The 11-page report is entitled "National Cancer Program, 1974, Report of the National Cancer Advisory Board."

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

October 22

During his visit to Oklahoma City, the President met with representatives of the cattle industry. Senator Henry Bellmon also participated in the meeting.

October 23

Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York, met with the President at the White House to report on his recent visit to the drought-affected areas of Africa.

The President transmitted to the Congress the eighth annual report on the operation of the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965.

The President hosted a dinner at the White House in honor of Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr., who has left the White House Staff to become Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

**ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT****Approved October 20, 1974**

H.R. 3903..... Private Law 93-99
An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain public land in the State of Michigan to the Wisconsin Michigan Power Company.

H.R. 9075..... Public Law 93-462
An act to authorize the disposition of certain office equipment and furnishings, and for other purposes.

H.R. 13261..... Public Law 93-460
An act to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, to provide for the timely determination of certain claims of American nationals settled by the United States-Hungarian Claims Agreement of March 6, 1973, and for other purposes.

S. 1794..... Public Law 93-459
An act to amend section 308 of title 44, United States Code, relating to the disbursing officer, deputy disbursing officer, and certifying officers and employees of the Government Printing Office.

S. 2220..... Public Law 93-461
An act to repeal the "cooly trade" laws.

Approved October 23, 1974

H.R. 13113..... Public Law 93-463
Commodity Futures Trading Commission Act of 1974.

**ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT—Continued****Approved October 24, 1974**

H.R. 14597..... Public Law 93-468
An act to increase the limit on dues for United States membership in the International Criminal Police Organization.

H.R. 15148..... Public Law 93-469
An act to extend the time limit for the award of certain military decorations.

H.R. 16857..... Public Law 93-464
An act to provide for emergency allotment lease and transfer of tobacco allotments or quotas for 1974 in certain disaster areas in North Carolina.

S. 605..... Public Law 93-466
An act to amend the Act of June 30, 1944, an Act "To provide for the establishment of the Harpers Ferry National Monument", and for other purposes.

S. 2348..... Public Law 93-465
An act to amend the Canal Zone Code to transfer the functions of the Clerk of the United States District Court for the District of the Canal Zone with respect to the issuance and recording of marriage licenses, and related activities, to the civil affairs director of the Canal Zone Government, and for other purposes.

S. 2362..... Public Law 93-467
An act granting the consent of Congress to the Cumbres and Toltec Scenic Railroad Compact.

**NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED
TO THE SENATE**

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned from Thursday, October 17, until Monday, November 18, no nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

**CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE
PRESS RELEASES**

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

Released October 19, 1974

Advance text: remarks at a dedication ceremony at Anderson, S.C.

Advance text: remarks at a luncheon at Greenville, S.C.

Advance text: remarks at Greensboro-High Point-Winston-Salem Airport, Greensboro, N.C.

Released October 21, 1974

Advance text: remarks upon arrival at Nogales, Mexico.

Advance text: remarks at a luncheon at Tubac, Ariz.

Released October 22, 1974

Advance text: remarks at a GOP rally at Oklahoma City, Okla.

Advance text: remarks at a GOP fund-raising dinner at Cleveland, Ohio

News conference: following the President's meeting with representatives of the cattle industry—by Senators Henry L. Bellmon and Dewey F. Bartlett; John Dunn, president, Oklahoma Cattlemen's Association; George Stone, president, Oklahoma Farmers' Association; Wray Finney, first vice president, National Cattlemen's Association

Editor's Note***Note Concerning the Closing Date of This Issue***

The President left Washington on Thursday, October 24, for Des Moines, Iowa. Releases issued subsequent to his departure will be printed next week.

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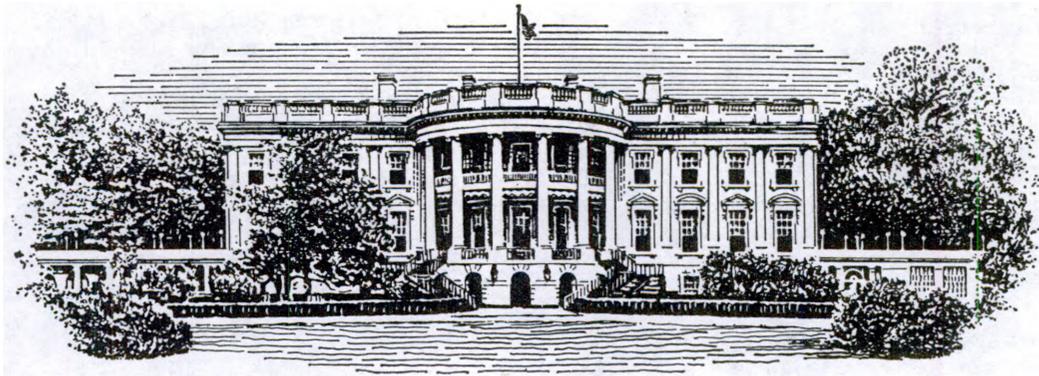
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Weekly Compilation of
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, November 1, 1974

Des Moines, Iowa

The President's Remarks at a Rally at the Iowa State House. October 24, 1974

Thank you very, very, very much, Governor Bob Ray, Senator, my former colleagues in the House, Bill Scherle, Wiley Mayne, and I guess H. R. Gross is here someplace:

Let me say it has been a wonderful visit to Des Moines already—the crowds on the highway, the tremendous group here, the enthusiasm, the warm welcome. I can only say from a Michigander to a Hawkeye: Thank you very, very much.

On some occasions, Governor Ray, I have thought that having Iowa still a part of Michigan would be extremely helpful to us in Michigan, but I would be in a real tough spot now if Michigan and Iowa were somehow showing. We have got a great, good Governor in Bill Milliken, and you have a great, good Governor in Bob Ray. It would be real tough to decide.

I know one contribution that was made by Michigan to Iowa a few years ago. As you know, I played football at the University of Michigan back at the time when the ball was found, but in later years one of our great Michigan stars came to the University of Iowa, Ev Evashevski, who did a great job. I have often wondered why we didn't keep him at Michigan because he was such a great competitor, a great football coach, and a great contribution to our State.

Let me just say from my observation that the weather, the people, the candidates, the Governor—you have a great State, and I think all of you should be very proud of it.

During the 25 years that I was in the Congress, I will say without any hesitation or qualification that I have always been impressed with the men, frankly, from both parties that were sent to the Congress of the United States.

They have been strong men, independent individuals,

men of integrity, men of action—like your Governor, Bob Ray. I happen to believe that he has provided the sort of independence and the leadership that we have come to expect from Hawkeyes in whatever office they serve, and I congratulate you for the three terms that Governor Ray has already had, and I urge you from the bottom of my heart to make sure that he is your first Governor elected for a 4-year term.

I think that you have in this great State something that the rest of us could well use. Iowa is solvent. You have a long history of stable government, particularly under Bob Ray. You even have a balanced budget, which is progress by any standard. I have to admit that I was a bit startled when the Governor told me that the budget was not only balanced, but had a substantial surplus of something like \$200 million. I was startled because it has been years and years and years since I have heard of a surplus back in Washington in the Federal Treasury.

Yes, these are open spaces out here in Iowa, which give all of you room to move, to bring up your children. I think you have achieved in this great State that urban-rural balance that is the envy of every State in the Union.

I was most impressed with the figures that your Governor cited on stemming migration out of Iowa for the first time since the 1890's. I am told people are no longer pouring out of Iowa. They are no longer pouring off the farms, leaving the State, and that is a pattern that I hope we can develop not only in a few States, but all States—a pattern that we can develop across the Nation.

The problems we have been experiencing with our economy since the end of our involvement in Vietnam—including shortages, including scarcities—have brought home, it is my judgment, some of the basic lessons that our people have to remember, have to recall, and have to build on. It is my judgment that we have to simplify our lifestyles. We must return to some of the basics. We must make the best use of what we have. We must cut out the waste. We must strip away the nonessentials. In short, we have to return to the state of mind and the way of life that made us the greatest nation in the history of mankind.

If we will sit back and look, reflect just a bit, we can see ourselves as part of a community with people directly influencing things that shape their individual lives. If you take this time to reflect, I think you will find that people—yourself and others—can determine their own priority, and that sense of community has not been lost here in Iowa.

In the coming years, we will continue to see Iowa, under the leadership of Bob Ray, serving as a model for the rest of the Nation. You have in this great State what so many people all over the United States are seeking. You have the basic values upon which America was built over a period of some 200 years. I personally think of Iowa when I think of stability, of progress, and, just as importantly, balance. I like the balance that you are achieving in Iowa between industry and agriculture.

Some of my advisers in Washington have suggested that I should avoid the subject of agriculture here today. They said our Iowa farmers and farmers throughout the Midwest are especially frustrated this year. I certainly can deeply share the concern of farmers whose corn and soybean crops were stunted by drought and destroyed by early frost.

The trend, however, for urbanization during the past few decades resulted in the downplaying of the farmer's central role in American society. But recent problems have refocused our national attention on the farmer as one of our greatest national assets—an asset we should be proud of. It is my judgment that this is the time that we should be expanding farming in America. Let us encourage our young people to remain on the farms and others to return to them.

Iowa, your great State, for obvious reasons, is aware of the importance of agriculture, not only to your State but to our Nation and to the world. It is absolutely essential to the well-being of our total society here as well as around the world.

America can no longer expect the farmer to sacrifice so that others can live well. All Americans now realize that we are all in this problem together, and the farmer should not be called upon to make an extra sacrifice. It must be shared by all.

We rely upon the farmer for the strength of the community. The American farmer can outplant, outplow, and outmarket any farmer—I don't care what nation in the world. However, if the farmer gets a fair shake, the American farmer can not only feed the people of the United States, but human beings all over the world. And this in itself is something that we should appreciate and be grateful for.

In the immediate years ahead, American agriculture will be our greatest asset in the world trade market. In the last 2 or 3 years, the availability of the production of the American farmer has been extremely helpful as we try to help those who are less well-off than ourselves, for good humanitarian reasons.

As we try to use our food as produced on the farms in America for reasons to benefit the United States, we should be so thankful that we are blessed with the land and the farms of America.

Food is, as we know, a basic key to world peace, and we in America hold that key. As I said in my speech last month to the United Nations General Assembly, the United States recognizes the special responsibility that we bear as the world's largest producer of food. We recognize that responsibility and I think we will accept it. I know it as a matter of fact, because of the people I see here in Iowa today, especially these attractive, enthusiastic, young people in the front of the audience—the cream of Iowa's bountiful crop.

This group of some 600—as I said, the cream of Iowa's bountiful crop—are delegates to the United Nation's Youth Conference Day. I commend Iowa for its emphasis on the United Nations Day, and I thank all of you young people for participating.

Yes, the decisions they make as citizens of this great food-producing State will directly affect the well-being of the citizens of the world—I know that everybody in Iowa is very proud of each and every one of you—and the understanding that they are individually developing of the world situation will serve us all well in the future.

I am convinced that the future is now, right here in Iowa, and I pledge to you today—and especially to all of you young people, whether you are in this group or any other group—that I will do everything in my power to make sure that the American farmer is fully rewarded for his services rendered. America owes that to the American farmer and so does the world.

If I might, let me stress this this morning when I speak to you on this point as a partisan of the American system of Government. Our system rests not only on the balance of urban and rural America, but also on the balance within our Federal Government.

The basic principle underlying our system is balance, a finely tuned balance, the timely balance conceived by the Founding Fathers some 200 years ago among three branches of Government—the delicate balance within the Congress and the country through the two-party system.

This year the polls are telling us that our delicately balanced, two-party system is in some trouble, some jeopardy. If one party upsets that balance and because members of the other party are apathetic, not concerned and as a consequence won't get out and vote, then we stand guilty, as I see it, of abusing the American electoral process and forfeiting our hope for an effective Government. Therefore, with deep conviction I urge you to keep this very great, balanced system intact. Let's not lose an integral, important, essential part of our Government by default.

What concerns me very greatly is the inclination of the American people to consider politics something they would rather not become involved in, which is something in the

minds of too many. As a matter of fact, the sad fact is that less than one American out of 30 has anything to do with politics, with the selection of candidates, the working in a campaign, researching issues, with raising contributions for the election of the candidate, or even running for office. It is almost unbelievable that only one American out of 30 has any connection, direct or indirect, with politics.

My considered judgment is that what this Nation needs less than 2 years from the 200th year of our founding, the 200th birthday of this Nation, is more, not less participation by the citizenry in politics.

To those who say that politics is a dirty word which should be eliminated from government, let me respectfully remind each and every one of you that politics is government. Politics is government—government in action.

There is nothing wrong with the political system of ours that a massive injection of citizenry involvement will not cure. You never win a football game by sitting on the sidelines. You never do well in your business, your profession, on your farm, by doing nothing, and it is precisely the same thing in politics on the Federal level. You want to make a contribution. If you wish to be a participant, get off the sidelines and into the ball game.

I have spent a quarter of a century on Capitol Hill as a Member of the House of Representatives, and I happen to believe that it is important to get out and away from Washington on occasions such as this. I know there are some so-called experts who say the President ought to sit in the Oval Office and listen to bureaucrats telling him what to do, yes or no, or sitting in the Oval Office reading documents that are prepared by people in Washington. I reject that advice. It is more important that I come to Des Moines.

This can be a two-way street. I want to discuss with you my policies and my program, and in turn, I ask for a reaction and recommendation from all of you as to whether we are doing things right or wrong. And if we are doing them wrong, tell us how we can do them better. We solicit your participation. That is one reason I am here in Des Moines. I believe that it is vital that this two-way communication exists.

May I conclude with one other observation. I am told by the political forecasters that in this election year, 1974, there will be less people, a lesser number of eligible voters throughout the country voting on November 5 than at any time in any off-year election for the last 20 or more years. I don't believe that is going to happen. You won't, through apathy, let a minority make a decision for the majority. I only hope that instead of supporting 42 percent of their forecasting who will actually vote, that it will be 50 or 60 percent so that we get a true reflection of what people want done—so the majority makes a decision, not the minority making a determination.

Yes, Congressional, State, and local elections are what it is all about. I say as strongly and as sincerely as I can,

there is no weapon so mighty, no force so powerful, as the silent vote in the privacy of the voting booth.

It is the duty as well as the opportunity of every eligible voter in Iowa and the other 49 States to balance the ledger sheet on good Government.

So, I say to all, this wonderful group of Iowa friends, get out this time, vote as you have never voted before. The future of our American political system depends on your participation. It does in 1974 and it will in the years to come.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. on the east steps of the Iowa State House.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Des Moines, Iowa

The President's Remarks at a Luncheon for Republican Candidates. October 24, 1974

Thank you very much, John. Governor Bob Ray, Lieutenant Governor Neu, Dave Stanley, my former colleagues in the House, Wiley Mayne, Bill Scherle, all of the other fine Republican candidates, and all of you wonderful citizens of the great State of Iowa. Thank you very, very much.

You know, when I saw this grand old ballroom, it brought back to my mind, anyhow, so many happy memories of Tommy Dorsey, Woody Herman, Benny Goodman—some of you can remember it.

As a matter of fact, when my wife, Betty, and I used to go courting, we would go dancing to the music of those old big bands, as we called them. We had a problem, though. Betty had studied modern dance, and I was a former football player.

She was very polite, never really came right out and said I was a lousy dancer—she was much too kind for that—but she did have a rather interesting theory as to why I played center rather than quarterback. She said a center is one of the few positions on a football team where you don't have to move your feet.

Somehow, it seems very appropriate to me that we are holding this political gathering in this fine ballroom. You might, I guess, call this a Congressional square dance. Every 2 years we change partners.

And if you stop to think about it, really, good dancers do have one thing in common with good Congressmen and good Senators—they have to know how to take the right steps. And when it comes to facing the very hard issues and the very difficult problems that we face at home and abroad today, there is only one step our good Republican candidates at this table don't know, and that is the sidestep.

It is my observation in watching the Republican delegation in Congress that they face the problems and they make an honest, conscientious, intelligent effort to solve them. I congratulate Bill Scherle, Wiley Mayne, H. R. Gross, and I congratulate some of those good candidates that you are going to elect on the Republican ticket to send a bigger Republican delegation to Congress next November 5.

You know, I have had this office a relatively short period of time, something like 2½ months. I have found it somewhat difficult to shed some old habits. One of those habits over the last 26 years has been campaigning for fellow Republicans.

I don't know how many times I have been in various Congressional districts in Iowa, but I have always enjoyed it, and I have always been proud of it. I think it is the part of people when called upon to go out and stand up for, campaign for candidates that deserve support.

Now, while my job is different at the present time from what it has been in the past, the call to me is the exact same one. There is just a little major difference in the past 10 years. No one this year can accuse me of campaigning to become Speaker of the House of Representatives.

To be very honest, very frank about it, I believe in this country. I believe in the American people. In the last year, I have traveled all over our country, some 42 out of 50 States, over 128,000 miles, and here is what I have found:

There is work to be done in America. That is why I am here, to seek your support for programs, for policies that I have proposed to the Congress, programs and policies which, in my judgment, will meet our country's pressing needs.

These are programs I have submitted to the Congress that would tackle affirmatively and effectively the problems of inflation, energy overuse, and peace abroad. I am here because I think the elections coming up in a relatively short period of time—12 days to be exact—that is what America's democracy is all about.

It is time for you and your fellow Iowans to speak up for those that you want in Washington to speak up for you, and you have an opportunity in this relatively short period of time to make a difference. You are here because you can make a contribution, but you have got 12 short days to spread your influence, your enthusiasm, your dedication, your conviction.

I think we all recognize there is no force so powerful as that very quiet decision that you and other Iowans and millions of other Americans make in the privacy of the voting booth. I think you here understand the power, and you in the past, because of your dedication and support, have used it wisely, and obviously because you are here you will use it wisely November 5.

Let me make a few observations, if I can, to maybe reach, invigorate some of the enthusiasm that you have, the conviction that you really have.

Your Governor, Bob Ray, is living proof of your wise decision in three previous gubernatorial elections. As I travel around the country, I have an opportunity to see Governors—Democrats as well as Republicans—and I can say without any hesitation, reservation, or qualification, that you in Iowa have in Bob Ray one of the very, very best, and I congratulate you. He is a problem solver, a man of action. He is the kind of Republican leader that I like. And he is the kind you need as your Governor for the next 4 years.

If I might, let's move from Des Moines to Washington. Dave Stanley is campaigning vigorously. He has crossed the State and recrossed it, and he is campaigning for one of the highest offices in our land. He is tireless, imaginative, experienced—a man committed to squeezing the last bit, the last bit of spending out of the taxpayer's dollar, so that you get a good return for the dollars you send to Washington, D.C. And I urge you as strongly as I can to send Dave Stanley to Washington.

On January 3, 1949, I had the privilege of being sworn in alongside of H. R. Gross. Let me make this prediction: The House of Representatives will never be the same without him. H. R. Gross has been the conscience of the House of Representatives for more than 25 years, and he has been a tremendous saver of the taxpayers' dollars. Believe me, he set a high standard. We need more people like H. R. Gross on the Washington scene in the House as well as in the Senate.

Bill Scherle and Wiley Mayne I served with, and I can give a personal testimonial about both of them. They worked with me, they were helpful, yet they could be independent. When they had deep convictions, they differed with me, and I respect them for it.

They are not rubber stamps for the Republican Party. They were not rubber stamps for me. But they make a tremendous, conscientious, effective—I think—intelligent effort to represent their respective districts. And I hope and trust that both Wiley Mayne and Bill Scherle are sent back with a sound, strong vote from their districts.

I have had the privilege of looking into the backgrounds and qualifications of your other Congressional candidates. I know one or two of them, but Jim Leach, Charley Grassley, Tom Riley, Charles Dick—they are out campaigning, and they need your help. And we need their kind of representation in the House of Representatives. I urge you, I implore you to give them the hand that will get you and, I think, us a victory on November 5.

Let me be quite categorical and explain as I see it why we need tightfisted Members of the House and Senate to help us in this battle against inflation.

In every poll that I see, whether it is national or in Iowa, there is a clear indication that inflation is the one problem that transcends all others, and it is the one problem where the American people want some action by their Government—and for good reason.

Inflation means money stolen out of your pocketbook by a thief as real as a pickpocket. The rising cost of living is a problem which is not matched in magnitude nor equaled in its impact on our Nation's future.

I didn't come all this way out to Iowa to talk to you or tell you about a problem that you know as much about as I do or as any other politician does. I came out here to tell you that in my judgment we have got a program that will be an answer, and we want Members of the Congress sent down who are going to help us find those answers.

We searched very hard for the right answers, and I think we have now a better understanding as a result of our various mini-summit and summit economic meetings. It is now time, as I look at it, not to point the finger of blame at just a few people or a few institutions. Most institutions—and I think most people—are involved in the inflationary process. But just as much responsibility, if not more so, for inflation today rests squarely on the Federal Government, the Congress in Washington, D.C. And that is where we better do something about it.

We came to some other conclusions in these various meetings that we had where business, labor, education, housing, economists contributed very significantly to the thoughts and the recommendations that we finally put together in a 31-point program package. But we came to some other conclusions.

There is no quick fix. There is no easy cure for the inflationary illness that we face. It is going to take some time, some patience, and, just as importantly, some work.

You know, some of my political opposition have said the plan I submitted was a marshmallow. It didn't ask for anybody to bite the bullet very hard. Well, then just a couple of days ago, I saw and then I read the anti-inflation program put forth by the opposition.

Well, if mine was a marshmallow, theirs was a lemon.

The second observation that we came to is that victory over inflation is going to require some short-term sacrifices to serve our long-term well-being in America. As I said, in the 31-point program to Congress and my daily dozen suggestions to the American people, the burden will have to be evenly distributed. It will not be borne if we implement the recommendations that I have proposed—the burden will not be borne by those least able to afford it.

The third point—and this is where my former colleagues in the Congress and the prospective ones come into play—there must be a substantial cut in the amount of Federal spending this year as well as next year.

The remainder of this year, I have urged the Congress to make a cut of about \$5.5 billion, and next year we are going to hold the lid on unless the Congress blows it off.

Now finally, we are in a very serious battle where national unity is every bit as important as it has been for the past national crises, whether they were from outside or from within.

If we do not march shoulder-to-shoulder together, we will fall by the wayside one-by-one.

I am determined to win this fight. I know that there have been some unhappy people with some of the suggestions I have made. Yes, I have made some power interests somewhat unhappy, but these are tough decisions I have to make, and the Congress has to make, and all of you have to make.

If we don't, nobody will. Unfortunately, the problem has waited too long to be tackled. Unfortunately, it will not go away.

Now the first shot being fired in the war against inflation will come out of the ballot box November 5. And I implore you to have that a shot heard round the world, or at least around the country. And if it is, the country will be far better off.

You might ask yourself, what can your vote accomplish. The answer is very simple: It can send to the Congress men and women who are not big spenders.

Look at the record. Look at the promises. We need men and women in Congress who can say no to programs and to policies and projects which are completely unnecessary at the present time—programs that we can get along without for the time being.

We don't need men and women in Congress who talk about halting inflation or cutting spending in their home State, their home Congressional district, and vote the opposite way in the Congress.

Let me add a personal postscript, if I might. Wiley Mayne, Bill Scherle, H. R. Gross—they talk like they vote. They are against big spending, and I can show you the record to prove it. And that is why you ought to send them back there.

But I have a second postscript, if I might. Dave Stanley is a man who has the same dedication for saving, who has the same opposition to spending, and although I know his opponent and his record, I can assure you that Dave Stanley is a saver, and his opponent is a big, big spender.

Now, the next Congress needs Members who will, in my judgment, rise above short-term thinking, Representatives who recognize that the red ink route that we have traveled for 19 out of the last 25 years is a losing game, losing from the point of view of our Nation's future.

Nobody benefits from inflation—not business, not labor, not the rich, not the poor, not the farmers, not anybody. It is the losing proposition across the board. Everybody gets hurt. Oh, I know it is easy to yield to that temptation to give people what some politicians think they want, but I remind you a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

Despite some of the skeptics, the foundation of our economy in all 50 States is strong. It has been the most productive economy in the history of civilization. We have an abundance beyond the wildest imagination of our parents or our grandparents.

We are able to share, fortunately, our wealth with the poor of our own Nation as well as the poor of the world, but we must defend this economy from the attacks which would erode it.

Now, some of my friends in the opposition seem to think that what is needed to solve the problem is a veto-proof Congress. The fact of the matter is, it was a heavy Democratic majority over the years which helped to create most of the problems we face domestically.

Therefore, I think it is fair to say we do not need a Congress or we don't need to make a Congress immune from veto. We do need to make our Nation safe from inflation. What we need is not a veto-proof Congress. Let's take the affirmative. What we need is an inflation-proof Congress.

That is why you need—frankly, why I need—in Washington Members of Congress who will join me in making some of these very hard decisions—decisions to cut spending, to cut the budget, to cut the red tape and, as I said before, to cut the mustard.

With that kind of teamwork, we can get the job done. With that kind of support, we will do what we promised—we will whip inflation, we will effect savings in energy, we will save our natural resources, we will be on our way to our 200th birthday in 1976 strong, stable, prosperous in a world of peace.

Some of my dear friends on the other side of the political aisle at election time make promises to be fiscal watchdogs and keepers of the Treasury, but we can see by the way they spend your money they have failed year after year after year.

Statistics prove it, the facts are there, the problems we face today were spawned over the last 42 years by programs and policies of the opposition party which has controlled the Congress of the United States, both the House and the Senate, 38 out of the last 42 years.

To make the point even more emphatic, they have controlled the House and the Senate in the national Congress the last 20 years consecutively.

Let me add this as a postscript: There is not a dime of money spent by a President that is not appropriated by the Congress. So they are responsible for the excessive spending that has caused most of our inflation.

The question that I want you to ponder today is, are you, are we, going to continue down that same path, that same road which produced the problems in the first place—problems of ever-rising prices, of piling more centralization of power in Washington, of undermining our foreign relations with handcuff-like restrictions on the policies of the President and the Secretary of State?

We have got to do better than that today. What happened in the past was largely the failure of a legislative dictatorship by a party so smug in its seniority and its power that it no longer responded to the true needs of the people.

I except the members of the leadership in the House and Senate of the Democratic Party. They have tried, they have sought to be helpful, at least to me, as the President, and I can testify as to that, but their troops run wild.

Therefore, I urge you today, I urge all Americans, to vote with your heads as well as your hearts, but most important, vote. Don't let that most precious liberty ever devised by man disappear because it was ignored. Pull the lever, and cast your vote a week from Tuesday for candidates of the political party that brought peace to this country and stability to the world.

Cast your vote for the party that will, with a cooperative Congress, restore stability to America's economy and inject commonsense into its Government.

With God's help and your hand, we will go down that path together with confidence, understanding, and with the greatness that still lies before us. We can say honestly with conviction. We are proud to be Americans, proud of America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:55 p.m. at the Val Air Ballroom, West Des Moines, Iowa.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Commodity Futures Trading Commission Act of 1974

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. October 24, 1974

I am pleased to announce that I have signed into law H.R. 13113, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission Act of 1974.

This act will provide the first major overhaul of the existing Commodity Exchange Act since its inception by establishing a new regulatory structure to apply to all commodity futures trading. This is an objective which I fully support.

This legislation was prompted by increasing concern that Federal regulation of commodity futures trading is too narrow in scope and that the present regulatory system is inadequate. In the past few years, the Federal Government has disposed of large accumulations of minerals and agricultural commodities. But present stocks are not large enough to stabilize prices. The recent market situation has been characterized by widely swinging prices. The futures markets have become increasingly important to our marketing system—with the value of futures trading now totaling \$500 billion annually.

The increased trading has attracted more speculators and vastly increased the potential for unethical and illegal practices. This has resulted in failures of financial firms and losses by innocent investors.

Consumers also have suffered, since the gyrations of the futures markets have, in some cases, driven up prices to consumers.

It is important that futures trading take place under conditions in which traders and the public have full confidence in the system. This new law is an important step in this direction.

Unfortunately, in passing an otherwise desirable bill, the Congress has incorporated three objectionable provisions which would enable the new Commodity Futures Trading Commission to compromise traditional executive branch functions. I find these provisions unacceptable as well as being unnecessary for the effective operation of the Commission.

The first one would require the concurrent submission of Commission budget requests to Congress and to the President or to the Office of Management and Budget. This would in effect undercut the provisions of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, which requires the President to submit to Congress a single coordinated budget. It also represents a retreat from my goal of reduced Federal spending, since it will make it more difficult for me to review all requests for Federal spending in advance of submission to Congress.

Second, as with the budget requests, it would require concurrent submission of the Commission's legislative proposals. If extended to other agencies, such a requirement would make it difficult for me to develop and present to the Congress a coherent, coordinated legislative program.

Third, the Commission is empowered to appoint an Executive Director, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This raises serious constitutional questions, by providing for an executive branch appointment in a manner not contemplated by the Constitution. This encroachment on the separation of powers can easily be corrected by deletion of the request for Senate confirmation of the Executive Director.

Nevertheless, because of the need for better regulation of commodity futures trading, I have signed H.R. 13113, notwithstanding my strong objections to these three provisions which erode necessary executive control. I will submit to the Congress legislation which would correct these three provisions, and I will strongly urge its passage during this session of the 93d Congress.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 13113) is Public Law 93-463, approved October 23, 1974.

The statement was released at Des Moines, Iowa.

Melvin, Illinois

The President's Remarks at a Celebration at the Melvin Fairgrounds Honoring Representative Leslie C. Arends. October 24, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Les Arends, Betty Arends, Louella Dirksen, my dear friend Charlie Halleck, Bill Springer. We are kind of old-timers, but then there are some new ones—Cliff Carlson, George O'Brien, Ed Madigan, George Burditt, your candidate for the Senate, Bill Scott—well, a number of outstanding, wonderful servants of the people of the great State of Illinois.

It is almost unbelievable for me to be in Melvin and see this magnificent crowd. You would not think it could happen any place in the country except you know and I know and Charley Halleck knows and Louella Dirksen knows what a great, great guy Les Arends is. And that is why all of us are here.

I am sure that many of you made a much bigger effort than I, but we are here because you know and I know and literally thousands of other people know that Les Arends gave 110 percent in anything he ever did. He did it for you all in this Congressional district. He did it for the State, and he did it for the country. He did it for his family, his friends. Les Arends, on each and every occasion that he ever undertook to do anything, made the most maximum effort, and that is why you love him—we do; why you respect him, and why we do.

Les, I can't thank you enough for those years that we worked in tandem trying to lead the minority to do a responsible and constructive job with the help of many, many others. I think we developed a close, warm, deep, personal relationship that has not been matched by any that I have ever had in the Congress, or almost anyplace. And for that experience, Les—a very personal one—I thank you very much.

It has already been alluded to, but aside from the reasons I have just given for being here on behalf of Les, there are not many Ford Counties in the whole United States. We don't have one in Michigan, so I am here just to get acquainted with a lot of people from Ford County. I don't know whether any of my ancestors ever settled here, but if not, obviously they should have, with one exception: If they ever had, and Les Arends had been in Congress, I would never have made it to Washington, D.C.

The weather, the location, the people just make this an ideal setting for this testimonial to Les. I am told Melvin has a population of roughly 500, and Les' comment as he was speaking indicated that, well, maybe you might lose an inch or two with all the people.

Let me add this postscript, if I can. All of you—the 500 of you from Melvin—are so darned proud of Les, you

will just stand up and take charge, and you are not going to sink one inch—one one-eighth of an inch because you have something that will never be forgotten in the history of Melvin, and that is Les Arends.

I have been told that three Presidents have visited Melvin and they all appeared for the same, the precise, the identical reason—to tell all of you in Melvin and all of you who have come from many other places, the high regard that all of us have for Les Arends.

I looked at the history. I thought I knew it about Les—20 terms, 40 years. It will be a sad day in Washington, D.C., when Les Arends takes the final step out of Room 2306 in the Rayburn Building. Sometime in January, that will be the last time Les Arends will leave an office building where he had the honor to serve all of you in the House of Representatives.

The history books record that out of the 9,442 elected Members of the House of Representatives, from the very beginning until the last election, only 10 of them—10 out of 9,442—have spent a longer time in the House of Representatives than Les Arends. So his name and his service will go down in the history books of our country.

Now I know, as I look across this tremendous crowd that is paying tribute to Les Arends, that your grandparents and your great-grandparents, in some instances, and your parents, and literally hundreds of you have participated in sending Les Arends to Congress for these 20 elections.

It is a lot easier, Les, as you know, to get to Washington today than it was that first trip. When you first left in 1934, it was either a long, bumpy drive—probably took 3 to 4 days—or maybe it was a pretty rough railroad trip. But you made it every year. You served conscientiously, constructively, with compassion, with firmness. All the accolades that have come Les Arends' way, he richly deserves.

I am told that back in the 1934 election, Les was campaigning to unseat an incumbent Democrat. And that was not a very good year for Republicans, as many of you may remember, but Les won. And his opponent, who he defeated, the incumbent, was pretty upset. After the election he was quoted as saying he didn't mind getting beat, but he didn't like the idea of being licked by a pair of long legs.

Well, I think all of you know that it was not Les' legs that endeared him to you; it was his door-to-door, his barnyard-to-barnyard campaigning that did it. He started it in 1934, and for the next 19 elections he did the same thing. In his own inimitable way, Les Arends got to know people, he got to know their problems, and he indicated a desire to work to solve those problems. He didn't ask whether a person was a Democrat, an independent, or a Republican. He did it the way Abe Lincoln did.

Les Arends wanted to solve problems of people and do what was right for the district and the State and the

country, and for those reasons Les never had much trouble. He was respected, admired, and loved.

On the issues—and I know intimately because we had some tough ones in recent years—Les never looked at the problem from a political sense. He looked at those problems from the point of view of what was right, and he voted the way he thought it was right for people in the country. And that basic ingredient, which is so necessary in this day and age made it possible for Les to serve this district for so long. I don't have to embellish his record; it speaks for itself. He did a great job in a period of time which was unique in our country's history.

Let me cite a few figures, a fact or two, to indicate the change that went on in this country from 1934 until today—this span of time, four decades, when Les Arends did a job for all of you.

When Les entered the Congress in 1935, the Federal budget for everything was \$6 billion. Isn't that right, Charlie? Les? Six billion dollars to run everything for the Federal Government. Now it is \$305 billion. We are trying to cut it about \$5.4 billion.

Back in 1934, Les Arends entered Congress, and at that time the Federal payroll for everybody was \$780,582. Today it is over \$2 billion, something around \$2.1 billion.

Back in 1935, the budget for the Army, the Navy—there was not an Air Force; it was the Air Corps in those days—the total budget for the Department of Defense—they didn't actually have that in those days—but for whatever we bought for guns and aircraft was under \$1 billion. Today it is \$88 billion.

Back in those days, the national debt was \$29 billion, and it was forecast as a catastrophe for America. I hate to admit it now, but today the national debt is \$507 billion.

I don't bring these facts and figures up to indicate in any way whatsoever that Les Arends had anything to do with what took place or the things that happened—just the opposite. Les fought against deficit financing; he did his utmost to hold down the growth of the Federal deficits and national debt. But I can't help but indicate that in these four decades, this 40 years, Les Arends was in the majority only four out of 40 years, so whatever happened that made these things go wrong, it was not Les' fault. He didn't control, or he was not in the majority.

One thing that always impressed me about Les—he was a member of the Committee on Armed Services. He had a substantial part in helping us catch up to get prepared to eventually win against the dictators—Hitler, Mussolini. He helped us gear up to take care of the problems that resulted from an invasion of an ally, South Korea. It was Les Arends who made sure from the very beginning that the only way to make sure that we would win the peace and keep the peace was through strength.

I am proud of that record of Les Arends, and all of you

are proud of the record. You know as well as I do that peace comes from strength, and war comes from weakness.

There is one other fact that I think is a tribute, Les. Charlie Halleck and I and others who have served in the Congress know of the vital role that a whip plays. I didn't know it until I came to the Congress, but I have learned of the importance of that key responsibility in any legislative body, but particularly in the House of Representatives where you had 435 Members.

Les Arends served as whip of the House—of the Republicans in the House of Representatives from 1943 until now, the longest service of a whip in either the Democratic or Republican Parties in the history of the House of Representatives. That is a tribute to him beyond almost anything.

Let me just conclude with one final observation and comment. Just before the House recessed, I was up on Capitol Hill, and I saw a good many of the Republicans as well as Democratic leaders. We were chatting about what they were going to do and what I was going to do after the recess began and before the election on November 5, and I indicated to the Democratic as well as Republican leaders that I was coming out to Melvin to pay tribute to one of the great Members of the Congress in the history of that legislative body.

Les, everybody on both sides of the aisle in the leadership and many, many others with whom you have served, whether they are Democratic or Republican, asked me to say to you that they are proud of their personal relationship, they are indebted to you for their friendship with you, and they asked me to say to the people who are gathered here today, and I will as a personal remark: We are all deeply indebted to you for your service, your friendship, and your example as a great, great American.

Thank you for the opportunity of being here in Melvin on this occasion.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. at the Melvin Fairgrounds, Melvin, Ill.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Chicago, Illinois

The President's Remarks at the United Republican Fund Dinner. October 24, 1974

Thank you very much, Dan.¹

Let me add to the commercial with a very short sentence. I am familiar with the United Fund. I approve of it. I congratulate it. And I endorse it. And I know the results. Keep it up. It is great.

¹ Dan Terra, president of the United Republican Fund of Illinois.

Let me change the format or the style just a minute, if I might, of this wonderful evening. One of the wonderful things about traveling around is the opportunity to see some old friends. And there is one in the audience tonight.

Forty years ago, when the United Fund was started, I was an ambitious athlete over at the University of Michigan. And in those days we played, as we do now, Northwestern. The Wolverines and the Wildcats have a great tradition.

Well, back in 1934, Michigan and Northwestern had one of those traditional struggles. I was a center and there was a very outstanding guard playing for Northwestern by the name of Rip Whalen. He gave me a hard time, but he was very kind. And as a result of his kindness, I was able to go with Dick Handley and the Shrine's team to play on New Year's Day at the annual Shrine's West game in San Francisco.

Rip Whalen is here. He is a great guard. I know he has to be a good Republican. Rip, will you stand up?

Chuck Percy, Bill Scott, Les Arends, my former colleagues in the House, your two former Governors—Ogilvie and Stranton—and your outstanding candidate for the United States Senate, George Burditt, Harry Page, and all the rest of the candidates for reelection or candidates against inflation:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to be here at this 40th anniversary of the United Republican Fund of Illinois.

And, Dan, I thank you and Bill Croft for the super participation that you give to what I think is a most worthwhile organization.

It is also wonderful to be in Chicago, the home of the Bears—and I understand my old friend, George Halas, is out here—the home of the Bulls, and the kangaroo.

You know, that is what I like about Chicago. You could always count on exciting things happening in the Windy City.

Dan Terra tells me the way that kangaroo has been dodging tacklers lately, there is a big controversy in the city of Chicago over what to do with him when they do catch him. The Chicago police want to put him in the zoo; the Chicago Bears want to put him in the backfield; and, of course, the Democrats in Chicago want to register him—at least once!

I was talking to my old friend, George "Papa Bear" Halas before the dinner, and I was telling him how, since I became President, I am usually introduced as Dan did, in a very stately and dignified manner.

This particular occasion that I will mention—the format was a little different. I was introduced by a former teammate of mine at the University of Michigan, and I will never forget that introduction. He said, and I quote, "Ladies and gentlemen, it might interest you to know that I played football with Jerry Ford for 2 years, and it made

a lasting impression on me. I was a quarterback, Jerry Ford was the center. And you might say it gave me a completely different view of the President."

Chicago is getting to be quite a habit with me, as well as my bride, Betty, and both of us love the place. I was here in June for a Congressional booster's fundraiser and again at a small dinner for the State Senate incumbents and their candidates. And Betty was here in September for a luncheon honoring Republican women candidates.

I might say, incidentally, Betty, who is a native of Chicago, sends her love. She is doing excellently, and she hopes to be back here again in Chicago real soon to see her old friends.

I happen to think as a Michigander it is true what they say about the big dynamic city of Chicago. It looks tough on the outside, but at heart, as all of you know, it is a real softy, a warm and very friendly place, and I thank you for your warm and enthusiastic welcome here tonight.

That is why I am glad to be back, and that is why I am so proud—and I say this with conviction and enthusiasm—of the outstanding, the fine slate of candidates of the Republican Party which you are fielding here for this great election on November 5.

Chicago is one of the biggest, the best, one of the outstanding communities in our whole United States. It deserves the best, and your blue-ribbon slate, in my judgment, is an outstanding group that every one of you should support from top to bottom.

I sat and listened to the people that preceded me—Governor Burditt, Harry Page, Chuck Percy, Bill Croft, Dan Terra—every one of them super guys dedicated to the same basic principles that each and every one of us espouses, principles that are sound, constructive, good for America. And I hope and trust that George and Harry and the rest, including Pete Bensinger, are elected on November 5.

I have known Chuck Percy a long, long time. As a matter of fact, back in 1949, wasn't it, Chuck, he and I, along with eight others, were selected by the Jaycees as one of the 10 outstanding young men in America. That was my first exposure to Chuck, and I was impressed then.

I know of his quality and his caliber now. Chuck, you need to go with you the kind of a Senator that George Burditt can give in the United States Senate.

I have listened to a lot of 5-minute speeches, and those of us who served in the House of Representatives know that we have a 5-minute limitation, but George Burditt gave one of the finest, I think, soundest speeches on the fundamental issue that faces us in this country that I have ever heard, and I congratulate you, George.

Needless to say, I thank Dan and Bill Croft. They work in the trenches every day and get little or no recognition, and a word from me, I hope, will be some benefit to the hours and hours of sacrifice that you have made. We are all very, very grateful.

Since this campaign began and since I became President roughly 2½ months ago, I traveled a good bit in America, according to my staff about 128,000 miles, and I am going to travel some more primarily because I happen to believe that a President of the United States, if he has conviction and dedication, if he believes in the principles and the policies, ought to get out and try to sell them.

He should not sit in the Oval Office barricaded from the reaction of people, citizens—Republicans, Democrats, or independents. A President of the United States who has some belief and real down-to-earth feeling about what ought to be done for America ought to come out and say something, speak up for what he believes, and in reciprocity listen to the people of this great country.

So, I traveled, and I am going to travel. I think people are concerned about the quality of our Government. People are worried about where we are heading as a nation and what is being done about the problems that we face, both home and abroad. And people are fed up about corruption in Government, whether it is graft at the local level or abuse of power at the top.

I think it is up to those of us in political life to give the kind of leadership, the kind of example that Americans can honestly and truly believe in, and that is what the Illinois GOP has done here in Cook County, as well as throughout the State.

Now, I know there are some political prophets throughout the United States, a good many of them in Washington, who think the game is up, that we ought to quit, that people are going to stampede blindly into the Democratic column, for good, good reason, but just for some inward reaction that they have.

When the chips are down, I don't think that is going to happen, and that is why I am here tonight. I have been in political life in the Congress and in the office of the Vice President, and now as President, for almost 26 years. I have seen a lot of elections. I have heard a lot of wise predictions. They were almost always wrong.

Frankly, it is about the only thing that you could count on—that they could be inaccurate—because no one really knows what the individual voter is going to do in the sanctity of that voting booth. They will tell you one thing when they are being polled. But they might very well do something different as they sit and contemplate in that voting booth.

The only rule of thumb I know—and it is one that has never failed me—was taught to me by one of my very dearest friends. He was a great Congressman, a super Senator, and probably the greatest orator of this era. And because of a warm and personal relationship that I had with him, I will never forget him.

His wife, Louella Dirksen, is here. He came from Illinois. His name was Ev. We used to have what we called "The Ev and Jerry Show" when we were in the minority and the opposition held the White House.

I very vividly recall one afternoon when Ev and I were talking, just chatting before one of these press conferences—television programs in Ev's office. Ev was a giant among giants. I have always wished that I had some of the qualities and capabilities that Ev had.

But anyhow, at that time the war in Vietnam was going full blast, inflation was then a problem, the Democrats had swamped us in 1964, and a lot of people were saying that the Republican Party was finished.

Well, frankly, I was feeling a little blue, let down, and, quite frankly, very discouraged. And I told Ev of my reaction. Ev, in his inimitable way, paused for a moment, looked at me and said, "Jerry, don't let it get you down. You just keep in there doing your best for the people, and the people will do their best for you."

I think that was the best advice I ever got in a political sense. Ev was right then as he was right for many, many years.

Well, in my lifetime in the political arena, that advice worked for me in Congress, and I think it will work for me in the White House. But to do my best for the people and for America, I am going to need the help, the assistance, the support of good people, men and women, in the Congress of the United States—men and women who will forthrightly fight excessive Government spending and will make an honest and conscientious effort to do something in the battle against inflation which I think is public enemy number one. And all the polls that are taken indicate that that is the feeling of the American people.

What we need, what we must have if we are to see America through this very difficult economic period is not a veto-proof Congress but, in my judgment, an inflation-proof Congress. And that is the issue on November 5.

All of you are a very sophisticated group. You have learned that in life problems that plague you at home or the office or elsewhere—the really big problems that you have—just don't spring up overnight, and they don't get solved overnight either. And, of course, inflation is precisely that kind of a problem.

It has been building up over a long period of years like a disease in our economy. Curing it, unfortunately, will take a little time, but it can be done with the right kind of a program, patience, work, dedication.

Let's take a minute to analyze why it happened, how it happened. There is no single answer, I concede, but there is an answer that ought to be reflected here. One big reason is excessive Federal spending over a long, long period of time.

This excessive spending that has gone on and on seems to go hand in glove with the problems of an increase in the cost of living. Each unbalanced budget, each wasteful spending bill rammed through the Congress has added to your cost of living and Federal inflation.

It is legitimate to ask—and I concede this—who is to blame? I recognize there are many villains, but the biggest

burden of guilt lies specifically on the shoulders of the big spenders in the Congress of the United States.

The fact of life is that one political party has run the Congress, as Les Arends knows and others here in this head table complex likewise know. One political party has run the Congress, opened up the Nation's purse strings—your tax dollars—for 38 out of the last 42 years and, incidentally, unfortunately, for the last 20 years consecutively.

So I think it is pretty simple that if excessive Federal spending is the principal villain, those in control of the Congress have to bear the responsibility. That party is the Democratic Party, and we cannot, as I look at it anyhow, allow it to drive the budget deeper and deeper into the red and the rate of inflation higher and higher in the blue sky.

That is why each of you is more important than ever this year when so much, such a crucial part of our society actually hangs in the balance. Your enthusiasm tonight is tremendous, your support I am deeply grateful for, your volunteer work which I have heard about is unbelievable, your vote November 5—these are the keys that we can use in whipping inflation and preserving a two-party system in the United States.

Here in Illinois you are lucky. George Burditt referred to it and very eloquently. You have 12 great Republican Members of the House of Representatives running for reelection—Bob Michel, Ed Derwinski, John Anderson, Paul Findley, Bob McClory, John Erlenborn, Tom Railsback, Phil Crane, George O'Brien, Ed Madigan, Bob Hanrahan, Sam Young. I can tell you from personal experience, and I have seen a lot of Members of the House come and go—sort of like Greyhound buses—but the truth is that your delegation—and I have mentioned them—is outstanding. You should be proud of them, and you should support them wholeheartedly. They will do a first-class job on your behalf.

Each of these individuals, great and good friends of mine—and, believe me, they basically were invaluable when I was minority leader in the House—are hard-hitting inflation fighters, and I am sure that the candidates you fielded to challenge the incumbent Democrats deserve your full support.

I could say easily, because I feel it, that I want them there for good and sufficient reasons, that, for example, I can depend on them, but that is really only one of the keys in the formula. You need them, Illinois needs them, and the country needs them.

So, I urge you from the bottom of my heart that you maximize your effort, make that last minute contribution, that last minute effort to make sure that they come back to serve you and to serve our country. But you just don't fight inflation in Washington. The battlefield, as I see it, is the whole country, every State, every county, every city.

So, I hope that you will equally support your Republican candidates for the State legislature. They can give you responsible, economical actions down in your State capital, and a State capital today under our system of trying to transfer power from Washington to your capital and ours in Michigan is an important citadel of strength, good judgment.

The Republican Party has a major purpose. It has had from Lincoln's day to the present: to be just, to be fair, to be responsible, to stand up for what is right for America, and to give America the kind of government that is good for us individually, for our people collectively, for the world at large.

If I might just say that some of the big spenders who have ideas about programs for one individual or one segment of our society, their motives may be good, but the money they spend and the direction they take their Government, in my judgment, is bad. And, as I used to sit in the House with Les and John Anderson, Bob Michel, and the rest, I often used to think as these programs sort of flowed out of one committee after another, didn't those proponents ever understand that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

As I have looked through the pages of history, trying to analyze what one political party or another has done for our people and to see if we were wrong and the opposition was right, it is my thoughtful, honest judgment that the Republican Party historically has stood the test.

It ended, in our recent memory, the longest and the bloodiest war in America's history. It has begun the long, hard process of returning the power from Washington back to our local and State units of government—government back to the people from those that wanted to control everything in the Nation's Capital, returning authority and discretion to locally elected officials who are under your more careful scrutiny.

The Republican Party, as I have seen it, has made an honest, determined effort to give you a program that will fight inflation, conserve our energy, and keep our economy strong.

Now, I was criticized for submitting a 31-point program to the Congress a couple of weeks ago. Some of my Democratic critics called it a marshmallow approach. Well, then I had the opportunity just the other night to listen to one of the leading spokesmen for the Democrats coming up with their program.

Well, if mine was a marshmallow, theirs was a lemon.

Let me conclude with this: We can make headway both at home and abroad. We have got a good program. We just need a few more troops. We can't afford to lose some of the outstanding people that have been with us—some much longer than others, some newcomers. They are all good, but we have got some great problems here at home, and we have got some serious ones abroad.

I can recall vividly coming to the Congress on Janu-

ary 3, 1949. At that time, we had just ended World War II, and our country was embarked on a great bipartisan effort to have a foreign policy in America that would keep the peace won so wonderfully in Europe and the Pacific.

There was a Democratic President by the name of Harry Truman who worked very successfully with a Republican Congress, the 80th Congress, and this bipartisan effort was successful in laying the foundation for peace, a foundation that developed the North Atlantic Treaty.

It laid the foundation for strength in doing what was right from a humanitarian point of view in Latin America or in Africa or Southeast Asia. It was a bipartisanship that was predicated on politics stopping at the water's edge. And as we look back over the last 25 or 30 years, that kind of approach has been highly successful in meeting the challenge of those who have a different political philosophy or a governmental point of view.

We have some terribly serious problems facing us, yes, at home, but equally abroad. The Middle East still is a tinderbox. Unfortunately, two good allies—Greece and Turkey—are at sword's points over Cyprus. We have problems in the Pacific. We are trying to build a new relationship with the People's Republic of China, which needs a very, very careful maneuvering to be sure that it is right and strong and sound.

We are trying to broaden a détente with Moscow. What we need today is a strong continuation of that bipartisanship that was so successful in the post-World War II era. If that bipartisanship is ruptured, if that bipartisanship is torn asunder, our problems worldwide can be complicated.

Let me say so that it is not construed to be partisan, in recent weeks I, as a Republican President, had the full support of the Democratic leadership in the House and Senate, but their troops were all over the lot, and the net result is we may have some difficulties.

So, as I conclude, let me just add this final comment: You elect the right kind of a Congress, and we will solve our problems at home and will meet those challenges abroad for the benefit of all of us—Democrats, Republicans, and independents.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

National Advisory Council on Adult Education

Announcement of Appointment of Five Members of the Council. October 25, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of five persons to be members of the National Advisory Council

on Adult Education for terms expiring July 10, 1977. They are:

- ARCHIE L. BUFFKINS, of Princess Anne, Md., chancellor of the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore, Princess Anne, Md. He succeeds Donald F. Rodgers whose term expired.
- MARY A. GREFE, of Des Moines, Iowa, 1972 Delegate to UNESCO Conference on Adult Education and past president of Des Moines Adult Education Council. She succeeds William P. Miller whose term expired.
- REUBEN T. GUENTHER, of Bismarck, N. Dak., assistant State director for the State Board of Vocational Education. He succeeds Anne Hopkins whose term expired.
- ARTHUR L. TERRAZAS, JR., of La Salle, Colo., teacher, English as a second language and adult basic education. He succeeds James Stratten whose term expired.
- JUDITH NIXON TURNBULL, of Chicago, Ill., executive vice president/associate publisher of Tuesday Publications, Inc., of Chicago. She succeeds Mrs. Richard Trombla whose term expired.

The Council shall advise the Commissioner of Education in the preparation of general regulations and with respect to policy matters arising in the administration of adult education, including policies and procedures governing the approval of State plans and policies to eliminate duplication, and to effectuate the coordination of programs offering adult education activities and services. The Council reports annually to the President, and the President transmits each such report to the Congress together with his comments and recommendations.

Veterans Day, 1974

The President's Remarks at Ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery. October 28, 1974

Mr. Smith, Mr. Roudebush, Mr. Holt, Sergeant Littrell, distinguished representatives of America's veterans organizations and their auxiliaries, my fellow Americans:

Today, as we all know, is a very special day for all Americans. But to those of us who are veterans ourselves, it has a very special and added meaning. Memories come back of families and old comrades—of distant days and places from the past. Some of those friends are still with us, sharing in the challenges of peace, just as they did their duty in wartime. Others we shall never see again. But they, especially, are here with us in spirit in the shadow of the Tomb of the Unknowns.

We are all here today and we are all free today because for nearly 200 years, whenever freedom has been threatened, gallant men and women have answered the call of their country. From all branches of the services they risked and sometimes gave their lives for this Nation.

We owe more than we can ever repay to the veterans of all wars in which this Nation has been involved. But today, if I might, I would like to emphasize our debt to the Vietnam veterans.

They served in spite of the most difficult psychological pressures. They served at a time when many of their peers and their elders were denouncing service to one's country as immoral. They served while some avoided service. And they served without the full moral support that this Nation has usually given to its fighting forces.

Nevertheless, the veterans of the Vietnam generation served with high professional competence, with courage, and with honor. America has a deep moral obligation to these fine men and fine women. As they served us in war, so must we serve them in peace. As they protected our freedom and prosperity, so must we see to it that they participate fully in the benefits that our system offers.

It has been said that the forgotten men of the Vietnam conflict are those who served. They are the silent heroes of their generation. Too often those who failed in their duty have monopolized the headlines and distorted the image of their generation. I intend to see to it that the silent heroes—the more than 6½ million Americans who served their country in the Vietnam era with quiet courage—are not forgotten. And I intend to make it certain, just as certain as well, that the men missing in action are not forgotten. And to their families and their friends I make this pledge: I will do everything possible to resolve the uncertainty of their status.

It should be a source of great pride to all of us that this country is now providing higher education and training to 1¼ million veterans of the Vietnam era. But, like all of us, they are feeling the pinch of inflation and feeling it badly. With this in mind, we have proposed that their wide range of benefits be increased to keep up with the cost of living.

I am particularly concerned, however, with the plight of the young veteran without a job, especially if he is a disabled member or one of a minority group. For several months now a special interagency task force has been at work developing a program to meet his needs. My assistants have met with representatives of a number of Vietnam veterans organizations at the White House and elsewhere to get their views and to get their opinions.

This task force has submitted a jobs for veterans plan of action with the objective of recruiting and hiring into the Government at least 70,000 Vietnam-era veterans during fiscal year 1975. I am ordering Federal departments and agencies to move and to move now on this action plan, to make sure these veterans are hired as quickly as possible.

I am glad to report that important progress is already being made. Unemployment among veterans has dropped fortunately since its peak in 1971, but we are not satisfied.

The National Alliance of Businessmen deserves a great deal of credit for this progress. They have mounted an effective private sector job program for veterans. They have set high goals, and they have met them. This coming year they hope to provide 200,000 jobs for veterans, in-

cluding the placement of some 7,500 disabled veterans. I commend them. They are doing a magnificent job. They deserve the admiration, respect, and cooperation of all Americans.

However, we have another major moral commitment to the American veteran. It is, as Lincoln put it, "to care for him who shall have borne the battle." To do so, America has created one of the largest, most comprehensive government health systems in the world—our Veterans Administration hospitals and clinics throughout our 50 States.

On the whole, the Veterans Administration has done a very fine job under very, very difficult circumstances. Despite repeated and often complicated changes in the laws governing veterans health benefits, despite the many complex new developments in medicine itself, and despite nearly 1,800,000 applications for care in fiscal year 1974 alone, the VA is providing the latest and the very best possible treatment to veterans ranging all the way from major surgery to dental care.

In a special survey completed July 31, which I have personally carefully studied, the whole range of VA assets and liabilities was reviewed. And I am frank to admit, as I think we should, that real problems do exist. Overcrowding is one problem in some facilities. At some hospitals patients have to wait longer than they should to receive proper treatment. Attracting and holding top quality medical professionals and support personnel is another problem.

But the study also discovered through polling that 80 percent of the VA patients felt that their doctors were giving them the very best possible care and that the hospital employees were dedicated people who treated them with respect and with understanding. Eighty percent also said that if they needed hospital care again, they would want to come back to the very same hospital. That is, in my judgment, a pretty impressive vote of confidence from the veterans themselves.

By and large, the report concludes that, in general, VA medicine is first-rate. Where problems still exist, I have asked the VA Administrator Dick Roudebush to let me know what is needed to eliminate those problems. I am determined to do everything I can to make a good system even better, and it will be, to make sure that the veterans receive the best possible treatment. Dick Roudebush understands veterans' problems and has the legislative experience it will take to work with the Congress as well as with the Administration and veterans organizations in meeting this very great challenge.

In difficult times our veterans of all ages agreed with and kept faith with us. They kept America free and enabled us to keep faith with the free world. On this historic day, let us resolve anew to keep faith with them.

One of the first and the greatest men to serve the American flag was George Washington, and he left behind an eloquent warning, and I quote. "To be prepared for war,"

George Washington said, "is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

More than once in our history we have forgotten that warning. Each time we have paid a very, very heavy toll in human suffering.

As a young man myself in the 1930's, I remember the isolationism that blinded so many Americans to the menace of Hitler's Germany and its totalitarianism. Most of us regrettably thought that the vast oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific, would somehow insulate our country from any foreign danger. We thought, mistakenly, that we could go it alone, but we had a very rude awakening December 7, 1941.

Then a young generation of Americans witnessed firsthand the devastation of World War II and vowed never again to repeat the mistakes of the twenties and the thirties. We vowed to keep America strong. Never again would our weakness invite attack. We built an international network of mutual security so that the strength and the solidarity of the free world would deter any adversaries from aggression.

During the past decade, our whole fundamental policy of mutual security and strength has come under sharp attack. I do not intend on this occasion to go into any detailed justification of our entire post-World War II national security policy.

I do point out that, in terms of its original fundamental objectives, it has been successful, and we have succeeded in something more. We have managed to build a better world. The economic aid that went into our mutual security program built strong allies and strong, prosperous trading partners.

Encouraging new developments in our relations with both allies and potential adversaries have raised the hopes that finally, after so many unwanted wars and so much tragic suffering, mankind may finally be on the path to a lasting peace.

If this is so, and I believe it is, no one deserves more credit than our veterans, and nothing will do more to insure peace than a continued policy of national strength.

The markers over the graves of the known and the unknown whom we salute here today stand as silent sentinels to nearly 200 years of sacrifice and freedom. The men and women with us here today, whom we honor for the uniforms they once wore, stand as attentive guardians of this Nation which Lincoln once aptly described as "The last, best hope of earth."

Let us make sure, on this beautiful day, the debt we owe to so many is properly honored. Let this Veterans Day strengthen our resolve to always walk the extra mile for peace, but always walk it strong and unafraid—for without a mighty America no peace can long survive.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:18 a.m. in the Amphitheater at Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va., after laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknowns.

Foreign Investment Study Act of 1974

*Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law.
October 28, 1974*

It gives me great pleasure to have signed S. 2840, the Foreign Investment Study Act of 1974.

A recent study by the executive branch concluded that the available information on the activities of foreign investors in the United States is inadequate. The bill I sign into law today will go a long way toward remedying that deficiency.

This bill provides for the Departments of Commerce and the Treasury to undertake comprehensive studies of foreign direct and portfolio investment in the United States. Under the authority provided by the bill they will (1) conduct "benchmark" surveys of all existing foreign direct and portfolio investment in the United States; (2) analyze the effects of foreign investment on the U.S. economy; (3) review our existing reporting requirements that apply to foreign investors; and (4) make recommendations on means for us to keep our information and statistics on foreign investment current. These surveys will be conducted early next year and cover data for 1974; an interim report of the results will be submitted to the Congress 12 months after the date of enactment of this act and a full and complete report, together with appropriate recommendations, within 18 months of the date of enactment.

When this study is completed, we will be in a position to know better how to conduct ongoing monitoring of foreign investment activity in the United States. Earlier, this Administration had opposed new reporting systems which would have lacked the benefits of the information which will be generated by the actions under S. 2840. We are not opposed to keeping a watch on foreign investment, but we do want to do it in the most efficient and helpful way, with the aid of the greatest possible amount of data.

As I sign this act, I reaffirm that it is intended to gather information only. It is not in any sense a sign of a change in America's traditional open door policy towards foreign investment. We continue to believe that the operation of free market forces will direct worldwide investment flows in the most productive way. Therefore my Administration will oppose any new restriction on foreign investment in the United States except where absolutely necessary on national security grounds or to protect an essential national interest.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 2840) is Public Law 93-479, approved October 26, 1974.

Motor Vehicle and Schoolbus Safety Amendments of 1974

*Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law.
October 28, 1974*

I have signed S. 355, the Motor Vehicle and Schoolbus Safety Amendments of 1974.

This act renews our national commitment to the promotion of highway safety, a goal shared not only by the Congress and my Administration but by every American. Last year, more than 56,000 people lost their lives on America's highways. Although the accident and death rates on our highways are declining, we can never be satisfied with the level of tragic loss and injury on our roads.

By signing S. 355, I believe we will accelerate our commitment to reduce deaths and injuries on the highway. It authorizes \$55 million for the current fiscal year and \$60 million for fiscal year 1976 to carry out the important mandate contained in the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966.

In addition, this act establishes procedures for the remedy and recall of certain defective motor vehicles without any charge to the owner. As for the very important matter of schoolbus safety, this act requires the Department of Transportation to establish minimum schoolbus safety standards within 15 months. I think we can do the job faster, and I have asked Secretary of Transportation Claude Brinegar to try to have the standards out before the end of next summer.

Finally, this act also does away with the so-called seat belt interlock systems. This system had the laudable goal of encouraging motorists to wear their safety belts. In practice, however, it has proved to be intensely unpopular with the American motorist. I can fully understand why drivers might object to being forced by the Federal Government, in effect, to buckle up. This constitutes an unacceptable governmental intrusion into the life of the individual.

However, in signing this removal of the interlock system, I am in no way encouraging drivers to desist from using their seat belts. To the contrary, safety restraints save lives and prevent injuries. I give my strongest recommendation that all Americans follow the sound advice which tells us to "buckle up for safety."

To emphasize my concern for highway safety, I want also to remind every American to observe sensible driving speeds and especially not to exceed 55 miles per hour. As we all know, the lowering of the highway speed limit has saved lives and conserved energy. Saving lives, saving fuel, and saving the motorist money in the operation of his vehicle are goals we can all find worthy in the months ahead.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 355) is Public Law 93-492, approved October 27, 1974.

American Education Week, 1974

Proclamation 4330. October 28, 1974

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

The greatness of a nation of free institutions is measured by the degree of enlightenment of its citizens.

By that measure, ours is a great Nation. Our States provide schools for all Americans. And those schools—public, private and church-affiliated—are the vital centers of neighborhood and community life throughout the Nation.

It is most appropriate that the theme of this year's American Education Week is "Stay Involved," for there is no end to the educational process. "Staying involved" means that each of us is sufficiently concerned about the training and development of our young people to make the contribution to that educational process that our special training, experience, and perspective allow us to make.

I know that all Americans will resolve to stay involved in the educational process, for the knowledge we impart to our children today will determine the future of our people.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week of October 27 through November 2, 1974, as American Education Week.

I invite all Americans to join with me and the dedicated educators of our Nation in exploring the more vital role schools can play in neighborhood and community life.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:34 a.m.,
October 29, 1974]

National Parkinson Week, 1974

Proclamation 4331. October 28, 1974

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

Parkinson's disease is one of the most devastating afflictions threatening our older population. Experts have estimated that one in forty Americans past mid-life may develop the disorder. Over the centuries, it has caused incalculable suffering.

Nine years ago, when National Parkinson Week was first proclaimed, the outlook for Parkinson's disease patients was one of increasing darkness. Today, however, the prospect is one of dawning hope. Because of progress in drug treatment, thousands of Americans formerly disabled by Parkinson's disease are now leading more normal lives. Yet the battle is not won. Although drugs presently control the symptoms of Parkinson's disease, they do not cure or arrest it. Because the cause is still unknown, prevention is not possible.

With the great strides which have been made in treatment, however, we have reason to hope that research will soon find the cause of the disorder and thousands of our older citizens will be spared this disabling affliction. In recognition of the need to heighten public awareness of this disease, the Congress has, by Public Law 89-294, authorized and requested the President to proclaim annually National Parkinson Week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 27 as National Parkinson Week, 1974. I invite the Governors of the States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and other areas subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to issue similar proclamations.

I also call upon the Nation's communications media, the medical and health professions, Government and private agencies, and individuals concerned with Parkinson's disease to sponsor activities during that week designed to inform every American of the need for their support as we continue in our efforts to prevent and cure Parkinson's disease.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:35 a.m.,
October 29, 1974]

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF OCTOBER 29, 1974

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ENERGY PROGRAM

THE PRESIDENT. This morning, before the press conference, I would like to announce several appointments, and then we will have the press conference subsequently.

At the outset, let me remind you that on October 8 I announced that Rog Morton would be the head of the

Energy Council and that subsequently I would make several other appointments predicated on legislation enacted by the Congress and some reorganization in the Energy Administration.

Rog Morton is here. Rog, I think most of you know him. He is pretty hard to miss. [Laughter] But the new appointments are as follows:

Dr. Robert Seamans, former Secretary of the Air Force and formerly a very high-ranking official in NASA, had a great deal to do with the manned space program, will be the new Administrator of the ERDA, the Energy Research and Development Agency.

Bob, we are glad to have you on board.

Then to head FEA, John Sawhill is resigning, and we will give him a good appointment in the Government, but the new head of FEA will be Andy Gibson, who was an Assistant Secretary of Commerce and was in charge of the Maritime Administration, will be the new head of FEA.

Andy, glad to have you on board.

Then, for the new Nuclear Regulatory Agency, I am nominating Bill Anders, who is currently a member of the AEC, but who will be the Chairman, once confirmed, of the new regulatory agency.

You are all familiar with Bill Anders' record as an astronaut and his service as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

And then, Dixy Lee Ray will be the new Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Matters.

Dixy Lee.

This is the new team that will be in charge of the energy program, which we will see moving ahead, I think, under Rog Morton's stewardship with the new faces and the experience of Bob Seamans, Andy Gibson, Bill Anders, and Dixy Lee Ray.

And I thank all of them for taking on these new responsibilities. I think they are an outstanding group of administrators with experience both outside of Government and within the Government.

So, Rog, you have got a good group, and I am proud of them, and I think they will do a first-class job. Thank you very, very much.¹

Well, with those preliminary announcements, I will be glad now to respond to any questions.

Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

QUESTIONS

THE ECONOMY

Q. Mr. President, the Government's leading economic indicators announced today show that last month they experienced the sharpest drop in 23 years. Might this sort of thing prompt you to amend your economic program to

¹ For releases on the appointments and the resignation, see pages 1382-1383 of this issue.

put more emphasis on fighting recession rather than fighting inflation? And if so, what steps might you take?

THE PRESIDENT. The 31-point program that I submitted to the Congress and the American people did take into recognition the problems of some deterioration in some parts of the economy and at the same time recognized the need to do something about inflation.

It was a finely tuned, I think, constructive program to meet both of these problems.

Now, the program is before the Congress and the Congress must act on certain aspects of it. This, perhaps, will take some time and, in the interim, if there are any economic factors which justify a change, I will be open to suggestions.

But at this point I still believe the plan or program as I submitted it is sound, both to meet the challenge of inflation and any deterioration in the economy.

VOTER INTEREST IN THE ELECTION

Q. Mr. President, in view of the Watergate and inflation and other urgent problems facing the Nation, how do you account for the voter apathy in this country? And I have a follow-up.

THE PRESIDENT. I wish I knew the answer to that, Mr. Sperling [Godfrey Sperling, Christian Science Monitor]. It would seem to me that with the problems we have, particularly at home—both Watergate and others—that the voters should be extremely interested in the kind of Members of the House and Senate that are elected or defeated.

One of the reasons that I am campaigning is to try and get the voters off of apathy and on to interest. I happen to believe that a big public showing of voter participation would be very helpful, and I am disturbed that these forecasters say that only 42 percent of the eligible voters are going to vote on November 5.

So, if I can in any way stimulate voter interest, I intend to do so.

Q. That leads to my second question. Do you think you are breaking through this apathy, are you shaking up this interest? What is your finding?

THE PRESIDENT. From my contacts with Members of Congress or candidates who are in the various places where I have stopped, they tell me that voter interest has been stimulated by my appearance. I suspect we will get a few who don't approve of my appearance in a certain community, but I believe overall there has been an increase in voter interest as a result of my visits. And as I said, that is one reason why I intend to continue them.

Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE ROCKEFELLER

Q. Mr. President, do you think that Nelson Rockefeller will be confirmed as Vice President, and when?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that Nelson Rockefeller will be confirmed. I strongly support him today as I did when

I nominated him in August. I hope and trust that the Senate and House committees, as well as the two bodies themselves, will act promptly on the nomination. I think he would make a very good Vice President.

Q. Then you don't think the financial problems that have suddenly cropped up will affect the outcome?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONGRESSIONAL VOTING RECORD

Q. Mr. President, the Democratic Study Group, and an analysis they made of your voting record over the last 3 years you were in the House, showed you voted 86 percent of the time in support of spending proposals beyond the Nixon budget, and it amounted to some \$16.9 billion. How do you square that with your campaign argument that the Democrats are the big spenders?

THE PRESIDENT. I think their own survey, Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News], showed that I had a much better record of saving than the Democrats did in the House of Representatives.

In other words, their own document showed that the Democrats were much bigger spenders than I was and that I was a much better saver than they were. So, I will rely on their document to prove that I am a saver and they are spenders.

Q. Mr. President, do you know how you came out net?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my recollection that I was about 8 percentage points better than the Democrats as a whole, so even using their figures or their document, I am a saver and the Democrats are spenders.

VETERANS EDUCATION BILL

Q. Mr. President, sir, I want to know if you are going to sign the veterans G.I. education bill that has been left at the Senate so you would not pocket veto it, but they are ready to send it down if you are ready to say today you will sign it.

THE PRESIDENT. Well I worked very closely, Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service], with the Members of that conference committee in trying to find a solution to a bill that I want to sign. The bill has not come down. It has not been staffed out by my staff. Until it arrives at the White House, I am not going to prejudge what I am going to do. I hope that we can find a way for me to sign it, because I want to help the Vietnam veterans, particularly, but until it comes down to the White House, I think it is premature for me to make any decision.

Q. Sir, it calls for an 18 percent cost-of-living increase, plus up to 23 percent, and that additional would pay for the cost of going to college. Would that be agreeable to you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I recall, that compromise is 20 percent.

MISS McCLENDON. Twenty-three percent.

THE PRESIDENT. But in addition, they did add a \$600 loan provision to the veteran. They did add 9 more months of eligibility beyond what either World War II or Korean veterans got in the way of educational benefits.

So, when they, the Congress, send the conference report down to me, we will staff it out. I will make an honest judgment. I hope it is a piece of legislation that I can sign.

BUDGET REDUCTIONS

Q. Mr. President, in your speech before Congress on the economy, you said you would do the hard work of making decisions where to cut. Could you give us some specific examples, maybe half a dozen, of the programs you would like to cut?

THE PRESIDENT. I have had one meeting with the OMB [Office of Management and Budget] and others on that very subject, and later today, before I go to Grand Rapids, I am spending another hour with the same group. We have a long list of items where they give me certain options.

We have not made any final determination. If all of them were put into effect—and some of them would require legislative action by the Congress—I think the anticipated saving in fiscal year 1975 would be around \$7.5 billion.

We are going to make a maximum effort to cut at least \$5.4 billion, so there is some flexibility between the 5.4 and the 7.5, and I am going to continue to work on it. And when Congress comes back, we will have some recommendations.

Q. Mr. President, as to specifics now of some of those programs that you would put priorities to cut—

THE PRESIDENT. I would rather not give you any specifics because it is a long shopping list, and I think it is unwise for me to be categorical as long as I try to make an honest judgment on which of maybe a hundred or more proposals they have submitted to me for consideration.

THE MIDDLE EAST; PLANS FOR TRIP TO JAPAN

Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question on foreign affairs.

Number one, the emergence of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] in the Middle East, how does this affect our position regarding the Middle East?

And the second part, also on foreign affairs, negative reports out of Japan, anti-American feelings and items like that, whether you are reconsidering going to Japan.

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer the second question first.

No developments in Japan have changed my attitude. I intend to go to Japan, as has been planned for some time.

The decision by the Arab nations to turn over the negotiating for the west bank to the PLO may or may not—at

this stage we aren't certain what impact it will have on our role in the Middle East.

We, of course, feel that there must be movement toward settlement of the problems between Israel and Egypt on the one hand, between Israel and Jordan or the PLO on the other, and the problems between Israel and Syria in the other category.

We have not had an opportunity yet to make any firm decision on what impact there will be from this Arab decision. I can only say that we think it is of maximum importance that continued movement toward peace on a justifiable basis in the Middle East is vital to that area of the world, and probably to the world as a whole.

OUTLOOK FOR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Q. Mr. President—you, as one who knows the House better than we do—what is your best estimate of Republican losses or gains in the House, and what would be the level which would make your efforts seem all worthwhile?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to get into a numbers game. I did on one occasion back in 1966, but I had somewhat different responsibilities then. I can only say that it is important to have a competitive relationship or ratio in the House as well as in the Senate.

It seems to me that if you have a reasonably close ratio of Democrats to Republicans, the public is better off. They get better legislation. They get better handling of appropriations. They get, I think, a better tax bill, whenever the relationship between the two major political parties is reasonably similar.

At the present time, in the House I think it is 243 to 187. I would hope that that ratio would not be seriously changed.

RESIGNATION OF JOHN SAWHILL

Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask you about your energy program. Why have you dumped John Sawhill? Was his advice too blunt and politically unattractive at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all. I put a new man in charge—Secretary Morton. He replaced the Secretary of State (the Treasury), Bill Simon, who went over to the economic council.

Rogers Morton and I discussed the kind of a team that he wanted and that I thought would do a good job. And the people that I have nominated fit that pattern.

THE VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if we could return to the Rockefeller affair. If you had known then, before the nomination, all that is public knowledge now about Mr. Rockefeller's financial dealings, would you still have named him to be your Vice President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I would. Nelson Rockefeller has been a superb Governor of the State of New York. He

served both Democratic and Republican Presidents in the past in the executive branch of the Government. It is my judgment that he would be a very good Vice President. And, therefore, these disclosures indicate that he does believe in helping his friends. And a man of that wealth certainly, in my judgment, has that right to give as long as the law is obeyed, and as I understand it, he has.

It seems to me that his qualifications from previous public service fully qualify him to be Vice President. And therefore I fully support his nomination.

THE 25TH AMENDMENT

Q. Mr. President, as the only living veteran of the 25th amendment, how say you as to its continuance?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that the 25th amendment has served a good purpose despite my own involvement in it. But leave that aside. It was, of course, if you go back and study the history of it, actually proposed and approved for quite different reasons.

On the other hand, in the last year, certain circumstances have arisen which, in my judgment, may prompt the need for some changes.

I think, for example, the Congress ought to study the desirability of putting a time limitation on the time that the Congress should have for the consideration—approval or rejection. But these are matters that Congress can, in the remaining days of this session or in the next session, investigate, because of the experiences of the last year or so.

CONDITION OF THE ECONOMY

Q. Mr. President, your friend, Paul McCracken, has said that we are entering a V-shaped recession and that we ought to call a spade a spade. Yet Administration officials have been avoiding the word "recession." Would you apply that term to our economic condition now?

THE PRESIDENT. Recession has been defined. I think the National Bureau of Economic Research actually is the authority on this matter. It is my understanding they are going to come up with some answer on this question in the very near future.

But let me make an observation of my own, if I might. We are facing some difficult economic circumstances. We have too many people unemployed, and we want to do something about it. And my economic package that I submitted to the Congress and the American people will do something about it.

The American people are concerned about inflation, and my economic program would do something about inflation. So what we have tried to do, instead of getting into semantics, is to offer constructive proposals to meet the problem. Whether it is a recession or not a recession is immaterial. We have problems. The plan I submitted is aimed at solving these problems. And, therefore, I really do not care what the name is. We want solutions. And my proposal, I think, will offer that opportunity.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS

Q. Mr. President, since Secretary Kissinger has been to Moscow, do you have any optimistic outlook now on the SALT agreement?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that the Secretary's discussions with the General Secretary, Mr. Brezhnev, were very constructive. Some of the differences, as I understand it, between their view and ours, have been narrowed. And as a result of the progress that was made in Moscow, the announcement was made that I would meet with Mr. Brezhnev in Vladivostok the latter part of November. We hope that each step will mean more progress and that we will end up with a SALT Two agreement.

OIL IMPORTS

Q. Mr. President, your Press Secretary, Mr. Nessen, has hinted or implied that you may be considering limiting oil imports, that is, limiting imports of Arab oil if necessary to make your goal of cutting oil imports by one million a day, perhaps in the form of a dollar figure, a dollar limit on imports. Are you considering it? Is this a live possibility?

THE PRESIDENT. Our first objective is to cut the 6 million barrels per day imports of crude oil by 1 million barrels. We believe that, with the energy conservation recommendations we have made, that objective can be accomplished.

However, if there isn't the saving of one million barrels per day of oil imports by voluntary action, we will, of course, move to any other alternative, including the possibility of mandatory limitations, to achieve that result.

That is essential from the point of view of our economy, our balance of payments, et cetera.

THE VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE

Q. Mr. President, if Rockefeller is confirmed, would you ask him to refrain from giving gifts as he has given in the past to public officials and other politicians?

THE PRESIDENT. My judgment would be that Mr. Rockefeller would use excellent judgment in the future in however he wishes to dispense the funds that he has available. I think that his approach in the future would certainly be related to the experiences he has had in the past.

CONGRESSIONAL PAY INCREASE

Q. Mr. President, there is a lot of talk on the Hill that Congress might come back after the election and vote themselves a pay increase. There is also talk if they don't do it this fall, it certainly will be voted early next year. Would you sign a bill that would provide Congress with a pay increase at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is premature for me to make any judgment. I have not talked to the Democratic or Republican leadership about the matter. I know of no specific proposal by the Congress nor by this Administra-

tion, so I don't feel that it is appropriate for me to make any judgment at this point.

PLANS FOR CABINET CHANGES

Q. Are you planning any other Cabinet changes, particularly in the Agriculture Department?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Secretary Butz, over a period of 3 or 4 years, has done a good job. He has been very outspoken. He is a good, hard worker, and I have no plans to remove the Secretary of Agriculture or no specific plans to call for the resignation of any other Cabinet officer.

FORMER PRESIDENT'S TAPES AND DOCUMENTS

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us the status of negotiations on the Nixon Administration's tapes and documents? Are they still in the White House or—

THE PRESIDENT. They are being held—I can't give you the precise location—but they are being held under an agreement with the Special Prosecutor's office, and, of course, now there are two other elements that have developed. One, Judge Richey has issued an injunction concerning all or some of the documents. A third involvement is a law suit by former President Nixon against the head of GSA, Mr. Sampson, so we think, under the circumstances, and particularly under our agreement with the Special Prosecutor's office, they should remain intact until legal matters and any other commitments have been handled.

RESIGNATION OF MR. SAWHILL

Q. To follow that up, the "Mr. Sawhill" matter for a minute—

THE PRESIDENT. I can't see who asked that. I can't see with the lights and without my glasses.

Q. Kraslow [David Kraslow, Cox Newspapers]. What policy differences, sir, did you have, you and Mr. Morton have with Mr. Sawhill which precipitated his resignation?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said a moment ago, I appointed a new man to head up the Energy Council, and that requires, I think, when you give a man a new assignment, the opportunity to make recommendations for those that will work with him on the Council. It seems to me that with Rog Morton being given that job, he ought to have the right, with my approval, to make changes, and that is why we made the changes. I think they are good people. Mr. Sawhill, who I admire, will be offered a first-class assignment in this Administration.

Q. Are you saying, Mr. President, that there were no policy disagreements?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think there were any major policy differences. I think there may have been some differences in approach or technique, but if you give a man a job, you have to give him the people he wants to carry out that responsibility.

CAMPAIGN STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE CONGRESS
AND FOREIGN POLICY

Q. Mr. President, in Oklahoma City, you said that overwhelming victories in Congress this fall by the opposition party, being the Democrats, would seriously jeopardize world peace. This is our first chance to question you on that. I was wondering if you would elaborate on that. Did you mean it in the sense that some Democrats accused you of demagoguery, or is this consistent with your original announced policy that you were going to try to unify the country after Watergate?

THE PRESIDENT. Well I think the facts that I referred to involved the conflict we had with a majority of the Members of the House and Senate over the limitations and restrictions they put on the continuing resolution. Those limitations and restrictions on that particular piece of legislation, in my judgment and in the judgment of the Secretary of State, will make it more difficult for the United States to help the Greeks. It will make it more difficult for us to work to bring about a negotiated settlement in the Cyprus matter.

That Congressional limitation will not help our relations with Turkey.

I point out that both the United States and Turkey are members of NATO, and if our relationship with Turkey is destroyed or harmed, it will hurt our interest as well as NATO's.

Secondly, we do have an agreement with Turkey as to some military installations, and those installations are important for both Turkey and ourselves. And if, through Congressional action, we undercut our relationship with Turkey, hurt our relations with NATO, hurt the Greeks, because it will make it more difficult for a settlement of the Cyprus matter, then I think the Congress has made a mistake. And if a Congress that is more prone to do that is elected on November 5, it will make our efforts much harder to execute and implement foreign policy to build for peace and maintain the peace.

As Mr. Nessen explained in a subsequent press conference, I was referring as much to Republicans as I was to Democrats who don't cooperate in giving a President of the United States an opportunity to meet the day-to-day problems that are involved in foreign policy.

A President has to be able to act. He has to be able to work with allies and with some potential adversaries. And if the Congress is going to so limit a President, whether he is a Democrat or Republican, that he has no flexibility, in my opinion, the opportunity for a successful foreign policy is harmed considerably.

Q. A follow-up question, please, Mr. President.

How would overwhelming Democratic majorities in Congress undermine your policy and Secretary Kissinger's policy of détente and relations with China?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say at the outset the Democratic leadership—both Senator Mansfield and the Speaker of the House and other leading Democrats—were very helpful to me in that struggle that I just described.

If you will carefully read, which I have, reread my statements both in Oklahoma City and Cleveland, I was very careful not to be critical of the Democratic leadership, because they did try very hard.

The problem was the troops did not believe either their own leadership or the President of the United States.

If we have a runaway Congress that does not understand the need and necessity for the broadening of détente, that does not understand the need and necessity for a continuation of our policy vis-à-vis the People's Republic of China, then it is going to make it much harder for a President to carry out a policy of peace abroad.

Now, a runaway Congress is one that does not, at least, pay some attention to their own leadership on both sides of the aisle and to the President of the United States.

PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, can I get back to the conversation with General Haig in early August. I know you said there was no deal or no commitment, but sometimes things are done more subtly. When he brought up as a sixth option the possibility of a pardon, did you point out to him that in your testimony on confirmation you had indicated opposition to such a move, or did you in some way indicate to him that you might be inclined, without exactly saying so, that you might be inclined to go along with an early pardon?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the testimony I gave before the House Committee on the Judiciary or subcommittee of that committee speaks for itself, and I will stand by that testimony.

I would like to point out, in addition, in the testimony before the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, I answered it as follows:

One, I did not think the American people would stand for a pardon, in answer to the hypothetical question that was asked me.

Secondly, because I was not familiar with the precise authority and power of a President to grant a pardon, I did not want to get into any of the technicalities involving that issue, but the testimony I gave before the House committee will speak for itself, and I will let it stand at that.

FISCAL YEAR 1976 BUDGET

Q. Mr. President, looking a bit further down the road on your anti-inflation program, sir, do you have any particular figures or program in mind for your 1976 budget, which is now in the process of being prepared?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is another matter that I will be working with Roy Ash and his people on after we get through the long shopping list of proposed rescissions, deferrals, and cutbacks for fiscal year 1975.

I can assure you it will be a tight budget, very tight budget, because we do have to hold the lid on spending, not only in the remaining months of fiscal year 1975 but we have to reassure the American people that in the next fiscal year we will be just as firm in controlling and holding down expenditures.

Q. Mr. President, when you say a tight budget, do you mean a budget surplus or balanced or possible deficit?

THE PRESIDENT. Our objective will be a balanced budget. We will do the very best we can.

REPORTER. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

NOTE: President Ford's fourth news conference was held at 10:56 a.m. on Tuesday, October 29, 1974, in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Administrator of Energy Research and Development

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Robert C. Seamans. October 29, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Dr. Robert C. Seamans, Jr., of Washington, D.C., to be Administrator of Energy Research and Development. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-438 of October 11, 1974.

Since May 15, 1973, Dr. Seamans has served as president of the National Academy of Engineering. From February 1969 to May 1973, he was Secretary of the Air Force. In 1968, he was appointed a visiting professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. From 1960 to 1968, he was an Associate Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He also was a member of the Scientific Advisory Board from 1959 to 1962 after serving as an associate adviser to the Board.

Dr. Seamans was born on October 30, 1918, in Salem, Mass. He received his B.S. degree from Harvard University in 1939 and his M.S. degree from MIT in 1942. He received his doctor of science degree from MIT in 1951.

Dr. Seamans is married to the former Eugenia A. Merrill, and they have five children. They reside in Washington, D.C.

Federal Energy Administration

Exchange of Letters Between the President and John C. Sawhill Upon Mr. Sawhill's Resignation as Administrator. October 29, 1974

October 29, 1974

Dear John:

Thank you for your October 25, 1974, letter of resignation as Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration. In accepting your resignation, I want to express to you my deep personal thanks for your dedicated and capable service to the Nation, first as Deputy and then as Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration. You have performed with distinction in a difficult job during a period when, for the first time, America has confronted a major energy shortage. In particular, along with millions of other Americans, I have admired your candor and directness in addressing the difficult choices which face the Nation as we confront the energy problem.

As I indicated during our conversation together, it is my strong desire that you continue to serve in government so that the American people and my Administration may continue to benefit from your very great talents and your broad experience.

Finally, I am grateful for your agreement to stay at the Federal Energy Administration until the first of the year to bring the Project Independence Blueprint to a conclusion and to insure a smooth transition in the leadership of that very important agency.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

October 25, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I am today submitting my resignation as Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration.

When I began my present assignment several months ago, I set three major goals for myself and the organization. The first was to establish the new Administration, the second was to prepare a Blueprint for Project Independence which could serve as the basis for developing a national energy policy, and the third was to set in motion an orderly process for decontrolling the oil industry. The FEA is now established and fully staffed; the Project Independence Blueprint is nearing completion; and—with the implementation of an entitlements program—the groundwork has been laid for beginning to remove controls from the oil industry. Thus, the tasks that I set out to accomplish are complete, and I feel that the time has come for me to move on to new responsibilities.

We must now begin a new phase in the government's energy program by moving quickly to implement a set of energy resource development and energy conservation actions which can bring this Nation's energy budget into better balance. However, because of the time delays involved in expanding energy supplies, I feel it is particularly important to focus on energy conservation. By doing so, we will improve our balance of payments position, reduce inflationary pressures and aid in cleaning up the environment. In addition to these actions, we must resolve a number of critical international issues affecting energy including recycling surplus oil funds, compensating for the impact of high oil prices on a number of industrialized and developing countries, and defining the role of our government vis-a-vis the international oil companies.

FEA has important responsibilities in each of these areas. I will be glad to remain with the organization during the transition period to assist in preparing for the tasks ahead and to support the activities of Secretary Morton and the Energy Resources Council. I have enjoyed working as a member of your team and would be delighted to serve you again should the opportunity present itself.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. SAWHILL

Federal Energy Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Andrew E. Gibson To Be Administrator. October 29, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Andrew E. Gibson to be Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration. He will succeed John C. Sawhill, who has resigned.

Mr. Gibson has been president of Interstate Oil Transport Co., Philadelphia, Pa., from 1973 to May 1974. He spent the summer of 1974 attending Harvard School of Advance Management in Cambridge, Mass. During 1972 he was Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International Business, and from 1969 to 1972 he was Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Maritime Affairs and Maritime Administrator.

In 1967 he served as vice president of John Diebold, Inc. after serving with Grace Lines, Inc. since 1953.

Mr. Gibson was born on February 19, 1922, in New York, N.Y. He received his B.A. degree from Brown University in 1951 and his M.B.A. from New York University in 1959. He served as a lieutenant in the United States Navy from 1951 to 1953.

Mr. Gibson resides in Philadelphia, Pa.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William Alison Anders To Be a Member and Chairman. October 29, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Alison Anders to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The President also announced that he would designate Mr. Anders Chairman of the NRC upon his confirmation as a member. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission was created by Public Law 93-438 of October 11, 1974. The President has also asked Mr. Anders to participate in recommending nominees for the four other seats on the NRC.

Since 1973, Mr. Anders has been a member of the Atomic Energy Commission after serving from 1969 to 1973 as Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council. In 1964, he joined NASA and assumed engineering responsibilities in conjunction with the Gemini and Apollo spacecraft projects.

Mr. Anders, a U.S. citizen, was born in Hong Kong, China, on October 17, 1933. He received his B.S. degree from the U.S. Naval Academy and his M.S. degree from the Air Force Institute of Technology in 1962. He served in the U.S. Air Force from 1957 to 1960.

Mr. Anders is married to the former Valerie Hoard and they reside in McLean, Va.

Department of State

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Dixy Lee Ray To Be Assistant Secretary for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. October 29, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Dr. Dixy Lee Ray to be Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-216 of October 18, 1973.

Dr. Ray has served as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission since February 1973 and has been a member of the AEC since August 1972. She came to the AEC from Fox Island, Wash., where she was director of the Pacific Science Center and associate professor of zoology at the University of Washington. Dr. Ray was associated with the University of Washington for 24 years. During that period she also served as a member of the executive committee of Friday Harbor Laboratories (1945-60); Special Consultant to the National Science Foundation

(1960–62); and visiting professor at Stanford University (1964). She taught in the Oakland, Calif., public schools from 1938 to 1942.

Dr. Ray was born on September 3, 1914, in Tacoma, Wash. She received her B.A. (1937) and M.A. (1938) degrees from Mills College and her Ph.D. from Stanford University in 1945.

She has served on many scientific boards and commissions, including the Washington State Oceanography Commission and Oceanographic Institute, the Planetary Sciences Corporation, Inc., the Committee on Public Understanding of the Sciences, the Committee of Corresponding Consultants for the World Report on the Environment, the Puget Sound Oceanographic Study Committee, and the President's Task Force on Oceanography.

Dr. Ray has published numerous articles and scientific papers on marine biology and holds many honors in this field. She received the William Clapp Award in Marine Biology (1959), was a foreign member of the Danish Royal Society for Natural History (1963), and was named Maritime Man of the Year in 1966.

Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. October 29, 1974

I am today signing into law S. 1769, the Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974.

While fire prevention and control is and will remain a State and local responsibility, I believe the Federal Government can make useful contributions. I endorse the intention of this act to supplement rather than supplant existing State and local government activities.

The program established by this act, which will be implemented by an agency within the Department of Commerce, will contribute to our knowledge of fire and our ability to prevent it.

Federal assistance for research and development on fire problems will be consolidated and expanded to provide the scientific and technological base for the development of materials, equipment, and systems to reduce the number and severity of fires.

The Fire Academy system will supplement existing education and training for fire prevention personnel across the Nation.

The research and development program will be closely tied to the education and training program, thereby insuring that research and development results are disseminated quickly to communities.

The data base of the National Fire Data Center will assist States and communities in setting priorities and in identifying possible solutions to problems. I will monitor the progress of the Nation in reducing fire losses.

The bill contains a provision that requires the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish 25 burn treatment centers, 90 burn programs, and 25 centers for expanded research on burns. Since these centers would duplicate the burn research carried on through the trauma program of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences and would add \$5 million to the FY 75 budget, I will not seek appropriations to implement this particular provision of the bill.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 1769) is Public Law 93-498, approved October 29, 1974.

Indian Claims Commission Appropriations Bill

Statement by the President on Signing a Bill Providing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1975. October 29, 1974

I have signed S. 3007, an act to authorize appropriations for the Indian Claims Commission for 1975.

It is a particular pleasure for me to be able to sign this bill because there are not many opportunities in life to take clear and decisive action designed to right a past wrong.

The background is this:

In 1877, the United States Government took over lands from the Sioux Indians in the Black Hills of South Dakota. At the same time, to prevent widespread starvation of these Indians deprived of their hunting grounds, the Government supplied them with food and other provisions for a number of years.

Earlier this year, the Indian Claims Commission ruled that the United States took the Black Hills lands illegally in violation of the fifth amendment. The 1877 value of the land and gold was estimated at \$17.5 million which, together with interest from that point, boosts the value today to nearly \$103 million.

However, the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 contains a provision requiring that the Government-supplied food and other provisions, valued at approximately \$57 million, be used to offset the Indians' claims against the Government. If this offsetting provision stayed in effect, it would totally wipe out the \$17.5 million original evaluation and leave the Sioux Indians with nothing.

The basic legal question of whether or not the Sioux have a legitimate claim against the United States over the Black Hills land is still being litigated in the courts. However, in passing this act Congress has determined—and I agree—that if such a claim is held to be valid, it

would be unfair and unjust to try to avoid paying it by deducting the cost of previously supplied food and provisions.

Although we cannot undo the injustices from our history, we can insure that the actions we take today are just and fair and designed to heal such wounds from the past.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3007) is Public Law 93-494, approved October 27, 1974.

Bill Concerning the Regulation of Interest Rates

Statement by the President Upon Signing S. 3838 Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. October 29, 1974

I am signing into law today S. 3838, "To authorize the regulation of interest rates payable on obligations issued by affiliates of certain depository institutions, and for other purposes".

Titles II and III of the bill would remove burdensome inequities by authorizing exemptions from state usury laws of large business and agricultural loans and of large borrowings of bank holding companies and bank deposits. Such usury laws as this bill addresses are well-meaning but futile attempts to keep interest rates at "reasonable" levels. In fact, their net effect is that the same borrowers who are supposedly protected from "unreasonable" interest rates are, instead, unable to obtain funds at the levels set by law.

S. 3838 seems to me a clearly second-best remedy to this problem, and the States which have these usury laws may wish to reconsider their applicability under today's conditions.

On the other hand, I am deeply concerned about Title I of the bill which enables the Federal financial regulatory agencies to place interest rate ceilings on securities issued by holding companies which at present are not subject to such regulations. I believe this provision goes in the same direction as the state usury laws from which the other titles of this bill authorize exemptions. I hope that the regulatory agencies will not see fit to exercise the discretionary authority granted by this provision.

The Administration has introduced a bill, the Financial Institutions Act (S. 2591), containing a set of reforms that would gradually free the credit market from harmful regulations of the sort imposed by Title I of S. 3838. I strongly urge the Congress to pass S. 2591.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S.3838) is Public Law 93-501, approved October 29, 1974.

Bill Increasing Federal Deposit Insurance

Statement by the President on Signing H.R. 11221 Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About One of Its Provisions. October 29, 1974

I have signed H.R. 11221 which provides important new consumer protection in the area of credit and finance.

This legislation would double the basic Federal insurance limits for deposits and savings accounts in insured banks, savings and loan associations and credit unions from \$20,000 to \$40,000. This increase will help these financial institutions to attract larger deposits. It will also encourage savers to build up funds for retirement or other purposes in institutions with which they are familiar and which are insured by Federal agencies that have earned their confidence over the years.

H.R. 11221 also contains fair credit billing provisions which will protect consumers against the repeated incorrect billings of computers that sometimes fail to respond to consumer's inquiries. Now creditors must acknowledge customer inquiries within 30 days. Moreover, the creditor must resolve any dispute within 90 days either by correcting the customer's bill or explaining why the original bill is correct. Until these requirements have been met, there can be no dunning letters sent or other action taken to collect amounts in dispute.

Another extremely important provision in this legislation prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in the granting or denying of credit. While there has been a voluntary improvement in credit procedures in recent years, women are still too often treated as second-class citizens in the credit world. This legislation officially recognizes the basic principle that women should have access to credit on the same terms as men.

This bill should also have a beneficial impact on the availability of mortgage credit, since it returns to institutions insured by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation well over a billion dollars in insurance premiums not now required by the corporation.

One provision of H.R. 11221 is particularly unfortunate, however, in that it will severely undermine the present method of gathering legitimate views of other executive branch agencies and identifying potential conflicts with other existing legislation in this field. Thus, it could seriously hamper efforts to achieve a coherent Administration legislative program. Therefore, I am asking the Congress to amend the law by deleting section 111. This would preserve the executive branch's ability to develop a coordinated and coherent legislative program.

This bill includes a number of provisions which could more appropriately be considered in the framework of a

larger, more comprehensive approach to strengthening this country's financial system. As a result, I will continue to press hard for Congressional passage of S. 2591, the Financial Institutions Act, which seeks to accomplish such a strengthening through reducing, rather than increasing or perpetuating, the extent of Government control over financial institutions.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 11221) is Public Law 93-495, approved October 28, 1974.

Amtrak Improvement Act of 1974

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About One of Its Provisions. October 29, 1974

I have signed H.R. 15427, the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1974. However, I believe that one provision of this act is undesirable. I refer to the section which requires mandatory customs inspection aboard trains operated in the international intercity rail passenger service.

This provision would adversely affect the interdiction of the flow of narcotics and other contraband at ports of entry. Onboard customs inspection is inconsistent with effective enforcement of customs laws and not always practical. There must be flexibility in determining when and where onboard inspection is to be conducted. Moreover, the requirement for onboard inspection on trains could result in requests for similar treatment aboard airlines and ocean vessels.

I request that the Congress take action to revise the provision to provide for customs inspection consistent with the effective enforcement of the customs and related laws.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 15427) is Public Law 93-496, approved October 28, 1974.

Reclamation Development Act of 1974

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law, While Expressing Reservations About Certain of Its Provisions. October 29, 1974

I have approved H.R. 15736, the Reclamation Development Act of 1974.

This bill contains many desirable and needed reclamation program authorizations. For example, it will transfer the town of Page, Arizona—currently owned by the Federal Government—to non-Federal interests, thereby permitting it to function as a viable community with most residential and commercial property in private ownership. The bill will also provide for inclusion of additional

hydroelectric power facilities in an existing major Colorado project.

On the other hand, H.R. 15736 contains some features which represent undesirable departures from established Federal water resource policies. In particular, several authorizations would impose on the Federal Government costs that properly should be borne by State and local interests. In addition, there are unresolved questions regarding the environmental impacts of several projects.

On balance, I have concluded that the desirable features of H.R. 15736 outweigh the undesirable ones. However, I have directed the executive agencies concerned, as part of the post-authorization review process, to carefully examine those program authorizations which depart from established policies or involve unresolved environmental problems.

On the basis of this review, I will determine whether corrective legislation is necessary or whether funding for questionable projects should be requested.

At the same time, in order to achieve a reduction in Federal spending, I urge the Congress to approve my request for rescission and deferral of funds already approved by Congress for certain reclamation projects to make certain we stay within the \$300 billion budget for fiscal 1975.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 15736) is Public Law 93-493, approved October 27, 1974.

Veto of Bill for the Relief of Alvin V. Burt, Jr., and the Survivors of Douglas E. Kennedy

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 6624 Without His Approval. October 29, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am today withholding my approval from H.R. 6624, a bill "For the relief of Alvin V. Burt, Junior, Eileen Wallace Kennedy Pope, and David Douglas Kennedy, a minor." I am advised by the Attorney General and I have determined that the absence of my signature from this bill prevents it from becoming law. Without in any way qualifying this determination, I am also returning it without my approval to those designated by Congress to receive messages at this time.

This bill would provide for payment, "as a gratuity," of \$45,482 to Mr. Burt and for similar payments of \$36,750 each to the widow and son of Douglas E. Kennedy for injuries and other damages Mr. Burt and Mr. Kennedy sustained as a result of gunshot wounds inflicted

by U.S. military personnel in the Dominican Republic in 1965. The amounts in the bill were recommended in a congressional reference case opinion by a review panel of the Court of Claims.

The claims presented in this bill arise from an admittedly tragic and unfortunate incident. On May 6, 1965, Mr. Burt and Mr. Kennedy, two newspapermen who were covering the civil upheaval in the Dominican Republic and the peacekeeping operation in that country of U.S. military forces, attempted to drive through a U.S. checkpoint in Santo Domingo en route from rebel-held territory in the city. The Marines manning the checkpoint opened fire on their car when the men failed to get out as ordered and when it accelerated violently in reverse at the same time that the Marines were fired upon by snipers from an area behind the car. Both Mr. Burt and Mr. Kennedy were seriously injured as a result of the Marines' actions.

After the incident, both men received, without charge, extensive medical care and treatment from U.S. personnel in the field and later in U.S. military facilities. Their employer, the *Miami Herald*, paid their salaries while they were hospitalized, and guaranteed them continued employment. They also received workmen's compensation benefits during hospitalization, including prescribed lump-sum payments.

A majority of the members on a Court of Claims' review panel, which considered the present claims, held that the claimants had not established a "legal" or "equitable" claim within the meaning of the congressional reference statute. In fact, their opinion strongly suggests that the claimants' own negligence contributed to the injuries they received and further suggests that in pursuing their professions in the face of known hazards, the claimants assumed the risk of personal injury.

Notwithstanding these findings, however, the majority concluded that payment of reasonable compensation in this case was justified on "broad moral considerations" as a matter of "good conscience." Accordingly, they recommended awards in the amounts contained in the current bill.

I have considered carefully the merits of this case, and can find no reason to approve H.R. 6624. Equitable considerations growing out of Governmental actions have traditionally been the basis for private relief awards where no legal remedy is available. But the record clearly establishes that no such considerations are present in this case.

Approval of H.R. 6624 cannot, in my view, be justified by invoking terms such as "gratuity," as the awards are characterized in the bill, or "broad moral considerations," the basis used by the Court of Claims panel. To adopt such an approach could easily set a precedent for the payment of a myriad of claims involving financial hardship to selected individuals simply on the grounds that they lack legal redress. Once we start down this road, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to turn back.

I urge that in the future Congress adhere to the traditional equity basis for awards, whether or not they have been recommended by the Court of Claims under congressional reference procedures.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 29, 1974.

Veto of Bill for the Relief of Nolan Sharp

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 7768 Without His Approval.
October 29, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am withholding my approval of H.R. 7768, a bill for the relief of Mr. Nolan Sharp. I am advised by the Attorney General and I have determined that the absence of my signature from this bill prevents it becoming law. Without in any way qualifying this determination, I am also returning it without my approval to those designated by the Congress to receive messages at this time.

H.R. 7768 would authorize retroactive service-connected disability payments to Mr. Sharp, because of multiple sclerosis, for the period from January 16, 1956, to October 1, 1962. Under the bill, these payments would have to be offset against certain non-service-connected benefits Mr. Sharp received during the same period.

Mr. Sharp had honorable Army service from December 1, 1942, to June 5, 1943, when he was discharged because of severe hypochondriasis and anxiety state. The first confirmed medical diagnosis of an organic neurological disease identifiable as multiple sclerosis was made in 1949, six years after his discharge. At that time, the law allowed payment of service-connected disability benefits for multiple sclerosis manifesting itself within three years after separation from wartime service.

Mr. Sharp's claim for service-connected benefits based on multiple sclerosis received several adjudicative reviews and was the subject of appellate consideration on four occasions. On the basis of available evidence, the Veterans Administration was unable to determine direct connection of multiple sclerosis with the veteran's military service as required by law. He was, however, granted non-service-connected disability pension, effective January 16, 1956.

Effective October 1, 1962, the Congress extended the presumption of service connection for multiple sclerosis from three to seven years. The liberalizing statute, however, prohibited any retroactive payments based on the new presumption. Since Mr. Sharp qualified for service-connected benefits under the new statutory presumption, he has been receiving such payments since October 1, 1962.

Having carefully considered the circumstances of this case, I am unable to find sufficient reasons for approving this legislation to pay Mr. Sharp's benefits from an earlier date than the law permits. To make such a special award would seriously discriminate against similarly situated veterans.

Moreover, once the precedent for such special awards is established, it would be difficult to deny awards to other veterans who have been prohibited from receiving retroactive benefits under the 1962 law or similar statutes. The inevitable result would be to undermine the integrity and impartiality essential to the administration of such veterans' benefits.

For these reasons, I am constrained to withhold my approval from H.R. 7768.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 29, 1974.

Veto of Farm Labor Contractor Registration Bill

*The President's Message to the House of Representatives
Returning H.R. 13342 Without His Approval.
October 29, 1974*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today, without my approval, H.R. 13342, The Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act Amendments of 1974. I am advised by the Attorney General and I have determined that the absence of my signature from this bill prevents it from becoming law. Without in any way qualifying this determination, I am also returning it without my approval to those designated by Congress to receive messages at this time.

This bill contains provisions designed to strengthen the protections of migrant farm workers under that Act, which I support. I cannot approve the bill, however, because it contains an unrelated rider which creates serious inequities and distortions in the Federal personnel system.

In the decade since the enactment of the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963, it has become apparent that the provisions of that law have not been adequate to accomplish its purpose of protecting migrant farm workers from abuses by farm labor contractors. For nearly a year, the Administration has been working with the Congress to develop legislation which would improve the Act, and there has been give and take on all sides. I am pleased with this spirit of cooperation, and endorse those provisions of H.R. 13342 which apply to migrant farm workers.

Unfortunately, the Congress has seen fit to add a rider to this bill which is totally unrelated to the needs of migrant farm workers.

Section 17 of the bill would arbitrarily reclassify hearing officer positions in the Department of Labor, and make existing hearing officers Administrative Law Judges regardless of their qualifications.

I am gravely disturbed by that part of Section 17 relating to the hearing officers now employed by the Labor Department to hear and decide "black lung" claims. These employees would by fiat be declared to be Administrative Law Judges without regard to their capacity to fill such positions. Since Administrative Law Judges hired in the usual manner must demonstrate such capacity, this feature would be contrary to all principles of a civil service system based upon merit and competition among candidates.

I also cannot accept the feature of Section 17 which would legislatively classify and pay at the GS-16 level these newly designated Administrative Law Judges for the "black lung" program, as well as those who currently hear claims under the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act and the members of the Benefits Review Board established by the Longshore Amendments of 1972. Such a provision would arbitrarily impose a grade level without due regard for the relative complexity and difficulty of the work involved. By over-classifying certain positions, it would be disruptive of the principle of equal pay for equal work. This would create inequities within the Labor Department, and between positions of that agency and those in a number of other agencies, including approximately 400 GS-15 Administrative Law Judges in the Social Security Administration.

My concern about legislating classifications and pay of special groups of employees was the basis for my disapproving H.R. 5094, which provided for an arbitrary and inequitable reclassification of deputy U.S. marshals. In my first veto upon assuming the Presidency, I expressed my strong concern about granting preferential pay treatment by statute, and indicated that our policy must be to provide equal salaries for equal work. The rider to H.R. 13342 contains deficiencies similar to those in H.R. 5094.

In summary, I cannot accept a legislative provision which would disrupt sound principles of personnel administration, would create serious pay inequities by providing overly liberal salaries to employees in one agency leading to demands for similar treatment by large numbers of employees in other agencies, and would not effectively serve the public interest.

I urge the Congress, upon its return next month, to send me a bill—which I will promptly approve—without the unacceptable personnel provision I have described, a

bill which is directed only toward strengthening the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 29, 1974.

Veto of Rehabilitation Act Amendments

*The President's Message to the House of Representatives
Returning H.R. 14225 Without His Approval.
October 29, 1974*

To the House of Representatives:

I am today returning, without my approval, H.R. 14225, the Rehabilitation Act and Randolph-Sheppard Act Amendments of 1974, and the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals Act. I am advised by the Attorney General and I have determined that the absence of my signature from this bill prevents it from becoming law. Without in any way qualifying this determination, I am also returning it without my approval to those designated by Congress to receive messages at this time.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1974 pose some fundamental issues which far transcend this particular bill. No group in our country is more in need of supportive services than the Handicapped. Our handicapped citizens have demonstrated time and again that, given a fair break, they can lead as full and productive lives as other citizens.

Throughout my years in Congress I consistently supported good Federal programs designed to assist the handicapped.

During the last two years spending on the basic grant programs for Vocational Rehabilitation has grown from \$589 million to \$680 million. The key issue posed by this bill is not how much money will be spent. The issue posed is how well the programs will be run.

This bill passed the House of Representatives without any hearings. Had hearings been held we would have explained the disruption that would result from such a massive legislative incursion into the administration of a program.

The Congress has the responsibility to legislate, but I have the responsibility for the successful administration of the programs they enact. This bill is an attempt to administer through legislation. It transfers a program from one part of HEW to another for no good reason—indeed for very bad reasons. It dictates where in HEW minute decisions must be made, it creates independent organizational units at subordinate levels that are wasteful and

duplicative and it sets up a monitoring process for the construction and modernization of Federal facilities that would force me to create a new 250-man bureaucracy in HEW to duplicate functions carried out elsewhere in the Executive Branch. Most importantly, the bill blurs accountability. I cannot be responsible for the good management of all Federal programs if I cannot hold my Cabinet Secretaries accountable. Under this legislation accountability would be diffused. I find myself obliged to return to the Congress unsigned a bill that would disrupt existing Federal programs and ill serve the needs of our Nation's handicapped citizens. The present Vocational Rehabilitation legislation does not expire until mid 1975.

Plenty of time remains for us to work out a bill which will improve Federal programs for the handicapped rather than create the disruptions that will inevitably result from this hastily drawn piece of legislation. I have requested HEW Secretary Weinberger to meet with congressional leaders immediately upon their return to initiate this process.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 29, 1974.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

*The President's Remarks at a Rally at Calder Plaza.
October 29, 1974*

Thank you very, very much, Governor Milliken, Mayor Parks, Jack Root, every one of you for being here. Nobody can accuse any of you of being fair weather friends. Thank you very much.

But let me say somewhat inadequately, there is no way in which I can personally express my gratitude, my appreciation, my indebtedness to all of you who are here in this difficult weather to say hello, to warmly welcome me. I am just overwhelmed, and words are inadequate to express everything that I feel deep down in my heart. Thank you very, very much.

There was a wonderful crowd at the airport, and we stopped at one of the crowds on the way in. I just cannot believe so many are here in these circumstances, and as I shook hands, either at the airport or on the way in or with those that I have had the privilege of saying hello to here tonight, I saw friends that I went to Madison School with, friends that I went to South High with, friends that I worked with in many, many scientific projects—Democrats, independents, Republicans, young and old. There is nothing I can say except thank you, every one of you, for being here.

And may I thank Althea Bennett here for the box of cookies which she has given me. As was indicated, I used to stop in at Petersen's Drug Store for an early breakfast, and she was there to help prepare it, and I used to enjoy those cookies very much then, and I am sure I will now.

But I must tell Althea I have a big appetite. It is a long trip back to Washington. They may all be gone before Betty sees a single one.

Now, let me talk about why I am here. I came back to Grand Rapids because on 13 different occasions in the past, over a period of 26 years, I campaigned in the fifth Congressional district—which originally was Ottawa and Kent Counties and is now Kent and Ionia and four other counties—because I love the communities. And whether it was Ottawa, Kent, Ionia, Clinton, Montcalm, et cetera, I love the communities and the people.

And as many of you know, I have taken Jerry Ford's Main Street office to Byron Center, Standale, Caledonia, Alto, Rockford, Kent City, Sand Lake, Ionia, Belding, Wells, Portland, and every place else, and it was a great privilege for me to talk with you in the trailer.

It was a great privilege to go to your service club, to your farm bureau community meeting, to go to your churches, to your city hall, to meet you on the street, to go to the Lowell Showboat, rodeo, the red flannel celebration—well, you name it, wherever you had five people I went there because I like you, and I am back here today because I just could not stay away from this area one more time. I thank you again for the opportunities of the past.

As I have seen so many of you here today, and as I said a moment ago, Grand Rapids, Kent County, Ionia, Ottawa County and the others—you are a good cross-section of America. You represent all segments of our society. We have some wonderful farms, we have some excellent businesses, we have some tremendously productive working people in this community. I am prejudiced, but I think we have the best here, and all of you who are here represent the best in America.

As I have said to our good friend, Mayor Lyman Parks, Grand Rapids is big enough to have many of the problems of some of the major metropolitan areas. We have enough diversification in agriculture, so that I learned from firsthand experience the problems of the dairymen, the cattlemen, the applegrower, and other people that produce so all of us can eat.

But the main thing that I loved about this area was we had some big city problems, but we were small enough so that you got to know people. You have got to love them. You have got to enjoy working for whatever the problem was. I do not know how many times I walked down Cedar Springs behind about five bands in that Cedar Springs Red Flannel Parade, or how many times I have had the privilege of visiting one community or another.

It is the warmth, it is the friendliness, it is the look in the eye of people that makes you welcome. And the most important thing is that people in this area seem to want to work out the problems that they have, whether they are

labor and management on the one hand, or consumer and producer on the other.

I cannot help but make a comment, Lyman, about that Calder that you gave me. I was in Chicago a couple of days ago, and some of my friends over there were kidding me about Grand Rapids being a small town. And some of the commentators and writers were kidding me about, perhaps, the lack of culture in Grand Rapids. Well, I happen to think—if my memory is correct—we had a Calder in Grand Rapids before Chicago thought of it.

And then I have had some friends from various parts of the country tell me that, well, Grand Rapids was a little on the conservative side. Well, I cannot help but ask them in good conscience what they mean. Do they mean the people here have a healthy skepticism of quick and easy solutions? If that is a definition of conservatism, yes, we are skeptical. We are a little conservative about some of the superficial answers that some people try to sell us.

But if they mean that Grand Rapids and its environs are skeptical about new ideas, the answer is no. We are broadminded; we have a good outlook. And when a new idea comes along that is constructive, that is fair to everybody, we in Grand Rapids embrace it and make it work. And that is what we have done all my lifetime.

Let me reminisce a moment, if I might. Some of us in the audience here can remember when the old B. F. Keith Theater was down here on Lyon Street, and some of us can remember when the Regent Theater was right over there, just where the Federal Building was, I guess, and some of the other old broken-down business places that needed to be removed—and this wonderful Vandenberg Center constructed.

And in honor of one of Grand Rapids' outstanding citizens, in my judgment, probably the outstanding Senator that I have known in Washington, we built this Vandenberg Center in honor and in tribute to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg.

And you know that Federal Building—I used to have an office right up there in the corner. I used to look down here, and I could see at various times of the day there would be periodic meetings and wonderful luncheon gatherings. Occasionally we had a demonstration or two, and sometimes in the moonlight I could look down and see a few friendly people holding hands. And what is wrong with that?

But the point is that this great Vandenberg Center with the Calder stabile is, in my opinion, a tribute to a great Senator, a tribute to a great people. It is a product of a community that has the vision and the foresight to do something for themselves in conjunction or in partnership with the Federal Government.

And that is the way Arthur Vandenberg believed; he was receptive to new ideas. He was a senior Senator in Washington when Betty and I first went to the Nation's capital. He and his wonderful wife, Hazel, could not have been kinder, could not have been more receptive to two newcomers to the Nation's capital. He gave me, in all

honesty, the inspiration to take a look at the world as a whole. Arthur Vandenberg, some of you may recall, was former—with former President Harry Truman—was the architect of a bipartisan foreign policy following World War II.

The two of them—a great Democratic President, Harry Truman, and a great Republican Senator, Senator Arthur Vandenberg—worked together hand-in-glove following World War II when the world was in devastation, when a good share of the world was on its back, and other nations—like our own—had serious problems.

But from those ashes, Harry Truman and Arthur Vandenberg put together a foreign policy that brought allies together, presented a common front against potential adversaries, helped underdeveloped nations grow and become a vital part of our world society. And that bipartisan foreign policy which I learned—and fortunately learned from one of the masters—I think, is the future of the world.

And we in Washington today, representing all of you—Democrats, Republicans, independents—should march shoulder to shoulder to make sure that our country, our great United States of America, gives the leadership in consolidating friends, and gives leadership in trying to make new contacts, broader contacts, with potential adversaries. What we want to build is a world of peace so that your children and my children and their children can live in safety and security and a better world wherever they might live—Grand Rapids or elsewhere.

And I pledge to you, as President of the United States—believe me, folks, my friends at home, I never thought for one minute when Betty and I left here in December of 1949, that I would be coming home to all of you as your President—but as President, I will pledge to you, as I have pledged to you in 13 previous elections, that I will do my best, I will be fair, I will be open, I will work, and I will continue the love and affection and the dedication that I have, that all of you have, for your community, for your friends, for your State, and for your Nation. This is what you can give and what I can give, and on behalf of Betty and myself, I pledge you nothing but all I can do for all of you and many like you.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:35 p.m. at Calder Plaza, Grand Rapids, Mich.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

The President's Remarks at an Informal Reception for Republican Candidates. October 29, 1974

May I say just a word, and it will be very, very short, because it has been a long day, but a wonderful day, and

there is no way I can express in words or sentences or in paragraphs or a speech the appreciation that I have for all of the wonderful people who are here.

I look at so many of you, and I cannot help but be appreciative of what you have done for Betty and for me over the 13 past elections where, you know, without your support, I could not have been in the Congress and therefore could not have been in a position where I finally got where I am today.

But without all that you have done—and I don't mean financially, because I know how hard most of you have worked in the vineyards as precinct people, as party workers, as well as donors, and this kind of just deep feeling, whether you agreed with me on every issue—and as I look around the room, I see some people who have written some critical letters from time to time, but at least you had an open door then, and the truth is you will have an open door now.

So on behalf of Betty—and I will say to you that she is deeply apologetic—this is not quite the right word—that she is not out here, but she is doing great, she is just coming along fine. She is giving me a few harsh words, and I know that is the fact that she is getting better and better. And I am being silenced more and more, and that is a sign that I am noticing that she is better and better.

So on behalf of Betty and myself, I thank you all for coming.

Now let me make one quick observation. I used to be, as an outside observer, as minority leader in the House of Representatives, going down to talk with Democratic Presidents and Republican Presidents. And I wondered how the office operated. Well, I am learning.

And as Harry Truman once said, "The buck stops here." And the trouble is that you have to say yes or no, you cannot say maybe. And the net result is that you have to disappoint some and hopefully please a few others. But what I am pledged to do—to you and to millions of others—I am going to do it as I see best from the point of view of anybody and everybody.

I think most of you knew my working schedule when I was around Grand Rapids and the surrounding area. It started very early and ended very late. It has not changed, and it is not going to change. I love it. I thrive on it. And the net result is that you can get a lot more work done in 12 and 14 hours than you can in 8, and we are going to keep working at it, and we are going to do the very best we know how. And we are going to call them as we see them.

There are some tough decisions, but I happen to believe, despite some of the comments, that we are making headway overseas. I have gotten not one but several reports from Henry Kissinger every day he has been gone. We are encouraged, whether it is in Moscow, whether it is in India. And I am confident that we are going to continue to make progress in the solution of the difficult problems in

the Middle East, between Greece and Cyprus and Turkey.

I am confident we are going to strengthen and solidify the Western Alliance. We are looking forward to the trip to Vladivostok to meet Mr. Brezhnev. We hope to have a successful, and I believe we will, meeting in Japan as well as South Korea.

All of this is aimed at peace, not only for this year but for a long, long time. And that is what our objective is.

Now, I am not going to stand here in front of so many of you and deny that we are having some troubles, economically, at home. I never tried to kid anybody when I was campaigning on 13 different occasions. I am going to tell you the truth. We have some problems at home, economically, both because the economy is a little soft on the one hand, and inflation is a little high on the other.

But the program I submitted to the Congress—if it is enacted, if it is implemented in its entirety—will get over both problems, will strengthen the economy, and will whip inflation. So let's work for that kind of a program.

Now, if I could conclude with one political observation. I have known the Goebel family a long time. I first knew that family when Paul Goebel, Sr., was officiating high school games around Grand Rapids and I was a beginner in the football arena in this area.

I have to tell you a personal story. Paul, one time when he was officiating a game—this is Paul, Sr., who is about 5 inches taller than I—I must have made some infraction of the rules, and he grabbed me and said, "Ford, you did this." I did not argue with him.

But Paul Goebel, Sr., set a great example for his son, as my father did for me. As you know, my father, I think, was one of the great citizens of this community, our State, and the Nation.

And I think Paul Goebel, Sr., fits the same pattern and the same category, but he has got a great son in Paul, Jr. I hope and trust that Paul, Jr., will be elected to the Congress.

I know Paul. I have known him from his early youth. I watched his political progress. I have seen what he can do and how he has made honest, conscientious, tough decisions.

I cannot imagine someone doing a finer job in this Congressional district than Paul Goebel, Jr., and I strongly urge you, from the depth of my conviction and dedication, urge you to maximize your efforts on behalf of Paul. He is the kind of guy I would like in Washington.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. in the Ballroom at the Hospitality Inn, Grand Rapids, Mich.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

The President's Remarks at Calvin College. October 29, 1974

Thank you very much, Paul. Thanks Bill Farr, Bob VanderLaan, Bill Zaagman, Pete, Marty, all of the other candidates at the State and local level, all of you who in all honesty overwhelm me as they did down at the Vandenberg Plaza:

I have been in a good many States in recent weeks, and I am going to a couple more the latter part of this week and the first of next. And let me say that this is beyond—above and beyond the call of duty. I thank you. It is just wonderful to be here. I am deeply indebted to each and every one of you.

You know Bill Spoelhof, the great President of Calvin College. Bill and I started out as precinct workers together a long time ago. I was always scared to death that he would be a candidate for Congress. [*Applause*] Thank goodness he did not, after that reaction.

But, Bill, I want to thank you for always making the Calvin facilities available. I have been here a number of times. As you know, I have always had a warm welcome, and this crowd tonight reminds me of a good Calvin-Hope basketball contest. Since I did not go to either one, I could be completely objective, pulling for both.

But I did see something that was on the chair as I sat down. It has been sort of a tradition of my campaign to put out these hot pads, or whatever they call them. And they were always gobbled up by thoughtful women who wanted to be reminded what a good Congressman would do. And we always used to put on those hot pads, "Vote for some Congressman by the name of Ford who works for you in Congress." That is what we emphasized—work for you in Congress. And that is what Paul Goebel will do for you. He will work for you in Congress.

I can see, as I look around this great crowd, some wonderful people from Ionia, from Montcalm, from Barry, from Eaton, from Clinton, as well as from Kent County. I love you, and it is just great to see you all. Naturally, I am delighted to be back home. I just wish Betty were here. But she did ask me to extend to you, one and all, her gratitude for the many prayers, many thoughtful messages—all of which have been extremely helpful to her and to us during this difficult period.

I thank you very much on her behalf.

I think all these wonderful balloons—she is the best part of the family; I always said that—but I got a big kick out of watching all these balloons come down from the ceiling at the start of the program. You might say this is the big difference between our position and our side of the aisle and their position on the other side of the aisle. We put hot air in the balloons, and they put it in their speeches.

You know, a few weeks ago the Ohio State University was thoughtful enough to ask me to—I said they were thoughtful enough to invite me to come and give a commencement address. And, gee, they could not have been nicer. But it does create a bit of a problem, with this contest coming up in a couple of weeks with the Buckeyes and the Wolverines. I try to be nonpartisan as I go from one State to another, but it is particularly difficult to be nonpartisan when it comes to such basic matters as football.

Now take this game between Ohio and Michigan in a couple of weeks. People keep asking me who I will be rooting for. Well, I think the late President Kennedy had a real good answer. He handled the problem extremely well. He was in Iowa, just before their big game with Notre Dame. And someone asked him the very same question, "Who will you be rooting for, Mr. President?"

And Jack Kennedy said, "I will be rooting for Iowa."

And then he added, after a tremendous cheer went up, "But I will be praying for Notre Dame."

So come the Michigan-Ohio game, I will let you figure out who I will be rooting for and who I will be praying for.

Every 2 years for the last 25, for 13 campaigns, I have come back to your Congressional district seeking your support and gratefully receiving it. I have never been disappointed. I have always been most appreciative.

I guess it is kind of a habit to come back, and on the 14th it just seemed to me, even if I could come back for just one day it would be like coming home. It does not mean I can go from Kent to Ionia to Montcalm to Eaton to Clinton to Barry County.

That would be quite a bit in the limited time available, but whether I am in all six counties or not, my heart, my soul, my conviction, my dedication is there for the purpose of electing Paul Goebel to Congress from the Fifth Congressional District.

I thought it was very wonderful for the Governor to come to Grand Rapids today to participate in our ceremonies down at Vandenberg Center and to thoughtfully introduce me.

I have known Bill Milliken for a long time. I knew him when he was a State Senator. I knew him in his other responsibilities, and I watched him very carefully and extremely closely as Governor of our great State. And in the process, over the last months, I have had the opportunity of looking—and I say this to anybody who has any doubt whatsoever—I have had the privilege of looking at Governors from many States—Democrats, Republicans—and Bill Milliken by any standard—and I say this as strongly, as vigorously as I can—Bill Milliken by any standard is at the very top, and I hope he is reelected.

I guess I am prejudiced, but for good reasons. If Bill Milliken is going to do the job that he is expected to do as Governor of our great State, then Bill needs support in the State Legislature.

You know the ones that have served you well, the ones who are seeking to serve you well. And I just hope that Bill gets the team that he deserves to do the best job for the great Wolverine State. Do your best, if you possibly can, for this great group of State legislative candidates.

You know, I have gotten a lot of advice lately from friends and foes and neutral observers. They said, "Mr. President, you ought to stay in Washington, surround yourself with that beautiful atmosphere at the White House, spend some time with your new dog Liberty, and cogitate over these great decisions that are presented to you, and then let the voters out in the respective areas of this country make up their own minds."

I respectfully disagree with that view. I happen to believe that a President of the United States who has conviction and dedication ought to go out and talk to the people and listen to them instead of sitting in the Oval Office at the time of a great campaign.

It is my deep belief, it is my honest conviction, that we are doing right, both at home and abroad. We have some tough hurdles to cover, but as you look across the spectrum internationally or domestically and compare the role of our country with other countries, the problems of our country with other countries, the United States is doing well, and we should be darned proud to be Americans and to participate in our society.

In the last 3 months since I became President, I have traveled almost 17,000 miles, met literally hundreds and thousands of citizens in many, many States, and I think it is the most refreshing, the most helpful experience, because there are literally, unbelievably, great numbers of wonderful people who have some thoughts and ideas and suggestions and contributions to make.

I think their help and assistance is just as vital as what I can get sitting in the White House looking at a lot of memorandums and papers that come from a fine staff or come from others.

This group here has got the power, the genius, the drive, the help, and I am darned fortunate to be here and to see you all and to get the message that you are giving me, which is the message you gave me in 13 previous elections—integrity, dedication, work, objectivity and a love for America as much as you have it, and I hope I do, and I believe I do.

I am here tonight for a particular purpose, but I must express my gratitude to the local officials, Jack Root of the county, Lyman Parks of the city, and their respective associates for the unbelievable reception down at the Vandenberg Center and in the Calder area.

You know, the weather was a little bad, but I think it is fair to say that they were not good weather friends. They were there because we had a rapport. And I did not ask that group because it is a nonpartisan group, but I am here to ask every one of you to help in any way you can—and this is a message from Betty as well as from

me—to elect Paul Goebel on November 5 so I can have the good help that I need from the Fifth District in Washington, D.C.

I said a moment ago I traveled almost 17,000 miles, 16 States. My hope is that to some extent I can be beneficial, helpful in electing a Congress that will help me in the battle we are undertaking to lick inflation and to strengthen our economy.

What I want is a Congress that will help me make sure—and let me emphasize this very perfectly, very categorically—I want a Congress that will help me make certain and positive that your paycheck buys as much on the day you cash it as on the day that you earned it. That is our program.

If I know anything about the people of this district, whether you are in business or on the production line or on a farm or in the service, or in a service organization, the people of this district understand the sound fundamentals of how to run a business, a church, a school, a PTA or the Government.

I want to, if I might, address a few observations and comments to what I believe, and I hope you believe, is public enemy number one—inflation. With your help and with the election of a cooperative Congress, I am confident that we can whip inflation and this button, WIN, means Whip Inflation Now. And we can with a good program, which I have submitted to the Congress and with the cooperation of 213 million Americans, we can do it, but we need the Congress, and we need the help of all of you.

And as I look around here, I see a great many people who have the WIN button on them, and if you don't have one, write us, and the White House will see that you get it as long as you enlist in that army to Whip Inflation Now.

But let me make this observation: When I talk about a cooperative Congress, I am talking about a Congress that will be conscientious about how they handle your tax dollars.

In the Congress, from 25 years experience, I could pick out the big spenders and the savers, and the record clearly shows that in the Congress of the United States, the majority of the big spenders are on the Democratic side of the aisle.

The majority of the savers are on our side of the aisle. It is just that simple.

Now, I admit there are a few crossovers on one issue, or perhaps on the overall. But I am talking to you very pragmatically, that this district has consistently had a Congressman who is in the category of a saver, not a spender. And if you want to restore that reputation, you darn well better vote for Paul Goebel in the next election.

Now, I have been reading newspapers and listening to some of the commentators recently, and I have noticed that everybody is predicting the worst possible results from the Republican point of view. They say we are going to be

clobbered, we are going to be wiped out, there is going to be a catastrophic defeat for the Republican Party, we are going to have a terrible time in this election.

I respect those who want to vote for a legislative dictatorship. I don't agree with it, because the balance in our Government is predicated on what our forefathers wrote in the Constitution and what we have adopted by practice over the last 200 years, of a balance between the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches, so that no part of our Government, no individual could control the destinies, the fate of people in this great land.

And this system of checks and balances, this finely tuned system of balance between our three coordinate branches of Government, has given us more freedom, more opportunity, and more blessings than any people in the history of mankind. And we have got to keep that balance.

But you can destroy that balance. You can destroy that balance if the opposition were to gain a net of 50 in the House or 7 or 8 in the Senate. It would put a stranglehold on the legislative process, because it would mean the inevitable election of those of the most liberal persuasion in the Democratic Party.

I am not condemning all Democrats because some of them have been extremely helpful, and particularly the Democratic leadership in the House and the Senate. But their troops run wild. They are like a commander who tells them to do what is right, and then they scatter all over the ballpark.

And so what I am saying to you is what we really need is competition in the Congress, not an overwhelming majority in the ranks of one political party, because if you get that kind of 2-to-1, 3-to-1, 4-to-1 strength in one political party, inevitably you have this legislative dictatorship which destroys that very fundamental concept that has made it so great for all of us in America, a balance.

So a veto-proof Congress is not what we want. I have got a better idea, this forecast: We want an inflation-proof Congress, not a veto-proof Congress. And Paul Goebel will give us that result.

Now if you get a veto-proof Congress, if you get a legislative dictatorship, as I have indicated, the whole system of checks and balances go out the window.

Now some of my good Democratic friends have a different idea of checks and balances—a little different from mine. They write the checks even though there are never any balances.

And from your own personal experience, you know where that could lead. But let me make this observation, if I can. I am told that there is a great degree of apathy in America, and yet when I go to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, they have 10,000 in an auditorium like this and 5,000 people who could not get in. When I went to Lincoln in Nebraska, they had 5,000 or 6,000 at an airport rally. We have been to other communities where the

crowds have been good. We have had a few disappointments, but we have had good reception.

Tonight is the best, and I thank you for it.

But do you realize that all of you here tonight can directly affect this election come November 5? You have it within your own grasp. You have it by your own vote, and how you can persuade, how you can help, by just what this group does here tonight.

On the other hand, if some of you sit it out, this election can be lost. I do not think you are going to be the kind of a villain who won't participate.

I don't think you are going to be apathetic or you would not be here tonight, but there are many of your neighbors and your friends who, according to the statisticians, are not going to participate.

Let me give you something that is terribly disturbing—it ought to scare you as it does me—that the national percentage of votes cast in the Congressional off-year elections, like the one that is coming up next week, based on the total number of eligible voters, only 46.3 percent cast their ballots in 1962, only 45.6 percent took the time to do so in 1966, and the percentage of eligibles who voted in the last off-year election, 1970, was even lower—43.8.

Now, in this last special election that was held in February, about 35 percent in this district went to the polls. According to the statisticians, the computer projection, only 42 percent of your fellow Americans are going to vote in this election in all 50 States on November 5.

I made a speech earlier this week at Arlington Cemetery. I made a speech there because it was Veterans Day. We were paying tribute to and memorializing the hundreds and hundreds who have been buried in this wonderful cemetery. It gave me an inspiration to say to you that if they could give their lives to give you the right to vote, you ought to exercise that right to vote.

I cannot imagine an election that is more important to this district, to this State, than what will take place and transpire right here in the Fifth District next week.

Paul Goebel I have known since he was just a lad. His dad knew me when I was back at South High—an inspired if not very competent football player. I have known the Goebel family a long time, and they are strong and they are tall, and they are the kind of people who are dedicated to public service. Paul Junior's father was; Paul Junior himself is.

And I have seen nothing but the finest in that family, and young Paul, he epitomizes all the great characteristics of that family.

And therefore, on the basis of quality as a person and experience in business and government, you have a great candidate. You have the kind of candidate that will do a job for all of you and for our State and for our country.

I know that he will stand up when the going is tough in the House of Representatives, and I know that the trials and the tribulations that a Member of Congress goes

through when he has to decide what is good and what is bad, and it is not always black or white, there is a little gray here and there.

But Paul has the brains and the conscience and the understanding to sift out the good from the bad and to give you a right answer, and, therefore, without hesitation, reservation, or qualification, I can tell you I have already voted for Paul by absentee voter's ballot.

I am not going to try and vote again. Once is enough to show my support for a darned good Congressional candidate.

Now, let me add one final word, if I may. There are some people on the dais here who, to some extent, began politics about the same time I did or had an interest in it.

We are sort of—that generation that came along after World War II—most of us came back from some military service. Most of us saw the mistakes that our country made in the twenties when we thought, mistakenly, that the Atlantic Ocean on one side and the Pacific on the other would be an adequate protection and we, as a Nation, could close our eyes, close our ears, and not pay attention to the problems in the rest of the world and let them fight it out, or whatever they wanted to do.

That was the mistake of the twenties and the thirties, and the consequence was between Hitler and Mussolini and others. We got involved in a contest between freedom on the one hand and the effort on the part of some to subjugate people on the other.

Whether it was in Hitler Germany or Mussolini Italy or elsewhere, the issue was clear-cut, and 16 million Americans went to war in the Pacific or in the Atlantic. And you know, most of us came back convinced that this was a globe, and we had to live together and work together to find peace together, to build together, to help one another in one way or another.

As I sat down at Calder, the one that convinced me that this approach was right, the approach of cooperation, was Arthur Vandenberg, a great Senator from our city and from our State.

And Arthur Vandenberg convinced me if we were going to solve the problems of the Mediterranean, we had to support Harry Truman's program of Greek-Turkey aid; that we had to help a Democratic President even though both Senator Vandenberg and I were Republican, by helping the rehabilitation, the reconstruction of Western Europe, including the Netherlands.

And he convinced me that we, on the other side of the political aisle, had to help a Democratic President build a sufficiently strong defense program, not for aggression, but for the maintenance of peace. So Arthur Vandenberg was a great, great leader for our country and a great inspiration to me.

He taught me how to work with Democrats. He taught me the right approach as far as foreign policy was concerned. And the net result was we have had, relatively

speaking, in Western Europe and many other parts of the world, a policy that was basically bipartisan—some variations, some deviations—and all of us, in my judgment, have been better off. It has led to peace in Europe. It has led to the détente that was initiated in the last 5 years. It has led to the achievements of a new approach to our relations with the People's Republic of China.

This bipartisanship under the leadership of our party has given to us, I think, the most solid foundation for peace over a longer period of time.

Now this last session of the Congress was very difficult. The Democratic leadership and the Republican leadership have worked with me, a Republican President. But unfortunately, too many of the troops have gone in a hundred different directions.

And the consequence is, we have not had the support to find the proper answer to help the Greeks and Turks resolve their problems in Cyprus. There has not been the kind of support which we need to keep a sound policy in Southeast Asia. There has not been the kind of support that I think is needed to help us find the difficult key to the problems of the Middle East. And they are tough, and they are treacherous, and they are explosive.

What I am saying is we have got some tough problems overseas, and Paul Goebel—because I know him, I have talked to him, and because I have looked at the record of his opponent—in my judgment is the best man to help me keep the peace and strengthen the peace in the months ahead. And I hope you will support him.

Well, it has just been wonderful to be here. I love every one of you. You have put up with me in the past. You have been kind to me when you thought I was wrong. You supported me much too often for which I am grateful. But I hope and trust that in the months ahead, whatever I do will justify your faith, because I promise you, as I did the day I was sworn in, that I will do everything I can to make America strong and good and do everything I can to make America for the best of all.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:02 p.m. at Knollcrest Fieldhouse, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

National Historical Publications Commission

Announcement of Appointment of Vermont C. Royster as a Member of the Commission. October 30, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Vermont C. Royster of Chapel Hill, N.C., as a member of the National Historical Publications Commission for a

term expiring December 26, 1977. He succeeds Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., whose term expired.

Mr. Royster is currently serving as Kenan Professor of Journalism and Public Affairs at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. In 1936, he became a reporter with the Wall Street Journal. In 1946, Mr. Royster became chief Washington correspondent and was named the editor of the Wall Street Journal in 1958.

Mr. Royster was born in Raleigh, N.C., on April 30, 1914. He received his A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1935.

He is married to the former Frances Claypoole, and they have two children. They reside in Chapel Hill, N.C.

Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy

Announcement of Reappointment of Donald O. Heumann as a Member of the Board. October 30, 1974

The President today announced the reappointment of Donald O. Heumann, of New Orleans, La., as a member of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy for a term expiring December 30, 1977. He has been a member of the Board since his appointment in December 1971 and is currently serving as the elected Chairman.

Mr. Heumann is presently the owner of Rohm's Flowers in New Orleans. Since 1950, he has been a member of the Navy League of the United States. He serves on the Advisory Council of Naval Affairs for the Commandant, 8th Naval District.

Mr. Heumann was born on January 2, 1926, in New Orleans, La. From 1944 to 1946, he served in the United States Navy as a combat air crewman.

He is married to the former Shirley Moskau, and they have three children. They reside in New Orleans, La.

National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children

Announcement of Appointment of Five Members of the Council. October 30, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of five persons to be members of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children for terms expiring September 15, 1977. They are:

CAROL LEVITT SCHWARTZ, of Washington, D.C., member of the executive board, Parents' Pre-School Council of the District of Columbia. She succeeds Barbara Culver whose term expired.

GEORGE WILLEFORD, of Austin, Tex., physician, pediatrics. He succeeds Alfred McElroy, whose term expired.

BEN REIFEL, of Aberdeen, S. Dak., retired Congressman. He succeeds Jose C. Barbosa, whose term expired.

ROSELLA EDITH LIPSON, of Beverly Hills, Calif., president, Pre-School Mobile Foundation, Inc. She succeeds Ruth H. Hagenstein, whose term expired.

MARY ANNE McCABE, of Montezuma Creek, Utah, teacher, Montezuma Creek Elementary School. She succeeds Mrs. Michael Sotirhos whose term expired.

The Council was originally established by Public Law 89-10 of April 11, 1965. It was reconstituted by Public Law 91-230 of April 13, 1970, and now consists of 15 members serving staggered terms of 3 years.

The purpose of the Council is to review the administration and operation of this title of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended, including its effectiveness in improving the educational attainment of educationally deprived children and making recommendations for its improvement and its administration and operation.

National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development

Announcement of Appointment of Five Members and Designation of Chairman. October 30, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of five persons to be members of the National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development for terms expiring April 26, 1977. They are:

MILDRED M. CURTIS, of Minden, Nebr., registered nurse and a member of the American Nurses Association. She succeeds Jennie Caruso, whose term expired.

JUDY ANN BUFFMIRE, of Salt Lake City, Utah, director, Rocky Mountain Regional Resource Center, Salt Lake City, Utah. She succeeds Larry J. Blake whose term expired.

HENRY LUCAS, JR., D.D.S., of San Francisco, Calif., dentist, private practice. He succeeds Jason E. Boynton whose term expired.

EDWARD A. MEDINA, of Fairview, N. Mex., regional training officer and assistant professor, department of education, early childhood education specialist, Eastern New Mexico University. He succeeds Marvin D. Johnson whose term expired.

HUGO A. SABATO, of Cincinnati, Ohio, vice president, Schoenling Brewing Co. He succeeds M. Elizabeth Jacka whose term expired.

The President also today announced his designation of Lyle E. Anderson, Jr., of Plantation, Fla., to serve as Chairman of the Council. He succeeds Larry J. Blake.

The Council, consisting of 15 members appointed by the President, was established by Public Law 90-35 of June 29, 1967, to review the operations of the Federal programs for the training and development of educational personnel and evaluating their effectiveness in meeting needs for additional educational personnel. The Council

makes an annual report to the President and the Congress on its findings and recommendations.

Budget Deferrals and Rescissions

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Deferrals and Rescissions. October 31, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I herewith report on additional deferrals for the fiscal year 1975, as required by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. These deferral actions have been taken to reduce the inflationary effects of the Public Works for Water and Power Development and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation Act of 1975 (Public Law 93-393). When I approved the Act, I did so with the hope and expectation that the Congress would work in cooperation with the Executive Branch to defer for one full year the expenditure of that amount of appropriated funds which would contribute excessively to inflationary government spending.

The deferral actions reported today decrease the amount of budget authority which would otherwise be available in the fiscal year 1975 by nearly \$82 million and thereby keep Federal spending from rising nearly \$57 million above current estimates. If the Congress and the President are to keep Federal outlays for the fiscal year 1975 within \$300 billion, such measures as the ones reported here are essential.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 31, 1974.

NOTE: The attachment detailing the deferrals and rescissions is printed in the Federal Register of November 5, 1974.

Budget Deferral

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Deferral. October 31, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of Title X of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-344), I am reporting the deferral of funds appropriated to carry out the Family Practice of Medicine Act (S. 3418, Ninety-First Congress).

The details of the deferral are contained in the attached report.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
October 31, 1974.

NOTE: The attachment detailing the deferral is printed in the Federal Register of November 5, 1974.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

October 25

The President met at the White House with a group of staff members and Administration officials to discuss reductions in the budget for fiscal year 1975.

The President today accepted the resignation of Raymond K. Price, Jr., as Special Consultant to the President, effective November 8, 1974.

The President announced his intention to nominate Selden G. Hill, of Orlando, Fla., to be a member of the Federal Council on Aging for a term of 2 years.

The President announced his intention to nominate Maj. Gen. Francis Paul Koisch, USA, and Wilmer Richard Hall to be members of the Mississippi River Commission. The President has designated Major General Koisch to serve as President of the Commission.

Officers of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Newspaper Publishers Association and members of ASNE's freedom of information committee met with the President.

The President today transmitted to the Congress draft amendments to the Freedom of Information Act in an effort to achieve a compromise on legislation which he had vetoed on October 17 (see page 1318 of this volume).

The President met with a group of black civil rights leaders to hear their views and recommendations on the problems facing black Americans.

The President met with V. A. Kirillin, head of the Soviet delegation to the third session of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

The President met with the Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board.

October 26

The White House announced that the President will meet with L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R., on November 23-24, 1974, in the vicinity of Vladivostok in the Soviet Union.

October 28

Representatives of the Blinded Veterans Association met with the President at the White House.

October 29

Arnold R. Miller, president of the United Mine Workers, met with the President at the White House.

During his visit to Grand Rapids, Mich., the President met with a group of labor union representatives.

October 30

Members of the Cabinet met with the President at the White House to report on the administrative and legislative progress of his economic program.

The President greeted Barbara Hutchison, Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Miss Hutchison was one of a group held hostage from September 27 to October 9 at the Venezuelan Consulate in Santo Domingo by a local splinter group.

Representatives of livestock and poultry growers met with the President.

October 31

Nicholas Camicia, chairman of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, met with the President at the White House.

The President met with the Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board.

The White House announced that President William R. Tolbert, Jr., of Liberia will meet with President Ford at the White House on Tuesday, November 5.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved October 26, 1974

- H.R. 6642..... Public Law 93-490
An act to suspend the duties on certain bicycle parts and accessories until the close of December 31, 1976, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 11251..... Public Law 93-482
An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide for the duty-free entry of methanol imported for use as fuel, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 11452..... Public Law 93-480
An act to correct an anomaly in the rate of duty applicable to crude feathers and down, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 11830..... Public Law 93-470
An act to suspend the duty on synthetic rutile until the close of June 30, 1977.
- H.R. 12035..... Public Law 93-483
An act to suspend until the close of June 30, 1975, the duty on certain carboxymethyl cellulose salts, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 13157..... Public Law 93-486
To provide for the establishment of the Clara Barton National Historic Site, Maryland; John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, Oregon; Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, North Dakota; Springfield Armory National Historic Site, Massachusetts; Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site, Alabama; Martin Van Buren National Historic Site, New York; and Sewall-Beimont House National Historic Site, Washington, District of Columbia; and for other purposes.
- H.R. 13561..... Public Law 93-487
An act to amend the Intercoastal Shipping Act, 1933.
- H.R. 13631..... Public Law 93-484
An act to suspend for a temporary period the import duty on certain horses, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 14217..... Public Law 93-477
An act to provide for increases in appropriation ceilings and boundary changes in certain units of the National Park System, to authorize appropriations for additional costs of land acquisition for the National Park System, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 15540..... Public Law 93-472
An act to extend for one year the authorization for appropriations to implement title I of the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act of 1972.
- H.R. 15643..... Public Law 93-471
District of Columbia Public Postsecondary Education Reorganization Act.
- H.R. 17027..... Public Law 93-478
An act to amend the National Visitor Center Facilities Act of 1968.
- S. 628..... Public Law 93-474
An Act to amend chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, to eliminate the annuity reduction made, in order to provide a surviving spouse with an annuity, during periods when the annuitant is not married.

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Approved October 26, 1974—Continued

- S. 1411..... Public Law 93-491
An act to authorize the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux Tribe of the Lake Traverse Reservation to consolidate its landholdings in North Dakota and South Dakota, and for other purposes.
- S. 1412..... Public Law 93-489
An Act to declare that certain federally owned lands are held by the United States in trust for the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe of the Lake Traverse Indian Reservation in North and South Dakota.
- S. 2840..... Public Law 93-479
Foreign Investment Study Act of 1974.
- S. 3234..... Public Law 93-473
Solar Energy Research, Development, and Demonstration Act of 1974.
- S. 3355..... Public Law 93-481
An act to amend the Controlled Substances Act to extend for three fiscal years the authorizations of appropriations for the administration and enforcement of that Act.
- S. 3473..... Public Law 93-475
State Department/USIA Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1975.
- S. 3698..... Public Law 93-485
An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, to enable Congress to concur in or disapprove international agreements for cooperation in regard to certain nuclear technology.
- S.J. Res. 236..... Public Law 93-476
Joint Resolution to provide for the indemnification of the Metropolitan Museum of New York for loss or damage suffered by objects in exhibition in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- S.J. Res. 250..... Public Law 93-488
Joint Resolution to extend the Regional Rail Reorganization Act's reporting date, and for other purposes.

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- H.R. 15736..... Public Law 93-493
The Reclamation Development Act of 1974.
- S. 355..... Public Law 93-492
Motor Vehicle and Schoolbus Safety Amendments of 1974.
- S. 3007..... Public Law 93-494
An act to authorize appropriations for the Indian Claims Commission for fiscal year 1975.

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- H.R. 11231..... Public Law 93-495
An act to increase deposit insurance from \$20,000 to \$40,000, to provide full insurance for public unit deposits of \$100,000 per account, to establish a National Commission on Electronic Fund Transfers, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 15427..... Public Law 93-496
Amtrak Improvement Act of 1974.

Approved October 29, 1974

- H.R. 7780..... Public Law 93-499
An act to extend for an additional tem-

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- porary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of yarns of silk, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 12281..... Public Law 93-497
An act to continue until the close of June 30, 1975, the suspension of duties on certain forms of copper, and for other purposes.
- S. 1769..... Public Law 93-498
Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974.
- S. 3792..... Public Law 93-500
Export Administration Amendments of 1974.
- S. 3838..... Public Law 93-501
An act to authorize the regulation of interest rates payable on obligations issued by affiliates of certain depository institutions, and for other purposes.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released October 24, 1974

- Advance text: remarks at a rally at Des Moines, Iowa
- Advance text: remarks at a luncheon at Des Moines, Iowa
- Advance text: remarks at a dinner at Chicago, Ill.

Released October 25, 1974

- News conference: on the President's meeting with black civil rights leaders—by Stanley S. Scott, Special Assistant to the President, Vernon E. Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, and Jesse Jackson, Leon Sullivan, Clarence Mitchell, Dorothy Height, Bayard Rustin, Carlton Goodlett, and Pauline Ellison

Released October 28, 1974

- Advance text: remarks at Veterans Day ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery

Released October 29, 1974

- Advance text: remarks at a rally at Calder Plaza, Grand Rapids, Mich.
- Advance text: remarks at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.
- News conference: following a meeting of Administration officials and representatives of the automobile industry—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Claude S. Brinegar, Secretary of Transportation, and Russell E. Train, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned from Thursday, October 17, until Monday, November 18, no nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

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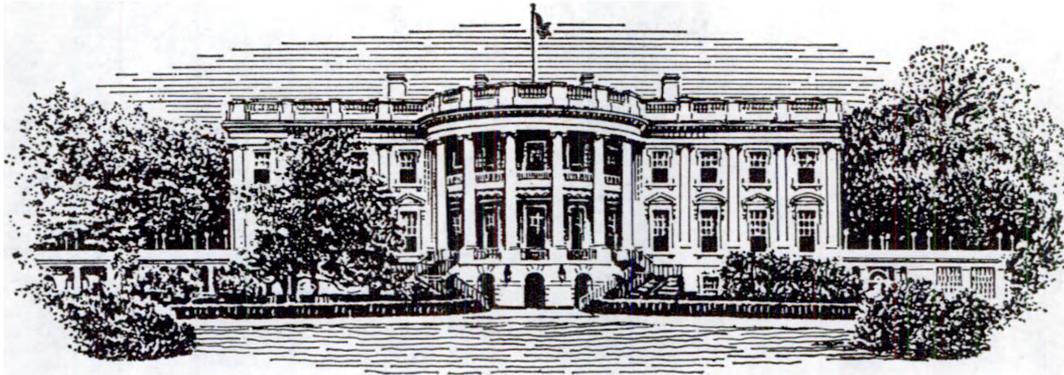
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, November 8, 1974

Sioux City, Iowa

The President's Remarks at the Sioux City Municipal Airport. October 31, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Wiley Mayne, Dave Stanley, Mayor Cole, my very good and old friend, former colleague in the House, Charlie Hoeven, all of the wonderful people from the Sixth Congressional District:

It is just great to be here a third time, and I thank you so much for the warm and tremendous welcome. I am deeply indebted and very, very grateful. Thank you very much.

A few days ago, I went to my hometown. We had a wonderful reception, but I can say without any reservation or qualification the reception here is just as enthusiastic, just as warm. And I wish to pay a special tribute to all of you who have come out on this occasion to meet me and to pay tribute to your Congressman, Wiley Mayne, and your next Senator, Dave Stanley.

I think it is very appropriate that we are having this rally at the airport. I have flown in today on a wing and a prayer. I ask you to send me some good men to Congress who will praise the Lord and pass the legislation.

It is particularly nice to be here in Sioux City, the largest community in the Sixth Congressional District in Iowa, and particularly, to pay tribute on this occasion to Wiley Mayne. You know, I have always been taught this from my early childhood—when you have a good thing going for you, you ought to keep it. And in Wiley Mayne you have that kind of a Congressman, so you darn well better keep him in the House of Representatives.

I served with Wiley almost 8 years in the House of Representatives. I have seen him on a day-to-day basis working. I have seen him work in those two great committees—the House Committee on Agriculture and the House Committee on the Judiciary. And I can assure you from this very personal experience that he is a man of skill, a man

of stature, a man who understands your problems, my problems, and is in a position because of his seniority to do something about it. So I come here and speak with conviction when I urge you to see that Wiley is reelected.

Since we are in the heartland of American agriculture, there is no better place to commend the production—actually the production genius of the American farmer, and to say thanks to so many of you who are here and thousands upon thousands of others who are not here who have labored long and effectively in the fields of America. We thank you for a job well done.

At times over the past few years, farmers, in my judgment, have been unfairly criticized as in the case of high food prices. Now, as you well know, farmers are more likely—as a matter of fact, they are probably, without doubt—the victims of inflation more than its cause. By farmer efficiency and by American agriculture's increasing productivity, farmers are actually in the frontline troops, who are staving off what might well have been an even more serious round of inflation if it had not been for their efforts.

I am acutely aware of the problems that have beset agriculture in America and the very challenging problems that you face in the growing of your crops and the marketing of your efforts.

Now, some of these have been aggravated by unwise decisions by your Government. Others are the result of absolutely unusual weather problems. It was too wet in the spring, you had a drought in the summer, and you had unseasonably early frost in the fall. And all of this, of course, complicated by the great need of additional food throughout the world.

Now, because of the price incentive and provisions in our agricultural legislation and because of the encouragement by Government to expand planted acreage, farmers throughout the States of this great Union have responded magnificently, superbly, to boost the supply of feed grains and soybeans.

Thanks to the flexibility written into the 1973 Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act, farmers were able to move relatively smoothly from a limited to a full production program. And incidentally, great credit for the major

provisions of the 1973 act can and must be given to Wiley Mayne, the top ranking Republican of the important House Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Livestock and Grain.

Let me give you a little insight or cloakroom story. While the 1973 agricultural act was being considered in committee, Wiley was being considered on the floor of the House of Representatives. I conferred very frequently with your Congressman, Wiley Mayne. I know from first-hand experience how hard he worked to help effect its enactment and to liberate farmers from the discredited income-restrictive programs of the past 40 years.

So I, as a former colleague of Wiley's, and one who worked with him as the Republican leader in the House, wish to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to Wiley for the fine job that you did on this vitally important legislation.

I think there is another area of concern—corn and soybean production is falling short of our worldwide needs. Even so, the corn crop is, I think, the fifth largest in the history of the United States, the soybean crop is the third largest, and wheat and rice the largest ever in America.

We cannot, however, in fairness, ask our farmers to produce more from their soil and from their labor unless all of us are willing to share at least a part of the production risk.

And furthermore, there are certain things that we must do, and I will promise you that we will do. Fuel and fertilizer, especially fertilizer, adequate to supply farm needs, continues to be a very serious problem and as I stated before, I will ask authorities from the Congress to assure farmers all of the fertilizer that you need for your farm. And I will make certain and positive that you will have all of the fuel that you need to do the job for all of us and consumers throughout the world.

And may I repeat for emphasis, I will not ask Congress to increase gasoline taxes. That is one tax that is high enough, believe me.

I could not come to Sioux City, the heart of the slaughter and livestock industry, particularly the cattle-feeding business, and not say a word about the production of meat. Livestock producers, particularly cattle feeders, have called to the attention of responsible officials in the Federal Government many, many times in the past year the financial wringer that they have been put through. Adjusting to higher feed costs and the increased supply of beef animals is a very painful process.

And so, today, despite a headline that I read in the newspaper here in Des Moines, not the one in Sioux City, but Des Moines—I will make an announcement, not one, but two, and reaffirm a third, and perhaps give you some other information concerning farming in 1974.

I think these announcements will relieve some of the anxiety and possibly restore some of the confidence among producers so that this great part of agriculture, which is centered in Sioux City, can become again profitable.

First, this Administration intends to carry out precisely the intent of the meat import law.

And let me be quite specific. If imports of meat, subject to the meat import law, threaten to pick up markedly during the next year, and the Agriculture Department's estimate of 1975 imports exceeds the trigger level under the meat import law, I will impose meat quotas or negotiate volunteer agreements with foreign suppliers.

Second, no action will be taken to change the present system of dairy import quotas, which means that dairy quotas for imports will not be increased unless and until there has been a thorough review of the overall problem, and full opportunity for our dairy producers to be heard at that time.

There is no intention on my part to increase dairy imports into the United States.

Third, this Administration is not going to permit foreign dairy producers to compete against the American dairymen in the United States market with subsidized products. If the Europeans reinstitute their export subsidies on dairy products directed at this market, I will impose countervailing duties on their products.

And one final announcement, which I think rounds out a pattern of strong, effective action to help the cattle and dairy business—and let me be quite specific.

In addition, I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate USDA purchases of ground beef for use in the National School Lunch Program. These purchases would provide a highly nutritious food to schools for, I think, proper use in the school lunch programs.

Let me add this, because it is not too well understood by many. These purchases will not be an additional cost to the Government, as the USDA is obligated by law to finance each school lunch program by 10 cents, either in cash or in commodities.

So this report by the Secretary of Agriculture on prospective purchases should be in my hands in a relatively short period of time, and I hope his recommendation is favorable for these purchases.

Now, as I have in the past—as Republican leader in the House, as Vice President, and now as President—as I look at the problems of agriculture, I will consult with Wiley Mayne for guidance, for help in the solving of agriculture's problems.

I hope that I do not duplicate some of what Wiley has been telling you in these campaigns all over the Sixth District in the northwest corner of Iowa, but I want to remind you about the kind of service I know he has rendered to this district.

In a period when big corporate farms are taking over some of agriculture's production, Wiley has been in there fighting for the family farm and the family farmer.

Let me just quote, if I might, one precise example. Wiley has helped lead the fight in the House during the last 3 or 4 years to limit Government payments to the total of \$20,000 per farm. He did so because he was in

contact on a person-to-person basis with the farmers in this district who advised him that these massive payments to big farms were discrediting your total farm program.

That is the kind of a Congressman, in my judgment, that this district deserves; one who can listen to people, the 460-some thousand who reside in this district; one who can listen and respond to the legitimate problems, complaints, criticisms, suggestions.

And I might add a postscript. Dave Stanley, when he is elected to the United States Senate, will be the same kind of United States Senator that Wiley Mayne is as a Member of the House of Representatives.

Speaking of Dave Stanley, I was in Des Moines a week or so ago. I saw Dave, talked to him. He has been carrying on one of the most vigorous campaigns for the United States Senate. I applaud him for his efforts to meet you, talk to you, listen to you.

His experience in the State legislature, his experience as a campaigner, his fine background as a good Iowan, a good Hawkeye, in my opinion will help you and help me and help your State in the United States Senate.

Wiley says that I have been in this district three times. I have—I have enjoyed every visit. And as Wiley said, the crowds are a little bigger this time, and maybe you are listening a little more. But let me say this, and I say it with emphasis: When you have someone like Wiley Mayne representing you in the Sixth District, when you have somebody like him that stands up for you in the highest council of the Federal Government, then I hope you feel that it is time for you to stand up for him in return.

I left Washington a little after noon. I am on the way to California, going to Oregon, to Utah, to Kansas, to—well, a couple of other places in the next 3 days. But I stopped here because I wanted to convey a specific message.

I wanted to convey my deep conviction of how I feel about Wiley. I think you need him. I need him. The country needs him. And on a very personal and intimate basis, I respect his judgment and his integrity.

If Wiley is not returned to the Congress from this Congressional district, this important agricultural district will not only lose one of the finest men in the Congress, but it will lose a seniority on a committee that affects very vitally agriculture.

If Wiley is not in the next Congress, the potency of your representation on this great Committee of Agriculture will nosedive.

Now one of my old and very good friends, Charlie Hoeven, knows that better than anybody. Charlie Hoeven, who represented this district for many, many years, was the senior Republican on the House Committee on Agriculture, and knows very well the impact of a high-ranking position on that committee, the potency of that representation as it affects all of you who are interested in

agriculture—whether it is on the farm or in the implementation business or in the banking business or otherwise.

So I strongly urge just on this very, almost selfish ground, that you make certain that Wiley continues this representation.

I do not mean to infer that Wiley Mayne rubber stamps everything I suggest, either as President or as I did as Vice President, or even as Republican leader of the House. He does not. He is an independent guy who gets your ideas and translates them into legislative action.

But even in those areas where we disagree, one thing that I particularly like about Wiley is the fact that we can disagree without being disagreeable, and that is a pretty darn good trait in any American.

And let me give you one illustration. Just recently, Wiley let me know very candidly, very forcefully, that he protested the action that I took on a certain Saturday to suspend—and I say suspend—certain sales of corn and wheat to the Soviet Union.

It did not take Wiley Mayne very long to get from Capitol Hill down to the White House to let me explain to him the justification for the action, and to inform him that what I did was not a permanent one, involving this sale to the Soviet Union.

I assured Wiley at that time that my action on that particular occasion was not to limit exports on a permanent basis, but to make certain that no single nation cornered either the corn or wheat market.

Forty million bushels of corn, 40 million bushels of wheat, have already been released since that time to the Soviet Union.

But the point I wanted to make, and make most emphatically, was that Wiley Mayne was on the firing line protecting your interest and your concern, and I congratulate you for it, Wiley.

One other area of great concern to you as citizens—and here is an area where both Wiley and Dave, I think, agree with me without any question—and this is the determination by them and by me to stop the rising cost of living, to do something effectively as far as our Government is concerned about inflation.

The principal cause of rising prices is the fact that our Government has been spending more than it takes in. Wiley Mayne has voted to cut spending and to balance the Federal budget in the past and I can assure you he can be counted upon to do so in the future.

That is why I am here personally asking each of you, the people of the Sixth District, to send Wiley Mayne back to Congress on election day next Tuesday.

I can reemphasize, it really matters. America needs his very strong and his very reliable vote in the House of Representatives to help us keep back rising prices and the problems of inflation.

I want to also use this occasion, with your indulgence, to put some myths to rest here in Sioux City. I have seen some very interesting reports in this campaign here and I

consider a very superb coincidence that we can bury these political hobgoblins on Halloween eve.

I have seen some reports around the country that some candidates of the other party are laying claim to being fiscal watchdogs. I have seen some reports that they are even accusing the Republican Party for high spending.

Now, you and I know what causes inflation. It is not the Republican Party. The facts are that it is largely due to the Government spending more money than it should. And I will tell you flatly and categorically the votes to break the budget did not come from Wiley Mayne or from those on his side of the political aisle.

Let's take a look at the record. Some great politicians in the past have said, "Let's look at what the record shows." And this is something I would like to call to your particular attention, to many people in this audience today. As I look around I see there are a number between the ages of 20 and 42. This is an interesting fact often forgotten or not known. If you are in this age group, from 20 to 42, the Congress of the United States has been in control of one political party 85 percent of the time in your lifetime.

That means that 85 percent of your life has been lived under the legislative control of a single political party, and this is the party which has to be held accountable for so many of the problems that we face in this country today, including inflation—especially inflation, which is the biggest legacy of this period of monolithic Federal control.

Now, next Tuesday it is a day that we cannot forget. I cannot believe there is voter apathy in the great State of Iowa. I do not believe there is voter apathy in the other 49 States. The issues are critical. The problems are serious. So let's all make up our minds that we do not go down the same road again that has given us control by one party in 38 out of the last 42 years.

They have done a bad job and they ought to be replaced.

Now, if you send Wiley Mayne—you send him back to the House of Representatives, and you send Dave Stanley to the United States Senate, and if you reelect Bob Ray, your great Governor, then the ticket, the Republican ticket, will be a great help in meeting the problems here in Iowa and helping to meet the challenges of those problems we face, both at home and abroad and the Nation's Capital.

I repeat, I need Wiley and Dave—you need them in Washington, you need Bob Ray in Des Moines. And if you go out and do the job that you can do with your friends, your neighbors, your relatives, Independents, Democrats, and others, then I am confident that you will achieve something good for yourself, your community, your State, and our great Nation.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. at the Sioux City Municipal Airport, Sioux City, Iowa.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Los Angeles, California

The President's Remarks at a Dinner for Republican Candidates. October 31, 1974

It is really a great privilege and pleasure for me to be introduced on this occasion by the next Governor of the great State of California, Hugh Flournoy.

Hugh, Governor Reagan, Bob Hope, my former colleagues in the Congress, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is really wonderful to be here, and I do want to thank Hugh for his very fine introduction. Since I became President, I am usually introduced in a very stately and dignified manner, such as Hugh did tonight in a very appropriate way. But I would like to tell you about one dinner that happened recently when I was introduced by a former teammate of mine at the University of Michigan when I was playing football back there when the ball was round.

I will never forget that introduction. He said something like this: "Ladies and gentlemen: It might interest you to know that I played football with Jerry Ford for 2 years, and it made a lasting impression on me. I was a quarterback and Jerry was the center. And you might say it gave me a completely different view of the President of the United States."

But it is a particular pleasure to be in California again, and I have been here a number of times over the last 25 years in political life. California—the State that puts together such great football teams as the UCLA Bruins and the USC Trojans.

As a former football player for the Big Ten, I have always been very, very grateful for those practice teams that you have given us to play against. Well, we call it practice—I think you call it the Rose Bowl.

The last time—this is the last time I am going to buy a joke from Woody Hayes at Ohio State.

It is pretty obvious I enjoy being here in California, the State that is governed by Ronnie Reagan, served by Hugh Flournoy, and owned by Bob Hope.

It was very kind of Bob to mention my golf game, but as he well knows, it is not worth mentioning. Bob vows he will never carry me again as a partner on the golf course, and it is reciprocal, Bob.

Frankly, I have the same problem with golf that George Foreman had with Muhammad Ali. My swing is very good; I just did not or don't connect often enough.

I appreciate, as Bob knows, his being here tonight, because at 10:00 tonight, the Dean Martin roast of Bob Hope will be shown on television. Dean and Bob had invited me to be on the show but unfortunately at almost the last minute some special problems arose in the Oval Office that precluded my participation. I think it is a shame, Bob, because lately, if there is anybody who knows about roasts, it is me.

As a matter of fact Bob and I have a great deal in common. For the last 24 years Bob has been seen on television and for the last 25 years I have been in politics. So we both know how to live quite dangerously. At least by the ratings.

I will only conclude by saying that Bob has done very well.

But I do wish to express to Governor Reagan and to Hugh and to all of the others my appreciation for being invited to visit all of you in California. I think you have achieved something quite unique in politics in America. You elected a great Governor who was an actor-turned-politician. Back in Washington, we have the reverse problem—too many politicians who have turned actor.

Quite frankly, I am talking about some Congressmen and Senators who play the role of fiscal conservatives at home, and Diamond Jim Brady in Washington.

I think you might call them "method politicians." They will try any method to get elected and, if indeed you do elect them to the House or to the Senate, they are like the child you sent at one time to the grocery store—one of your own—sometimes they don't remember what you sent them for.

Today is Halloween, a warm, affectionate holiday, close to the hearts of all of us in America. But my message for tonight is this: Let's keep Halloween for the children. The last thing we need in Washington is a trick and treat Congress.

To be very blunt, I am talking about a Congress that hands out multi-billion dollar treats, and then the trick is how to pay for them without higher taxation or more inflation.

And it is my observation that one Halloween a year is enough. What we need the rest of the time in Washington, in Sacramento, in State capitals across the country, and in our county and local governments, are serious-minded, dedicated individuals, inflation fighters and energy savers.

I am told that Hugh Flournoy's opponent in the California gubernatorial race claims that one State alone cannot do much about inflation, that it is mainly a Federal problem.

Well, I for one consider California part of the Union, and a very important part of our Union. One out of every ten Americans lives in this great State. You have the largest of all delegations in the Congress and the largest number of eligible voters of any State in the Union. You excel in so many, many fields—in industry, agriculture, automobiles, advanced technologies, education, effective State and local government, the arts, recreation, conservation, natural resources.

You have all of these great attributes and resources. You even, in my conversations with many from California, run out of superlatives when you talk about the State. And I think for good reason. So I ask, in all sincerity,

this problem: California not involved in the inflation problem?

My answer is categorical: nonsense. You are not only one-tenth of the problem, you are also one-tenth of the solution.

This State has shown the rest of the country and the world there is nothing Californians can't do when they really put their shoulder to the wheel. California outstrips all but a handful of nations in wealth and productivity. Nothing California can do about inflation? I repeat, nonsense.

If inflation were only a problem for Washington, I would be staying in Washington trying to solve it. But the state of our economy is a national problem and to the extent that it is a problem of the Federal Government it is a political problem.

Frankly, that is why I am traveling here in California this evening and Fresno tomorrow and five or six other States this last weekend of this great campaign—to share at least my views on the 1974 political campaign and the issues that are involved.

And I am asking, as I and Hugh and the rest of the State ticket, including your Congressional candidates, campaign day and night literally, I am asking all Californians to do their full share.

You have 10 percent of the political clout in the Congress, and I am quite frank to say one of the ablest, as well as one of the largest, Republican delegations in the House of Representatives, and I see two or three of my former colleagues in that delegation here in this room.

You have had a great Republican Governor and a Republican administration in Sacramento which has practiced as well as preached a progressive but fiscally sound policy of good government, in political terms.

There used to be a saying that "As Maine goes, so goes the Nation." The fact is, during my lifetime, it is the polls in California that the Nation has turned to every election night, and it is becoming more so as you grow in population and power. This is the way it will be next Tuesday, because what happens in this great State next Tuesday will be a bellwether as to what might happen in 1976.

If it is true that there is great voter apathy across the Nation—and the polls seem to indicate—then, in my judgment, there is time to change it and we had better do it.

If only 42 percent of the eligible voters are going to turn out next Tuesday on the tremendous issues and the candidates that are involved, and this is what the experts are predicting or forecasting, that means that a slight fraction of over 21 percent of the eligible voters in this country can determine how this Nation will operate for the next 2 years in Washington, D.C.

Let me, in all sincerity, ask this question: Do you want that kind of minority rule in the United States of America? I do not think you do.

So I say to my friends in California—to Republicans, Independents, and what President Eisenhower used to call discerning Democrats, and you have plenty of them here in California—let's prove that these pessimistic pollsters are totally wrong. Let's prove that you care what kind of Government you have in Sacramento and in Washington, that you appreciate the kinds of leadership that you have had with Ron Reagan, John Harmer, Hugh Flournoy, Ev Younger, what they have given to you in California for the past 8 years and that you want an even stronger Congressional delegation to represent you in the Nation's Capital and to protect your paycheck and your savings in the Congress of the United States.

Very frankly, if you do just that, California will have won one-tenth of the battle against inflation and will once again set an example for the rest of the Nation.

As I indicated in the economic message that I submitted to the Congress and to the American people about a month or so ago, if we are to win against inflation, we must enlist the efforts of every individual American and every unit of government across this great country.

We need teamwork. We need cooperation between the Federal Government and the States like California. Cooperation between individuals, between individual States and their counties and their communities. If we are going to win the struggle against inflation, we must exercise some rigid fiscal control and responsibility and prudence at every level, from the housewife making better use of her budget to the Congress in Washington curbing its appetite for uncontrollable spending.

I think you are fortunate here in California in that you have already established a tradition of fiscal prudence in your State government. When my good friend, Ron Reagan, replaced the Democrat in Sacramento nearly 8 years ago, California was suffering from a deficit of about \$325 million. During the last Brown administration, I understand you could do real well in Sacramento selling red ink to the statehouse. It was not much, but it was very steady.

Fortunately, your great Governor cleaned up the mess that he inherited using modern management techniques that are now being copied by Governors from many, many States, both Democratic as well as Republican.

As a result of this technique or technology, he was able to get your State out of the financial grief that he inherited. When Ron leaves office I am told California will be enjoying a surplus of around \$400 million.

That kind of fiscal prudence can make a big dent in inflation. California, as I see it, cannot afford the risk of losing what he has done by electing a big round of new spenders statewide or nationwide. Hugh Flournoy understands this; John Harmer, your outstanding Lieutenant Governor knows this. So does Bill Richardson, who will make a great Senator for your State. So does Evville Younger, Brian Camp, Bill Bagley, John Kehoe. I have had the privilege in several visits to California to meet

them, to compare them with the kinds of people that I see on the other side of the political aisle and in other States throughout the Union.

So, I think in California, you are fortunate, lucky to have this talent available to elect, to run your State for the next 4 years. And unlike Hugh's opponent, they also understand the concept of teamwork; teamwork in the fight against inflation and the benefits that can be derived from cooperation between the State and the Federal Government, and between the State and local units of government.

From Hugh Flournoy on down on the ballot, California has a Republican slate of experienced public servants—men of proven competence, integrity; men who have demonstrated that they know how to do the job and how to get it done.

It is my observation we need more teamwork in Washington, as well.

I first learned this concept, how important it was, some 25 years ago when I first took the oath of office in Washington, D.C. Earlier, a Republican Congress had worked very, very closely with a Democratic President, Harry Truman, to build a strong bipartisan foreign policy, one that was good for America and, fortunately, good for the rest of the free world.

And because the Congress, which was then Republican, and the Democratic President did work together, we succeeded in mounting the Marshall Plan, the Greek-Turkish aid program, and the programs that followed, that rebuilt Europe, NATO, and produced an alliance which protected the free world from the threat of aggression from those early post-war days.

Today, that bipartisanship in foreign policy which has carried this Nation through some of its very roughest times, some of its greatest challenges, is being eroded by the irresponsible actions of some Members of the Congress.

What really concerns me is this: If the ranks of the shortsighted are swelled by elections next Tuesday, not only that delicate bipartisanship which served this country so well for over a quarter of a century could be destroyed and our total foreign policy, which is one of maintaining and building the peace, would be undermined.

Now, at home, we have another threat, certainly the greatest we face domestically in this country—inflation. In its own way, this deadly domestic enemy is every bit as serious as the threat that we face from abroad.

Again, what concerns me, if the ranks of the big spenders in the Congress, House and Senate, are increased next Tuesday the inflation-fighting program that I have asked the Congress to approve will be swamped—overloaded with massive deficit spending.

What we need is not a veto-proof Congress, as some have proposed. But what we actually need is an inflation-proof Congress, and we can get it next Tuesday.

If I might, let me be quite precise about what I mean. I do not want anyone to misunderstand. I do not believe

that either of our great major political parties has a total monopoly on wisdom or on the solutions to the Nation's economic problems. We have Members on both sides of the aisle, and some of my former colleagues know who they are, who are indispensable to an inflation-proof Congress.

Unfortunately and very regrettably, some of the staunchest Democrats who stood up and fought to be cooperative and to be helpful are regrettably retiring voluntarily this year. And so, who they are replaced by is critical and crucial.

Now, I am sure that virtually every Member of the Congress has only the very best interests of our Nation at heart and it depends on how he or she sees it.

Generally, when we differ, it is not so much as to the goals, but the road by which you achieve it. The question we face right today—and it will be reemphasized and reiterated when Congress comes back on November 18—what is the best way to beat inflation? I have labeled it public enemy number one. A lot of different people have a lot of different views, and as I think most of you know, we had this summit meeting on the economy that was the result of 12 mini-summits that were held all over the United States where we had labor, management, economists, bankers, housewives, and others participating.

I, at least, had an open mind and was the beneficiary of the suggestions that were made by this broad-based cross section of America. There was one point, however, on which there was substantial, almost unanimous agreement on which a majority of Americans seemed to agree: that excess Government spending has been, and will continue to be, a root cause of inflation.

No government, no government that I have read about, studied about, participated in, can keep on spending more than it takes in without driving down the buying power of its currency and driving up the cost of living for its people.

In the short haul, it is very easy for government to yield to the temptation to give people what they want or what the politicians tell them that they ought to have, but keep this in mind: In the long haul, a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

So, when you come right down to a very basic subject, we must curb Federal spending as far as the Federal Government, the Congress, the President, are concerned. In the economic message that I submitted to the Congress just before the recess, I proposed that we establish a spending ceiling this year of some \$300 billion, or some \$5.5 billion less than the budget as it was submitted last January. But the current Congress has not yet approved that spending ceiling. The House of Representatives did act, but the Senate did not.

There are some other proposals in that economic package which is aimed at tightening the screws on inflation and yet giving some help and assistance as far as the economy is concerned to strengthen it.

I hope when Congress reconvenes in the month or the weeks between November 18 and January 3, we will meet the challenge and act effectively on this, I think, finely-tuned proposal.

Now, I am not going to be so brash as to stand here and tell you that all of the big spenders belong to the opposition party, although the percentages tilt pretty far that way. But I would like to note—I would like you to note, and Governor Reagan mentioned it, others have said it, but I think it is good to reemphasize it—that the Democratic Party has controlled the United States Congress for 38 out of the last 42 years, and for the last 20 years consecutively.

During this period of time, Federal spending has shot up from roughly \$4.5 billion on an annual basis in 1934 to \$300-plus billion in the current fiscal year. It is a simple fact that no President and no Administration can spend a single dollar—and to be more precise, a single penny—that Congress has first not appropriated.

I cannot emphasize that enough. Congress appropriates every penny that is spent by any President or by any Administration. So when you look at it, if you are unhappy about the handling of our Nation's finances in the Capital over the past 20 years, if you think it is time for a change, remember next Tuesday who the big spenders are and throw the big spenders out. And if some of them are Republicans, so be it.

I think it is time for responsible men and women of all political persuasions—Republicans, Democrats, Independents—to come together, not in an effort for political advantage, but in a spirit of true American patriotism, to whip problems like inflation, energy, the environment, to strengthen our successful foreign policy by the restoration of bipartisanship. And it is also time for the American voter, whatever his views, to demonstrate by the ballot that he supports a responsible and responsive anti-inflation policy; that he opposes wasteful Government spending; that he demands a strong, secure national defense program; and most important, that he wants elected representatives who feel the same way.

And in Congress that does not mean a one-party monopoly. It does mean a Congress in which reasonable men of both parties can work together with an administration in a spirit of cooperation for the good of all of us.

I think this is the kind of Congress I have tried to campaign for in some 14 or 15 States in the last month, and with your help, it is the kind of a Congress that we can elect.

If we are successful next Tuesday, the average hard-working American citizen will be the beneficiary.

Just a few weeks ago, while I was out on the campaign trail, I met a lovely lady whose husband is now retired. After working very, very hard all their lives, they are living on Social Security and a small pension. They were beautiful people.

After I shook hands with her, she reached in her purse and handed me a little slip of paper. It was a supermarket register receipt like the one I am holding in my hand.

She told me that she appreciated many of the suggestions I had made on television and individually on what an individual citizen or family might do to help in the battle against inflation. But she said both of them—she and her husband—already were doing most of those things, and were trying to do more. Yet the total each week of this little grocery slip kept going up and up and up.

She said, "Mr. President, can't you do something about this?"

I looked her in the eye. I said, "Yes, but I cannot do it all alone. I need a lot of help. I need the help of responsible people, like-minded individuals in the Senate, in the House of Representatives."

And she looked at me with a kindly smile, and said she understood and would do her part on election day.

In the final analysis, let me say to each and every one of you, that is what this great national election is all about—to make sure we have a responsive Congress for the next 2 years, responsible to the people and responsive to their needs.

As I close, let me make this suggestion to each of you. When you go into the voting booth next Tuesday, take with you your latest grocery slip, your check-out receipt, and before you vote, take a good hard look at the bottom line. Then vote for the candidates who will really make sure and certain that your paycheck buys as much on the day that you spend it as on the day that you earned it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:14 p.m. at the Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Visit With Former President Nixon

The President's Remarks to Reporters Following His Visit With the Former President at Long Beach Memorial Hospital in California.
November 1, 1974

I spent approximately 8 minutes with the President. Obviously he is a very, very sick man, but I think he is coming along very, very well.

He was very interested in discussions that I had with him concerning my prospective trip to Japan and to South Korea and to the Soviet Union. I gave him a quick run-down on Dr. Kissinger's trip to the Soviet Union, to India, to Pakistan, and the last message I had was Afghanistan, as he continues this trip.

The President was very alert. He was very interested, but it was very obvious to me that he had been very, very

ill, but he showed a great deal of strength mentally and, I think, physically in meeting this very serious challenge.

I told him that I had talked this morning to my wife before I came here and indicated to him that she has asked me, as I told him, that all of our family were praying for his full and complete recovery.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:33 a.m. outside Long Beach Memorial Hospital, Long Beach, Calif.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Fresno, California

The President's Remarks at the Fresno Air Terminal.
November 1, 1974

Thank you very, very much Mayor Wills. I am deeply, very deeply grateful for this fine plaque or picture that makes me an honorary citizen of the great City of Fresno, and the 300-plus thousand people who are here.

Thank you, if not in person, in spirit. Thank you very, very much.

Thank you very, very much Bob Mathias, Congressman Chuck Wiggins, Carroll Harner, distinguished mayors, members of the State legislature, members of the Board of County Commissioners, the wonderful bands from—I still get a great thrill out of hearing the National Anthem played, as I am sure Bob Mathias did, both at London and Helsinki when he won, representing all of us in the decathlon. It is a great, great thrill.

It is nice to see all these wonderful young people and all of you from Fresno, Kings, and Tulare Counties. I thank you for a super enthusiastic, warm welcome. I am very, very grateful. Thank you very much.

I think you can tell from the reaction that it is a great experience for me to be in the central valley of California. And as I look around this big valley to fine people, I noticed that as I flew in this morning it is a big valley, and the big crops that it produces, the big yields that come from the soil, and the labor, the big livestock, to serve its people in Congress it produces big men, mentally and otherwise, in Bob Mathias. And, frankly, that is why I am here.

It is really no secret—I need Bob Mathias. I think you need Bob Mathias. I think the country needs Bob Mathias back in Washington, representing these three great counties of Fresno, Kings, and Tulare. And I am counting on your doing it.

I have been asked many times why I have traveled extensively in the last few weeks, candidly asking American voters to return men like Bob Mathias back to Congress.

People have asked why, and let me give you the answer. It is very simple. I am here because the issues are far, far too important. It is far, far too vital for me to sit on the sideline.

I never have, and I don't intend to, when I feel strongly about people and about issues. The stakes are far too high to be a sideline sitter when we have got people like Bob Mathias out in the hustings.

And there is another answer, too. I do it because the people of Fresno, the 340,000 or 350,000 people in this Seventeenth Congressional District, in my judgment, deserve to see their President and deserve to see a President who believes with conviction and dedication in the issues and in the solutions that I think can make America a bigger, better, stronger, finer country for all of us—particularly these fine young people down here in the front rows.

Public service, public responsibility are far too important for me to sit in that beautiful Oval Office in a mystic seance in Washington, D.C., when I can come out here to Fresno in the Seventeenth Congressional District and have an opportunity to see the wonderful faces, the enthusiasm.

I enjoy being on the banks of the Potomac, but I get a big thrill and a big shot in the arm, coming to Fresno on an occasion like this.

I am out here—I am particularly here because there are some issues that, in my judgment, deserve to be talked about, to be discussed, so that the problems we have can be communicated to you with the solutions and the answers that we have.

We do have a serious problem of inflation. We have some other economic problems, but the answers can be gotten by all of you and by all of us in the executive, as well as in the legislative branch.

To solve those problems, I need people like Bob Mathias who, in my opinion, from his past record, can be extremely helpful. He is a big man, but he is a big man in action. He is not a big man of talk. He is a big man as a problem-solver, and that is what you want in the Seventeenth District representing you.

And let me give you, if I can very seriously, an extremely practical reason why I think Bob ought to be sent back next Tuesday, for you, for me, for the country. I could not help but notice as we flew in and saw the beautiful fields and the people working in them—Bob Mathias, when he is returned to Congress will be the second man on our side of the aisle on the great Committee on Agriculture and agriculture is important to all of you.

That is the committee that drafts the legislation. That is the committee that guides it through the House of Representatives. That is the committee that has a direct connection with the Department of Agriculture and with Bob Mathias in that high-ranking, number two position on the Committee on Agriculture, you will have a voice at the

top, a voice of experience instead of a person at the bottom with a big voice but no communication.

Let me tell you something else about Bob. When I was the minority leader in the House of Representatives, I had the opportunity of working intimately, very closely with Bob Mathias on a number of legislative matters. But what was important in that relationship to all of you was that when I wanted some straight answers, some sound suggestions about agriculture, one of the finest, most helpful voices, to me, was the observations, the recommendations, the advice from Bob Mathias.

He advised me then and he advises me on agriculture as the occupant of the White House, and I thank you, Bob, for your help then and your assistance now.

I have heard, Bob, about the hard campaign that you are running, working literally night and day to communicate your positions, your achievements, to the 400,000-plus people that live in the 17th Congressional District and I won't try to repeat all the things you can speak up about, what you have done, how you voted.

I do know—and let me mention very quickly—some areas that ought to be reemphasized. For example, you have introduced a number of important, very vital pieces of legislation that affect all the young people, as well as the old; legislation to protect our natural resources and our environment, preserving the beauty of our national parks—and I saw some of them as I flew from the Los Angeles area here this morning.

I think it is vitally important for everybody, the young as well as the others, to know that you have introduced and pushed legislation to provide new jobs for all of the people in the Central Valley.

I think people ought to know what you have done in the way of legislation to open the flow of energy resources to our people and if we are going to grow and prosper and to provide jobs and homes and opportunities for these young people particularly—and I am looking right at them and talking to them directly—we need energy. We need energy to make a better America.

And I know, Bob, of your personal interest in education. You are interested in health legislation so you have had not only great experience in the field of agriculture, but you have had an interest in environment, our ecology. You have had an interest in energy, you have had an interest in jobs and health and education. Yes, your experience in these areas has been invaluable to the people in this Congressional District.

But let me mention one other area that I hope and trust does have an impact on all of you, and I speak now of the field of foreign policy. Bob Mathias has another great committee responsibility, as a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That is the committee that puts together that legislation that helped to achieve the peace. It is the committee that puts together the legislation that will maintain the peace. It is the committee that will build a better America here so we can have peace abroad.

But let me speak if I might about the subject that I consider public enemy number one, domestically: inflation. Inflation, according to all polls, is the matter of primary interest, the highest-ranking matter of concern to the American people, some 83 percent. There is one way that all of us, and particularly those in the Congress, can do something about it, and that is to cut, to slice the fat off the Federal budget.

This can help us curb rampant inflation. Bob Mathias has a reputation in the Congress for being an inflation-fighter. I understand that his opponent is pretty well beholden to the people that want a veto-proof Congress.

Well, a veto-proof Congress, in my judgment, will do more to increase inflation than anything I can imagine. What we want is not a veto-proof Congress, but we want an inflation-proof Congress, and Bob Mathias can give us that.

As I heard the Star-Spangled Banner, or National Anthem, being played, I thought back in 1948 when I first ran for the Congress of the United States as an ex-athlete, and it goes back a long time. I was proud of the representation that Bob Mathias at the ripe old age of 17 was giving our country in the Olympics, a gold medal winner both in London as well as Helsinki. And I was proud of him then, and I am very proud of him and the contributions that he has made to our country today.

This kind of representation, as a young man and as a legislator, is good for our country.

I am informed that in this area, perhaps—maybe around the Nation—there is an apathy about this election. I hope and trust this is not true in Kings and Fresno and Tulare Counties. I hope it is not true in the great State of California. And I am going to do the maximum that I can to prevent it from being true in the rest of the country.

I don't believe people are discouraged, disillusioned, turned off. I don't believe we are going to have only 42 percent of the eligible voters in America participate in that great election in all 50 States next Tuesday.

Let me tell you why I think it would be tragic, why it would be catastrophic. If only 42 percent of the American people vote next Tuesday, it means that 21 percent of the eligible voters in America will make the decision for 100 percent.

Now we want not 21 percent of the people telling us how to run the Government. I think we want 100 percent of the people. And I say to all of you young people, those right in front of me, and those in the bands: I think you have a very special mission. You have more impact, you have more influence, you can do more to get your parents to go and cast that ballot than anybody else in the whole area of Fresno and the surrounding environs.

I hope you will make that a special mission, to grab Mom and Dad by the hand and ask them on Tuesday morning, "Are you going to vote?" You can, and you will.

And this is important for Democrats, Independents, and Republicans alike. If they do, I am confident that you

will send people like Bob Mathias back to Congress. You will send people like Hugh Flournoy to the statehouse in Sacramento. I think you will send a good team to help Hugh Flournoy in your great State capital of Sacramento.

Now it is just as important to attack the problems in Sacramento as it is in Washington. We want a creative Congress. We want a forward-looking occupant of your statehouse, your State capital in Sacramento. We want responsive, responsible government in all parts of our Government at the local, State, and national level.

I am told that Hugh Flournoy's opponent for the office of Governor in the State of California says inflation is not the problem of California.

I respectfully disagree with that very limited observation. California is one-tenth of the American people. It is the biggest State. It has got the biggest vision. It is a rapidly growing State and I am amazed that a candidate for the Governorship of California would have such a limited perspective of the problem.

It seems to me that a prospective or a candidate for Governor of California ought to recognize that with a State as big, as wealthy, as powerful, can have an impact on inflation. One out of every ten people in the United States live in California, and what you do, and what your delegation does in the Congress of the United States, will have an impact.

I respectfully say that California must be involved, and for any candidate for Governor to say that it is not, is purely nonsense.

We cannot fight inflation without the help of California and a Governor like Hugh Flournoy will help us fight inflation. And with that kind of help, we can do something about it.

Let me just make this final observation. My message to you here today is a very simple one, and I hope you will pass it on to your friends between now and Tuesday. If the big spenders get control of Congress, if the big spenders control your statehouse and your State capital, we cannot, in all honesty, do much about inflation, because excessive spending at the State level or at the Federal level is a major cause, a principal reason for inflation.

And so I ask you very strongly, but very simply, to send the kind of people back to Washington who you can trust, who will watch your tax dollars. I urge you to send people to Sacramento who will do a first class job in watching the money that you send to your State capital.

Actually, the key to the battle against inflation is within our honest, personal reach. All you have to do on November 5 is to go into the sanctity of that voting booth and pull the right lever. Good leadership is the answer. I am trying to do it in the White House. Bob Mathias has sought to do it in the Congress of the United States. Hugh Flournoy will do it for you in the State capital.

Leadership, whether it is in Washington or Sacramento, is vital, and what you do in the quiet, personal relationship

that you have in that voting booth is of great importance—yes, to you and to me, but more importantly to all of us.

And I urge you not for the sake of one political party, but for the sake of America, be a leader next Tuesday; be a leader in making the right decision. Let your vote and your voice re-elect and elect the kinds of men and women to public office who will bring out the best in our great country.

I am confident that you will, and that is why I am here to see all of you.

Good luck, Bob. Good luck to all of you who support him.

Let me express my very deep appreciation and gratitude. I am not going to get into a discussion whether your bands or your football team is the best, but let me say this: I like a mayor who thinks they have the best band and the best football team.

And may I add that I have got a 16-year-old son who is working as a ranch hand out in Lolo, Montana. He decided that he wanted to learn to be a rancher so he is out there, and I am going to see him tomorrow. And I am not going to tell him I have this great, great cowboy hat. I will tell him, maybe I cannot ride as well as he can, but I might look like a cowboy, if I cannot perform the function.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at the Fresno Air Terminal, Fresno, Calif.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs

The President's Remarks to the Conference in Portland, Oregon. November 1, 1974

Thank you very much. Thank you very, very much Governor McCall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Killian, Secretary of the Treasury Simon, Secretary of HUD Jim Lynn, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me express my deep gratitude for the very warm welcome that Tom McCall has extended on this occasion. If my memory is correct, Governor, you were the first Governor that I saw in the first State that I visited back about a year ago when I was nominated Vice President of the United States. The warmth of the reception then is only duplicated by the kindness that you have shown me on this occasion.

I am deeply grateful. I am especially pleased to be here to participate in one of Bill Baroody's programs, the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs,

where business, labor, consumer, environmental organizations have joined in sponsoring this meeting to improve the lines of communication between nongovernmental organizations and the White House itself.

You can generate a new climate of confidence and understanding on national issues of greatest concern to us individually, as well as collectively.

This is my first participation in this nationwide series of meetings that can have, as I see it, a very vital impact on America's response to the state of our economy, housing, environment, and general domestic affairs. And the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of HUD are here, I think, portrays vividly the importance that we consider meetings of this sort.

In this context, I would like to discuss the question of confidence in our political system and our ability as a nation to cope with this very serious issue.

The question of credibility is often raised. A mood of some cynicism exists in certain quarters. There are even those who say that my Administration's openness is just another coverup. The question is asked: Is everything phony? Is everything cynical in Government today?

I categorically reject any such conclusion. But I would like to offer some thoughts on why there is some doubt and, perhaps, some division.

Confidence in America's institutions have been deteriorating since the early 1960's. There were, unfortunately, assassinations, upheavals in great cities and in school systems throughout our country, riots and terrorism, crime, drug abuse, pollution, the Vietnam War, the Watergate affair with the first Presidential resignation in America's history, the energy shortage, rising inflation, and other almost unbelievable blows to America's self-image.

This chain of tragic events affected our institutions and actually our way of life. It did not start with the present inflationary problem nor with Watergate nor even the tragic murder of President Kennedy. America and the world are going through a hurricane of very rapid change—technological, economical, social, and political.

Americans put men on the Moon, but have yet to cope with the rapidly changing life on this globe. Other industrial nations are also, in varying degree—often without our resilience and our resources—going through precisely the same experience.

That explains my participation in this meeting today. I came to talk with you about how Americans can mobilize to regenerate our institutions, beginning with the economy.

I am speaking now to Republicans, Democrats, Independents, to labor, to management, and to every segment of our great society. We are all in this problem together, and that is why I consider it so very vital, so very important to be in Portland on this occasion.

I offered approximately a month ago a comprehensive program to mobilize America against inflation. I con-

cede and admit that we are not in what one would call a traditional problem of inflation with an accelerating rate of cost-of-living problems.

We are faced with inflation on the one hand and some softness in our economy on the other, and this rather finely-tuned program that I submitted was aimed at meeting this problem, the dual difficulty—one of a softening of the economy and the devastation of inflation itself.

This conference, however, as I understand it, was generated to take an honest look at the problems of inflation. A 31-point program that I submitted to the Congress and to the American people, as I indicated a moment ago, was finely tuned, a comprehensive plan aimed at the dual difficulties we face.

I am pleased to report to you that a massive voluntary citizens' mobilization is gearing up. We in the White House have received roughly 150,000 requests for these WIN buttons and any other information and helpful hints that we can give to people all throughout the United States.

New steps, I think you recognize, have been taken to cope with the energy situation, and all of our actions seek to avoid an unfair burden on those who can least afford the tragedy of inflation or the tragedy of a softening economy.

It is my judgment that Americans are rallying to whip inflation. They can help—and have been helping—by demanding action on legislative proposals pending before the Congress. They can press for State and local initiative. They can innovate voluntary programs at the local level.

America, if we look back over the history, does not require dogmatic laws to control every action that we take, whether it is action at home, in our schools, in our businesses, in our labor organizations, in our churches.

My policies, as I have presented them, I think are firm and good and sound, but any President has to be cognizant of the need, if circumstances change, to take a new look.

I am committed to no rigid economic formula, but the basic American philosophy that made our economy great, I am totally committed to.

As I look back over the history during my lifetime, America is built primarily on mutual trust. It is governed by popular consent and consensus. Federal, State, and local units of government responding to the will of the people will whip inflation.

I am perfectly confident that industries, businesses, and great trade unions will whip inflation. I also have an abiding faith that consumer and environmental groups will whip inflation.

Let us begin the dialog that was referred to by Governor McCall. Let's build that dialog that can establish this confidence between environmentalists and energy

and industry, between consumers and between business, between labor and management, and between 213 million Americans and their government, at the Federal, State, or local level.

Let's give dialog a chance for a change. Let's continue to challenge, but also continue in the sincere good will on both sides of every issue.

Institutions, as I have looked at it, are nothing more than people. Let us never lose faith in humanity, the individuals that we meet, regardless of the circumstances. Let us never lose faith in that one-to-one confrontation, and of course, let's not lose faith in ourselves.

Meetings of this sort are excellent forms to generate confidence. Yet, the time has come for action as well as for talk. Accordingly, the function of leadership belongs to those placed in responsibility.

As President, I accept my obligation, and I call upon every Member of the Congress, Governors, mayors, and all others concerned with government, and the leaders of every private sector in America, including all of you represented here. We, individually and collectively, must provide that leadership. A free government, if we look over history, cannot cope with inflation or energy shortages or any other problems without the consent and the total cooperation of those governed.

Too many people have been saying what the other guy should do to whip inflation. We hear that all the time. We hear business complaining about labor and labor complaining about business. We hear about other segments complaining about their adversaries, never reflecting as to what their own responsibility might be.

Some tell us what the oil companies should do. Others would instruct labor on its responsibilities. Yet others have all kinds of sacrifices to suggest. Almost inevitably, it is not how they can sacrifice.

Our great Northwest—and I am pleased to be here again—is aware that inflation has dried up the supply of mortgage credit and sent housing into a tailspin. Now, Jim Lynn over here is going to solve all of those problems for you, along with the money provided by Bill Simon, but it is a lot broader and a lot deeper subject than what those two fine Secretaries in the Cabinet can do. And it has been inflation that hit consumer confidence and put the brakes on consumer spending harder than at any time since World War II.

I assure the people of the great Northwest that I do not accept the dismal projection that pollution is the inevitable price of prosperity, nor that we must compromise the environment to gain economic growth in the future.

We cannot enrich our lives by impoverishing our lands. We can raise both the standard of living on the one hand, and the quality of life on the other. The worst inflationary toll of all is the most subtle—the erosion of confidence in the future, the loss of faith in the American society and our government.

Indeed, this disenchantment seems to grow at the same pace that prices increase. That is why fighting inflation is my priority as President of this great country.

Americans do have the will to preserve our economy and our institutions. These central, absolutely crucial need my program underscores is to control government spending on the one hand and to finance any new outlays with new taxes. Government simply can no longer go on spending beyond its means.

Inflation, as I have said so many times—and the more I say it, the more I believe it—is public enemy number one. And all the polls seems to conclude that. The latest I saw indicated on a nationwide basis that among all of the problems, all of the issues, regardless of your position in life, 83 percent of the Americans selected inflation as that which was of most concern to them.

Obviously, under those circumstances the fight against inflation is a nonpartisan challenge. It is everyone's fight.

If I were to take the easy route of additional pump priming and deficit spending as the economy cools off this winter, it would really cause trouble. We could see the current inflation rate—and I speak very categorically—the current inflation rate, if we don't do a little sacrificing and belt tightening, that rate could double by 1976.

That is not a very happy prospect. So, it ought to encourage us to make the big battle now in order not to have that problem then.

America, as I have seen it, remains a model for the rest of the world. Later this month, I am visiting the Far East, going first to Japan, then to South Korea, and then finally to Vladivostok in the U.S.S.R.—the latter, of course, to move forward, laying additional steppingstones for the culmination of what I hope and I believe is an agreement in strategic arms limitations beyond the present.

But as I visit these three vital areas of the world, I will seek to cement relationships essential for world economic stability as well as SALT Two.

It is obvious as we read—and both Secretary Simon and Secretary Lynn have been abroad—we know that inflation crosses borders and somehow leapfrogs oceans. And if I can be helpful by going to the other side of the world on this dual mission—and I think I can be helpful—that is part of my obligation. As President, I am convinced that this Nation—yours and mine—can show the world that Americans do retain confidence in our system. We can conserve, we can stop wasting, we can expand our production base while preserving our national heritage.

We can become more efficient, more productive and pay for what we spend in our government as we do.

Now, some cynics and skeptics freely predict the end of America—that great country that we know and we love. I feel just the opposite. I think they are very wrong. I intend to prove they are wrong, because I am totally confident in the dedication of this group and for many others throughout America.

As Abraham Lincoln once put it, this Nation is still “the last, best hope of earth.” And a new and stronger United States will grow from the disillusionment of the past. Indeed, the ordeal we have gone through since the early 1960's may serve, as I see it, like a national purge, clearing our system, renewing our energies, and creating a new and more realistic American ethic and, perhaps, an American lifestyle.

The bountiful resources of this blessed land are available, and you in Oregon are about as blessed as any of the 50 States, and you should be happy and proud that you are so blessed.

Let us, on the overall, however, devise a future based on conservation, as well as consumption. The truth is, you look at the statistics, and I get them weekly—I used to from Bill Simon, now from Rog Morton—we have run short of energy, but we are going to do something about it as we conserve on the one hand, and build a productive base on the other.

We have run short of mortgage credit—and don't blame Jim Lynn altogether—and we have run short of a lot of other things. But we have not, as I see it, run short of American know-how or the American spirit of fairplay, or of American forgiveness, or American self-respect, or American pride, nor will we ever.

A great national test will be imposed in the days and the months ahead. But that ought to be a challenge. That ought to appeal to us. We ought to respond to it. If we do, we will meet the test, and I pledge all of my energy to a free society with a strong economy, a sound environment, sufficient energy, and a secure and inspiring future.

And I ask each and every one of you here, and those who follow in other meetings, to join with me in that wonderful quest.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:10 p.m. at the Memorial Coliseum, Portland, Oreg.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Portland, Oregon

The President's Remarks at a Reception for Republican Candidates. November 1, 1974

Thank you very much, Vic, Tom. It is just wonderful to be here in a gathering of this magnitude and friendliness. Every time I come to Oregon, I seem to find more friendly people, more diversification in all the things you do.

Last year, I think 48 hours after I was nominated as Vice President, I came out for a longstanding speaking commitment that I made. And your great Governor, Tom McCall, met me and was so hospitable and helpful. I

come back today and I have been busy thus far with some wonderful crowds on the street, a warm welcome. [Laughter]

There are a couple of dissident voices. I have had those chants before, and I don't think they influence many people. But anyhow, it is—I went over to the meeting at the Coliseum this afternoon—a great crowd of wonderful people. I am here right now and have been to a reception before, and I am going to the Coliseum a little later. And because the day was not long enough, I thought I might sneak out and see the last quarter of the Trail Blazers and the Braves. And then, Vernon Jordan of the Urban League sent me a telegram and said there was some fundraiser for the Urban League going on. And I thought, gee, we might as well go there after—because I believe that Vernon Jordan and the Urban League does a first class job, I am sure, here as well as elsewhere.

All I am saying is, you have lots of activity in Oregon, and I enjoy everything I have been invited to and participated in, and particularly for the fine, fine turnout here on this occasion.

Tom McCall—I have observed and I have watched him for 8 years—has done a superb job. You are lucky. He is a top quality Governor, and you, I am sure, know better than I that the State of Oregon is infinitely better off because of his stewardship.

Tom, you have done a great job.

And in the process of traveling around and meeting many people in high office in various States, you develop a knack of picking out those that really have quality, of those that are coming up, who have achieved something in the process of public service and experience and courage and wisdom. And you say, "There is somebody that really will do a job."

And so I speak on this occasion on behalf of your candidate for Governor, Vic Atiyeh. He was in Washington a couple of weeks ago—I have forgotten what group because I meet with a good many, as you might suspect—but I do remember him.

He handed me something, and he said, "I am a man with a plan," and that is kind of good advice. That is the way I would like a Governor to operate before he gets in office and after he is in office.

So, Vic, good luck to you.

If I might now, I would like to say a word or two about some people that I know very intimately, that I have known through my contacts both in the Congress and as Vice President, and now as President. And I say this, not because of what somebody wrote for me, but because I know, know from working in the relationship between a House leader and a Senator, or a House leader and the people with whom he works on a day-to-day basis.

I presided over the United States Senate roughly 6, 7 months, and I used to sit there and watch the 100 Members of the Senate—and there are some fine, outstanding Members. In Mark Hatfield, you have a fine Senator.

But let me just say now that in Bob Packwood, you have in your junior Senator the kind of a person that I admire and respect, the type of an individual who seems to pick the right issues, the right side of issues. He works at the job, he is highly respected on this side or that side of the aisle. So I am delighted to be here in Oregon to urge you to maximize your effort on behalf of Bob Packwood.

And I served 25-plus years in the House of Representatives, and I was told the first year that I was sworn in—I sat down next to an old-timer, and he said, "Jerry, do you know the definition of a Member of the House?"

And I said, "No." I was 35 and this man was 70. I looked at him with awe. He had been there 30 years, and I had just been sworn in.

He said, "Jerry, do you know the definition of a Congressman?"

I said, "No, I don't, Earl."

He said, "It is the shortest distance between 2 years."

I survived that, but you have sent, in my lifetime, some great Members of the House. One is leaving—a dear friend of mine—Wendell Wyatt. We will miss him.

But in Diarmuid O'Scanlain you have a person who is starting out at a young age, who can build a great career and ably represent the First Congressional District in the State of Oregon. I hope you work to make sure that he is down there to do the job for you.

You have an incumbent that many of you know is extremely able, just a tremendous campaigner. His name has been mentioned here. He also is a very close and very dear friend of mine—John Dellenback. You need him back there representing Oregon.

And then, of course, you have got a vacancy here, a vacancy that ought to be filled by the kind of a person that John Piacentini is. John, we sure hope you will make it. Good luck. We will see you down there January 3.

Now let me take just a minute to make two very simple points. I know it is crowded, it is hot—or at least I am hot up here—and the night is young, and we have to, you know, get organized here.

I looked at some figures the other day of some of these experts, and they say there is great public apathy. There is a great lack of public interest in voting on November 5.

And the pollsters say that there will be the lowest percentage participation in this Congressional election on a national basis in the history of the United States. That is unbelievable.

With the problems we have, both at home and abroad, it is hard to comprehend that people won't go to the polls to exercise their sacred privilege of voting yes or no or for or against somebody. They say that approximately 42 percent of the eligible voters in America will make the effort sometime between 7:00 in the morning and 8:00 at night, to just say yes or no, or I am for or I am against.

Gee, that is hard to believe. And you know what that means if that happens or transpires? Supposing 42 percent vote, out of all of the people that are eligible to pull

that lever. It means that a little more than 21 percent of the American people will decide your fate for Governor, for Senator, for Members of the House, for members of your State legislature or local office.

That means a little more than 21 percent of the American people will decide what will be done locally, statewide, and nationally.

That is a real small minority deciding what is right or wrong. I just cannot believe the American people will tolerate that.

I don't know how many are here—about 300, 500—but you can multiply your activity and influence by getting many, many, many people all over this great State of Oregon to go to the polls, so that your State will not be one that lets 21.1 percent of the people decide your fate for the next 2 years, whether it is taxes or spending, this legislation or that legislation.

You know, an awful lot of our fellow citizens over the years, almost 200 years, have given a great deal to keep that right to vote. Some of them made the maximum sacrifice, and for us now to abuse it or to leave it unused is beyond my comprehension.

Now, I know, because you are here, you are going to vote. You are going to get a lot of people to vote, but the message I want to go out, here in this State and elsewhere, is that we all have to vote, and then we can say the public made a decision, right or wrong.

Let me talk about two of my favorite subjects. I think they are crucial. Public enemy number one in this country is inflation. About a month ago, I submitted to the Congress and to the American people a well-balanced, finely-tuned program. I concede it is controversial, but at least I bit the bullet.

Oh, I know some people have said to me that it was kind of "marshmallow." Some of the opposition made that allegation. Then, I listened to what they submitted and I said, "Boy, that is a lemon, not a marshmallow."

All I am trying to say is it was a plan aimed at tightening the screws on inflation on the one hand, and recognizing that we have some soft spots in our economy on the other.

We made some recommendations that will help the housing industry, and I asked the Congress to do something, and they did it. And Jim Lynn has already initiated the action that I recommended following enactment by the Congress.

It is not enough, but I think it is a start, and if we do the other things, the housing industry will again have a great upsurge. So, instead of 1.2 million housing units per year, it will go up to what it ought to be, of 2.2 million housing units per year, and then the people out in the industries here in Oregon will be producing for housing for people that need it.

You will have the kinds of burgeoning, booming economy that we want in this State, as well as in others. But

at the same time, we are tightening the screws on those areas where inflation is serious, and we are going to win it.

We want strong, stalwart people in Congress who will bite the bullet and not fade away when they ought to be strong, when they ought to be facing up to the issues and not play politics with something that is involved in the national security.

Speaking of national security, let me just make one observation. I get twice-a-day messages from Henry Kissinger. He just spent about 4 days in Moscow, and he spent a couple of days in India. He spent a couple of days in Pakistan. I got messages from him today in Afghanistan—and he is going two or three or four places after that. But here is a man who is carrying the torch of peace for America. Here is a man that worked night and day to achieve a peace and who is laying the groundwork for a broadening of that peace, whether it is in the Middle East, whether it is in the case of Cyprus or Greece, or whether it is in the case of Western Europe or whether it is in Latin America, Africa, or Southeast Asia.

Here is a man that is on our side, leading the way with a torch of peace. And what we need in the Congress is Members of the Congress who will back up that kind of leadership, people who won't play politics with national security, who won't play politics with what is good in the furtherance of peace throughout the world.

Now, I am sure that the people here who are seeking office, or seeking reelection, are the kinds that won't play politics with peace, who will give to a President the kind of flexibility he needs to negotiate with the Russians, or to broaden our relationships with China, or strengthen our allies in Europe, or negotiate between Israel and Arab nations on a fair and equitable basis in the Middle East, or to bring together our two allies, Greece and Turkey.

These are the kinds of people we want in the Congress, who will trust the President as a Republican Congress did in 1947 and 1948 when they trusted a Democratic President to give us the leadership to build NATO, to strengthen Western Europe. And it has been the bulwark of strength as we meet the challenges, or have met them, for the last 25 years.

I am confident that the kinds of Members of the House and Senate that you will send to Washington next Tuesday will win the battle against inflation, stabilize and build up our economy, and lead the charge for the extension of peace throughout the world. And in the process, you are going to give us a Governor in the great State of Oregon to follow on the pattern, the practices, the leadership of Tom McCall. I cannot imagine a better man than Vic Atiyeh.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. at the Benson Hotel, Portland, Oreg.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Portland, Oregon

The President's Remarks at the 15th Annual Auction of the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. November 1, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Bob, for the more than generous introduction, and I think for any of us in political life, that is the one thing we want and cherish. And you have it, and I am proud to be here in Oregon with you on that basis.

You know, I feel very much at home here in Oregon. Our new White House photographer, Dave Kennerly, he comes from Portland, and he keeps me up to date on everything that happens out here. Dave, stand up and give us a bow. Oh, there he is. Right over there.

As you all know by now, I am sure—if you don't know in Portland, there are some down here in the Washington photographic corps who know it—that Dave is Washington's number one bachelor.

So after this talk, for the men, we are going to auction off a special set of Presidential cufflinks. For the kids, we are going to auction off two autographed footballs. And for the girls, we are going to auction off Kennerly.

Really, I am terribly pleased to be here. I have heard so much about your science and industry museum. These are certainly two areas where our Nation excels, and I think it is only fitting that OMSI should be recognized worldwide as one of the finest museums of science and industry in the whole world.

We Americans have always been a very stubborn lot, so it is, I think, relatively characteristic that in America this fine institution was created by people, and it never asked for any tax subsidy, and I congratulate you.

I am delighted and honored to participate on an occasion like this where you raise your money, and you do not come down and see all of us in Washington, asking for a little help. I would do this 24 hours a day for all organizations if we could avoid that, believe me.

But any institution that is organized, run, and paid for by people in sort of the good, old-fashioned way, the barn-raising method, I think it is great. And to do this here in Oregon, in Portland, I think is sort of characteristic of the wonderful people and the concepts and the principles that you have.

And although I would not suggest seriously that we move this project to Washington—[laughter]—I think Members of Congress could benefit by a visit here, not only by people in government, but a lot of people outside, in many other parts of our country.

You know they tell me the day we landed a man on the Moon, you were already teaching a course here at OMSI about Moon topography, and I congratulate you. And I made a speech a few weeks ago about exploring new sources of energy, and I find here at OMSI, you al-

ready have an exhibit working—action working model of just about all these new sources of energy, whether it is solar, geothermal, or what have you.

This is the kind of vision, the kind of imagination that I think is what we need, not only in Portland, but elsewhere. And I am also greatly interested in your latest development here with the cooperation of the Bureau of Standards of an exhibit on how the metric system works.

I am not sure I understand it, but I am glad you are teaching the younger generation, because I think it is important as we become more and more integrated in a global sense.

I understand this exhibit is scheduled to travel all over the United States, and that, in and of itself, is a tribute to Portland, and I congratulate you.

Sometimes, we think of museums as old, musty, out-of-the-way places, remnants of the dead past. OMSI, as I understand it, is an example of how alive, how useful, how exciting a great museum can be, and I congratulate you for it.

As I look around this room and see some of the younger generation, those in the middle group—[laughter]—and some of us, some of you my age, I cannot help but think that the people make a State and the people make the country. And actually, Oregon is a symbol of this project and what you do in many other fields, a great State with a proud history, but even more importantly, a promising future.

I am grateful for your invitation and deeply indebted to you for the opportunity to be here. And I especially am grateful for Bob Packwood's kind introduction. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 p.m. at the Memorial Coliseum, Portland, Oreg.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Portland, Oregon

The President's Remarks at a Benefit Dance Sponsored by the Urban League. November 1, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Hazel.

I am here with Bob Packwood to participate in a very small way in a great cause, the Urban League. I belong to it. We have a great Urban League in my hometown, and the head of that in Grand Rapids is Paul Phillips. Some of you may know him—a very dear friend of mine.

It is just wonderful to be here with Hazel and all of you. I did not come to make a speech. I came to say hello and meet some of you and enjoy myself.

We have had a great, great day in Portland. It has been long but wonderful, and this is sort of a climax. And I thank you for your warm, warm welcome.

You might be interested—I saw the last half of the Trail Blazers and the Braves. The Trail Blazers won 109 to 102 (113 to 106).

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. at the Masonic Temple, Portland, Oreg. The Urban League sponsored the dance for the benefit of the Albina Human Resources Center in Portland. The President was introduced by Hazel G. Hays, manager of the center.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Disaster Assistance for Louisiana

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Severe Storms. November 1, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Louisiana as a result of damage caused by severe storms, beginning about October 28, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the severe storms and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Louisiana will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Joe D. Winkle, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region VI, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Portland, Oreg.

Salt Lake City, Utah

The President's Remarks at a Rally at the University of Utah. November 2, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Jake Garn, Senator Wallace Bennett, my good friend, Steve Harmsen, Ron Inkley.

It is wonderful to be here in this wonderful, just tremendous basketball arena and to be on the campus of the University of Utah, and to you, President David Gardner, I thank you very, very much.

I am delighted that Jake Garn did not mention too much about my career as a football player. I played at the University of Michigan so far back—it was back when the ball was round—and after winning this national championship for my first 2 years, my senior year we won one and lost seven, and at the end of the season, my teammates voted me the most valuable player. I don't know what they were trying to tell me.

But I am particularly pleased to be in Utah because I have been here many, many times. I skied at Alta, Park City, Snow Basin. I hope to come out again and ski at Snow Bird.

I like people from Utah. Some of our closest and best friends come from your great State.

Let me express my deep appreciation to the Kearns High School band, as well as to the Davis High School band. The music that was played by both was wonderful, stirring, the kind of music that I like.

You know, music usually provides us with great beauty, but sometimes it provides us with the truth as well.

Last week, I went back to my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and we had a big night rally in an arena at Calvin College, much like this one. As I came into the building, I heard the master of ceremonies ask the band for just one more selection, something that will be appropriate for the President of the United States.

So they played, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen."

But I do express my gratitude for the warm and very friendly welcome, and I cannot think of one trouble I could ever have in the State of Utah. You are the kind of people I like and enjoy.

This convinces me that when I agreed to come to visit Utah today, this is one Ford who really did have a better idea.

And let me congratulate you—because I know them, I have met them, I have worked with them—on the exceptional slate of Republican candidates you have here in Utah. I have seen a lot, and they are among the very best. And I look forward to working with them next year in Washington, D.C.

I have seen a lot of mayors. I worked with a great many Senators. And it is my honest judgment and recommendation that the country, the States, all of you, as well as myself, need Jake Garn in the United States Senate.

I never got that kind of an accolade when I was running for the House of Representatives in my own district. So, Jake, you are doing very well, and for good and sufficient reasons. But I am a product, as all of you know, of the House of Representatives, and I am proud of the 25-plus years that I served with 435 other Members on both sides of the aisle. So I know a little bit about the kind of Members of the House that will do a good job, and I can recom-

mend to you Steve Harmsen for his youth, his vigor, his organized approach to the problems that he will face on your behalf.

I strongly recommend Steve to be returned and sent to Washington on your behalf.

And although my contact with Ron has not been as extensive, I am impressed with a fine, strong, able young man. Good luck to you, Ron.

There is one particular area where Jake Garn and I wholeheartedly agree—and this really ought not to be a partisan issue, because there are many Democratic mayors in this country, as there are Republican mayors, who have the same thoughts, the same beliefs.

The decentralization of the Federal Government would make our system work far, far better. And therefore, in my opinion, there is no more urgent need or item, if I might say, of long-range, national business before us today. We must cut the power. We must trim the size of the bureaucracy in Washington. It would be good for the country.

I should add that I have ordered a cut of 40,000 in the bureaucracy, in the Federal bureaucracy, and we are going to achieve that end. It will save us about \$300 million in one year, but it will make the system work better just as well.

There is only one real way that we are going to solve some of these difficult problems that we face as fellow citizens in this country. We must communicate more effectively with one another. And frankly, that is why I am here in Utah. I can learn much more about the needs and the desires of the citizens of Utah in one hour's worth of conversation with men like Jake Garn, your great senior Senator, Wallace Bennett, than I learn in 8 months back in the Oval Office talking to Potomac bureaucrats about the problems of Utah.

Frankly, that is precisely the problem with an overgrown, all-political bureaucracy. There is no two-way communication. Each State and locality in this Nation has its own needs, its own priorities, and the priorities of Salt Lake are different from those of Miami, and the ones of Seattle are quite different from those of Baltimore.

So, these unique, these unusual needs and priorities, cannot be understood and dealt with from a very, very remote vantage point in the Nation's Capital.

The day is past, in my honest judgment, when an octopus-like government in the Nation's Capital can stretch its tentacles across the Nation and literally squeeze into itself more and more power.

In my judgment, we have to chop off those tentacles, and as each of those tentacles wither, we have to return the power and the revenue that they have grasped back to the States and to the local communities where they honestly belong—back to the taxpayers, the local taxpayers who made the funds available in the first place.

As we carry out this decentralization process, it is abso-

lutely essential that we have men in Washington who can tell us precisely what their constituents want and how they want it done.

And that is why, without any hesitation, reservation, or qualification, I urge you to send Jake Garn to the United States Senate.

As a local official, Jake has a unique and firsthand knowledge of what the people of Utah really want. As a Senator, he will be able to put that knowledge to use, firsthand.

Now, one of my primary goals as President is to return governmental control to the American people, and I need Jake in Washington to help me achieve and realize that very important goal.

It will not be an easy job. I am not standing here trying to kid you. It is never easy to dismantle a rickety structure that has been reinforced in a patchwork way for decades. If you knock out the wrong section, the whole thing forever is liable to fall and hurt a lot of innocent people.

We do not want that. But the job has to be done. For too long, politicians have operated on the principle that you can bring heaven to earth by piling Federal programs like layer cake and frosting them with Federal money. It won't and it has not worked.

The results and the consequences have been a huge, cumbersome, totally unresponsive central government that increasingly threatens to assert control over nearly every aspect of our personal lives.

The intentions of the people who have helped build this Federal layer cake are noble ones. I do not challenge their motives or their intentions. They actually, sincerely believe that if the government ministers to every need and to every concern that it has among all of 213 million citizens, those citizens will be happier and will be better off. But let me make a critical, crucial point. What they really forget, and what millions of Americans are not remembering, is that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

But what they forget, and what millions of Americans are now remembering, is that in the end, no government can make us better and happier people if it takes from us that one essential ingredient for happiness, our individual freedom.

The lesson of the passing decades has been a basic one. We cannot spend our way into happiness. But we can spend ourselves into debt, and we can spend our Nation's strength straight into raging inflation.

That is why, in these past few weeks, I have been speaking out for realistic, fiscally responsible Congressional candidates.

Inflation is our public enemy number one, and the way to beat inflation most effectively is to keep the lid on Federal spending. That is why I urge you to send to the Congress an inflation-proof Congress next Tuesday.

If the people who wish to spend and spend—and they can be called big spenders—win heavily on November 5, we are in danger of electing a veto-proof Congress, rather than an inflation-proof Congress. I think you want an inflation-proof Congress, not a veto-proof Congress.

Such a Congress threatens, unrestrained by a threat of a Presidential veto, to spend the dome right off our Nation's Capitol. Our Nation, in this very challenging role, simply cannot afford a veto-proof Congress controlled by those that want to spend all your money, and much more, too.

Big spending got our economy into the trouble it is experiencing today, and now we are threatened with a Congress whose prescription is more spending.

I do not think it makes much sense. It is my judgment that the immediate medicine our economy needs is a good strong dose of fiscal discipline. And frankly, that is why I am asking voters all across this Nation, all across the political spectrum—Democrats, Independents, and Republicans—to vote as inflation fighters rather than as political partisans.

I pledge to do everything possible in my power to hold down excessive spending from the Federal Treasury, and I ask you to send men and women to Washington—men like Jake Garn, who I know from his record, his experience, his knowledge—will help me in this vitally important task.

I don't stand here and kid you that it is an easy task. There is no easy cure for the inflationary illness that infects our economy, and I do not think it makes you any happier for me to be able to say that our inflationary rates, or increases, in the cost of living are less than those in Japan or Great Britain or any one of a number of other countries; that does not help us do something about the problem.

But we have to understand that it takes patience, it takes hard work, it takes strength of character, and it takes a little time, unfortunately.

It will also require some short-term sacrifices to serve our long, long-term national interest. As I said in my 31-point program to the Congress, which is aimed at controlling inflation and stabilizing and strengthening our economy and also calling upon people to help us in the conservation of energy, in the building of greater energy potential—in the 31-point program that I submitted to the Congress were suggestions by individual citizens who might participate in the battle against inflation so that we, as a country, 213 million of us, can share that equally.

Each of us must make a little sacrifice so that none will suffer. And as you know, the sacrifice that all, all of us make, I think, will make it better for everybody.

Now, one important recommendation in my inflation-fighting and energy-saving program, one of the 31 proposals that I made was to tighten up and to increase the penalties for antitrust price fixing action.

That legislation has been lying dormant in the House Committee on the Judiciary. I think it is legitimate to ask every member of that committee why haven't they acted.

If we can do something about price fixing, if we can do something about the antitrust action—and let me illustrate what I recommend—that we increase the penalties for violation from \$50,000 to \$1 million—and nothing has happened in the Congress or in the Committee on the Judiciary.

You may remember that I recently made a speech to the Future Farmers of America in which I attempted to outline some specific ways in which all Americans could pitch in to the fight against inflation.

But as I prepared these remarks for this wonderful audience in Utah, and as I thought about your wonderful way of life in this State, it occurred to me that perhaps what I was suggesting in this speech to the Future Farmers of America is not really sacrifice at all. Perhaps I was just suggesting that my fellow Americans return to those good, sound basic values of self-sufficiency, truth, and self-reliance.

These are the values, combined with a faith in God and a love of family, that built this great State of Utah.

Fortunately those are the same fundamental values that made America great. Yes, I have asked Americans to save. I have asked them to budget. I have asked them to economize. I have asked them to guard their health, and I have asked them to cut out waste—and that includes the Ford family as well.

As I prepared these remarks, I realized that what I have been suggesting to millions and millions of Americans is already accepted practice in the State of Utah. So there is really no need for me to preach about those old basic values to all of you, for your daily lives in Utah are shaped by those wonderful values that I respect and admire.

But I do want you to know that by living those values, you are a source of inspiration to all Americans, including myself. And I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for proving to all of us that those old values are alive and well and working.

And I can also tell you that Wallace Bennett has done an inspiring job of standing up for your values during his brilliant career in the Senate. And when Wallace leaves, we will miss Frances just as well. She has been great in every way possible.

I just told Wallace that he may leave the Senate, but we are going to make use of him someplace. Anybody that is as strong and as good and as dedicated as Wallace, America needs him, and we are going to take advantage of him.

I know, because our careers started relatively the same time. Here is a man, a giant of the Senate—strong, a stainless, moral leader, and a tireless champion of fiscal responsibility.

We all hate to see him go, but our prayers and our very, very best wishes will be with him and Frances as they come home again to their beloved Utah. And with people like Wallace Bennett and Jake Garn, and people like all of you to serve as examples, I am more and more confident than ever that we can bring our economy back to full and lasting health.

And perhaps in the process of doing so, perhaps as we do cut away frills and nonessentials, we will rediscover something valuable about ourselves that some of us may, unfortunately, have forgotten.

You understand very precisely here in Utah what those basic values are. Now is the time to get out and to preach them to our fellow Americans in the other 49 States. Now is the time to apply them to the war against inflation.

Let us let the first shot in that war come out of the ballot box next Tuesday, and let it be a shot heard around the country and around the world.

Cast your vote for the party that will, with a cooperative Congress, reestablish stability in our economy and common sense and good direction to our government. Cast your vote for the men who will be a part of a strong, responsive, responsible, inflation-proof Congress.

We need them now, much more than ever. As one TV commentator put it recently—and let me quote him—“I am looking for a Congress that will praise the Lord and pass the legislation.”

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. at the University of Utah Special Events Center in Salt Lake City, Utah.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Emergency Assistance for New York

Announcement of Emergency Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Because of Flooding in the Bushnell Basin. November 2, 1974

The President today declared an emergency for the State of New York because of the impact of flooding caused by a cave-in of the New York State Barge Canal, beginning about October 29, 1974. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief efforts in designated areas of the State.

The emergency situation resulted from flooding in the hamlet of Bushnell Basin, which left a number of families homeless. The President's declaration of an emergency will allow the Federal Government to provide mobile homes to the State to house the homeless families.

Federal relief activities in New York will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, De-

partment of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region II, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal emergency assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Grand Junction, Colorado

The President's Remarks at a Rally at Lincoln Park Baseball Field. November 2, 1974

Thank you very much, Pete. Governor Vanderhoof, Lieutenant Governor Strickland, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Jim Johnson, who represents an area of this great country that I love and adore:

It gives me a lot of trouble—Vail, Colorado—but let me also say it is wonderful to be here with my old and very, very dear friend, Wayne Aspinall, who took the same oath of office that I did on January 3, 1949. I am proud—you know, I just feel emotional about our relationship over a long period of time.

I can tell you that his office was opposite mine on the corridor—as a matter of fact, Jack Kennedy's was just a couple of offices down—and all I am saying is that in Wayne Aspinall I developed a close, personal rapport that transcends partisan politics. He and I disagreed, but friendship you don't sell out. You keep it. You love it. And that is my relationship with Wayne Aspinall.

You know, it is great to be in Colorado—West—again. It has often been said that Colorado is a land of breathtaking beauty and after crowning your homecoming queen and her lovely court, I would have a tough time picking who was going to win. I might add a breathtaking beauty as well, and I congratulate you for everything. A college homecoming is a happy time and I wish Mesa College, Mavericks, Mesa—but we have some community names out in Michigan all of you could not pronounce, either. I love you, anyhow.

But I understand this has been one of your better years, and as a former football player for the University of Michigan, I know what a one and five and one season is. You know, my senior year at Michigan, after being national champion of undefeated teams for 2 years, the year that I was supposed to be constructive we ended up with a one win and seven lost—and we lost to Ohio State 32 to nothing. We are going to do better this fall. Anyhow, I was elected the most valuable player by my

teammates after losing seven out of the eight games, and I did not know whether to sue or smile.

Well, as some of you already know, the Ford family has a very special place in our hearts for Colorado. It is our second home. We are not voting taxpayers, but we don't mind because we think we get our money's worth under your good Governor and under Pete Dominick and the others, so we just love being here in Colorado. We wish we could be here more often, and we might surprise you.

I just hope you get a little more snow earlier than you did last year. Have you got some?

That is Vail over there, I guess, isn't it? All right. We love it. We will be here if we get a cooperative Congress. I wish you could promise me that; it would be good for the country.

Now, Betty and the Ford children and I have had great times here. We have been to Aspen. We have been to Vail. We have been many other places in Colorado and we love the people. We love the country. We love the total atmosphere, and it is so nice to be here on a Saturday afternoon. We are looking forward to coming back, and thank you very, very much.

Let me just say that when I come to a place like this with a ballpark and so many people and so many fine public servants and your Governor and Pete and Jim Johnson and my former colleague, Wayne Aspinall, it just convinces me that this country is predicated on the strength and the diversity of people—Democrats, Republicans, Independents—you know, people who were born here, people who came here, people who migrate to Colorado. Aren't we lucky to have a country where all of these assets and attributes just come out in a place like Grand Junction? I think it is wonderful.

You know, you are a long way from Florida, you are a long way from Alaska, you are far away from New York and California, but you have something special. The Continental Divide does not divide our country. As long as we remain one people in spirit, as long as we continue to share the idea of freedom, dignity, opportunity that brought us together in the first place, we will remain united.

And it is because of this, Grand Junction, of interest in ideals, that I am optimistic when it comes to America. There are plenty of big problems that are waiting to be solved—inflation, energy, pollution, crime—to name only a few. But there is not one of them that we as Americans can't lick, if we pull together and act responsibly. There is, however, one thing our elected officials must remember. No government can expect the people to act responsibly when it fails to do so itself.

If your government does not act to give you an example, if it does not tighten its belt, if it does not give you vision, imagination, strength, courage, dedication, how can government ask you to respond accordingly?

You cannot, from a governmental point of view, ask

people to do something about whipping inflation if the Congress dominated by the people that want to spend and spend and spend keep on stoking the fires of inflation with excessive spending. If they are going to spend more than they take in, year after year after year, how can we ask honest, decent, responsible citizens to act a little differently if you cannot do it. There is not a double standard.

Well, we cannot expect people to set aside their differences and pull together as long as a spirit of irresponsibility, irresponsible partisanship—if I can define it a bit—and rankling prevails in Government.

And this is one of the reasons, quite frankly, that I am here today. I want to ask for your help, your help in giving the American people the kind of problemsolving government all of us want and every one of us deserves. And believe me, as Coloradans there is plenty of that that all of you, and I as a taxpaying but nonvoting Coloradan can do, too.

Again and again, as I have traveled around this country in recent weeks—and I have traveled around 18,000 miles—I have tried to stimulate people in our country. Yes, I have a little partisan interest, but I have a greater interest—and I think Wayne Aspinall would agree with me—I have got an interest that involves you, whether you are Democrats, Republicans, Independents, or otherwise.

Gosh, what a stake we have in a country like this. If you have ever traveled abroad you understand the comparison between what we have and what others might have. It is almost unbelievable, but I am told that the speculators and forecasters are saying that 42 percent of the people eligible to vote on next Tuesday will cast their ballot—42 percent, which means that 21 percent of the people eligible to vote or slightly over 50 percent of those 42 percent, decide something.

You are going to be in the minority. You will have decisions made by people that are in the minority. I will abide by what the majority of our people say, whether they are Democrat, Independent, or Republican. But I cannot accept the fact that Americans—bearing in mind what so many have given in the way of their life, their sacrifices overseas and otherwise—that only 42 percent are going to let 21 percent of the people make their decisions. Is that American? Is that what our country was founded on, what is the concept of our whole system?

We want people to get out and vote and to express themselves, to make a determination. And if we do, we will accept it, and it will be better for all of us. And you in Colorado know that if that is done you will reelect your fine Governor, who has done much to make your State healthy economically, burgeoning in activity, and yet who has done a great job in keeping the right balance in-between growth and our environment.

And I am glad to be here, John, to participate in something that is a tribute to you and your leadership in the State House. Something I have been interested in for a

long time is reorganization in the executive branch. We are going to do something about it in the Federal Government, but your fine Governor has already done something about it in the State government. And I congratulate you and compliment you for that achievement.

Now, let me say something about your Congressional delegation. You have got—in Jim Johnson, you have got a person who represents this district with great capability, character, and dedication. Now, Jim—when I was minority leader in the House—did not always agree with me. We always disagreed without being disagreeable. But I respected his independence, but I also appreciated his willingness to be a team player when he could move and be strong and helpful. So I express to you, Jim, my deep gratitude not only for your team work but your independence. It is good for our country.

Bill Armstrong, another one of your fine Members of the House of Representatives—I think he is great. He came when Jim did. He represents a little different part of your great State, but it is an important, an integral part of our great State of Colorado. And I congratulate him, and I hope you will support him in this reelection campaign.

I had the opportunity of knowing Don Brotzman for a number of years, and Don—I skied with him and I also served with him—he is a little better in both respects, and I therefore recommend to be reelected by the people of Colorado.

Well, you have got some challengers, some candidates, that I hope you will support. Keith Records—I hope you will give him the best support, the biggest help that you possibly can. He has got a good, sound approach to the problems that I think are important to our country.

Then you have Frank Southworth. I know Frank. I know the problems, some of the difficult areas of the city of Denver. He has range and depth and experience. He served on the school board and has been a leader in trying to give quality education to the people and to the students of Denver. I congratulate him and urge his full and total support.

But now I come to something that really—if I could just make a special contribution here to Pete Dominick. You know, Pete and I have known one another for 30 years, so it is not one of these political, convenience acquaintanceships. I have known Pete when he was a law school student and I was. I have known Pete in subsequent years. I knew him as a Member of the House of Representatives. I watched him when he was a Member of the Senate and I was the presiding officer as Vice President. I have watched him intimately as I have been President and he has been a Senator. I think he has done a great job. And if I were in Colorado with the right to vote, I would vote for Pete Dominick as strongly and as effectively as I possibly could.

Well, Pete gives me the kind of representation that I

would like, and, therefore, I am delighted to be in Grand Junction. He has all the attributes, the wisdom, the experience, and the kind of knowledge that makes the difference between doing what is right and what is wrong.

Well, let me turn very quickly, if I might—I am going to throw away this part of my prepared text and talk to you frankly. I come from an area in Michigan that probably has more people with the name of “Van” than any area in the whole United States. I have Holland, Michigan, Zeeland, Michigan, Great London, Michigan, et cetera. Gee, they have good judgment. They voted 76 percent Republican. And I was not a Hollander, but I had, I think, a sound philosophy, or at least they think I did.

And so, when I come out and see a Vanderhoof, that is like talking to my old friend that I tried hard to represent in Holland and Zeeland and Great London and all the other places for 26 years. So, I understand a good public servant in John Vanderhoof. You better reelect him. He is good for Colorado.

Now, certainly, after I meet this great gang here today on this platform, I am going to meet with the Colorado cattlemen. This is not the first group of cattlemen that I have met with in the last week. I have met with a group in Oklahoma City. I met with a group in Washington. I met with a group in Portland, Oregon yesterday, and I am looking forward to meeting this group in Colorado this afternoon.

I know that they have got particular problems and you have similar problems here in this area of this great State. But let me make an observation or two. I intend to carry out the meat import law, which means there will be no meat imports in violation of that legislation. We will not grant any exceptions or waivers thereto. And I suspect there are a few dairy farmers in this group. How many are here? Aren't we lucky? They are all out working, and we are having a good time.

But let me say this: I intend to not change the present dairy import quotas because I do not think we can, under the present circumstances, justify any increase in the quotas. And, therefore, I think the dairy people will support the fine, firm, discerning action that Secretary Butz has recommended to me.

But let me add one other thing. You know, we as Americans like competition. I don't mind a German or a Dutchman or a Frenchman competing with me on an equal basis, but I will be doggone if I want the Government to subsidize the product he is trying to sell to the American people.

We will challenge him on the open fields, head-to-head, and we will do all right. Some of the foreign governments in Western Europe have been doing—by what they call countervailing duties—subsidizing dairy products in their countries. We won't stand for it, and if they are going to do that, we will challenge them, head-to-head.

Now, one final observation in the great field of agriculture: You produce tremendous cattle in this country,

either cattle feeders or out on the range. I like it either way, but let me say this: We know that in some of the countries such as Australia, Argentina, and elsewhere, they have got tremendous numbers that are about to be exported, some perhaps to us.

In the meantime, Japan, Western Europe, Canada has imposed arbitrary limitations on the export of American products to those countries. I will say to you: They are not going to limit our imports, and we are going to hold the line on exports to the United States.

Let me make one final observation and comment. Inflation, according to all the scorecards, is the biggest problem that faces most Americans. Eighty-three percent of the American people think this is the hardest, the toughest, the strongest issue in this great campaign, and I think I agree. As I travel around the country, I have listened to a lot of people; I talked with many. And it does bother people.

One of the root causes of inflation in America is the irresponsible fiscal policy of your Federal Government. We have to change it. Now, I don't believe that in good conscience I could stand here and say that every Republican is an inflation fighter and every Democrat is a spender. I could not honestly say that, and if I have any conscience, I want to be honest with you. But I will say that the tilt of spenders is in the opposition party, and the tilt of savers is in our party. So, as I travel around the country, I want savers not spenders elected to the Congress, so we can whip inflation.

Well, there is one other thing that I would like to mention before closing. You know we have three great branches of this Government of ours. I fervently respect it as a lawyer, as a public servant, as a citizen. We have a strong President, supposedly, in the White House. We have a strong Congress, supposedly, in the legislative branch. We have a strong Supreme Court, supposedly, heading the judiciary system. They are equal, co-equal branches of our Government. Our forefathers, some 200 years ago, put together this system that was to be so finely tuned that it would protect our freedom, give us the opportunity for participation, and also make it right for us as we moved on to pass through the years ahead.

How lucky we were they were right, they did it correctly. But now we face a challenge, and I do say it right to all of you. There is the possibility that through apathy, you could end up in this next Congress with what I very pragmatically call a veto-proof Congress.

What does that mean? It totally disrupts and tears apart that finely tuned balance so that you no longer have a system of checks and balances. It means that one branch of our Federal Government will have a totally dominating, controlling impact on how your Government is run.

Wayne knows that. He and I have not always agreed on whether a veto ought to be sustained or not, or whether it ought to be done on a Democratic or Republican basis. But if you so distort the ratio in the Congress so that the

Congress can totally override by a veto-proof Congress whatever a President decides, you have destroyed, you have upset, you have literally torn asunder a basic concept of what is good for America.

I don't want to come back here 2 years from now and say, "I told you so," because I think you have more judgment. You are going to send Jim Johnson, Pete Dominick, and your good Governor not only to Washington, but to your State capital to give you the kind of government that will be balanced, that will be right, that will have vision, that will have responsibility. It is the kind of government that is good for all of us, and I pray you will do your very best on November 5.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:57 p.m. at Lincoln Park Baseball Field, Grand Junction, Colo.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Wichita, Kansas

The President's Remarks at a Rally at the Century II Convention Center. November 2, 1974

Thank you very, very much, Bob. Larry Winn, Garner Shriver, Keith Sebelius, Bob Bennett, other distinguished officeholders and candidates, wonderful Kansans:

It is great to be here despite the weather. I love you. Thank you.

You know, it just came to my attention as I was sitting here that I have been at a good many cities, communities, in the last several months as I have tried to get out and meet people and talk to the American people. And we have had abnormally wonderful weather, until tonight. There were only two places where we had any rain—one in Tucson, Arizona, where they are never supposed to have any, and the other in my home of Grand Rapids, Michigan, when I went back for a homecoming last week.

Well, they were great in both Tucson and Grand Rapids, and you are superb here in Wichita. And I thank you for your warm friendly, enthusiastic welcome.

As Bob was going through the process of making the introduction, I tried to think of how many times, how many places I have been in Kansas in the last 25-plus years as a Member of the House, as minority leader, as Vice President, and President.

And I wrote down, I think, most of them—I am sure I missed some—but we went out to Great Bend. Wasn't that wonderful out there last year? It rained there too, but that was all right. But I have been in Dodge City, and you know what they do to you in Dodge City.

And I have been in Kansas City, Kansas, just recently, and I have been in Wichita here several times.

Well, I like Kansas. I like Kansas because of the people, but I have another good reason. It has been the

home of one of the finest Presidents this Nation has ever known, the great statesman from Abilene, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

As you look at the history of Ike Eisenhower, you know that he set a standard of integrity, achievement that is everlasting, both to his country and to his State. Ike's record was unblemished. And I pledge to you that I will do the very best of my ability to follow the path and the footsteps of that great American. If I can achieve just a bit of what he did, it will be worth every hour, every day of anything I can do in the years ahead.

I have another reason to enjoy coming to Kansas. The campaigns here always seem to have a little more fun than other States. You know, take the race for Governor. Somebody just told me the latest Republican slogan. It goes something like this: "Let's put Bob Bennett in the driver's seat and keep Vern Miller in the trunk."

It is obvious from the reaction that you have a great candidate in Bob Bennett. His honesty, reliability, complete and total integrity—the only thing that Bob has ever covered up is his chin.

But speaking of things that, you know, get a little different perspective once in a while, a long time ago when I was at the University of Michigan, I played center on the football team. And normally, of late at least, I have been getting some very stately and dignified introductions. But I can remember quite vividly an introduction I got about a month ago from an old teammate of mine. He was a quarterback. And in the process of the introduction he said, "I played center on the same football team with Jerry Ford. I was a quarterback, but I want you to know I got a little different perspective of the President than most of you."

Well, as I have looked at the great Republican slate that the party has put up here for the Senate, State offices, Congress, I must say I am proud to be a Republican, and I hope you will all support me.

Having said that, let me add this as a postscript. I am not here just because of party labels. And as Bob said, I suspect there are many in this audience who are here who are Democrats, Independents, Republicans, but I am here to say a word of personal support for those individuals that I know and who I know, over the past years, have done a super job in working in the Congress for Kansas, for you, for our country.

I come because of a personal affection that I have for everyone whose name I mentioned and a respect for a group of people that I have known since all of them came to the Congress, because I came before any one of them.

And I have seen them come. I have seen them grow. I have seen them assume great responsibilities far beyond that of others in comparable seniority.

Bob Dole, for example. I got to know Bob when he came and spent 8 years in the House of Representatives—all of it I was not the minority leader, but a part of it

was, and the rest of the time I was a senior member of the House Committee on Appropriations. And I learned then, in that capacity, in these responsibilities, that Bob was smart, hard-working, independent, and I can assure you that when he disagrees with you, it is firm; it is a little friendly, but it is firm.

He can disagree without being disagreeable. But what I want you to know is that his independence is predicated on conscience, and his support, when he can and does, is based on teamwork. You just could not get a better combination. So, if I were in Kansas, I know who I would vote for.

I have talked about a personal relationship. Let me talk to you about a very pragmatic reason why you in Kansas should support Bob. Next year, with a new Congress, Bob will be the senior Republican member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture.

You in Kansas have a great State. I won't get into the argument of whether seniority is right or wrong. The fact of life is that in the Senate of the United States, they will keep that system, and Bob will be in that very influential position which has a great impact as far as your State is concerned.

But the combination of that responsibility on the one hand and a member of the Senate Finance Committee on the other, plus the added duty under a new setup of being on the Senate Budget Committee—I don't know how Bob is going to handle all these great responsibilities, except I know him, and I know he will do all three in a first-class way for Kansas and the country. So, as a pragmatic reason, you darned well ought to vote for Bob for the United States Senate.

I am told Bob is in for the political fight of his life. I suspect that is true. But Bob has been through those fights before. He did it in the service of his country. He has done it in one political campaign after another. And I say the test of the man is the achievement that he has accomplished.

And when I look at his record, believe me, you just could not do better.

So, I am here to help in any way I can to say to Kansans, whether they are Democrats, Republicans, or Independents: You ought to keep something that is as good as Bob is. And he is great.

I have also gotten to know all of your House Members extremely well. After all, it was part of my duty as the Republican minority leader for almost 10 years to try and corral votes to organize the minority, to do the best job we could despite the fact that we were outnumbered 240-something to 180-something.

The Kansas delegation always seems to have quality, and in Garner Shriver you have got one who has nothing but quality, and he comes from this great community, Wichita, in this great Congressional district. Garner deserves your support.

And let me say again, going from what I would say would be maybe ideological reasons to pragmatic reasons, a little over a year ago, we had a fuel oil shortage. I can recall vividly in the process of allocating a shortage, the initial decision was to cut back the portion or the allocation for general aviation.

I was Vice President then. Larry Winn, Garner Shriver, Bob Dole, Joe Skubitz, Keith Sebelius—all of them came and knocked on my door. But the ones who came first, for good and sufficient reason, were Bob Dole and Garner Shriver. And the result was that you got a better break, and therefore you ought to support them just on that grounds, if not for any other reason.

Well, I don't have to say a lot about Larry Winn, Joe Skubitz, Keith Sebelius. They all have tremendous records. They have done a great job. We are not in their respective districts. You just ought to be darned proud of the Kansas delegation. They are responsible, and they are responsive. And how much better could you ask a delegation than to have that kind of a reputation?

Now let me speak, if I might, about some issues. Our biggest problem is twofold. Our biggest problem is to keep a strong economy, to whip the problems of inflation, to save the energy that we have, and develop plans and programs to produce more.

That is our domestic issue. On the other hand we have a major responsibility of maintaining the peace and building and broadening and expanding it, working with our allies, trying to expand our relationship with any potential adversaries.

Yes, those are serious problems, and I know some have predicted that the United States is in worse shape than some of our partners in Europe.

Others say they are far worse off than we. And then they make allegations that the free world as a whole—economically, militarily, diplomatically—is in serious trouble, and that we should be cowed by and we should be fearful of those who have a different ideology or political philosophy.

Let me start out by making this one strong, categorical, firm statement. I have faith in America. We are going to make it, and our allies and our philosophy will prevail, both at home and abroad.

Now we have to do this with the help and assistance of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. I know in some instances partisanship has interjected itself, become a principal element in some of the Congressional or senatorial or gubernatorial races.

Well, in the case of Bob Bennett, I don't know why it should, because you have a great candidate and he is going to win. I don't know why it should in the case of Bob Dole because he has a proven record, both at home and abroad.

I don't know why it should in the case of Larry Winn or Garner or Joe Skubitz or Keith or your fine new candidate, John Peterson. These are people who ought to be

supported just on the basis of their backgrounds and experience and their dedication.

And I am not going to condemn a Democrat—because there are some good ones—but what I am concerned about is the kind of strength in programs and policies.

Let me take the problem of inflation and strengthening our economy, saving energy, 31-point program.

I think it is good. I believe it will meet the challenges that we face. One of the important ingredients is to hold down Federal spending. There are other parts of it, but I know that Bob Dole, Larry, Joe, Garner, and the others are the kind of people who will be most effective in holding down unnecessary spending, and you and I know that Federal spending of the magnitude that we have had over the last 10 or 15 years has been a significant cause of the inflation that we have today.

So, when you go into that voting booth next Tuesday, take a look at the voting record of those individuals on this issue. It is important to you if we are going to win this battle to save our economic system from the disasters of others historically, and to give us the strength to meet the challenges of some of the weaknesses in our economy.

But let us turn, if I might, to the problem of building, strengthening, expanding peace. When I went to, the Congress 26 years ago, or almost that, a great, great Democratic President working with a fine Republican Congress—the 80th—laid the foundation for the rehabilitation of Europe and the broadening of our free world throughout the total globe.

It was started with the Greek-Turkish aid and the Marshall Plan and some of the other programs implemented by a military capability and strength that is aimed at deterrents, not at aggression.

And you in Wichita have a significant part of it with the Boeing operation here. Strength means peace, and weakness means war.

Well, anyhow, this combination of strength in the diplomatic field and the military has given to us in this great country, and to our allies, this kind of opportunity worldwide. And it has given us the opportunity to open the doors of greater and broader relationships with some of our potential adversaries, whether it is the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China.

We, at this moment, have a unique opportunity, both at home and abroad, to do something to give us for the next decades—not one, two, or maybe three—a brighter America and a better world. And when you look at this next election—and I don't mean in a partisan sense—what you have to decide is, who, what Members of the Congress, what candidates, are best qualified to give us strength here and vision and strength abroad.

I think you have got them in the kinds of people I have mentioned, and I know you have because I have worked with them. I have seen them under pressure. I have seen them do things that might not have been popular at the

moment because they were right. I have seen them just perform as wonderful representatives of the people of Kansas and the people of the United States.

One of the great men of this, and any, century, of course, was Winston Churchill. He led, as we all know, Great Britain through a period of far, far greater danger than anything we face today. But he, too, like myself, was an optimist. When many, many in Great Britain, and some of the free world back in those dark days in the late 1930's, had given up, Winston Churchill would not succumb to tyranny or the dark era or age of defeat.

Churchill still—and I can recall vividly because I was driving a car in, I think it was, 1939, and I heard that wonderful blood, sweat, and tears speech. It was a great speech in an era, in a period, in a day of challenge to Britain.

Sometimes, maybe we ought to go back and listen to what Winston Churchill said in that hour of darkness for Britain and the free world. But he said then and not that precise day, but on another occasion, and I quote: "Do not let us speak of darker days. Let us speak of sterner days. There are not dark days. These are just the great days." I say to you in all sincerity, we are living in great days.

We are going to have to work maybe a little harder and sacrifice just a bit more. But if we do our best and keep the faith in ourselves and our values, America and all the other great things that we, as a country, stand for, our Nation will emerge stronger and better than ever.

I know there are some who wish to have the Government do something for everybody in massive amounts, but as they seek to promote these kinds of efforts in the short haul, I do not think they really forecast what the long pull means.

Let me put it this way: I think it is fair to say a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

So, as I close my participation in this great campaign—and I have no apologies for traveling some 20,000 or more miles—being away from the Oval Office, seeing people as I did in Los Angeles, in Fresno, in Portland, Salt Lake, and here in Wichita, being in many other places for the last month or 6 weeks, I think the American people have the right to see their President and to have him discuss face-to-face with them his views and to get from them, by one means or another, their reactions, their views, their expressions. This is what I think America was built on.

The town hall concept may be a little out of date, but the town hall concept was good enough to take America through the Revolution and all the other trials and tribulations that followed. And if it was good enough in those days, I think it is good enough for a President to participate in 1974.

And so, as we move to that fateful day next Tuesday, not in a partisan sense, but in an objective sense, I think we should all say a little prayer before we go into the sanctity of that voting booth where you and your neighbors will make some decisions that will have a great impact on you individually and your community, on your State, on your Nation, and some four billion people all over this great globe.

So, do the best yourself and find literally hundreds of others to get them to do their best under these circumstances.

I ask you to pray, for the benefit of our country and all mankind, and to do your duty.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:37 p.m. at the Century II Convention Center, Wichita, Kans.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

National Commission for Manpower Policy

Announcement of Appointment of William Grawn Milliken as a Member of the Commission. November 2, 1974

The President has announced his intention to appoint William Grawn Milliken of Michigan to be a member of the National Commission for Manpower Policy.

Governor Milliken, who was born March 26, 1922, is Governor of Michigan, a post to which he was elected in 1969. He had previously served as Lieutenant Governor of Michigan, 1965–69, and was a member of the Michigan State Senate, 1960–64. He was majority floor leader from 1963 to 1964. He is president of J. W. Milliken, Inc. (department stores) in Traverse City, Cadillac, and Manistee, Mich.

In addition, he served as vice chairman, Midwestern Governors' Conference, 1973–74; on the National Governors' Conference Executive Committee, 1973–74; chairman, Republican Governors' Association, 1972; member, Michigan Waterways Commission, 1947–55; chairman, Traverse County Republican Committee, 1948–54; and member of the board of directors, Greater Michigan Foundation.

He received his A.B. degree from Yale University in 1946 and was awarded the LL.D. degree from the University of Michigan.

He is married to the former Helen Wallbank, and they have two children. His home is in Traverse City, Mich.

Commission on Civil Rights

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Murray Saltzman as a Member of the Commission. November 2, 1974

The President has announced his intention to nominate Murray Saltzman of Indianapolis, Ind., as a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Rabbi Saltzman who was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on November 25, 1929, attended Syracuse University, and was awarded a B.A. degree from the University of Cincinnati in 1941. He attended the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati and was ordained rabbi in 1956. In addition, he has attended the Oriental Seminary, Johns Hopkins University, and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (New York).

From 1956 to 1958, Rabbi Saltzman was assistant rabbi for the Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun, Milwaukee, Wis.; 1958-62, rabbi, Congregation B-nai Abraham, Hagerstown, Md.; 1962-67, rabbi, Temple Beth-El, Chappaqua, N.Y. Since 1967, he has been senior rabbi of the Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation, Indianapolis, Ind.

He has served as a member of the Youth Commission, Milwaukee, Wis.; chairman, Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, Hagerstown, Md., president, religious advisory committee, National Conference of Christians and Jews of Westchester. In addition, he is a board member of Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, a member of the Governor's Commission on Sex Education, and a member of the Indianapolis chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He is a member of the executive board, New York Board of Reform Rabbis; Commission on Synagogue Administration, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Commission on Marriage, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

He serves as Jewish chaplain, Indiana University Medical Center, Fort Harrison, Indianapolis V.A. Hospital. He is also a faculty member of Marian College at Indianapolis, Ind., and taught at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis campus; Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis; St. Maur's Catholic Seminary, Indianapolis.

He is married to the former Esther E. Herskowitz, and they have three children.

The 1974 Elections

The President's Remarks on Election Eve. November 4, 1974

As you know, tomorrow is election day all over America. Every eligible voter will be sending a message to

Washington and to the world. Those who vote, whether they vote for the Republican or Democratic candidates or for others, will be voting yes for our system of Government, our tradition of American government of the people and by the people.

Everyone who can get to the polls and who doesn't go to the polls and who refuses to exercise the precious right of a free citizen to vote his or her honest conviction is actually voting no under our system of government.

Now, some surveys indicate a turnout tomorrow of only 40 percent of the voting population. If this is true, the Congress, with which I must work in Washington, the Congress that will be working with me on controlling inflation, strengthening our economy, and preserving world peace could be elected by only 21 percent of the voters. I don't think anyone wants that kind of minority decision.

So, I ask you, my fellow citizens, to take the time tomorrow to go to the polls and vote for the candidates of your choice. You will be voting for your own future and exercising the power vested in free people which has carried this country forward for almost 200 years. You will not just be voting for Democrats or for Republicans, you will be casting your vote, a vote of confidence in the United States of America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:29 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

National Cancer Program

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report by the National Cancer Advisory Board on Cancer Research and Cancer Control Programs. November 4, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to you the annual report on the National Cancer Program's activities, progress and accomplishments during calendar year 1973, as well as the plan for the program for the next five years. Both the report and the plan are required by section 410A(b) of the Public Health Service Act as amended by The National Cancer Act of 1971.

The plan is provided in two documents. The first, called "National Cancer Program Operational Plan," covers the five-year plan for the program and delineates the major policies and procedures used to operate the program. The second document, called "Appendices to the National Cancer Program Operational Plan," includes separate brief descriptions of the individual research, control and support programs of the National Cancer Institute. The funding levels contained in the plan do not constitute a specific commitment or recommendation by the Administration. Among other things, those

levels do not adequately take into account overall budgetary constraints and the competing demands of other biomedical research programs.

The Administration is also deeply committed to an effective cancer research program. The progress and accomplishments made in 1973 are gratifying. The National Cancer Program is beginning to have an impact on Americans who have cancer or are at risk to it. Today, more Americans than ever before have access to the most advanced methods of cancer diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation. This human endeavor and its successes are the result of the National Cancer Institute's expanding research programs, and its efforts to apply for the benefit of the people, as quickly as possible, the knowledge emerging from the clinical bedside and research laboratory.

Our national research program to conquer cancer will take years before achieving ultimate success. The recent enactment of the National Cancer Act Amendments of 1974, which continue the National Cancer Program, demonstrates the abiding commitment of the Congress and the executive branch to solve this major health problem.

Success in this endeavor will ultimately come, however, only with the sustained dedication and hard work of the physicians, scientists, health professionals, voluntary agencies, and the volunteers who support this program.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 4, 1974.

NOTE: The 11-page report is entitled "National Cancer Program—1974 Report of the National Cancer Advisory Board."

Overseas Private Investment Corporation

Announcement of Designation of Charles A. Cooper as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation. November 4, 1974

The President today announced the designation of Charles A. Cooper, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. He succeeds Paul A. Volcker who resigned as Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, effective June 30, 1974.

Mr. Cooper served from May 21, 1973, to May 10, 1974, as Deputy Assistant for Economic Affairs on the National Security Council Staff. Mr. Cooper served as Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon from July 1970 until 1973. He was an economist with the Rand Corp. from 1968 to 1970 and earlier from 1963 to 1966.

From 1967 to 1968, Mr. Cooper was Associate Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Saigon and Economic Counselor at the U.S. Embassy there. He also served as economic adviser to Robert W. Komer, Special Assistant to the President for Civilian Programs in Vietnam from 1966 to 1967 and as an economist with the Council of Economic Advisers from 1961 to 1963.

He was born on December 23, 1933, in Chicago, Ill. Mr. Cooper received his B.A. in 1955 from Swarthmore College where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He was in the Russian study program at Harvard University during 1957–58 and received his Ph.D. degree in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1960.

The purpose of the Board is to mobilize and facilitate the participation of United States private capital and skills in the economic and social progress of less developed friendly countries and areas, thereby complementing the development assistance objectives of the United States.

Skylab Space Crystal

Statement by the President Upon Receiving the Crystal Grown Aboard the Skylab Space Station. November 4, 1974

Most of us become so involved in trying to find solutions to the serious problems that we face today that we sometimes lose sight of the developments that hold promise for a better tomorrow.

The small segment of a crystal grown in space aboard the Skylab Space Station last January which was presented to me today is a reminder that we should raise our sights to the broadening horizon available to us through our national investment in science and technology.

The experiment aboard Skylab demonstrates that it is possible to grow crystals in space in the absence of gravity—crystals that are more perfect than the earth-grown variety. It was one of several experiments to determine whether superior materials can be produced in space.

But beyond its scientific value and the potential applications for this new knowledge, this successful demonstration serves as a useful reminder of the contributions that science and technology make toward improving and enriching our daily lives and building a broader foundation for an even better tomorrow.

NOTE: The President received the crystal from James C. Fletcher, NASA Administrator, and Howard Johnson, chairman of the board of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in a ceremony in the Cabinet Room at the White House on Monday, November 4, 1974.

Emergency Medical Services Week, 1974

Proclamation 4332. November 5, 1974

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

Each week more than a thousand Americans die as a result of accidents, heart attacks, and other medical crises because emergency medical assistance is not available.

For many years, physicians and health professionals have been urging improved national facilities for emergency medical care. Last year the Congress passed the "Emergency Medical Services Systems Act of 1973" to create a national thrust toward that goal.

Two Federal agencies, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Transportation, are now working closely with States and communities to improve medical emergency services. Although many cities enjoy satisfactory services, the great majority of our communities, especially in rural areas, still require considerable improvement.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning November 3, 1974, as Emergency Medical Services Week.

I call upon the Governors and mayors and all other State and local officials to assist hospital administrators and physicians, fire departments, and other public safety agencies in improving their emergency medical services.

I call upon Federal agencies, especially the two Departments mentioned above, to continue, with renewed vigor, their assistance to States and communities in accelerating their efforts to help those in need of emergency medical assistance.

And I call upon all our people to lend their support to these efforts. We are a traveling nation and none of us knows when we might need help far from home.

Let us affirm that the first year of this national legislation is only the beginning of our effort to improve this part of our total health care system so that no individual in this country will lack help when he needs it.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:20 p.m.,
November 5, 1974]

United States Civil Service Commission

Executive Order 11817. November 5, 1974

DESIGNATING THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION AS THE AGENT TO CONCUR WITH AGENCY DETERMINATIONS FIXING THE AGE LIMITS WITHIN WHICH ORIGINAL APPOINTMENTS MAY BE MADE WITH RESPECT TO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER AND FIREFIGHTER POSITIONS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 3307 (d) of title 5 of the United States Code, as added by the first section of the Act of July 12, 1974 (Public Law 93-350; 88 Stat. 355), I hereby designate the United States Civil Service Commission as the agency to concur with determinations made by agencies to fix the minimum and maximum limits of age within which an original appointment may be made to a position as a law enforcement officer or firefighter, as defined by section 8331 (20) and (21), respectively, of title 5 of the United States Code. The designation made by this order shall be effective as of October 15, 1974.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 5, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:20 p.m.,
November 5, 1974]

Administration of Export Control

Executive Order 11818. November 5, 1974

REVOKING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11810 OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1974, AND CONTINUING IN EFFECT EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11533 OF JUNE 4, 1970, RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF EXPORT CONTROL

By virtue of the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including the statutes referred to herein, it is hereby ordered:

SECTION 1. Executive Order No. 11810 of September 30, 1974, issued under the authority of the act of October 6, 1917, as amended (12 U.S.C. 95a), is hereby revoked, except that this revocation shall not affect any violation of any rules, regulations, orders, licenses, and other forms of administrative action under that order which occurred during the period that order was in effect.

SEC. 2. Pursuant to Public Law 93-500 of October 29, 1974, effective as of the close of September 30, 1974,

Executive Order No. 11533 of June 4, 1970, as continued in effect by Executive Order No. 11683 of August 2, 1972, and Executive Order No. 11798 of August 14, 1974, and all delegations, redelegations, rules, regulations, orders, licenses, and other forms of administrative action under those orders which were in effect on September 30, 1974, and which have not been revoked administratively or legislatively, are continued and shall be in full force and effect until amended, modified, or terminated by proper authority.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 5, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:21 p.m.,
November 5, 1974]

Department of Justice

*Exchange of Letters Between the President and Henry E. Petersen Upon Mr. Petersen's Resignation as Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division.
November 5, 1974*

November 4, 1974

Dear Mr. Petersen:

It is with deep regret and even deeper appreciation of your contributions to government that I accept your resignation as Assistant Attorney General, effective December 31, 1974. Your three decades at the Department of Justice represent the highest standards of both the Federal career service and appointive office. The record of those years is one in which you can take great pride—it is a record of unique achievement. Your ability, integrity, candor and good humor will be sorely missed but fondly remembered by those with whom you served. More importantly, you leave with the respect and admiration of all who were privileged to be your colleagues.

As you move on to private life, you have my best wishes for continued success and satisfaction.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

November 1, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

After 27 years in the service of the Department of Justice I have decided to submit my resignation as Assistant Attorney General to take effect at the close of business on December 31, 1974.

Needless to say I reach this decision after considerable thought and not without some sense of regret. I am keenly aware that I have been most fortunate in having the opportunity to serve the Government of the United States. I recognize too that my duties with the Department of

Justice have given me an excellent opportunity to observe at first hand the concern for fairness and due process of law which is the hallmark of the Government's pursuit of litigation. Clearly, it has been a privilege to practice law as an attorney for the Government.

To you Mr. President I want to express my gratitude for the honor which has been accorded to me and to extend my very best wishes for the success of your efforts in behalf of our country.

Sincerely,

HENRY E. PETERSEN

The 1974 Elections

Statement by the President on the Results of the Elections. November 5, 1974

The people have spoken, and for 26 years I have accepted the verdict of the people, which is the essence of our system of free government.

First, may I congratulate every citizen who did his duty by voting today. I have not seen the total turnout, but I am sure it was greater than anticipated in many places.

I also congratulate the winners of both parties and extend my sympathy to those who lost. The willingness of candidates to fight for their convictions and their party is an important ingredient of representative democracy. And those who lose often come back to win another day.

There was no argument about the number one issue in this campaign: inflation and its crippling effect on our economy and on the lives of all Americans. The mandate of the electorate places upon the next Congress a full measure of responsibility for resolving this problem. I will work with them wholeheartedly in this urgent task which is certainly beyond partisanship.

Also beyond partisanship, I am confident, is the necessity of keeping America strong both economically and militarily as the leader of the free world, of moving forward toward a safer and saner international order, of strengthening our cooperation with old allies and old adversaries alike. I am confident that the new Congress will work wholeheartedly with me in this urgent task.

National Science Foundation

*Announcement of Intention To Nominate Robert E. Hughes To Be an Assistant Director.
November 6, 1974*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert E. Hughes, of Ithaca, N.Y., to be an Assistant

Director of the National Science Foundation. He succeeds Thomas B. Owen who resigned effective July 14, 1974.

Since 1964, Dr. Hughes has been professor of chemistry at Cornell University. In 1968, he was named director of the Cornell Materials Science Center at Cornell University. From 1960 to 1964, he was associate professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania after serving as an assistant professor from 1953 to 1960.

Dr. Hughes was born on May 24, 1924, in New York, N.Y. He received his B.S. degree from Lehigh University in 1949. He was a DuPont graduate fellow and received his Ph. D. from Cornell in 1952. Dr. Hughes served in the United States Army from 1943 to 1946. He was a Senior National Science Foundation Fellow at Cambridge University from 1967 to 1968.

Dr. Hughes is married and has one son. He resides in Ithaca, N.Y.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

November 1

During his visit to Portland, Oreg., the President met with representatives of the Oregon Cattlemen's Association.

November 2

During his visit to Salt Lake City, Utah, the President visited the Columbus Community Center and met with officials of national, State, and local organizations which work with the handicapped.

Following his remarks at the University of Utah, the President talked with three Vietnam veterans about veterans education legislation.

Prior to his departure from Grand Junction, Colo., the President met with representatives of the Colorado Cattlemen's Association.

November 4

The President announced his intention to nominate the following:

JOHN F. GERRY, of Moorestown, N.J., to be a United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey;

EDWARD N. CAHN, of Allentown, Pa., to be a United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania;

DAVID C. MEBANE, of Madison, Wis., to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Wisconsin for a term of 4 years;

D. DWAYNE KEYES, of Sacramento, Calif., for reappointment as United States Attorney for the Eastern District of California for a term of 4 years;

JAMES R. DURHAM, SR., of Raleigh, N.C., to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of North Carolina for a term of 4 years;

JOSE A. LOPEZ, of Bayamon, P.R., for reappointment as United States Marshal for the District of Puerto Rico for a term of 4 years.

The President has accepted the following resignations:

THOMAS C. CLINGAN, JR., as a member of the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere;

C. THOMAS McMILLEN as a member of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, effective today;

MICHAEL JOHN FURST as a member of the National Voluntary Service Advisory Council;

KEN W. CLAWSON as Communications Director to the President.

At the White House, the President greeted the 1974 Poster Child for the Epilepsy Foundation of America, Brian Molloy, age 12, of the Bronx, N.Y.

November 5

President William R. Tolbert, Jr., of Liberia, met with the President at the White House.

November 6

Ambassador John Sherman Cooper met with the President at the White House prior to assuming his post as U.S. Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic.

The White House announced the President's plans for consideration of the fiscal year 1976 budget. From November 26 until December 18, for an hour and a half a day, 5 days a week, the President will review specific 1976 budget proposals for the departments and agencies and will be making his decisions during that period. In addition, beginning this week, the President will be holding regular meetings dealing with major themes and issues he will discuss in his State of the Union message.

The President designated Owen F. Peagler, of Hartsdale, N.Y., to be Chairman of the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children.

The President has accepted the following resignations:

PATRICK E. HAGGERTY as Chairman and member of the National Council on Educational Research;

CLINTON L. OLSON as U.S. Ambassador to Sierra Leone;

ALBERTO FAUSTINO TREVINO, JR., as a member of the Board of Directors of the New Community Development Corporation.

Vikki Carr, honorary chairman of the 1974 Christmas Seal Campaign, called on the President to present him with Christmas seals for the First Family.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield met with the

President to discuss priorities for the post-election session of the Congress.

November 8

In the Rose Garden at the White House, the President and Mrs. Ford greeted first, second, and third grade schoolchildren from Fox Hill Elementary School in Bowie, Md. The children presented Mrs. Ford with their contributions to the American Cancer Society on her behalf.

Ambassador Kenneth Rush met with the President prior to assuming his post as U.S. Ambassador to France.

The President met with David Mathews, president of the University of Alabama, to congratulate him on the selection of the university as the first Bicentennial Campus. The American Revolution Bicentennial Administration sponsors the program to stimulate Bicentennial activity on college campuses throughout the Nation.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released October 31, 1974

Advance text: remarks at Sioux City Municipal Airport, Sioux City, Iowa

Advance text: remarks at a dinner at Los Angeles, Calif.

Released November 1, 1974

Advance text: remarks at the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs at Portland, Oreg.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released November 2, 1974

Advance text: remarks at a rally at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah

Released November 4, 1974

Advance text: remarks on election eve

Released November 5, 1974

News conference: on 1974 election results—by Dean Burch, Counsellor to the President

Released November 8, 1974

News conference: on the budget for fiscal years 1975 and 1976—by Roy L. Ash, Director, Office of Management and Budget

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned from Thursday, October 17, until Monday, November 18, no nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.

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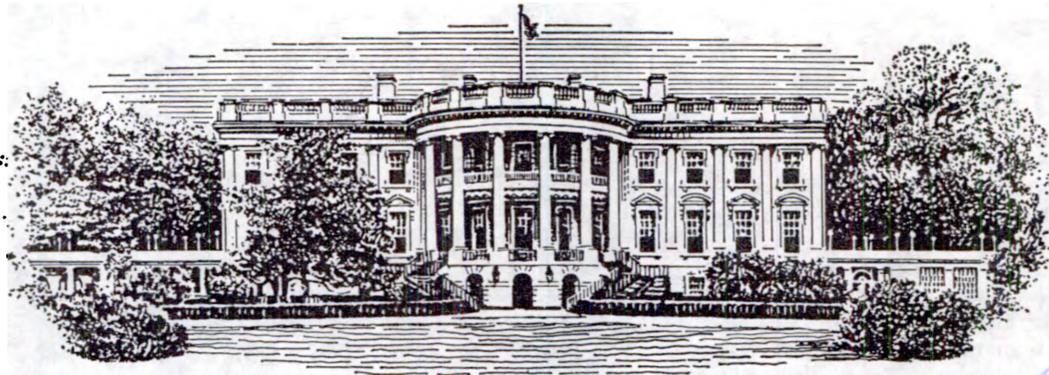
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, November 15, 1974

Meeting With Secretary of State Kissinger

The President's Remarks at the White House Following the Meeting at Camp David. November 10, 1974

I just want to announce that I had a very, very interesting, helpful, and in-depth 3-hour meeting with the Secretary of State. He reviewed the 17 countries on a backbreaking 17-day trip, and I can say on the basis of his analysis that it was basically very encouraging; the meeting with Mr. Brezhnev was very helpful.

The various capitals that the Secretary stopped in in the Middle East I think also brought back some encouraging news. The trips that he made to the subcontinent were very helpful in redirecting our policies in that vitally important area of the world.

So I, for one, am very grateful and most appreciative of the almost superhuman efforts that the Secretary has made on this trip as well as in the past, and we are looking forward to a constructive trip to Japan and South Korea and to the Soviet Union.

So, let me just thank you very, very much, Henry, for a great job for us as Americans and for me personally.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:11 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House following his return from Camp David, Md.

Thanksgiving Turkey Presentation

The President's Remarks Upon Receiving the Turkey From Representatives of the National Turkey Foundation. November 11, 1974

Thank you very, very much. The district that I used to represent, as you know, was quite a turkey producing

area, and they were always very thoughtful at Thanksgiving time. And I think the turkey is a very symbolic part of our whole Thanksgiving weekend. And I am deeply grateful that the White House will have, I am sure, a delicious as well as symbolic turkey Thanksgiving.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:48 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Thanksgiving Day, 1974

Proclamation 4333. November 11, 1974

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

America and the world have changed enormously since the first Thanksgiving 353 years ago. From a tiny coastal enclave on an untamed continent, we have grown into the mightiest, freest nation in human history. A civilization whose farthest reach was once the earth's uncharted seas has now plumbed the secrets of outer space.

But the fundamental meaning of Thanksgiving still remains the same. It is a time when the differences of a diverse people are forgotten and all Americans join in giving thanks to God for the blessings we share—the blessings of freedom, opportunity and abundance that make America so unique.

This year, in the midst of plenty, we still face serious problems and massive challenges. In giving thanks for the many things we hold dear, let us also pray for the courage, resourcefulness and sense of purpose we will need to continue America's saga of progress, and to be worthy heirs of the Pilgrim spirit. May we, too, find the strength and vision to leave behind us a better world, and an example that will inspire future generations to new achievements.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, in accordance with Section 6103 of Title 5 of the United States Code, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 28, 1974, as a day of national thanksgiving.

I call upon all Americans to gather together in homes and places of worship on this date, to join in offering gratitude for the countless blessings our people enjoy, and to share with the elderly and the unfortunate this special day that brings us all closer together.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:55 a.m., November 12, 1974]

NOTE: The President signed the proclamation in a ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House on Monday, November 11, 1974. Following the signing, he presented a signed copy of the proclamation to Peter Stewart, president of the Thanksgiving Square Foundation of Dallas, Tex. Thanksgiving Square is currently under construction in Dallas and, when completed, will house many documents and artifacts related to the observance of Thanksgiving.

Agreement on Presidential Materials of Richard Nixon

*Statement by the White House Press Secretary,
November 11, 1974*

The Department of Justice, acting on behalf of Federal officials sued by former President Nixon and the Special Prosecutor, have today filed a joint motion in the case which was brought October 17, 1974, before Judge Charles R. Richey in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. The Federal officials are Arthur F. Sampson, Administrator of General Services Adminis-

tration; Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President; and H. Stuart Knight, Director of the Secret Service.

The joint motion states that these defendants have entered into an agreement with the Special Prosecutor and that it was made as a consequence of President Ford's determination that the due administration of justice and the public interest require that the Special Prosecutor have prompt and effective use of those Presidential materials of the Nixon Administration now located in the White House complex that are relevant and important to ongoing criminal investigations and prosecutions within the Special Prosecutor's jurisdiction.

The agreement further states that, if implemented, it would accommodate the needs of the Special Prosecutor with respect to such materials. The agreement has no effect on any of the Nixon materials which are not needed for that purpose, and it does not purport to resolve the issues raised by the former President in his complaint or by other parties claiming an interest in the materials for other purposes.

Under the Ford Administration, the Special Prosecutor has heretofore been provided with materials as he has needed them for ongoing criminal prosecutions by the United States, and searches of the files have been underway to provide additional materials which were requested of Counsel to the President by the Special Prosecutor for his ongoing criminal investigation.

These searches have, since October 22, 1974, been conducted subject to the temporary restraining orders of the Court which were issued after application for a temporary restraining order had been made by attorneys for the former President.

The purpose and effect of the new agreement between the Federal defendants in the Nixon suit and the Special Prosecutor, if it can be implemented, are set forth in the joint motion of the parties and supporting documents as filed in the Court. Copies of the motion and documents are available at the Department of Justice.

VISIT OF CHANCELLOR BRUNO KREISKY OF AUSTRIA

*Exchange of Remarks Between the President and the Chancellor at the
Welcoming Ceremony in the East Room. November 12, 1974*

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chancellor, it is a great privilege and a very high honor to welcome you to the United States. I might apologize for the weather. We could not do much about that.

But speaking on behalf of the American people, let me say how very happy we are for this further opportunity to strengthen the ties of affection and the ties of respect that bind our two nations and our two peoples together.

Like all of the world, America has profited very greatly, Mr. Chancellor, from Austria's great contributions to the arts, to the law, education, medicine, and psychology, and, of course, there is the great legacy of music, the legacy of Vienna that the whole world treasures, the music of Mozart, the Strausses, and so many others; additionally, the great importance that Austria has served as a continuing force for peace and stability throughout the world.

Mr. Chancellor, modern Austria has proven beyond any doubt again and again in recent years that a small country can make big contributions to world peace and world understanding. Your positive involvement in world affairs, your generous support of the United Nations, including an important role in the peace-keeping forces in the Middle East and Cyprus, your gracious hosting of important international conferences, such as the initial phase of the Soviet-American strategic arms negotiations and the force reduction talks now in process—all of these Austrian contributions are helping to build a better and more peaceful world.

We Americans, of course, are very, very proud of our long and sincere friendship with Austria. We cherish our many, many American citizens of Austrian ancestry. And we look with satisfaction and admiration at Austria's impressive economic achievements over the past 10 years.

Mr. Chancellor, we also look forward to our discussions and to the future good relations of Austria and the United States. The nations of the world face many, many challenges today—challenges in the field of finance, food, and energy, to name only a few.

Meeting them will require our best common efforts and the counsel and understanding of many of our friends.

So, Mr. Chancellor, in anticipation of our session together and with our traditional Austro-American friendship in mind, America, one and all, bids you welcome and wishes you an enjoyable and most productive visit.

THE CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, first of all, let me thank you for having invited me to come to Washington on an official visit at a time when you are extremely busy. We, in Austria, greatly appreciate this high privilege, and we take it as proof of the strong and unimpaired friendship which has existed for decades between the American people and the Austrian people.

Mr. President, I come from a country which greatly appreciates the great contribution made by the United States—and we know this from experience—for the liberation of Europe and for the economic reconstruction of our continent.

We remember with great gratitude the sacrifices which the American people in so many ways have made for the restoration of peaceful conditions in Europe.

Today, Austria is an economically prosperous country enjoying the blessings of freedom and democracy. We have not forgotten the significant contributions made by your country for this development.

Austria belongs among the smaller nations of Europe, and I regard it as an expression of international democracy that in its dealings with Austria, the United States has never disregarded the principles of equality and of respect for the sovereignty and freedom of our country. The friendship between our two countries and between our two peoples rests on the solid foundation of mutual trust and mutual respect.

Let me assure you, Mr. President, and Mrs. Ford that Mrs. Kreisky deeply regretted to have been unable to join me in this trip and to see her fervent wish to be here unfulfilled.

Mr. President, I want to again thank you sincerely for this invitation, and I am looking forward to our discussions with my Minister also with the greatest of interest.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. The Chancellor was given a formal welcome with full military honors at the North Portico. The President and the Chancellor then proceeded to the East Room, where the welcoming ceremony was held because of inclement weather. The Chancellor spoke in German, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Federal Energy Administration

November 12, 1974

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Andrew E. Gibson Concerning Mr. Gibson's Request That His Name Be Withdrawn as a Candidate for Administrator. November 12, 1974

November 12, 1974

Dear Andy:

I have your letter asking that your name be withdrawn as a candidate for Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration, and I accept it with the deepest regret. As you recognize in your letter, the national interest requires that the Federal Energy Administration have new leadership as swiftly as possible. The energy problems we confront are of such a magnitude as to render unacceptable any undue delays in the nomination and confirmation process. It is therefore my intention to announce a new nominee for this important post very soon.

I want you to know of my continuing high regard for your abilities. You did not seek the post of the Federal Energy Administration Administrator; we sought you out because of your proven record as a superior government manager during your tenure at the Commerce Department. You agreed to serve, if nominated and confirmed, out of a spirit of patriotism and a desire to serve the public interest.

It would be unfair to you to leave unanswered the charges made against you. I, therefore, intend to have the FBI investigation, which was routinely begun on the date that you were announced, run to its completion and, when appropriate, to appoint you to another responsible position in government. We need people in public service of your ability and your experience.

With warm regards,
Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

Dear President Ford:

The existence of the agreement between myself and Interstate Oil Transport Company under which I resigned as President in April of this year has raised the question of whether this contract would impair my ability to discharge impartially my responsibilities as Federal Energy Administrator. A review of this contract will show that the obligations of the company to me are specific and unconditional and I therefore believe that this contract would not inhibit the discharge of my official responsibilities as Federal Energy Administrator. Nevertheless, because of its existence it seems apparent that any hearing on my confirmation will be a lengthy matter. Believing as I do that the energy problems facing our nation are critical and require prompt and effective leadership, I am reluctantly compelled to conclude that a lengthy confirmation hearing would not be in the best interests of the nation. Accordingly, I request that my name not be transmitted to the Senate for the position of Federal Energy Administrator.

Other questions have been raised with respect to the propriety of my conduct during the course of my tenure as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Maritime Affairs. I have every confidence that the FBI investigation now underway will demonstrate the complete absence of any substance to such allegations. Indeed, were such allegations the only obstacle to my confirmation, I should feel quite differently about the withdrawal of my name. Therefore, I respectfully request that the FBI investigation continue and be completed promptly.

I greatly appreciate the confidence you have shown in selecting me for the position as Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration. It would be an honor to have the opportunity of serving the nation in some other position.

Sincerely,

ANDREW E. GIBSON

Visit of Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria

*Exchange of Toasts Between the President and
Chancellor Kreisky at a Dinner Honoring
the Chancellor. November 12, 1974*

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Chancellor and distinguished
guests:*

It is a great privilege to honor you in the White House on this occasion. As I look around the room, I see many, many people that I know from personal experience, including Mrs. Ford and myself, who have visited Austria and been the beneficiaries of the wonderful hospitality, the warmth, the friendship of the many, many fine Austrians who have bent over backwards to make us from America warmly welcome.

I must say to you, Mr. Chancellor, that sometime—I can't give you the date—but I am going to wander into Austria and take advantage of those wonderful Tyrolean Alps, because I do like to ski. And hopefully I will have an opportunity to do so just to not only enjoy the benefits of the mountains, but the benefit of the wonderful people from your country.

There are many, Mr. Chancellor, who pass judgment on a country by its size and geography and its size in population. I don't think those are the most significant ways on which you really can judge a people or a country. And we recognize, of course, that Austria is relatively small in population and relatively small in geography, but as we look at the great history, and the present in Austria, we find that looking from the outside to the country that you have a great humanitarian spirit, you have a great belief in friendship, but more importantly than almost anything, the people of Austria have a character.

And that is how we judge, in my opinion, the strength of a nation, despite its size either geographically or population-wise.

We know over the years since the end of the decade of the forties that Austria has contributed very significantly, despite many problems. You have contributed in the Middle East and Cyprus, and we commend you and we thank you for these efforts that have helped to preserve the peace and to build for it in the future.

I would simply like to express on behalf of all of us in the United States our gratitude for the friendship that we have with the people of Austria, the gratitude that we have for the actions of your Government. And we look forward, I can say, Mr. Chancellor, without any reservation or qualification, the opportunity to work with you and the people of your country in the years ahead.

It is an enduring friendship predicated on a firm foundation of people to people and Government to Government. And may I ask all of our distinguished guests here tonight to join me in a toast to Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the Chancellor of the Republic of Austria.

THE CHANCELLOR. *Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies
and gentlemen:*

In your warm words of welcome, Mr. President, for which I sincerely thank you, you have mentioned the longstanding and proven ties between the United States and Austria. Certainly, the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy always harbored feelings of genuine friendship and admiration for the American people.

To the best of my recollection, however, the relations between the two Governments were not always quite that cordial. [*Laughter*] It appears that His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty Franz Joseph could not bring himself for a long time to receive the American envoy to Vienna.

Early in this century the developing official relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States of America—at least until the outbreak of World War I and the ensuing disintegration of the Austro monarchy—there really never was more than correct relations and, therefore, completely different from those we are fortunate to enjoy today.

Why do I choose to point this out? Because the development of our relations serves as a most convincing example, which shows that a very special and close relationship between two nations can be developed in quite a few decades.

I see three reasons for this. In 1945, the United States became one of the four occupation powers in Austria and helped us from the very first day to lay all those foundations needed for the restoration of democracy. Nothing has made a greater contribution to the history of our democracy than the presence of the United States in Austria. You virtually were the guardian of our freedom, Mr. President.

Secondly, Austria was in ruins, and it was hard to imagine at that time how our State could ever again become the home and heaven of our people. You gave to those of us who set out to clear the ruins not only a healthy dose of American optimism but also the most generous material assistance. Mr. President, I hope you will have the opportunity to see with your own eyes the fruits which have sprung from your country's contributions to the economic revival of Austria.

Aid under the Marshall Plan was the foundation of our economic prosperity, and its effects are still being felt today. This aid constituted one of the chief reasons why twice as many people than in 1937 earn a good living in Austria today. During the period from 1937 to 1970, our gross national product, given constant rises, quadrupled and has shown a marked increase since.

Let me add that your material assistance of that time still keeps giving today, as many Austrian firms receive lower interest, long-term investment loans from the ERP [European Recovery Program] counterpart front, which is sustained through repayment of earlier loans.

The fact that this aid by the United States for the restoration of our economy was given to us free of any

contingencies of political dogma enabled us to utilize those sums, which appeared gigantic to us in the light of our circumstances, and complete independence.

And finally, the third reason. Through generous grants, Austrian scientists, engineers, and experts of every specialty have been afforded the opportunity to explore new dimensions in the advanced areas of your cultural and scientific life.

A further example is the considerable contribution made by the Ford Foundation to the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna from which a great number of eminent social scientists have emerged in recent years. This constitutes ample reward for the contributions made by Austria to the cultural life of the United States.

Before raising my glass to the continued prospering of these relations, I would like to again voice my regret that Mrs. Kreisky was unable, for reasons of health, to participate in this beautiful and impressive visit. She regretted this all the more because it robbed her of the opportunity to meet Mrs. Ford, whose restoration to health has made us all very happy and to whom I wish to extend warm personal wishes.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to raise your glasses and join me in a toast to the health of the President of the United States and his charming wife, and to the continued development of the excellent relations between our two countries.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:02 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Chancellor Kreisky spoke in English.

Budget Deferrals and Rescissions

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Deferrals and Rescissions. November 13, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of Title X of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-344), I am transmitting supplementary reports that revise proposed rescission and deferral reports made to the Congress in September and October of this year. I am also transmitting herewith reports on two new deferral actions required to promote sound financial management practices.

The details of the supplementary reports and the new deferrals are attached.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 13, 1974.

NOTE: The attachment detailing the deferrals and rescissions is printed in the Federal Register of November 14, 1974.

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Diplomats

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for Advice and Consent to Ratification. November 13, 1974

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a copy of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1973, and signed in behalf of the United States of America on December 28, 1973. The report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention is also transmitted for the information of the Senate.

The effective conduct of international relations depends in large part on the ability of diplomatic agents to travel and live freely and securely while representing the interests of their respective countries. We have witnessed in recent years an unprecedented increase in acts of violence directed against diplomatic agents and other internationally protected persons. This development has demonstrated the urgent need to take affirmative action to minimize the threats which can be directed against diplomatic agents. Although the legal obligation to protect these persons was never questioned, the mechanism for international cooperation to ensure that perpetrators of serious attacks against them are brought to justice, no matter where they may flee, was lacking.

The Convention is designed to rectify this serious situation by creating a legal mechanism whereby persons alleged to have committed serious crimes against diplomats will be prosecuted or extradited. It also sets out a framework for international cooperation in the prevention and punishment of such crimes.

This Convention is vitally important to assure continued safe and orderly conduct of the diplomatic process. I hope that all States will become Parties to this Convention. I recommend, therefore, that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 13, 1974.

National Capital Housing Authority

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Authority's Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1973. November 13, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I am herewith transmitting the National Capital Housing Authority's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973. The report sets forth the efforts of the Authority to improve and expand the housing opportunities in the District of Columbia.

In light of the recent transfer of the National Capital Housing Authority to the District of Columbia Government, I hope that even greater efforts will be made to improve housing conditions in the Nation's Capital.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 13, 1974.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Public Housing in Transition, National Capital Housing Authority Annual Report—1973" (Government Printing Office, 36 pp.).

WIN Pledge

The President's Remarks Upon Signing the Consumer Pledge Prepared by the Citizens' Action Committee To Fight Inflation. November 13, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Before signing, I would like to read a statement that has been prepared.

Mrs. Ford and I are signing today the first Consumer Pledge prepared for Americans by the nonpartisan Citizens' [Action] Committee To Fight Inflation.

The WIN committee is asking mayors and principal county officials across this country to set up local action committees for distribution in the near future of similar pledges for citizens to sign in a concerted mass effort to stop inflation. The committee has also prepared a businessman and businesswoman's pledge and a worker's pledge for local distribution. Each Governor is being asked to establish one statewide committee to determine ways and means to slow inflation and to save energy in each State.

If all Americans will pull together to hold down prices, to buy wisely, to increase productivity, and to save energy, this citizens' mobilization to slow inflation can and will work. Inflation is sapping the economic strength of this country, and it must be brought under control.

So, at this point Betty will sign the first pledge, and I will join her.

REPORTER. Mr. President, what are you going to do to carry out this plan?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the things that I buy, I will be very careful in purchasing. I think we have got to increase our productivity—that includes me. We have to be Yankee traders when we buy, and we have to cooperate individually and collectively. And Mrs. Ford has pledged to me as well as here, she will do the same.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:13 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. The text of the consumer pledge is as follows:

"I pledge to my fellow citizens that I will buy, when possible, only those products and services priced at or below present levels. I also promise to conserve energy and I urge others to sign this pledge."

Bicentennial Coins Presentation

Remarks of the President, Mary Brooks, Director of the Mint, and John W. Warner, Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, at the Presentation Ceremony. November 13, 1974

MRS. BROOKS. I just wanted to say this is a very proud day for me and for the country, because we are changing the coinage more than it has ever been changed in our Nation's history, for the 200th birthday of our country.

And these are not going to just be commemorative coins, they are going to be circulated coins. They will be made and be put through all the banks in the country, and every man, woman, and child in the country will have a chance to pick up a circulating coin. They will touch everybody in the whole country.

THE PRESIDENT. What coins are they, Mary?

MRS. BROOKS. The dollar and the half dollar and the quarter.

THE PRESIDENT. Are they going to be worth as much?

MRS. BROOKS. Oh, we hope they will be worth a bit more, don't we? We hope they will be worth more.

Now this is the set, and this is the first set of proofs. Now we are going to make 45 million of the 40 percent silver ones by act of Congress, and we are limited as to the amount of proofs that we can sell because they are sort of handmade, but we will make these, and we are taking orders starting Friday.

Q. How much are they?

MRS. BROOKS. These will be \$15 and the uncirculated silver ones will be \$9.

THE PRESIDENT. What is on the back here, Mary?

MRS. BROOKS. The dollar is made by a student, and he has the Liberty Bell and the Moon. He was a student in an art school in Columbus, Ohio.

Q. Are these sets all silver?

MRS. BROOKS. They are 40 percent silver. That is as much silver as Congress will let us use.

And then the Independence Hall is on the back of the half dollar, and the drummer boy is on the back of the quarter.

THE PRESIDENT. They are very, very interesting in an artistic sense.

MRS. BROOKS. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. Historical sense as well.

MRS. BROOKS. Yes, historical.

THE PRESIDENT. And Washington is on the quarter.

MRS. BROOKS. And Kennedy and Eisenhower.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, congratulations to you. I think it is very significant as a part of the Bicentennial, and I am sure John Warner is delighted to have this kind of—

MR. WARNER. Yes, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. —imagination, and action.

I can compliment you on not only the action but on the effort to participate. I think it is wonderful, Mary.

MRS. BROOKS. Thank you.

MR. WARNER. It is one of the best competitions that has been held thus far in the Bicentennial.

Q. Can you tell us which coin Kennedy is on?

THE PRESIDENT. Kennedy is on the half dollar, and on the back is Independence Hall. Washington is on the quarter, and the drummer boy is on the back. And the Moon and Liberty Bell is on the dollar with Eisenhower on the back.

Q. You say there will be 45 million of these sets?

MRS. BROOKS. There will be 45 million silver ones we are allowed to make. We will only be able to make in the proof about 4 million a year. We hope to make them for 2 years. But we are already getting volumes of orders. It is tremendous.

Q. \$15 a set, is that right?

MRS. BROOKS. Yes, for this proof set.

Q. You said something about the uncirculated coins.

MRS. BROOKS. The uncirculated silver ones will be \$9.

THE PRESIDENT. Those are the ones that come in these paper rolls?

MRS. BROOKS. Yes. They won't be packaged as elaborately as this.

THE PRESIDENT. How many participated in the competition for the designs?

MRS. BROOKS. We had almost a thousand designs come in from men, women, and even schoolchildren. We have kept the schoolchildren's, and we are going to probably put those designs in the museum somewhere. They are terribly interesting.

THE PRESIDENT. Do you recall who won the contest, in each?

MRS. BROOKS. Yes. This is a boy from Columbus, Ohio. Dennis [R. Williams]—

THE PRESIDENT. I hope he didn't go to Ohio State. [Laughter]

MRS. BROOKS. An art school. Sorry, I don't have a Michigan winner for you.

And Jack Ahr, who won the quarter, is from Arlington Heights, Illinois, and this one was from Minneapolis, Minnesota [Seth G. Huntington].

Q. The 50-cent piece was designed by someone from Minneapolis, Minnesota?

MRS. BROOKS. Yes. And we have press kits with all this information in it.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to thank you, Mary.

MRS. BROOKS. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Congratulations. It is a great project, and it will contribute significantly to the Bicentennial.

MRS. BROOKS. I hope so.

THE PRESIDENT. John, thank you.

Nice to see you all again.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 1:25 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House where Mrs. Brooks and Mr. Warner presented the President with first strikes of the newly designed Bicentennial coins.

Meeting With Coastal State Governors

*Text of the President's Remarks at the Meeting on Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Development.
November 13, 1974*

The imbalance between our Nation's demand for oil and gas and our domestic production of these resources is one of the most serious problems we face. The rapid increase in energy costs in the past years has been a major driving force behind today's inflation.

The essence of this problem is that while we produce about 11 million barrels per day, we consume about 17 million. Domestic demand is increasing, but domestic production is dropping because most of our onshore oil fields are being depleted.

We must adopt rigorous conservation measures, but it is clear that regardless of what conservation steps we take and what eventual long-range energy policy we adopt, in the near term we must increase our domestic production of oil and gas.

I believe that the outer continental shelf oil and gas deposits can provide the largest single source of increased domestic energy during the years when we need it most. The O.C.S. can supply this energy with less damage to the environment and at a lower cost to the U.S. economy than any other alternative. We must proceed with a program that is designed to develop these resources.

Legitimate concerns have been expressed about O.C.S. leasing and development. Let me briefly address myself to these concerns.

First, concern has been expressed that industry does not have the manpower and equipment necessary for exploration and development of 10 million acres of O.C.S. lands and that this could lead to the sale of leases at bargain prices.

We believe that industry can make the manpower and equipment available. And I might note that although the

10 million acres has been a useful planning objective, we are not wedded to this particular goal. Our primary objective is to produce oil and gas where we can do so safely. But, in any case, we will insure that leases are not sold below fair market values. I have directed Secretary Morton to insure that these objectives are attained.

Second, concern has been expressed that we should not lease any new areas of the U.S. continental shelf until the coastal States have completed detailed plans to accommodate the onshore impact of offshore production.

Coastal States have only begun to establish the mechanisms for coastal zone planning, and that activity must proceed rapidly. But the steps needed now to prepare for a leasing program need not await completion of these detailed plans by the States. The prolonged delay would only postpone the date when we will learn whether substantial reserves can, in fact, be produced from our O.C.S. and would lengthen the time that we will have to rely on costly imported oil.

Furthermore, the shoreside impact will not occur for several years following institution of a leasing program. That period will enable State and local governments to prepare for the shoreside impact. To help insure effective, cooperative action, State and local officials will be asked to participate in the process of selecting tracts to be considered for detailed environmental and resource study.

In order to facilitate coastal State participation in this effort, I plan to request an additional \$3 million in the current fiscal year for the coastal zone management program to accelerate State planning efforts. I have also directed Secretary Morton and Secretary Dent to consult with coastal Governors regarding any additional steps that might be required to plan adequately for onshore development associated with offshore leases that are actually issued.

Third, concern has also been expressed that our proposed leasing program cannot be conducted without unacceptable risks to the environment. We are taking the steps necessary to reallocate additional funds during the current fiscal year to strengthen our preleasing environmental assessment and monitoring activities.

If our studies show that development cannot occur in a particular area without unacceptable risk, then we will not hold a lease sale. The step that must now be taken is to begin the detailed studies to identify risks in specific areas to be considered for leasing.

We have made great strides in our O.C.S. safety program thus far, and we will work closely with the coastal States so that they understand and have a part in the further development of regulations that govern these operations off their coast.

I also recognize the concern about oil spills. Our energy and environmental experts have concluded that the greatest danger to our coasts from oil spills is not from offshore production, but, instead, from the greatly expanded tanker traffic that would result from increasing imports.

To assure that any spills that might occur do not cause uncompensated harm, however, I have also asked Secretary Morton and Chairman Peterson to prepare a proposed comprehensive liability statute governing oil spills. This bill will be ready for introduction in the next Congress.

In summary, the resources of the outer continental shelf represent a potential contribution of major proportions to the solution of our energy problem. I am confident that concerns about leasing exploration and development of the outer continental shelf can be addressed openly and fairly, that planning can proceed in an orderly, cooperative way and the problems confronting us in opening new areas can be resolved.

I pledge the cooperation of my Administration in this task.

NOTE: The President met with the Governors at 5 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Attending the meeting were: the Governors of Connecticut, Delaware, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, and New Jersey; the Governor-elect of Maine, Georgia, and New York; the Lieutenant Governors of Maryland and Rhode Island; and the Lieutenant Governors-elect of Alaska, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and South Carolina.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

National Association of Realtors

The President's Remarks at the Association's Convention in Las Vegas, Nevada, November 14, 1974

President Doherty, President-elect Leitch, ladies and gentlemen:

It is truly a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of appearing before this convention of the National Association of Realtors, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your warm and friendly welcome. It is nice to be here.

At the outset, I wish to pay a very special tribute to the members of the National Association of Realtors for all that you have achieved in the face of a very, very serious and difficult economic environment.

You know, I always think it is a help, as a matter of fact, when the complex problems we all deal with are at least recognized in part by others, and sometimes this happens in very strange ways.

Two weeks ago, I went back to my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, for a rally in a tremendous college fieldhouse. And just as I was coming into the building, I heard the master of ceremonies ask the marching band to play one more selection, something that would be appropriate for the President of the United States. So they played "Nobody Knows the Troubles I've Seen."
[Laughter]

But one of the things I have always admired about the members of the National Association of Realtors is that you are always optimists, and I am, too. Believe me, anyone who wears a WIN button in Las Vegas has to be an optimist.

Well, in the area of real estate, I am something of an optimist, too. The Ford family owns a condominium in Colorado, a house in Virginia, an apartment in Grand Rapids, and for the last 3 months, we have been living in a one-family dwelling at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. We call it home. I believe some of you might call it public housing. *[Laughter]*

But the White House is just one of some 70 million housing units in America today, and that figure is nearly double the number of 1940. The National Association of Realtors has played a very major role in bringing about this phenomenal growth, and I am delighted to be able to join in this well-deserved tribute and salute, I should say, to you and your association.

John Ruskin, the English author, wrote a book called "The Seven Lamps of Architecture." In this book he told us a very great truth. It is more important to build a life than to build a cathedral.

Your association is fortunate, however, to combine both—to be involved in building good lives as well as good cathedrals. The cathedrals of this land are its homes. It is the family home which is the foundation of what we call the American dream. Your industry and the housing industry are closely related. One hardly need look beyond this community to recognize that the housing industry is suffering the ill-effects of inflation more intensely than most other industries in our great Nation.

Primarily because of a sharp spurt in the cost of money—although fortunately it has now started back down—and shortages of mortgage money, housing sales are off substantially in many, many parts of America.

Unemployment in the construction industry is more than double the national average. It has always been higher, unfortunately, because of the nature of the industry. But we must reduce that figure.

Public officials would rather swallow this grim statistic than speak about it, but it is my duty to face unpleasant facts, unpleasant circumstances, and it is my responsibility to do something about them—mine and the Congress'. I assure you that I will do more than my part in this situation.

In recent weeks, as you know, this Administration has authorized \$3 billion under the Home Purchase Assistance Act for the purchase of mortgages on new single family homes. This program aims to not only help ease the high jobless rate in the construction trades but to add to our housing inventory.

This \$3 billion could mean up to 100,000 new homes for Americans with mortgage payments that they can afford. I know this action, as first announced, would not have helped you realtors directly. Your commodity is pri-

marily in existing homes, not new homes under this program, but you understand, and you went along with us, because your commitment was to the industry across the board, and I salute all of you, and I thank you on this occasion today.

I think you provide a good example for the rest of us. You did not say, "Me first." You said, "We first." "We"—all Americans. Let's do what is best for America.

Now, as we face the Nation's major problems in the weeks and months ahead, it will be well to remember this. It is not I alone, the President, who faces these enormous tasks and problems. It is not you who must battle them individually and collectively. It is we who must win, or we will lose. The President and the Congress together, Republicans and Democrats alike, Nevadans and Michiganders and New Yorkers, rich and poor, black and white, young and old.

I am no arm twister—never have been. And I see no reason to become a prophet of gloom. But in the weeks and the months ahead, I will call upon the American people—and I underline people—to sacrifice for the national good. And I happen to think that the American people will respond.

We, the Congress and I, must reduce Federal spending. At the same time, we, the Congress and I, must increase Federal tax revenues. And we, all of us, must save energy so that we will import less high-priced foreign oil.

Although you will be called upon to make additional sacrifices, so will your Government. I will send to the Congress shortly after it reconvenes, my recommendations for the reduction of Federal spending in 1975. These have been hard decisions for me. They will be equally hard decisions for the Congress.

But it is my strong and firm conviction that Uncle Sam must slim down to what I consider fighting trim for the battle ahead of us, all 213 million.

But even though Uncle Sam tightens his own belt, he should not tighten the noose on vital industry such as yours.

Earlier I mentioned that the Administration has made \$3 billion available for commitments to purchase mortgages on new single family homes. As you know, I have sought to curtail and cut additional Federal financial outlays as inflationary. At the same time, we have targeted expenditures under this new program to counteract the declines in production and employment in new home construction.

However, there is authority under this new act to purchase mortgages on existing homes as well.

As you know better than I, because purchase of a new home often depends on the sale of an existing home, and for other reasons, we have concluded that provision should also be made for existing homes under this program.

Therefore, I have an announcement for you this morning. Effective today, up to 10 percent of each of the \$3 billion in commitments under this program can be used

for mortgages on existing homes—[*applause*]*—*thank you very much—that is, the Federal Government under this plan or program will strengthen the existing home mortgage market by about \$300 million, assisting both the buyer and the seller. This will ease the burden somewhat, but I emphasize that the real solutions, the ultimate solutions will not be provided by the Government. The victories must and will be won in the free marketplace, and you know it better than I.

Without question, mortgage credit is the lifeblood of the real estate industry. Today, after a long drought that began in the spring of this year, we are seeing a reversal in the outflows from the savings institutions. If money is available to the savings and loan associations, there will be more money available for mortgages. If money is available for mortgages, home sales will rise. It is just that simple.

There are, however, other hopeful signs of a greater availability of credit. Interest rates have started downward. Even more significantly, rates on forward commitments have begun to decline.

For instance, the average yield of a 4-month commitment to purchase FHA-VA mortgages was 9.9 percent in Fannie Mae's [Federal National Mortgage Association] auction of November 4 compared to 10.6 in September of this year. This indicates that mortgages on both new and existing homes will be available on somewhat easier terms in the future.

The dramatic decline in short-term interest rates over the last 3 months is particularly encouraging. And please take note, if you will, that this was not produced by any undue inflationary expansion of the money supply. Rather, this decline stemmed from a return to a more normal market in business loan demand. As the yield on instruments that compete with savings deposits decline, the supply of funds to and from the thrift institutions will continue to grow.

In short, the signs are becoming quite clear that the real estate picture will brighten. And as inflation recedes, which it will, we expect that the forces suppressing new construction, not only new construction but sales as well on new and existing homes will ease.

The \$300 million funding which will be made available to strengthen the existing home market is only part of the \$7 billion 750 million Home Purchase Assistance Act approved by the Congress. In signing the bill into law, I referred to some shortcomings in that act. If Congress really wants to help when it reconvenes next Monday, why not include in that new legislation privately financed, multi-family projects and individual condominium units?

Rising land costs, rising material costs underline the importance of utilizing all of our housing resources. Condominiums and rental housing are a very vital part of

our national housing program, and I hope and trust that Congress will respond.

Our inner cities must not be denied assistance because the high cost of land could be, and in many instances is, a barrier to a housing assistance program. The public knows all too well that the housing needs of our major metropolitan areas, the inner cities, must be met in significant part through the construction of rental housing.

Further, I believe that more fundamental reforms are necessary to put a clamp on the up-and-down cycles in the housing industry. The current downturn should be clear indication that the stopgap and patchwork solutions in the past are not adequate for the future.

In my judgment, we must make basic changes in the way in which we supply capital, in the way in which we supply credit for the housing industry. The cyclical variations in the industry that you represent may thus be brought within more reasonable limits.

Therefore, let me mention another piece of legislation that is currently before the Congress. There is a bill called the Financial Institutions Act, which is one of 31 economic proposals that I recommended to the Congress on October 8. Enactment of this bill would do a great deal to moderate these cyclical swings in housing credit. For one thing, it would reduce the structural differences between commercial banks and thrift institutions and help them to compete more effectively during periods of high interest rates, and it would provide, also, a broader range of financial services for consumers.

In addition, it would offer a higher rate of return for savers. But even more importantly to the real estate business in particular, it would attract greater investor interest in the mortgage market through the mortgage interest tax credit. This would offer investors a tax credit of 1½ to 3⅓ percent, depending, of course, on the percentage of their portfolio in mortgages.

Significantly, and this is quite important, unlike other tax proposals, the benefit under the mortgage interest tax credit must go to the mortgagee. In short, I believe that the passage of the Financial Institutions Act would provide very, very significant benefits for the housing industry. In particular, it would moderate the traditional boom-and-bust cycles in your great industry, and I will press for enactment when Congress returns next week.

Let me leave you with this final thought. You come from all parts of this vast, vast Nation. You represent its length and breadth, its diverse people and its differing viewpoints. And indeed, you individually and collectively reflect the aspirations and the inspirations of all Americans. You, as salesmen and saleswomen, see daily the workings of this great free society that we have.

You see it in your communities every day of every year. And all of this activity can be summed up in one

word in your business—sales. And sales are the result of both aspiration and inspiration, not to mention just a little perspiration.

Somehow the word has gone out that the best way to defeat inflation and to revitalize the economy is to curtail buying. Nothing could be further from the truth, and I strongly oppose that point of view.

I believe a free society means precisely that—a free market—and sales are the heartbeat of a free market. Instead of curtailing purchases, I say to consumers quite simply: Buy wisely, shop smarter. To you in sales, I say sell harder, sell more aggressively.

What we need at this time in this country are more tough Yankee traders and more supersalesmen, and I am sure you are in the latter category.

Even while dealing with these very practical matters, a Nation must never lose its vision. I remember a story about Michelangelo. The sculptor was chiseling a block of marble. Every day a very small boy came and shyly watched his labors. He never said a word to Michelangelo.

Then one day, the magnificent figure of David appeared. The astonished boy finally broke his silence and asked Michelangelo, "But how did you know he was there?"

Vision, imagination—these are the qualities that make a people great. Americans have these qualities, they always have. And we, as a nation, will respond to the challenges that we face.

Inflation will be cooled. Despite some economic weakness—recession, business fallback, call it what you will—there will be an upturn in the Nation's economic patterns. In fact, here in Las Vegas, where it is legal, I will even bet on it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:57 a.m. at the Las Vegas Hilton Hotel, Las Vegas, Nev.

Phoenix, Arizona

The President's Remarks at Luke Air Force Base Upon Officially Accepting the New F-15 Aircraft on Behalf of the United States Air Force. November 14, 1974

Thank you very much. Governor Williams, Senator Fannin, Congressman John Rhodes, General Jones, General Dixon, General Haeffner, Mr. McDonnell, Mr. Graft, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This is the month of the pioneer in America. It is the month of the Mayflower and of our earliest settlers. And

this is the day of a new pioneer, a pioneer of the skies, a pioneer of peace, the F-15 fighter.

According to history, there were 102 passengers on the Mayflower when it crossed the Atlantic. The crossing from England to the new world took more than 2 months, and the end of the journey was freedom. The F-15 can fly across the same Atlantic in a matter of hours. The end of its journey is still the one of the Mayflower more than 350 years ago—freedom.

That is what really matters, the purpose of a journey, and I am here today to underscore to you and to the world that this great aircraft was constructed by the American people in the pursuit of peace. Our only aim with all of this aircraft's new maneuverability, speed, and power is the defense of freedom.

I would rather walk a thousand miles for peace than to have to take a single step for war.

I am here to congratulate you, the United States, the United States Air Force, McDonnell-Douglas, Pratt and Whitney, all of the many contractors and workers who participated in this very, very successful effort, as well as the pilots who have so diligently flight-tested the F-15 Eagle. All of you can underline my feeling that we are still pilgrims on this earth, and there still is a place for pioneers in America today.

The challenges involving our country here at home and abroad we all recognize are enormous, but I am confident that the F-15 and your example here today is that this Nation is a nation of limitless horizons. There is no boundary to the energy, the ingenuity of the American people. Frankly, that is why we will whip inflation, conquer our energy problems, and win the battle to make a stable economy.

It is the job of all of us, it is our job, in this last quarter century of the 20th century, to prepare our country for leadership in the 21st century. And we can do this by economic strength at home and by peaceful partners abroad. These are my aims, my goals, and the goals of America now and in the future.

As I said in a Thanksgiving message which I made just a few days ago, and I quote: Let us pray for the courage, resourcefulness, and sense of purpose we will need to continue America's saga of progress and to be worthy of the pilgrim spirit. May we, too, find the strength and the vision to leave behind us a better world and an example that will inspire future generations to new accomplishments.

So I say to you, congratulations, best wishes to all who had any part whatsoever in this great accomplishment. It will serve the purpose of freedom and peace for a generation and more.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon at Luke Air Force Base, Phoenix, Ariz.

Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi

The President's Remarks in a Question-and-Answer Session at the Society's Convention in Phoenix, Arizona, November 14, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *President Otwell, Gene Pulliam, Governor Williams, Senator Fannin, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a great privilege and pleasure to participate in another meeting of this wonderful organization of professional journalists. I have had several, and I have enjoyed every one, and I am looking forward to this one.

I understand the hour for this occasion was fixed for our meeting not by my Press Secretary, not by the networks, but rather in order to ensure the attendance of all of the late strays from the Lazy R and G Ranch party which Gene Pulliam put on last night. [Laughter] Gene is not only a great host, but a great publisher. And I am sure I will neither be the first nor the last speaker at this convention to salute him as one of the founders of Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists.

Between Bob Hartmann and Bill Roberts of my own Presidential staff and half of your Washington professional chapter in the White House press room, I am hardly out of sight of one of your members at any time. And I must say I enjoy their company, and I admire their professionalism—most of the time, anyway. [Laughter]

VETO OF FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT AMENDMENTS

In doing my homework for this visit, I was browsing through your magazine, the Quill, and I read as follows, quote:

“National S.P.J., S.D.X. President Ralph Otwell is asking local chapters to contact their congressmen to urge them to override President Ford's veto of a bill to strengthen the Freedom of Information Act. Otwell criticized Ford's action, saying”—and I quote—“For a President who is publicly committed to a more open and honest Administration to oppose significant reforms in Freedom of Information legislation is both startling and disappointing. . . . President Ford's veto suggests his Administration is pursuing a discredited policy of cover-up as usual,” end quote.

First, I want to assure your fine president, Ralph Otwell, that I have not come here today or tonight to argue, but to enlighten. In fact, I may be the first President, probably the first President in history, to come all the way to Phoenix just to hold a press conference. And when I get

here, I find out that Dan Rather is going to get the last word anyhow. [Laughter]

Before we go to questions, I would like to make two brief observations, if I might, both of which bear on the business of the Congress which will be returning to Washington next Monday.

First, about my veto of the Freedom of Information Act amendments. I think, incidentally, that the veto is a constitutional power given to the President in order to require Congress to take a hard, second look at legislation which the President, who is obliged to faithfully execute the law, considers to be unwise or unworkable in whole or in part.

I really don't think my veto suggests “a discredited policy of cover-up as usual.” Uncovering coverups has to be done without the help of any law but by tough reporters and tough editors.

However, before you write all your Congressmen to override my veto, I would like to tell you my side of the story.

I do support the Freedom of Information Act and most of the reforms contained in the current amendments. There are, however, three amendments that bother me both on principle and practicality, and these were the basis of my veto.

I have written the leaders of both the House and Senate to express my hope that when Congress returns, instead of trying to override the veto, they will make three small, but very significant, changes in these three sections and send me another bill which I can and will sign.

My first objection is to that section that would allow any Federal judge to examine privately or *in camera* the classified records of any Government agency, including our most sensitive national security and diplomatic secrets, and remove the agency's classification if he found the plaintiff's position to be reasonable. In other words, no credibility was given to the Government's initial decision. I think that is wrong. As a matter of fact, this change in the proposed law would overturn a 1973 Supreme Court ruling which limited judicial review to the determination of whether or not in the initial classification there was, in fact, a classification according to law.

With all due respect, I do not believe many Federal judges are experts in the complex weighing of defense and intelligence needs for security or secrecy. I also think that the transfer of this judgment from the executive to the judicial branch of Government may be unconstitutional. My proposed modification, which I think is reasonable, would accept judicial review, but require judges to uphold the original classification if there is a reasonable basis to support it.

My second objection is far less dramatic. In my view, one section sets unrealistic time limits on the Government's response to a request for a specific document. I have proposed that a 30-day deadline in contested cases

be increased to a total of 45 days with extra time for complex cases at the option of the court.

The third reason for the veto was an amendment granting public access to investigatory files such as the so-called raw data reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. For example, I am told there was actually pending before the Department of Justice a request for the entire files accumulated by the FBI in their investigation of the Communist Party. If opening such files had been proposed in the so-called McCarthy era, you would all have denounced it as exposing innocent people to vicious rumor and unproven smears—and you would have been right.

On a practical level, it would have required a brand new bureaucracy and millions and millions of man-hours of the FBI simply to review those files over a period of several decades to determine what now may be safely made public without injuring innocent parties or compromising their sources of information. I have proposed a more flexible and realistic set of ground rules that would preserve what I consider to be the essential confidentiality of investigatory files of law enforcement agencies. I hope that professional journalists will take another look at this section of the freedom of information bill and see if you don't agree that this Pandora's box should remain shut.

THE 25TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

There is a second matter I will discuss briefly before this distinguished society, whose members I know have a strong sense of history-in-the-making as well as an insatiable interest in good government, both of which I applaud. That is the vacancy in the office of the Vice President.

I suppose I can properly claim to be the world's champion or world's expert on the subject of filling the Vice Presidency under the 25th amendment. When I suddenly found myself nominated for this position on October 12, 1973, I did some research on the debate in the House and the Senate on this important constitutional amendment, which was proposed by the Congress in 1965 and ratified by the legislatures of 47 States in 1967. Frankly, I was curious as to what I might have said on the subject, particularly Section 2, which deals with vacancies in the office of the Vice President.

The fact is I found I hadn't said anything in the debate except to vote "aye." And the main subject of the debate was the matter of dealing with Presidential succession in the event of a President's disability or inability to discharge the duties of his office. The replacement of a Vice President was incidental to this, but it seems fair to infer that the Framers, like the Founding Fathers, considered that office to be essential to the conduct of the Federal Government and the orderly succession of Executive power in any emergency.

It is implicit in the adoption of the 25th amendment as part of the Constitution that a prolonged vacancy in

the second office of the land is undesirable as public policy and that such vacancies should be filled as promptly as careful consideration by the President and the Congress will permit.

In my case, despite one of the most exhaustive investigations ever undertaken of anybody not on the FBI's ten most wanted list, the Congress moved expeditiously and confirmed me within 8 weeks of my nomination, although I do have to admit it, it seemed a little longer than that 8 weeks to me.

When I suddenly found myself President on August 9, 1974, and the Nation again without a Vice President, I made it my first or highest priority—aside from the Cyprus crisis, which I walked into—to search out and to select the most capable and qualified person I could find for that high office.

I finished the task in 11 days and sent to the Senate and to the House the name of Nelson Rockefeller of New York. That was almost 3 months ago, and while I recognize the need of the Congress to take a month off for campaigning—I did it 13 times myself—I believe that the time has come for them to fish or cut bait in this matter.

I have been assured by Speaker Albert and by Senator Mansfield, the majority leader of the Senate, that they will make every effort to bring the nomination to a final floor vote before the 93d Congress adjourns *sine die* probably in late December. I am delighted to have their cooperation, because I believe it is what the Constitution mandates and what the American people want from their representatives. I am as convinced as ever that Governor Rockefeller is the right man for the job, and I am anxious to have him as a working partner in our Federal Government.

For the future, however, I will propose to the next Congress a reexamination of the 25th amendment, which has been tested twice in as many years, to see if the provisions of Section 2 cannot be tightened up either by constitutional amendment or by public law.

There should be, in my judgment, a specific deadline for the President to nominate and for the Congress to confirm a Vice President. If this reasonable period passes without affirmative action, the Congress would then be required to promptly begin confirmation hearings on another nominee.

It has been suggested to me—and I underline suggested—that if, because of a partisan deadlock between the President and the Congress, the Congress fails to act within the deadline, the next constitutional successor, presently the Speaker of the House of Representatives, should be required to actually assume the office of the (Vice) President. Although I am not prepared to advocate such a step, I must say there is really no way, despite secret briefings and all that, that anyone can even partially be prepared to take over the duties of the Presidency on a moment's notice without all the participation in the

Executive process that a President can extend to his Vice President.

In this dangerous age, as the 25th amendment attests, we need a Vice President at all times. And I speak as one who ought to know.

I will be glad to answer your questions.

QUESTIONS

ECONOMIC POLICY

Q. Michael Pakenham of the Philadelphia Inquirer.

Mr. President, on Tuesday the word "recession" made its debut in the official diagnostic language of your Administration. Could you tell us if you are of a mind now to press forward with any significant economic policies that are new, beyond and perhaps including wage and price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. At the time that we put together the 31-point program that I submitted to the Congress on October 8, 1974, which was a finely tuned program to meet the challenges of a softening economy, and there were definite signs at that time, and on the other hand, to tamp down inflation, we believed then, and I believe now, that the plan is sound, that it is constructive, that it will meet the two problems that we face.

And may I add most affirmatively, putting wage and price controls on in a period of recession would be just the absolute wrong approach to the solution of a weakening economy. I never heard of the proposal to use wage and price controls to stimulate an economy. The only time I have heard of wage and price controls being advocated was when we had inflation as our major problem.

I happen to think we have got two problems—a weakening economy and inflation that is too high. The proposals that I submitted, 31 in number, try to meet both, and, at the moment, I see no justification for any major revisions.

VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

Q. Mr. President, Gaylord Shaw with AP [Associated Press].

You said just a few moments ago that in this dangerous age we need a Vice President at all times. My question is this: Would you withdraw Governor Rockefeller's nomination if it is not confirmed before Congress adjourns next month, or to put it another way, are there any conditions under which you would withdraw the nomination and submit another name.

THE PRESIDENT. There are no conditions that I can imagine or know of under which I would withdraw Governor Rockefeller's name. As I said in my prepared remarks, I think he is the most qualified person to be Vice President. I intend to do all I can to see that he gets confirmed, and I hope that the Congress will respond constructively and act before adjournment *sine die* in 1974.

HOUSE MINORITY LEADER RHODES

Q. Good evening, Mr. President. I am Bill Close from KOOL Radio and Television in Phoenix.

Congressman John Rhodes is seated over there, and my question concerns him. A move is underway in the House to challenge John Rhodes of Arizona as the Republican minority leader. In your opinion, is John Rhodes doing a satisfactory job, or would you rather see someone else in his place?

THE PRESIDENT. John Rhodes, in my judgment, is an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives. He has done a superb job as the Republican leader in the House since he took over when I became Vice President. I see no reason whatsoever for any change in that position in the House of Representatives on the Republican side.

THE ELECTIONS AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Q. Hampden Smith, Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia.

Another political question, if I may, sir. The Republican Party lost 45 seats in the House of Representatives and 5 in the Senate and 6 Governorships in last Tuesday's election, and further public opinion polls seem to indicate that the percentage of Americans who consider themselves Republicans has been declining for quite a while, even before the Watergate reaction set in.

And my question, sir, is how could you explain this seeming decline in the Republican Party?

THE PRESIDENT. You know, it was bad enough, but it is not quite as bad as the numbers you used. We didn't lose quite as many Republicans in either the House or the Senate, but I concede it was not good from our point of view. But I would also like to add this:

As people have indicated, they are leaving the Republican Party, and you are accurate in that the polls show that. They have not gone to the Democrats, they have gone to the Independent category. The Democrats, as a matter of fact, have either lost a little or maintain only their former numerical position. So, the net result is that more and more people are becoming Independents rather than party affiliates.

I can argue it both ways, but what it really shows—in my judgment, in this last election—that the Republican Party was in the White House at the time where we had 10 or 11 percent inflation, where we had some softening of the economy, and where we had the heritage of Watergate.

Now, those are pretty tough problems to overcome in the political arena. Those are transitory. We are going to solve the inflation. We are going to strengthen the economy. And Watergate is ended. This Administration had no connection with it, so we are going to be strong come 1976.

CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Q. Mr. President, Helen Thomas, United Press International.

Mr. President, do you plan to retire General Brown as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I have a followup.

THE PRESIDENT. I have publicly disavowed the comments made by General Brown. I had General Brown to the Oval Office this morning at 7:15 before I took the plane, and I indicated to him very directly my strong feeling concerning the statements that he made, and re-affirmed to him directly my disavowal of those comments that were recorded at Duke University Law School.

I think it ought to be said that General Brown has publicly apologized to those that might have been involved in the comments that he made. I have no intention of asking General Brown to resign. General Brown has been an excellent Air Force officer; he has been an excellent Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He made a mistake; he has recognized it. He is going to continue as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that the Defense Secretary was remiss or some of your White House aides, perhaps, in not informing you earlier of General Brown's remarks so that you could have been apprised?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the truth is that I had about 12 to 15 hours advance notice. I could not have remedied the situation any better than we have tried if I had known a few hours earlier.

I just want to say very candidly I disapprove and disavow of what he said. I not only said that publicly, but to General Brown directly. It was a mistake, but he is a fine officer, and he has done a good job. And I don't think he should be fired for that one mistake.

WORLD SUPPLIES OF FOOD AND ENERGY

Q. Peggy Roberson, the Birmingham News, Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. President, recently we have seen horrifying pictures of starving people in the world, and we have learned that energy and food are unbreakably linked. Are we prepared to use food as a weapon to force down energy prices so farmers can produce low-cost food to feed these people?

THE PRESIDENT. We are not going to use food as a weapon. We must recognize, however, that food is just as important to the world as oil and that in order to get a better distribution of oil that is held in vast reserves by other nations and food that is produced by us to a greater extent than any other nation in the world, we must get together and cooperate to make sure that that which is available in both cases is spread throughout the world for the benefit of all people.

Dr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, has put together the group of oil-consuming nations. We expect to work

with the oil-producing nations. I believe that there can be an understanding achieved that will be to the mutual benefit of the producers in food and oil, and the consumers in both.

POSSIBILITY OF A GASOLINE TAX

Q. Jules Witcover, Washington Post.

Mr. President, Secretary of Interior Morton told reporters yesterday he is still interested in the possibility of a new gasoline tax as a weapon to fight the energy crisis and inflation. Your Press Secretary on your behalf has repeatedly said that you are not considering it. Can you clear up exactly what the Administration's position is on a new gas tax?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly will, Julius. I don't know how many times I have to say that we are not considering an additional gasoline tax. I said it the first time, I think out in Sioux City [Falls], South Dakota, and I repeated it many times thereafter.

I thought that others in the executive branch got the word, and I hope this word is conveyed to my good friend, the Secretary of the Interior. [Laughter] We are not considering an increase in the gasoline tax.

FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION

Q. Norman Dohn, Ohio University. That is where Bill Hess is a football coach, not Woody Hayes.

My question is in regard to foreign policy. Senator-elect John Glenn of Ohio and others have suggested that despite Dr. Kissinger's very fine track record, that perhaps foreign policy is such a complex and delicate matter that the machinery of foreign policy ought to be spread out over a broader base. Do you have any plans to do this under your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no such plans. I can't imagine someone who really is not an expert in the field of foreign policy giving advice to a man who has conducted foreign policy with great skill and great success. If you have got someone who is doing a good job, I don't understand why anyone in seriousness would advocate that he be taken off part of the job and turn it over to someone who might not do as good a job.

I respect the right of the Senator-elect to make the suggestion, but I don't think it makes very much sense.

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Q. Tom Jarriel with ABC, Mr. President.

I would like to follow up the answer you gave on the economy a moment ago. You said that wage-price controls would be the wrong approach to combat inflation. Some of your aides are saying inflation is the cause of recession. Should the recession continue and should you see a need to combat inflation in order to halt the recession, would you then reconsider the possibility of wage-price controls, or is this categorically ruled out?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no intention of requesting the Congress to enact mandatory or standby wage and price controls, and I have been told by the Democratic leaders that there is no prospect of the Democratic Congress enacting wage and price controls. There are no circumstances that I foresee today that would justify the heavy hand of wage and price controls in the present economic circumstances.

INCOME SURTAX

Q. Have you any tax-raising proposals to replace the 5 percent surtax, should that not be acted on by Congress? Your Press Secretary has said that, I believe, you would have an open mind on it. Have you any other proposals in mind?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I would hope that the Congress would take a serious look at this constructive proposal which would affect only 28 percent of the personal income taxpayers, with 72 percent of the income taxpayers not being affected at all. And even a person with a \$20,000 a year taxable income would only have to pay an additional \$42 or 12 cents a day. I think somebody making \$20,000 a year would be willing to make that kind of sacrifice if that would be helpful in whipping inflation and if that would be helpful in helping the people who are less fortunate who need some help during this transition phase from a recession to a healthier economy. It is a good proposal. I hope the Congress does take affirmative action.

PRESIDENTIAL PARDON AND AMNESTY

Q. Mr. President, Bernie Wynn of the Arizona Republic.

In light of the GOP disasters at the polls, Tuesday, would you rather have waited maybe until after November 5 to pardon Mr. Nixon, to have granted amnesty to draft dodgers?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all. I think the timing in both instances was right. I could see no justification for another 2 months of delay in the action in pardoning President Nixon. I did it because I think we had very important business to get on with, both domestically and internationally, in the United States. And it was obvious to me that with the prospective court action and all the controversy that would be stimulated by it, that it was wise for me to exercise the right of pardon when I did, and waiting 2 months would have made no difference.

In the case of earned amnesty for draft dodgers and draft evaders, I think the sooner we acted in that case the better, and I am glad to say that from where I have had an opportunity to examine it, it has worked well, it has not given a free ride to individuals, and it has given those who wanted to earn their way back a second opportunity, and we have had quite a few who have applied.

I think in both instances I acted right, and in both instances the timing was correct.

CHANGE IN AMERICAN LIFESTYLE

Q. Mr. President, Bob Johnson, WHAS, Louisville.

A number of critics say that the people in this country are going to have to adopt a far simpler lifestyle than they have shown their willingness to do voluntarily, something that goes beyond cleaning their plates, eating a great deal less, driving a great deal less.

Do you agree that this will be necessary, and if so, how is it going to be done? What type of leadership are you going to offer?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we may have to tighten our belts a little bit. I think buyers will have to be better Yankee traders, and salesmen will have to be more aggressive salesmen. In other words, we have got to restore some competition on the one hand, and people have to be wiser on the other, saving energy, hopefully, in a voluntary way.

If not, we may have to impose some limitations or restrictions. But I don't see us having to regress. I don't see us having to go backwards, which in my judgment is so contrary to the philosophy of America. We have got a great country; we can make it grow and prosper. We just have to tighten our belts and get rid of the fat and the excesses, and we will be a lot better off as a country and as individuals.

PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA, AND THE SOVIET UNION

Q. Mr. President, Norman Kempster of the Washington Star-News.

You have spoken of the danger of the Nation being without a Vice President. On Sunday you are planning a trip to Japan where some violence is threatened. What do you expect to achieve on this trip to Japan that can make it worth the risk?

THE PRESIDENT. There are three very important countries that I am visiting. And I should preface that with a comment that a President has two major responsibilities, one in the field of domestic policy and the other in the field of foreign policy.

And where we have three extremely important countries, two where we have good relationships, treaties, where we are allies—Japan and South Korea—where we want to strengthen that relationship, and the third, the Soviet Union, where we have been trying to achieve a détente, and broaden it, where we are going to hopefully lay a broader foundation for SALT TWO—when you add up the pluses, I think that there is convincing evidence that I, as President, should go to Japan, to expand our good relations with Japan; go to South Korea, a staunch and strong ally and to work out some differences, if any, and to broaden our relations there; and to go to the Soviet Union to hopefully make some progress in détente in the reduction of arms.

I think it is a very worthwhile trip.

Q. Mr. President, if I may follow up, what is the urgency that would not permit waiting until Governor Rockefeller is confirmed?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if I knew the Congress was going to act, there might be some justification for it, but I can't sit and twiddle my thumbs and not do something which I think is important for the benefit of foreign policy of the United States.

We have to do things on an affirmative basis which I think are necessary, and to sit and wait until Congress acts on this—and I think they ought to act a lot more quickly than they have—I think would be wrong.

Some things that we have to achieve here are vitally important, and I think the trip ought to go on, and as far as I am concerned, it is.

FUTURE DIRECTION FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Q. Jennifer Schanno, College of St. Catherine in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Mr. President, there seems to be some argument as to what direction the Republican Party should go to avoid another landslide defeat. Some are saying it should go in a moderate direction; some in a more conservative.

In which direction do you feel it should go?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Republican Party ought to continue to be a middle-of-the-road party, a party that has a strong, internationally oriented foreign policy, a party that has a middle-of-the-road to conservative domestic policy—certainly conservative in the field of fiscal affairs.

I think that is a good policy, and I don't see why we should abandon a good policy just because we took a licking on November 5.

If you go back in history, in 1946 when Mr. Truman was President, the Democrats took a worse beating, and the 80th Congress came in with more Republicans in the House and Senate by a substantial number. Mr. Truman and the Democrats didn't abandon their policies. They went out and fought for them. They went out and made an effort to sell them. And Mr. Truman and the Democrats were successful in November of 1948.

I think that is what we ought to do as Republicans in 1976.

PARTY CONTROL OF CONGRESS

Q. Mr. President, Lester Schlangen of the Associated Press.

Why do the Democrats seem to have better luck in electing Democratic Congresses than Republicans do? Why can't the Republicans do that? You haven't won in 40 years.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am glad you pointed out that the Democrats have controlled the Congress—the House and the Senate—38 out of the last 42 years. So all of the evils that you have had, you can blame on them, not on us. *[Laughter]*

RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS

Q. Mr. President, Forrest Boyd, Mutual Broadcasting. I would like to take that just one step further. Senator Dole suggested that you shed your Boy Scout image and get tough with Congress and, if necessary, go over their heads to the people. What will be your tactics?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me preface the answer to the one part of your question—I was a Boy Scout. I am proud of that experience. I have no apologies for it. I think they have done a great deal of good for lots of young people, and I am not going to back off from the 5 or 6 years that I enjoyed being a Boy Scout and doing the things that I think are good for America.

Now, to answer your other question. I wish there would be a lot more Boy Scouts.

Now I am going to try to work with the Congress. It is a Democratic Congress, better than 2-to-1 in the House, and I think about 62 percent in the Senate. I think we ought to try and work together. They do have some sort of a mandate. They have an obligation, they have a responsibility, but they also have an accountability.

I want to work with them. I hope we can. But if we find that they are going to try and override, dominate with policies that I think are wrong, I will have to disagree with them.

But I am going to start out with the assumption that they are as interested as I am in what is good policy, both at home and abroad, and hopefully that will continue. So let's wait and see.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRESS

Q. My name is Tim Rife. I am from the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Mr. President, does your willingness here—to show up here to a Sigma Delta Chi convention reflect a new attitude in your Administration towards the press?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think coming here is a reflection of any new attitude toward the press on my part. I think most of the press from Washington would agree that I have always been open and candid with the members of the press. The fact that I became Vice President or President I don't think has changed me. I acted in the past as I am acting now. We don't agree on some things, but I have always felt that I should treat them as I would want to be treated, and vice versa. And I think that is a good relationship.

MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS

Q. Mr. President, Russ Ward of NBC News.

There has been some recent talk in the Middle East about a possible reimposition of the Arab oil embargo. Do you have contingency plans for dealing with such a move, and might those plans include a possible change in our relations over there, either with Israel or the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization]?

THE PRESIDENT. Our plans are aimed at trying to get the Israelis to negotiate a settlement or additional settlements with the Egyptians and the other Arab nations. Those are the plans we have which are affirmative and plans that I think if we continue constructively, can bring about some success.

Until we have failed, and I don't think we will, in trying to get the parties to work together, I don't think it is appropriate to discuss what we will do if we don't achieve success.

Q. Are you suggesting, Mr. President, that Israel should deal directly with the PLO? It has been the Israeli objection all along against recognizing the PLO as a bona fide political organization.

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't say that. I did say that the Israelis should negotiate with the Egyptian and other Arab parties. The Israelis have said they will never negotiate with the PLO. We are not a party to any negotiations. I think we have to let the decision as to who will negotiate to be the responsibility of the parties involved.

THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST HUNDRED DAYS

Q. Gene McLain, KTAR Television and Radio, Phoenix.

Mr. President, you are approaching your first hundred days in office. How do you size up your pluses and minuses, your major disappointments and successes?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the best things we have done—number one, nominating Nelson Rockefeller; number two, the conducting of the economic summit meetings, I think 12 all over the country, with two in Washington; and the formulation of a good, sound economic plan that meets the problems of a weakening economy and inflation.

I believe that we have laid additional groundwork for success in the Middle East. We have redirected some of our policies in the subcontinent areas. We have, in addition, enhanced the possibility of strategic arms limitation agreement number two, which I think will be enhanced by the meeting I am going to have in Vladivostok in about 12 days, hopefully to be followed by a meeting in Washington some time in the summer of 1975.

Some of the disappointments—we had a few bad breaks. I think the Congress was dead wrong when they handicapped myself and Secretary Kissinger in the efforts that we could make in the settlement of the Cyprus question between Greece and Turkey. I think that was a terrible disappointment, and some of the things we warned about might happen, and it won't be helpful to Greece. That was a bad break.

Another was the failure on the part of the Congress to act more affirmatively on behalf of the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller. It should have been done before the campaign recess. I think the Congress also might have moved ahead more rapidly in some of the economic suggestions.

We have had some pluses, and we have had some minuses, but I believe so far we are a little ahead of the game.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN 1976

Q. Mr. President, Bob Watkins from the University of Houston.

In response to an earlier question, you said that disenfranchised Republicans were becoming Independents and not Democrats. Well, many Democrats are becoming Independents, too. Do you see this desertion as a preface to a large-scale third party movement in 1976?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't see that as a third party movement. I think it does suggest that political parties, the traditional ones, are weakening. I think that is sad, however. I think the two major political parties ought to be strengthened, but nevertheless the trend is just the opposite.

I hope that in the months ahead that we, as Republicans, can regain some of those by the performance both at home and abroad in our policy actions. I don't hope that my Democratic friends improve their situation, but if they do, I still think it would be healthy to have more responsible people in political parties than as Independents.

THE ECONOMY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Good evening, Mr. President. Walt Rodgers of the Associated Press.

I am sure you have read newspaper accounts suggesting that perhaps the United States faces another great depression similar to 1930. Your Administration has already admitted that we have slipped into a recession and that unemployment will go even higher than the current rate of 6 percent. How much more slippage do you expect in the economy? First, when will the slump bottom out, and, specifically, will unemployment go over 7 percent?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't give you categorical answers to those three questions. I think we will have some increase in unemployment, but I do believe that if the Congress cooperates with me, we can reverse that trend in 1975. I believe that we have certain safeguards today that we did not have in the 1930's. I remember the depression, Wally; you're too young.

In those days, we didn't have an unemployment compensation insurance which is a very helpful protection. We didn't have in the 1930's the kind of additional payments that the auto workers, for example, get from the auto unions to bolster the amounts they get from unemployment compensation.

We have a lot of excellent safeguards that protect our economy today from falling into the depression. I don't think we are going to have one because we have these safeguards.

What we have to do is to prevent reactions that will really be harmful to the economy, restimulating or reigniting inflation which is actually starting to recede at the present time. We have to follow a very narrow path, and the Congress can help, and if they do, we can avoid the pitfalls of more inflation and economic conditions worse than we have today.

Q. By way of a followup, Mr. President, if I could, I would like to try to pin you down on the unemployment figure. Have any of your economists suggested that unemployment might go to 7 percent or do you entertain that possibility?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not heard any of the economists that advise me saying that unemployment would go to 7 percent or over. They do indicate that it may increase above the 6 percent, which was last reported.

PROCEDURES FOR SELECTING PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES

Q. John Kolbe from the Phoenix Gazette.

Mr. President, earlier this week you withdrew your nomination of Mr. Gibson as the new energy administrator in the midst of some discussions and some disclosures about his severance agreement from an oil company. The White House reported that apparently you personally knew nothing of that agreement before you made the nomination.

Have you taken or do you intend to institute any new staff-type procedures in the White House that will prevent this kind of embarrassing situation in the future, and if so, what do you intend to do?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we have. The procedure we intend to follow in the future is to say that a person is being considered and undertake the FBI or investigation review prior to making any specific announcement that we are sending a name up to the Senate for confirmation, which gives the individual some protection and gives us some protection.

In the case of Andy Gibson, he was an excellent head or director, administrator of the Maritime Administration. He took a maritime industry and an agency in the Federal Government in 1969 that was dead and really made it into an effective Maritime Administration.

He was a first-class administrator. I regret that the circumstances developed because I asked him to serve in a position which requires a first-class administrator. We have not had that kind of firm direction over in the Federal Energy Administration. Andy Gibson would have been a good one.

I regret very much that he didn't make it, and I regret that our procedure at that time was inadequate. We made a mistake. It won't happen again.

Q. Do some of the disclosures that have come out about Governor Rockefeller fit in that same category as Mr. Gibson?

THE PRESIDENT. None whatsoever. In the case of Governor Rockefeller, prior to the nomination I submitted

three names to the FBI and asked them to give me an updating of their files and to let me know whether there was anything whatsoever in the files of the FBI concerning Mr. Rockefeller and two others. I think that was a sound procedure.

The gifts that Governor Rockefeller has given, in my judgment, are the kind of gifts that a person, if you have that much money ought to have the right to give, and there is no political chicanery involved at all. He was generous to people that he thought ought to be helped, and there is no connection, no relationship between the Rockefeller situation and the Gibson matter.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:04 p.m. in the Kino Room at the Del Webb Towne House, Phoenix, Ariz.

Disaster Assistance for Alaska

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Storms and Flooding. November 14, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Alaska as a result of damage caused by severe storms and flooding beginning about November 11, which caused damage to public and private property. The President's action will permit use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the flooding, disaster unemployment assistance, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Alaska will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. William H. Mayer, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region X, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Phoenix, Ariz.

Disaster Assistance for the Virgin Islands

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Storms, Landslides, and Flooding. November 14, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the Virgin Islands as a result of damage caused by severe storms, landslides, and flooding beginning about October 23, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the Territory.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the flooding and landslides, disaster unemployment assistance, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in the Virgin Islands will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the Territory eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and Territorial damage assessments.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region II, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the Territory in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-299.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Phoenix, Ariz.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

November 11

The President met at the White House with the Executive Committee of the Economic Policy Board.

The President met with his Labor-Management Committee.

The President hosted a reception for Southern Republican State chairmen.

November 12

Speaker of the House Carl Albert had a breakfast meeting with the President at the White House to discuss priorities for the post-election session of the Congress.

The President greeted a group of legislative liaison officers from the departments and agencies who were meeting in the Roosevelt Room with Assistant to the President William E. Timmons to discuss the post-election session of the Congress.

The President has accepted the resignation of Barbara M. Watson as Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, effective December 31, 1974.

Ambassador Shirley Temple Black met with the President prior to assuming her post as U.S. Ambassador to Ghana.

Ambassador David K. E. Bruce met with the President prior to assuming his post as the U.S. Permanent Representative on the NATO Council.

November 13

Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott had a breakfast meeting with the President at the White House to discuss priorities for the postelection session of the Congress.

The President announced the appointment of Gerald L. Warren as Deputy Press Secretary to the President for Information Liaison.

November 14

En route from Phoenix, Ariz., to Washington, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes met with the President aboard Air Force One to discuss priorities for the post-election session of the Congress.

November 15

The President greeted a group of students from Thomas W. Pyle Junior High School in Bethesda, Md., who were visiting the White House.

The President met with members of the Cabinet to discuss implementation of his economic program.

The President today accepted the resignation of Anthony J. Travia as a United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York, effective November 30, 1974.

The President has accepted the resignation of John W. Ingram as Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration, effective November 1, 1974.

The President has sent a message of condolence to King Faisal of Saudi Arabia expressing his deep sorrow following the death of the Saudi Arabian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, 'Umar al-Saqqaf.

Professor Irving Kristol of the New York University, met with the President.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned from Thursday, October 17, until Monday, November 18, no nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released November 13, 1974

Announcement: appointment of Robert A. Kelly as Assistant Press Secretary

Announcement: appointment of J. W. Roberts as Assistant Press Secretary

Announcement: appointment of Larry Speakes as Assistant Press Secretary

Announcement: appointment of Louis M. Thompson, Jr., as Assistant Press Secretary (Administration)

Biographical data: Gerald L. Warren, Deputy Press Secretary to the President for Information Liaison

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released November 13, 1974—Continued

News conference: on the President's meeting with coastal State Governors to discuss outer continental shelf oil and gas development—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Governors Edwin W. Edwards of Louisiana and Brendan T. Byrne of New Jersey, and Governor-elect Hugh Carey of New York.

Released November 14, 1974

Advance text: remarks at the convention of the National Association of Realtors, Las Vegas, Nev.

Advance text: remarks at Luke Air Force Base, Phoenix, Ariz.

Advance text: opening remarks in a question-and-answer session at a convention of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi

News conference: following a meeting of Administration officials and representatives of the National Conference of Mayors to discuss mass transit legislation—by Claude S. Brinegar, Secretary of Transportation, and Mayors Joseph Alioto of San Francisco, Calif., Abraham D. Beame of New York City, and Stanley Cmich of Canton, Ohio

Released November 15, 1974

Announcement: intention to nominate Joel M. Flaum, of Chicago, Ill., to be a United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois.

News conference: on the President's trip to the Far East and the situation in the Middle East—by Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State

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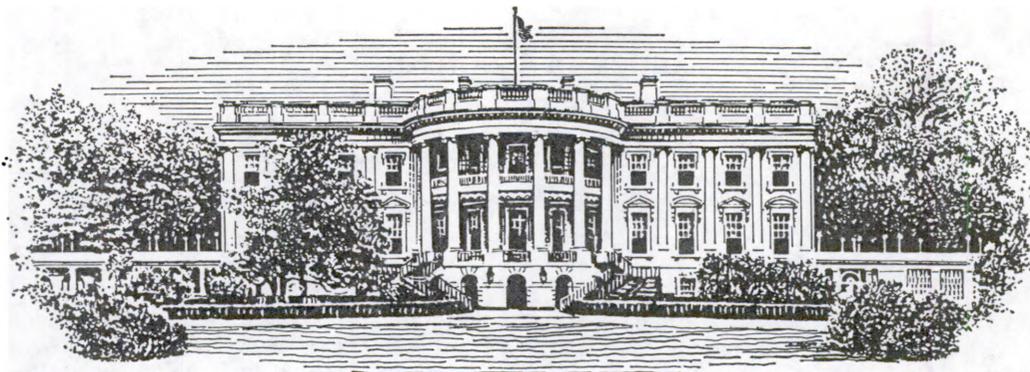
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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, November 25, 1974



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, November 22, 1974

November 16, 1974

United States Ambassador to Spain

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Peter M. Flanigan Upon Mr. Flanigan's Request That His Nomination Not Be Resubmitted to the Senate. November 16, 1974

November 16, 1974

Dear Pete:

I have your letter of November 16 asking that I not resubmit your nomination as Ambassador to Spain. Although I fully understand the selfless reasons which led to your decision it is nevertheless with reluctance and deep regret that I accept your request. In doing so, I want to assure you once again of my confidence in you and my admiration for your abilities.

For the past five years as Assistant to the President and Director of the Council on International Economic Policy, you have served your nation with the highest distinction. You can be justly proud of the critical role you played in helping to shape our country's vital trade and economic policies under the most challenging circumstances. Your efforts won you the highest respect of your colleagues in government and the esteem of the international community for the substantial contributions you have made. You deserve the heartfelt thanks of your fellow citizens, and I want to take this opportunity to express my own lasting gratitude.

I am also deeply grateful for your generous offer of continuing assistance in the future, and you can be sure if the occasion arises we will not hesitate to take advantage of your talents. In the meantime, Betty joins me in extending to Brigid and you our very best wishes for every continuing happiness and success.

With my warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

Dear Mr. President:

To serve as your Ambassador to Spain would be a great opportunity to work for the Nation as well as a great honor. For that reason I accepted with pleasure your offer of the post. And also for that reason it is with the deepest regret that I now ask that you not resubmit my name.

During the past weeks I have weighed, on the basis of all the information that could be developed, the prospects for my confirmation by year-end. It had been my belief that five years as Assistant to the President and Director of the Council on International Economic Policy provided a record which would command prompt Senate support. Unhappily the distortion of that record, despite the affirmative report given to the White House by Mr. Jaworski, throws that belief into serious question. Though the false charges and insinuations have already been fully answered, I must now conclude that the confirmation process would not be completed by the end of the year and the 93rd Congress. This long delay in the confirmation of your nominee would not be in the best interest of your relations with the Congress nor the Country's relations with Spain.

I will never forget the continued strong support given to me by you and Secretary Kissinger. My purpose in coming to Washington has been to serve the President—not to burden him. Given the current political climate, I can best do this by asking that you not resubmit my nomination.

I am deeply grateful for the honor you did me in offering me the Ambassadorship to Spain. I look back with satisfaction at the past five years of working with you in the Congress and in the White House. If in the future I can be of assistance to you in any way, you know that I would be very pleased to do so.

With warm personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

PETER M. FLANIGAN

United States Ambassador to Portugal

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Frank C. Carlucci. November 16, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank C. Carlucci, of Bear Creek, Pa., to be Ambassador to Portugal. He will succeed Stuart Nash Scott.

Since 1972, Mr. Carlucci has served as Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In 1971, he joined the Office of Management and Budget, serving first as Associate Director and later as Deputy Director. He previously had served as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity from January to September of 1971. From 1956 to 1971, Mr. Carlucci served as Foreign Service Officer in the Congo, Zanzibar, and also Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Mr. Carlucci was born on October 18, 1930, in Scranton, Pa. He received his B.A. degree from Princeton University in 1952. He later attended Harvard University Graduate School of Business. He served in the United States Navy from 1952 to 1954.

Mr. Carlucci resides in Washington, D.C.

Imports of Meat From Canada

Proclamation 4335. November 16, 1974

TEMPORARY QUANTITATIVE LIMITATION ON THE IMPORTATION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN CATTLE, BEEF, VEAL, SWINE AND PORK FROM CANADA

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

WHEREAS, Section 252(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1882(a)) authorizes the President to impose duties or other import restrictions on the products of any foreign country establishing or maintaining unjustifiable import restrictions against United States agricultural products which impair the value of tariff commitments made to the United States, oppress the commerce of the United States, or prevent the expansion of trade on a mutually advantageous basis;

WHEREAS, Canada has imposed unjustifiable restrictions on cattle and meat imports from the United States;

WHEREAS, such restrictions violate the commitments of Canada made to the United States, including the provisions of Article XI of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and impair the value of tariff commitments made to the United States, oppress the commerce of the United States and prevent the expansion of trade on a mutually advantageous basis; and

WHEREAS, I deem it necessary and appropriate to impose the restrictions hereinafter proclaimed on imports of cattle, beef, veal, swine, and pork, which are the products of Canada, in order to obtain the removal of such unjustifiable restrictions and to provide access for United States cattle and meat to the markets of Canada on an equitable basis;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, including Section 252(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1882(a)), do hereby proclaim (until such time as the President otherwise proclaims)—

(1) Subpart B of part 2 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) is amended by inserting in numerical sequence the following new items:

<i>Item</i>	<i>Articles</i>	<i>Quota Quantity</i>
	Whenever, in any 12-month period beginning August 12 in 1974 or in any succeeding year, the respective quantity or aggregate quantity of the cattle, the swine, the beef and veal, or the pork specified below, the product of Canada, has been entered, no such cattle, swine, beef and veal, or pork, respectively, the product of Canada, may be entered during the remainder of such period:	
945.01	Cattle provided for in items 100.40, 100.43, 100.45, 100.53, and 100.55 of part 1, schedule 1-----	17,000 head (aggregate quantity)
945.02	Swine provided for in item 100.85 of part 1, schedule 1-----	50,000 head
945.03	Beef and veal, fresh, chilled, frozen, prepared, or preserved, provided for in items 106.10 and 107.60, part 2B, schedule 1-----	17,000,000 pounds (aggregate quantity)
945.04	Pork, fresh, chilled, frozen, prepared or preserved, provided for in items 106.40, 107.30 and 107.35, part 2B, schedule 1-----	36,000,000 pounds (aggregate quantity)

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1) hereof, not in excess of one-twelfth of the respective quota quantity specified for each item in said paragraph (1) may be entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption during the 30-day period beginning on the date of this proclamation.

(3) The provisions of this proclamation shall become effective upon publication in the Federal Register, but the provisions of paragraph (1) hereof do not apply to any articles in excess of the respective quota quantity specified for each item in said paragraph (1) which—

(a) prior to such date of publication, have been duly entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for con-

sumption or have been released under the provisions of section 448 (b) of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1448 (b)), or

(b) have been entered or withdrawn pursuant to paragraph (2) hereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:17 p.m.,
November 18, 1974]

The President's Trip to Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Soviet Union

Remarks of the President Upon Departure From the White House. November 17, 1974

Let me just say a word or two, and at the outset thank all of my friends for coming out to see us off.

I think this trip has great significance, both as to timing and as to substance. We all live in an interrelated world.

No longer can we, in the United States, think in the terms of isolationism. What we do overseas has great significance for some of the problems that we have here at home.

This, I think, can be defined as a quest for peace, to broaden it, to strengthen it. And as I said in Arizona earlier this week, I would rather travel 1,000 miles for peace than take a single step for war.

We are visiting three great countries. The first is Japan, the first visit of an American President, a state visit, to that great country. We have a special relationship with Japan, and although we are separated by the broadest of oceans, we have the closest of friendships.

We also will be stopping in the Republic of Korea, a courageous and brave ally, an ally that joins with us in preserving peace in that part of the world.

The trip to the Soviet Union has special significance. There has been a tremendous effort over the years to broaden an effort of peace throughout the world, and I look forward to participating in the ever-increasing strengthening of our ties with the Soviet Union.

I go with optimism. I think we, as Americans, can be optimistic about the progress that has been made and will be made. I go with a dedication of service to my fellow Americans, and a pride in our great country.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Releases relating to the President's trip will be printed in next week's issue.

LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES

*The President's Message to the Congress. Dated November 17, 1974.
Transmitted November 18, 1974*

To the Congress of the United States:

I regret that commitments which I believe will advance the cause of international understanding prevent my delivering this message personally. On two previous occasions when I returned to the Capitol for formal communication with the Congress, I emphasized my sincere desire for partnership with you in the interests of our country. Nothing has changed that intention on my part.

On August 12, three days after assuming the office of President, I asked the Congress to join with me in a new spirit of action and accommodation in getting America moving again. On October 8, I presented a comprehensive 31-point program to strengthen our economy, share the burdens of inflation and stagnation and significantly reduce this Nation's dependence on outside sources of energy which is both strategically and economically undesirable.

There has been piecemeal criticism of my program and I expected it. But there has been no specific and comprehensive alternative program advanced and time is passing. I do not read any mandate in the recent

election so clearly as the American people's concern about our economy and their urgent demand for fiscal restraint and responsible action on the economic front.

I am still ready to meet the Congress more than half way in responding to this call from our constituents. We cannot wait and the country cannot wait until next March or April for needed action.

I will always have a special affection for the 93rd Congress—the last one to which I was elected and in which I served both as Minority Leader of the House and as President of the Senate. But I hope this pride can be more solid than sentimental.

Time is short, but time remains for this Congress to finish its work with a real record of accomplishment. Your leaders have given me their assurance of a desire to do as much as possible.

There is much to be done. I am confident that if we all declare a moratorium on partisanship for the rest of 1974 we can still achieve much for America.

In this message I am listing those legislative actions, among the many I have proposed, to which I attach the highest priority. I respectfully request their careful consideration and resolution before the 93rd Congress takes its place in history.

NOMINATIONS

I regret that neither body of the Congress has acted on my nomination of Nelson Rockefeller to be Vice President of the United States.

It has been nearly thirteen weeks since I nominated Governor Rockefeller. Our recent experience with the 25th amendment makes it plain that an incumbent Vice President is essential to continuity in Government. I appreciate the need for a thorough examination of this nomination, but it is in the highest national interest that I urge speedy confirmation.

Forty-three other nominations pending before the Senate lapsed with the election recess. I request that my re-submissions be given expeditious consideration so that vacancies in key executive branch posts may be filled with approval of the Senate at the earliest possible time.

I will also transmit to the Senate the names of other candidates for major Administration positions and urge their speedy confirmation. Good government makes it imperative that all pending nominations be acted upon during this session of the Congress.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

No single issue has a higher priority than the economic health of our country. Prices rise while production lags and unemployment increases. It is a severe problem requiring specific corrective actions to start the recovery and to check inflation.

EXPENDITURES

I am gratified that recent deliberations of the House and Senate have recognized the need to restrain Federal spending for fiscal year 1975. I am confident that this action reflects the strong desire of the American people.

Accordingly, for fiscal year 1975, I will recommend to the Congress next week more budget rescissions and will report on budget deferrals

and administrative actions to hold down expenditures. I will also request the Congress to make changes in existing authorizations and in pending appropriation bills. I urge the Congress to support these actions and move quickly to enact the required legislative changes.

I have already reported on a number of budget deferrals totalling more than \$23 billion and requested seven rescissions of over \$675 million. Failure to support these actions would increase outlays by over \$660 million in 1975, \$2.2 billion in 1976, and even more in subsequent years. I urge the Congress to accept these deferrals and take prompt action on the over \$675 million in rescission proposals that have been submitted.

EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

In addition to Government belt-tightening, I also indicated in my economic message of October 8th that special legislation was needed to assist citizens who are particularly hurt by increases in unemployment. On that same day, I sent to the Congress my proposed *National Employment Assistance Act*. Under this plan, employment assistance programs would be triggered into action whenever the average national unemployment rate rose to six percent for three consecutive months.

In that event, these programs would provide special jobless compensation and work opportunities in those labor market areas where the rate averages six and one-half percent for three consecutive months.

These programs should be enacted immediately, since rising unemployment indicates they will very likely be needed before the 94th Congress convenes. I hope this Congress will recognize its responsibility in this important area.

TRADE

Action is urgently needed on the *Trade Reform Act* which I consider absolutely essential to our economic health. Our trading partners in the industrial and less-developed world are waiting to see whether we can negotiate multilateral solutions to the common economic problems which plague us, as well as make much-needed improvements in the trading system. The unacceptable alternative is economic warfare from which no winners would emerge.

I urge the Senate to move as quickly as possible to adopt the Trade Reform Act, and to forego any encumbering amendments. If the Senate acts promptly—and only if it does—there will be sufficient time remaining in this Congress for both Houses to agree on a final measure.

TAXES

The Congress has before it the tax reform proposals sent up in April 1973; the windfall profits tax proposals submitted in December 1973, and the economy strengthening and stabilizing proposals which I recommended last month.

The economic proposals of last month include surtaxes on all corporations and on individuals with well above-average incomes. They call for change in the investment tax credit and in the tax treatment of certain limited kinds of preferred stock.

My individual surtax proposal, I must emphasize, would apply only to families and single persons whose incomes exceed \$15,000 and \$7,500, respectively, and only to that portion of their actual income above those

levels. It is a very progressive tax proposal which takes much more from high bracket taxpayers than middle income taxpayers. Low bracket taxpayers would be exempt. With a \$16,000 income, for example, a family of four would pay a surtax of only \$3. On the other hand, a family of four with a \$50,000 income would pay \$482 of surtax.

I also urge Congress to enact the windfall profits tax proposals so that we will not forever lose the chance to recapture a part of the excessive profits that domestic oil producers realize this year. I reiterate my support for eliminating the foreign depletion allowance.

I have asked the Secretary of the Treasury to work with the congressional committees concerned to develop balanced legislation, including additional tax reductions for low-income individuals.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

There is great need for action on an Administration proposal to strengthen and revitalize banks and thrift institutions through the elimination of certain Federal regulations which impede efficiency and healthy competition. While retaining appropriate safeguards to assure solvency and liquidity, the proposed *Financial Institutions Act* would allow more competition in our banking system to benefit the small saver as well as the institutions themselves. This could also make additional dollars available to the private citizen and to industry.

Further, this proposal would provide the added incentive of the mortgage interest tax credit for our financial institutions to enable them to devote their resources to home mortgages and thus curb the wide and disruptive swings in home mortgage credit availability.

REGULATION

The Congress has before it my proposal to establish a one-year National Commission on Regulatory Reform to examine the practices and procedures of the independent regulatory commissions. It has become clear that many regulatory activities of the Government are themselves stifling competition and producing higher prices without comparable social benefits. I urge this Congress to complete action on this important legislation. Such a Commission, to be composed of Congressional, Executive, and public members, should start now to formulate realistic proposals for reform of our regulatory system for early consideration by the next Congress.

FOOD

Food prices concern everyone. The Congress must act rapidly to not only increase food production but to remove impediments to the maximum production of peanut and rice crops.

I am also recommending that we amend *Public Law 480*, the Food for Peace program. Additional flexibility is clearly needed to assure that our food aid programs can continue to serve the national interest and humanitarian goals.

COMPETITION

Activities which are illegal under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act disrupt the natural competitive forces in the marketplace and invariably result in higher prices to the American consumer. The Justice Department's

antitrust efforts against monopolies and activities which operate in restraint of trade must be strengthened.

The maximum allowable penalties for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act should be increased from \$50,000 to \$1 million for corporations and from \$50,000 to \$100,000 for individuals. Maximum prison sentences for individual violations should also be increased to five years.

Current estimates by the Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that there are some 4 to 7 million illegal aliens in the United States. Prompt action on a pending illegal alien bill would help solve this critical problem by providing sanctions against the hiring of illegal aliens. This would make more jobs available for our own citizens.

STOCKPILING

The General Services Administration has submitted stockpile disposal bills for silver, lead and tin. These would permit sale of stockpile quantities that clearly exceed our national security needs. This additional authority will assure adequate supplies of these commodities and also dampen excessive price fluctuations. The additional disposal authority for silver, lead, and tin would also provide potential budget receipts of \$1.4 billion, of which about \$150 million could be realized in fiscal year 1975 if legislation is enacted by the end of this year.

HOUSING

I thank the Congress for promptly enacting housing legislation making conventional mortgages eligible for purchase by the Government National Mortgage Association. This is giving the housing and real estate industry much needed support, even though the Act did not cover apartments and condominiums. I urge you to consider legislation to correct this omission.

ENERGY

In addition to my deep concern over the economy, I am committed to resolving the problems of achieving sufficient energy supplies for ourselves and our children. I repeat my earlier requests for action during this session on several energy bills under consideration.

First, we need legislation to help increase the supply of natural gas and permit competitive pricing of these new supplies. Our worsening shortages are directly attributable to more than 20 years of unsuccessful Federal regulation of natural gas. Unless we remove Federal regulatory impediments with respect to new sources, supplies of environmentally clean natural gas will remain in the ground. The shortage of natural gas is already forcing curtailment of service to industry in many areas, resulting in increasing unemployment and greater use of imported oil. New homes are being denied natural gas service, forcing the use of alternative fuels that are more costly and far less clean.

I urge the Congress to complete action quickly on legislation to establish a system of permits for the construction and operation of deep-water ports. This system is a far superior means—from both a cost and environmental point of view—for handling that portion of oil which we cannot avoid importing for some years ahead. I have asked the Secretaries of Interior and Transportation to work with the Senate and House conferees to develop a bill that I can sign within the next few weeks.

Last March, legislation was proposed to speed the licensing and construction of nuclear plants, allow more meaningful public participation at early decision points relating to their design and siting and encourage standardization of new nuclear plants. I urge that the Congress pass this bill to speed the development of domestic energy supplies, reduce dependence on imported oil, and help hold down electrical power costs.

The House and Senate conferees are now addressing the difficult issues in the proposed *Surface Mining Act*. I am still hopeful that the conferees can agree on provisions which strike a reasonable balance between our desire for environmental protection and reclamation and the need to increase the production of domestic coal supplies.

I must emphasize that some provisions of the bills now in conference are not acceptable. I have asked the Secretary of the Interior to continue working with the conferees to develop a bill which I can sign.

As a necessary step toward conserving fuel and saving lives, I urge the Congress to make permanent the 55 mile-per-hour speed limit. I also ask the House of Representatives to approve an extension of the carpooling provisions in the *Emergency Highway Energy Conservation Act* which expires December 31, 1974.

I have asked the Secretaries of Interior, Defense and Navy to work with the Congress in finding satisfactory ways of dealing with our emergency petroleum reserves to balance our domestic energy needs. We must proceed with development of the oil reserves at Elk Hills, California, and with exploration and development of the reserve in northern Alaska. We must not wait for another energy crisis to force action, perhaps too late, on these vital resources.

APPROPRIATIONS

There are four regular appropriations bills still to be enacted—*Agriculture-Environmental and Consumer Protection, Labor-HEW, Military Construction and Foreign Assistance*—and the important *First Supplemental Appropriations* bill.

Action has not yet been completed in the Senate on the Agriculture-Environmental and Consumer Protection Appropriation Bill for fiscal year 1975. This bill was vetoed by President Nixon on August 8th because it would have substantially increased Federal spending. I urge the Congress to complete action on this appropriation measure as soon as possible within reasonable funding limits.

The Labor-HEW and Related Agencies Appropriations bill is currently in conference. Unfortunately, the totals are excessive. Unless the Congress reduces funding in both the House and Senate versions, I will have no choice but to veto this measure.

Appropriations now pending for Military Construction and Foreign Assistance should be given high priority.

The First Supplemental Appropriation bill has passed the House and is pending on the Senate calendar. However, I am concerned about the inflationary aspects of the Senate version and hope final action will produce an acceptable bill.

VETOES

During the adjournment, it was necessary for me to pocket veto five bills. Two were private relief measures and three were legislative

issues: National Wildlife Refuge System, Farm Labor Contractor Registration, and Rehabilitation Act Amendments.

I have determined on advice of the Attorney General that the absence of my signature from these bills prevented them from becoming law. Without in any way qualifying this determination, I also returned them without approval to those designated by the Congress to receive messages during the adjournment period.

If the Congress should elect to challenge these vetoes by overriding them, there could be a prolonged legal uncertainty over this legislation. However, I would welcome new legislation to replace the measures which were vetoed.

Specifically, while the *Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act Amendments* contained worthwhile provisions to protect migrant farm workers, an unrelated rider arbitrarily would have reclassified and elevated certain Federal employees to important Administrative Law Judge positions, regardless of their qualifications. I, therefore, urge the Congress to pass the essential sections of the vetoed bill without the personnel provision which would create serious pay inequities by legislatively over-compensating a particular class of employees in one executive department.

Similarly, the intent of the *Rehabilitation Act Amendments* section of H.R. 14225 is worthwhile. But the features which would force the creation of new and unnecessary bureaucracies in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare prompted my veto.

I have requested the Secretary of HEW to work with Congressional leaders in an effort to correct the serious difficulties in administration and accountability contained in the vetoed bill.

Although it was necessary to return to the Congress without my approval the *Freedom of Information Act Amendments* on October 17th, the day the Congress adjourned, I continue to endorse the intent of that legislation. I have already submitted to the Congress amendments which would eliminate the national security information problems and the damage to effective law enforcement inherent in the bill which I vetoed. I pledge the full efforts of the Administration in working out a fair, responsible way to increase public access to Federal papers and records without impairing individual rights and essential Government activities.

Just before adjournment, I also vetoed the *Atomic Energy Act Amendments*. I objected to a provision I consider to be unconstitutional. Because of this provision, the bill would not have become effective, even had I approved it, unless a Joint Committee of the Congress subsequently took affirmative action. I urge passage of a new measure removing the constitutional objection to section 12 of the vetoed bill, thereby eliminating the legal uncertainties which would becloud the entire nuclear energy program.

During the adjournment, I signed into law a bill overhauling the *Commodity Exchange Act*. This is an important step to assure full confidence in Federal regulation of commodity futures trading. Nevertheless, there are several provisions which need revision. First is the requirement for concurrent submission to the Congress and to the President of both the new Commission's budget and legislative proposals, and second is the need for Senate confirmation of a non-Presidential appointee.

These provisions run contrary to good management of the Executive Branch by the President and the traditional separation of powers. I hope these Constitutional and policy questions can be resolved.

OTHER MAJOR LEGISLATION

In addition to pending nominations, economic legislation and energy issues, there are a number of other important bills awaiting final action by the Congress.

In today's world, all nations are interdependent. The United States owes it to itself, as well as to others, to provide military and economic assistance which may mean the difference between stability and instability in a global or regional context. Where there is instability, there is danger—danger of conflict which can involve the greatest as well as the smallest.

The *Foreign Aid Authorization* bill before you represents a sincere effort to reflect the realities of today's world. It remains my assessment of the minimum which is needed to sustain our peaceful objectives.

I urge the Congress to move quickly to enact legislation which will help to achieve these objectives and meet our moral, political and security obligations. If such legislation is to enable us to effectively carry forward the foreign policy of the Nation, it must not tie the hands of the President nor restrict his authority and ability to act when action is called for.

Also important to the achievement of our objectives overseas is legislation to enable the United States to contribute its fair share to the various multilateral development institutions and, at the same time, provide continued incentives to other nations to join in these international assistance efforts.

In order for the United States to maintain its strong position in foreign markets, it is important that the Congress pass the Export-Import Bank bill and avoid attaching unnecessary encumbrances.

The Congress is making good progress on the Administration's proposal to improve the regulatory climate in an important portion of the transportation industry. *The Surface Transportation Act*, as reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, is a beginning in the overall area of regulatory reform. This bill, with certain modifications to insure greater reliance on competitive market forces, would contribute substantially to the efficiency and vitality of this Nation's railroad system. I urge the Congress to complete its work on this vital legislation without waiting for the establishment of the National Commission on Regulatory Reform.

Earlier this year, legislation was submitted to provide reasonable increases in the size and weights of trucks traveling on interstate highways. These increases were to offset the economic disadvantages to truckers resulting from lower permissible speed and higher fuel costs. The Senate passed a bill containing most of the features of the Administration's proposal while a similar bill did not pass in the House. I ask the Congress for early action on this issue in the interest of economic efficiency and fuel conservation.

I also urge the Congress to act promptly to pass the *National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974*. This bill has been developed through close cooperation between the Congress and the Administration.

It will provide the Nation's cities with the Federal financial assistance needed to help them meet priority urban mass transportation needs. This bill establishes a long-term assistance program for mass transit—actually, for six years—and distributes a significant portion of the funds according to a simple and equitable formula. It also provides for an enhanced role for the Governors and local officials in mass transit decisions.

I consider the total dollar level of \$11.8 billion over a six-year period to be at the upper limits of fiscal responsibility. The needs of the cities and the uncertainties and delays that would result from waiting until the next Congress for a transit bill make it imperative that this Congress act before adjournment sine die.

In 1972, the Judicial Conference of the United States recommended the creation of 51 additional Federal District Court judgeships in 33 separate judicial districts across the country. Senate hearings on legislation incorporating this proposal were concluded in 1973. To date, however, this legislation has not been scheduled for floor action. The increasing backlog in the Federal courts makes this measure an urgent national necessity of a non-partisan nature—for justice delayed is too often justice denied.

Earlier this session, the House passed a bill to codify, for the first time in our history, evidentiary rules governing the admissibility of proof in Federal courts. This bill is the culmination of some 13 years of study by distinguished judges, lawyers, Members of the Congress and others interested in and affected by the administration of justice in the Federal system. The measure will lend uniformity, accessibility, intelligibility and a basis for reform and growth in our evidentiary rules which are sadly lacking in current law. I strongly urge final action on this important bill prior to the conclusion of this Congress.

With respect to the *Vietnam Era Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act*, I urge the Congress to reconsider the action it has taken to date and send me instead legislation providing a straightforward 18.2 percent cost of living increase, effective January 1, 1975. Increased payments for our veterans in school are necessary. But while acknowledging our great debt to those who served during the Vietnam era, I must insist on a fiscally responsible bill on behalf of all Americans. I object to the inflationary 22.7 percent rate increase, retroactive to September 1, 1974, the direct loan program which the Congress has added and the extension of educational benefits allowing Vietnam era veterans to attend school for 45 instead of the present 36 months. This extra entitlement goes beyond the standard for World War II and Korea veterans.

The Energy Transportation Security Act of 1974 would require a percentage of imported petroleum to be carried on U.S. vessels. Although I fully support a strong U.S. merchant marine, I am seriously concerned about problems which this bill raises in the areas of foreign relations, national security, and perhaps most significantly, the potential inflationary impact of cargo preference.

Administration officials have testified during congressional hearings on our concerns about the impact of this bill.

The House-Senate conferees adopted new language concerning the waiver provision so that the requirements of this bill "may be temporarily waived by the President upon determination that an emergency exists justifying such a waiver in the national interest." However, the

legislative history of the waiver does not expressly demonstrate that the Congress intends it to be broad in scope.

The potential problems which could arise if this bill becomes law require a provision which will permit the President to waive its requirements for economic as well as foreign affairs and national defense reasons. Since the waiver language in the bill is not explicit, the Conference Committee Report should make it clear that the Congress intends to grant broad waiver authority.

Other provisions in the bill which concern me are: the narrowness of the definition of which ships are eligible to participate in this trade, the rebate of oil import fees and the unnecessary anti-pollution requirement that vessels serving certain ports be built with expensive double bottoms.

Another measure on which action is required is comprehensive health insurance. I will continue to seek agreement with the Congress on legislation centered on principles incorporated in the Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan. To keep this program from feeding inflation, however, the Congress will have to join with me in cutting Federal expenditures before we can afford this program.

Included in the *Military Construction Authorization and Appropriation* bills now before the Congress are funds for completing projects and initiating new ones at installations in 42 States and the District of Columbia. I reiterate my strong conviction that the limited expansion of facilities on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean is of critical importance.

CONCLUSION

This list of legislative priorities represents a streamlined action program for the Nation. To achieve results will require partnership, not partisanship, on the part of both the executive and the legislative branches. It will mean long days and nights of hard work—of communication, conciliation, compromise, and cooperation between the White House and the Congress, the House and the Senate, and majority and minority within the Congress itself.

But it must be done for one overriding reason: America needs these actions. And the American people rightly expect us to do everything we can to accomplish them.

I pledge my full cooperation with the Congress in the weeks ahead. I am confident that the Congress will respond in the same spirit.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 17, 1974.

Sugar Imports

*Statement by the President on Signing
Proclamation 4334. November 18, 1974*

I am announcing actions designed to (1) insure the continued flow of sugar into this country from abroad and (2) encourage increased production domestically at the

same time. The actions I am taking will maintain duties on sugar imports at the lowest permissible rate under the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

The Sugar Act is scheduled to expire on December 31, 1974. If no action is taken, tariffs on imported sugar will rise about 1.3 cents per pound on January 1, 1975. The law provides, however, that the President can continue the current rates in force if his proclamation extending the

rates includes a quota on sugar imports. I have, therefore, decided to extend the current tariff rates and will set an annual global quota of 7 million short tons for 1975. That quantity is more than adequate to meet anticipated import requirements. At the same time, it will ensure a degree of stability for our own sugar industry to operate effectively in a period of very tight supplies.

Although there is no risk we will run out of sugar, we may well experience higher prices than we would like until production catches up with demand. Users of sugar can help ease prices by buying wisely, conserving supplies, and consuming less sugar. I urge all Americans to reduce the amount of sugar in cooking and to put in half the amount usually used to sweeten coffee or tea.

The world sugar supply has tightened markedly in recent months. For the past 3 crop years, world sugar production has been rising. But even so, consumption has exceeded production by a small margin. Crop setbacks this year in a number of countries will prevent production from keeping pace with the normal growth of consumption. Since sugar production this year is expected to be about the same as last, worldwide sugar supplies will continue to be tight. Because we in this country import about one-half of the sugar we consume, we are directly affected by this worldwide problem. So far this year, our foreign suppliers have shipped 10 percent more sugar to the United States than last year.

The Council on Wage and Price Stability is working with sugar-using industries to stimulate conservation in the use of sugar. The Council will also hold public hearings to examine the margins charged by sugar processors, refiners, and distributors. The purpose of these hearings will be to ensure that the retail prices of sugar and sugar products are not unduly increased.

In the past, sharp increases in sugar prices have always been temporary, because they stimulated offsetting production increases of sugarcane and sugar beets. I have asked Secretary Butz to ensure that all American farmers are made aware of the excellent market opportunities offered by sugar beets and sugarcane and to make sure that there are no governmental impediments to increased production.

Early season contracting between farmers and processors could be very helpful in 1975, and long-term contracting between U.S. refiners and foreign suppliers could be very beneficial as well. Our traditional foreign sugar suppliers who have benefited from our sugar program in the past are also urged to continue providing sugar to our market.

Finally, I have directed the Economic Policy Board to monitor the sugar situation on a weekly basis and to report to me any signs of speculation or market activity in world and domestic markets that would worsen the tight supply situation we face this year.

The Administration recognized the inconveniences worked on the average American citizen by the current

sugar situation. It will continue to do everything it can to improve matters and to remove some of the uncertainties for the future.

NOTE: For the text of Proclamation 4334, see the following item.

Sugar Imports

*Proclamation 4334. Dated November 16, 1974.
Released November 18, 1974*

ESTABLISHMENT OF TARIFFS AND QUOTA ON CERTAIN SUGARS, SIRUPS AND MOLASSES

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

1. WHEREAS, pursuant to section 201(a) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (19 U.S.C. 1821(a)), on June 30, 1967, the President entered into a trade agreement consisting of the Geneva (1967) Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including a schedule of United States concessions annexed thereto (hereinafter referred to as "Schedule XX (Geneva—1967)"), together with the Final Act Authenticating the Results of the 1964–67 Trade Conference Held under the Auspices of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement, and, by Proclamation No. 3822 of December 16, 1967 (82 Stat. 1455) proclaimed such modifications of existing duties and other import restrictions of the United States and such continuance of existing customs or excise treatment of articles imported into the United States as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out that agreement on and after January 1, 1968;

2. WHEREAS, among such modifications and continuances, was Note 1 of Unit A, Chapter 10, Part I of Schedule XX (Geneva—1967);

3. WHEREAS, Headnote 2, Subpart A, Part 10 of Schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202, hereinafter referred to as (TSUS)), which was added to the TSUS by Proclamation No. 3822 on the basis of said note 1 referred to in recital 2, provides in relevant part as follows:

2. The rates in column numbered 1 in items 155.20 and 155.30 on January 1, 1968, shall be effective only during such time as Title II of the Sugar Act of 1948 or substantially equivalent legislation is in effect in the United States . . . *Provided,*

(i) That, if the President finds that a particular rate not lower than such January 1, 1968, rate, limited by a particular quota, may be established for any articles provided for in item 155.20 or 155.30, which will give due consideration to the interests in the United States sugar market of

domestic producers and materially affected contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, he shall proclaim such particular rate and such quota limitation, to be effective not later than the 90th day following the termination of the effectiveness of such legislation;

4. WHEREAS, Section 201(a)(2) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 authorizes the President to proclaim the modification or continuance of any existing duty or other import restriction or such additional import restrictions as he determines to be required or appropriate to carry out any trade agreement entered into under the authority of that Act;

5. AND WHEREAS it is determined that the rates and quota limitation hereinafter established are appropriate to carry out the portion of a trade agreement referred to in recitals 2 and 3, and give due consideration to the interests in the United States sugar market of domestic producers and materially affected contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, including Section 201(a)(2) of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and in conformity with Headnote 2 of Subpart A of Part 10 of Schedule 1 of the TSUS do hereby proclaim until otherwise superseded by law:

(1) Subpart A, Part 10, Schedule 1 of the TSUS is modified by adding thereto a new headnote as follows:

(3) The total amount of sugars, sirups, and molasses described in items 155.20 and 155.30, the products of all foreign countries, entered in any calendar year shall not exceed, in the aggregate, 7,000,000 short tons, raw value. For the purposes of this headnote, the term "raw value" means the equivalent of such articles in terms of ordinary commercial raw sugar testing 96 degrees by the polariscope as determined in accordance with regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury. The principal grades and types of sugar shall be translated into terms of raw value in the following manner:

(i) For sugar described in item 155.20, by multiplying the number of pounds thereof by the greater of 0.93, or 1.07 less 0.0175 for each degree of polarization under 100 degrees (and fractions of a degree in proportion).

(ii) For sugar described in item 155.30, by multiplying the number of pounds of the total sugars thereof (the sum of the sucrose and reducing or invert sugars) by 1.07.

(iii) The Secretary of the Treasury shall establish methods for translating sugar into terms of raw value for any special grade or type of sugar for which he determines that the raw value cannot be measured adequately under the above provisions.

(2) The rate of duty in rate column numbered 1 for items 155.20 and 155.30 is established as follows:

155.20----- 0.6625¢ per lb. less 0.009375¢ per lb. for each degree under 100 degrees (and fractions of a degree in proportion) but not less than 0.428125¢ per lb.

155.30----- Dutiable on total sugars at the rate per lb. applicable under Item 155.20 to sugar testing 100 degrees

(3) The provisions of this proclamation shall become effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption on and after January 1, 1975, and shall remain in effect until the President otherwise proclaims or until otherwise superseded by law.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:17 p.m., November 18, 1974]

NOTE: For a statement by the President on signing the proclamation, see the preceding item.

Energy Resources Council

*Executive Order 11819. Dated November 16, 1974.
Released November 18, 1974*

MEMBERSHIP OF THE ENERGY RESOURCES COUNCIL

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States of America, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, particularly section 108 of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, section 2 of Executive Order No. 11814 of October 11, 1974, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The Council shall consist of the Secretary of the Interior, who shall be its Chairman, the Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Transportation, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration, the Administrator of the Energy Research and Development Administration (upon entry into office), the Administrator of the Environmental Pro-

tection Agency, the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, the Director of the National Science Foundation, the Executive Director of the Domestic Council, the Administrator of General Services, the Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs, and such other members as the President may, from time to time, designate. The Chairman of the Federal Power Commission is invited to attend meetings of the Council."

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 16, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:17 p.m.,
November 18, 1974]

U.S. Forces in NATO Europe

The President's Message to the Congress Submitting a Fourth Quarterly Report on the Effect of the Deployment of U.S. Forces on the Balance of Payments. Dated November 17, 1974. Transmitted November 18, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 812(d) of the Department of Defense Appropriation Authorization Act, 1974 (Public Law 93-155), I am pleased to submit a report to the Congress on our further progress toward offsetting the balance of payments deficit resulting from the deployment of U.S. forces in NATO Europe.

I am now able to provide you with figures for U.S. expenditures in NATO Europe during fiscal year 1974. These figures were compiled by the Department of Commerce in consultation with the Department of Defense and the General Accounting Office. They indicate that in FY 74 the expenditures resulting from the deployment of U.S. forces in fulfillment of our NATO commitments and obligations amounted to \$1,983 million (including preliminary fourth quarter data subject to revision). Attached to this report is an appendix showing how this figure was derived and what adjustments were made to conform our normal expenditure data to the letter and intent of Section 812. Minor changes in this data may occur as final quarter fiscal year 1974 figures are confirmed during the next few weeks.

As President Nixon reported to the Congress on May 16, 1974, the offset agreement concluded in April 1974 with the Federal Republic of Germany had a dollar value of approximately \$2.22 billion over fiscal years 1974 and 1975. Of that amount, the fiscal year 1974 portion, approximating \$1.1 billion, will be directly applicable toward meeting the requirements of Section 812, leaving approximately \$883 million to be offset by our other European NATO allies.

As I noted in my report of August 20, 1974, the NATO Economic Directorate, at the direction of the North Atlantic Council, has established a mechanism for identifying allied purchases of military-related items from the United States. This was an essential step to enable us to comply with the requirements of Section 812. Representatives of the Economic Directorate consulted in Washington on October 21-22 with the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense and reported that approximately \$1,050 million in purchases by allies other than the Federal Republic of Germany have been identified.

The Departments of Commerce and Defense have sought to confirm this figure by examining the U.S. balance of payments accounts and records in an effort to identify balance of payments receipts reflecting military-related sales and exports to our European NATO allies, on both a government-to-government and commercial category basis. However, this data is still incomplete and the U.S. accounting system in many cases is too aggregated to identify all of the specific purchases and payments made by the European members of NATO. For this reason our calculation of the final offset total will take into account the information being provided through the NATO Economic Directorate by our European NATO allies. On the basis of the foregoing, I continue to expect that the requirements of Section 812 will be met.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 17, 1974.

APPENDIX

A. U.S. Defense Expenditures Entering the International Balance of Payments in NATO Europe During Fiscal Year 1974, (in millions of dollars):	
Personal expenditures by US Military and Civilian Personnel and their Dependents.....	815
Payments to Foreign Nationals for direct and contract hire	561
Major Equipment purchased in NATO Europe.....	81
Construction	75
NATO Infrastructure System Payments.....	76
Petroleum Products (includes cost of crude oil imported into Europe).....	137
Materials and Supplies.....	148
Payments to US and foreign contractors for contractual services	444
All Other Payments (net).....	66
Total for Fiscal Year 1974 (preliminary).....	2,403
B. Deductions Made Pursuant to Section 812 for Expenditures not Resulting From the Deployment of US Forces in Fulfillment of our NATO Commitments and Obligations (in millions of dollars):	
Expenditures for US activities not related to NATO such as US strategic forces in NATO countries.....	279
Major equipment purchased in NATO Europe and imported into the US and unrelated to US troop deployments in Europe.....	81
Expenditures in NATO Europe for the afloat operations of the Sixth Fleet for US strategic purposes.....	60
Total for Fiscal Year 1974 (preliminary).....	420
C. Expenditures Less Deductions.....	1,983

Federal Power Commission

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Daniel T. Kingsley Upon Mr. Kingsley's Request That His Nomination as a Member of the Commission Not Be Resubmitted to the Senate. November 19, 1974

November 16, 1974

Dear Dan:

I accept with deep regret your request that I not resubmit your name in nomination as a Commissioner of the Federal Power Commission. I very much appreciate the generous spirit which prompted your decision.

During your time in government, both at GSA and in the White House, you have been admired by your colleagues for the quality and diligence of your efforts. Your performance of difficult duties has earned great respect. I am hopeful that you will find it possible to serve the Administration in some other capacity so that we may continue to benefit from the contributions you can make to government.

With warm regards,
Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

November 16, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I am deeply grateful for your continued support of my nomination to the Federal Power Commission. However, I believe the time has now come for me to respectfully request that you not resubmit this nomination. I make this request without any concern whatsoever that I would not be confirmed by the Senate, but with the knowledge that any confirmation hearings of one who has been associated with the White House for the last three years, however spotless his record may be, are subject to the natural controversy that is the unfortunate product of the political climate of the last two years. In my opinion, the importance to the country of your legislative program, the confirmation of your other outstanding nominees, and the general spirit of harmony and cooperation with the Congress does not allow the luxury of the possible controversy that might result from my confirmation hearings.

Mr. President, you have made a remarkable record under the most trying circumstances in your first one hundred days in office. I can assure you that as you continue to seek the objectives of lasting peace and a genuine prosperity at home, you will have my total and enthusiastic support.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL T. KINGSLEY
Special Assistant to the President

United States Ambassador to Barbados and Grenada

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Theodore R. Britton, Jr. November 19, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Theodore R. Britton, Jr., of the Bronx, N.Y., to be Ambassador to Barbados and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador to the State of Grenada. He will succeed Eileen R. Donovan, who has resigned.

Since 1971, Mr. Britton has been Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. From 1967 to 1971, he was president of American Baptist Management Corporations. In 1964, he was named manager of real estate for the American Baptist Home Mission Societies, serving until 1967. From 1948 to 1955, he was the business manager for the New York City Mission Society, then mortgage officer for the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association and the Capital Mortgage Corporation of Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Britton was born on October 17, 1925, in North Augusta, S.C. He received his B.A. degree from New York University in 1952 and did additional graduate work at New York University Graduate School of Business. He served in the United States Marine Corps from 1944 to 1951.

Mr. Britton is married to the former Ruth Baker, and they have five children. They reside in Washington, D.C.

Office of Management and Budget

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Hugh E. Witt To Be Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy. November 19, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Hugh E. Witt, of Alexandria, Va., to be Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-400 of August 30, 1974.

Since June 1974, Mr. Witt has served as Deputy Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget and Assistant for Procurement Policy to the Director. In September of 1973, he was named Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logis-

tics). From October of 1970 to September of 1973, he was Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Logistics). He became Assistant Deputy for Procurement Policy in 1960, serving until 1970.

Mr. Witt was born on November 18, 1921, in Winchester, Ky. He received his B.S. degree from the University of Kentucky in 1943. He also did graduate work at George Washington University, and in 1957 received his M.A. from M.I.T.

Mr. Witt is married to the former Janie Bryan and they reside in Alexandria, Va.

Digest of Other

White House Announcements

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

November 19

The President has accepted the following resignations:

WALTER H. ANNENBERG as U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom, effective on a date to be determined;

MRS. STANLEY HATHAWAY as a member of the Advisory Committee on the Arts of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, effective November 18, 1974;

JOSEPH S. RADOM as a member of the National Advisory Council on Education Professions Development, effective November 18, 1974;

JOHN Y. ING as a member of the Board of Governors of the United States Postal Service, effective October 21, 1974;

SHELDON B. LUBAR as Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for Housing Production and Mortgage Credit and Federal Housing Commissioner, effective November 30, 1974.

The President has acknowledged the retirement from active service of George Templar as a United States District Judge for the District of Kansas, effective November 1, 1974.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report on the 1973 upland cotton program.

November 20

The White House announced that the President has designated Chief Justice Warren E. Burger to serve as his Personal Representative with the rank of Special Ambassador at funeral services for Erskine Childers, President of Ireland, in Dublin on Thursday, November 21, 1974. The U.S. delegation to the funeral services also includes: John D. J. Moore, U.S. Ambassador to Ireland; Senator James L. Buckley of New York; and Thomas Francis Murphy, president of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union of America.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted November 18, 1974

CHARLES W. ROBINSON, of California, to be Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, vice William J. Casey.

LEONARD F. WALENTYNOWICZ, of New York, to be Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State.

FRANK C. CARLUCCI, of Pennsylvania, a Foreign Service officer of the Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Portugal.

THOMAS J. MESKILL, of Connecticut, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, vice J. Joseph Smith, retired.

JOEL M. FLAUM, of Illinois, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois, vice Phillip W. Tone, elevated.

STANLEY B. MILLER, of Indiana, to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of Indiana for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

JOHN F. GERRY, of New Jersey, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey, vice James A. Coolahan, retired.

EDWARD N. CAHN, of Pennsylvania, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice John Morgan Davis, retired.

JUAN R. TORREVELLA DEL VALLE, of Puerto Rico, to be United States District Judge for the District of Puerto Rico, vice Hiram R. Cancio, resigned.

D. DWAYNE KEYES, of California, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of California for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

PETER C. DORSEY, of Connecticut, to be United States Attorney for the District of Connecticut for the term of 4 years, vice Stewart H. Jones, resigned.

EARL J. SILBERT, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, vice Harold H. Titus, Jr., resigned.

JOHN L. BRIGGS, of Florida, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Florida for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

DAVID C. MERANE, of Wisconsin, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Wisconsin for the term of 4 years, vice John O. Olson, resigned.

FRANK X. KLEIN, JR., of California, to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of California for the term of 4 years, vice George E. Tobin, term expired.

KENNETH M. LINK, SR., of Missouri, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Missouri for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

EDWARD S. KING, of New York, to be United States Marshal for the Western District of New York for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted November 18, 1974—Continued

JAMES R. DURHAM, SR., of North Carolina, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of North Carolina for the term of 4 years, vice James W. Norton, Jr., term expired.

JOSE A. LOPEZ, of Puerto Rico, to be United States Marshal for the District of Puerto Rico for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

MARSHALL F. ROUSSEAU, of Texas, to be United States Marshal for the Southern District of Texas for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

WILLIAM E. AMOS, of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1980 (reappointment).

GEORGE J. REED, of Oregon, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1980 (reappointment).

JAMES M. DAY, of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (new position).

JOHN WILLIAM KAUFFMAN, of New Jersey, to be a member of the Board of Regents, National Library of Medicine, Public Health Service, for a term expiring August 3, 1977, vice William O. Baker, term expired.

EDDIE G. SMITH, JR., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Regents, National Library of Medicine, Public Health Service, for a term expiring August 3, 1976, vice Max Michael, Jr., term expired.

MARJORIE W. LYNCH, of Washington, to be Deputy Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (new position).

MURRAY SALTZMAN, of Indiana, to be a member of the Commission on Civil Rights, vice The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, resigned.

EDWARD E. DAVID, JR., of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1976, vice Rudolph A. Peterson, term expired.

VIRGINIA DUNCAN, of California, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1976, vice Thomas B. Curtis, resigned.

AMOS B. HOSTETTER, JR., of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1978, vice Theodore W. Braun, resigned.

JOSEPH COORS, of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1980, vice Albert L. Cole, term expired.

LUCIUS PERRY GREGG, JR., of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1980, vice James R. Killian, Jr., term expired.

LILLIE E. HERNDON, of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1980, vice Frank Pace, Jr., term expired.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted November 18, 1974—Continued

JOHN WHITNEY PETTIT, of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1980, vice Robert S. Benjamin, term expired.

DURWARD BELMONT VARNER, of Nebraska, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1980, vice Jack J. Valenti, term expired.

BERT A. GALLEGOS, of Colorado, to be Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, vice Alvin J. Arnett, resigned.

PAUL H. O'NEILL, of Virginia, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget (new position).

SKLDEN G. HILL, of Florida, to be a member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term of 2 years (new position).

MELVIN A. CONANT, of New York, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration (new position).

MAJ. GEN. FRANCIS PAUL KOISCH, 127-03-8527, United States Army, to be a member and president of the Mississippi River Commission, under the provisions of Section 2 of an Act of Congress, approved 28 June 1879 (21 Stat. 37) (33 U.S.C. 642).

WILMER RICHARD HALL, of Tennessee, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission for a term of 9 years, vice Frederic H. Kellogg, resigned.

The following-named persons to be members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for terms expiring July 19, 1979:

JOSEPH BECKER, of California (reappointment).
CARLOS A. CUADRA, of California (reappointment).
JOHN E. VELDE, JR., of Illinois (reappointment).

The following-named persons to be members of the National Council on Educational Research for terms expiring June 11, 1977:

LARRY A. KARLSON, of Washington, vice James S. Coleman, term expired.
ARTHUR M. LEE, of Arizona, vice Vincent J. McCoola, term expired.
JAMES GARDNER MARCH, of California, vice Vera M. Martinez, term expired.
CARL H. FROEHEIMER, JR., of New York (reappointment).
WILSON C. RILES, of California (reappointment).

ROBERT E. HUGHES, of New York, to be an Assistant Director of the National Science Foundation, vice Thomas B. Owen, resigned.

Submitted November 19, 1974

THEODORE R. BRITTON, JR., of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Barbados, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Grenada.

HUGH E. WITT, of Virginia, to be Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy (new position).

**ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT**

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.

November 21, 1974

EDITOR'S NOTE: On November 21, 1974, a bill became law without the President's signature. H.R. 12471 was vetoed by the President in a message to the House of Representatives on October 17, 1974 (see page 1318 of this volume of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). The veto was overridden by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The legislative number, public law number, and title of the act are as follows:

**ACTS APPROVED BY
THE PRESIDENT—Continued**

H.R. 12471----- Public Law 93-502
An act to amend section 552 of title 5, United States Code, known as the Freedom of Information Act.

**CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE
PRESS RELEASES**

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

November 18, 1974

Fact sheet: on the President's message to the Congress on legislative priorities

The President's Trip to Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Soviet Union

Editor's Note

At the closing time of this issue, the President was in the Soviet Union. Releases relating to the trip will be printed in next week's issue.

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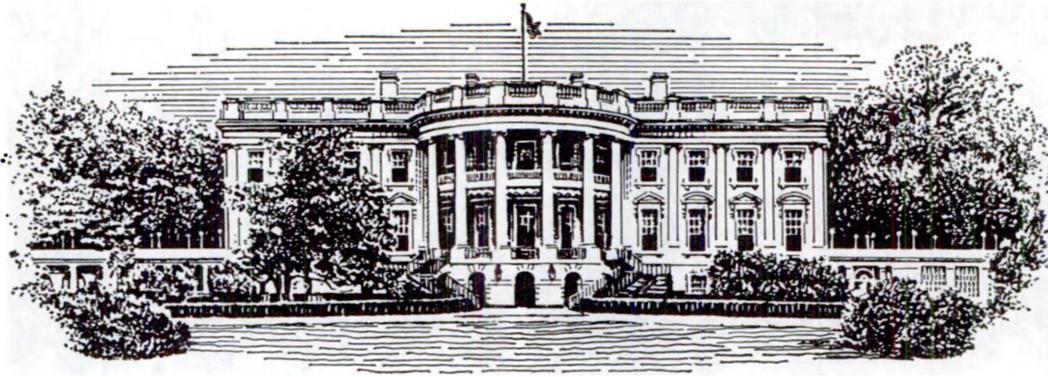
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Weekly Compilation of
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**THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO JAPAN,
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA,
AND THE SOVIET UNION**

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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, November 29, 1974

The President's Trip to Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Soviet Union

Remarks¹ of the President Upon Departure From the White House. November 17, 1974

Let me just say a word or two, and at the outset thank all of my friends for coming out to see us off.

I think this trip has great significance, both as to timing and as to substance. We all live in an interrelated world. No longer can we, in the United States, think in the terms of isolationism. What we do overseas has great significance for some of the problems that we have here at home.

This, I think, can be defined as a quest for peace, to broaden it, to strengthen it. And as I said in Arizona earlier this week, I would rather travel 1,000 miles for peace than take a single step for war.

We are visiting three great countries. The first is Japan, the first visit of an American President, on a state visit, to that great country. We have a special relationship with Japan, and although we are separated by the broadest of oceans, we have the closest of friendships.

We also will be stopping in the Republic of Korea, a courageous and brave ally, an ally that joins with us in preserving peace in that part of the world.

The trip to the Soviet Union has special significance. There has been a tremendous effort over the years to broaden an effort of peace throughout the world, and I look forward to participating in an ever-increasing strengthening of our ties with the Soviet Union.

I go with optimism. I think we, as Americans, can be optimistic about the progress that has been made and will be made. I go with a dedication of service to my fellow Americans, and a pride in our great country.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

¹ The remarks are reprinted from last week's issue in order to have complete coverage of the President's trip in this issue.

Anchorage, Alaska

The President's Remarks at Elmendorf Air Force Base. November 17, 1974

General Hill, Secretary Kissinger, Lieutenant Governor, Mayor Sullivan, Mayor Roderick, General Gamble, General Marks:

I guess I am what you Alaskans call a "chee cha coe," a newcomer. But I am no newcomer to the knowledge that this great land within another great land, the United States, is a great and wonderful partner of all of the rest of us in this great land.

There is something very special, I have observed, very special about the pioneer spirit that is not only alive but is growing in Alaska. Alaska gives all of us an inspiring farewell boost as Secretary Kissinger and I proceed to enhance the quest for peace and improved international relations.

I would like to commend Alaska for its determination to be a leading State in providing the United States with self-sufficiency in energy.

I commend you that Alaska is proceeding with careful and efficient planning, to produce more oil in harmony with appropriate environmental concerns. This is important for you and for the rest of us.

Personally, I am very proud to stop and visit with you for a few minutes today. It has been my good fortune to be in Alaska on several occasions in the past and travel over a good part of this great State.

Then, as now, it brought back the memories in the Congress of the United States where, on more than one occasion, I was called upon to vote on whether Alaska should be given statehood. You wouldn't be familiar with the record, but I am. I was proud then, and I am proud now, to have always voted for Alaskan statehood.

I deeply regret the very severe storm and flood damage that ravaged Nome and the Seward Peninsula area in recent days. It is a sad and tragic story, and, at the Governor's request, a major disaster declaration was issued by me in Washington so that the area could and will receive immediate assistance.

That is the least we can do, and with that assistance

goes our prayers for the very best under those difficult circumstances.

Quick action in this emergency must be taken to aid those affected and afflicted, the Eskimos and others, and we wish them the best in their hour of need.

The State of Alaska is geographically separated from our other States. It took us 7 hours and 20 minutes, I think, to fly from Washington, D.C., but let me say, with emphasis, Alaska is very close to our hearts, to all those in the Lower 48.

The hearty people of Alaska, together with the alert Armed Forces stationed in this very strategic area, are a source of great pride to all of us, all of us Americans.

Let me reassure you today that this Administration is energetically seeking world peace but remains very aware that the best insurance for peace is the maintenance of a first-class military force ready for action for the defense of America and freedom everywhere.

We have strong, ably led, well-equipped, dedicated, superb individuals in the Armed Forces of the United States, and I, as Commander in Chief, am very, very proud of the job that has been done and that will be done in defense of our country and freedom throughout the world.

Let me assure you that there will be no lessening in this Administration of my support for a strong Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, and the Coast Guard. All of us have an interest in the defense of Alaska. Your defense is our defense.

Just a few weeks ago the Secretary of Defense visited Alaska, and I am deeply interested in his recommendations. And upon my return from this mission abroad, I will discuss with the Secretary his recommendations for the strengthening of our defense forces in all of the United States, including Alaska.

Let me reassure Alaska on another subject. It relates to the depletion of our fishery resources by other nations. You can be sure that this matter is high on the agenda, on the list of priorities for diplomacy as far as I am concerned.

As I said at the beginning, I am departing today as a "chee cha coe," a newcomer, but I hope to return next week on my way home as a "sourdough."

I thank all of you for taking the time on a beautiful Sunday and coming to give me and my party a send-off welcome. I am deeply appreciative and very, very grateful. I can assure you that I and the others will do our best on an important and constructive mission.

I thank you all for the send-off. May God bless our efforts as we go forth from here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. at Elmendorf Air Force Base, Anchorage, Alaska.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Tokyo: Luncheon Honoring the President

The President's Toast at a Luncheon Hosted by Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. November 19, 1974

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, gentlemen:

The reception that I received upon arriving in Japan and the warm reception received during the day today is further proof of the great hospitality that the Japanese people have for the Americans.

This very kind and gracious hospitality—the warm reception is typical of the attitude of the Japanese Government and the Japanese people. When I stopped in Anchorage on the way to Japan, the last words I said to my fellow Americans were that although Japan and the United States were separated by the broadest of oceans, they were, on the other hand, the warmest of friends.

Mr. Prime Minister, you spent many years in your Parliament, and I spent better than 25 years in the Congress of the United States. I have a great liking for the Congress. I called it my home outside home.

I can't speak with any personal relationship to the Congress a hundred plus years ago when they were alleged to be lacking in civilization, but I would have to say in defense of the Congress today: Whether I agree with what they do or not, they are better behaved. [Laughter]

Let me assure you, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Ford deeply regrets she is not with me on this trip. She had long looked forward to visiting Japan, meeting the Japanese people, and she is terribly disappointed that it is impossible for her to be here on this occasion. I spoke with her on the telephone this morning. That didn't help any, because of her desire to be here. But I can say that she is here in spirit, if not in person, and she will come on some other occasions.

Mr. Prime Minister, the United States is a nation of citizens with many backgrounds, many ancestors. Some of our very finest citizens have a Japanese ancestry. We are proud of the tremendous contributions that they make to a better America. We are proud of them because of the significant contributions they have made to our culture, to our industry, to our trade, to our education, and to our Government.

Mr. Prime Minister, the dialogue that we began in Washington and which we have continued here in Tokyo indicates that we have many, many basic ties and many areas of common purpose. We have many problems, but the frank and open discussions that we have had and will continue to have involving areas of prosperity on a worldwide basis and peace on a global basis are beneficial to your country and to ours and to the world as a whole.

Our two countries, by working together, can significantly contribute to world peace, and we will. Our two nations, cooperating with one another, can make a significant contribution to prosperity in both of our countries and to the world at large.

Mr. Prime Minister, we must discuss and coordinate our economic policies in an era of energy shortages and some international monetary crises. We must work together in order to produce and distribute, make available the need of mankind for food throughout the world.

Mr. Prime Minister, we must join together in helping those nations throughout the world that are less fortunate than we. We have in the past and we will expand those efforts in the future.

In contemplating these problems, the expansion of peace and the betterment of the world economically, it is good to know that we can discuss the issues and problems in an attitude and an atmosphere of mutual understanding in a spirit of good will.

Mr. Prime Minister, let us join in a toast which honors the friendship and the collaboration between our people and our nations. This is a characterization of what is good for all and in the best interests of each.

To Japan.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. at the Prime Minister's official residence, Tokyo, Japan.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Tokyo: Banquet Honoring the President

The President's Toast at the Banquet at the Imperial Palace. November 19, 1974

Your Majesty, I am honored to be the guest of your Imperial Majesties, and it is with a very deep sense of this special moment that I speak this evening.

The first state visit of an American President to Japan is an occasion of very great importance to all of us. Your gracious hospitality symbolically honors the 213 million Americans that I have the honor to represent. I can reassure Japan that the United States is determined to perpetuate the unique ties that link our two nations for the common good.

Though separated by the broadest of oceans, Your Majesty, we have achieved between our two nations the closest of friendships. Our relationship transcends that of governments and heads of states. Each year, the ties binding Americans with Japanese increase in trade, science, culture, sports, and many other areas, including cherished personal contact between individuals.

We share a common devotion to moral and to spiritual strength. Our paths are not always identical, but they all

lead in the same direction—that of world peace and harmonious relations among mankind.

Let us continue to seek understanding with each other and among all peoples, Your Majesty. Let us trade, let us share and perpetuate the prosperity of both nations. Let us work together to solve common problems, recognizing the interdependence of the modern world in which we all live.

America, I can assure you, Your Majesty, is determined to do its part. It is in a spirit of respect, the spirit of admiration for the Japanese nation, in dedication of our continuing collaboration, and with sincere and deep-felt confidence in the future that I offer a toast to the health and to the well-being of your Imperial Majesties.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:56 p.m. at the Imperial Palace, Tokyo, Japan.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Tokyo: Japan Press Club

The President's Televised Remarks at a Press Club Luncheon at the Imperial Hotel. November 20, 1974

Mr. Watanabe, ladies and gentlemen:

As the first American President to visit Japan while in office, I greet you on this unprecedented occasion. I thank the Japanese Press Club for inviting me and the National Television Network of Japan for the opportunity to speak directly to the people of Japan.

I deeply appreciate the excellent coverage of my visit by the exceptional news media of Japan. I have always sought a good working relationship with the American journalists and have the same feeling toward their Japanese colleagues. It has been my objective at all times to treat journalists and all other people in the same manner that I would like to be treated.

I bring the warmest greetings of the American people. Our bipartisan political leadership in the American Congress sends its very best wishes. The distinguished leaders of both of America's national political parties have asked me to tell you of the very high value that all Americans attach to our partnership with Japan.

It is the American custom for the President to make a report every year to the Congress on our state of the Union. In the same spirit, I thought the people in Japan might welcome a report on the state of another union—the unity of American and Japanese mutual aspirations for friendship as Americans see that relationship.

In my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, a Japanese company is now assembling musical instruments. Not only are the instruments harmonious in the melodies they produce, but the labor-management relationship

followed by the Japanese created a model of harmony between workers and business.

In a nearby community, Edmore, another Japanese firm is manufacturing small electrical motors. This is yet another Japanese enterprise that has injected new energy, new goodwill in our industrial life. There are similar examples throughout America, and we welcome them.

The time has long passed when Americans speak only of what we contributed to your society. Today, traffic flows in both directions. We are both learning from each other.

To signify the value the United States attaches to partnership with Japan, I chose this to make my first overseas trip. I also met with your Ambassador to the United States on the first day that I assumed office, August 9.

I have long admired the richness and the diversity of Japan's culture, the products of your industry, the ingenuity, creativity, and the energy of your people, your courage as a fountain of resourcefulness in a troubled world.

My only regret is that Mrs. Ford could not join me on this visit in response to your very kind invitation. We both hope that she can come at some later date.

Americans are very proud of the way that we and the Japanese have worked together during the postwar period. We have had some disagreements, but we have remained friends and we have remained partners. Together, we created conditions under which both nations could prosper. Together we expanded our relations in trade and travel.

The reality of America's economic, political, and strategic interdependence with Japan is very obvious. America is Japan's greatest customer and supplier. Japan is America's greatest overseas trading partner. Japan is the best foreign customer for America's agricultural products.

The total trade between our two nations has doubled since 1970. It will surpass \$20 billion in 1974. American investments in Japan are the largest of any foreign state. Japan's investment in America is growing rapidly and accounts for one-fifth of all Japanese investment abroad.

The flow of Japanese visitors to the United States has grown from some 50,000 in 1966 to over 700,000 in 1974. This is also a two-way street: Over 350,000 Americans visited Japan last year, accounting for nearly one-half of all foreign visitors.

Together we removed the legacies of World War II. The reversion of Okinawa eliminated the last vestige of that war from our agenda. We have made independent but mutually compatible efforts to improve our relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. We have devised better channels for open consultation. I particularly want you to know that I understand the dangers of taking each other for granted.

As we talk to each other, we must ask each other what we regard as the central needs of our times.

First, of course, is peace. Americans and Japanese know the value of peace. We want to devote our resources and ourselves to building things, not tearing them down. We do not want to send our sons into battle again.

The alliance between Japan and the United States has helped to secure peace and can continue to help secure it. That alliance is not directed against any other country. It does not prevent us from improving our relations with other countries.

Our alliance does not signify that both nations subscribe fully to identical attitudes or identical styles. It does signify, however, that we clearly share a common resolve to maintain stability in East Asia, to help in the development of other countries that need our help, and to work together to encourage diplomatic and political rather than military solutions to world problems.

Our alliance was forged by peoples who saw their national interest in friendship and in cooperation. I am confident that our relations will remain solid and very substantial. I pledge that we shall work to make it so.

Peace, however, cannot be our sole concern. We have learned that there are many international threats and dangers that can affect the lives of our citizens. We face dwindling supplies of raw materials and food. We face international economic problems of great complexity. We must be more stringent in conservation than ever before.

We have worked together to solve the problems of the cold war. We succeeded because we worked together. Now we confront these new and even more complicated problems.

The Japanese reformer, Sakuma Shozan, wrote some lines in 1854 that provide an insight for 1974. Sakuma said, and I quote, "When I was twenty I knew that men were linked together in one province; when I was thirty I knew that they were linked together in one nation; when I was forty I knew that they were linked together in one world of five continents."

Now, 120 years later, the links between nations are closer than ever. Modern technology has made the world one. What each man or each nation does or fails to do affects every other.

Some Americans wondered why I decided to accept your invitation to come to Japan at a time when we have unsolved problems at home. I replied to those Americans that many of the problems we have at home are not just American problems but the problems of the world as a whole. Like others, we suffer from inflation. Like others, we face recession. Like others, we have to deal with rising prices and potential shortages of fuels and raw materials. America cannot solve those problems alone. Nations can only solve those problems by working together. Just as we worked together to maintain peace, we can work together to solve tomorrow's problems.

Our two nations provide the world with a model of what can be achieved by international cooperation. We can also provide a model for dealing with the new diffi-

culties. We both have great technological skills and human resources, great energy and great imagination. We both acknowledge the responsibility to developing states. We envisage the orderly and peaceful sharing of essential national resources. We can work together to meet the global economic issues.

We believe that we are not just temporary allies; we are permanent friends. We share the same goals—peace, development, stability and prosperity. These are not only praiseworthy and essential goals, but common goals.

The problems of peace and economic well-being are inextricably linked. We believe peace cannot exist without prosperity, prosperity cannot exist without peace, and neither can exist if the great states of the world do not work together to achieve it. We owe this to ourselves, to each other, and to all of the Japanese and the American peoples.

America and Japan share the same national pastime—baseball. In the game of baseball, two teams compete. But neither can play without the other, nor without common respect for each other and for the rules of the game.

I have taken the liberty of giving you my views on the world we live in. Now let me tell you, the Japanese people, a little bit about the American people. The American people have faced some difficult times in our history. They know they will face others in the future. Their burdens are enormous, both at home and abroad. Some observers, including American observers, say that Americans have lost their confidence, their sense of responsibility and their creativity. It is not true.

I have traveled over much of my country during the past year. Each time I return to Washington refreshed. Our people are determined and realistic; our people are vigorous. They are solving their problems in countless towns and cities across the country. They continue to understand that history has placed great responsibilities on American shoulders. Americans are ready and willing to play their part with the same strength and the same will that they have always shown in the past.

Americans also know that no nation, however strong, can hope to dictate the course of history by itself. But the ability to understand the basic issue, to define our national interest, and to make common cause with others to achieve common purposes makes it possible to influence events. And Americans are determined to do that for constructive purposes and in the true spirit of interdependence.

In that spirit, let me make a pledge to you today. As we face the problems of the future, the United States will remain faithful in our commitments and firm in the pursuit of our common goals. We intend not only to remain a trustworthy ally, but a reliable trading partner.

We will continue to be suppliers of goods you need. If shortages occur, we will take special account of the needs of our traditional trading partners. We will not compete with our friends for their markets or for their resources. We want to work with them.

The basic concepts of our foreign policy remain unchanged. Those concepts have a solid bipartisan and popular support. The American people remain strong, confident, and faithful. We may sometimes falter, but we will not fail.

Let me, if I might, end on a personal note. It is a privilege to be the first American President to visit Japan while in office. It is also a very great pleasure. I look forward to seeing Kyoto, the ancient capital of Japan.

Japan has preserved her cultural integrity in the face of rapid modernization. I have never believed all change is necessarily good. We must try to apply the enduring values of the past to the challenges and to the pressures of our times. Americans can learn from Japan to respect traditions even as we, like you, plunge ahead in the last quarter of the 20th century.

I also look forward to another deep privilege. Yesterday, during my call upon His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, I renewed our invitation for the Emperor to visit the United States. It would be a great pleasure to be the first American President to welcome the Emperor of Japan to Washington and to show His Imperial Majesty our national shrines and treasures, including the graceful Japanese cherry trees whose blossoms provide a setting for the monuments to the great heroes of our own past.

I hope that my visit shall be the first of many by American Presidents. I hope that the leaders of our two countries will follow the example that our peoples have already set, to visit each other frequently and freely as our nations move together to deal with the many common problems and concerns that will affect the lives of all our citizens and all humanity.

I said in my first Presidential address to the Congress that my Administration was based on communication, conciliation, compromise, and cooperation. This concept also guides my view of American policy towards Japan. We both have much work to do. Let us do it together. Let us also continue the quest for peace. I would rather walk a thousand miles for peace than take a single step toward war.

I thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, Japan. His remarks were broadcast live on nationwide Japanese television.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Tokyo: Reception for Members of the Diet

The President's Toast at a Reception for Members of the Japanese Legislature. November 20, 1974

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply grateful for the very kind remarks and the toast given to me and to my country.

It is very significant that I have an opportunity of joining with the members of your Diet.

I am sure all of you have recognized that I spent a quarter of a century of my political life as a member of our legislative body, the House of Representatives—or your Parliament.

This was a great experience for me. I think it is quite significant, in addition, that the first American President who visited your great country was an individual who had spent some time in the parliament or the legislature, the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, as Vice President.

This, in my judgment, gives a President a broader perspective of the problems, of the solutions. It has always been my feeling that a person who has served in a parliament or in a legislative body is extremely well qualified to understand the views of the people of a country, a person who is well qualified to seek a consensus or a solution to the problems, whether they be at home or abroad.

One of my very top staff members, a number of years ago—Mr. Rumsfeld—initiated with members from your Parliament, an exchange between Japanese parliamentarians and legislators from our Congress. It is my judgment that this exchange is a very, very important way of building a constructive relationship between your country and our country.

I was never privileged to participate in the Japanese-American interparliamentary group or exchange group, as I understand it is called. I did have an opportunity as a Member of the House of Representatives—our Congress—to be a member of the Interparliamentary Union Delegation on three or four occasions. And I found this exchange between parliamentarians of great benefit, a tremendous asset, and I hope and trust that in the years ahead this exchange between members of parliamentary groups will broaden, will be more extensive. It will be very helpful to each country, to all countries.

Let me conclude by saying that I am honored to be among a group that I grew up with in politics in my country. I understand your problems, I understand each and every one of you. I was always in the minority in our Congress. We always were trying to challenge the majority. We had many differences, but I have found that in the differences in a parliamentary group in our country—and I believe in yours—that you can disagree without being disagreeable, which in my opinion is a true test of the strength and the character of a parliamentary body.

The discussions that I have had with your Government have been constructive in seeking to solve problems—domestic, international.

The great opportunity that I had to meet with your Emperor and Empress, His Majesty and Her Majesty—it has been a great experience for me, and I thank them and the people of Japan for being so warm in their welcome. I will report to my people in the United States

that they have great friends in Japan, that our Governments are working together to seek solutions to the problems on a worldwide basis and between us, as two governments.

We are friends; we will work together, and we have a great future—the United States with the Government of Japan. And it is, therefore, my privilege and honor to offer a toast to your Government and to your people on behalf of my Government and the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:27 p.m. in the Akebono Room at the Hotel Okura, Tokyo, Japan.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Tokyo: Reception for Nongovernmental Dignitaries

*The President's Toast at a Reception at the Hotel Okura,
November 20, 1974*

Mr. Tashiro, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very high honor and a very rare privilege for me to have the opportunity of joining with all of you on this occasion.

The trip by me as the first American President in office coming to Japan has been a memorable one—one that I shall never forget—the opportunity to meet with Their Majesties, the opportunity to meet with your high government officials, the opportunity to share some thoughts with the members of the Diet. The opportunity to have a governmental exchange at the highest level is, of course, of great significance.

It has been my experience in 25 years of political life, when I served in the House of Representatives, to work hand-in-glove with other Members of the legislative branch and, of course, in later years as a member of the leadership, to work with the legislative and executive branch. And, of course, in the last 13 or so months, I have had the opportunity of serving in two offices in the executive branch.

I have learned, over a period of 26 years serving in the Federal Government, that all wisdom, all support for policies, doesn't necessarily come from Government, but primarily from people in nongovernmental organizations and individuals who are not directly connected with Government, itself.

And as I understand it, this group here on this occasion is a nongovernmental group of Japanese and Americans who have spent a great deal of your time working together in a nongovernmental capacity to support a greater unity between our country, the United States, and your country, Japan.

I compliment you, and I thank you. Your contribution is of tremendous significance. Governments, themselves, can't do it.

Decisions can be made at the government level, and in our society that is essential. But if those decisions are not supported, if those decisions are not explained by people in positions of responsibility in nongovernmental areas, it is impossible for those decisions to be successful.

I learned that early in my career in politics. I always could be more successful in working to find a solution if I had the support not only among politicians but by those people, whether they were in management, in labor, in education, in local government. So I am deeply grateful for what you have done in the past, and I strongly urge that you continue these efforts in the future, because the Japanese Government and the United States Government, after the 2 days of talks we have had, yesterday and today,

are embarking on a stronger unity, a stronger program of helping both in the maintenance of peace and the stimulation of prosperity. And this is what we want in Japan and in America and what we want for the rest of the world.

And so, what you do is of tremendous significance. What you do in explaining to the thousands of Americans who are here in Japan, what the Japanese who are here can do to explain to the millions of Japanese will not only be better for Japan and the United States but will be better for the world.

And I congratulate you, I thank you, and I wish you well. And may I offer a toast at this point to the Government of Japan and the millions and millions of Japanese.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:08 p.m. in the Heian Room at the Hotel Okura, Tokyo, Japan.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

TOKYO: JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Text of the Joint Communique Between President Ford and Prime Minister Tanaka Issued at the Conclusion of Their Meetings. November 20, 1974

I

President Ford of the United States of America paid an official visit to Japan between November 18 and 22 at the invitation of the Government of Japan. President Ford met Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Japan at the Imperial Palace on November 19.

II

In discussions held on November 19 and 20, President Ford and Prime Minister Tanaka agreed on the following common purposes underlying future relations between the United States and Japan.

1. The United States and Japan, Pacific nations sharing many political and economic interests, have developed a close and mutually beneficial relationship based on the principle of equality. Their friendship and cooperation are founded upon a common determination to maintain political systems respecting individual freedom and fundamental human rights as well as market economies which enhance the scope for creativity and the prospect of assuring the well-being of their peoples.

2. Dedicated to the maintenance of peace and the evolution of a stable international order reflecting the high purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the United States and Japan will continue to encourage the development of conditions in the Asia-Pacific area which will facilitate peaceful settlement of outstanding issues by the parties most concerned, reduce international tensions, promote the sustained and orderly growth of developing countries, and encourage constructive relationships among countries in the area. Each country will contribute to this task in the light of its own responsibilities and capabilities. Both countries recognize that cooperative relations between the United States and Japan under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and

Security constitute an important and durable element in the evolution of the international situation in Asia and will continue to plan an effective and meaningful role in promoting peace and stability in that area.

3. The United States and Japan recognize the need for dedicated efforts by all countries to pursue additional arms limitation and arms reduction measures, in particular controls over nuclear armaments, and to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices while facilitating the expanded use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Both countries underline the high responsibility of all nuclear-weapon states in such efforts, and note the importance of protecting non-nuclear-weapon states against nuclear threats.

4. The United States and Japan recognize the remarkable range of their interdependence and the need for coordinated responses to new problems confronting the international community. They will intensify efforts to promote close cooperation among industrialized democracies while striving steadily to encourage a further relaxation of tensions in the world through dialogue and exchanges with countries of different social systems.

5. In view of the growing interdependence of all countries and present global economic difficulties, it is becoming increasingly important to strengthen international economic cooperation. The United States and Japan recognize the necessity of the constructive use of their human and material resources to bring about solutions to major economic problems. The establishment of an open and harmonious world economic system is indispensable for international peace and prosperity and a primary goal of both nations. The United States and Japan will, to this end, continue to promote close economic and trade relations between the two countries and participate constructively in international efforts to ensure a continuing expansion of world trade through negotiations to reduce tariff and other trade distortions and to create a stable and balanced international monetary order. Both countries will remain committed to their international pledges to avoid actions which adversely affect the economies of other nations.

6. The United States and Japan recognize the need for a more efficient and rational utilization and distribution of world resources. Realizing the importance of stable supplies of energy at reasonable prices they will seek, in a manner suitable to their economies, to expand and diversify energy supplies, develop new energy sources, and conserve on the use of scarce fuels. They both attach great importance to enhancing cooperation among consuming countries and they intend, in concert with other nations, to pursue harmonious relations with producing nations. Both countries agree that further international cooperative efforts are necessary to forestall an economic and financial crisis and to lead to a new era of creativity and common progress. Recognizing the urgency of the world food problem and the need for an international framework to ensure stable food supplies, the United States and Japan will participate constructively in multilateral efforts to seek ways to strengthen assistance to developing countries in the field of agriculture, to improve the supply situation of agricultural products, and to assure an adequate level of food reserves. They recognize the need for cooperation among food producers and consumers to deal with shortage situations.

7. For the well-being of the peoples of the world, a steady improvement in the technological and economic capabilities of developing countries must be a matter of common concern to all nations. In recognition of the importance of assisting developing countries, particularly those without significant natural resources, the United States and Japan will, individually and with the participation and support of other traditional aid-donors and those newly able to assist, maintain and expand programs of cooperation through assistance and trade as those nations seek to achieve sound and orderly growth.

8. The United States and Japan face many new challenges common to mankind as they endeavor to preserve the natural environment and to open new areas for exploration such as space and the oceans. In broad cooperation with other countries, they will promote research and facilitate the exchange of information in such fields as science, technology and environmental protection, in an effort to meet the needs of modern society, improve the quality of life and attain more balanced economic growth.

9. The United States and Japan recognize that their durable friendship has been based upon the continued development of mutual understanding and enhanced communication between their peoples, at many levels and in many aspects of their lives. They will seek therefore to expand further cultural and educational interchange which fosters and serves to increase such understanding.

10. In the spirit of friendship and mutual trust, the United States and Japan are determined to keep each other fully informed and to strengthen the practice of frank and timely consultations on potential bilateral issues and pressing global problems of common concern.

11. Friendly and cooperative relations between the United States and Japan have grown and deepened over the years in many diverse fields of human endeavor. Both countries reaffirm that, in their totality, these varied relationships constitute major foundation stones on which the two countries base their respective foreign policies and form an indispensable element supporting stable international political and economic relations.

III

This first visit to Japan by an incumbent President of the United States of America will add a new page to the history of amity between the two countries.

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Tokyo, Japan.

Tokyo: Dinner Honoring the Emperor

The President's Toast at the Dinner Hosted by the President at the Akasaka Palace. November 20, 1974

Your Majesties:

I am honored to have the privilege of welcoming Your Imperial Majesties to this dinner this evening. It permits me to, in a small way, in a symbolic gesture, to reciprocate the wonderful hospitality so graciously extended to me this week.

It has been a period of enlightenment for me, and I will take home an inspiring impression of the possibilities available for an even greater friendship, greater cooperation, and interdependence of our two nations.

America is now approaching its national Bicentennial. Tonight I would like to recall another meaningful event that took place 114 years ago, on May 14, 1860. That was the day when the first diplomatic mission ever sent by Japan to another nation arrived in Washington, D.C., our National Capital.

I am very pleased, Your Majesties, to present on this

evening to all of our distinguished guests a token of the durability of American-Japanese friendship. It is a medal bearing the likeness of President Buchanan, who had the honor of welcoming the Japanese delegation to the historic East Room of the White House. Since that occasion, the American Government has never ceased to look to the East as well as to the West.

Our visitors then regarded us as Americans, as strange creatures, and observed us in every detail. It was with equal fascination that we viewed our Japanese visitors. We learned from each other then, and I and we are continuing to learn today.

The most important lesson that I have learned during this visit corresponds with a brilliant insight of one of the Japanese envoys on the first mission to the United States. The occasion was a visit to the New York home of the widow of Commodore Perry. The Japanese envoy expressed a very deep emotion at the realization that he was in the home of Commodore Perry and said, and I quote: "The time has come when no nation may remain isolated and refuse to take part in the affairs of the rest of the world."

That concept is even more compelling today. The links between our two nations can serve as a model for a world increasingly aware of the need for greater international cooperation. Accordingly, in recalling that first Japanese delegation to Washington, I pledge that my Government will not isolate itself from the world or from Japan.

On behalf of the Nation that I am privileged to represent, to lead, I reaffirm the spirit of friendship that endures between us. I reaffirm my determination to see that warm relationship continues and grows.

Your Majesties, in that spirit and with a heart filled with faith in the future and appreciation for our guests, I offer a toast to the health and to the well-being of Your Imperial Majesties.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 p.m. in the Banquet Hall at the Akasaka Palace, Tokyo, Japan.

Kyoto: Nijo Castle

The President's Remarks to Reporters Following a Visit to the Castle. November 21, 1974

I do want to thank all the people who have made this afternoon so interesting. It is an afternoon which has given us a special insight into the history and the traditions of Japan.

And I want to thank the young ladies here and the others who have shown us the several castles.

The culture of Japan certainly is an inspiration. It is different. It is something that by its simplicity inspires you to see what can come from hard work and a feeling of making the most out of what you have available, which

was the history of Japan in its early days, and then to see these beautiful instruments and fine playing by the young ladies—the beautiful costumes—I think it is a real inspiration for those of us who have had an opportunity to be here today in Kyoto, traditional capital of Japan.

I thank all of you and thank all of you for your thoughtfulness and your hospitality.

REPORTER. How is the trip going, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it has been a wonderful trip. It couldn't have been better, both substantively and otherwise.

Q. What have you enjoyed most, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. The opportunity to see not only the Government officials, but an opportunity to see a great deal of the Japanese history and people. It has been an inspiration as well as a very productive 3 days.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. at Nijo Castle, Kyoto, Japan.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Seoul: Arrival

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at Kimpo International Airport. November 22, 1974

Mr. President, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very pleased to return to the Republic of Korea, our faithful ally, on a mission of peace.

Twenty-one years have elapsed since I was last here in Korea. I was then a Congressman, a Member of our House of Representatives. Now I return as the third American President to visit you while in office. President Eisenhower came here in 1952 and again in 1960. President Johnson came in 1966. Those visits as well as mine demonstrate a close involvement of different American Administrations over a quarter of a century. They reflect the same reality—our long and friendly ties to the Korean people.

When I came to Korea in 1953, I saw a heart-rending scene. The Republic of Korea had been ravaged by war. You had made great sacrifices to repel aggression. Your economy was in ruins. I was deeply saddened by what I saw, but I was inspired by the determination of the Korean people to rebuild.

Today I am very happy to return. I want to see the great progress that so many have described so very vividly. I want to see for myself what you have built upon the ashes of war.

I am here, Mr. President, to reaffirm our friendship and to give it new life and meaning.

Nothing binds nations together closer than to have fought side by side for the same cause. Two times we have

stood together, here as well as in Vietnam, to preserve the peace, to preserve the stability of Asia and the world. We can never forget this.

Though we have been together with you in war, America's deepest hope is for a world of peace. Let us now join to preserve peace and to prevent any recurrence of hostilities. That is our continuing commitment which I today reaffirm.

I thank you very much, Mr. President, for this heartwarming welcome. My only regret is that my wife, Mrs. Ford, is not here at my side. She sends her greetings to the great Korean people. She looks forward to hearing in detail from me personally about this visit.

You were most gracious, Mr. President, to invite me. I am proud to come here on this, my first overseas journey as President of the United States.

I thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. at Kimpo International Airport, Seoul, Republic of Korea.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Camp Casey: Indianhead Field

The President's Remarks After Attending a Football Game at the Headquarters of the U.S. Army 2d Infantry Division. November 22, 1974

Let me just make one or two observations and comments.

As Commander in Chief, I am very proud of this great division. I am very impressed with the people that I have met and the exhibition that I have seen. This is the kind of strong, vigorous American spirit that has made America in 197 years a country in which all of us have tremendous pride.

We are proud of you. We know you can do the job. Thank you on behalf of 213 million other Americans who have their hearts and their faith and their best wishes with you.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:53 p.m. at Indianhead Field, Camp Casey, Republic of Korea.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Camp Casey: Hanson Fieldhouse

The President's Remarks After Attending Intra-Divisional Championship Tae Kwon Do Matches. November 22, 1974

Thank you very, very much for this very thoughtful and really wonderful plaque that I will take back to

Washington, give it to Mrs. Ford in the White House, and tell her the story of the 2d Infantry Division, which, in my opinion, is a great story of stimulation, of effort, aims and objectives, and dedication.

I am proud of you as Commander in Chief. I know that you have set a high example, not only for each and every one of you individually, but for all others in the United States Army and in the Department of Defense.

What you are doing here is something that is not only good for the Army and good for the others in the Defense Department, but it is good for America, it is good for you, and we are very, very proud of everything you are doing.

And Mrs. Ford, I am sure, will have this properly displayed in the White House because it will touch her heart. It will tell her a great deal of what is being done out here—people on watch for her, for 213 million other Americans.

Your pro-life program is tremendous. This is the kind of esprit de corps, the kind of will to win, the will to do something for yourself and your Government that will make America an even greater and better place for all of us to live.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:25 p.m. at Hanson Fieldhouse, Camp Casey, Republic of Korea.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Seoul: Dinner at the Capitol Building

President Ford's Toast at a Dinner Hosted by President Park Chung Hee. November 22, 1974

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am greatly honored by this occasion and appreciate the gracious hospitality you have accorded us this evening.

The warmth shown by the Korean people exceeds even that which I remember from my previous visit to Korea—this very hospitable land.

I am very, very much impressed by the dynamism of the Korean society, the energy and vitality of the Korean people, and the charm and the beauty of the Korean women.

Mr. President, I wish that I had more time to see not only the impressive landmarks of the Korean miracle of material progress but also the famous historical shrines of your great country. On another day perhaps, Mr. President, my wife and myself and our family can come, and certainly we would like to return.

Mr. President, it was a great pleasure to meet the leaders of many sectors of the Korean society here tonight. In particular, I am pleased to see the Speaker and the other members of the National Assembly, including representatives of the various major political parties.

Having spent, Mr. President, a quarter of a century of my life in the parliament, or our Congress, I place a great value in the legislative process of a representative government.

I came to your country, Mr. President, to demonstrate America's continued determination to preserve peace in Korea, in Asia, and throughout the world. Koreans and Americans were friends in war. We will remain friends in peace.

America seeks world peace for the good of all and at the expense of none.

Today, Mr. President, I enjoyed a rewarding and a very inspiring visit with your people. I also drew great encouragement by meeting with the armed forces of our American troops in which all of us take such great pride.

I pledge to you, Mr. President, that the United States will continue to assist and to support you. Our relationship and our dialogue will continue.

We live in a time of new international realities and new opportunities for peace and progress in Asia and elsewhere. President Park, your statesmanlike initiative in opening a dialogue with the North contributed constructively to efforts to find a peaceful and just solution to the Korean problem. With the perseverance and with the courage so typical of the American (Korean) people, I trust you will prevail in this effort.

Let us recognize the new world in which we all live. Let us envisage the interdependence of all nations—large and small. When we plan for such new international problems as energy shortages and financial crises, the United States considers the interests of all nations. We will continue to consult with you in common interests and in common problems.

America has great confidence in the people of Korea, just as we have great confidence in ourselves in America.

Mr. President, I am here on a mission of peace. It is my deepest hope that the entire world will lift its gaze and broaden its vision. I have said before, but I repeat here tonight, I would rather walk a thousand miles for peace than take a single step for war.

Mr. President, the relationship between our two peoples was first formalized as long ago as May 22, 1882. The preamble to that treaty spoke of permanent relations based upon amity and friendship. We have proven that by more than diplomatic phrases. Our relationship has endured through war and through peace.

The welcome you accorded me today is symbolic of our very close ties. It demonstrated the great strength of the friendship between our two peoples. I was greatly touched, Mr. President, by the outpouring of good will from the countless thousands and thousands of people who greeted me so warmly. Their cheers, I am sure, were not only for me as an individual but for the United States of America and our 213 million of which I have the honor to represent.

I wish to thank every Korean that I saw today on behalf of all of the American people.

Today, I visited a very beautiful cemetery and the monument to the brave Koreans who fell in battle. They fought side by side with Americans. And let the continued friendship of our two nations pay tribute to the memory of the supreme sacrifices of your courageous men and our own.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to rise and to join me in a toast to my distinguished host, President Park, and to the great people of the Republic of Korea.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 9:12 p.m. in the Banquet Hall at the Capitol Building, Seoul, Republic of Korea.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

SEOUL: JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Text of the Joint Communique Between President Ford and President Park Issued at the Conclusion of Their Meetings. November 22, 1974

At the invitation of President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea, President Gerald R. Ford of the United States of America visited the Republic of Korea on November 22 and 23, 1974, to exchange views on the current international situation and to discuss matters of mutual interest and concern to the two nations.

During the visit the two Presidents held discussions on two occasions. Present at these meetings were Prime Minister Kim Chong Pil, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Foreign Minister Kim Dong Jo, Presidential Secretary General Kim Chung Yum, Ambassador Richard L. Sneider, Ambassador Hahm Pyong Choon and other high officials of both Governments. President Ford also visited American forces stationed in the Republic of Korea.

President Ford laid a wreath at the Memorial of the Unknown Soldiers. He also visited the grave of Madame Park Chung Hee and expressed his deepest personal condolences to President Park on her tragic and untimely death.

The two Presidents reaffirmed the strong bonds of friendship and cooperation between their two countries. They agreed to continue the close cooperation and regular consultation on security matters and other subjects of mutual interest which have characterized the relationship between the Republic of Korea and the United States.

The two Presidents took note of significant political and economic changes in the situation in Asia in recent years. They recognized that the allied countries in the area are growing stronger and more prosperous and are making increasing contributions to their security as well as to that of the region. President Ford explained that the United States, as a Pacific power, is vitally interested in Asia and the Pacific and will continue its best effort to ensure the peace and security of the region. President Park expressed his understanding and full support for United States policies directed toward these ends.

President Park described the efforts being made by the Republic of Korea to maintain a dialogue with North Korea, designed to reduce tensions and establish peace on the Korean Peninsula, and to lead eventually to the peaceful unification of Korea. President Park affirmed the intention of the Republic of Korea to continue to pursue the dialogue despite the failure of the North Korean authorities to respond with sincerity thus far. President Ford gave assurance that the United States will continue to support these efforts by the Republic of Korea and expressed the hope that the constructive initiatives by the Republic of Korea would meet with positive responses by all concerned.

The two Presidents discussed the current United Nations General Assembly consideration of the Korean question. They agreed on the importance of favorable General Assembly action on the Draft Resolution introduced by the United States and other member countries. Both expressed the hope that the General Assembly would base its consideration of the Korean question on a recognition of the importance of the security arrangements which have preserved peace on the Korean Peninsula for more than two decades.

President Park explained in detail the situation on the Korean Peninsula, and described the threat to peace and stability of hostile acts by North Korea, exemplified most recently by the construction of an underground tunnel inside the southern sector of the Demilitarized Zone.

The two Presidents agreed that the Republic of Korea forces and American forces stationed in Korea must maintain a high degree of strength and readiness in order to deter aggression. President Ford reaffirmed the determination of the United States to render prompt and effective assistance to repel armed attack against the Republic of Korea in accordance with the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 between the Republic of Korea and the United States. In this connection, President Ford assured President Park that the United States has no plan to reduce the present level of United States forces in Korea.

The two Presidents discussed the progress of the Modernization Program for the Republic of Korea armed forces and agreed that implemen-

tation of the program is of major importance to the security of the Republic of Korea and peace on the Korean Peninsula. President Ford took note of the increasing share of the defense burden which the Republic of Korea is able and willing to assume and affirmed the readiness of the United States to continue to render appropriate support to the further development of defense industries in the Republic of Korea.

President Ford expressed his admiration for the rapid and sustained economic progress of the Republic of Korea, accomplished in the face of various obstacles, including the lack of sufficient indigenous natural resources and continuing tensions in the area. President Park noted with appreciation the United States contribution to Korea's development in the economic, scientific and technological fields.

The two Presidents examined the impact of recent international economic developments. They agreed that the two countries should continue to foster close economic cooperation for their mutual benefit, and that they should guide their economic policies toward each other in the spirit of closer interdependence among all nations. They shared the view that coordination of their policies on new problems confronting the international community is necessary. Both Presidents expressed mutual satisfaction over the continuing growth of substantial bilateral economic relations which have been beneficial to both countries. They agreed that continued private foreign investment in Korea by the United States and other foreign countries is desirable. It was agreed that international efforts should focus on the reduction of trade distortions, establishment of a framework for ensuring stable food supplies, and realization of stable supplies of energy at reasonable prices.

President Park expressed his high expectations and respect for the efforts being made by President Ford to establish world peace and to restore world economic order.

On behalf of the members of his Party and the American people, President Ford extended his deepest thanks to President Park and all the people of the Republic of Korea for the warmth of their reception and the many courtesies extended to him during the visit.

President Ford cordially invited President Park to visit the United States of America and President Park accepted the invitation with pleasure. The two Presidents agreed that the visit would take place at a time of mutual convenience.

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Seoul, Republic of Korea.

Vladivostok: Luncheon Honoring the President

The President's Toast at a Luncheon Hosted by General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev. November 24, 1974

Let me say a few words if I might about the very special significance of this, our first official meeting.

The world has been accustomed in recent years to regular meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the American people. Cooperation between our two

countries has intensified, both in tempo and, more important, in substance, during the past few years. As a result, all people, Mr. General Secretary, have a better chance to live in peace and security today.

The fact that these meetings have become more regular testifies to the significance attached to them by both countries. In these meetings, we are able to conduct our discussions in a businesslike and a constructive way. We are able to make important progress on the issues that concern our countries.

Mr. General Secretary, I look forward to continuing

the close working relationship developed between the leaders of our two countries.

In my first address to the Congress of the United States, I pledged to the Soviet Union to continue America's commitment to the course followed in the last 3 years.

Mr. General Secretary, I personally reaffirm that pledge to you now. As nations with great power, we share a common responsibility not only to our own people but to mankind as a whole. We must avoid, of course, war and the destruction that it would mean. Let us get on with the business of controlling arms, as I think we have in the last 24 hours. Let us contribute, through our cooperation, to the resolution of the very great problems facing mankind as a whole.

Mr. General Secretary, the problems of food, population, and energy are not confined to any one country or to countries at an early stage of economic development. They affect people everywhere. If this age is to be remembered favorably in the history books, it will be because we met our responsibilities—your country and my country—and our friends and allies throughout the world.

May I propose a toast to our joint search for solutions to the problems facing mankind and a toast to you, Mr. General Secretary, and to those associated with you in your Government and to the people of the Soviet Union and to the people of the world, who will benefit from your efforts and, hopefully, mine.

To the General Secretary.

NOTE: The President spoke a 5:20 p.m. at the Okeanskiy (Ocean-side) Sanitarium, Vladivostok, U.S.S.R.

As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Vladivostok: Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms

*Text of Joint United States-Soviet Statement.
November 24, 1974*

During their working meeting in the area of Vladivostok on November 23–24, 1974, the President of the USA Gerald R. Ford and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU L. I. Brezhnev discussed in detail the question of further limitations of strategic offensive arms.

They reaffirmed the great significance that both the United States and the USSR attach to the limitation of strategic offensive arms. They are convinced that a long-term agreement on this question would be a significant contribution to improving relations between the US and the USSR, to reducing the danger of war and to enhancing world peace. Having noted the value of previous agreements on this question, including the Interim Agree-

ment of May 26, 1972, they reaffirm the intention to conclude a new agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, to last through 1985.

As a result of the exchange of views on the substance of such a new agreement the President of the United States of America and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU concluded that favorable prospects exist for completing the work on this agreement in 1975.

Agreement was reached that further negotiations will be based on the following provisions.

1. The new agreement will incorporate the relevant provisions of the Interim Agreement of May 26, 1972, which will remain in force until October 1977.

2. The new agreement will cover the period from October 1977 through December 31, 1985.

3. Based on the principle of equality and equal security, the new agreement will include the following limitations:

a. Both sides will be entitled to have a certain agreed aggregate number of strategic delivery vehicles;

b. Both sides will be entitled to have a certain agreed aggregate number of ICBMs and SLBMs equipped with multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRVs).

4. The new agreement will include a provision for further negotiations beginning no later than 1980–1981 on the question of further limitations and possible reductions of strategic arms in the period after 1985.

5. Negotiations between the delegations of the U.S. and USSR to work out the new agreement incorporating the foregoing points will resume in Geneva in January 1975.

November 24, 1974

NOTE: The text of the joint statement was released at Vladivostok, U.S.S.R.

Vladivostok: Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms

*News Conference of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger on the United States-Soviet Joint Statement.
November 24, 1974*

SECRETARY KISSINGER. If you are all through with reading the joint statement, let me deal with that. There is also a communique which we will distribute and if it should not be finished by the time when I get through with the joint statement, I will talk from it.

The joint statement, in our judgment, marks the breakthrough with the SALT negotiations that we have sought to achieve in recent years and produces a very strong possibility of agreement, to be signed in 1975.

Perhaps the best way to talk about it would be to go back to the history of the negotiations, starting with the summit in July and the conclusion of the discussions since then, in relation to some specific issues before us.

In all of the discussions on SALT, there is the problem of aggregate numbers, and then there is the problem of the numbers of weapons with certain special characteristics such as MIRV's, and, finally, there is the problem of duration of the agreement.

In July, we were talking about an extension of the interim agreement for a period of 2 to 3 years, and we attempted to compensate for the inequality of numbers in the interim agreement by negotiating a differential in our favor of missiles with multiple warheads.

This negotiation was making some progress, but it was very difficult to establish a relationship between aggregate numbers. It would be an advantage on aggregate numbers on one side and an advantage in multiple warheads on the other, all the more so as we were talking about a time period between 1974 and at the end of 1979 during which various new programs of both sides were going into production at the precise moment that the agreement would have lapsed. That is to say, the United States was developing the Trident and the B-1, both of which will be deployed in the period after 1979, and the Soviet MIRV development would really not reach its full evolution until the period 1978 to 1979.

In other words, while we were negotiating the 5-year agreement we became extremely conscious of the fact that it would lapse at the moment that both sides would have the greatest concern about the weapons programs of the other. And this was the origin of the 10-year proposal and the negotiation for a 10-year agreement that emerged out of the July summit.

No preparatory work of any significance could be undertaken in July on the summit, so that when President Ford came into office, the preparations for a 10-year agreement started practically from scratch.

Now, in a period of 10 years, the problem of numbers has a different significance than in the shorter period because over that period of time, one would have to account, really, for two deployments of a cycle that is usually a 5-year effort. And also, inequalities that might be bearable for either side in a 5-year period would become much more difficult if they were trying over a 10-year period.

Finally, since we considered that any agreement that we signed with respect to numbers should be the prelude to further negotiations about reduction, it was very important the debates for reduction for both sides represent some equivalence that permitted a reasonable calculation.

I won't repeat on this occasion all the internal deliberations through which we went, the various options that were considered. There were five in number, but various combinations of quantitative and qualitative restraints seem possible for the United States.

Finally, prior to my visit to the Soviet Union in October, President Ford decided on a proposal which did not reflect any of the options precisely, but represented an amalgamation of several of the approaches. This we submitted to the Soviet leaders about a week before my visit to the Soviet Union in October, and it led to a Soviet counterproposal which was in the general framework of our proposal, and which I have indicated to you marked a substantial step forward on the road to an agreement.

It was discussed in great detail on the occasion of my visit in October. The Soviet counterproposal was studied by the President and his advisers, and it caused us to submit another refinement or an answer to the Soviet counterproposal about a week before we came here. And then, most of the discussions last night, all of the discussions last night, and 2½ hours this morning, were devoted to the issue of SALT.

President Ford and the General Secretary, in the course of these discussions, agreed that a number of the issues that had been standing in the way of progress should be resolved and that guidelines should be issued to the negotiators in Geneva, who we expect to reconvene in early January.

They agreed that obviously, as the joint statement says, the new agreement will cover a period of 10 years, that for the first 2 years of that period, the provisions of the interim agreement will remain in force, as was foreseen in the interim agreement; that after the lapse of the interim agreement, both sides could have equal numbers of strategic vehicles. And President Ford and Secretary General Brezhnev agreed substantially on the definition of strategic delivery vehicles.

During the 10-year period of this agreement, they would also have equal numbers of weapons with multiple, independent reentry vehicles, and that number is substantially less than the total number of strategic vehicles.

There is no compensation for forward-based systems and no other compensations. In other words, we are talking about equal numbers on both sides for both MIRV's and for strategic delivery vehicles and these numbers have been agreed to and will be discussed with Congressional leaders after the President returns.

The negotiations will have to go into the details of verifications of what restraints will be necessary, how one can define and verify missiles which are independently targeted. But we believe that with good will on both sides, it should be possible to conclude a 10-year agreement by the time that the General Secretary visits the United States at the summit, and, at any rate, we will make a major effort in that direction.

As I said, the negotiations could be difficult and will have many technical complexities, but we believe that the target is achievable. If it is achieved, it will mean that a cap has been put on the arms race for a period of 10 years, that this cap is substantially below the capabilities of either

side, that the element of insecurity inherent in an arms race in which both sides are attempting to anticipate not only the actual programs but the capabilities of the other side will be substantially reduced with levels achieved over a 10-year period by agreement.

The negotiations for reductions can take place in a better atmosphere, and, therefore, we hope that we will be able to look back to this occasion here as the period or as the turning point that led to putting a cap on the arms race and was the first step to a reduction of arms.

Now, I will be glad to take your questions.

Barry, and then Peter.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. Secretary, excuse me, but are bombers under "a"?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Yes.

Q. Bombers are included. When you say no compensation, you mean what we have in Europe counts against ourselves?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No.

Q. Excuse me?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. What I mean is forward bases which are not included in these totals.

Q. They don't count in this?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Strategic bombers are included.

Q. Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Forward base systems are not included.

Q. My question follows on that. What are the advantages for the Russians in agreeing on the number of MIRV's being equal, that they would not raise questions about compensating for our forward base system?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, I think that we should ask the General Secretary for an explanation of why he—I can explain to you our point of view on these matters, but I believe that both sides face this problem.

The arms race has an impetus from at least three sources: one, political tension; second, the strategic plans of each side; and third, the intent of each side to anticipate what the other side might do.

The most volatile of those in a period of exploding technology is the last one.

There is an element that is driving the arms race of insuring one's self against the potentialities of the other side that accelerates it in each passing year. I would suppose that the General Secretary has come to the same conclusion that we have, that what ever level you put for a ceiling, it is enough to destroy humanity several times over, so that the actual level of the ceiling is not as decisive as the fact that a ceiling has been put on it and that the element of your self-fulfilling prophecy that is inherent in the arms race is substantially reduced.

I would assume that it was considerations such as these that induced the General Secretary to do this.

Q. My question derives from the fact that no bar-

gainer would put himself at a disadvantage, and I am just wondering what, from our standpoint, would be the net advantage of maintaining our forward bases without the Soviet complaining that there is some imbalance or some inequality or inequation in the overall purpose?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, as you know, the Soviet Union had maintained that forward base systems should be included in the totals, and this was one of the big obstacles to an agreement previously. The progress that has been made in recent months is that the Soviet Union gradually gave up asking for compensation for the forward base systems partly because most of the forward base systems, or I would say all of them, are not suitable for a significant attack on the Soviet Union.

At any rate, this is an element that has disappeared from the negotiation in recent months.

Q. Secretary Kissinger, have you reached agreement on the number of MIRV vehicles or the number of MIRV warheads?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The number of MIRVed vehicles. The number of warheads could differ, and, of course, there are some differentials in the throw weight of individual missiles at any given period, though there is nothing in the agreement that prevents the United States, if it wishes to, from closing the throw weight gap.

We are not going to do it just to do it.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, when was the discussion of SALT matters concluded, and was that time used to discuss any other matter?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The discussion of SALT matters was concluded around 12:30, and all the time between 12:30 and the time I came over here was devoted to other matters. The discussions were practically uninterrupted, and I will get into these other matters after we are finished with SALT.

Q. I have a question on the delivery vehicles.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Yes.

Q. You speak of equality which I take to mean some level that is roughly an equality of total U.S. delivery vehicles in a triad mix and the same on the other side.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. That is right.

Q. Would this, therefore, involve a larger number of total U.S. vehicles than existed under SALT I, or, by taking in the bombers, are you still maintaining roughly the same number of land bases?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. By agreement, we are not giving up the number until the President has had enough opportunity to brief, but, roughly speaking, the total number is composed of a combination of missiles, of land-based missiles, submarine missiles, bombers, and certain other categories of weapons that would have the characteristics of strategic weapons, the total number that accurately is equal and each side, with some constraints, but not very major ones, has essentially the freedom to mix—that is to say the composite force—in whatever way it wants. There are some constraints.

Q. Is there any further constraint on the total throw weight that one side or another side could have? Under SALT I, as I remember, there was a limit on the number of heavy missiles.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The constraints of SALT I with respect to the number of heavy missiles are carried over into this agreement.

Q. Up to 1985?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Up to 1985.

Q. Throughout the whole period of the agreement. You said there will be a substantial reduction. Is this approximately—

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, I am saying it will be the objective of the United States now that we have achieved a cap on the arms race. We have achieved a cap on the arms race if we can solve the technical problems of implementing the agreement that was made here. But I believe, with good will, that should be possible.

We have always assumed that once we agree on numbers, we could solve all the other problems, that from the basis of the cap that has been put on the arms race, so that both sides now have a similar starting point it will be the United States objective to bring about a substantial reduction of strategic forces, but there has not yet been an agreement to any reduction, obviously.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, is there any provision in here concerning other types of modernization—improvements, for example, of MIRV's? Was there any limitation on MIRV's discussed?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, there is no such limitation, but this is something that can still be raised in the discussions, but there is no such limitation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what does this initial statement have to do with the Trident and B-1 program, if anything?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Each side has the right to compose—what it means is that the Trident and the B-1 program had to be kept within the total number of the ceiling that will be established by the agreement, but except for the limitations on heavy missiles, the rest of the composition of the force is up to each side.

Q. Are these limits higher than the existing forces of both sides and will both have weapons to reach the—

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No. By the United States, this is somewhat more complex to calculate, depending on what weapons you count. For the Soviet Union, it is clearly below the limits. And for both sides, it is substantially below their capability.

Q. Will either side reduce its arms totals? I was not quite certain of your answer?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I would say yes. But I think you will know about that better when the numbers become more—

Q. Dr. Kissinger, would you identify for us what the main hangup was in the five earlier options and what

mix the President decided upon that was the key to advancing an acceptable proposal?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The big hangup earlier was the combination of time periods and perhaps the complexity of the proposals; that is to say, when you are trying to calculate what advantage in the number of warheads compensates for a certain advantage in the number of launches, you get into an area of very great complexity, and when you are dealing with a short, or relatively short time period, you face the difficulty that each side throughout this time period will be preparing for what happens during the break-out period.

So, those were the big hangups through July. What I believe contributed to this agreement was, first, that with a 10-year program we were able to put to the Soviet Union a scheme that was less volatile than what we had discussed earlier for the reasons of the break-out problem.

Secondly, I believe that one of the problems that was raised yesterday—namely, that they were dealing with a new President—may have influenced Soviet decisions, because it created a longer political stability.

Thirdly, the discussions, I think it can be safe to say, moved from fairly complex proposals to substantially more simple ones, and this permitted both sides finally to come to an agreement.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if the goal at the end of the road is the signing of a strategic arms limitation treaty, in terms of percentages, how far down that road does this joint statement put us?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Whenever I have given percentages and made predictions, I have got into enormous difficulties. I would say I would stick by my statement earlier. I would say that we are over the worst part of the negotiation if both sides continue to show the same determination to reach an agreement that they did earlier.

The issues that are before us now are essentially technical issues; that is to say, they are issues of verifications, issues of collateral restraints, issues of how you identify certain developments. But those are issues on which substantial studies were made before we made our original proposals and, therefore, had we not believed that they were soluble, we would not have made the proposals. So we think that it is going to be a very difficult negotiation which could fail. But I think we are well down the road.

Q. Sir, a couple of clarifiers, if I may, that I am not clear on.

Do I understand that there will be a reduction in the number of U.S. MIRV's? And secondly, is there some limit on throw weight? Is that what you are saying or did I hear you wrong?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No. There is no restraint on throw weight, except the restraint that is produced by the continuation of the ban of the limitation on heavy missiles, and there is a restraint on the number of vehicles that can be MIRVed.

What was the first part of the question?

Q. Are we past that point where we have to cut back?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, we are not past that point, but we could easily go past that point if we wanted to.

Q. I realize that, but we are not physically past that point.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No. But don't forget the Soviets have not even begun to MIRV their missiles yet. We are well down the road towards that goal.

Q. I realize we have a larger plan at the moment. My question is whether we have to start to subtract.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. We do not have to start subtracting.

Q. One other clarification question. This aggregate number is yet to be agreed upon?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, that number is agreed upon.

Q. It has been agreed upon?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The numbers in both A and B have been agreed upon—

Q. Mr. Secretary, would you please—

SECRETARY KISSINGER. —and the President will discuss them with the Congressional leaders. But both leaders thought that they did not want to include them in this statement.

Q. Well, they would then be included in a treaty?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Yes.

Q. Ratified?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. In other words, the agreement will not fail because of the numbers. The numbers have been set, and the definition of what is counted in each number has already been set.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what you are saying, in effect, is that you have already fixed the ceiling, but you are not prepared yet to disclose what that ceiling is?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. That is right.

Q. And that will be disclosed at what point?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Oh, I would expect during the week and, certainly, no later than by the time the instructions are drafted for the delegation.

Q. Mr. Kissinger, does this not mean—in other words, will not our MIRV reduction be considerably greater than theirs if we have many more, and will not their reduction in nuclear missiles be greater than ours because they are allowed to have more in 1972?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, when you are talking about a 10-year program—I would say within a 10-year program, in the absence of an agreement, both of these questions are highly theoretical, because over a 10-year period both we and they could easily go over the total number of permitted vehicles and easily go over the total number of MIRV vehicles.

In starting from present programs, I think it is correct to say that this strain on the Soviet total numbers is going

to be greater, and the strain on our MIRV numbers is going to be greater, but in practice it comes out about the same, because there is no question that if we both kept going, the numbers of MIRVed vehicles would soon reach a point where even the most exalted military planner would find it difficult to find a target for the many war-heads that are going to be developed.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you believe that this will be acceptable to the Congressional leaders, particularly those—

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I think this will certainly be acceptable to the Congressional leaders that have been—

Q. Including Senator Jackson?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, I am sure you can find a more convincing spokesman for Senator Jackson than me, but it would meet many of the criticisms that he has made in the past. It meets the point that has been made by critics of the interim agreement, in my view, only about the inequality in numbers, because as I pointed out on many occasions, the inequality in numbers was not created by the interim agreement that existed when the interim agreement was signed, and it simply froze the situation that existed on the day the interim agreement was signed for a 5-year period. But at any rate, what was acceptable for a 5-year period was not acceptable for a 15-year period, 5 plus 10, and, therefore, that principle of equality has to be maintained here.

Q. Mr. Secretary, one last question, please. Would you address yourself to the question of good faith on this? This is very important and will be a very important agreement to the security of the people of both nations. What will you say as a statement of faith and a guarantee?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. When the security of both countries is involved and the national survival of both countries is involved you cannot make an agreement which depends primarily on the good faith of either side. And what has to be done in the negotiations that are now starting is to assure adequate verification of the provisions of the agreement. We think that this is no problem, or no significant problem with respect to the total numbers of strategic vehicles. It may be a problem with respect to determining what is a MIRVed vehicle. Nevertheless, we believe that that, too, is soluble, though with greater difficulty than determining the total numbers.

Good faith is involved in not pressing against the legal limits of the agreement in a way that creates again an element of the security that one has attempted to remove by fixing the ceiling or, to put it another way, by putting a cap on the arms race. But I think that the agreement will be very viable and that the element of good faith is not the principal ingredient in releasing the agreement, though it was an important element in producing the agreement.

MR. NESSEN. Mr. Secretary, you are going to miss your tour if you don't leave now. Also, we are now passing out the joint communique.

The Secretary wants to make this tour.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Let me take another question.

Q. I want to get this right. Do I understand while you are putting a cap on the future numbers, this agreed upon total is higher than what each side has now in aggregate, the combination?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I did not say this, no.

Q. That is the inference I get.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I said specifically it is lower than what the Soviet has and, in our case, it depends on how you compose the total number.

Q. Mr. Secretary, was there any discussion on what each side will do for resuming the work of the Geneva conference on the Middle East as soon as possible?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No.

Q. Does that mean the end of your own efforts, for example, in the area?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No. This is a phrase that was also in the summit communique, and it has always been assumed that my efforts are compatible with the prospective efforts of the Geneva conference.

Q. To what extent did the talks get into the Middle East situation, Mr. Secretary?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. There was a rather lengthy discussion of the Middle East. Let me go through the topics that were discussed in addition.

There was a discussion of the Middle East, of the European Security Conference and forces in Europe, and a number of issues connected with bilateral relations. These were the key other topics that were discussed.

Q. Can you tell us about your discussions on the Middle East?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, I think there is an agreement by both sides that the situation has elements of danger, that an effort should be made to defuse it. We are not opposed to the Geneva conference, and we have always agreed that it should be reconvened at an appropriate time. And we agree to stay in further touch with each other as to measures that can be taken to alleviate the situation.

Q. What role does the Soviet Union think the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] should play in the

negotiations? How should they be recognized and how should they—

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, I think the Soviet view has been publicly stated. We did not go into the modalities of how they would execute it since we made our position clear at the United Nations last week.

Q. Specifically, the trade reform bill in the United Nations.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. That was touched upon.

Q. Where did you leave the ESC?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The European Security Conference? We had a detailed discussion of all the issues before the European Security Conference in which, as you all know, Foreign Minister Gromyko is one of the world's leading experts, and we sought for means to move the positions of East and West closer together, and we hope that progress can accelerate.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you compare the progress made on nuclear weapons with the progress made by the Soviets with the Middle East?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Not even remotely.

Q. You did not make any progress on the Middle East?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I don't think that progress on the Middle East is for us to make, and it was a different order of discussion. The progress on SALT was a major step forward to the solution of a very difficult problem. The discussions on the Middle East, I think, may have contributed, and we hope will contribute, to a framework of restraint in enabling the two countries that have such a vital interest in the area to stay in touch with each other, but it cannot be compared.

Q. How much time do you estimate, Mr. Secretary, you spent discussing the Middle East?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. How much time was spent? I didn't keep track of it. An hour, but that is a rough order of—

Q. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Q. Was there a question of future sale of any U.S. commodities with the Soviet Union?

Q. Question?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I didn't hear the question either, but it dealt with economics so I don't want to answer it.

NOTE: Press Secretary Ronald H. Nessen introduced Secretary Kissinger at 4:18 p.m. at the Primorye Sanitarium, Vladivostok, U.S.S.R.

VLADIVOSTOK: JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Text of the Joint United States-Soviet Communique Issued at the Conclusion of the President's Visit. November 24, 1974

In accordance with the previously announced agreement, a working meeting between the President of the United States of America Gerald R. Ford and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev took place in the area

of Vladivostok on November 23 and 24, 1974. Taking part in the talks were the Secretary of State of the United States of America and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger and Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko.

They discussed a broad range of questions dealing with American-Soviet relations and the current international situation.

Also taking part in the talks were:

On the American side Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Ambassador of the USA to the USSR; Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department of State; Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and William Hyland, official of the Department of State.

On the Soviet side A. F. Dobrynin, Ambassador of the USSR to the USA; A. M. Aleksandrov, Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU; and G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

I

The United States of America and the Soviet Union reaffirmed their determination to develop further their relations in the direction defined by the fundamental joint decisions and basic treaties and agreements concluded between the two States in recent years.

They are convinced that the course of American-Soviet relations, directed towards strengthening world peace, deepening the relaxation of international tensions and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation of states with different social systems meets the vital interests of the peoples of both States and other peoples.

Both Sides consider that based on the agreements reached between them important results have been achieved in fundamentally reshaping American-Soviet relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and equal security. These results are a solid foundation for progress in reshaping Soviet-American relations.

Accordingly, they intend to continue, without a loss in momentum, to expand the scale and intensity of their cooperative efforts in all spheres as set forth in the agreements they have signed so that the process of improving relations between the US and the USSR will continue without interruption and will become irreversible.

Mutual determination was expressed to carry out strictly and fully the mutual obligations undertaken by the US and the USSR in accordance with the treaties and agreements concluded between them.

II

Special consideration was given in the course of the talks to a pivotal aspect of Soviet-American relations: measures to eliminate the threat of war and to halt the arms race.

Both sides reaffirm that the Agreements reached between the US and the USSR on the prevention of nuclear war and the limitation of strategic arms are a good beginning in the process of creating guarantees against the outbreak of nuclear conflict and war in general. They

expressed their deep belief in the necessity of promoting this process and expressed their hope that other states would contribute to it as well. For their part the US and the USSR will continue to exert vigorous efforts to achieve this historic task.

A joint statement on the question of limiting strategic offensive arms is being released separately.

Both sides stressed once again the importance and necessity of a serious effort aimed at preventing the dangers connected with the spread of nuclear weapons in the world. In this connection they stressed the importance of increasing the effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

It was noted that, in accordance with previous agreements, initial contacts were established between representatives of the US and of the USSR on questions related to underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, to measures to overcome the dangers of the use of environmental modification techniques for military purposes, as well as measures dealing with the most dangerous lethal means of chemical warfare. It was agreed to continue an active search for mutually acceptable solutions of these questions.

III

In the course of the meeting an exchange of views was held on a number of international issues: special attention was given to negotiations already in progress in which the two Sides are participants and which are designed to remove existing sources of tension and to bring about the strengthening of international security and world peace.

Having reviewed the situation at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, both Sides concluded that there is a possibility for its early successful conclusion. They proceed from the assumption that the results achieved in the course of the Conference will permit its conclusion at the highest level and thus be commensurate with its importance in ensuring the peaceful future of Europe.

The USA and the USSR also attach high importance to the negotiations on mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe. They agree to contribute actively to the search for mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of principle of undiminished security for any of the parties and the prevention of unilateral military advantages.

Having discussed the situation existing in the Eastern Mediterranean, both Sides state their firm support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and will make every effort in this direction. They consider that a just settlement of the Cyprus question must be based on the strict implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations regarding Cyprus.

In the course of the exchange of views on the Middle East both Sides expressed their concern with regard to the dangerous situation in that region. They reaffirmed their intention to make every effort to promote a solution of the key issues of a just and lasting peace in that area on the basis of the United Nations resolution 338, taking into account the legitimate interests of all the peoples of the area, including the Palestinian

people, and respect for the right to independent existence of all states in the area.

The Sides believe that the Geneva Conference should play an important part in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and should resume its work as soon as possible.

IV

The state of relations was reviewed in the field of commercial, economic, scientific and technical ties between the USA and the USSR. Both Sides confirmed the great importance which further progress in these fields would have for Soviet-American relations, and expressed their firm intention to continue the broadening and deepening of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The two Sides emphasized the special importance accorded by them to the development on a long term basis of commercial and economic cooperation, including mutually beneficial large-scale projects. They believe that such commercial and economic cooperation will serve the cause of increasing the stability of Soviet-American relations.

Both Sides noted with satisfaction the progress in the implementation of agreements and in the development of ties and cooperation between the US and the USSR in the fields of science, technology and culture. They are convinced that the continued expansion of such cooperation will benefit the peoples of both countries and will be an important contribution to the solution of world-wide scientific and technical problems.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding, reflecting the constructive desire of both Sides to strengthen and develop further the peaceful cooperative relationship between the USA and the USSR, and to ensure progress in the solution of outstanding international problems in the interests of preserving and strengthening peace.

The results of the talks provided a convincing demonstration of the practical value of Soviet-American summit meetings and their exceptional importance in the shaping of a new relationship between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

President Ford reaffirmed the invitation to L. I. Brezhnev to pay an official visit to the United States in 1975. The exact date of the visit will be agreed upon later.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

GERALD R. FORD

President of the United States of America

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

L. I. BREZHNEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
CPSU

November 24, 1974

NOTE: The joint communique was signed in a ceremony in the conference hall at the Okeanskiy (Oceanside) Sanitarium, Vladivostok, U.S.S.R., on Sunday, November 24, 1974.

Return to Washington

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland. November 24, 1974

Mr. Speaker, my very dear friends in the Congress, members of the Cabinet, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:

I thank you all very, very much for coming out this evening and welcoming us so very warmly.

Since I left Washington 8 days ago, I have traveled some 17,000 miles for the purpose of peace and not a single step toward war. And every one of those miles, in my opinion, was most worthwhile. But as always when we return to our homeland, my companions and myself are very, very happy to be here.

Secretary Kissinger has a few more miles to go on this trip, but I will assure him that this warm welcome includes him as well.

Thursday is Thanksgiving. I cannot help but reflect on the many, many blessings that we Americans have. We do have some very serious problems, but we have much, much more to be thankful for. America is a strong country; Americans are very strong people. We are free, and we are blessed with good friends and allies.

On my trip I talked with the leaders of two of our allies, Japan and Korea. In both nations, I saw how much they value their relationship with us. We will continue to work together to strengthen our ties.

The visit to Japan marked my first trip outside North America since becoming President, and it was the first time that a President of the United States has visited that energetic and productive island nation.

Our trip was historic for another reason, for it marked a change in our relationship. In the past the central concern of our alliance was military security. This security relationship has now been broadened to include energy and food. I am particularly hopeful that by working together with Japan, one of the world's most technically advanced societies, we will be able to make a substantial joint contribution to resolving the energy crisis.

Japan emerged from the destruction of war with a deep commitment to peace. In Korea, a sturdy people rebuilt a nation from the ashes of another conflict. Only a little over 20 years ago, Korea was a battleground. Today it is a showcase of economic development.

Just over two decades ago, American fighting men were battling over the rugged mountains of Korea. Today, the major burden of Korea's defense is borne by the Koreans themselves. American servicemen are stationed there, but, like their comrades in Europe and elsewhere, they are there to help an ally maintain the peace, not to do the job alone.

A highlight of the trip for me was the opportunity to meet with our soldiers in Korea and to have lunch with

them in one of their camps. They are outstanding fighting men and women doing a fine job. We can all be very proud of them.

The final stop on our trip was the Soviet Union. The meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev, I am pleased, went very, very well. They represent both a beginning and a continuation. They were the beginning of what I hope will be a productive personal relationship between Mr. Brezhnev and myself. We both, I believe, came away from Vladivostok with mutual respect and a common determination to continue the search for peace.

They were a continuation because we maintained the steady improvement of our relations begun 3 years ago. We talked, as American and Soviet leaders have in the past, about the Middle East, European security, and other bilateral relations. We often agreed, but not always. When we did not, we stated our differences quite frankly.

But on perhaps the most important issue facing the Soviet and American peoples, the further limitation of strategic arms, we found a large measure of agreement. We discussed the issue fully, and in the end we established a sound basis for a new agreement that will constrain our military competition over the next decade. The understanding we reached resulted from an intensive round of give-and-take, the kind of give-and-take negotiations that recognized the legitimate security of both sides.

Many details remain to be worked out by our negotiators, but ceilings on the strategic forces of both nations have been accepted. A good agreement that will serve the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union is now within our grasp. Vladivostok was an appropriate ending to a journey designed to strengthen ties with old friends and expand areas of agreement with old adversaries.

I believe we accomplished what we set out to achieve and perhaps more. And in that process I pray that we have done all we could to advance the cause of peace for all Americans and for all mankind.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:31 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

Federal Energy Administration

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Frank G. Zarb To Be Administrator. November 25, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank G. Zarb, of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration. He will succeed John T. Sawhill who has resigned.

Mr. Zarb is currently Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget and Executive Director of

the Energy Resources Council. Prior to assuming his present positions, he was in charge of OMB's management and operations activities.

Mr. Zarb joined the Administration in 1971 as Assistant Secretary of Labor, after serving as executive vice president and chairman of the executive committee of Hayden Stone, Inc.

Mr. Zarb was born on February 17, 1935, in New York City. He received his B.B.A. degree from Hofstra University in 1957 and M.A. degree in 1961 also from Hofstra. In 1974, the faculty of Hofstra conferred the University's distinguished scholar award to Mr. Zarb.

He is married to the former Patricia Koster, and they have two children. They reside in McLean, Va.

U Thant

Statement by the President on the Death of the Former Secretary General of the United Nations. November 25, 1974

I have learned with great sorrow of the death of former United Nations Secretary General U Thant. Above all, he was a man of peace. His distinguished leadership in the world community for a decade won him wide respect and the gratitude of all who cherish world peace. He gave unselfishly of himself in the highest tradition of service to mankind, and the world is better for the example he set.

U Thant's loyalty was not to any one power or ethnic bloc, but to humanity, and it is in this same universal spirit that all men will mourn his passing. On behalf of the people of the United States, I extend condolences to his family.

NOTE: U Thant, 65, died in New York City on November 25, 1974. He was Secretary General of the United Nations from 1961 to 1971.

National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974

The President's Remarks at the Bill Signing Ceremony at the White House. November 26, 1974

Thank you all very, very much. I apologize for being late, but we had a meeting with the joint leadership where I reported on the trip to Japan, to Korea, and to the Soviet Union.

It is a pleasure and a privilege to see all of my old friends in the Congress and some of the mayors and some of the Governors.

On this occasion, the news of the passage of this legislation reached me overseas. And I considered this legislation a top priority of the 93d Congress, and I congratulate the Senate and the House for acting so quickly and so decisively.

This marks a long-term and vital major Federal commitment to mass transportation. This legislation represents a compromise in the best sense of the term. Although different positions were set forth in the beginning—the views of the Administration, the Congress, Governors, mayors and others, we were able to reconcile our differences and develop legislation to meet our most urgent needs in mass transportation at a cost which is not inflationary.

This legislation is significant in our fight against excessive use of petroleum, in our economic battle, and in our efforts to curb urban pollution and reduce congestion. It assures that \$11.8 billion in Federal assistance will be available to States and to cities to meet transit needs for the rest of the decade.

This assurance of steady and predictable support for public transit for the first time will enable localities to plan intelligently for their long-term needs. Also for the first time, this legislation will permit the Federal Government to provide limited assistance toward the operating expenses of transit systems. Provisions of the bill will minimize possible adverse effects of Federal involvement in such deficits. The act contains funds, again for the first time, which can be used for rural public transportation.

Many in the Congress and elsewhere worked very hard to develop this legislation, and I am pleased that so many of you could be here today. Secretary Brinegar, Frank Herringer, John Tower, Pete Williams, Joe Minish, Bill Widnall, Garry Brown, Jim Delaney, John Anderson, Ray Madden—and I could go on—deserve special mention. So do many mayors who made numerous journeys to Washington, all for a good cause.

I am encouraged here and now [by] the use, the excessive use of certain energy, that is, the kind of energy expended to enact this legislation by the Congress and by its supporters around the country. Let us put more and more of this personal energy into the effective solution of the important problems facing the Nation today. We surely will find solutions at a price that is right.

It is with a great deal of personal pleasure that I sign the National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974.

Thank you all again. It is so nice to see so many of you, and I compliment in a personal way the cooperation, the assistance, and the understanding. This is what produces results, and I thank each and every one of you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. As enacted, the bill (S. 386) is Public Law 93-503, approved November 26, 1974.

Budget Restraint

The President's Message to the Congress.
November 26, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

Last month I sent a 31-point economic program to the Congress. That program was a balanced one, both dealing with the forces of inflation and anticipating the possibility of recessionary pressures. It was, and remains, my particular concern to help those hardest hit by inflation and by the slack that has developed in some sectors of the economy.

Responsible restraint of government spending is an integral part of my economic program. The Congress has publicly proclaimed its support of restraint. In June the Senate voted 74-12 in favor of legislation to hold Federal spending to \$295 billion. In September the Joint Economic Committee unanimously recommended holding spending to \$300 billion. Last month the House voted 329-20 for a budget target of the same level.

Soon after I took office I asked the heads of Federal agencies to undertake a thorough review of 1975 expenditures. In my October 8 Message to the Congress, I pledged to forward a package of proposed actions to reduce the 1975 budget. Today I am reporting on the results of this review and presenting my specific recommendations for reducing Federal outlays.

First, it is important to understand what has been happening to the budget. When the current fiscal year began last July 1, budget outlays for the year were estimated at \$305.4 billion.

Interest costs for Federal borrowing are now expected to be \$1.5 billion more than the estimate last June.

The Congress has also added to 1975 budget pressures. Congressional reductions in some programs have been more than offset by actions it has taken to increase spending in others. Particularly disappointing was the Congressional unwillingness to join with me in deferring for three months a Federal pay raise. This cost the taxpayers \$700 million. Equally discouraging was the passage by Congress over my veto of the Railroad Retirement bill costing \$285 million this year and \$7 billion over the next 25 years.

There have been some reductions in expected spending levels. The Environmental Protection Agency will spend less than planned because anticipated schedules for sewage treatment construction have not been met.

However, the most significant change is the increased aid to the jobless—including the National Employment Assistance Act I proposed last month—that added \$2.7 billion to the budget. This increase is necessary to ease the burden on those who are most affected by current economic stress.

Taking these developments into account, my present recommendations for \$4.6 billion of budget reductions will result in a budget total of \$299.5 billion before considering \$2.7 billion increased spending for aid to the unemployed. These recommendations represent a major effort at budgetary restraint. It would be unwise, in my view, to add additional dollar reductions for each dollar of increased aid to the unemployed.

The fiscal year 1975 budget actions by the Executive and the Congress since July 1, including those I now propose, are summarized and compared to last year's actual expenditures as follows:

CHANGES IN BUDGET SPENDING

[Fiscal years; dollar amounts in billions]

	Defense ¹	Interest on the Public Debt	Payments for Individuals ²	Other	Total
Actual 1974 expenditures	\$78.4	\$29.3	\$110.1	\$50.5	\$268.4
1975 Budget (July 1 estimates)	85.8	3.15	130.5	57.6	305.4
Changes (including those proposed)	-2.6	+1.5	+1.0	-3.2	-3.3
Presently proposed levels for 1975	83.2	33.0	131.5	54.4	302.2
1975: Percent change since July 1	-3.0	+4.8	+ .7	-5.5	-1.1
1975: Percent change over 1974	+6.1	+12.6	+19.4	+7.8	+12.6

¹ Department of Defense, military and military assistance.

² Nondefense.

The 1975 outlay estimates can be affected significantly by variations in income from oil lease sales on the Outer Continental Shelf. This income is treated in the budget as an offset to spending. If the current schedule of lease sales is not met, for environmental or other reasons, or if the bids are significantly less than anticipated, outlays could further increase—possibly by \$3 billion or more.

The reductions I propose to the Congress will require a number of changes in basic legislation and in pending appropriations. I am also transmitting proposed rescissions and deferrals, as required by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act, to reduce programs for which funds have already been appropriated. The rescissions would result in decreased outlays of over

\$200 million in 1975. Deferrals would reduce 1975 outlays by over \$300 million.

Normally, funds are already being withheld when reports on rescissions and deferrals are transmitted to the Congress. Recognizing that these rescissions and deferrals are an integral part of a more far reaching and comprehensive proposal, I will not begin to withhold funds for the affected programs until December 16 although the law permits me to do so immediately.

The reductions I propose focus on programs that have grown rapidly in recent years or that have been increased substantially over budget proposals. In most cases, the level of 1975 outlays will be materially above actual spending last year. Even after the proposed cutbacks, Federal benefit payments to individuals are estimated to be \$131.5 billion. This is \$1.0 billion above the July estimate, and \$21.4 billion, or 19%, above actual spending last year.

While I am recommending further cuts in defense spending, I have taken into account the substantial reductions already made by the Congress. My current expectation for defense spending is \$83.2 billion, \$2.6 billion below the June estimate. I believe that further cuts in defense spending would be exceedingly unwise, particularly at this time.

In determining which budget programs should be reduced, I have tried to eliminate the less essential and to overcome inequities. I have tried to avoid actions that would unduly add to unemployment or adversely affect those hurt most by inflation.

The \$4.6 billion budget outlay reduction I now propose is not large when compared with total Federal spending. Nevertheless, the Congress may find it difficult to agree with all my proposals. I strongly urge the Congress to accept them and join with me in this belt tightening. The reductions are essential to demonstrate to the American people that the Federal Government is working seriously to restrain its spending. They are also a start toward the imperative of gaining control over budgets in the future.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 26, 1974.

NOTE: Details on proposed rescissions and deferrals are printed in the Federal Register of December 5, 1974.

Veto of Veterans Education Bill

*The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 12628 Without His Approval.
November 26, 1974*

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval H.R. 12628, a bill which would provide what I consider an excessive increase and liberalization of veterans' education and training benefits.

Instead, I urge the Congress to send me a veterans' education bill along the lines that I have proposed. By doing so, we can avoid adding another half billion dollar load to the already overburdened taxpayer. Failure to do so will mean that the Congress will in the aggregate—Federal pay deferral, Railroad Retirement and Veterans Education—add over one and a half billion dollars to the Federal deficit in 1975.

This bill which I am returning to the Congress provides benefits that are greater than those granted to World War II and Korea veterans. It would cost the taxpayers half a billion dollars more in fiscal year 1975 than is appropriate in view of the country's current economic circumstances.

The decision not to sign this bill has not been an easy one. But it is necessary if all of us are to operate with essential budgetary restraint. The Nation must reduce Federal spending if we are to stop the inflation spiral.

I have asked the Congress on previous occasions to join with me to hold down Federal spending and help whip inflation. In two important instances, the Federal pay deferral plan and the Railroad Retirement bill, the Congress refused to join with me and the result has added an additional one billion dollars to the Federal taxpayers' burden.

Veterans' benefits should—and can—be improved. I continue to support a responsible increase in education benefits for veterans. I again urge the Congress, as I have on many occasions, to enact a GI Bill providing for an 18.2 percent benefit increase rather than the 23 percent in this bill. Such action would be in keeping with the need for fiscal responsibility while recognizing the Nation's special debt to our veterans.

Since the Vietnam-era GI bill first went into effect in 1966, the total of veterans' benefit increases enacted through 1972 have substantially exceeded the rise in cost of living. Not including the provisions of this bill, the basic monthly education allowance has increased by a \$120 per month or 120 percent since 1966. This compares with an actual rise of 55 percent in the Consumer Price Index.

In addition to the 23 percent benefit increase, this bill extends entitlement for GI bill benefits from 36 to 45 months for undergraduates. I believe the present entitlement of four academic years is sufficient time to permit a veteran to obtain his baccalaureate degree and to enable him to adjust to civilian life.

In addition, the bill contains other objectionable features despite my urging that they be eliminated. It establishes a new direct loan program for veteran students which departs from the sound objective of providing student aid through one department—Health, Education and Welfare—rather than through various Federal agencies. A direct loan program is also inefficient compared to available guaranteed loan programs, which provide

substantially more assistance to the veteran at less cost to the Federal taxpayer.

I am returning this bill with reluctance, but it is my earnest hope that the Congress will demonstrate its willingness to join the executive branch in taking the difficult actions needed to hold down spending by the Federal Government while being equitable with our veterans.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 26, 1974.

Veto of Zinc Tariff Bill

The President's Message to the House of Representatives Returning H.R. 6191 Without His Approval Because of Tax Riders Concerning Disaster Aid. November 26, 1974

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning without my approval H.R. 6191, "To amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that certain forms of zinc be admitted free of duty, and for other purposes."

This bill would suspend until June 30, 1977, the present duties on zinc ores and concentrates and zinc-bearing materials.

Unfortunately, the Congress attached to this desirable provision unacceptable tax riders which would grant windfall benefits to individuals already compensated for property losses resulting from certain disasters in 1972. Moreover, the most costly of these riders was added by the conference committee; and the significance of this rider was not explored during adoption of the conference report by the two houses.

Under current tax law, individuals are generally permitted to deduct casualty losses not otherwise compensated for by insurance, tort compensation, loan forgiveness, or other means. If individuals choose to deduct these losses, however, and are subsequently reimbursed, the reimbursement must be included as income in subsequent tax returns. Otherwise, the individual could receive a tax break for a loss that had not cost him anything.

H.R. 6191 would provide unwarranted and costly exceptions to the present law by allowing certain taxpayers who have already deducted their casualty losses to also exclude from taxable income any amounts received from tort compensation or Federal loan cancellations based on those losses. The cost of these benefits to the Government in terms of revenue loss would be about \$130 million.

This would result in favored treatment for a select

group of taxpayers relative to others with identical or even larger casualty losses. The individuals benefiting from this bill have already been treated more generously by the Federal Government than the present, more equitable law would allow. Finally, this special tax consideration resulting in a windfall to a limited group of taxpayers would be a very undesirable precedent.

If the Congress were to reenact this bill without the undesirable tax riders, I would be glad to approve it.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 26, 1974.

Disaster Assistance for Oklahoma

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Severe Storms and Flooding. November 26, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Oklahoma as a result of damage caused by severe storms and flooding beginning about October 31, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the flooding, disaster unemployment assistance, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration, under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Oklahoma will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Joe D. Winkle, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region VI, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Counsellor to the President

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Anne L. Armstrong Upon Mrs. Armstrong's Resignation. November 27, 1974

November 27, 1974

Dear Anne:

It was with the deepest regret that I learned that important family responsibilities have prompted your letter of resignation as a Presidential Counsellor and as a member of my Cabinet.

You will be greatly missed at the White House. I am certain, however, that the same sense of dedication to family that has characterized your dedication to country has made your decision a necessary one.

When I assumed the office of the Presidency on August 9, 1974, it was critically important that I have the immediate assistance and support of highly able, skilled, compassionate and loyal leaders in government. You were one of those key people who helped to fill that urgent requirement.

I thank you not only personally but on behalf of our fellow countrymen for your distinguished service.

Betty joins with me in wishing to you and yours the very best.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Anne Armstrong, Counsellor to the President, the White House]

November 26, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

Right after you were sworn in as President, I remember telling you that even if we had searched 100 years, we could not have found anyone so well suited as you to give our country the high moral leadership it desperately needed in very difficult days. So, as you know, when you asked me to serve as a Counsellor and member of your Cabinet, I was highly honored and eagerly looked forward to serving you for an extended period.

In your first 100 days as President, you have fulfilled my best hopes. It is, therefore, with the deepest regret that I now must submit my resignation because of unforeseen and pressing family responsibilities which make it necessary for me to return to my home in Texas.

Your strong support for my various areas of responsibility, including the Bicentennial, Federal Property Council, the first White House Office of Women's Programs, and liaison to young people and Hispanic Americans, assures me their progress will continue.

We still face very difficult days, but I have great confidence in my country and in my President. The goals you are setting are the right ones. You have the right qualities to lead us to them—wisdom, integrity, strength of char-

acter, and the ability to relate to your fellow Americans. Your leadership offers the single best hope that America will enter its Third Century with its basic principles intact, with a clear vision of its future, with prosperity and peace.

After almost four years in Washington, I leave with a profound appreciation of the responsibility of our leaders not only to protect the public interest, but also to safeguard the public trust. Mr. President, I have every confidence in your ability to do both.

I wish you great success, and to you and Mrs. Ford and your family I wish great happiness.

Respectfully,

ANNE ARMSTRONG
Mrs. Tobin Armstrong

[The President, the White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: At his news conference at the White House on Wednesday, November 27, 1974, Press Secretary Ronald H. Nessen announced that Mrs. Armstrong's resignation would be effective December 21, 1974.

International Council on Archives— Bicentennial Year Meeting

Executive Order 11820. November 27, 1974

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 104 of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, 22 U.S.C. 2454 (hereinafter referred to as the Act); section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code; and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The Administrator of General Services is authorized, with respect to the meeting of the International Council on Archives to be held in Washington, D.C. in 1976, to perform the functions conferred by sections 102(b)(8) and 104(e) of the act.

SEC. 2. I find that the delegation made by section 1 of this order is in the interest of the purposes expressed in the act and the efficient administration of the meeting of the International Council on Archives to be held during the celebration of the Nation's bicentennial.

SEC. 3. The delegation made by this order shall become effective upon the expiration of sixty days while the Congress is in session. In computing that sixty days, there shall be excluded days on which either House is not in session because of an adjournment of more than three days.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 27, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:08 p.m.,
November 27, 1974]

Inflation Impact Statements

Executive Order 11821. November 27, 1974

In my address to the Congress on October 8, 1974, I announced that I would require that all major legislative proposals, regulations, and rules emanating from the executive branch of the Government include a statement certifying that the inflationary impact of such actions on the Nation has been carefully considered. I have determined that this objective can best be achieved in coordination with the budget preparation, legislative clearance, and management evaluation functions of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States of America by the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Major proposals for legislation, and for the promulgation of regulations or rules by any executive branch agency must be accompanied by a statement which certifies that the inflationary impact of the proposal has been evaluated. Such evaluation must be in accordance with criteria and procedures established pursuant to this order.

SEC. 2 (a) The Director of the Office of Management and Budget is designated and empowered, to the extent permitted by law, to develop criteria for the identification of major legislative proposals, regulations, and rules emanating from the executive branch which may have a significant impact upon inflation, and to prescribe procedures for their evaluation.

(b) The Director, in carrying out the provisions of this order, may delegate functions to the head of any department or agency, including the Chairman of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, when appropriate in the exercise of his responsibilities pursuant to this order.

SEC. 3. In developing criteria for identifying legislative proposals, regulations, and rules subject to this order, the Director must consider, among other things, the following general categories of significant impact:

- a. cost impact on consumers, businesses, markets, or Federal, State or local government;
- b. effect on productivity of wage earners, businesses or government at any level;
- c. effect on competition;
- d. effect on supplies of important products or services.

SEC. 4. Each Federal department and agency must, to the extent permitted by law, cooperate with the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in the performance of his functions under this order, furnish him with such information as he may request, and comply with the procedures prescribed pursuant to this order.

SEC. 5. This order expires December 31, 1976, unless extended prior to that time.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
November 27, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:09 p.m.,
November 27, 1974]

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Jack J. Valenti To Be a Member of the Board of Directors. November 27, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jack J. Valenti, of Houston, Tex., to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the remainder of a term expiring March 26, 1976. He succeeds Irving Kristol.

Mr. Valenti is currently president of the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. and the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers, Inc. From November of 1963 to June of 1966, Mr. Valenti served as Special Assistant to the President in the Johnson Administration.

Mr. Valenti was born on September 5, 1921, in Houston, Tex., and received his B.A. degree from the University of Houston in 1946. He received his M.B.A. degree from Harvard University Graduate School of Business in 1948.

He is married to the former Mary Margaret Wiley, and they have three children. They reside in Washington, D.C.

Railroad Retirement Board

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Neil P. Spiers for Reappointment as a Member of the Board. November 27, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate for reappointment Neil P. Spiers, of Arlington Heights, Ill., to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board for a term of 5 years.

Since 1969, he has served as a member of the Railroad Retirement Board and also served as assistant president of the United Transportation Union. He was employed by the Southern Pacific Railroad from 1937 to 1952, prior to joining the national offices of the International Switchmen's Union, serving until 1969.

He was born on December 25, 1912, in Red Deer, Alberta, Canada. He received his B.A. degree from the University of Idaho in 1934.

He is married to the former Catherine Galan and they reside in Arlington Heights, Ill.

Environmental Protection Agency

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Wilson K. Talley To Be an Assistant Administrator. November 27, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Wilson K. Talley, of Oakland, Calif., to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. He will succeed Stanley M. Greenfield, who resigned effective May 24, 1974.

Mr. Talley is currently study director of the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans. From 1971 to 1974, he served as assistant vice president in the office of the president of the University of California. In 1969, he was named Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, serving until 1970. During this period he was also a consultant to the University of California until 1971. From 1963 to 1969, he held the positions of assistant professor, associate professor, and professor in the department of applied science at the University of California.

Mr. Talley was born on January 27, 1935, in St. Louis, Mo., and received his A.B. in physics from the University of California in 1956. He was awarded his S.M. degree in 1958 from the University of Chicago and his Ph. D. from the University of California in 1963.

Mr. Talley resides in Oakland, Calif.

Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality

Announcement of Appointment of Four Members. November 27, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of four persons to be members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality for terms expiring May 3, 1977. They are:

RICHARD M. FAIRBANKS III, of the District of Columbia. He succeeds Rene J. Dubos, whose term expired.

JOSEPH L. HALLER, of Hollidaysburg, Pa. This is a reappointment.

TERESE T. HERSHEY, of Houston, Tex. She succeeds Frank Borman, whose term expired.

JACK B. OLSON, of Wisconsin Dells, Wis. This is a reappointment.

The Committee was established by Executive order on May 29, 1969, to advise the President and the Council on

Environmental Quality on matters affecting environmental quality.

Wright Brothers Day, 1974

Proclamation 4336. November 27, 1974

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

On December 17, 1903, near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, Orville and Wilbur Wright revolutionized transportation in America and the world. The two brothers made the first successful flight in a heavier-than-air, mechanically-propelled airplane designed and built by them after years of difficult experimentation.

In the 71 years since their epic flight, aviation and space technology has contributed to closer ties among the peoples of the world by igniting their imagination, promoting commerce, and encouraging travel.

To commemorate the historic achievements of the Wright brothers, the Congress, by a joint resolution of December 17, 1963 (77 Stat. 402), designated the seventeenth day of each December as Wright Brothers Day. It requested that the President issue annually a proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Now, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby call upon the people of this Nation, and their local and national government officials, to observe Wright Brothers Day, December 17, 1974, with appropriate ceremonies and activities to recall the accomplishments of the Wright brothers and to encourage further aviation advances in this country and throughout the world.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-seventh day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:08 p.m.,
November 27, 1974]

The President's Visit to the People's Republic of China

Text of United States-People's Republic of China Joint Communique Announcing Plans for the Visit. November 29, 1974

MR. NESSEN. I am going to read you the text of a communique that is being issued here in Washington and

in Peking for simultaneous release at 11 o'clock Eastern Time.

"Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, visited the People's Republic of China from November 25 through November 29, 1974. The U.S. and Chinese sides held frank, wide-ranging and mutually beneficial talks. They reaffirmed their unchanged commitment to the principles of the Shanghai Communiqué. The two Governments agreed that President Gerald R. Ford would visit the People's Republic of China in 1975."

That is the end of the text of the communiqué. There is a personal comment from President Ford, which is as follows:

"I look forward to visiting the People's Republic of China sometime next year, and to continuing the process of normalizing our relations."

NOTE: Press Secretary Ronald H. Nessen read the joint communiqué at a morning news conference at the White House on Friday, November 29, 1974.

National Credit Union Board

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Kathryne Ford Vachon To Be a Member of the Board. November 29, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kathryne Ford Vachon, of Miami, Fla., to be a member of the National Credit Union Board for the remainder of a term expiring December 31, 1978. She will succeed Lorena Causey Matthews who resigned effective July 5, 1974. She will represent Federal Credit Union Region 3 which is headquartered in Atlanta, Ga.

From 1947 to February of 1974, she has been employed by Tropical Telco Federal Credit Union, serving as a manager and a member of the board of directors.

Mrs. Vachon is married and resides in Miami, Fla.

There are presently six Federal Credit Union Regions, and the President appoints one person to represent each region. The President also nominates the Chairman of the Board, and he serves at the pleasure of the President. The members for the six regions serve terms of 6 years.

The Board gives advice, counsel, and guidance to the Administrator of the National Credit Union Administration with respect to matters of policy relating to the activities and functions of the Administration.

Executive Warrants for Clemency

The President's Remarks Upon Signing the Warrants in a Ceremony in the Cabinet Room. November 29, 1974

First, let me, before reading the prepared statement, thank the Chairman and all of the members of the Board. I know it has been a difficult job and a tough responsibility, but I, for one, am very grateful for what each and every one of you have done.

On September 16, I announced my program of clemency, and I am pleased on this Thanksgiving weekend that I am able to announce my first decisions on recommendations of the Presidential Clemency Board involving 18 individual cases of draft evasion.

I wish to thank each of you here for sharing this ceremonial moment, and I also wish to thank the Clemency Board members for their very hard and effective work.

Signing ceremonies often mark the end of a project, but today these signings represent the beginning of the difficult task of administering clemency. Instead of signing these decisions in a routine way, I wish to use this occasion to underline the commitment of my Administration to an evenhanded policy of clemency.

When I initiated the policy, I detailed the reasons for my decision in this very difficult problem. I consider them as valid today as when I first announced them. We do not resolve difficult issues by ignoring them. There are honest differences that will continue to be discussed, but discussions must not overshadow the need for action and fair and open resolution of the clemency problem.

Of the 18 recommendations the Board has made to me, I have reviewed each one and have personally approved each one. Information on these cases will be made available by the Press Office.

I believe this more detailed information will help to explain the basis for my decision in each instance. Of course, considerable more information was made available to the Board, and to me, on which to base these decisions, but to make public the complete files on each individual would be a negation of his right to privacy.

In each case, however, the law was violated, and each has received punishment. The power of clemency can look to reasons for these actions which the law cannot. Unlike God's law, man's law cannot probe into the heart of human beings. The best way we can do this is to offer clemency and to provide a way for offenders to earn their way back into a rightful place in society.

Last week, I traveled overseas in search for peace. Yet, we cannot effectively seek peace abroad with other nations until we have made peace at home. While America reaches out to those whom we have disagreed with in the past, we must do no less within our own Nation.

Sometimes it seems easier for us to forgive foreign enemies than fellow Americans at home. Let us continue

to search for a softening of the national animosity caused by differences over the Vietnam war. We will not forget the sacrifices of those who served and died in Vietnam.

In their honor, America must seek ways to live up to the ideals of freedom and charity that they fought to preserve. These first few decisions do not end the unfinished business of clemency, but the task of formal forgiveness is underway.

I hope it marks the beginning of personal forgiveness in the hearts of all Americans troubled by Vietnam and its aftermath.

I do want to thank all of the Board members, not only for the first-class job they have done but the way in which they have approached this very difficult responsibility. I am grateful. I am sure the individuals in the cases that are involved here are grateful. And I think the American people will be grateful for them assuming a difficult responsibility and performing it with very great distinction.

I thank you, Charlie,¹ and each of the Board members on this occasion on behalf of all, including 213 million Americans.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:21 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

Renegotiation Board

Exchange of Letters Between the President and William Scholl Whitehead Upon Mr. Whitehead's Resignation as Chairman of the Board.
November 29, 1974

Dear Bill:

I have your letter of November 29, and I will, of course, accept your resignation as Chairman of the Renegotiation Board, effective December 1, 1974.

The last five years have been difficult and challenging ones for you, and I want you to know that I fully understand the considerations which prompted your decision to resign the Chairmanship prior to your resignation as a member. The Renegotiation Board has a most important and vital role in government, and it is my intention to reinvigorate the Board so as to expand its role in the fight against inflation.

You have my sincere thanks and deep appreciation for your years of service to our Nation. Please know that you

¹ Charles E. Goodell, Chairman of the Presidential Clemency Board.

take with you my very best wishes for every happiness and success in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

November 29, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

It is respectfully requested that I be relieved from the duties as Chairman and activities as a Member of this Agency, effective December 1, 1974. Under such an arrangement I would, however, expect to utilize my present facilities at the Board for purposes of putting my affairs in order until my retirement, on December 31, 1974.

The basic reason for the above request is that the Board is about to become involved in the determination of several major policy areas. Under the circumstances, I believe the continuing Members should have a free hand in making these decisions during this last phase of my transitional period.

Sincerely,

W. S. WHITEHEAD
Chairman

NOTE: The White House announced that the President has designated Rex M. Mattingly as Acting Chairman of the Renegotiation Board, effective December 1, 1974.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO JAPAN, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, AND THE SOVIET UNION

November 18

Following a flight from Anchorage, Alaska, the President arrived at Tokyo International Airport and then went by helicopter to Akasaka Palace where he would stay during his visit to Tokyo.

November 19

The President received a formal welcome in a ceremony at Akasaka Palace where he was greeted by Emperor Hirohito, Crown Prince Akihito, and Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. Following the ceremony, the President and the Emperor went to the Imperial Palace

where the Emperor introduced the President to Empress Nagako. It was later announced that the President had renewed the invitation for the Emperor and Empress to visit the United States in 1975 and that the invitation had been accepted.

During the day, at Akasaka Palace, the President:

- held his first meeting with Prime Minister Tanaka;
- greeted Kyokichi Minobe, Governor of Tokyo; and
- met with a group of Japanese Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts.

November 20

The President held another meeting with Prime Minister Tanaka at Akasaka Palace.

The President attended an exhibition of traditional and modern Japanese athletics at the Nippon Budokan Hall. The exhibition included demonstrations of judo, kendo (Japanese fencing), the naginata (an ancient weapon), gymnastics, and volleyball.

The President attended a reception at the U.S. Ambassador's residence for members of the American community in Tokyo.

November 21

In a ceremony on the grounds of Akasaka Palace, the President planted a dogwood tree as a memento of his visit to Japan.

After an official farewell ceremony at Akasaka Palace attended by Emperor Hirohito, members of the Imperial Family, and Prime Minister Tanaka, the President departed for Kyoto.

In Kyoto, an ancient capital of Japan, the President visited the Imperial Palace, Nijo Castle, and Kinkakuji Temple (the Gold Pavilion). In the evening, the President was the guest of Nobuhiko Ushiba, former Ambassador to the United States, at an informal dinner at a Kyoto restaurant.

November 22

After his flight to Seoul, the President visited the National Cemetery and laid wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknowns and Madame Park's Tomb. In the afternoon, the President met with Korean President Park at the Blue House.

November 23

After an official farewell ceremony at Kimpo International Airport attended by President Park, the President boarded Air Force One for a flight to Tokyo where a Russian navigator joined the crew for the flight to the Soviet Union.

Arriving at Vozdvizhenka Airport in Ussuriysk, the President was greeted by General Secretary Brezhnev. The President and the General Secretary boarded a train for the trip to Vladivostok where they met during the evening in the conference hall at the Oreanskiy Sanitarium.

November 24

After concluding their meetings, General Secretary Brezhnev accompanied the President on a tour of Vladivostok. The President then boarded a train for the return trip to Ussuriysk and a flight to Washington via Anchorage, Alaska.

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOLLOWING RETURN TO WASHINGTON

November 26

The President met at the White House with the bipartisan Congressional leadership to discuss his trip to Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Soviet Union. Also attending the meeting were the Chairmen and ranking minority members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and the Senate and House Committees on Armed Services and Appropriations.

Secretary of Agriculture Butz met with the President to report on the meeting in Rome of the World Food Conference.

The President attended a reception at the State Department in honor of retiring Representative John J. Rooney of New York.

November 27

The President met at the White House with a group of his economic advisers to discuss the prospects in the Congress for his economic program. Participating in the meeting were: Secretary of the Treasury Simon, Assistants to the President Seidman and Timmons, OMB Director Ash, Chairman Greenspan of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Special Representative for Trade Negotiations Eberle.

The President met with George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, to brief him on the strategic arms limitation talks.

November 28

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a Thanksgiving Day brunch at the White House for members of the 30-30 Club, the President's teammates from the Grand Rapids South High School football team of 1930.

November 29

The President met at the White House with a group of Cabinet members and Administration officials to discuss the Administration's land-use policy.

Pennsylvania Senators Hugh Scott and Richard S. Schweiker and Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo met with the President to discuss the impact of military base closings announced recently by the Department of Defense.

The following Ambassadors presented their credentials to the President in ceremonies in the Oval Office: Adrien Meisch of Luxembourg, Saeed Ahmad Ghobash of the United Arab Emirates, Dr. Roberto Lazarus of Hon-

duras, Marie J. McIntyre of Grenada, and Jose Perez Caldas of Uruguay.

The President has designated Senator Carl T. Curtis as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, to head the U.S. delegation at inaugural cere-

monies for Anastasio Somoza Debayle as President of the Republic of Nicaragua in Managua from November 29 to December 2. The delegation also includes Turner B. Shelton, U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua, and Representative John M. Murphy.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released November 19, 1974

News conference: on the President's meeting with Prime Minister Tanaka—by Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State

Released November 20, 1974

Advance text: remarks at the Japan Press Club

News conference: on the United States-Japan joint communique—by Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State

Released November 21, 1974

Advance text: remarks on arrival in Seoul

Released November 22, 1974

Advance text: toast at a dinner honoring the President

News conference: on the President's meeting with President Park—by Phillip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Released November 24, 1974

News conference: on the President's meeting with General Secretary Brezhnev—by Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State

Advance text: toast at a luncheon honoring the President

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released November 26, 1974

Fact sheet: National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974

News conference: on the National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974—by Claude S. Brinegar, Secretary, Frank C. Herringer, Administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Transportation Department; and Mayors Joseph D. Alioto of San Francisco, Calif., and Abraham D. Beame of New York City

Fact sheet: on the President's message to Congress on actions to reduce 1975 spending

News conference: on the President's message to Congress on actions to reduce 1975 spending—by Roy L. Ash, Director, Office of Management and Budget; Frank G. Zarb, Associate Director for Natural Resources, Agriculture, Energy and Science; Donald G. Ogilvie, Acting Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs; and Paul H. O'Neill, Deputy Director-designate

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued

Released November 27, 1974

Announcement: intention to nominate James P. Churchill to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan

Announcement: intention to nominate H. Dale Cook to be United States District Judge for the Northern, Eastern, and Western Districts of Oklahoma

Announcement: on the signing of Executive Order 11821 on inflation impact statements

Released November 29, 1974

Announcement: intention to nominate James M. Fitzgerald to be United States District Judge for the District of Alaska

News conference: on the signing of executive warrants for clemency—by Charles E. Goodell, Chairman, Presidential Clemency Board

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved November 26, 1974

S. 386..... Public Law 93-503

National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate by the President during the period covered by this issue.

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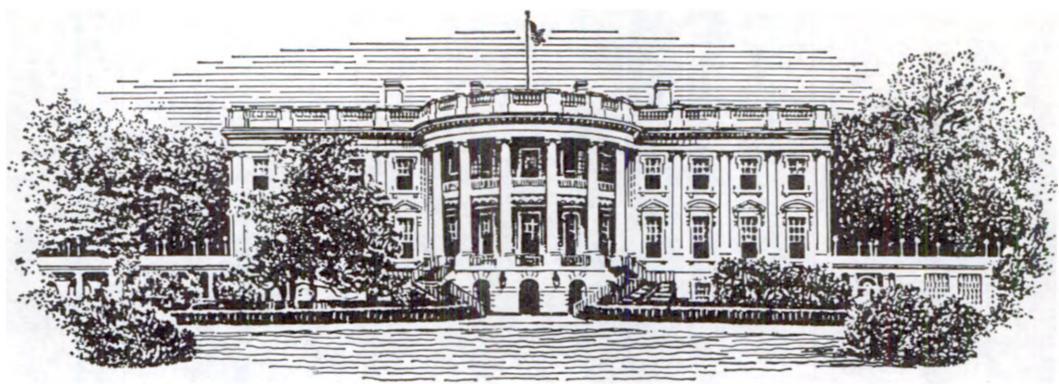
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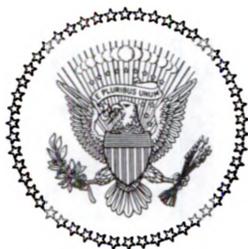


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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, December 6, 1974

Disaster Assistance for Texas

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Storms and Flooding. November 30, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the State of Texas as a result of damage caused by severe storms and flooding beginning about September 12, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the State.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the flooding, disaster unemployment assistance, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Texas will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and State damage assessments.

Mr. Joe D. Winkle, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region VI, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Disaster Assistance for Puerto Rico

Announcement of Disaster Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Storms, Landslides, and Flooding. November 30, 1974

The President today declared a major disaster for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico as a result of damage caused by severe storms, landslides, and flooding beginning about October 23, which caused damage to public, private, and agricultural property. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief and recovery efforts in designated areas of the Commonwealth.

Federal assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund will consist primarily of temporary housing assistance for families who have lost their homes as a result of the flooding, disaster unemployment assistance, and the repair or restoration of damaged streets, roads, bridges, and public facilities and utilities. Low-interest-rate disaster loans for homeowners and businesses will be made available by the Small Business Administration under the authorities of Public Law 93-24, and emergency loan assistance will be made available by the Farmers Home Administration.

Federal relief activities in Puerto Rico will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the Commonwealth eligible for Federal assistance, based upon Federal and Commonwealth damage assessments.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region II, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the Commonwealth in providing Federal disaster assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

Testimonial Dinner for Lee Elder

*The President's Remarks at a Reception Prior to a Dinner Honoring the Professional Golfer.
December 1, 1974*

Let me just make a few observations and comments. It is so nice for me personally to have an opportunity to be here with Lee and Rose and to pay tribute not only to Lee's great prowess and capability, skill, competitive spirit on the golf links but also to pay tribute to a wonderful pair. Between Lee and Rose, I don't think, from my observations, you could find a nicer pair, and I compliment both of them.

I think most of you know that I am a sports buff, a has-been who really reads the sports page first every morning, because you at least get a 50-50 break on the sports page. But, nevertheless, to be here and to participate in a small way in paying tribute to Lee and to Rose, I consider a great privilege and a high honor.

I have watched Lee, of course, over the years. I do watch those tournaments. I have some work in my lap, and then I watch the drives and the putts and wish I could do as well. And I get about half the work done and the rest of the time I am envious of all the skill of Lee. I met Jim Colbert here, Jim Weickers, and I met Jim Dent's wife. I don't know whether I met Jim or not.

But anyhow, I think sports, athletics are very important in our American society, and it was a great thrill for me a couple of weeks ago to play 18 with Lee and John Pohanka and Les Arends. Lee gave me a little advice, and that advice was very sound. In fact, it was very good, and the newspapers printed it. It was so good that Henry Kissinger was getting a little worried.

But anyhow, I think that Lee and I have a great deal in common. You won't think so at the outset. We both are in occupations where there is some spotlight. We are both in occupations where there is a lot of competition. We are both in occupations where the press kind of look at you and see whether you make a mistake or not. All I can say is that the goofs that we make really get publicized. The good part of it is that Lee doesn't make as many as I do.

But the thing that really impresses me about this turnout is the fact that all of you people are here—and many from all over the country—to pay tribute to a person who has achieved what we think in the sports world is a great accomplishment—the right to compete in the Master's Tournament at Augusta.

I just watch that. I could never compete in it, but I admire and respect everybody who has accomplished that great objective. Now you know, next April when Lee is a participant, I am going to be watching on that television set, pulling for Lee to show them that the guy that makes it one year can also win the tournament.

But the reason all of you are here is to contribute to a Lee Elder scholarship fund, a fund that is aimed at giving

a better education to one or more young people. And as we look around the world today, I think we have to recognize that better education is one way for not only us, individually, but our country and the world, to do better in the future. So I thank all of you who have come here and have contributed, because you are not only paying a tribute to Lee, but you are making a good investment in a better America.

Now, one final comment. I don't think many people will remember 1975 as the year that Jerry Ford was President, but they will remember that 1975 was the year that Lee Elder won the Master's.

Good luck to you, Lee. It is nice to be here. You are a great American and a great tribute to golf. I am going to see you at the Kemper; I am going to see you at Doral. I have been to the Doral several times, and I am going to—there is one other that I have committed—Jackie Gleason in Inverrary. I am honorary chairman of that.

It is nice to be here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:05 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Counsellor to the President

*Exchange of Letters Between the President and
Dean Burch Upon Mr. Burch's Resignation.
December 2, 1974*

November 30, 1974

Dear Dean:

I have your letter and it is with the deepest regret that I accept your resignation as Counsellor to the President, effective December 31, 1974, as you requested.

For more than five years, you have served our Nation, first as Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and then here at the White House. In each of your responsibilities, we have come to expect of you not only great dedication and energy, but also an unflinching sense of the needs and well-being of all our people. Needless to say, your services will be greatly missed.

I welcome this opportunity to also express my own personal appreciation for the unhesitating and skillful assistance you have rendered to my Administration these past four months. In particular, I am grateful for your help during those early, critically important days following my assumption to the Presidency when I could with confidence call upon your good counsel as well as your leadership.

Also, I deeply appreciate your very kind comments and good wishes in your letter. In turn, you can be sure that Betty and I extend our warmest best wishes for every happiness and success in the future to you and your family.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Dean Burch, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

November 29, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

For more than five years, it has been my pleasure to serve in the government, both at the Federal Communications Commission and here at the White House. These have been momentous years for me, at once satisfying, frustrating, rewarding and painful.

It is now time for me to return to the private sector to carry out my non-delegable duties as a father and husband. I therefore submit my resignation effective December 31, 1974.

These past months in your administration have been truly gratifying and the courtesies you have extended will never be forgotten. You have grasped the falling standard and by generous applications of hard work, wisdom and above all, human sensitivity, have restored this country's faith in the constitutional system.

I wish for you and your lovely family all the good things which are so richly deserved.

Sincerely,

DEAN BURCH
Counsellor to the President

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

White House Staff

Announcement of Appointment of William N. Walker as Director of the Presidential Personnel Office. *December 2, 1974*

The President today announced the appointment of William N. Walker as Director of the Presidential Personnel Office. He has been a consultant in the White House since late September. In this new position, Mr. Walker will advise the President on selection of candidates for appointments to full-time executive level positions and to part-time boards and commissions.

Mr. Walker was General Counsel of the Federal Energy Office from January 8, 1974, through June 30, 1974, where he was responsible for the petroleum allocation and price control regulations. During the summer of 1974, he conducted a study of international petroleum pricing policies for FEO. Before joining FEO, he served from August 1972 as General Counsel of the Cost of Living Council. In that position, he prepared the wage and price control regulations administered by the Cost of Living Council.

From May 1971 to August 1972, Mr. Walker was Deputy Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs. Prior to that he served from September 1969, in various positions in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Before coming to Washington, Mr. Walker was an attorney in private practice with a large law firm in Chicago. He was a resident of Evanston, Ill.

Mr. Walker was born in Newton, Mass., on April 3, 1938, and attended the Newton public schools. He graduated cum laude from Wesleyan University in 1960 and received his J.D. degree from the University of Virginia in 1963.

He is married to the former Janet Mason Smith. They have two children and reside in the District of Columbia.

Agreement on the International Office of Epizootics

The President's Message to the Senate Transmitting the Agreement for Advice and Consent to Accession. *December 2, 1974*

To the Senate of the United States:

To receive the advice and consent of the Senate to accession, I transmit herewith the International Agreement for the Creation at Paris of an International Office of Epizootics, originated in Paris on January 25, 1924.

In the nearly fifty years of its existence, the International Office of Epizootics (OIE) has become the most important organization in international control of animal diseases. Its current 79-nation membership includes most major developed countries other than the United States. The OIE provides timely warnings to its members of animal disease outbreaks, a form of exchange of technical information, and other valuable services. In these times of increased concern about food availability at home and abroad, the United States is obliged to help protect that supply. The cost of participation in OIE is small when weighed against its potential benefits. Also the United States can make its scientific and managerial experience in disease control available through OIE in an effective way to underline our international interest in food supply.

I, therefore, recommend that the Senate grant early and favorable consideration to the Agreement and give its advice and consent to accession.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 2, 1974.

Legacy of Parks Program

Announcement of Transfer of 21 Parcels of Land for Park and Recreation Use Under the Program. *December 2, 1974*

The President today announced the transfer of an additional 21 parcels of land in 16 States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico for park and recreation use under

the Legacy of Parks program. This program, which is under the direction of the Federal Property Council, was inaugurated in March 1971 with the first cost-free transfer of \$1.1 million worth of Federal property to the county of Nassau, N.Y.

The 21 properties total 2,735.66 acres and have an estimated market value of \$11,017,000. According to the Federal Property Council, these 21 new properties will serve a population of approximately 4,647,600. Today's announcement brings to 482 the number of Legacy of Parks properties in all 50 States, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia.

Included in the 21 properties are one in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Mississippi, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, Washington and Wyoming; and two in Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, and Texas.

NOTE: The announcement also included a list and description of the lands to be transferred.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF DECEMBER 2, 1974

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO JAPAN, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, AND THE SOVIET UNION

OPENING STATEMENT

THE PRESIDENT. Good evening.

Perhaps I can anticipate some of your questions by summarizing my recent visits to Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Soviet Union.

In Japan, we succeeded in establishing a new era of relations between our two countries. We demonstrated our continuing commitment to the independence and to the security of South Korea.

At Vladivostok we put a firm ceiling on the strategic arms race, which heretofore has eluded us since the nuclear age began. I believe this is something for which future generations will thank us.

Finally, Secretary Kissinger's mission maintained the momentum in China with the People's Republic of China.

My meetings at Vladivostok with General Secretary Brezhnev were a valuable opportunity to review Soviet-American relations and chart their future course. Although this was our original purpose, Secretary Brezhnev and I found it possible to go beyond this get-acquainted stage.

Building on the achievements of the past 3 years, we agreed that the prospects were favorable for more sub-

stantial and, may I say, very intensive negotiations on the primary issue of a limitation of strategic arms. In the end, we agreed on the general framework for a new agreement that will last through 1985.

We agreed it is realistic to aim at completing this agreement next year. This is possible because we made major breakthroughs on two critical issues:

Number one, we agreed to put a ceiling of 2,400 each on the total number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched missiles, and heavy bombers.

Two, we agreed to limit the number of missiles that can be armed with multiple warheads—MIRV's. Of each side's total of 2,400, 1,320 can be so armed.

These ceilings are well below the force levels which would otherwise have been expected over the next 10 years and very substantially below the forces which would result from an all-out arms race over that same period.

What we have done is to set firm and equal limits on the strategic forces of each side, thus preventing an arms race with all its terror, instability, war-breeding tension, and economic waste.

We have, in addition, created the solid basis from which future arms reductions can be made and, hopefully, will be negotiated.

It will take more detailed negotiations to convert this agreed framework into a comprehensive accord. But we have made a long step toward peace on a basis of equality, the only basis on which an agreement was possible.

Beyond this, our improved relations with the other nations of Asia developed on this journey will continue to serve the interests of the United States and the cause of peace for months to come. Economy, energy, security, and trade relations were discussed, which will be of mutual benefit to us all.

I would like to repeat publicly my thanks and gratitude for the hospitality extended to me by all of my hosts and, through me, to the American people.

Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International]. I am glad to respond to your question.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, this pact permits the nuclear buildup to go ahead. Since you want to cut Government spending, how many billions of dollars will this cost the American people over the years, and also, do you think that the Russians stalled last July because they knew that Mr. Nixon was doomed in the Presidency and preferred to deal with his successor?

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to correct, if I might, one impression. This does not permit an agreed buildup. It puts a cap on future buildups, and it actually reduces a part of the buildup at the present time.

It is important, I should say, however, in order for us to maintain equality, which is a keystone of this program, to have an adequate amount of military expenditures. But I can say this without hesitation or qualification: If we

had not had this agreement, it would have required the United States to substantially increase its military expenditures in the strategic areas.

So, we put a cap on the arms race. We actually made some reductions below present programs. It is a good agreement, and I think that the American people will buy it, because it provides for equality and it provides for a negotiated reduction in several years ahead.

Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, there are reports that you and Mr. Brezhnev made some progress in maybe fashioning a complementary approach to negotiations in the Middle East. More specifically, perhaps the Soviets would agree to try to persuade the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] to acknowledge that Israel has a right to exist, and we then might try to persuade Israel to talk to the PLO. Is there any truth to this?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Cormier, Mr. Brezhnev and I did discuss at some length our different views on the settlement of the Middle East. There are some differences, but they are not as major as it would appear.

We indicated that, in our judgment, it was important for continuous progress to be made, perhaps with negotiations between Israel and one or more of the other Arab nations.

We also agreed that at a certain point a Geneva conference might be the final answer. So, as we discussed our, what appeared to be different views at the outset, I think we came to an agreement that it was in the interest of the nations in the Middle East, the interest of the world at large, that both parties make a maximum effort to keep negotiations going.

We think our step-by-step approach is the right one for the time being, but we don't preclude the possibility of a Geneva conference.

Yes, sir.

Q. You say that this is going to reduce a part of the buildup. Does that mean, then, that we are going to spend less on defense next year than we are spending this year?

THE PRESIDENT. It does not mean that, because only a part of our total defense program is related to strategic arms research, development, deployment, and operations and maintenance. We do have an obligation within the limits of 2,400 on delivery systems and 1,320 on MIRV's to keep our forces up to that level.

And I think we can, with about the same expenditure level for the next fiscal year, as at the present.

But in the other programs, in our tactical forces and other military programs, there is an inflationary cost. The military has that inflation just like you and I do, so we will probably have to increase our military budget next year just to take care of the costs of inflation.

Yes.

Q. Just to follow up, we are not quite to that ceiling yet, are we? Do you intend to stay below that ceiling, or are you going to try to reach that ceiling?

THE PRESIDENT. I intend to stay below the ceiling. That is the agreement. But we do have an obligation to stay up to that ceiling, and the budget that I will recommend will keep our strategic forces either up to or aimed at that objective.

Q. Mr. President, since it is widely believed the Soviet Union has larger rockets capable of carrying heavier payloads and being MIRVed, to a larger extent carrying more warheads, can you tell us what the relative position would be between the United States and the Soviet Union in terms of warheads if each side goes to the maximum number of 1,320 on the MIRVed limit?

THE PRESIDENT. On delivery systems, we are equal. On the MIRVing, we are equal. I think the question you are asking is throw weight. It is recognized that the Soviet Union has a heavier throw weight, but the agreement does not preclude the United States from increasing its throw weight capability.

A number of years ago, our military decided that we wanted smaller missiles that were more accurate. That has been the decision of our military.

Now, if the military decides at the present time that they want to increase the throw weight, we have that right under the agreement, and I can tell you that we have the capability to do so.

So, if there is an inequality in throw weight, it can be remedied if our military recommended and the Congress appropriates the money.

Q. Mr. President, if you find the Soviet Union leaning, then, toward getting the maximum throw weight or the maximum number of warheads on their MIRV missiles, would you then recommend that the United States accelerate and move from smaller missiles to larger ones?

THE PRESIDENT. The Soviet military guidelines were for heavier missiles, heavier throw weight. Our military took a different point of view some years ago. The Soviet Union is limited as to delivery systems and as to MIRV's within the delivery systems. They cannot go beyond those.

The agreement gives us the flexibility to move up in throw weight if we want to. It does not preclude the Soviets from increasing throw weight, but I think for good reasons they have no justification for doing so.

Yes, Mr. Sperling [Godfrey Sperling, Christian Science Monitor].

Q. Wouldn't your stated accomplishments in Russia have carried more long-range credibility if they had been put initially and then described later on in less sanguine and more modest terms?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if I understand the question, when I came back a week ago yesterday, we did not have in writing what is called an aid memoir, which was the specific agreement in writing that General Secretary Brezhnev and I had agreed to verbally. That has now been received.

Until that had been received and we had checked it out, we felt it was wise to speak in generalities. I am giving

to you and to the American people tonight the specific figures. They are, I think, constructive. It is a good agreement. It is an agreement—if I might repeat—that puts a cap on the arms race, it makes some reductions, and it gives us an opportunity to negotiate.

So, I don't think a week's delay in the specifics has handicapped our presentation.

Q. More specifically, what percentage of the state of progress in Russia was yours and how much was Mr. Nixon's?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't really think I ought to get into an evaluation of that. The United States has been working on a strategic arms limitation agreement for 3 or 4 years. I think we made headway in SALT I. I think we have made a real breakthrough in SALT Two.

Q. Mr. President, I would like to get back to the cost of missiles for one moment, if we may. I understand we are now spending about \$15 billion a year in strategic arms, and there is an enormous amount of missile building to be done under this agreement over the next 10 years, both in MIRV's and in throw weight. Will our costs continue at about the level they are now for the next 10 years or will it be more?

THE PRESIDENT. My best judgment is that our strategic arms cost will hold relatively the same. It will not be substantially expanded other than for any increase resulting from inflation.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, under the agreement, the United States tactical nuclear weapons at the forward bases in Europe were not included. Do you expect that they will be reduced or eliminated under some future mutual balanced force reduction agreement with the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. One of the very significant benefits of the agreement from Vladivostok was the fact we didn't have to include in the 2,400 or the 1,320—either the delivery systems or the MIRVs—as far as the forward base systems were concerned.

I am sure you know we are involved in mutual balanced force reductions in Western Europe. When we get closer to an agreement there—and I hope we will—we are presently negotiating in Vienna in this area—it is hopeful that we can make some reductions both in numbers of military personnel between ourselves and the allies on the one side and the Warsaw Pact nations and the Soviet Union on the other, as well as any arms reductions.

Q. Beyond your hope, is that a commitment that you made to the Soviet leaders in Vladivostok?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we made no agreement concerning the mutual balanced force reductions. We did agree to continue negotiations.

Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied that the Soviets are carrying out the spirit and the letter of the 1972 arms limitation agreements?

THE PRESIDENT. We know of no violations, either on the part of the Soviet Union or by ourselves. There have

been some allegations that the Soviet Union has violated the SALT I agreement. We don't think they have.

There are, however, some ambiguities. When the SALT I agreement was agreed to, there was established a standing consultative commission made up of the Soviet Union and the United States. That commission can meet twice a year to analyze any allegations as to violations of SALT I. It is our intention to call for a meeting of that group—I think in January of next year—to analyze any of the ambiguities that have been alleged. We don't think there have been any violations, but I have a responsibility to find out, and we intend to follow through under the agreed procedure of the 1972 agreements.

Q. Mr. President, since there is no limit in this agreement on throw weight and since there is no limit on multiple warheads, and since additional multiple warheads could be put on the bigger missiles, more or less ad infinitum, how can you say that this is a lid or cap on the arms race?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it certainly, number one, puts a limit on the delivery systems—2,400—and as I indicated at the outset, this does result in a cutback as far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

The 1,320 limitation on MIRV's does put a lid on the planned or programmed program for ourselves as well as the Soviet Union.

Now, the throw weight problem is one that we can remedy if we want to. Our military took a different point of view some years ago when they designed our ballistic missiles, but we have that flexibility.

Now, if we decide to go to a heavier throw weight, we can add on a MIRVed missile a greater number of individual warheads. That is a choice of flexibility that we have and I think it is one of the benefits of this agreement.

Q. You wouldn't describe that as an arms race?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is an attempt, if our military wanted to achieve an equality in this particular area. We have equality on delivery systems and the right to MIRV from those delivery systems. In the other, if it is our choice, we can go up in throw weight.

Yes, Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service].

Q. Mr. President, I want to ask you, what about conventional weapons? We have heard from Senator Goldwater and we have heard from Admiral Zumwalt that we are very weak on conventional weapons and we need more of those, rather than the kind that you have in your agreement.

THE PRESIDENT. Well of course, this agreement, Sarah, was limited to strategic arms. We hope, as I indicated a moment ago, to continue our negotiations for the mutual balanced force reductions in Europe. That, of course, would have a limit on the conventional weapons.

In the meantime, I think it is of mandatory importance for the United States to maintain its conventional capa-

bility—the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Marines—because the United States, through a responsible military program, can maintain the peace.

If we cut back our defense in conventional weapons, I think we will have weakened our position for the maintenance of peace. I don't intend to propose a budget in that regard.

O. Mr. President, do you think that we can do both of these, then?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so.

Q. To follow up on Frank Cormier's question, did you and Mr. Brezhnev discuss some kind of a trade-off whereby Israel would deal with the PLO and the PLO would recognize Israel's right to exist as a state?

THE PRESIDENT. We didn't get into that detail. Israel has indicated that it would not negotiate with the PLO. We have no way of forcing them to do so.

The discussion between Mr. Brezhnev and myself, as far as the Middle East was concerned, was to state our position and their position, and as we discussed it, I think we came to a higher degree of agreement in that our position was understood by them and the prospects of a Geneva agreement was understood by us.

MR. CORMIER. I understand you would like to devote about half of the news conference to domestic affairs, and I think we are about at the halfway point.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Mr. Cormier.

THE ECONOMY

OPENING STATEMENT

I would be glad to talk about both of them a lot longer, but let me make a statement about the economy and then we will have questions on that.

Before turning to domestic questions, which I am sure will concentrate on our economic problems, I would like to say this: We are currently facing three serious challenges—inflation, recession, and energy.

Inflation, which is a deadly long-range enemy that cannot be ignored.

Recession, which is a serious threat that already has hurt many, many citizens and alarms many, many more. Hopefully, it is a shorter-range evil, but neither can be ignored, nor will it be.

Assuring adequate energy will require our best efforts. The energy crisis also contributes both to inflation and to recessionary pressures.

Much of the program that I recommended to the Congress and the American people on October 8 is still pending before the Congress. It was designed to meet all three of these challenges. It was balanced to deal with an already rampaging inflation and already anticipated recessionary forces.

And make no mistake—it is imperative that we fight both inflation and recession at the same time. The question is one of balance and changing circumstances. At

least four measures deserve special and, I think, immediate attention by this Congress. They cannot wait until next March or April.

I have recommended a series of budget-reducing actions totaling \$4.6 billion so that the Federal Government can set an example of fiscal restraint.

Furthermore, I urge the Congress not to add any more spending. As you can see from this chart [*indicating*] the Congress has already added, or is about to add, over \$1 billion to this year's spending, and I add, with emphasis, against my recommendations.

Anticipating rising unemployment 2 months ago, I asked for a National Employment Assistance Act to provide useful work for those who had exhausted their unemployment benefits and others not previously covered. Action on this is essential before the present Congress adjourns.

Action is needed on the Trade Reform Act. This can help immeasurably in fighting both recession and inflation, by creating more jobs and providing more goods as well.

The tax reform bill reported by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House provides needed tax relief for low-income citizens while taxing windfall profits of certain oil companies. I don't support every provision in this committee bill, but on balance it is a good bill and badly needed at this time.

Congress has not only ample time, but the clear obligation to complete action on several vital energy proposals before adjournment.

Times are nowhere near desperate enough to paraphrase President F. D. Roosevelt's great rallying cry that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself. Still it is a good thing to remember. But I do want to say to my fellow Americans that our greatest danger today is to fall victim to the more exaggerated alarms that are being generated about the underlying health and strength of our economy.

We are going to take some lumps, and we are going to take some bumps, but with the help of the Congress and the American people, we are perfectly able to cope with our present and foreseeable economic problems.

But action is more helpful than criticism. And every week that the Congress delays makes the prospects a little bleaker.

I will be glad to answer any questions.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, many people feel that the country is ahead of the Government, that people are prepared to sacrifice if they know that everyone is going to be biting the same bullet at the same time. How does this jibe with your information?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the American people are ready to make more sacrifices than maybe the Congress

and even the executive branch, including the President, believe they will.

I have a great respect and admiration for the strength and the willingness to sacrifice of the American people. I have tried to give them a program that does require some sacrifice—a 5 percent surtax on 28 percent of the taxpayers—so we could alleviate the problems of the people in the lower income brackets.

I have made some other suggestions, but I believe the Congress, along with myself, have to give some leadership to the American people, who I believe are willing to respond. And I have tried to present a program that would call for that response.

I hope the Congress responds, and if they don't like my program, will come up with one of their own, that will equally call upon the American people to make some sacrifices.

Q. Mr. President, in the absence of an Arab oil embargo this winter, could you please give the American people some indication as to whether they can expect a gasoline shortage this winter, that is, long lines at gas stations comparable to last winter. And also, your predecessor made a firm commitment to the effect that Americans would not, under his Administration, have to pay one dollar a gallon for gasoline. Can you make that same assurance over the next 12 months?

THE PRESIDENT. In 1974 at this point, the use of gasoline has been less than the anticipated growth. In other words, we are using less now than the experts forecast we would use when they were laying out the charts as to the anticipated demand.

The net result is that we have more gasoline in storage today than we had a year ago at this time.

Now that is not enough to carry us through in case there was an oil embargo, but we are in a healthier position today than we were a year ago.

Nevertheless, it is my judgment that we have to keep the pressure on the savings of energy, including a hold-down on gasoline consumption. We are trying to reduce our importation of oil from overseas by one million barrels per day. We are making headway in that regard.

We haven't achieved it, but the net result is we don't anticipate at this point from any foreseeable circumstances, any gas rationing, nor do we foresee any serious shortage.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, I don't believe you answered my question about can you make the same assurance that your predecessor did about gasoline not going to a dollar a gallon.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't foresee gasoline going to a dollar a gallon. It is what, 45 to 55 cents a gallon today, depending on where you buy it. I see no prospects of the cost of gasoline going up to a dollar a gallon.

Q. Mr. President, this question perhaps goes back to the earlier part of the news conference, but it has an economic impact. And that is how much will it cost to reach the ceiling which you negotiated with Mr. Brezhnev, and when do you expect that the United States will reach this ceiling?

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated in answer to an earlier question, I think we must continue our present strategic research development, deployment, maintenance programs.

And we are going to move into the present program some additional new weapons systems—the B-1 aircraft, the Trident submarine. The net result is that costs will probably go up as we phase out some and phase in some and phase out others.

Now, the total annual cost will be relatively the same plus the cost of inflation.

Q. Is it \$18 billion?

THE PRESIDENT. It is in that ballpark.

Q. And for how many years do you expect this to continue, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Until we are able to negotiate a reduction below the 2,400 delivery systems and the 1,320 MIRV systems. Yes, Frank.

Q. Although you have repeatedly said that you will not recommend a gasoline tax increase, your advisers on energy seem to be lobbying for this as if we are going to be in a very bad economic situation, very bad in regard to the drain of our assets overseas. Now, will you reconsider your objection to this?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not been persuaded that a 20-cent increase in the gas tax is the right answer. I was interested in a poll that was published today which indicated that 81 percent of the American people agree with my position.

Well, if 81 percent of the American people agree with my position, I really don't think a 20-cent-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax will go through the Congress, even if I recommended it.

So, it is my judgment that if we have to by taxation cut down on consumption, there must be a better way to do it rather than a 20-cent-a-gallon increase in the gas tax. If 81 percent of the American people agree with me and don't agree with the various people who are advocating this, I think I am on pretty solid ground.

Q. The American Conference of Mayors has put as their number one priority the renewal and continuance of the revenue sharing program. Do you plan, in your State of the Union Message to Congress, to ask for a renewal of that program on its present basis?

THE PRESIDENT. I have indicated while I was Vice President, since I have been President, that I think the general revenue sharing program has been a good one. It is now provided from the Federal Treasury around \$16 billion to State and local units of government. I had an

hour-plus meeting with the Domestic Council and others several days ago, and we analyzed the program. I think it ought to be extended.

I think it has produced a great deal of good at the local level as well as at the State level. Now, we are in the process of analyzing any internal changes, but overall, I think the program is good, and I want to work with the Mayors and the Governors and the county commissioners to make sure that the Congress extends this sound program.

Q. Mr. President, does the Justice Department suit to break up AT&T have your full approval, and are you satisfied as to the impact that such a breakup would have on the efficiency and cost of telephone service in the United States?

THE PRESIDENT. I was kept informed, but I don't think I should pass judgment on every antitrust suit that is contemplated by the Department of Justice.

If they think they have a case, I think they ought to take the initiative within broad guidelines that I firmly believe in personally.

Now in this case, as I understand it, it is not a suit aimed at AT&T simply because of its size. It is aimed at AT&T because of its alleged activities that result in non-competition.

Now the Antitrust Act says, in effect, that the elimination of competition is grounds for antitrust action by the Department of Justice. If that is the basis—and I understand it is—then in my opinion the Department of Justice was acting properly.

Q. Mr. President, would you continue to favor your National Employment Assistance Act even if Congress did not pass a tax program to raise the revenue necessary to pay for it?

THE PRESIDENT. I would hope the Congress would be responsible and pass legislation that would provide the revenue to pay for the Unemployment Act extension that I recommended and the public service employment program that I recommended.

I think this was a sound balance we proposed, or I recommended, that we ought to tax the wealthier people, the top 28 percent of the American people, to spread the difficulties of a recession and inflation.

I think it would be irresponsible for the Congress to add expenditures and not provide any additional revenues.

Q. Mr. President, a follow-up, please. If you can get the one without the other, would you take it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will pass judgment on that when that alternative is on my desk.

Q. Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Mr. President, is it wise, is it fair to concentrate much of your budget cutting recommendations on health, education, and welfare and veterans, what we might call the human fringe suffering from inflation most, while not

recommending at all any increased stringency in military weapons?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that is a fair challenge to my program. What I did at the time I looked at the budget was to take into consideration the reductions that the Congress had made in the defense budget, and the Congress had already cut the defense budget \$2.6 billion. I recommended an additional \$400 to \$500 million cut, making it roughly a \$3 billion total cut in the proposed expenditures of the Department of Defense.

Now, since the Defense Department had already had a sizable reduction by the Congress, I felt we had to go across the rest of the spectrum of the Federal Government to find additional reductions.

Now, what we have done was to require certain individuals, for example, who wanted food stamps to pay slightly more in order to qualify for food stamps. We called upon the Congress to slow down, in some instances, public works projects.

We tried in the \$4.6 billion reduction to spread the reductions across the board, and I think if you look at what the Congress did in the first place and what we have proposed in the second, it is a fairly well balanced program.

Yes, sir.

Q. To follow up the question that is reaching but is still in the economic ballpark, if the ceiling works, will there ever be a saving, an actual saving, in expenditures for strategic weapons?

THE PRESIDENT. Very, very definitely, and that is the fundamental question that we have answered. If there had been no ceiling of 2,400 on launchers and 1,320 on MIRV's, we would have had an arms race. The Soviet Union had plans and programs, we believe, to substantially increase the number of launchers and to substantially go beyond 1,320 on the MIRV's.

And we have the capability and, I think, if there had been an arms race with the Soviet Union going higher and higher and higher, we, as a Nation, for our own security, would have been forced to do precisely the same.

So, Mr. Brezhnev and I agreed that we first had to cap the arms race, both in launchers and in MIRV's. We have done that, and I wish to compliment Mr. Brezhnev because his opening statement, if I can paraphrase it, was that he and I, his country and ours, had an obligation to not indulge in an arms race, to put a cap on the proposed expenditures in both categories.

It was a statesmanlike approach at the outset, and because he believed that, and because I believe it, I think we made substantial progress, and I strongly defend what we did.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's fifth news conference was held at 7:31 p.m. on Monday, December 2, 1974, in Room 450 at the Old Executive Office Building. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

Boy Scouts Awards Dinner

The President's Remarks at the Annual Dinner Upon Receiving the Scouter of the Year Award. December 2, 1974

Thank you very much, Bill, Mark, Rudy, Reid, all of you wonderful ladies and gentlemen, and the fine young people, young boys, young girls as well. It is a great privilege and a very high honor to be here tonight, and I thank you very much for the award. It is one of those things I, for one, will never forget.

I think they say once a Scout always a Scout, and I can tell you from my own experience that is true. After all these years I still love the outdoors. I still know how to cook for myself, at least at breakfast. And as anyone who saw those pictures of me in Japan will know, on occasion I still go around in short pants.

I am particularly grateful for your invitation to be here tonight for a very personal reason. It has recently been said that I am too much of a Boy Scout in the way I have conducted myself as President, and so I reviewed the Boy Scout laws and Boy Scout oath.

They say that a Scout is trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent. That is not bad for somebody who knew it 46 years ago.

And the Boy Scout oath is, "On my honor, I will do my best to do my duty to God and my country, to obey the Scout laws, to help other people at all times, to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight."

Well, if these are not the goals of the people of the United States, what they want their President to live up to, then I must draw this conclusion: Either you have the wrong man, or I have the wrong country, and I don't believe either is so.

I happen to believe that the ideals and the aspirations of all Americans and all Boy Scouts are one and the same, and I will continue to use those ideals as a guide and as a compass in all of my official duties. I think our goal ought to be, or should be, more Boy Scouts in Government, not less.

Coming here this evening, after an interesting press conference, to receive this coveted award takes me back a good many years to one of the proudest moments of my youth, the day I was awarded the Eagle Scout badge, more than 46 years ago.

I remember the pride I felt then in the court of honor and the pledge that I made to myself never to dishonor that badge. As Betty knows, I still have that badge, by the way. It is a very treasured possession, and over the years it has been, I think, a good reminder to me. It is a reminder of some of the basic, good things about our country and a reminder of some of the simple but vital values that can make life productive and very rewarding.

A very great American, Dwight D. Eisenhower, once said that his faith in our young people was as unbounded as his faith in America. I share that faith. I believe that the youth and America go hand in hand.

For it is America's youthful spirit, strength, its idealism that are the keys to our country's greatness—even today as we approach our 200th anniversary, 200th anniversary as a nation, we are still a very young country, a young people compared to most other nations on this Earth.

The early explorers understood better than they realized the significance of calling the American continent the "New World." For it was here on these shores that millions of people from every branch of the human family were to come and to make a new beginning, were to launch one of the greatest, noblest adventures in the history of mankind.

From the start, even the humblest of those early settlers seemed to understand. As they landed in this new world they knew that they, too, were beginning a new life, leaving behind the oppressions and the injustices that had darkened old countries and old civilizations.

Of course, this new promised land was not delivered to them upon a silver platter. Each new wave of pioneers and immigrants had to build a place for themselves and add their individual contributions to this new life. It was hard work; it was long work. It took long hours, and it never ended. It still goes on today as we tackle new problems and new challenges.

And that is where Scouting comes in. The teamwork, the self-discipline, and, just as important, the sense of adventure that grow out of the Scouting experience are the very things we need today to build a better America.

So often, the deepest, the most profound emotions and ideas are expressed in very simple words. Today, when some people are casting about for new values, new answers and new outlooks on life, the key to many of our problems lies in the basic values of the Scout laws—in trust, in loyalty, courtesy, thrift, bravery, reverence.

One of the wisest judges of our country, probably one of the wisest we ever produced, was Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Like all great jurists he understood more than just the law. He knew the human mind, the human heart, and he saw a great deal of each of them in his many years on the bench—both their good sides and their bad. It was an experience that might have made a cynic of him, but it did not. The more Justice Brandeis saw of the American people, the more he became convinced of their basic goodness.

In most Americans, he once said, there is a spark of idealism which can be fanned into a flame. Scouting is one of these things that keeps that spark of idealism alive, that plants it in the hearts of young Americans while preparing them for manhood and for citizenship.

That is why, as an old Scout who still tries to live by the Scout laws and the Scout oath, with no apologies, I am proud and honored to accept this award tonight.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 p.m. in the Sheraton Hall at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

The Scouter of the Year Award, a gold coin, honors the President as the first Eagle Scout to become President of the United States.

In his opening remarks, the President referred to William G. Whyte, president, and Rudy Flythe, Scout executive, National Capital Area Council, Boy Scouts of America; Mark Evans, master of ceremonies, and W. Reid Thompson, chairman of the dinner.

United States Ambassador to Algeria

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Richard B. Parker. December 3, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard B. Parker, of Manhattan, Kans., to be Ambassador to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

In 1974, he became Chief of the United States Interests Section in Algiers, and on November 12, 1974, he became Chargé d'Affaires ad interim in Algiers. From 1970 to 1974, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Rabat. In 1967, he was named Country Director for the United Arab Republic, serving until 1970. He became Counselor of Political Affairs in Cairo in 1965, after serving as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at Princeton University. He was a Political Officer in Beirut from 1964 to 1965. He was a Libyan Desk Officer from 1958 to 1961, and served as International Relations Officer from 1957 to 1958 in the Department of State.

From 1949 to 1957, he served in the Foreign Service assigned to Sydney, Australia, and later Beirut and finally Amman. In 1948, he served as Executive Secretary for the Kansas City Commission for UNESCO.

Mr. Parker was born on July 3, 1923, in the Philippines. He received his B.S. degree in 1947 and his M.S. in 1948 from Kansas State College. He served in the United States Army as a first lieutenant from 1943 to 1947.

He is married to the former Jeanne Jaccard, and they have four children. They reside in Algiers, Algeria.

Bill of Rights Day, Human Rights Day and Week

Proclamation 4337. December 3, 1974

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

Two hundred years ago, in September 1774, the First Continental Congress assembled in Carpenters' Hall, in

Philadelphia, and set in motion a course of human events which created the United States. The system of government begun there, and the high principles on which it rests, continues today as the source of vitality for our society.

Anticipating the bicentennial of this Nation's independence, now is an excellent time to pause and consider the groundwork the delegates to Philadelphia laid for our independence. The First Continental Congress adopted a resolution asserting, among other things, the rights of the American people to life, liberty, and property; to participation in the legislative councils of government; to the heritage of the common law; to trial by jury; and to assembly and petition for redress of grievances. This resolution foreshadowed the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.

It is altogether fitting to mark the 200th anniversary of this noble beginning of the Continental Congress. Beyond that, it is imperative that all of us study and cherish the ideas and ideals which bore fruit in the great constitutional documents of our country. At the same time, we should take the opportunity, whenever possible, to strengthen the liberties which have been assured us in the Bill of Rights, ratified one hundred and eighty-three years ago this week, on December 15, 1791.

America's concern with human rights is not something that ends at our borders. Benjamin Franklin wrote to a friend in 1789:

"God grant, that not only the Love of Liberty, but a thorough Knowledge of the Rights of Man, may pervade all the Nations of the Earth, so that a Philosopher may set his Foot anywhere on its Surface, and say, 'This is my Country'."

Franklin's spirit of universality has found rich modern expression in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The link between it and our Bill of Rights is clear. On December 10, we celebrate the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. The General Assembly said that the Universal Declaration stands as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations," reminding us that "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

Now, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 10, 1974, as Human Rights Day and December 15, 1974, as Bill of Rights Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe the week beginning December 10, 1974, as Human Rights Week. Further, I ask all Americans to reflect deeply on the values inherent in the Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and draw on those values to promote peace, justice, and civility at home and around the world.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this third day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:17 p.m.,
December 3, 1974]

Assistant to the President

*Exchange of Letters Between the President and
William E. Timmons Upon Mr. Timmons'
Resignation. December 3, 1974*

December 3, 1974

Dear Bill:

It is with the deepest regret, but also with immense gratitude for you many years of dedicated service to our Nation, that I accept your resignation as Assistant to the President, effective December 31, 1974, as you requested. In so doing, I want you to know that I fully understand the personal concerns which prompted your decision.

For more than twenty-two years, you have made outstanding contributions to the public service through your skillful, energetic leadership, sound judgment and a confident sense of our national well-being. Your years as Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs have been ones of great challenge but also high achievement as decisions have been made and legislative programs molded which will assure a peaceful, prosperous future for all our fellow citizens. You will be missed here at the White House, and I know I can speak for my former colleagues in Congress in saying they too will miss you as the President's liaison with Capitol Hill.

I particularly want to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation for the unhesitating, loyal and highly capable assistance you have given my Administration since I assumed the Presidency last summer. Your certain support and wise counsel were, throughout those early, critically important days, a constant source of strength and confidence for me. You have my thanks and my lasting gratitude.

Betty joins me in wishing you and your family the very best in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable William E. Timmons, The White House,
Washington, D.C.]

December 3, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I respectfully submit my resignation as your Assistant for Legislative Affairs effective December 31, 1974.

My decision to leave public service after twenty-two

years has not been easy, but pressing personal affairs now require my attention. I will depart your service with immense gratitude for being given the opportunity to participate in our national Government.

I regret I will be unable to share the many exciting challenges and opportunities the future holds for you. However, I will leave with the greatest confidence in your leadership, comforted by firsthand knowledge of your abilities, and with warm affection for you, the First Lady and family.

Your character, philosophy and commitment will remain a source of inspiration and strength to me. Best wishes for the accomplishments I know you'll enjoy.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
Assistant to the President

[Honorable Gerald R. Ford, The President, The White House,
Washington, D.C.]

Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

*Announcement of Appointment of Max L. Friedersdorf.
December 3, 1974*

The President today announced the appointment of Max L. Friedersdorf as Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, effective January 1, 1975. He will be the primary White House liaison with the 94th Congress.

Since June 5, 1973, Mr. Friedersdorf has been a Deputy Assistant to the President working with the House of Representatives. During the period April 1, 1971 to June 5, 1973, Mr. Friedersdorf was a Special Assistant in the Congressional Relations office of the White House. From August 1970 until his appointment to the White House staff, he was Associate Director for Congressional Relations with the Office of Economic Opportunity. From January 1961 until 1970, Mr. Friedersdorf was administrative assistant to Congressman Richard L. Roudebush of Indiana.

From 1952 to 1955, he was city editor of the Franklin Evening Star in Franklin, Ind. From 1955 to 1960, he was a reporter with the Louisville Times, the Indianapolis News, and the Chicago Daily News. In 1957, while reporting for the Indianapolis News, Mr. Friedersdorf won the American Political Science Association Award for outstanding reporting of governmental affairs. He was also the recipient of the 1967 American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship Award.

He was born on July 7, 1929, in Grammer, Ind. Mr. Friedersdorf received his B.A. degree in journalism from Franklin College in 1952 and his M.A. degree in communications from American University in 1969.

Mr. Friedersdorf is married and the father of two children. He and his family reside in Alexandria, Va.

AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON TRADE

The President's Address at the Conference. December 3, 1974

Thank you very much, Walter. Distinguished members of the Cabinet, public officials, dedicated American citizens, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this American Conference on Trade. And at the outset, let me assure you that I thank you and I congratulate you on the magnificent efforts that you have made during the day and previously, and I exhort you to continue your efforts until we are successful in the achievement of the objective that has been determined, which is in the best interest of our country.

Within the last several weeks, I traveled about half way around the world. I met leaders of Japan, Korea, and the Soviet Union, and I am here tonight to call on you, my fellow Americans, to come with me on an even greater journey, a journey that could be, without a question of a doubt, the most important in our lives, yours and mine, and will affect countless of Americans for many, many years to come.

It is, very simply put, to redefine, to reshape the role of the United States in world trade. Those of you who are serious and cognizant, and all of you are, about the problems we face on this globe, you know that it is a new world out there. We are witnessing today a worldwide economic revolution.

New, acute economic problems and concerns have moved onto the world scene with startling swiftness. Nations—large as well as small—are redefining their national interests. Some talks in terms of economic bloc or area advantages. And there are those who face the increasing threat of a simple, very stark reality—survival.

The United States and most nations face the most serious economic challenge of the postwar period. Problems of energy, food, inflation, recession, pose unprecedented threats in all parts of the world. They threaten employment; they threaten income. They jeopardize international economic cooperation. And they menace political and security relationships that the United States has taken a generation to construct.

Unless we approach these problems constructively and cooperatively with our principal trading partners, we in the world may face a crisis of the most serious proportions.

These times call for positive, constructive American leadership. The United States cannot afford to drift in a sea of international uncertainty at a time when its highest economic interests call for very decisive actions. We cannot honestly claim leadership of the free world if we do not influence—with practical policies and real purpose—greater economic cooperation.

We must be under no illusion that we can go it alone. I think that is why all of you are here tonight and why I am here. And that is the reason the journey we undertake here must go on vigorously, effectively, and constructively. The word must go out from here tonight to the American people and to the people of other nations, and especially our friends in the Congress, that America has made a very serious decision: We must pass

the Trade Reform Act—now. It is essential to the future of the United States trade policy and that of the world as well. The health of our domestic economy and the strength—yes, the very structure—of our international economic relations are deeply involved.

The Congress must act—and I say this with the utmost seriousness—or its inaction will gravely affect my efforts or anybody else's efforts to turn our economy upward. It will severely limit my ability, or the ability of anybody else, to work for international economic cooperation abroad.

You and I know that this legislation will, in all probability, be long delayed, possibly stymied forever, if it is not passed in the current session of this Congress. From a very practical point of view, it means that for the next year or more when the economic situation calls for decisive decisions, I will serve as your President without the power to fulfill my responsibilities in the crucial area of our Nation's trade.

This vital bill, the trade reform bill, has been pending before Congress for nearly 2 years. Actually, no President of the United States has had the authority to negotiate international trade matters since 1967. International trade relations have not been really revamped since that time. It has been 40 years, as we look back over the pages of history, since passage of the Nation's historic and fundamental Trade Agreements Act of 1934.

The central issue of trade reform is the close interrelationship between our domestic economy on the one hand and our economic international relations. And let us look at this important interrelationship for just a moment.

Admittedly, the American economy is in a recession at the present time. Inflation pressures are many. Fear of unemployment is increasing among our people.

The highest priority of this Administration in the weeks and months ahead, as has been said since I took office 4 months ago, will be to attack these growing and changing economic problems. And one of the most effective ways to start is to pass the trade reform legislation in our national self-interest. Obviously, I will need the full cooperation of the Congress. That is essential for all 213 million Americans. I will. And I have certainly welcomed the comments by the Senate Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield, for bipartisan cooperation. I commend the Senate Committee on Finance and Chairman Russell Long for acting with restraint and not attaching unrelated amendments.

The international economy faces very similar difficulties. Inflation is a worldwide problem. Most of the economies of the industrialized world have swung into a downward cycle, partly as a consequence of inflationary distortions.

International cooperation is absolutely essential if the world is to conquer this twin illness of global recession and global inflation. We in the United States must develop a coordinated domestic and international approach to inflation and to recession. Trade is vital, essential, critical to that program.

Two-way trade for America amounted to \$163 billion for the first 10 months of this calendar year. Those are the latest figures. This leaves our current trade balance at a deficit of some \$2.3 billion. This is due chiefly to the huge increase in the cost of imported oil. In the first 10 months of

this year, oil imports cost us \$20.1 billion compared to \$7.8 billion for all of 1973. Thus, without the enormous increase in oil costs, we would have a good-sized surplus this year. The United States enjoyed a \$1.3 billion surplus last year. This is important to note: Our exports, for the first 10 months of this year, are running at an annual rate of 36 percent above 1973.

These exports add up to many jobs for Americans in all parts of our country and in all sectors of our society. Some three million American workers owe their livelihood to our American exports—from stevedores to aircraft machinists to white collar workers staffing American corporations.

Even the smallest of our business organizations in this country, three out of five successful American exporters have fewer than 100 employees. More than 20 percent of American farm income derives from sales abroad.

Trade—everybody in this room knows—is the bread and butter issue to workers and businesses in our communities, large, small, in all parts of our 50 States. That means farms on the one hand, business on the other, and industry as a whole.

Over the years the effect of trade on our economy has been highly favorable. The U.S. economy—consumers, workers—benefits from imports as well as exports. The explanation is relatively simple: Our total imports for the first 10 months of this year amounted to approximately \$83 billion. About \$37 billion of that figure were essential to American production—metals, foods, chemicals, minerals, including oil.

Many American businesses are heavily dependent on imported materials. Let me offer just a couple of specific examples of how imports help us as an industrial nation.

We are almost entirely dependent on foreign countries for such vital materials as chromium, platinum, titanium, manganese. More than 85 percent of our aluminum comes from overseas; so does most of our bauxite.

When we add the vigor from these imports to the strength of exporting, we can see the significance of trade to America's economic health. Trade adds to the income, the income of the American labor force, and to our economic preeminence in the world at large.

There will be no plus in our balance of trade this year because of the severe, high cost of importing oil. Otherwise, we could be and would be very much in the black.

Naturally, I consider the price we are paying for oil as much too high. It is raising havoc on our domestic economy. If you deduct the increased cost of oil imports, the U.S. exhibits a favorable trade balance of nearly \$8 billion during the first 6 months of 1974.

Oil price increases are upsetting the entire international economic system. The adjustments, the answers must come from international bargaining, from international cooperation, and that is the top priority of this Administration.

The overall effect of our trade is highly favorable, but the Trade Reform Act makes specific provision to assist those who might be adversely affected by imports. No sectors of our economy will be left to face serious disruptions. The legislation clearly states—and I will vigorously

support such provisions—that we will assist workers, firms, communities adversely affected by imports.

In these very difficult times, it may be tempting for some in our great country to turn inward. Powerful forces in this country are not only thinking but actually urging an inward course on legislation, not only in the Trade Reform Act but in many other pieces of legislation. This, in my judgment, would reverse American postwar trade and other policies and would be enormously harmful to us as to the rest of the globe, our allies as well as our adversaries.

It is my strong feeling—and I say this with the deepest conviction—let us turn outward to view the complex picture of international trade. Our Nation lives and acts in the world community within a very intricate framework. It is the framework of political, security, and economic ties that binds nations everywhere together.

There are those in the world who believe that unilateral and bilateral action, promoting their own self-interest, is the quickest and the most promising solution to their problems. I categorically reject that view. We must believe, and I certainly do, that this policy can only lead to conflict, an unending series of flareups and disputes in all parts of the world.

In contrast, the United States believes, and I am committed to this policy if the Congress will urgently let me negotiate, that the only real answer is the long-range solution of total world cooperation. I seek multi-lateral solutions to common problems that will benefit all nations, but I need the Trade Reform Act, and I need it now, if the President of the United States is to have any voice in the international scene.

Let me spell out, if I might, some of the consequences if I do not obtain this legislation from this Congress before it adjourns.

The coming GATT international trade negotiations involving 105 members would be dealt a crippling setback. I would like the necessary legislative authority to implement my accords or any accords; therefore, it would be virtually impossible to arrive at any substantial trade agreements.

The United States international, political, military, economic commitments would be seriously undermined. This, in my opinion, would encourage unrest and would certainly encourage world instability.

But let's be even more precise, if I might. In energy, Secretaries Kissinger and Bill Simon are working diligently on international cooperation. But this cooperation cannot be one in a world involved with increasing strife in trade.

The international monetary system needs significant improvement. If we slide back into trade wars, we undermine our honest efforts to keep the international monetary system functioning effectively. Friendly trade is a must if we are to improve our market imbalances.

Trade is necessary so that developing countries can pay back various forms of outside assistance. Some of the developing nations are directly involved in our own growth. They own raw materials and other commodities in short supply, essential to our development.

The Trade Reform Act offers me sufficient negotiating authority to achieve a substantial reduction in tariff levels on a worldwide basis. It would allow me to work toward greater market access for U.S. products abroad, adding innumerable thousands of jobs in our own 50 States.

This means jobs for Americans. That means a healthier economy. That means Congress has a duty and an obligation to pass this legislation now.

Let me use one other fact, if I might. I can assure you from my recent experiences that the Soviets are not sitting back. They are not looking for a seat as a spectator. They want and they will get part of the action.

The Soviets are ready to trade—politically, economically—but it will take time. It will take negotiation on the one hand, some very hard bargaining on the other. We have made a good beginning politically, a breakthrough on controlling the latest generation of nuclear weapons, a breakthrough for peace. Let us make the same breakthrough for trade essential for détente and progress around the world.

In 1973, the United States achieved a trade surplus of more than \$1 billion from the Soviet Union. Another \$900 million surplus came from other Communist countries around the world. Trade with these nations was, therefore, a very crucial factor in our overall trade surplus of \$1.7 [\$1.3] billion in 1973.

The Soviets will not deal unless we work to achieve mutually beneficial economic policies, including the elimination of discrimination against their trade, and unless we are willing to provide appropriate levels of credit within the framework established by the Congress.

Let's be very clear about this. Our competitive trading partners of Western Europe and Japan are issuing credits to Communist countries with which they are now trading. Their record shows that the Soviet credit is good. The credits we issue are small compared to our Western trading partners.

The world today looks to the United States of America for leadership. We have provided this since the end of World War II. We did not provide it prior to World War II. Therefore, I would find it inexcusable, as would many Members of Congress and many Americans, if this legislation were to die as a result of delay and procrastination.

The Congress and the executive branch have cooperated more closely—and I might say at a greater length—on this bill than in any other single piece of legislation in the past 6 years. I can recount in the 4 months that I have been President a number of meetings with various Senators, various other Members of the Congress, in trying to find a reasonable, constructive compromise on how we might move this legislation forward. And I can assure you that I will personally continue these efforts in the remaining weeks of this session of the Congress.

And let me add this, if I might. And I see how many members of my Cabinet are here—three, four. They are being told tonight, and everybody in their departments, that this is the job of highest priority to get this legislation through between now and adjournment.

And I will add a P.S. If they don't get it through, they are at fault, and you are, too. [*Laughter*]

Well, let me just conclude with these observations and comments.

I would find it inexcusable if this legislation were to become encumbered with nonrelated or nongermane amendments. This is somewhat technical, but those of us who have struggled in the Congress for some time know precisely what it means. These would be unrelated amendments, not related to the fundamentals of trade legislation under any circumstances.

They would be amendments that had no prior consideration at all in the Senate Committee on Finance. They would be extraneous to the subject matter that has brought all of you to the Nation's Capital.

I think the time has come; it is far too serious for this important legislation to be encumbered by these nonrelated or nongermane amendments. So, as you go through the halls and into the offices on Capitol Hill, make the point strongly, effectively, that this legislation must stand on its own and should not be overwhelmed with amendments that have no relationship to trade per se.

At this critical moment in our legislative history on this legislation, I don't think we can afford the gamesmanship of nonrelated, nongermane amendments.

I see some former colleagues of mine in the House of Representatives. In the main, we were able to keep nongermane amendments out of the House version of the bill. The burden is now on the United States Senate to do exactly the same.

And let me conclude with these final observations, if I might. I happen to believe that a society is great if its people think greatly, if its people act greatly, and this is a moment for greatness in America.

The journey which we together have started here tonight has no end. For the labor we undertake will never be complete: to help build a world economy that will contribute to the health and prosperity of people everywhere throughout this globe.

Every nation must carry its share of that great burden to uplift itself on the one hand and others as we move ahead.

Every nation must reach out, out to others, to work together, to share in sweat and in sacrifice, secure in the knowledge that none will have to go it alone. This truly, as I see it, could be one of the world's finest hours. With your help, with our cooperation, and with the dedication of everybody, we can make it so.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:42 p.m. in the Sheraton Hall at the Sheraton Park Hotel. The conference in support of enactment of the Trade Reform Act was sponsored by a number of business, agriculture, consumer, and civic organizations.

Rockefeller Public Service Awards

The President's Remarks at the Awards Luncheon. December 4, 1974

Thank you very much, President Bowen. Mr. Rockefeller, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset, let me congratulate Mr. Rockefeller again for his generosity and support of a very, very worthwhile program.

Secondly, let me compliment Princeton University and the Woodrow Wilson School of that great university for its participation in this program.

Naturally, I am very pleased and honored to have a part in this awards program and to join in your salute to the five outstanding public servants who are being rewarded here today.

For as long as there has been government—government among men, I should say—it has been fashionable to attack bureaucracy and bureaucrats, sometimes for good and sufficient reason. And I have to confess that in the over 25 years that I served in the House of Representatives, I have, on occasion, joined in that fray, obviously, when I thought the issues and facts were right. I suspect, on occasion, they weren't, but nevertheless, if I did, I apologize.

But the fact remains that career public servants who do keep the vital and highly essential day-to-day business of Government moving year after year—a vast and a very loyal group of good people doing good work for their country.

Now, sometimes the pace is a little too slow for my taste. But when you consider the complexity and the sensitivity of modern government, the question may not be why does government move so slowly, but rather, how does government happen to move at all?

Commenting on public apathy and its effect on government, Adlai Stevenson once joked that our public servants serve us right. Today, we are proud to honor five public servants who have done more than just serve us right. They have served us with great, great distinction.

Each one in his own way has made an important and lasting contribution to our free way of life. The fields these men represent—aeronautics, social welfare, and a range of other areas in the Government related to our economy—but the ability and the dedication which each has brought to his work is the very same.

Fortunately, I have known some, not all. They represent in the best tradition, the best long tradition of outstanding public servants, and they are among the unsung heroes of millions of men and women who, over a long period of time, have served our Government well and have made it work, despite problems and complexities that few people understand.

So, on behalf of the American people, I wish to thank you, each and every one of you who are being rewarded here today, for a job well done. Your example is an inspiration. It does give a guiding hand to others, those who are your fellow workers. And I hope this ceremony today, like those in the past, will give an inspiration to others, your associates in all departments. And I hope that it will in some way give the American people the proper respect and admiration for those who have excelled, those who have excelled in service to their fellow men in our country.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:49 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Mayflower Hotel.

The Rockefeller Public Service Awards program was instituted in 1951 by John D. Rockefeller 3d to honor career public servants. The program is administered by Princeton University, Mr. Rockefeller's alma mater. The recipients of the awards are:

JAMES B. CARDWELL, Commissioner of Social Security, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—award for human resource development and protection;

GEORGE JASZI, Director, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Department of Commerce—award for professional accomplishment and leadership;

GEORGE M. LOW, Deputy Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration—award for administration;

ROBERT M. WHITE, Administrator, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce—award for physical resource development and protection; and

MAURICE J. WILLIAMS, Chairman, Development Assistance Committee, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—award for intergovernmental operations.

Wilderness Areas

The President's Message to the Congress Proposing 37 Additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System. December 4, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

Ten years ago, acting with great wisdom, the Congress enacted and President Johnson signed into law the historic Wilderness Act of 1964.

That act declared it to be the policy of this Nation to secure for all Americans the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness. Some 9.1 million acres were officially designated as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System, and the Executive Branch was charged with the responsibility of surveying the rest of the country and proposing additions to that system which seemed appropriate.

In the intervening years, there have been some 40 additions, so that the Wilderness System now covers 12.9 million acres and extends into many different States.

Today we reach another milestone in this unfolding story. The Executive Branch has now completed the initial, decade-long review prescribed by law in 1964, and as a result of this survey, I am hereby proposing 37 new additions to the Wilderness System. If accepted by the Congress, these recommendations would add an additional nine million primeval acres to the system.

Wilderness areas are, of course, well suited for low density recreation use that does not involve motorized vehicles or equipment, such as hiking, backpacking, primitive camping, and canoeing. They also lend themselves to scientific and educational uses which do not alter their pristine character. But beyond these uses, I believe that the Wilderness System serves a basic need of all Americans, even those who may never visit a wilderness area—the preservation of a vital element in our heritage.

As we approach the Nation's two hundredth birthday, it is well to remember that we are a pioneering people. For our ancestors, the ability to live in rugged, undeveloped countryside was often a matter of survival. The influential American historian Frederick Jackson Turner considered the frontier—the invisible but very real barrier between civilization and wilderness—to be the dominant force in shaping the American character. American writers from James Fenimore Cooper to Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner have recognized and depicted the almost religious regard which Americans have for their wild places and creatures. Throughout our history, we have felt a need for rugged interaction with nature, for the solitude and the self-reliance that a wilderness experience can foster.

We have tamed and developed much of our original wilderness endowment, but a surprisingly large amount of it is left. The preservation of wilderness areas across the

country today enables us to recapture a vital part of the national experience: like our forebears, we can journey into primeval, unspoiled land. The Nation as a whole is enriched by the availability of the wilderness experience to those who are able and willing to seek it. Wilderness preservation insures that a central facet of our Nation can still be realized, not just remembered.

Briefly described, the additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System which I am proposing today are:

(1) Mount Rainier Wilderness, Mount Rainier National Park, Washington—210,700 acres. The ice-clad, dormant volcano after which this park is named towers above the landscape. The park serves as a habitat for deer, bear, elk, and mountain goats.

(2) Kenai Wilderness, Kenai National Moose Range, Alaska—829,000 acres. This is a diverse area near Anchorage which contains scenic mountains, glaciers, lowland lakes, forests, muskegs, and rivers. The range's wide variety of wildlife includes black and brown bear and the Kenai moose.

(3) Cloud Peak Wilderness, Bighorn National Forest, Wyoming—150,490 acres. This proposed wilderness stretches some 27 miles along the backbone of the Bighorn Mountain Range and includes the rugged, Cloud Peak and Black Tooth Mountain.

(4) Agassiz Wilderness, Agassiz National Wildlife Refuge, Minnesota—4,000 acres. Located on prehistoric Lake Agassiz, this area provides nesting grounds for the Canada goose and several species of ducks, as well as a habitat for moose, white-tailed deer, and elk.

(5) Sheldon Wilderness, Sheldon National Antelope Refuge, Nevada—20,100 acres. This refuge in the high sagebrush desert of the northern Great Basin is devoted primarily to the preservation of antelope but also supports deer, bighorn sheep, coyotes, bobcats, mountain lions and burros.

(6) Monarch Wilderness, Sequoia and Sierra National Forests, California—30,689 acres. This proposed area is located on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountain Range, contiguous to Kings Canyon National Park. The landscape is characterized by steep ridges, deep canyons, and multicolored geological formations.

(7) Santee Wilderness, Santee National Wildlife Refuge, South Carolina—163 acres. This area is composed of coastal plains which protect such threatened species as the wood ibis, bald eagle, peregrine falcon, red-cockaded woodpecker, osprey, and American alligator.

(8) Everglades Wilderness, Everglades National Park, Florida—1,296,500 acres. A remarkable blending of climates makes this proposed area at the southernmost tip of the Florida mainland hospitable to pine trees as well as mangroves, panthers, and alligators.

(9) Salmon River and Idaho Wildernesses, Boise, Challis, Payette, Salmon, Bitterroot, and Nezperce National Forests, Idaho—1,143,487 acres. Bighorn sheep, deer, and elk abound in this region of deep gorges and lofty peaks.

(10) Parker River Wilderness, Parker River National Wildlife Refuge, Massachusetts—3,110 acres. This recommended area on the north shore of the State, about 35 miles from Boston, is one of the few natural barrier beach-dune areas remaining in the northeastern United States.

(11) Hawaii Volcanoes Wilderness, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Hawaii—123,100 acres. Two major active volcanoes, Kilauea and Mauna Loa, are the focal points of this park. Kilauea erupts frequently and is readily accessible at protected vantage points. Thus, this area is particularly rich in the scientific and educational opportunities envisaged by the Wilderness Act.

(12) Big Lake Wilderness, Big Lake National Wildlife Refuge, Arkansas—1,818 acres. Believed to be the product of an earthquake in the 1800's, the lake supports a peak population of 30,000 waterfowl during the winter. The proposed wilderness is a cypress-timbered area that has remained in its natural state.

(13) Aleutian Islands Wilderness, Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska—1,395,357 acres. Located among the islands that stretch from the Alaska mainland along a thousand-mile chain toward the Soviet Union, this area is the principal home of the sea otter and a habitat for large numbers of pelagic birds (those which have the furlike outer coat of a mammal).

(14) Beartooth Wilderness, Custer, and Gallatin National Forests, Montana—542,437 acres. This area is characterized by spectacular river canyons and treeless tundras at elevations of about 10,000 feet. Moose, bighorn sheep, mountain goats, and black and grizzly bears are among the area's wildlife.

(15) Swanquarter Wilderness, Swanquarter National Wildlife Refuge, North Carolina—9,000 acres. In addition to accommodating more than 200 species of birds, this island refuge serves as the northernmost range of the endangered American alligators.

(16) Dinosaur Wilderness, Dinosaur National Monument, Utah and Colorado—165,341 acres. This national monument is the site of the most extensive concentration of dinosaur fossils found anywhere in the world and serves as a habitat for mountain lions and bighorn sheep.

(17) Lacassine Wilderness, Lacassine National Wildlife Refuge, Louisiana—2,854 acres. Among the striking birds and animals which use this refuge, located some 25 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, are ibises, roseate spoonbills, armadillo, otter, white-tailed deer, and alligators.

(18) Popo Agie Wilderness, Shoshone National Forest, Wyoming—81,820 acres. This area consists of deep, narrow valleys and canyons set along a 25-mile stretch of the lofty Southern Wind River Range. Elk, moose, mule deer, bighorn sheep, black bear, and a variety of smaller mammals and birds inhabit the area.

(19) Mattamuskeet Wilderness, Mattamuskeet National Wildlife Refuge, North Carolina—590 acres. Consisting of a lake, islands, and marshy shoreline about 50 miles northwest of Cape Hatteras, this refuge is operated

for such birds as the bald eagle, red-cockaded woodpecker, and osprey.

(20) Organ Pipe Cactus Wilderness, Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Arizona—299,600 acres. The cactus forests and creosote-bush flats of this rugged, Sonoran desert area support 43 species of mammals, 39 species of birds, and nearly 50 species of reptiles.

(21) J. N. "Ding" Darling Wilderness, J. N. "Ding" Darling National Wildlife Refuge, Florida—2,735 acres. Sanibel, a tropical island in the Gulf of Mexico, is the site of this refuge, which provides habitats for several endangered birds, mammals and reptiles.

(22) Trinity Alps Wilderness, Klamath, Shasta-Trinity, and Six Rivers National Forests, California—267,561 acres. At the highest reaches, permanent snowfields and small glaciers dominate the landscape; at lower elevations dense stands of trees and patches of wild flowers clothe the mountain ridges. Black bear, mountain lions, and black-tail deer are the area's major animals.

(23) Assateague Island Wilderness, Chincoteague National Wildlife Refuge and Assateague Island National Seashore, Maryland and Virginia—1,740 acres. The dunes and marsh lands of this area serve a variety of wildlife, including the endangered Delmarva Peninsula fox squirrel, the white-tail deer, red fox, raccoon, sika deer, and the Chincoteague pony.

(24) Death Valley Wilderness, Death Valley National Monument, California and Nevada—1,908,000 acres. Despite the seeming barrenness of this area, where rainfall averages less than 2 inches a year, life flourishes here in a tribute to nature's adaptability. Even fish have managed to cling to life in the parched valley: two species of pupfish inhabit desert springs.

(25) Cedar Island Wilderness, Cedar Island National Wildlife Refuge, North Carolina—180 acres. The salt marsh and islands here constitute a developing habitat for waterfowl.

(26) Fort Niobrara Wilderness, Fort Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge, Nebraska—4,635 acres. The high grazing lands and rolling plains of this refuge are managed primarily to support herds of American bison, elk and Texas longhorns.

(27) Medicine Lake Wilderness, Medicine Lake National Wildlife Refuge, Montana—11,366 acres. A large portion of this refuge consists of lakes and ponds; the peak fall population of waterfowl using the area frequently exceeds a quarter of a million birds.

(28) Great Smoky Mountains Wilderness, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, North Carolina and Tennessee—390,500 acres. Beneath the smokelike haze that envelops these mountains and gives them their name lies an impressive array of unspoiled forests. Among the animals found in the park are black bear, white-tailed deer, wild hogs, and 27 different kinds of salamanders.

(29) Big Blue, Courthouse Mountain, Dolores Peak, Mount Sneffels and Mount Wilson Wildernesses, San

Juan and Uncompaghre National Forests, Colorado—80,130 acres. This area is characterized by high, jagged peaks and deep, narrow canyons interspersed with forested and alpine grassland ridges. The largest wildlife species indigenous to it include elk, mule deer, bighorn sheep, bear and mountain lion.

(30) Lake Woodruff Wilderness, Lake Woodruff National Wildlife Refuge, Florida—1,106 acres. This proposed area is located along the flood plain of the St. Johns River, one of the few large northerly-flowing rivers in the United States. Among the remarkable variety of wildlife found here are threatened species such as the Everglades kite, Southern bald eagle, Florida sandhill crane, manatee, Florida panther, and American alligator.

(31) Anaho Island Wilderness, Anaho Island National Wildlife Refuge, Nevada—747.73 acres. The island is a sanctuary for a multitude of birds, including the largest nesting colony of white pelicans on the continent.

(32) Noxubee Wilderness, Noxubee National Wildlife Refuge, Mississippi—1,200 acres. Consisting of flat and slightly rolling hardwood and pine lands, the refuge provides habitats for the Canada goose, such rare birds as the endangered red-cockaded woodpecker and southern bald eagle, and a good-sized herd of white-tailed deer.

(33) UL Bend Wilderness, UL Bend National Wildlife Refuge, Montana—19,693 acres. Located along the Missouri River's Fort Peck Reservoir, this refuge is primarily a habitat for migratory waterfowl. Among the land birds found here is the unique burrowing owl, which nests in abandoned "dwellings" in prairie dog towns.

(34) Pea Island Wilderness, Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge, North Carolina—180 acres. A part of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, this refuge is a winter spot for greater snow geese, Canada geese, brant, and many species of duck.

(35) Bombay Hook Wilderness, Bombay Hook National Wildlife Refuge, Delaware—2,000 acres. This salt marsh estuary serves as a habitat for migratory waterfowl and such other birds as the endangered southern bald eagle and peregrine falcon.

(36) Back Bay Wilderness, Back Bay National Wildlife Refuge, Virginia—2,165 acres. A focal point along the Atlantic Flyway, the refuge is the winter home of up to 40,000 Canada geese per year and the rare Ipswich Savannah sparrow.

(37) In addition, the first wilderness area—the Gila Wilderness—in New Mexico, would be enlarged by the addition of 115,648 acres.

Three other areas—Kofa Game Range, Arizona; Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nevada and Oregon; and Charles M. Russell National Wildlife Range, Montana—contain surface lands suitable for wilderness designation. However, because the areas are open to mining and may contain minerals vital to the national interest

and because they have not been subjected to thorough mineral surveys, I am recommending that action on these proposals be deferred pending the completion of such surveys.

In addition, Lake Mead National Recreation area, contains surface lands suitable for wilderness designation. However, virtually the entire area is subject to withdrawals for power purposes. In view of the potential energy needs of the West, I cannot recommend that any part of the area be designated wilderness at this time. I have directed that the area be given additional study and that a further recommendation be submitted within three years.

Finally, Nunivak National Wildlife Refuge also contains surface lands suitable for wilderness designation. Because of the uncertainties of land ownership and their future management which is peculiar to Nunivak, I cannot recommend that any part be designated wilderness at this time. I have directed that future recommendations be guided by native land uses and native land selections pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

After a review of roadless areas of 5,000 acres or more and roadless islands, the Secretary of the Interior has concluded that four areas are not suitable for preservation as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. These are: Deer Flat National Wildlife Refuge, Oregon and Idaho; Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge, Maryland; Mammoth Cave National Park, Kentucky; and Upper Mississippi River Wildlife and Fish Refuge, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois. As to the latter two areas, however, I am directing that a wilderness reevaluation be conducted at such time as management prerogatives and other prospective uses of the areas are better defined.

In addition to this message, I am transmitting herewith to the Congress letters and reports from the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture regarding these proposals. I concur with the recommendation of the respective Secretary in each case.

As noted above, the Executive Branch has now carried out the original provisions of the 1964 Wilderness Act. Additional surveys will be undertaken on a case-by-case basis, but the Congress now has before it the major recommendations of the Executive Branch, as compiled over a 10-year period. I urge the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to all of these proposals.

Concurrent with the wilderness proposals, I am also transmitting the Tenth Annual Report on the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System which covers calendar year 1973.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 4, 1974.

NOTE: For the President's letter to the Speaker of the House and the President pro tempore of the Senate, see the following item.

Wilderness Areas

The President's Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting 37 Proposed Additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System. December 4, 1974

Dear Mr. President: (Mr. Speaker)

Pursuant to the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964, I am pleased to transmit herewith proposals for thirty-seven additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System.

As described in the Wilderness Message that I am concurrently sending to the Congress today, the proposed new wilderness areas cover a total of over nine million primeval acres. In addition, the Secretary of the Interior has recommended that Congressional action on five other areas which include surface lands suitable for wilderness be deferred for the reasons set forth below:

- A. Three areas which are open to mining might be needed in the future to provide vital minerals for the Nation, but these areas have not been adequately surveyed for mineral deposits. The areas are the Kofa Game Range, Arizona; Charles Sheldon Antelope Range, Nevada and Oregon; and, Charles M. Russell National Wildlife Range, Montana.
- B. One area is subject to withdrawals for power purposes and additional study is needed of the West's potential energy needs before a wilderness decision can be made. This is Lake Mead National Recreation Area, located in Arizona and Nevada.
- C. Certain parts of one area are subject to selection by the village of Mekoryuk under the terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and a wilderness recommendation should be made only after the completion of the Native selection process. The area in question is the Nunivak National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska.

Four other possibilities considered by the Secretary of the Interior in his review of roadless areas of 5,000 acres or more were found to be unsuitable for inclusion in the Wilderness System: Deer Flat National Wildlife Refuge, Oregon and Idaho; Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge, Maryland; Mammoth Cave National Park, Kentucky; and, Upper Mississippi River Wildlife and Fish Refuge, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa and Illinois. I concur in this finding and in the other recommendations of the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, all of which are transmitted herewith.

Wilderness designation of both of these new wilderness areas and those already submitted that are pending before the Congress would dramatically demonstrate our com-

mitment to preserve America's irreplaceable heritage, and I urge the Congress to act promptly in this regard.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable James O. Eastland, President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The White House Press Office made available the Secretary of the Interior's letter and an Interior Department report on each of the 37 wilderness proposals.

For the President's message to the Congress proposing the additions, see the preceding item.

Visit of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and the Prime Minister at a Dinner Honoring the Prime Minister. December 4, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Mr. Prime Minister and gentlemen:*

Let me say at the outset, we are delighted to have you as our guests. I must say on behalf of my wife, she made a very special effort. This is the first opportunity she has had to have this room for this purpose, and she said she hoped that you would enjoy the atmosphere and setup. And if you say yes, I will tell her.

Let me, on a more serious note, say that we are delighted to have you here because of our deep respect and affection for you as the leader of one of our great friends and allies.

Let me add, if I might, that we in the United States know of no other country where the United States has some 4,000 or 5,000 miles of border, when you consider not only the north and south and also Alaska. And so there is a great reason for us to have a rapport and a particular affection, people to people and country to country.

And I might say the first trip that I ever took out of the United States—I was quite young and quite thrilled—was the trip that I took from Detroit to Windsor. [Laughter]

They didn't preclude me from going to Windsor, and I had no trouble getting back. [Laughter]

But that was a thrill to me, and it was my first trip out of our country and to a foreign country.

But my memories of that trip left me with a great remembrance of the relationship that our country has with yours. The truth is, of course, good friends often have many differences, and among friends differences fortunately can be better debated or discussed than they can when a different relationship exists.

I have heard it said many times—and Rog Morton formerly served in the Congress and Gale McGee and

George Aiken and Bob McEwen—I hope I haven't missed any of the Members of Congress—we often say in the Congress that you can disagree without being disagreeable. And that is the way I think our relations between your country and ours has proceeded in the past, and I hope will proceed in the future.

We do have some differences. I felt that our meeting today was one of the most constructive, one of the most friendly—and with each of us expressing where we had some differences. It was a point of view and an understanding. If you have an understanding, I think you can come to reasonable and rational conclusions.

I look forward to subsequent meetings with you to broaden our personal friendship and to expand our two national relationships. It has been a pleasure for me to get to know your Ambassador. He did present to me about a week or 10 days ago a very thoughtful gift on behalf of your Government commemorating the 1976 Olympics, which are to be held in Montreal.

It brought to my mind the fact that in 1976 we are celebrating our 200th anniversary. I hope that the people that come to your Olympics—and I hope to come if you will invite me, Mr. Prime Minister—I like that snow, you know—and that some of the visitors that come to the United States will go to Montreal and Canada and vice versa.

But speaking of Montreal, I have had the privilege a long time ago of skiing at Mont Tremblant and Saint Jovite, which I thought was tremendous and I still do. And that was another experience that gave me a great affection and admiration for the people of Canada.

So, with my personal affection for you and the Canadian people and the United States' strong conviction about our relationship, to you and your country, if I might, I would like to offer a toast to you, Prime Minister of Canada, and to the Canadian people and to the Queen.

THE PRIME MINISTER. *Mr. President, gentlemen, and friends:*

When Canadians travel abroad, Mr. President, they spend all the time explaining to other people how they are different from the Americans. There is a great belief in other lands that Canadians and Americans are exactly the same. I am particularly distressed to find this when we are dealing with the Common Market. We are different, and we have different problems and different economic requirements.

But it does happen that we have to show how similar we are and how close our two peoples are. And the best example I can find, when I have to explain that kind of thing, is to talk about in summer, in the baseball stadium in Montreal where tens of thousands of Canadians get together to cheer for the Canadian team against the visiting American team when every one of the players on both sides is American [Laughter].

When I have stayed in some of your American cities, it is another story. In winter at your hockey forums, they

cheer for the local team, and probably 95 percent of the players on both sides are Canadians—and the best ones.

And this, I think, shows really how close the people are in their goals, in their ways of living, in their love of sports, in their values, even in standards of their own lives.

And that makes your job and mine, Mr. President, so much easier when we meet. We find that most of the subjects which have to be discussed between heads of governments or heads of states when they meet, in our case, have been settled by the people themselves. The figure I was giving you this afternoon of 66 percent of the trade between our two countries being free trade, tariff free, and it will be 81 percent if that trade reform bill gets passed in the form that it went to the Senate committee.

So much of this is done by the people themselves in the trade area, in the cultural area, and the knowledge of each other by the constant visits across the border, that when we meet it is always a pleasant occasion.

As you said, and I realized this afternoon, we can talk to each other in complete candor. We know how the electorates and the press and the House of Representatives or the Senate or the House of Commons will react to various situations. And it is so much—we talk the same language—it is so much easier to deal with problems in this context.

You, as President, have been exposed to the electorates much more frequently than I have. I dare say that I have walked in the valley of the shadow, and feel a little more closer than you have. But I think we would both agree that our peoples, Canadian and the American peoples, would cease to support us overnight if they thought that we were embarking on courses which were not friendly, which were not based on cooperation and understanding, on the desire to solve any differences that arise in that spirit of friendship rather than the spirit of hostility.

We, as your neighbors, realize the importance of the leadership that the United States is giving to today's world. Your great success in Vladivostok is something

that was received in Canada with immense satisfaction. We know that in matters of Atlantic security, détente, and disarmament—we know that we can follow your lead because the principles on which your policies are based are the same as ours.

And I think you know that you can trust us to support those principles in areas we consider essential.

For these reasons, I must say our tasks are easier, and I think we should renew the resolves that we mentioned to each other earlier that we will continue this type of meeting on an informal, nonprotocol, or the minimum protocol.

It has a great advantage for us to gather around a table such as this, a very beautiful one. Mrs. Ford will be told that we were struck by its beauty and the warmth of this room and the repast. Did she do the cooking? [Laughter]

As far as the Olympics are concerned, we very much hope you will come and you will come before that, and that perhaps, per chance, we will find some way of being the forerunners in some ski race—

THE PRESIDENT. I'm too young! [Laughter]

THE PRIME MINISTER. Prepared to test for the winter Olympics wherever they happen.

Mr. President, we hope you will come before that, that you will find it convenient, as your predecessor did, to talk on a very informal basis even by phone or by quick visits in-and-out which do away with all formality, permit us to come to the point right quickly, and to solve whatever small problems we may have.

So with this in mind and in the hopes that our friendship of which we talked, and the candor with which we talked, will be brought out in the spirit of cooperation and understanding and the fairness with which all our meetings together are inspired, I would ask our guests here to raise their glasses in a toast to the President of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. in the Blue Room at the White House.

VISIT OF CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

*Exchange of Remarks Between the President and the Chancellor at the
Welcoming Ceremony on the South Lawn. December 5, 1974*

THE PRESIDENT. *Chancellor Schmidt, gentlemen:*

I am delighted to welcome you here in Washington, our Nation's Capital, on behalf of the American people.

This is your first visit, Mr. Chancellor, to the United States as the leader of the German Federal Government. It comes at an historic time for both of our countries.

We, in the United States, are on the eve of our Bicentennial. One of the things that we are particularly aware of is the prominent role played by men and women of German descent in the building of America over the past two centuries. They have made tremendous contributions in fields as widespread as education and science, culture and the arts.

A few months ago the Federal Republic of Germany marked its own 25th anniversary. During this quarter century, the Federal Republic has become one of the world's leading political and economic powers, and also one of its most responsible.

Throughout this entire period of relations between our two countries, it has been marked by a very close friendship and a very close cooperation, and we are particularly proud of that association.

Mr. Chancellor, we live in demanding times. In the effort to solve the formidable economic and political problems confronting us today, close cooperation and mutual help have become infinitely more important than ever. Only by working together can we overcome the current difficulties facing our economies and international economy.

I believe we can do it, and speaking for the American people, I appreciate the support your Government has shown for strengthened economic cooperation in the international field.

We also recognize your international contributions in dealing with the problems of energy, food, and financial pressures.

A keystone, of course, of our present and future cooperation is the Atlantic Alliance. At a time when all members of the Alliance confront budgetary difficulties, difficult choices for all of them, we applaud and endorse your country's positive attitude toward maintaining the strength of NATO.

We also appreciate, Mr. Chancellor, your cooperation in helping to assure that no nation bear an unfair burden of the cost of our common defense.

We will have many important issues to discuss today and tomorrow, Mr. Chancellor. I look forward to those discussions in full confidence that these talks will contribute significantly to our efforts in creating more stable political and economic conditions throughout the world. I know that your visit will further strengthen the already close friendship and partnership between the Federal Republic and the United States.

Mr. Chancellor, America bids you and your party a most cordial welcome.

THE CHANCELLOR. *Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:*

Thank you, Mr. President, very much for your warm welcome and for the kind words, regardful words addressed to me and my party.

As you said, this is not my first visit to the United States, but the first time that I have come to this country as the head of government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I am particularly glad to have this opportunity so soon after you, Mr. President, have assumed your office in order to exchange views on the main questions which do concern us both.

In today's world, we are faced with a multitude of difficult problems whose solutions will make unprecedented demands on our countries and will require us to harness our strength in the common effort.

The world is threatened by severe economic disruption. The Middle East conflict, whose settlement your Administration is working so hard to bring about, and the energy crisis, which followed in its wake, have suddenly opened our eyes to the fragile nature of the foundations on which our economic and social and political stability does rest.

The strengthening of these foundations is a task which does concern us all and which we can only master through broad international cooperation, as you said.

We, in Germany, are conscious of this challenge, and we are preparing ourselves to meet it. In this search we do attach specific importance to close cooperation and consultation between the United States of America and Europe and my own country.

The partnership between the United States and Europe has stood the test. It has existed for more than 25 years in the Atlantic Alliance, which was strengthened by the Declaration of Ottawa in the middle of this year. It has also reflected our common efforts to promote détente in Europe and in the world.

We are resolved to do everything within our capability to strengthen and to further develop this partnership.

The untroubled friendship between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany seems to be an excellent basis for this, and it is my firm conviction that our meeting, Mr. President, will bring us closer to this goal.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:41 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

Joint Funding Simplification Act of 1974

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. December 5, 1974

I have today signed into law the Joint Funding Simplification Act of 1974.

This is significant legislation. It is a further step in our continuing effort to simplify and streamline grant administration. I am pleased that the legislation had strong bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress.

The act will simplify funding and other procedures in cases where a grantee receives assistance from two or more different agencies or programs within an agency. It provides a means by which funds, procedures, and administrative requirements of related programs can be brought together simply and speedily to support a particular project or group of projects for which Federal assistance is being sought:

More specifically, it provides a basis for:

—Meeting interrelated needs with one comprehensive

plan for receiving grants from several Federal agencies through one Federal funding source.

—Receiving Federal funds at the same time as the grantee's own planning and funding cycles.

—Simplifying and standardizing administrative requirements.

—Simplifying paperwork and recordkeeping.

—Reporting progress to one Federal agency rather than several.

—Replacing separate Federal agency audits with a single audit by only one agency.

The procedures which this act provides have been tested in a number of pilot projects throughout the country with most encouraging results. Not only are the recipients of grants in a better position to apply Federal assistance more effectively but taxpayers will be able to expect more from each tax dollar thus expended.

However, we must not rest here. The explosive growth of Federal grants in recent years makes it imperative that we continue an unrelenting effort towards further improvement in grant administration.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 2299) is Public Law 93-510, approved December 5, 1974.

National Day of Prayer, 1974

Proclamation 4338. December 5, 1974

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

Ours is a Nation built upon a belief in a Creator who has endowed all men with inalienable rights, and faith in that Creator permeates every aspect of our way of life.

With characteristically quiet eloquence, President Dwight D. Eisenhower once described the central role of religion in American life:

"Without God there could be no American form of government, nor an American way of life. Recognition of the Supreme Being is the first—the most basic—expression of Americanism. Thus the founding fathers of America saw it, and thus with God's help, it will continue to be."

Let us pray, each in our own way, for the strength and the will to meet the challenges that face us today with the same profound faith in God that inspired the Founders of this Nation.

Let us pray, as our Fathers prayed, for the wisdom to know God's way and the determination to follow it.

Let us pray that God will continue to bless this great and good land as abundantly in the future as He has in the past.

In 1952 the Congress directed the President to set aside a suitable day other than a Sunday each year as a National Day of Prayer, in recognition of the profound religious faith on which America is built.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Wednesday, December 18, as National Day of Prayer, 1974.

I call upon all Americans to pray that day, each after his or her own manner and convictions, for Deity's blessing on our land and for peace on earth, goodwill among all men.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-ninth.

GERALD R. FORD

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:19 p.m.,
December 5, 1974]

United States Military Academy

*Announcement of the Report by the Board of Visitors.
December 5, 1974*

The President has received the April 1974 Report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Acad-

emy. The Board, which met at West Point, N.Y., on April 23–24, 1974, and in Washington, D.C., April 25, 1974, is required by law to meet annually to inquire into the state of morale and discipline, the curriculum, instruction, physical equipment, financial affairs, academic methods, and other matters relating to the Academy which the Board decides to consider and report its findings to the President.

The Board consists of six Presidential appointees, three Vice Presidential appointees, four appointed by the Speaker of the House and a member designated by the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee from each Congressional body.

The Board reached the following conclusions:

1. The operation of the Academy is being firmly and imaginatively directed and is effectively discharging the mission given to it by law and regulation.

2. The staff and faculty have been well chosen for their assignment, are professionally competent, and are in a high state of training. Their motivation is high and their dedication to the service to which assigned, complete.

3. Lt. Gen. William A. Knowlton is commended for his keen professionalism, his manifest mastery of varied responsibilities falling upon him as Superintendent, and the searching intelligence he brings to the solution of the wide range of problems arising in the management of a command which is at the same time a major collegiate-level educational institution, a large military establishment, and a sizeable community of civilians.

4. Col. J. S. B. Dick is commended upon the celerity and effectiveness with which he has assumed the duties of Acting Dean of the Academic Board, for his grasp of the responsibilities of his office, his command of detail, his ability to distill the significant therefrom, and to articulate it with clarity and brevity.

5. Brig. Gen. P. R. Feir's relatively brief tenure as Commandant of Cadets has been of singular benefit in the number of wise initiatives that he has taken in respect to reforming certain aspects of the disciplinary system in the Corps and to recognizing and giving new impetus to the cadets' military training and instruction.

The Board took the following positions:

1. That the Army and the Superintendent continue to give due consideration to each of the recommendations of the 1972 Curriculum Review Board, particularly with respect to the recommendation which advocates the retention of the Academy's predominantly military faculty.

2. That Army vigorously support the Academy's retention of its demonstrably effective small-section mode of instruction and sustain the present manning level of its teaching faculty which makes this possible.

3. That the Department of Defense strongly support early funding and construction of the gymnasium project to include the relocation of the Director of Athletics operations.

The Board was composed of the following members:

MAJ. GEN. LEIF J. SVERDRUP, USAR (retired), chairman of the board, Sverdrup and Parcel and Associates, Inc., St. Louis, Mo.—Chairman
 SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, Arizona
 SENATOR WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, Kentucky
 SENATOR GALE W. MCGEE, Wyoming
 SENATOR TED STEVENS, Alaska
 CONGRESSMAN W. C. DANIEL, Virginia
 CONGRESSMAN BENJAMIN GILMAN, New York
 CONGRESSMAN CLARENCE D. LONG, Maryland
 CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, Ohio
 CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. MURPHY, New York
 CARY H. HALL, Hampton, Ga.
 LEONARD D. HENRY, AVCO Corp., New York, N.Y.
 LAURENCE F. LEE, Jr., chairman of the board, McMillan Corp., Jacksonville, Fla.
 MAJ. GEN. GEORGE H. OLMSTEAD, USAR (retired), president and chairman of the board, International Bank of Washington
 MAJ. GEN. HOWARD S. WILCOX, USAR (retired), Indianapolis, Ind.

United States Naval Academy

Announcement of the Report by the Board of Visitors. December 5, 1974

The President has received the April 24–25, 1974 Report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Naval Academy. The Board, which met at Annapolis, Md., is required by law to meet annually to inquire into the state of morale and discipline, the curriculum, instruction, physical equipment, financial affairs, academic methods, and other matters relating to the Academy which the Board decides to consider and to report its findings to the President.

The Board consists of 15 members: six Presidential appointees, three Vice Presidential appointees, and four appointed by the Speaker of the House. The remaining two members are designated, respectively, by the Chairman of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees.

The Board reached the following conclusions:

1. The overall facilities development plan as structured by the Naval Academy is sound and essential to provide the Naval Academy with the required direct support facilities to continue the excellent standard already being achieved in academic and midshipmen living facilities.

2. The Naval Academy indoor physical education and athletic facilities are inadequate; Mahan Hall auditorium is inadequate in size and functional capability; air temperature in the Midshipmen's Mess and food preparation area is intolerable; personnel and midshipmen professional training support facilities at the Naval Station are inadequate; and Naval Academy utilities and other supporting features are inadequate and inefficient.

3. The attrition rates for the Naval Academy between 1961 and 1973 compare reasonably with rates reported

by the American Council on Education for U.S. 4-year colleges and universities during the same period.

The Board made the following recommendations:

1. The Naval Academy should be established as a separate major claimant with the Superintendent reporting directly to the Chief of Naval Operations.

2. \$11 million should be earmarked annually for completion of the Naval Academy and Naval Station facilities plan.

3. The Superintendent should keep the members of the Board fully advised as to the monitoring required by the Chief of Naval Operations of the number of midshipmen in each class who are eligible in all respects for and/or desire flight training following graduation.

4. The various steps being taken to reduce the overall attrition be continued through improved selectivity in the admissions process and by strengthening the motivational aspects of the academic year and the summer cruise programs at the Academy.

The Board was composed of the following members:

DONALD O. HEUMANN, owner, Rohms Flowers, New Orleans, La.—Chairman
 SENATOR ALAN BIBLE, Nevada
 SENATOR HOWARD W. CANNON, Nevada
 SENATOR HIRAM L. FONG, Hawaii
 SENATOR CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr., Maryland
 CONGRESSMAN JACK EDWARDS, Alabama
 CONGRESSMAN DANIEL J. FLOOD, Pennsylvania
 CONGRESSWOMAN MARJORIE S. HOLT, Maryland
 CONGRESSMAN FRANK HORTON, New York
 CONGRESSMAN SAMUEL S. STRATTON, New York
 EUGENE A. BARHAM, president, T. E. Barham Co., Inc., Oak Ridge, La.
 MARION A. CANCELLIERE, chairman of the board and president, Equimark Corp., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 ADM. HARRY D. FELT, USN (retired), president, Hawaii Foundation for American Freedoms, Honolulu, Hawaii
 DR. JAMES FRANK, president, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.
 LT. GEN. VICTOR H. KRULAK, USMC (retired), vice president, Copley Press, San Diego, Calif.

Lilly Endowment Continuing Conference for the Liberal Arts

The President's Remarks to Educators and Students Attending the Conference. December 5, 1974

Dr. Bell, Dr. Trotter, distinguished college and university presidents, I think some of my former colleagues in the House as well as the Senate, students, and others:

It is a privilege and a pleasure to be here, and I welcome you on not only my behalf but on behalf of the White House Staff, and I certainly hope that your trip here is worthwhile and will be very beneficial.

As a former member of the Board of Trustees of one of the participating colleges here, Albion College, I appreciate the important relationship between liberal edu-

cation and professions and the need to understand that relationship better.

Since the early middle ages, colleges have been sheltered, almost cloistered communities set apart from general society. Unfortunately, this has caused a certain amount of suspicion and in some cases unfortunate distrust. And I don't think, in the current environment, we can afford that today.

Benjamin Disraeli once said, and I quote, "A university should be a place of light, liberty and of learning." In a free society like our own where education is open to many, not just the few, the university's light, liberty, and learning must not be abstract but rather must relate to reality.

A sound liberal education can and should be the key to preparing young people, men and women, for a full life beyond their student years; that is, as I see it, at least a creative, productive member of our greater community.

This is not just a democratic ideal; it is a practical necessity, one on which we are working at this time in the preparation of our domestic policy recommendations for the State of the Union.

I met this week, earlier this week, with Secretary Weinberger, Dr. Trotter, and Ted Bell. We focused on maximizing available Federal resources to improve opportunities for and the quality of postsecondary education.

In addition, Secretaries Dent, Weinberger, and Brennan are working to build a better relationship and a better balance between the world of work on the one hand and education on the other.

This is vitally important to our young peoples' search for meaningful and satisfying careers. It is equally vital to our Nation's continued requirements for well-educated and well-qualified manpower.

I am hopeful that the National Institute of Education will play an important part, an important part in research and development role in meeting these two important goals. Changing population trends and the emotional aftermath of the turbulent 1960's have contributed to the problems facing liberal education today.

And, as I see it, with two sons in college and one about to enter next year, and a daughter also about to enter a year from now, the problems remain serious. However, I deeply believe that they can be overcome.

Part of the reason for my belief is programs like yours, programs that articulate and strengthen the bonds between learning and living, between the world of books, philosophy, and ideas and the world of human problems and human solutions.

Dr. Samuel Johnson recognized the need for this link, this vital interrelationship. He urged his readers to pause a while for learning to be wise, to take time to understand and apply the lessons of the classroom to the conditions of the world.

As I understand it, that is what you are doing, developing human and humane insights that only a liberal

education provides and applying them to the many professional jobs that must be done in a modern society.

In looking over the list of participants and the events for this conference, I see that you have pursued well your goal of focusing attention on the social responsibility of professionals and the role of the liberal arts college in preparing people for these professions.

The range of your agenda is impressive, including figures from business, the professions, and the communications media as well as the academic community. I am always an optimist and I happen to believe that you will succeed.

Your basic product and your basic methods of looking at the problem are sound. I believe that the liberal arts college can cope with the change without injuring its roots or its purpose. Your institutions are a much needed part of the modern education system and, of course, of our society.

The ties you are building with business, with the professions, and with the media will help to create a better future for your colleges, your students, and, I think, our country.

In the months ahead, because of my interest in the subject and my concern for a solution, I will be following your work with a personal interest. You do have my support and you certainly have my best wishes for a continued success.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:53 p.m. in Room 450 at the Old Executive Office Building.

Visit of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany

Exchange of Toasts Between the President and the Chancellor at a Dinner Honoring the Chancellor. December 5, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chancellor, it is a great privilege and a pleasure for me and our people to have you and your Foreign Secretary, Mr. Genscher, and the others from your party visiting us in Washington on this occasion.

We, of course, feel that this gathering is a reaffirmation of the longstanding friendship of your people as well as ours, your Government as well as ours, a friendship that has a very broad base in military security, economic relations, people-to-people relations.

Of course, the pages of history in the United States are filled with contributions made over the 200 years of our

Nation's history, contributions made by people from your country.

It goes back as far as Baron Von Steuben, who was probably the finest military training officer, as well as a fighting officer, who took a pretty ragged American outfit at Valley Forge and made it capable and competent to meet the challenges in the next spring.

And, of course, Abraham Lincoln had a very outstanding German who was a member of his Cabinet, who contributed significantly to our history in that day and that era.

Of course, the contribution by people from Germany to our country also includes the arts, it includes science, it includes literature, and, as Larry Brown and I know, there are some outstanding Germans who have contributed to our proficiency in athletics, one who may come to mind for some of us in the older age group. Lou Gehrig was probably a legendary baseball player in our athletic history, and his ancestry, of course, was that of your country.

But with the people who have helped to make America great, and those that are working with us today in the field of the military, the economic areas, the rapport I think is good for not only each of us but for the world at large.

Twenty-five years of your history has been a period of 25 years of close personal relationship to the United States, and vice versa.

We seem to have the same philosophical views, the same ideological opinions as to how you can move ahead. We tend to subscribe in America to the views of one of Germany's greatest minds, one of the world's greatest—I am told, as I read history—Goethe. He once wrote that we can only earn our freedom and our existence by struggling for it every day.

For 25 years, day in and day out, the Federal Republic and the United States have worked together for a freer, better world in a spirit of mutual friendship and great mutual respect.

So, it is my privilege, Mr. Chancellor, in the spirit of our friendship and cooperation and mutual interest, to offer a toast to you and all that you embody and that of your great country.

To the Chancellor and to the Federal Republic and its people.

THE CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for the kind and warm words you have addressed to my party and to me. I think one of the two of us has to confess to this distinguished gathering that, despite the fact that we did not intend to solve any bilateral problems between ourselves, because we don't have any bilateral problems—*[laughter]*—nevertheless we did make a bilateral agreement just tonight insofar as we agreed to put away the speeches which were made for us. *[Laughter]*

And so, the President did, and I am going to do it, but we allowed for just one quotation from the speeches. You will later on detect me, or observe me looking to my paper once, but before so doing, I would like to point out that I think you were especially generous, Mr. President, in talking of the last 25 years of our really very good and ever-improving relationship, a relationship between your great country and ours.

You were very gracious not to mention periods of history before that I will not dig into it. But I would like to say that my compatriots and I, myself, we are really thankful for the great help which we received from your people immediately after the war and that we also are thankful for having had your assistance, your standing firm on matters vital for our own sake, for instance, for your standing firm on Berlin all these years.

You have just come back to the United States from a meeting with the number one man of the Soviet Union. From what I understand from your report to us, you have clearly added one step further in the policy of bringing about balance in the world and the stability of that balance, and bringing about détente, if you wish to call it that, a policy which we have followed, both of our nations, both of our Governments, parallel to each other, as we have all these long decades followed in common the policy of making ourselves capable, if need should arise, to defend ourselves against threats or pressures from outside.

It seems to me that so far, we have been very successful together with our other partners within the Atlantic Alliance. In the meantime, new problems have come up which we did not foresee 10 years ago—referring to the Middle East or referring to the oil price explosion—I think one might call it an explosion—and all our economies so far have not adapted to that enormous change, whether it is in the field of real incomes, whether it is in the field of balance of payments, whether it is in the field of aggravating the process of inflation.

We have talked at length today, and also your Secretaries and aides and my party have talked at length, about economic problems. We have exchanged our analyses, we have exchanged our attitudes, our plans for future actions. Advice was given freely and taken from both sides—this is the point where I have to look to my paper—*[laughter]*—because I wrote down in my own handwriting a little quote.

I think it is from some American. He is not as famous as Goethe. Nevertheless, it reads: "Free advice is the kind that costs you nothing unless you act upon it." *[Laughter]*

So, I warn you, Mr. President, to be careful in acting upon our advice, and we will be careful on our side as well.

But coming back to a more serious aspect of the matter, I think I could say on behalf of my party, especially my colleague, Genscher, and the rest, that we were very thankful for this free exchange of analyses and thoughts

and of the plans we might put into operation in the next time, because we do really feel that your great country, five times as big—I mean in economic size—than ours, and our second biggest in terms of foreign trade, we do really feel that both our responsibilities, vis-à-vis the world's economy as a whole and the other partners in the free world economy, request from us that we try as much as one can to coordinate our economic policies as we have coordinated our defense policies, as we have coordinated our détente policies, as we tried to coordinate our policies all over the globe.

Now at this present stage, I think, in the economic field there lies a great part of our faith, not only of your people, also of ours, also of other peoples in the world.

If the economic future becomes bleak and uncertain, economic uncertainty and economic failure can lead to economic unrest not only, but also social unrest and also domestic political unrest in a number of countries, not in the first instance in the United States of America, not in the first instance in our country, but we might be infected in the course of time.

I think all my compatriots heard with great satisfaction what you said this afternoon about you would not permit an aggravation of the downward trend of the economy, which at present is characterizing all our economies.

I am not going to too much dig into that field. I only wanted—using this as an example, the economic exercise of ours as an example—to express again, sir, our gratitude for this really free and frank and candid exchange of views and to express our gratitude for the endeavor on both sides to coordinate and harmonize our policies which, in fact, does not mean that both of our parts have to exactly operate along the same lines, but means that we will have to follow complementary policies in order to achieve the same goal that we have in common.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like you to rise and drink to the President of the United States and our charming hostess.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Assistant to the President

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Leonard Garment Upon Mr. Garment's Resignation. December 6, 1974

December 5, 1974

Dear Len:

I have your letter of December 2 and it is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as Assistant to the President, effective December 31, 1974.

In so doing, I welcome this opportunity to express my personal appreciation for your dedicated service to the Presidency and to our Nation. In particular, I want you to know of my gratitude for your highly capable assistance and unhesitating support during the early, critically important period of transition. Yours is an exceptional record of public service and one in which you can always take great pride and personal satisfaction.

You have my admiration and warmest best wishes for every happiness and success in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Leonard Garment, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

December 2, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I herewith submit my resignation as Assistant to the President effective December 31, 1974. I do so with particular appreciation for your personal thoughtfulness to myself and other members of President Nixon's staff during the transition period.

It has been a pleasure knowing you through these years in Washington and a privilege working for you during the past few months.

You and Mrs. Ford have my warmest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

LEONARD GARMENT

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

VISIT OF CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Joint United States-Federal Republic of Germany Statement Issued at the Conclusion of Chancellor Schmidt's Visit. December 6, 1974

The President of the United States of America Gerald R. Ford and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Helmut Schmidt met in Washington on December 5 and 6, 1974. They reaffirmed the relationship of friendship and trust and confidence between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and they held wide-ranging talks embracing international and economic problems, security and defense

policy, and current East-West discussions. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Henry A. Kissinger and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher participated in the discussions between the President and the Chancellor and held complementary talks. In the economic talks, the President was joined by members of his Economic Policy Board and the Chancellor was accompanied by representatives of labor and business.

The President and the Chancellor reviewed the world economic situation in depth and explored effective solutions for current economic problems. They were agreed that international energy problems, the sharp increases in world prices, the contraction of economic activities, and large-scale payments imbalance constitute a severe threat to political and social stability in many countries. A creative new effort to coordinate economic policies between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, together with its partners in the European Community, will be required to master these difficulties.

The United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany recognize the responsibility which falls to them for ensuring a prosperous international economy and safeguarding world trade. In this context they attach great significance to the upcoming multilateral trade negotiations. They reaffirmed their international pledges to avoid trade and payments restrictions which adversely affect other countries.

The President and the Chancellor agreed that in current circumstances they both have a responsibility to manage their domestic economic policies so as simultaneously to strengthen output and employment and to avoid new inflationary impulses. They affirmed that both countries have a need to encourage investment, to combat rising unemployment, and to act to increase confidence in the financial and the economic outlook. They recognized that the two countries are at different points in their fight against inflation, and that policies will take that fact into account. They are determined not to permit a serious deterioration in their economies to occur. If necessary, they will step in with adequate measures to prevent it.

The United States and the Federal Republic of Germany agreed that determination and cooperation are also necessary in dealing with energy-related problems. They underlined the importance of the International Energy Agency set up within the framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to coordinate the energy policies of the industrialized countries. They attach particular importance to measures to reduce dependence on imported energy through conservation, more economic use of energy, and opening up of alternative sources. They stressed the need for cooperation in the field of research, notably in relation to coal processing and gasification.

Despite cooperative efforts to reduce dependence on energy imports, the President and the Chancellor recognized that in the coming year there will continue to be large scale imbalances in trade among nations and a corresponding necessity for large international flows of funds. They recognized that these flows for the most part have been, and in all probability will continue to be, handled by existing private and official channels. At the same time they agreed on the necessity of close cooperation among the financial authorities to insure the continued safe and orderly functioning of financial institutions in their expanding international roles.

They agreed on the importance of the International Monetary Fund and other multilateral financial agencies being in a position in 1975 to provide flexible responsive financial assistance to any member nation facing international payments difficulties arising from the rapidly changing world economic situation. In addition, to insure that industrial countries which follow prudent and cooperative economic and energy policies have access to adequate financial resources in case of need, the President and the Chancellor agreed that early consideration should be given by these nations to the establishment of a supplementary financial safety net in the framework of the OECD.

The President and the Chancellor also stressed their determination to improve cooperation with the oil-producing countries. They expressed the conviction that further economic progress in the world, both in the developing and the developed countries, can only be resolved by means of world-wide cooperation.

The United States and the Federal Republic of Germany recognize the necessity of international cooperation to improve the international food situation. They will undertake prompt discussions on an international system of nationally-held grain reserves, increased global food production and substantial growth in food output in developing countries in order to prevent the recurrence of major food problems in the future. Both recognize the need for cooperation between food producers and consumers to ensure equitable adjustment to shortages and deficits.

The discussions on political questions centered on the North Atlantic Alliance, the evolution of East-West relations, and the situation in the Mediterranean and in the Near East.

The President and the Chancellor reviewed the progress of matters before the Alliance on the eve of the NATO Ministerial meeting to be convened next week in Brussels. They agreed on the continuing importance to the Allies of maintaining their political cohesion and strong defenses as the indispensable prerequisites for continued efforts to advance the process of East-West détente. Against the background of current challenges to their strength and solidarity, they reaffirmed their support for the principles of the Declaration on Atlantic Relations signed by Allied Heads of Government in June 1974.

The President and the Chancellor reiterated their resolve to contribute to the process of detente and the growth of cooperation between East and West. President Ford reviewed the SALT negotiations in the light of his talks with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok. They noted with satisfaction that it has been agreed to aim for limitations on strategic nuclear weapons on the basis of equality. The Chancellor expressed his appreciation for the progress achieved in Vladivostok which he considered most important for the pursuit of the policy of detente and safeguarding peace. President Ford and Chancellor Schmidt agreed that the understandings of Vladivostok would have a salutary effect on the overall development of East-West relations.

The two delegations also discussed the state of negotiations in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions in Central Europe. They confirmed their shared view that the aim of MBFR should be to arrive at a common ceiling for forces of both alliance systems.

Both sides expressed the hope that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would soon complete its initial consideration of

texts dealing with all items on the agenda. It would then be possible to enter into the final stage of the negotiations. They agreed that certain progress had recently been made in reaching agreement on such areas as family reunification and improved access to printed information. They noted, however, that important texts still remain to be agreed, especially with regard to the Declaration of Principles governing Relations between States.

The President and Secretary of State Kissinger reviewed the United States' efforts to contribute to progress toward the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Both sides emphasized the importance of the disengagement agreements and of further results in the negotiating process.

As to developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, both sides stressed the responsibility of the parties immediately concerned. They stated their readiness to encourage Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus in the search for a mutually acceptable settlement of the dispute on the basis of the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The German side reviewed the state of the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with the GDR and of the issue of foreign representation of West Berlin by the Federal Republic of Germany. Both sides were agreed on the importance of maintaining and developing the ties between the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin as well as full and complete implementation of all other parts of the Quadripartite Agreement.

The President and the Federal Chancellor reaffirmed the attachment of their Governments and peoples to the high purposes of the United Nations. They reviewed the proceedings of the current General Assembly and expressed their hope that the spirit of cooperation would prevail over divergences and divisions so that the cause of international harmony, cooperation and a sound and enduring peace would be furthered.

The President and the Chancellor agreed to remain in close touch with one another, and to consult on all matters of mutual interest as might be required in the future.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

November 30

The President went to Philadelphia to attend the Army-Navy football game. Following the game, he returned to Washington.

December 2

The President met with the National Security Council at the White House.

The President greeted the United Cerebral Palsy Poster Children, Gregg Donaldson, age 12, and Tracey Royal, age 7.

December 3

Commerce Secretary Dent, HEW Secretary Weinberger, and Labor Secretary Brennan met with the President at the White House to report on ways in which the world of work and the institutions of education can be brought closer together. The President had directed them to begin the study in his commencement address at Ohio State University on August 30 (see page 1075 of this volume).

The President greeted the 10 Outstanding Young Women of America for 1974 in the Oval Office at the White House.

December 4

The President attended a reception at the Capitol Hill Club for newly elected Republican Members of the House of Representatives who will serve in the 94th Congress.

December 5

The President hosted a breakfast at the White House for Senators and Congressmen who were defeated in the November elections.

The President today accepted the resignation of Ralph F. Keil as United States Attorney for the District of Delaware, effective upon the nomination of a successor.

The President went to the Blair House to attend a portion of a meeting of U.S. and German officials on the international economic situation and the energy crisis. Chancellor Schmidt also attended the meeting.

December 6

The President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board met with him at the White House.

The President greeted members of the Harlem Globetrotters basketball team.

Gov. Christopher S. Bond of Missouri, newly elected Chairman of the Republican Governors' Association, met with the President to report on the Association's recent meeting in St. Louis.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted December 2, 1974

JAMES M. FITZGERALD, of Alaska, to be United States District Judge for the District of Alaska, vice Raymond E. Plummer, retired.

JAMES P. CHURCHILL, of Michigan, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan, vice Stephen J. Roth, deceased.

H. DALE COOK, of Oklahoma, to be United States District Judge for the Northern, Eastern and Western Districts of Oklahoma, vice Luther L. Bohanon, retired.

JACK J. VALENTI, of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1976, vice Irving Kristol.

ROBERT C. SEAMANS, JR., of Massachusetts, to be Administrator of Energy Research and Development (new position).

WILSON K. TALLEY, of California, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Stanley M. Greenfield, resigned.

FRANK G. ZARB, of New York, to be Administrator of the Federal Energy Administration, vice John C. Sawhill, resigned.

KATHRYNE FORD VACHON, of Florida, to be a member of the National Credit Union Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 31, 1978, vice Lorena Causey Matthews, resigned.

WILLIAM A. ANDERS, of Virginia, to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (new position).

NEIL P. SPEIRS, of Illinois, to be a member of the Railroad Retirement Board for the term of 5 years from August 29, 1974 (reappointment).

Submitted December 3, 1974

RICHARD B. PARKER, of Kansas, a Foreign Service officer of Class one, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

Submitted December 4, 1974

DIXY LEE RAY, of Washington, to be an Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (new position).

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved November 29, 1974

S. 3204..... Public Law 93-504
An act to eliminate discrimination based on sex in the youth programs offered by the Naval Sea Cadet Corps.

Approved November 30, 1974

S. 1227..... Public Law 93-507
An act to amend section 415 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to provide for a two-year period of limitations in proceedings against carriers for the recovery of overcharges or damages not based on overcharges.

S. 1479..... Public Law 93-508
An act to amend subsection (b) of section 214 and subsection (c)(1) of section 222 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, in order to designate the Secretary of Defense (rather than the Secretaries of the Army and the Navy) as the person entitled to receive official notice of the filing of certain applications in the common carrier service and to provide notice to the Secretary of State where under section 214 applications involve service to foreign points.

S. 2457..... Public Law 93-505
An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to permit the Federal Communications Commission to grant radio station licenses in the safety and special and experimental radio services directly to aliens, representatives of aliens, foreign corporations, or domestic corporations with alien officers, directors, or stockholders; and to permit aliens holding such radio station licenses to be licensed as operators.

Approved December 3, 1974

H.R. 17434..... Public Law 93-509
National Wildlife Refuge System Administration Act Amendments of 1974.

December 3, 1974

EDITOR'S NOTE: On December 3, 1974, a bill became law without the President's signature. H.R. 12628 was vetoed by the President in a message to the House of Representatives on November 26, 1974 (see page 1501 of this volume of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents). The veto was overridden by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The legislative number, public law number, and title of the act are as follows:

H.R. 12628..... Public Law 93-508
Vietnam Era Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974.

Approved December 5, 1974

H.R. 16757..... Public Law 93-511
An act to extend the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1973 until August 31, 1975.

S. 1064..... Public Law 93-512
An act to improve judicial machinery by amending title 23, United States Code, to broaden and clarify the grounds for judicial disqualification.

S. 2299..... Public Law 93-510
Joint Funding Simplification Act of 1974.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released December 2, 1974

Statement by the President: on his trip to Japan, the Republic of Korea and the Soviet Union (included in the President's news conference of December 2)

Statement by the President: on the economy (included in the President's news conference of December 2)

Released December 3, 1974

News conference: following their meeting with the President on the relation of education and work—by Frederick B. Dent, Secretary, Department of Commerce, Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Peter J. Brennan, Secretary, Department of Labor.

Advance text: remarks at the American Conference on Trade

Released December 4, 1974

Advance text: exchange of toasts with Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada

Fact sheet: on the President's message to the Congress on proposed additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System

News conference: on the President's message to the Congress on proposed additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System—by Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, E. U. Curtis Bohlen, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Department of Interior; and John R. McGuire, Chief, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture

News conference: on the President's meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau—by Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

Advance text: toast at a dinner honoring Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau

Released December 5, 1974

Advance text: toast at a dinner honoring German Chancellor Schmidt

Released December 6, 1974

Announcement: intention to nominate John T. Elfvin to be a United States District Judge for the Western District of New York

News conference: on the President's meeting with German Chancellor Schmidt—by Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

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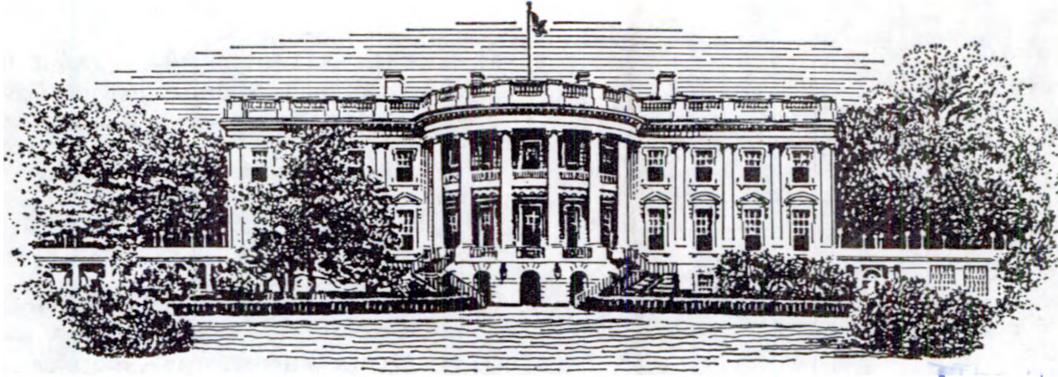
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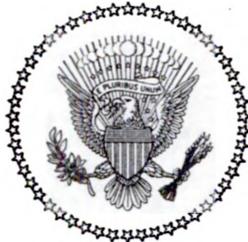


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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

DEC 30 1974

Monday, December 16, 1974



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D.C. 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, December 13, 1974

Labor-HEW Appropriation Bill

*Statement by the President on Signing H.R. 15580
Into Law. December 9, 1974*

I have signed H.R. 15580, the 1975 appropriations act for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare and related agencies.

The Congress intended that the appropriations provided in H.R. 15580 should not exceed the fiscal year 1975 budget. Nevertheless, amounts included in the bill for mandatory Federal payments for public assistance are \$1.2 billion below the estimates in the budget. The conferees' report on the bill, however, explicitly states that the "Conferees are acutely aware of the need to control inflation and of the need to restrain spending as one means to achieve this objective." The report further states: "The Conferees have no intention of approving new budget (obligational) authority which will ultimately result in spending in excess of the total budget estimate for the bill." In conclusion, the conferees expressed the willingness of the Congress to consider fully deferrals and rescissions submitted by the President to achieve these objectives.

I commend the Congress on this responsible approach to reducing inflationary pressures. I believe, however, that further review of mandatory public assistance spending will confirm the need for significantly higher spending than provided for in H.R. 15580. In the meantime, I will submit, as expected by the report of the conferees, deferrals to restrain spending for discretionary programs under this bill.

NOTE: As enacted, the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1975 (H.R. 15580) is Public Law 93-517, approved December 7, 1974.

Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act Amendments of 1974

*Statement by the President on Signing the Bill
Into Law. December 9, 1974*

In the decade since enactment of the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act of 1963, it became apparent that the law did not adequately protect migrant farm workers from various abuses. For about a year, the Administration has worked with the Congress to develop legislation to improve the act. There has been give-and-take on all sides. I am pleased that this cooperation has greatly strengthened the act.

On October 29, 1974, I vetoed a similar bill, H.R. 13342. It contained an objectionable rider entirely unrelated to improving the working conditions of migrant workers. The rider would have changed the classifications of certain Department of Labor administrative law judges, members of the Benefits Review Board, and other persons in no way involved with migrant workers. At that time, I urged the Congress to reenact this legislation without the objectionable rider. I am very pleased that it has done so.

This legislation, S. 3202, makes a number of improvements in the act, including the following:

—The act's coverage is expanded. Under existing law, a crew leader has to be recruiting migrant workers on an interstate basis—10 or more workers at any one time—before being required to register as a farm labor contractor. This bill removes these restrictions except with respect to those operating within a 25-mile intrastate radius of their homes and for 13 weeks a year or less. This provides protection for many more migrant workers under the act.

—Sanctions against violators are expanded. The only penalty which may be imposed against crew leaders who violate the present law is a \$500 fine. It has been relatively ineffective against violations. This legislation adds a jail

sentence of up to 1 year to the present \$500 criminal fine, and a maximum fine of \$10,000 as well as a maximum 3-year jail sentence for subsequent violations—including unregistered crew leaders who knowingly recruit illegal aliens. The Labor Department is now authorized additionally to seek injunctions and assess administrative civil money penalties. Private individuals also have the right to bring civil suits. Those discriminated against are offered means to exercise their rights under the act. The Labor Department is also given increased investigatory authority. In short, crew leaders now have greater responsibilities toward the migrant workers they recruit.

—Other leaders' responsibilities are increased. Under this legislation, crew leaders must obtain increased vehicle insurance coverage and provide transportation and housing which satisfy State and Federal health and safety requirements. Crew leaders must make a complete employment disclosure to the migrant workers they recruit. This disclosure must now be written, and in a language in which the workers are fluent.

—The act prohibits use of unregistered crew leaders and calls for improved recordkeeping.

I strongly believe that these and the other amendments to the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act will go a long way toward improving the working conditions of our Nation's migrant farm workers. I therefore am pleased to have signed into law the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act Amendments of 1974.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 3202) is Public Law 93-518, approved December 7, 1974.

Special Consultant to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Robert A. Goldwin. December 9, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Robert A. Goldwin of the District of Columbia to be Special Consultant to the President. Dr. Goldwin will work with the Domestic Council and others in the White House to help assure the flow of information, ideas, and suggestions to the President, especially from individuals outside the Government.

Dr. Goldwin has served as Special Adviser to Ambassador Rumsfeld in Brussels since March 1973. From 1969 to 1973, he was the dean of St. John's College, a private, nondenominational liberal arts college in Annapolis, Md. From 1960 to 1969, Dr. Goldwin taught political science and was the director of the Public Affairs Conference

Center, first at the University of Chicago and then at Kenyon College, in Ohio.

Dr. Goldwin is the author of articles on political philosophy and was named a Guggenheim Fellow in 1966 for his work on John Locke.

Dr. Goldwin was born in New York City on April 16, 1922. He graduated from St. John's College and received M.A. and Ph. D. degrees in political science from the University of Chicago. He served as an enlisted man and officer in the United States Cavalry in World War II. He is presently on leave of absence as the Charles Hammond Elliott Tutor of St. John's College in Annapolis.

He is married to the former Daisy Lateiner of New Rochelle, N.Y., and they have four grown children. They reside in the District of Columbia.

Designation of Certain Officers To Act as Secretary of the Treasury

Executive Order 11822. December 10, 1974

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 3347 of title 5 and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. During any period when, by reason of absence, disability, or vacancy in office, either the Secretary of the Treasury or his Deputy Secretary is not available to exercise the powers or perform the duties of the office of Secretary, an officer from the Department of the Treasury appointed by the President—by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, in such order as the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time prescribe—shall act as Secretary until the absence or the disability of the incumbent shall cease, or until a successor is appointed. If no such order of succession is in effect at that time, then such officers shall act as Secretary in the descending order of rank, as established by their offices being listed in sections 5314, 5315 or 5316 of title 5 of the United States Code and, at each level of the Executive Schedule, in the order which they shall have taken the oath as such officers.

SECTION 2. Executive Order No. 11680 of August 21, 1972, entitled "Designation of Certain Officers to Act as Secretary of the Treasury" is hereby revoked.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 10, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:21 p.m.,
December 10, 1974]

Portrait Unveiling at the Capitol

*The President's Remarks at the Unveiling of a Portrait of Representative George H. Mahon, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations.
December 10, 1974*

Thank you very much, Jamie. Helen and George, Mr. Speaker, the distinguished leadership of the House, my former colleagues and friends:

You don't know how honored and wonderful I feel about coming up here to say the things that come from the heart concerning George Mahon.

I am proud to say to George and his lovely wife, Helen, that I consider them among the very best friends that I have ever had in the Government of the United States.

In the House, according to the titles, George sat on the other side of the aisle, but that is one of the things that I think are great about this Government, that it doesn't really make much difference where Republicans or Democrats sit on so many, many issues, and, of course, the friendships that you develop over the years do transcend the aisle. The relationship, we all know that have served in the House, goes well beyond the handshake. The relationship, really, as I found it, was an abiding trust, a total understanding, a person-to-person relationship that bridged the gap of partisanship or any of the other things that we hear or read about so often.

You know, it is an interesting fact that the second week after I became President—I should say the second week-end—George Mahon, Les Arends, Mel Laird, and I played golf together out at Burning Tree. I won't say how I did on that day, but I think it was a veto-proof four-some.

A lot of people subscribe to the theory that when you play golf with the President you don't try too hard to win. I have some news for you. I don't think George Mahon ever heard of that theory. But come to think of it, I haven't found anyone that I have ever played with that did either.

But my respect and my admiration for George Mahon goes far, far beyond the golf course. George may have an interlocking grip on his putter, but he has a hammer-lock grip on unnecessary Federal spending.

I was blessed in the House to have the opportunity of serving 14 years on the House Committee on Appropriations with George Mahon. We all know that George Mahon has served 10 years as Chairman of that great committee. And from my perspective as a Member of the House, as a Republican leader, as Vice President and President, I know that George Mahon has done a super job.

Now I have to concede he is not quite like Clarence Cannon or John Taber. Many of you didn't have the

privilege of knowing those stalwart characters. But let me assure you that although his style is different, he learned a great deal from both of those historic characters.

I think—as we know from the record, that George has devoted his total energies, his boundless resources, to keep America morally, militarily, and fiscally strong. He is one man that I have found in my years in the Congress and elsewhere who, in all sincerity and with deep conviction, did put his country above his party.

If I were to describe somebody that I served with who would deserve the accolade of a statesman, I certainly would pin that label on George Mahon.

I can't tell you how many countless hours I spent with George not only in the full Committee on Appropriations but on the Defense Subcommittee on Appropriations and various other subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations. But I don't think I can think of a single person that I served with who was more decent, more honorable, more dedicated, more loyal, more careful, and when the issues were down and the going was tough, could be more forthright. And to me, those are the kind of characteristics that in my judgment determine a great Member of the Congress more than any of the others.

So George's service, his leadership, and all of the other things he has done for his district, his State, and his Nation, I think will go down in history and will always be on the record books for all other Members of Congress to try and emulate and to follow.

Texas, we all know, has been known for its bigness. In George Mahon it has lived up to its reputation.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:29 a.m. in the Rayburn Room at the Capitol. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Representative Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi.

Senate Confirmation of Vice President-Designate Rockefeller

Statement by the President. December 10, 1974

I am gratified by the action of the Senate today in voting for confirmation of Nelson A. Rockefeller to fill the vacancy in the office of Vice President of the United States.

Few Americans have ever been more closely scrutinized or more thoroughly investigated by the Congress than Governor Rockefeller. The Senate's overwhelming vote of approval, after probing so meticulously into every aspect of his public and private life, speaks eloquently for his character and outstanding qualifications for public office.

The Senate vote brings us much closer to the day when the constitutional office of Vice President will be filled. I trust that similar action will be taken as rapidly as possible by the House of Representatives before final adjournment of the 93d Congress. Governor Rockefeller would then be able to put his experience and energy to work for all the people of the United States in our efforts to deal with the great challenges ahead.

NOTE: The statement was released at New York, N.Y.

National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame Dinner

The President's Remarks at the 17th Annual Awards Dinner in New York City. December 10, 1974

Chris, Your Eminence, President Dick Kasmaier, distinguished guests:

It is a very high honor and a very great privilege to have the opportunity of participating in this program this evening, and may I at the outset congratulate the new inductees as well as the scholar-athletes.

Bob Hope and I were commenting, as all of these fine young athletes were being introduced, we never saw such a packaging of brains, appearance, and skill, and I congratulate each and every one of you.

Let me thank you, Chris, for that introduction. It is kind of the routine introduction that comes with this office. [Laughter] You know, since I became President, I am usually introduced in a more dignified and stately manner.

On some occasions there is a variation, however. But there was one dinner a few weeks ago when I was introduced by a former teammate of the University of Michigan back a good many years, and frankly I will never forget that introduction.

He said, "Ladies and gentlemen, it might interest you to know that I played football with Jerry Ford for 2 years and it made a lasting impression on me. I was a quarterback, Jerry Ford was a center, and you might say it gave me a completely different view of the President."

If you stopped to think about it, there are many similarities between football and government. For instance, in both areas nothing is ever done without discussing it first. In football you call it a huddle; in Washington you call it a debate; and sometimes the talk goes on for many, many hours without really saying anything.

In Washington it is called a filibuster; in football it is called Howard Cosell. You know, Howard Cosell takes a lot of kidding, but in all fairness, someone once said, "To me, Howard Cosell will always look 10 feet tall." I don't know who said it. But I think it was Abe Beame.

It is a real honor to be here tonight, because football has meant so much to me for a good many years. You

might be interested to know that I have put together over the years a small collection of memorable football quotations, and I would like to share with you tonight two of them.

The first quotation is from Grantland Rice, who was a great, great sportswriter many years ago, and he said, "When the one Great Scorer comes to write against your name, he marks not that you won or lost, but how you played the game."

Incidentally, I wish Woody Hayes—he is an ex-Big Tenner—and the Ohio State Buckeyes good luck in the Rose Bowl.

But as a former Michigan football player and a 12-term Congressman from Michigan, I think that is about as far as I ought to go.

You know, I may cook my own breakfast, but I am not about to cook my own goose.

Well, obviously the Michigan Wolverines are not the only team I root for. In fact, back in the Capital we have a professional team we are very, very proud of, the Washington Redskins, more affectionately known as the Over-The-Hill-Gang.

You know, it is always exciting to watch the Redskins play, because you are never quite sure what they are going to reach first—the playoffs or social security.

And the Redskins have one of the most colorful quarterbacks in the history of the game, Sonny Jurgensen. And isn't George Allen lucky to have two great quarterbacks like Billy Kilmer and Sonny Jurgensen?

Well, earlier I was saying a word or two about my good friend Woody Hayes. I think it is well known that Sonny Jurgensen has a much more relaxed attitude toward the game. I can remember back in 1968 when Sonny, throwing with a very, very sore arm scored five touchdown passes against the Chicago Bears. And as he came off the field at the end of the game Otto Graham, who was then the coach of the Redskins, asked him, "Sonny, how's your arm?"

Sonny said, "It hurts me awful."

Graham looked worried. He said, "It is going to be a problem."

Sonny said, "It is. Did you ever try to drink left-handed?"

Well, somewhere between Sonny Jurgensen and Woody Hayes I think there is a little room for compromise.

In my lifetime I have attended a lot of sports dinners, and it has been something of a ritual to honor the exercise, the sportsmanship, the teamwork, the good fellowship that we all receive and have received from football, and that is as it should be.

But what about winning? How about a good word for the ultimate reason any of us have for going into a competitive sport? As much as I enjoyed the physical and emotional dividends that college athletics brought me, I

sincerely doubt if I ever suited up, put on my helmet—and, yes, I did wear a helmet—without the total commitment of going out there to win, not to get exercise, gold, or glory, but simply to win.

To me, winning is not a shameful concept. I would like to think that winning is in the great American tradition.

Two hundred years ago we fought for our freedom, and we won, and for the next hundred years we challenged a continent, and we won.

But somebody once said, "The problem with winning is you have to keep on doing it." And so today we Americans face another historic struggle to maintain our strength as a Nation, as a people, and our economic well being for all of us. And believe me, in this battle against inflation, or recession, there are no playoffs, and there is no "wait till next year." It is winner take all, or loser have nothing.

As I see it, WIN—it is a very small word, but let's be careful not to lose it.

Tonight I have come to New York for a very, very personal reason, and it also has something to do with winning. I have come to do honor and to pay tribute to a man who has won the admiration, the affection, and the everlasting gratitude of all Americans—a superstar before the term was ever thought of.

Bob Hope has consistently brought to our lives the warm glow and the sustaining lift of that precious gift of laughter, and to those of us who served in the Armed Forces, Bob's eagerly awaited visits brought home an awful lot closer.

But Bob Hope is more than a superlative entertainer—much, much more. His dedication to the needs and the welfare of Americans has made him a leader in humanitarian activities. It would be a monumental task to list all of the charities and causes that have said thanks for the memory of Bob Hope's helping hand.

Throughout the years I have always looked forward to sharing a head table, a foursome, and many a memorable hour with Bob Hope. I am proud to call him my friend.

And so it gives me a great deal of personal pleasure to present tonight the Distinguished American Award of the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame to Bob Hope—patriot, ardent sportsman, indomitable, courageous, unselfish American whose lifetime credo is the lifting of the human spirit.

Gentlemen, Bob Hope.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:26 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Chris Schenkel, the master of ceremonies, Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York, and Richard W. Kasmaier, Jr., president of the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame.

Honored at the dinner were: Gerald B. Zornow, chairman of the board of the Eastman Kodak Company, who received the Foundation's Gold Medal for carrying into his professional life the basic values taught in amateur sports; entertainer Bob Hope, who received the Distinguished American Award; 10 new members of the Hall of Fame; and 11 scholar-athletes receiving graduate fellowships.

United States Ambassador to Costa Rica

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Terence A. Todman. December 11, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Terence A. Todman, of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, to be Ambassador to Costa Rica. Mr. Todman, a career Foreign Service officer of the Class of Career Minister, has been Ambassador to Guinea since 1972. He will succeed Viron P. Vaky who was appointed Ambassador to Colombia December 1, 1973.

Mr. Todman entered the Foreign Service in July 1956 and has served in New Delhi, Beirut, Tunis, Lome, and Ndjamena. In Washington he served as Country Director for Eastern Africa until his appointment as Ambassador to Chad. He received the Superior Service Award in 1966.

He was born March 13, 1926, in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and received a B.A. degree in 1951 from the Inter-American University, San German, Puerto Rico, and a M.P.A. degree in 1952 from Syracuse University. He served as a lieutenant in the United States Army during World War II.

Ambassador Todman is married to the former Doris Weston, and they have four children.

United States Ambassador to Sierra Leone

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Michael A. Samuels. December 11, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Michael A. Samuels of the District of Columbia to be Ambassador to Sierra Leone. He succeeds Clinton L. Olson.

He taught at Benue Provincial Secondary School in Nigeria from 1962 to 1964. He was a senior staff member of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, from 1968 to 1970. Dr. Samuels was a Legislative Management Officer in the Office of Congressional Relations in the Department of State, 1970-73; Executive Assistant to Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush, 1973-74; Staff Assistant to the President, serving as Executive Assistant to the Counsellor to the President for Economic Policy, May-July 1974; and Executive Assistant to Deputy Secretary of State Robert S. Ingersoll from July to October 1974. Since October 1974, he has been a member of the Policy Planning Staff, Department of State.

He was born in Youngstown, Ohio, on April 4, 1939. He received his A.B. degree from Yale University in 1961,

an M.A. degree from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1962, and a Ph.D in African History and International Education from Columbia University in 1969.

He is married to the former Susan Lynne Hassman, and they have one child. They reside in Washington, D.C.

Agency for International Development

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Sidney Weintraub To Be an Assistant Administrator for Interagency Development Coordination. December 11, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Sidney Weintraub, of Highland Park, N.J., to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development (Interagency Development Coordination). The newly created post will assist in coordinating U.S. Government policies of all departments with respect to the less-developed countries.

A career Foreign Service officer, Mr. Weintraub has been Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Finance and Development since 1969. Prior to that he served as Director of the AID Mission in Chile and Economic Counselor of the U.S. Embassy. He has also served in the Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Japan, and Thailand. He has had several economic assignments in the Department of State, including that of Chief of the General Commercial Policy Division from 1963 to 1965.

Mr. Weintraub was born in New York City on May 18, 1922, and was graduated from the City College of New York in 1943. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees in journalism from the University of Missouri in 1948 and an M.A. degree in economics from Yale University in 1958. He received a Ph. D. in economics from American University in 1966. Mr. Weintraub served with the U.S. Army overseas from 1943 to 1946.

He is married to the former Gladys Katz, also of New York City, and they have one son and two daughters.

United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Ellsworth A. VanGraafeiland. December 11, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ellsworth A. VanGraafeiland, of Rochester, N.Y., to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit. He succeeds Henry J. Friendly who retired.

Since 1941, Mr. VanGraafeiland has been associated with the law firm of Wisner, Shaw, Freeman, VanGraafeiland, Hartery, and Secrest. From 1940 to 1941, he was associated with the firm of Culley and Corbett.

He was born on May 11, 1915, in Rochester, N.Y., and received his B.A. degree from the University of Rochester in 1937 and his J.D. degree from Cornell Law School in 1940.

Mr. VanGraafeiland is married and has five children. They reside in Rochester, N.Y.

United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William J. Bauer. December 11, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William J. Bauer, of Elmhurst, Ill., to be a United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit. He will succeed Otto Kerner who resigned July 22, 1974.

Mr. Bauer is presently a U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois, serving since November 10, 1971. From 1970 to 1971, he was United States Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois. In 1964, he became judge of the Circuit Court for the 18th Circuit of Illinois. Prior to that he had served with law firms in Wheaton and Elmhurst, Ill.

He received his B.A. degree from Elmhurst College in 1949 and his J.D. degree from the DePaul University in 1952. Mr. Bauer is married and has two children. He resides in Elmhurst, Ill.

United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit

Announcement of Intention To Nominate J. Smith Henley. December 11, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Smith Henley of Little Rock, Ark., to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit. He will succeed Pat Mehaffy who retired.

Since 1958, he has been District Judge for the Eastern and Western District and Chief Judge for the Eastern District. From 1956 to 1958, he was Director, Office of Administration Procedure, Office of Legal Counsel, Department of Justice. In 1941, he was associated with the firm of Moore, Henley and Harrison, prior to his appointment to the Federal Communications Commission in 1956.

He was born on May 18, 1917, in St. Joe, Ark., and received his B.A. degree from the University of Arkansas in 1933 and his LL.B. degree from the University of Arkansas in 1941.

Mr. Henley is married and has two children. They reside in Little Rock, Ark.

Business Council

The President's Remarks to Members of the Council Meeting in Washington. December 11, 1974

Thank you very much, Dave, Anne, members of the Business Council, and guests:

I don't have to tell you I deeply appreciate the opportunity to meet with you tonight, as leaders of commerce and industry, to discuss some very serious economic problems that we all face.

The mutuality of our problems was never more clearly stated than when I was introduced at a business conference quite recently. The moderator said, and I quote, "The greatness of America is that anyone can grow up to be president of an auto company, president of an airline, president of a utility, or President of the United States." Then he took a long, long pause and added, "That's just one of the chances you have to take!"

Four months ago, in my first words as President, I promised my fellow citizens from time to time "a little straight talk among friends."

I hope I am among friends tonight, because we are all in the same business, trying to keep this country politically and economically stable and strong, and to bring about better lives for more and more people through the genius of our American system.

Businessmen are not the only Americans working toward these goals, but it is very certain they cannot be reached—these goals—without you.

Now for a little straight talk. The economy is in difficult straits. All the statistics, or most of them, prove that quite conclusively. We are in a recession. Production is declining and unemployment, unfortunately, is rising. We are also faced with continued high rates of inflation greater than can be tolerated over an extended period of time.

There is some good economic news, but I can concede much or most of it is bad. Nevertheless, our country is not in an economic crisis.

A crisis—in the sense of a national crisis—is something that demands immediate and drastic action. A national problem is something that demands widespread understanding and carefully deliberated solutions—cures that are not worse than the disease.

In my 25-plus years in this Capital, our economy has gone through at least five recessions—five in 25 years. And the facts are that we have recovered from every one of

them. And I predict without any hesitation that we will recover from this one also. The question is not when but how. And your question to me as President is what am I doing about it? What am I doing about it as President?

I cannot and will not promise you a sudden change for the better. There is no prospect that I can discern for instantaneous improvement in the economy. Without enumerating them, you and I know that today's difficulties stem from policies and developments of past years. The effect of policies adopted today would not be felt for months to come.

Nor do I believe that confidence in the American economy can be restored with rhetoric—mine or that of other political players or sideline sitters. I do not believe it can be restored by Federal Government activity alone. I do believe it can be restored by the effective teamwork and enlightened self-interest of all elements of our American free enterprise economy and our representative free political system.

Long-term success is not assured by short-term panaceas. There appears to be a tendency these days to focus only on the immediate needs or effects of any proposed economic remedy and not to examine its long-term effects. Speaking only for myself, I do not buy that.

Not just the President, not just the Congress, not just business or labor or consumer, but all of us must act to renew and invigorate our economy and everybody's faith in that economy.

Hopefully we will do most things right and only a few wrong things—maybe some of you have done that in business or had the same experience. But I can assure you this Government, as far as I am concerned, will do nothing deliberately wrong. But just because doing something—yes, it might perk up political opinion polls, but I think the facts are in some instances that course would be the worst course of all.

Men survive by instinct but make progress by intelligence. Perhaps we could survive by merely following our instincts now—an immediate return to wage and price controls, as some demand; immediate and mandatory gasoline rationing, as others advocate; the enactment of other compulsory programs that treat the symptoms but retard the cure.

I happen to believe that instincts must be overruled by intelligence and politics must yield to principles if we are to make reasonable economic progress that can honestly be sustained in the future, whether it is short-term or long-term. And let me say without any hesitation or qualification that is what I intend to do.

Today I met with the bipartisan leaders of the House and Senate at the White House in the Cabinet Room. The campaign is over, the voters have spoken, and the present Congress is about to adjourn. At that meeting there was a spirit of concern for the country in that representative roomful of responsible Democrats and responsible Republicans which I wish I had the eloquence to

describe. Really, you would not believe how well we all get along when the doors are closed.

So I asked my former colleagues how well we all could get along, and I think most of them sincerely agreed that it would be wise if we could have a sort of an informal moratorium on partisan economics, at least until the next Congress convenes in January. Could not we sort of bite our tongues when tempted to say things that might further weaken confidence in the economy and compound the confusion in many Americans' minds about their future?

I was encouraged by the meeting this morning—I thought it was wholesome, beneficial, and I think it will have an impact. But for a start let me say this: Do not believe I have made any economic decisions unless you hear those decisions from me personally. There can be only one person that makes those decisions. And when I make them, I'll announce them.

I intend to keep my experts working over the holidays translating into specifics a number of new or alternative measures to augment and update the economic package that I will place before the Congress within the next 2 months. We will meet the changing priorities in the future of our present and based on future realities.

I will have new proposals on the desks of the new Members of Congress when they convene in mid-January, if not sooner. In the few days left before this Congressional session, I assured the leaders that I would communicate, conciliate, compromise, and cooperate to the outer limits of my fundamental principles in order to assure prompt enactment of the most urgent economic measures.

Among these are long-delayed trade reform legislation as well as legislation to make sure that unemployed workers receive temporary assistance, including public service jobs and extended unemployment compensation to protect their buying power. If these measures reasonably approximate the criteria I set 2 months ago, I will support adequate dollar amounts now indicated by worsening employment statistics, especially in some industries.

Tomorrow I intend to meet with the leaders of the automotive industry—Roy Chapin of American Motors, Lee Iacocca of Ford, Tom Murphy of General Motors, Lynn Townsend of Chrysler, and Leonard Woodcock of the UAW. This will be a face-to-face discussion of the industry's very special problems, but problems that affect our economy on a very broad basis.

My door has been open, and remains open, to the responsible spokesman of any segment of our economy which has been unduly damaged by our present economic difficulty.

I will continue to press for legislation and regulatory policies providing increased incentives and assistance for industrial modernization, replacement, and expansion to assure a sound industrial base now and for future generations, so that new jobs will be created. Increased productivity lies at the heart of our free enterprise system which

made America what it is today. And I have been a firm believer in that very important ingredient all of my adult life, and I will say without any hesitation I am not going to change that conviction as President of the United States.

In short, what I am saying is quite precisely this: that insofar as I can prevent it, the fundamental rules of the economic game are not going to be changed every month or every other year in the short or the long haul. But I am also saying that insofar as I can achieve it, the programs and the policies of the Federal Government will be responsive to changed circumstances and our best available economic forecasts.

Some factors—especially fuel and food production—contribute formidably, as you well know, to our current economic problems. And when I fly to meet the President of France this weekend, I will be by no means neglecting our domestic difficulties if I improve the climate of cooperation among the fuel-consuming industrial nations by a common effort to ensure adequate food and fuel supplies at acceptable prices.

Just as all of your businesses depend upon enough energy, they also depend upon enough customers. Customers is a lovely word to you, and consumers sounds like an organized pressure group. The facts are that they are interchangeable. And consumers in America are concerned about the economy as employees and stockholders—in fact, they are one and the same people.

This Administration, I can assure you, is pledged to protect the consumer buying power, or customer purchasing power, as an essential element of sustaining and strengthening the free enterprise system. This is where the voluntary part of my economic program comes in—primarily in each individual's purposeful determination to reduce conspicuous waste and to spend wisely.

The WIN campaign—a volunteer, nonpartisan citizens' effort—is yet an unexploited success. It has my full support and it deserves yours.

I can tell you this: I have received more than 200,000 pieces of mail in support of the WIN program, by far the largest amount of favorable public response to anything that I have done since taking office.

Now personally I don't care whether WIN spells "Whip Inflation Now" or "Work Is Needed." America needs the winning spirit to surmount its present economic difficulties. Whatever the challenge, Americans like to win. If there are any among you who want me to take a 180 degree turn from inflation fighting to recessionary pump priming, they will be disappointed.

The fact of the matter is I am deeply concerned about all three domestic devils—inflation, recession, and energy. They are all part of the same economic torment that now afflicts every industrial nation. I will continue to treat this general economic ailment with a balanced program. We have not, should not, and will not concentrate exclusively on any single aspect of our complex economy. I think it is wise and I intend to concentrate on the total picture.

Heretofore I have emphasized the distortions of inflation because price increases must be blunted before we can realistically expect to restore employment gains and capital investment. There are now early signals that price pressures are beginning to ease. I expect inflation will move steadily down from the intolerable double-digit level.

The facts are, conditions are changing rapidly. Only by acting in a responsible manner can we strengthen confidence and move toward recovery without destroying the accumulated anti-inflation pressures that are just now beginning to work.

I know that the Business Council can rise to this challenge, and I will tell you why. I remember a little history. You and your predecessors were a very key factor in helping the Government mobilize the economy for World War II, and what an incredible record that you wrote—in top managerial posts in Government, in industry, and in the war itself.

Gentlemen, you have to—and we need you to—mobilize again. This Administration will do its part. I will personally do my part. The country needs your full cooperation and your full support.

What is needed is to unite our entire American leadership in this effort, not to divide ourselves with self-defeating pessimism.

As a most perceptive Washington veteran news columnist recently wrote under the heading “The Calamity Howlers,” he said the following, and I quote:

“Now the situation is awkward, and in the automobile towns it is alarming, but the calamity howlers are adding to the depression psychology and making things even worse than they need be.

“For example, many companies now seem to be holding back on essential purchases for fear of what might happen in 1975, and there is upward pressure on both prices and wages in the belief that President Ford will finally be forced to adopt wage and price controls. In short, many people are beginning to act on their fears, which are worse than the facts.

“Washington,” he went on to say, “is a little jittery, too. Because everybody has a pain sooner or later and comes here to complain about it, the capital has a tendency to think everybody has a pain. . . .

“So things are a little mixed up,” he went on to say, “and everybody is looking for painless solutions and hoping to get back to where we were before, with cheap gas and 96 fancy new models to choose from. But it’s not on, folks. That world is gone,” he said. “We’re going to have to make do and mend for a while, but this is a very strong country and it will get along if we don’t talk ourselves into a mess.” End quote.

As Mr. Reston rightly concluded, this is a very strong country. It started weak and disunited, but two centuries later our free economic system and our free political system are both the strongest and the most enduring in the

world. And as long as I am President I propose to keep them that way.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:06 p.m. in the State Room at the Mayflower Hotel.

Minority Business Development Program

The President's Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments. Dated December 11, 1974. Released December 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

I want to stress that an important objective of my Administration will be assistance to disadvantaged minorities to further allow their participation in the economic benefits of the private enterprise system. Too little attention has been given to this objective in certain sectors of the Federal Government. I am, therefore, seeking improvements in the Government's minority business development program.

Although the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in the Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration have had primary responsibility for minority business programs, their success to date in these efforts has been due in large measure to the support of other Federal agencies. Your strong backing of this objective is essential to a meaningful Federal effort, and I ask that you undertake a reexamination of your agency's commitment to assisting the creation of successful minority businesses and of the effectiveness of your program. Please submit a report of your findings to me by January 31, 1975.

During this difficult economic period, many minority businesses are particularly vulnerable. They need every help the Government can reasonably provide. It is especially important, therefore, that your agency look for every

appropriate opportunity for minority businesses to participate in Government programs as contractors, subcontractors, bankers, etc., and that management, technical and financial assistance be provided whenever feasible.

I am confident of your support of this important effort.

GERALD R. FORD

Council on Environmental Quality

The President's Message to the Congress Transmitting the Council's Fifth Annual Report. December 12, 1974

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Fifth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality.

When future historians look back on the pursuit of environmental quality in our era, they will recognize it as a positive turning point.

As I stated in an Earth Day speech in 1970, "the day is gone when concern for the land, the air and the water was sole province of the conservationist, the wilderness enthusiast, the bird watcher, and the environmental scientist."

Instead, today, millions of our citizens share a new vision of the future in which natural systems can be protected, pollution can be controlled, and our natural heritage will be preserved. The crusade to improve the quality of our human environment has begun—a crusade which has already led to great accomplishment over the past five years.

Another valuable lesson was learned during the energy crisis last winter when, in trying circumstances, it became clear that we cannot achieve all our environmental and all our energy and economic goals at the same time. Had our commitment to the environment not been ingrained, we might have reacted to this situation by discarding our environmental goals. Had our commitment to the environment not been mature, we might not have recognized the need for balance to accommodate other social and economic goals as well. By rejecting the extremes—by accepting the need for balance—we held fast to the accomplishments of the past and looked with new perspective towards the imperatives of the future. This, in my judgment, is the course we must continue to follow.

The need to move toward greater self-sufficiency in energy is one of the major challenges of the decade ahead. We can and must meet our needs for energy, and in ways that minimize damage to the environment.

The conservation of energy provides an essential common ground between our need for energy and our desire to protect the environment. By eliminating waste in the

use of energy, and by increasing the efficiency of the energy we use, we can move toward both goals simultaneously. Our experience this year has shown that there are major opportunities to conserve energy. And we are coming to understand that actions which temper our growing use of energy contribute to self-sufficiency as well as actions which increase our domestic supply.

We must also recognize that, even with a strong conservation program, we will still have to mine more coal, drill for more oil and gas, and build more powerplants and refineries. Each of these measures will have an impact on the environment. Yet this can be minimized, and the last five years have shown that we have the capacity and the willingness to do so. Science and technology, in which America excels, provides one means of limiting environmental damage; careful analysis and planning, with broad public participation, offers another.

Let us also be guided by our increased recognition of the interdependence of all nations of our globe and the fundamental relationship between population, resources, economic development, world stability, and the environment.

No longer is concern for the environment the dream of a few. Instead, it is reflected in countless actions by many citizens, by industry, and by government at all levels every day. The environmental movement has matured, and the nation and its environment have benefitted in the process. Looking to the future, we can expect further accomplishment in enhancing our environment and, along with it, further improvement in our quality of life.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 12, 1974.

NOTE: The President received the report from members of the Council in a ceremony in the Oval Office.

The report is entitled "The Fifth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality—December 1974" (Government Printing Office, 597 pp.).

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Victor Gilinsky To Be a Member of the Commission. December 12, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Victor Gilinsky, of Santa Monica, Calif., to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a term of 4 years. The Commission was established by Public Law 93-438 of November 11, 1974, which also provided for the abolishment of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Gilinsky is the head of the physical science department of the Rand Corporation. He has also served as a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission since 1973.

From 1971 to 1973, he has been with the Atomic Energy Commission as a Special Assistant to the Director of Regulation and later as Assistant Director for Policy and Program Review, Office of Planning and Analysis. He was project leader, international aspects of nuclear energy, for the Rand Corporation from 1969 to 1971. In 1961, he joined the Rand Corporation as a physicist, serving until 1971.

He was born on May 28, 1934, in Warsaw, Poland. He received his B.A. degree from Cornell University in 1956 and his Ph.D. from the California Institute of Technology in 1961.

He is married to the former Magdalena Maria Nowacka, and they have two children. They reside in Santa Monica, Calif.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Richard T. Kennedy To Be a Member of the Commission. December 12, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard T. Kennedy, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a term of 5 years. The Commission was established by Public Law 93-438 of November 11, 1974, which also provided for the abolishment of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Kennedy has been Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Council Planning, after serving as a Senior Staff Member since October 1969. From 1964 to 1969, he was Assistant Director, Deputy Director, and then Director, Africa Region, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs. In 1963, he joined the Defense Department as Staff Assistant to the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense. He served from 1958 to 1962 in the United States Army as Staff Officer, Office of Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations; Chief, Management Division, Office of Comptroller, U.S. Continental Army Command; Chief, Military Assistance Programs, Military Advisory Group, Iran; and Staff Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Army.

Mr. Kennedy was born on December 24, 1919, in Rochester, N.Y. He received his B.A. degree from the University of Rochester in 1941 and M.B.A. from Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration. He did additional work at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in 1959 and the National War College in 1964.

He is married to the former Jean Martin, and they reside in Washington, D.C.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Edward A. Mason To Be a Member of the Commission. December 12, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward A. Mason, of Lexington, Mass., to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, for a term of 3 years. The Commission was established by Public Law 93-438 of November 11, 1974, which also provided for the abolishment of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Mason is currently professor of nuclear engineering and chairman of the department of nuclear engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, after serving in the nuclear engineering department since 1957. From 1953 to 1957, he was director of research, Ionics, Inc. In 1950, he became assistant professor of chemical engineering at M.I.T., serving until 1953. He had previously been a research assistant at M.I.T. from 1947 to 1950.

Mr. Mason was born on August 9, 1924, in Rochester, N.Y. He received his B.S. degree from the University of Rochester in 1945 and his S.M. degree from M.I.T. in 1948. He received his Sc.D. in 1950 also from the M.I.T. He served in the United States Navy from 1942 to 1946.

He is married to the former Barbara Earley, and they have six children. They reside in Lexington, Mass.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Marcus A. Rowden To Be a Member of the Commission. December 12, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marcus A. Rowden, of Bethesda, Md., to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a term of 2 years. The Commission was established by Public Law 93-438 of November 11, 1974, which also provided for the abolishment of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Rowden was General Counsel for the Atomic Energy Commission from May 1973 to November 1974. Prior to that he served as Associate General Counsel for regulatory matters from 1971 to 1973. In 1965, he was named Solicitor for the Atomic Energy Commission, serving until 1971. From 1958 to 1965, he served as Counsel and Legal Adviser of the Atomic Energy Commission, after serving as a trial attorney in the Civil Division of the Department of Justice from 1953.

He was born on March 13, 1928, in Detroit, Mich. He received his A.B. from the University of Michigan in 1950

and his J.D. with distinction from the University of Michigan Law School in 1953. He was a member of the Order of Coif while at the University of Michigan Law School.

Mr. Rowden is married to the former Justine Bessman, and they have two children. They reside in Bethesda, Md.

Council on Wage and Price Stability

Announcement of Appointment of Four Adviser-Members of the Council. December 12, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of four persons as Adviser-Members of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. They are:

WILLIAM A. MORRILL, an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

THOMAS E. KAUPER, an Assistant Attorney General

MICHAEL H. MOSKOW, an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

JOHN W. BARNUM, Deputy Secretary of Transportation

The Council was established by Public Law 93-387 of August 24, 1974, and consists of eight members and four adviser-members appointed by the President.

The eight members were appointed by President Ford on August 29, 1974, under the Chairmanship of then Counsellor to the President, Kenneth Rush. The new Chairman of the Council is William E. Simon.

Department of State

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Monroe Leigh To Be Legal Adviser. December 12, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Monroe Leigh, of Bethesda, Md., to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State. He would succeed Carlyle E. Maw who became Under Secretary for Security Assistance.

He was associated with the law firm of Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson and Shorb and successor firms from 1947 to 1951. He was a member of the United States Mission to the North Atlantic Council, London, and later Paris from 1951 to 1953. In 1953, he became Deputy Assistant General Counsel for International Affairs, Office of the Secretary of Defense. From 1954 to

1956, he was Counsel for the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, and from 1955 to 1959 he served as Assistant General Counsel for International Affairs, Office of Secretary of Defense.

He was born July 15, 1919, in South Boston, Va. Mr. Leigh received a B.A. (magna cum laude) in 1940 from Hampden-Sydney College. He received his LL.B. degree in 1947 from the University of Virginia Law School. He served with the United States Army Air Force as captain from 1942 to 1946.

He joined the law firm of Steptoe and Johnson in 1959 and has been a partner since 1961. From 1964 to the present, he has been a lecturer on legal problems of international trade, University of Virginia Law School.

He is married to the former Mary Gallaher, and they have three children. They reside in Washington, D.C.

National Commission for Industrial Peace

Executive Order 11823. December 12, 1974

ABOLISHING THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States of America by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. I), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The National Commission for Industrial Peace is hereby abolished and Executive Order No. 11710 of April 4, 1973, and Executive Order No. 11729 of July 12, 1973, are hereby revoked.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Treasury shall be responsible for closing the affairs of the Commission, and for the completion of any functions that remain to be performed under the Federal Advisory Committee Act with respect to the Commission and its report. In preparing the report required by section 6(b) of that Act, the Secretary shall consult with the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

GERALD R. FORD.

The White House,
December 12, 1974.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:42 p.m.,
December 12, 1974]

Medal of Honor

The President's Remarks Upon Presenting the Award to Warrant Officer Louis R. Rocco and Staff Sergeant Jon R. Cavaiani, United States Army. December 12, 1974

THE PRESIDENT. *Secretary Schlesinger, Secretary Callaway, our distinguished recipients, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is, of course, a great blessing that the last American soldier is home from the battlefields of Vietnam. Our landing ships again, fortunately, have long since departed those distant shores. And our planes have long ago flown their last mission on the war across those faraway jungles.

Let us, individually and collectively, fervently pray that Vietnam was, indeed, the last—our last war.

We are, however, reminded of Vietnam today—of that long and painful time—by two men who lived it and whose actions will never die in the annals of the United States military history. For the Nation they served bestows on them today the Congressional Medal of Honor for their acts of courage above and beyond the call of duty.

United States Army Warrant Officer Louis Rocco—Sergeant First Class in Vietnam—and Army Staff Sergeant Jon R. Cavaiani, by the courage of their acts, carried forward the long and very proud military tradition of selfless dedication to the cause of freedom.

Army Warrant Officer Louis Rocco distinguished himself on May 24, 1970. He volunteered to help evacuate eight critically wounded South Vietnamese troops under attack. His helicopter crashlanded at the evacuation site under intense enemy fire. Ignoring a fractured wrist and broken hip and a severely bruised back, Warrant Officer Rocco pulled the unconscious survivors from the burning wreckage. His hands were severely burned, causing him excruciating pain. He nevertheless carried each of his unconscious comrades more than 20 yards through enemy fire to friendly positions. Trained in first aid, he administered to them before collapsing into unconsciousness.

Warrant Officer Rocco's bravery was directly responsible for saving three of his fellow soldiers from certain death. His gallantry, disregarding his own pain and injuries, is in the highest tradition of self-sacrifice and courage in our military service.

And I say to his family here today, you also walk in the respect and admiration of your country and of your President.

Sergeant Cavaiani was believed to have been killed in action when recommended for the Medal of Honor. It was only later learned that he had been captured. He was a prisoner of war for more than 2 years and was repatriated on July 10, 1973.

On June 4 and 5, 1971, he served as a platoon leader, providing security for an isolated radio relay site within enemy-held territory. The Sergeant's unit was attacked by a superior enemy force. For those 2 days, firing with different weapons, Sergeant Cavaiani directed the evacuation of some of his platoon by helicopter while ordering the others to escape. Many were able to do so. He remained, however, exposing himself to heavy enemy fire. Sergeant Cavaiani was wounded numerous times, finally falling to his captors.

We are honored that the Sergeant's family is here with us today. The President of the United States wishes to tell them in person that Sergeant Cavaiani is an American of extraordinary heroism and his valor reflects well on all of them.

This day is witness to the fact that the bravest of the brave still rise from among our people, that freedom and that justice have survived and will survive, that peace is still our most precious and enduring goal, and that we, the American people, will forever cherish the noble deeds, the noble ideals entrusted to us these past two centuries by our forefathers.

These ideals do not sleep. They are not silent. They live among us here today in the presence of Jon Robert Cavaiani and Louis Richard Rocco and their families.

The Secretary of the Army will now read the citations.

[At this point, Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway read the citations, the texts of which follow:]

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

WARRANT OFFICER LOUIS R. ROCCO
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Warrant Officer (then Sergeant First Class) Louis R. Rocco, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, Advisory Team 162, distinguished himself on 24 May 1970, northeast of Katum, Republic of Vietnam, when he volunteered to accompany a medical evacuation team on an urgent mission to evacuate eight critically wounded Army of the Republic of Vietnam personnel. As the helicopter approached the landing zone, it became the target for intense enemy automatic weapons fire. Disregarding his own safety, Warrant Officer Rocco identified and placed accurate suppressive fire on the enemy positions as the aircraft descended toward the landing zone. Sustaining major damage from the enemy fire, the aircraft was forced to crash land, causing Warrant Officer Rocco to sustain a fractured wrist and hip and a severely

bruised back. Ignoring his injuries, he extracted the survivors from the burning wreckage, sustaining burns to his own body. Despite intense enemy fire, Warrant Officer Rocco carried each unconscious man across approximately twenty meters of exposed terrain to the Army of the Republic of Vietnam perimeter. On each trip, his severely burned hands and broken wrist caused excruciating pain, but the lives of the unconscious crash survivors were more important than his personal discomfort, and he continued his rescue efforts. Once inside the friendly position, Warrant Officer Rocco helped administer first aid to his wounded comrades until his wounds and burns caused him to collapse and lose consciousness. His bravery under fire and intense devotion to duty were directly responsible for saving three of his fellow soldiers from certain death. His unparalleled bravery in the face of enemy fire, his complete disregard for his own pain and injuries, and his performance were far above and beyond the call of duty and were in keeping with the highest traditions of self-sacrifice and courage of the military service.

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

STAFF SERGEANT JON R. CAVAIANI
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Staff Sergeant Jon R. Cavaiani, United States Army Vietnam Training Advisory Group, distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of life above and beyond the call of duty in action in the Republic of Vietnam on 4 and 5 June 1971 while serving as a platoon leader to a security platoon providing security for an isolated radio relay site located within enemy-held territory. On the morning of 4 June 1971, the entire camp came under an intense barrage of enemy small arms, automatic weapons, rocket-propelled grenade and mortar fire from a superior size enemy force. Sergeant Cavaiani acted with complete disregard for his personal safety as he repeatedly exposed himself to heavy enemy fire in order to move about the camp's perimeter directing the platoon's fire and rallying the platoon in a desperate fight for survival. Sergeant Cavaiani also returned heavy suppressive fire upon the assaulting enemy force during this period with a variety of weapons. When the entire platoon was to be evacuated, Sergeant Cavaiani unhesitatingly volunteered to remain on the ground and direct the helicopters into the landing zone. Sergeant Cavaiani was able to direct the first three helicopters in evacuating a major portion of the platoon. Due to intense increase in enemy fire, Sergeant Cavaiani was forced to remain at the camp over-

night where he calmly directed the remaining platoon members in strengthening their defenses. On the morning of 5 June, a heavy ground fog restricted visibility. The superior size enemy force launched a major ground attack in an attempt to completely annihilate the remaining small force. The enemy force advanced in two ranks, first firing a heavy volume of small arms automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenade fire while the second rank continuously threw a steady barrage of hand grenades at the beleaguered force. Sergeant Cavaiani returned a heavy barrage of small arms and hand grenade fire on the assaulting enemy force but was unable to slow them down. He ordered the remaining platoon members to attempt to escape while he provided them with cover fire. With one last courageous exertion, Sergeant Cavaiani recovered a machine gun, stood up, completely exposing himself to the heavy enemy fire directed at him, and began firing the machine gun in a sweeping motion along the two ranks of advancing enemy soldiers. Through Sergeant Cavaiani's valiant efforts with complete disregard for his safety, the majority of the remaining platoon members were able to escape. While inflicting severe losses on the advancing enemy force, Sergeant Cavaiani was wounded numerous times. Staff Sergeant Cavaiani's conspicuous gallantry, extraordinary heroism and intrepidity at the risk of his life, above and beyond the call of duty, were in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself and the United States Army.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Secretary Callaway, Secretary Schlesinger, ladies and gentlemen. I thank you all for being here.

It is a very wonderful occasion paying tribute and honor to two very gallant and wonderful soldiers in the very highest and the very best traditions of the United States military service.

I suggest now that we all might go into the State Dining Room and have some refreshments.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:09 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

United States Ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic

*Announcement of Intention To Nominate
Thomas J. Scotese. December 13, 1974*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas J. Scotese, of Bethesda, Md., as Ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic.

He was born January 6, 1932, in Hagerstown, Md. Mr. Scotese received an A.B. in 1953 from the University of Pennsylvania. He served as assistant to the dean of admissions, University of Pennsylvania in 1954.

He was appointed as General Consular Officer in Isfahan in 1955 and served until 1959 when he was transferred to Tehran as a Political Officer. From 1961 to 1962, he studied Arabic language and area training in Beirut. He was a Political Officer in Baghdad from 1964 to 1967. In 1967, he was assigned as International Relations Officer, Department of State. From 1968 to 1969, he was on detail for university training. From 1969 to 1973, he was a Political-Economic Officer, and from 1973 to 1974 he was assigned to Tunis as Political Officer. In 1974, he was assigned as Deputy Chief of Mission, Damascus.

He is married to the former Orietta Sarides and they have three children.

Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Upon Mr. Cole's Resignation. December 13, 1974

December 13, 1974

Dear Ken:

It is with deepest regret that I accept your resignation as Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Executive Director of the Domestic Council effective in March, 1975, as you requested.

Needless to say, you will be greatly missed here at the White House, where you have served so admirably for the past six years. Since the earliest days of the Nixon Administration, you have played a leading and vital role in shaping the direction of national domestic policy. From revenue sharing, welfare reform and health care, to anti-crime legislation, drug-abuse prevention planning and energy policy, your sweep and scope have been across the board. As the President's representative with the Nation's Governors and other local government officials, you have performed superbly. Their praise and universal respect for you should be a special source of satisfaction to you.

Beyond this, however, I want to express my personal appreciation for your contributions to my Administration in its first days and throughout the transition. I am especially grateful for your selflessness in temporarily setting aside your plans to return to the private sector in order to assist in the transition and completion of the 1974 legislative program. Also, your guidance and counsel in helping

to shape and establish this Administration's domestic agenda have been immensely valuable.

You may be sure you and your family have Mrs. Ford's and my warmest best wishes for every success and happiness in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Ken Cole, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

December 12, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

When President Nixon asked me to join the White House staff six years ago, I came with the personal conviction that the Federal Government had grown so big as to be unresponsive to the people's needs and with the personal desire to help in the restoration of power and responsibility to the people themselves. Through such historic initiatives as General Revenue Sharing, I believe that process of restoration has begun. Your own role has been an indispensable part of the process from the beginning, and your continuing leadership will carry it forward to completion.

Serving my country has always been of the highest importance to me, and the opportunity to participate at the highest levels of government will always be the most meaningful and the most rewarding experience of my life. You and your predecessor gave me the opportunity to serve in a way I never envisioned, even in my wildest dreams, and my gratitude for the confidence reposed in me is literally beyond expression.

Now, I believe, it is time for me to pursue my career in the private sector. With mixed feelings of regret and thanks and anticipation, I ask therefore that you accept my resignation as Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Executive Director of the Domestic Council, effective March 2, 1975.

We are fortunate to have you as our President. We need your leadership to restore confidence in government. But more importantly we need your leadership to restore confidence in ourselves. Government cannot do everything for everybody, but individual Americans, working together, can meet and beat the toughest of challenges. I believe you are setting the example for us to follow, and that the people will respond. I consider it an honor and a privilege to have been able to work with you. If as a private citizen I can be of help, please know that you can count on me.

Marilyn and I wish you great success in the future and wish for you, Mrs. Ford and your family all the happiness that life can bring.

Very respectfully,

KENNETH R. COLE, JR.

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

Attorney General of the United States

Exchange of Letters Between the President and William B. Saxbe Upon Mr. Saxbe's Resignation. December 13, 1974

December 13, 1974

Dear Bill:

I have your letter of December 12 and, for the purpose of keeping the records straight, I will, of course, accept your resignation as Attorney General of the United States, effective upon the appointment and qualification of your successor or your own appointment and confirmation as Ambassador of India, whichever occurs earlier.

Nearly a year ago, you assumed the duties of Attorney General under the most difficult circumstances. At that time you wisely set as your goals the rekindling of public confidence in the law and the rebuilding of morale within the Department of Justice. You offered then as your watchwords a verse from the Book of Micah, "To do justice and love mercy and walk humbly with thy God."

The impressive record you have compiled as Attorney General has in large measure brought fulfillment of those goals, adding new luster to your already distinguished career and further testifying to your superb leadership and unswerving devotion to the public good. You have truly earned the admiration of your colleagues in government and the thanks of your fellow citizens throughout the Nation.

It is with these high qualities in mind that I look forward to your continued service to this Administration and to our Nation as my Ambassador to India. I am wholly confident you will bring to your new responsibilities the same skills, energy and dedication to responsible government that you have demonstrated throughout your public life.

Betty joins me in wishing Dolly and you our best wishes for every continued happiness and success.

With my appreciation and warmest personal regards.
Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable William B. Saxbe, The Attorney General, Washington, D.C.]

December 12, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

I hereby submit my letter of resignation as Attorney General of the United States of America so that I may accept the new responsibility which you have assigned to me as United States Ambassador to the Republic of India, subject to confirmation by the Senate of the United States.

As we agreed, it is my intention to make my resignation effective upon my appointment as Ambassador, or, in

the alternative, upon the appointment of my successor as Attorney General, whichever occurs earlier.

I want to take this opportunity to express to you, Mr. President, my appreciation for the opportunity to serve as Attorney General. A strong Department of Justice is vital to our country, and I can assure you that the officials of this Department will cooperate in every way with my successor in order that the interests of government and the people may best be served.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM B. SAXBE

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: For an announcement of the President's intention to nominate Mr. Saxbe to be U.S. Ambassador to India, see the following item.

United States Ambassador to India

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William B. Saxbe. December 13, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William B. Saxbe, of Mechanicsburg, Ohio, to be Ambassador to India. He succeeds Daniel Patrick Moynihan who has resigned.

Since January 4, 1974, he has served as Attorney General. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1968 for a term ending January 3, 1975.

Mr. Saxbe was a member of the Senate Committees on Armed Services, Government Operations, and Post Office and Civil Service, and the Special Committee on Aging. He was ranking minority member of the Armed Services Subcommittees on Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Safeguards and General Legislation; the Government Operations Subcommittee on Budgeting, Management, and Expenditures; and the Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Postal Operations.

He served as Attorney General of the State of Ohio from 1957 to 1958 and again from 1963 to 1968. From 1947 to 1954, he was a member of the Ohio House of Representatives, serving as majority leader during 1951-52 and as speaker during 1953-54. From 1954 to 1958, Mr. Saxbe was a partner in the law firm of Saxbe, Boyd & Prine, and from 1960 to 1962 he was a partner in the law firm of Dargusch, Saxbe & Dargusch. He is a member of the Ohio and American Bar Associations and the American Judicature Society.

Mr. Saxbe was born on June 24, 1916, in Mechanicsburg, Ohio. He received his A.B. in 1940 and his LL.B. in 1948 from Ohio State University. From 1940 to 1945, he served in the U.S. Army.

He is married to the former Ardath (Dolly) Kleinmans of Toledo, Ohio. They have two sons and one daughter.

Elizabeth Bayley Seton

Statement by the President on the Canonization of Mother Seton as the First American-Born Saint. December 13, 1974

The announcement by Pope Paul VI that Elizabeth Bayley Seton will be canonized in 1975 as the first American-born saint of the Roman Catholic Church is a milestone in our Nation's diverse spiritual history. The fact that a woman is the first native-born American named to sainthood by the Holy See is all the more historic since women have never made a greater contribution to America's national life than today.

It is fitting that we recall at this time another woman—Mother Cabrini who was born in Italy—who was named a saint by the Holy See after devoting much of her life to religious work in the United States.

Mother Seton's singular honor is a tribute to all American women who have entered the religious life to serve in schools, hospitals, and charitable work. She died in 1821, but today there are thousands of Sisters of Charity—the religious order she founded—carrying on the important service which Mother Seton began. I congratulate them on this most joyous occasion and wish them well in their future endeavors.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Thomas G. Cody To Be an Assistant Secretary. December 13, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas G. Cody, of Annapolis, Md., to be Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-383 of August 22, 1974.

He is currently Assistant Secretary for Administration of HUD, serving since April 26, 1974. From May of 1972, he was Executive Director of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In 1962, he joined Fry Consultants in various management positions. From 1956 to 1962, he was associated with Atlas Controls, Inc. of Natick, Mass., American Enka Corp., and Keystone Camera Co. of Boston, Mass.

Mr. Cody was born on February 18, 1929, in Holyoke, Mass. He received his B.A. degree (magna cum laude) from the College of the Holy Cross in 1950 and his M.B.A. from Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration in 1957. Prior to that he had done graduate work at Boston College Graduate School of Arts and

Sciences from 1950 to 1952. He served in the United States Marine Corps as a first lieutenant from 1953 to 1955.

He is married to the former Kathleen Maguire of Newton Circle, Mass., and they have two children. They reside in Annapolis, Md.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Announcement of Intention To Nominate William I. Greener, Jr., To Be Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. December 13, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate William I. Greener, Jr., of Springfield, Va., to be Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (Public Affairs). This is a new position created by Public Law 93-383 of August 22, 1974.

Since 1973, Mr. Greener has been serving as Assistant to the Secretary for Public Affairs in the Department of Housing and Urban Development. From 1972 to 1973, he was Assistant Director of the Cost of Living Council for Congressional and Public Affairs. In November of 1971, he was Assistant to the Commissioner for Public Affairs of the Internal Revenue Service, serving until July of 1972. During that period he also served as Deputy Special Assistant to the Secretary for Public Affairs for the Department of Treasury from May of 1972 to July of 1972. From July of 1967 to September of 1970, he served in the United States Air Force in the Public Information Division, prior to joining the Internal Revenue Service, and then the Cost of Living Council in August of 1971.

Mr. Greener was born on February 18, 1925, in Memphis, Tenn. He received his B.S. degree from the University of Missouri in 1947 and his M.S. degree from Boston University in 1967. He is married to the former Charlene McPheeters, and they have five children. They reside in Springfield, Va.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

Following is a listing of items of general interest which were announced to the press during the period covered by this issue but which are not carried elsewhere in the issue. Appointments requiring Senate approval are not included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

December 7

The President met at the White House with a group of advisers to discuss recommendations for a national energy policy.

December 9

The President met at the White House with Yigal Allon, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Israel.

The President transmitted to the Congress the seventh annual report of the Department of Transportation (Government Printing Office, 188 pp.).

Henry Ford, president of the Ford Motor Company, met with the President.

The President hosted a working dinner for three distinguished American scholars—Martin Diamond, a Woodrow Wilson Scholar, who is on leave from his professorship in political science at Northern Illinois University; James Q. Wilson, chairman of the department of government at Harvard University; and Daniel J. Boorstin, Senior Historian at the Smithsonian National Museum of History and Technology.

December 10

In a ceremony in the Oval Office, the President received a gold Presidential inaugural medal from Senator Mark O. Hatfield, chairman of the Special Inaugural Medal Committee. Royalties from sales of the medal will be donated to the American Cancer Society.

World heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali called on the President.

The President went to New York City to meet with members of the Commission on Critical Choices for America which was formed by Vice President-designate Rockefeller to study the choices for America as its moves into its third century.

December 11

The President met at the White House with the bipartisan Congressional leadership. Topics discussed included: plans for the inauguration of Vice President-designate Rockefeller, the trade reform bill, the foreign assistance bill, and the economy.

Members of the Executive Committee of the Trilateral Commission met with the President. The Commission members are business and academic leaders from North America, Western Europe, and Japan.

December 12

Executives and labor leaders from the automobile industry met with the President at the White House. Gov. William G. Milliken of Michigan also participated in the meeting.

Directors of the Automobile Association of America met with the President to discuss their ideas for a voluntary program to conserve gasoline.

December 13

The President hosted a breakfast at the White House for members of the Michigan Republican Congressional delegation.

Officers of the National Association of Home Builders met with the President to discuss problems in the housing industry. HUD Secretary Lynn also participated in the meeting.

The President today accepted the resignation of Daniel Patrick Moynihan as United States Ambassador to India.

The President today accepted the resignation of Charles M. Lichenstein as Special Assistant to the President, effective December 31, 1974.

Officers of the American Farm Bureau Federation met with the President.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted December 9, 1974

JOHN T. ELFVIN, of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of New York, vice John O. Henderson, deceased.

Submitted December 11, 1974

TERENCE A. TODMAN, of the Virgin Islands, a Foreign Service officer of the Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Costa Rica.

MICHAEL A. SAMUELS, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Sierra Leone.

SIDNEY WEINTRAUB, of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Roderic L. O'Connor.

ELLSWORTH A. VANGRAAFEILAND, of New York, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit, vice Henry J. Friendly, retired.

WILLIAM J. BAUER, of Illinois, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Seventh Circuit, vice Otto Kerner, resigned.

J. SMITH HENLEY, of Arkansas, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit, vice Pat Mehauff, retired.

ALFRED Y. KIRKLAND, of Illinois, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois, vice William J. Bauer.

HENRY BRAMWELL, of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York, vice John R. Bartels, retired.

WILLIAM S. SESSIONS, of Texas, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Texas, vice Ernest Guinn, deceased.

J. CALVITT CLARKE, JR., of Virginia, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia, vice Walter E. Hoffman, retired.

RONALD T. KNIGHT, of Georgia, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Georgia for the term of 4 years, vice William J. Schloth, resigned.

EDWARD B. McDONOUGH, JR., of Texas, to be United States Attorney for the Southern District of Texas for the term of 4 years, vice Anthony J. P. Farris, resigning.

RONALD C. ROMANS, of Nebraska, to be United States Marshal for the District of Nebraska for the term of 4 years, vice Lloyd H. Grimm, resigned.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, of New York, to be United States Marshal for the Eastern District of New York for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE—Continued

Submitted December 11, 1974—Continued

IRVIN W. HUMPHREYS, of West Virginia, to be United States Marshal for the Southern District of West Virginia for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Submitted December 12, 1974

MONROE LEIGH, of Maryland, to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

The following-named persons to be members of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for the terms indicated (new positions):

MARCUS A. ROWDEN, of Maryland, for a term of 2 years.

EDWARD A. MASON, of Massachusetts, for a term of 3 years.

VICTOR GILINSKY, of California, for a term of 4 years.

RICHARD T. KENNEDY, of the District of Columbia, for a term of 5 years.

Submitted December 13, 1974

THOMAS J. SCOTES, of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of Class three, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Yemen Arab Republic.

THOMAS G. CODY, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (new position).

WILLIAM I. GREENER, JR., of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (new position).

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved December 6, 1974

S. 3802----- Public Law 93-514
An act to provide available nuclear information to committees and Members of Congress.

S.J. Res. 248----- Public Law 93-513
Joint resolution assuring compensation for damages caused by nuclear incidents involving the nuclear reactor of a United States warship.

Approved December 7, 1974

H.R. 342----- Public Law 93-515
An Act to authorize the District of Columbia to enter into the Interstate Agreement on Qualification of Educational Personnel, and to amend the Practice of Psychology Act and the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act.

H.R. 15580----- Public Law 93-517
Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriation Act, 1975.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved December 7, 1974—Continued

H.R. 17503----- Public Law 93-516
An act to amend the authorizations of appropriations in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 for one year, to transfer the Rehabilitation Services Administration to the Office of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to make certain technical and clarifying amendments, and for other purposes; to amend the Randolph-Sheppard Act for the blind; to strengthen the program authorized thereunder; and to provide for the convening of a White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals.

S. 3202----- Public Law 93-518
Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act Amendments of 1974.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

Released December 7, 1974

News conference: on their meeting with the President to discuss a national energy policy—by Alan Greenspan, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers, and Frank G. Zarb, Administrator-designate, Federal Energy Administration

Released December 10, 1974

Advance text: remarks at unveiling of portrait of Representative George H. Mahon

Released December 11, 1974

Announcement: intention to nominate Henry Bramwell to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York
Announcement: intention to nominate J. Calvitt Clarke, Jr., to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia

Announcement: intention to nominate Alfred Y. Kirkland to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois

Announcement: intention to nominate William S. Sessions to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Texas

Released December 12, 1974

Advance text: remarks at presentation of Medal of Honor to Warrant Officer Louis R. Rocco, USA, and Staff Sergeant Jon R. Cavaliari, USA

Fact sheet: Fifth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality

Released December 13, 1974

News conference: on surface mining legislation—by Frank G. Zarb, Administrator, Federal Energy Administration, John R. Quarles, Deputy Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, and John C. Whitaker, Under Secretary, Department of the Interior

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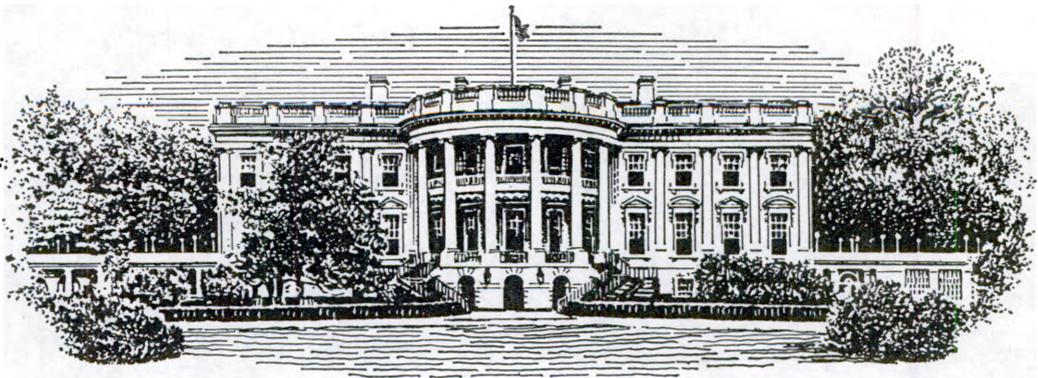
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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, December 20, 1974

Meetings With President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France

*Exchange of Remarks Between
President Giscard d'Estaing and President Ford
at the Welcoming Ceremony in Martinique.
December 14, 1974*

PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING. Dear Mr. President, it is a great honor for this French land of the West Indies to welcome the President of the United States of America.

It is a real pleasure for me to extend to you, and to all those accompanying you, a most cordial welcome. As soon as you came into office, we both felt that we should establish a direct and personal contact. Such a contact is in keeping with the traditional relations between France and the United States. And in the present circumstances, we thought this would be especially useful.

Faced with the enormous changes taking place throughout the world, our two countries have, in different capacities and to various degrees, responsibilities to bear.

Belonging to the community of liberal democracies, their personality and their situation leave them sometimes—quite naturally, I would say—to assume different stands in the face of such changes. However, too old are their ties of friendship for them not to wish to harmonize such stands whenever necessary, and they are too deeply attached to the same ideal of freedom, progress, and peace not to be determined to succeed.

All this points to the importance of our meeting, as stressed by our partners in the European community, hence also—the frankness and cordiality with which I trust our talks will start and be concluded.

Mr. President, France of the Martinique offers to you, and all those accompanying you, its charm and its beauty. From the bottom of our heart, I wish you an excellent stay.

Welcome, Mr President.

PRESIDENT FORD. *Mr. President, Madame Giscard d'Estaing, ladies and gentlemen:*

Thank you for your most gracious welcome to this beautiful, gorgeous island. I am delighted to be here.

Mr. President, this is an opportunity for us to become personally acquainted and to discuss the serious issues which confront our two countries. Our meeting vividly demonstrates the importance we attach to working together.

General Lafayette stopped here on his way to assist America to achieve its independence. The friendship of our two countries spans the oceans as well as the centuries. It is fitting that you and I, both given responsibilities for leadership in our respective countries this year, are taking this early opportunity to address problems of common interest and common concern.

We must combine our efforts with those of our friends and our allies if we are to meet the challenges of the last quarter of the 20th century. The list of the challenges is long, including such vital issues as food, energy, finance, and, of course, the fundamental security of our people and the quest for further reductions in international tensions.

Just as our talks mark the beginning of a personal relationship, I am confident that our nations will reaffirm the tradition of Franco-American cooperation in great endeavors.

I look forward to our meetings for the exchanges they will permit and our resulting understandings. In meeting here, we, of course, will be mindful not only of American and French interests but the contributions our efforts can make toward a more peaceful, stable, and prosperous world.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks began at 4:53 p.m. at Lamentin Airport, Martinique, French West Indies. President Giscard d'Estaing spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Death of Walter Lippmann

Statement by the President. December 14, 1974

With the death of Walter Lippmann, we have lost a great American. As a newsman, political analyst, and author, Walter Lippmann played a major role for more than half a century in the development of public dialog and in shaping a new standard of journalism.

Mr. Lippmann's contributions to the good society which he envisioned for his country will long be remembered.

NOTE: Walter Lippmann, 85, died in New York City on Saturday, December 14, 1974.

Mr. Lippmann served as editor of *The New Republic* magazine from 1914 to 1921. He also wrote a nationally syndicated newspaper column, *Today and Tomorrow*, from 1931 to 1967, for which he received the Pulitzer Prize in 1958 and 1962.

He was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom on September 14, 1964.

The statement was released at Martinique, French West Indies.

Trade Bill

Statement by the President Following Senate Action on the Bill. December 14, 1974

On behalf of all Americans, I would like to thank the United States Senate for approving the foreign trade bill. The House has already passed the bill. We are especially grateful to the leaders of both parties. Thanks to their strong, bipartisan efforts we are now in a position to launch a trade program that will strengthen our economy and further our efforts for peace. The Senate has demonstrated a willingness to set aside party differences when the interests of our Nation are at stake.

With this sort of continued compromise and cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of Government, I am more confident than ever that working together we will continue to develop comprehensive programs to meet all our Nation's needs.

NOTE: The statement was released at Martinique, French West Indies.

Meetings With President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France

Exchange of Toasts Between President Giscard d'Estaing and President Ford at a Dinner Hosted by the French President. December 14, 1974

PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING. Mr. President, a meeting between France and the United States is always a rendezvous of freedom and friendship. And what could be a better place for it than this island of Martinique which cherishes the proud memory of having served as a naval base for the French Fleet during the American War of Independence, and, in 2 years' time, we will be celebrating together the successful outcome of that event.

It was in the name of freedom that our friendship was

born, and we shall celebrate its 200th anniversary at the same time as the Bicentennial of American independence.

It was also in the name of freedom that twice in the course of this century the active solidarity of the United States enabled France to preserve or to regain her independence.

Different as we may be, what appeals so much to us, the French, is all that in the United States symbolizes and means freedom: your vast spaces, your openness to new ideas and bold endeavors, your mastery of technology, which gives man his power over nature and lightens his burden.

Freedom and friendship have stamped their mark on the relations between our two countries. Freedom allows for their frankness and independence; friendship demands mutual understanding and cooperation.

This spirit of free dialog and trust between partners who recognize the equality of their rights and duties, even if they are not equal in terms of resources or power, is characteristic of Franco-American relations, and there is nothing to prevent that the same spirit be applied to solving the major problems of the world today.

For our part, we express the wish that this spirit inspire the relations between the United States and the Europe that we are striving patiently—and we are bound to say slowly—to build.

It is only on condition that it can exist by its own accord that Europe will be for the United States a firm and reliable partner and for the world a factor of balance and peace.

We also wish that this spirit of dialog should govern our thinking on the profound changes in the world scene.

As you were mentioning, you, yourself, Mr. President, on your arrival here, the path of consultation which is as far removed from that of confrontation as it is from that of capitulation is the only one which is in keeping with the political, economic, and human needs of our time.

It is the path we followed when it was time to emerge from the cold war and, on our war-torn continent, to organize détente, entente, and cooperation, while maintaining actively our desire for independence in safeguarding our security. It is the path we recommend be followed in the Middle East where, in spite of the remarkable efforts of American diplomacy and the useful progress it has achieved, the situation remains a threatening one.

A just and lasting settlement must, in our view, take into account the three legitimate aspirations of all parties concerned, those of the State of Israel, to live in peace within secure and guaranteed boundaries; those of the Arab states, to recover their territorial integrity; and those of the Palestinian people, to have, as all peoples, a homeland.

It is also through consultation that we shall succeed in finding a solution to the problem caused by the increase in oil prices. This in no way excludes a prior harmoniza-

tion of the positions within each of the major categories involved.

It, however, presupposes that the purpose of this harmonization process be to prepare the meeting at the same table and at a fixed date of countries willing to reconcile their respective points of view in the peaceful interests of the world.

Mr. President, we shall be having talks in a climate of mutual trust on all these subjects of concern to the world today. These talks will once again demonstrate that the frankness of our discussions draws us together much more than it divides us, as should be between partners and allies when they have for each other, as I have for your country, a sense of their dignity and their sovereignty.

Mr. President, we all deeply regret the absence of Mrs. Ford, and I would like to ask you to be kind enough to convey to her our very warm and respectful wishes for a prompt recovery.

I drink this toast in your honor, Mr. President, as well as to the great people of the United States, to whom the French people, through me, extend their greetings in testimony of our two centuries old and ever young friendships like our two countries.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT FORD. Mr. President, the hospitality extended to me has reflected in the warmth of the climate of this most remarkable island and the spirit of your kind words of welcome, and I am deeply grateful.

I am very, very proud to be the first American President in office to visit this part of the Caribbean, and I would like to express again my appreciation to you personally for suggesting Martinique as the location of our first meeting.

The United States and France, we all know, have been very, very close. We have been extremely close friends for over two centuries. From our American Revolution through the darkest days of World War II, our countries have stood together in moments of crisis. And, today, of fundamental importance to our countries and to the West, a strong Atlantic Alliance safeguards our security.

As old friends and allies, Mr. President, we have much to talk about. On many, many points we shall agree; on others we may differ. But it is of the greatest importance, in my judgment, that we will talk with full candor since we share the same ideals. A relationship of confidence is absolutely essential. It is only through such a relationship. Mr. President, that our common objectives can best be served and our differing views reconciled.

As in the past, we jointly face, Mr. President, major challenges. This time the immediate danger is not war but the problems of peace: inflation, balance of payments deficits, energy shortages, and, for many throughout the world, shortages of food itself. These problems unfortunately accentuate the interdependence of nations and the need for communication and cooperation.

At stake is the stability of every economy, the welfare of every nation. Unilateral measures, Mr. President, can no longer suffice in solving problems of such universal dimension.

Mr. President, you recently described this situation very vividly when you said the world is unhappy. Indeed, the world is troubled. But if we are to transcend our difficulties and successfully meet our challenges, we, France and the United States, must cooperate.

We face a major problem in the field of energy. In dealing with it on the basis of consumer solidarity, we seek constructive dialog, not confrontation. The United States is convinced that cooperation and solidarity among the consumer nations mark the surest way to reach understanding with the producer nations which we all desire.

I am also looking forward, Mr. President, to exchanging impressions on East-West relations and on our recent meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev. I am sure we will all agree that all of us in the West will benefit from close relationships as the policy of détente continues to develop.

Our interdependence requires that we—together with our friends and our partners—join in concerted measures or responses to the dangers which confront us all. Let us continue our historic relationship with renewed spirit and redoubled effort, as good and responsible friends.

Our common heritage gives me confidence that we will continue our joint endeavors for peace and stability in the world. Mr. President, it is with this objective that I look forward to our discussions tomorrow. I have every hope that our talks will strengthen the friendship between us, both in a bilateral sense and also as members of the alliance which Americans regard as the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the spirit of strengthening our historic ties, I ask all of you to stand and to raise your glasses in honor of the President of the French Republic and his lovely wife.

NOTE: The exchange of toasts began at 9:51 p.m. at the Prefect's Residence, Fort-de-France, Martinique, French West Indies. President Giscard d'Estaing spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Meetings With President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France

*Exchange of Toasts Between President Ford
and President Giscard d'Estaing at an Informal
Dinner Hosted by President Ford. December 15, 1974*

PRESIDENT FORD. *Mr. President, Madame Giscard d'Estaing, our distinguished guests:*

Let me say with great personal conviction and strong feelings, we have enjoyed being here in a part of France.

The warmth of the welcome of the people, the superb atmosphere created by the beauties of nature have made this trip a wonderful experience for all of us.

Mr. President, the United States within a relatively few months is going to be celebrating our 200th anniversary. Whenever we think about that anniversary, we can't help but feel the participation that France played in the achievement of our independence. July 4, 1976, will bring back many, many memories of the help and assistance that France gave to our country at a very difficult and controversial period in our early history in America.

It is my understanding, Mr. President, that one of your ancestors, Admiral d'Estaing, did have an interest in and did help us at a period when we, the United States, were in our formative years. For that we thank you, and for all of the other great Frenchmen who were assisting America in our early days.

It is my understanding, Mr. President, that France is making a very meaningful contribution to our 200th anniversary with the "Sight and Sound" program that will be a highlight in Washington for the many, many thousands who will visit the Nation's Capital. We thank you for this contribution and we are grateful for your feeling that France should participate in this way.

If I might now turn to my own personal relationship, which I say without any hesitancy or qualification—it was a pleasure to meet you and to have the opportunity of broadening a relationship and developing a friendship. It seems to me this can be meaningful in our relations between France and the United States. But even more meaningful, on a far broader basis, I am grateful for your statesmanship; I am most appreciative for your views that we have exchanged here on this occasion in a part of France.

And so, Mr. President, may I offer a toast to you and Madame Giscard d'Estaing and to the Republic of France. It is a pleasure and a privilege.

PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING. *Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:*

Mr. President, we have both come into office very recently, only a few months ago, and so—this is a source of deep satisfaction—we are both extremely young. Indeed, one can say it is a secret of youth, in fact, to be elected President.

Now, we are, however, young Presidents of countries whose relations are very longstanding, indeed, as you yourself have just mentioned. And indeed, all you have to do is to look behind you at Fort-de-France—Fort-de-France, which has carried that name for three centuries, and two centuries ago, harbored the French fleet that sailed off the coast of the then young and new United States.

I would add that the relations between France and the United States are not merely a matter of what you might call the picturesque site of history, or simply a matter of stories on the subject. No, it is something which

reflects a deep and reciprocal mutual interest; it is something which has been borne out in numerous circumstances. For instance, when at the time of the First World War the United States came to the defense of France, the landing of the Americans on French territory was met with tremendous enthusiasm on the part of the French population.

And so, when at the end of the Second World War, I, myself, was involved in the last stages of the war, the unit that I served in was a part of the First French Army which, itself, was under the Seventh United States Army.

But the great problems of our times—even to those of us who, like ourselves, are deeply attached to tradition—the big problems of our time, I say, are in fact ahead of us and will call for considerable imagination and action. And that is why it was very important for me, Mr. President, to know whether these new problems and tasks could, in fact, be tackled with the very great country that you represent in a spirit of openness and mutual understanding.

And so, it was important for me to establish this personal contact with you, yourself, sir, and the distinguished persons accompanying you. And yesterday morning, when I was meeting you at the airport, it occurred to me that during these two days we were in fact going to, perhaps, take initiatives and perform actions which would lead to solutions which could well have a lasting effect not only on our own relations, but also, perhaps, on world affairs.

The results of our talks will be embodied in a communique which will be issued at the end of tomorrow morning, and if I were to divulge right now what the results of our talks have been, this would deprive the members of our staff from the pleasures of the late evening and early morning during which they would engage in the arduous task of preparing the suitable form of words.

But what I can say something about is the atmosphere of our talks, and what I would like to mention is their very cordial nature, the very simple way in which our talks have proceeded, the great frankness and the clarity of your positions, and the great competence with which you have led our discussions.

Now, on international gatherings or occasions such as this, people tend to wonder, in fact, who won, who came out on top, who gave the concessions, who, in fact, was the victor. But at the very outset, you will recall that I said it was my hope that, in fact, there would be neither a matter of concessions nor victors in a case like this, but we should both emerge from these talks with the feeling that we had, in fact, achieved something useful, realistic, and worthwhile in furthering the solutions of the problems that we are in fact discussing.

And could I say very sincerely, Mr. President, how very much Madame Giscard d'Estaing and myself deeply regret the absence of Mrs. Ford. We had been looking forward very much to meeting her here on this occasion,

and I may say that some of the arrangements that had been made had been made precisely in anticipation of the pleasure of, for instance, having her with us today at lunch.

Now, there is one great advantage of this situation, and that is that the rights of international affairs dictate that one cannot, twice running, invite the same head of state. That means, therefore, that despite the great pleasure that this would afford us, it would not be possible for us to invite you, sir, again so soon. But we could, of course, invite Mrs. Ford. And we would very much hope that she would accept, and that you would be kind enough to accompany her.

Now, people in this world of ours very often ask themselves all sorts of questions and, indeed, one of the things they often wonder about, apparently, is why statesmen, in fact, are statesmen and why they accept to sacrifice many aspects of their existence to the responsibilities of state.

Now, as far as you are concerned—and I have seen this during our talks—and as far as I am concerned, the reason, perhaps, for which we do so is that we feel that we have, perhaps, a contribution to make in furthering the affairs of the world.

Now, the fact that the responsibilities that we have to shoulder at this particular time in history are particularly heavy at the same time means that our contribution will be a significant contribution.

Now, it is clear, however, that the affairs of mankind and the peace of the world do not depend solely on the action or the efforts of one country alone—however big that country may be—but will always depend on the combination, on the conjunction of the efforts of several. And I now know that it is quite clear that we will be able to work together.

Mr. President, when the French Fleet left these waters two centuries ago for the North American Continent, there were doubtless, at the time of departure, great festivities on board, and I can well imagine that my ancestor may well have offered a toast on that occasion which would probably have had something to do with the wishes that he would have expressed concerning the continent that they were about to discover and would have expressed their hopes and their expectations.

Now, this evening, today, the situation to some extent is the other way around in that it is we who are hosting you here in Martinique, but the French Martinique of two centuries ago and the French Martinique of today, Mr. President, are deeply proud of having here the visit today of the President of the United States. Our friend the President.

NOTE: President Ford spoke at 9:38 p.m. at the Swimming Pool Terrace of the Meridien Hotel, Martinique, French West Indies.

President Giscard d'Estaing spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING OF FRANCE

*Communique Issued Following Meetings Between President Ford and
President Giscard d'Estaing. December 16, 1974*

The President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, and the President of the French Republic, Valery Giscard d'Estaing, met in Martinique December 14–16, 1974, to discuss current issues of mutual concern. They were joined in their discussions by the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Henry A. Kissinger and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jean Sauvagnargues, and by Secretary of the Treasury William Simon and Minister of Finance Jean-Pierre Fourcade. The Ministers also held complementary side talks.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual confidence. President Ford and President Giscard d'Estaing welcomed the opportunity to conduct detailed substantive discussions on the whole range of subjects of mutual concern. As traditional friends and allies, the two nations share common values and goals and the two Presidents expressed their determination to cooperate on this basis in efforts to solve common problems.

They reviewed the international situation in the economic, financial and monetary fields.

The two Presidents agreed that the Governments of the United States and of the European Community, in the name of which the French President spoke on this subject, must adopt consistent economic policies in order to be effective in avoiding unemployment while fighting inflation. In particular, they agreed on the importance of avoiding measures of a protectionist nature. And they decided to take the initiative in calling additional intergovernmental meetings should they prove necessary for achievement of the desired consistency of basic economic policies among industrial nations.

In the light of the rapid pace of change in international financial positions in the world today, the Presidents were in full agreement on the desirability of maintaining the momentum of consideration of closer financial cooperation both within the International Monetary Fund and through supplementary measures. As one specific measure to strengthen the existing financial framework, the Presidents agreed that it would be appropriate for any Government which wished to do so to adopt current market prices as the basis of valuation for its gold holdings.

The two Presidents considered in depth the energy problem and its serious and disturbing effects on the world economy. They recognized the importance for the USA, the EEC and other industrialized nations of implementing policies for the conservation of energy, the development of existing and alternative sources of energy, and the setting up of new mechanisms of financial solidarity. They stressed the importance of solidarity among oil importing nations on these issues.

The two Presidents also exchanged views on the desirability of a dialogue between consumers and producers and in that connection discussed the proposal of the President of the French Republic of October 24 for a conference of oil exporting and importing countries. They agreed that it would be desirable to convene such a meeting at the earliest possible date. They regard it as important that all parties concerned should be better informed of their respective interests and concerns and that harmonious relations should be established among them in order to promote a healthy development of the world economy.

The two Presidents noted that their views on these matters are complementary and, in this context, they agreed that the following inter-related steps should be taken in sequence:

—They agreed that additional steps should be taken, within the framework of existing institutions and agreements to which they are a party, and in consultation with other interested consumers, to strengthen their cooperation. In particular, such cooperation should include programs of energy conservation, for the development of existing and alternative sources of energy and for financial solidarity.

—Based on substantial progress in the foregoing areas, the two Presidents agreed that it will be desirable to propose holding a preparatory meeting between consumers and producers to develop an agenda and procedures for a consumer/producer conference. The target date for such a preparatory meeting should be March 1975.

—The preparatory discussions will be followed by intensive consultations among consumer countries in order to prepare positions for the conference.

The two Presidents agreed that the actions enumerated above will be carried out in the most expeditious manner possible and in full awareness of the common interest in meeting this critical situation shared by the United States and France and all other countries involved.

President Ford and President Giscard d'Estaing reviewed current developments in East-West relations. They discussed their respective meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev, and Secretary Kissinger reported on his discussions with leaders of the People's Republic of China. They exchanged views on developments in East-West negotiations, including the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They expressed their conviction that progress in easing tensions was being made.

The two Presidents exchanged views on the present situation in the Middle East. They agreed on the importance of early progress toward a just and lasting peace in that area.

President Giscard d'Estaing described current efforts by France and other members of the European Community to further the process of European unity. President Ford reaffirmed the continuing support of the United States for efforts to achieve European unity.

The two Presidents discussed the situation in Indochina. They noted that progress in Laos toward reconciliation and reunification was encouraging.

The two Presidents agreed on the need for all parties to support fully the Paris Peace Agreements on Vietnam. Regarding Cambodia, they expressed the hope that the contending parties would enter into negotiations in the near future rather than continuing the military struggle. They expressed the hope that following Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam might also find their political way towards civil peace.

The two Presidents renewed the pledges of both Governments to continue close relations in the field of defense as members of the Atlantic Alliance. They agreed that the cooperation between France and NATO is a significant factor in the security of Europe.

They noted with satisfaction that the positive steps in negotiations on SALT taken during the Soviet-American meeting at Vladivostok have reduced the threat of a nuclear arms race. The two Presidents explored how, as exporters of nuclear materials and technology, their two countries could coordinate their efforts to assure improved safeguards of nuclear materials.

The President of France indicated that his Government was prepared to reach a financial settlement in connection with the relocation of American forces and bases committed to NATO from France to other countries in 1967. The French offer of \$100 million in full settlement was formally accepted by President Ford.

The two Presidents concluded that the personal contact and discussion in this meeting had demonstrated accord on many questions and expressed their determination to maintain close contact for the purpose of broad cooperation in areas of common concern to the two countries.

NOTE: The text of the communique was released at Martinique, French West Indies.

Meetings With President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France

*News Conference of Secretary of State
Henry A. Kissinger at the Conclusion of the
Meetings Between President Ford and
President Giscard d'Estaing.
December 16, 1974*

MR. NESSEN. We have Dr. Kissinger now for his briefing, and as Mr. Beauchamps told you, this will be followed by the President of the Republic of France.

Dr. Kissinger's briefing is on the record, available for filming and taping. There will be no filing until after the briefing is completed.

Dr. Kissinger.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Ladies and gentlemen, we have distributed the communique which is substantially self-explanatory. Let me make a few preliminary points.

First, as the President of the Republic said last night in his toast, both sides approached these discussions with the attitude not of who would get the maximum number of concessions from the other or who would be the victor in the negotiations, because we don't think of each other as antagonists, but as allies.

We looked at the outstanding problems, especially in the field of energy and economics, from the point of view of what was in the mutual benefit, the benefit of Europe and the United States, as well as the benefit of all the interested nations around the world. And, therefore, with respect to the energy issue, which was one of the principal problems which was, of course, discussed, I think we achieved the synthesis of the French and American positions which took account of the American conviction that consumer cooperation was essential, and the French belief—which, as a matter of fact, the United States has always shared—that consumer cooperation must lead rapidly to consumer/producer dialog.

I would like to add that in addition to the substance of the communique the conversations were conducted in an atmosphere of great cordiality and the relationship of confidence that has grown up between the two Presidents will help facilitate and guarantee the spirit of cooperation which we believe is one of the important results of this conference.

Having attended many similar meetings between French and American leaders, I must say I found this atmosphere the most positive and the one between the two leaders, and one in which as far as the United States is concerned—the French President will undoubtedly speak for himself—we will continue in the exchanges that will be necessary to implement the various aspects of the communique as well as the cooperation that is foreseen in the communique.

Now why don't I take your questions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you give us a rundown on the sequence of events that are going to happen in these conferences concerning the oil crisis? Which one takes place first, and what happens after that?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. As the communique says, the steps should be taken in sequence and the sequence is the one described in the communique, that is to say, there will first be an effort of some urgency to strengthen consumer cooperation in the field of conservation, of developing alternative sources of energy, and of setting up new mechanisms for financial solidarity.

Based on progress among the consumers, this will then lead to a preparatory meeting between consumers and producers for which we set a target date for March 1975. Of course, it depends on the progress the consumers make among themselves, but the United States will cooperate in bringing about the preparatory conferences and obviously will not use delaying tactics.

I think there is good will on all sides. We can make substantial progress among the consumers, and, given the urgency of the situation, in fact, we must make substantial progress among the consumers.

After the completion of the preparatory discussions, we have foreseen intensive consultation among the consumers to develop common positions and common attitudes toward the Consumer/Producer Substantive Conference. The preparatory meeting will deal with procedure, agenda, participants, and will not deal with substance.

This is the sequence that the two Presidents have agreed upon, and again, I would like to say that the United States has not considered its views as incompatible with those of France. In fact, at the Washington Energy Conference, we proposed that the consumer cooperation should lead to consumer/producer dialog, and, therefore, we welcome the French initiative, and I think we can work cooperatively to achieve the common objective.

Q. Will France participate in this consumer effort to strengthen solidarity?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. It says existing institutions and agreements. There are a number of factors. France, of course, is not a member of the IEA [International Energy Agency] and we have not asked France to be a member of the IEA. It is my impression that France will work in parallel to the IEA in the same direction.

For example, we have had occasion to point out that the French conservation program is going in the same direction as that of the IEA and in some respects goes beyond it.

The institutions or the mechanisms for financial solidarity we had proposed in my speech should be taken in the Group of Ten in which France is, of course, a member, and, therefore, there is no difficulty about French participation in those.

With respect to alternative sources of energy, it may be that they are initially discussed in the IEA, but there is

also a role there for European institutions, so we are not concerned with the legal structure.

It is our conviction that France will work parallel to our efforts and we will find the legal formula by which to implement.

Q. Mr. Secretary, doesn't that kind of informal arrangement give France the benefit of consumer organization that has already taken place without having any of the responsibilities, for example, in oil sharing?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. No, it is our view that we are concerned with the substance, and, therefore, how France participates under what legal form is not of decisive concern to us.

As I pointed out, the financial institutions, for example, are not being done in the IEA to begin with. The conservation measures, once they have been agreed upon, do not really require any international party to implement. They can be implemented on a national basis.

I have the impression that we should stop talking about Franco-American relations in terms of confrontation and who is taking advantage of whom, but rather in terms of practical cooperation in which the actions of the two parties will be more important than the legal form, and that is our attitude, and it is our impression that was the French attitude at this meeting.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you please tell us what progress, if any, was made relative to your suggestion in Chicago of the \$25 billion fund for the shoring up of those economies that need it in light of the oil shortage?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. We found the attitude of the French President very positive to this idea, and we have the impression that France will work with us in the Group of Ten to implement this idea.

Q. How do you account for the French change? All of a sudden you have peace, and it is lovely. What caused this after 10 years?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I didn't say there has been a French change. I described the results of this conference, and I can only say that both Presidents seem to me to be convinced of the urgent problems facing their countries and facing the industrialized countries and, indeed, facing the whole world.

And it was a discussion that was not conducted in slogans but in terms of the issues, and when you confront the issues, I think certain conclusions are, more or less, inevitable.

I would also say that the manner in which both Presidents conducted the conversations, which was free of dogma on both sides—

Q. Free of what?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. D-o-g-m-a. It is a Latin word, not German—[laughter]—contributed to the result, but I don't want to claim any changes.

Q. Mr. Secretary, leaving aside the financial side in the Group of Ten, will the French participation in the con-

servation side be through the EEC [European Economic Community], that is to say, are you contemplating here that the EEC will become an elective member of the IEA?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. This is one possibility. It is not for the United States to prescribe how Europe should organize its energy policy. The United States would certainly have no objection and can see some advantages in a common energy policy on the part of Europe and this, in turn, of course, would permit the EEC to participate as a unit in the IEA.

This is essentially up to the Europeans.

Q. Do you think it will happen?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Let me make a point. Obviously, the spirit of what has been agreed here in Martinique requires that France work in parallel on the same substance as the other principal consumers, and we believe that this can be done. This is one device for doing it, but we are prepared to find other consultative devices.

Q. Did you get any assurances from the President of France that they would be willing to do this at this meeting?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. That they would be prepared to have a common European energy policy?

Q. Or that EEC would join the IEA.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. We did not discuss the legal relationship of France to the IEA. We discussed the substantive relationship of the measures that needed to be taken, and as we pointed out, it is our view, and I think it is the common view, that certain substantive steps have to be taken in order to make the consumer/producer dialog useful. And the United States, obviously, will know whether these steps have been taken.

Q. Mr. Secretary, will the March conference be composed of nations outside the major oil producers and also major oil consumers?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Let me make two points: The March date is a target date. It is not an absolutely fixed date, but we will work seriously to see whether it can be implemented. The original proposal was that it might be tripartite, that is, that some of the less developed consuming countries might also participate. The United States is not opposed to this in principle, or to put it positively, the United States is prepared for this but the exact composition of either the preparatory or the final meeting has not yet been settled. This is one of the issues that has to be settled.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you give us further elaboration on the Mideast discussions? How much of the time was spent talking about the Middle East?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I think, in the Mideast discussion, the French point of view has been publicly stated, and there was a full exchange of the respective points of view. No conclusions were reached or announced. This was mostly in the form of bringing about a fuller comprehension by each side of the views of the other.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you point two things out: What the gold agreement means and also, what was our original request for compensation for the NATO bases?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. What the gold agreement means is this: that there has been a fixed price for the valuation of gold which does not reflect the market price and it means that each country is free to adopt current market prices as the basis for evaluation and, therefore, show on its books a value of gold reserves which corresponds more nearly to the market price of gold which is about 3½ to 4 times larger than the fixed price of gold and, therefore, reflects more accurately the capacity of the reserves of each country to pay for deficits.

I frankly do not remember what the original figures were. I know the French figure that they first offered us was substantially below \$100 million, and I am certain the figure we asked for was substantially above, and this seemed to us to represent a fair compromise, but I don't remember what the figure was that we originally asked for.

Q. What of the apparent French suspicions that the United States is trying to dominate the policies of the industrialized world and dictating its terms?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I don't want to comment about French suspicions that were not expressed at the meeting. At the meeting, we discussed how to deal with concrete issues, and we reached the results which I have described so that the suspicions that I occasionally read in the French press were not expressed by French officials, and I, therefore, don't feel the need to comment on that.

Q. On the gold question, does the agreement you have reached imply also the central banks are free now to buy and sell gold at the market price?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I don't want to get into technical questions of gold purchases. What it means is that they can value their gold at the market price.

Q. It does mean that?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. It goes no further than that.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is it the American view that the United States will do this, or is it going to be a totally European proposition?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. The valuation?

Q. Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER. That is up to each country.

Q. I asked about the United States. Do you anticipate we will do it?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I don't have the impression that we will do it in the near future.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is it the American view that a consumer/producer conference would have as a principal goal lower oil prices, and do the French share that view?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I think everybody agrees that lower oil prices are highly desirable, and it is the Ameri-

can view that oil prices should be stabilized at a lower level.

I think we all agree that regardless of what happens to oil prices, the impact of the oil prices on the world economy and the means that are necessary to assure the stability of the economies of the industrialized nations, as well as a fair progress for the producer nations must be a subject of a consumer/producer dialog, but the preparatory meeting is designed precisely to define the agenda as well as the procedures of such a dialog, so it isn't possible to be conclusive about it at this moment.

Q. How is this going to be proposed to a country, like Japan, consumer/producer country conference?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. Well, as you know, we have been in the closest contact with the Government of Japan, and I had extensive conversations with the then Foreign Minister Kimura, which have been reaffirmed by the new Japanese Government. And, of course, the French Foreign Minister had been in Japan at about the same time that we were there.

So, it is my impression that what has been agreed upon here will have the support of the Government of Japan and reflect exactly the idea that the Government of Japan expressed to both of us. And it is also my view, based on conversations with the German Chancellor and with other major consuming nations in the NATO meeting in Brussels, that what was agreed to here will elicit a wide consensus.

Q. Dr. Kissinger, in elaboration on the Middle East question, does it appear that there was French acceptance of the United States idea of a step-by-step solution to the Arab-Israeli problem?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I don't want to speak for France, particularly since the President of the Republic is waiting to appear here.

My impression is that there is no French disagreement with the step-by-step approach, but having a more Cartesian upbringing than we, France may perhaps feel it more necessary than we do to define the terminal point at the outset. I don't think there is any French disagreement with the step-by-step approach if it can be achieved.

Q. Mr. Secretary, it says in the communique that there has been accord on many questions. Could you point out the questions upon which there is disagreement?

SECRETARY KISSINGER. I am not leaving this meeting with a spirit that there has been substantial disagreement on any question. I think "many questions" refers to the fact that in a limited amount of time only particular issues could be discussed, and did not mean to imply that any issues that were discussed were left open to disagreement.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

NOTE: Press Secretary Ronald H. Nessen introduced Secretary Kissinger at 11:45 p.m. at the Meridien Hotel, Martinique, French West Indies.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Roy L. Ash Upon Mr. Ash's Resignation.
December 17, 1974

December 17, 1974

Dear Roy:

Although I have known for some time of your plans to return to private life, nevertheless it is with deepest regret that I have received your letter and accept your resignation as Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Management and Budget, effective on a date to be determined.

Throughout the past two years, you have served the Presidency and our Nation with high dedication and exceptional ability. You have had the tremendous task of keeping the Federal budget within reasonable proportions while at the same time enabling our government to meet its responsibilities to the American people. No one knows better than you how difficult a challenge this has been and continues to be.

With your assistance, however, I believe we have been able to shape effective, workable Federal budgets. I am particularly and personally grateful for your unhesitating support over the past four months and for your willingness to see through to completion our budget for 1976. I am confident it, too, will be responsive to the needs of our citizens and to their desire for fiscal restraint.

Your leadership and sound judgment will be sorely missed but it is some consolation to know we can call on your expertise again when the occasion arises. In the meantime, please know that Betty joins me in sending to Lila and you our warmest best wishes for every success and happiness in the future.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Roy L. Ash, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

December 10, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

In just four months, you have gone a long way toward restoring the faith of the American people in their system of government and confidence in its executive leadership. As our great country nears the finish of its second century and begins the third with a need for renewed inspiration and strength, it is fitting that it do so under the exemplary leadership you provide.

I am grateful for the opportunity to have been a part of the Administration you lead. As we discussed shortly after you took office, it has been my intention to serve two

years in government, which time is now concluding. As a matter of fact, those two years are completed this very day. Thus, I am hereby submitting my formal resignation to take effect at your convenience.

Mr. President, you will have my continued support. With it goes my personal admiration for you, Mrs. Ford and your wonderful family.

Sincerely yours,

ROY L. ASH

Christmas, 1974

Message of the President. December 17, 1974

Mrs. Ford and I send our warmest holiday greetings to all our fellow citizens. We hope that each of you will share the traditional joys of this Holy season with your family and friends. And we pray that the Christmas spirit of generosity and renewal will be with you throughout the coming year.

We begin 1975 in the midst of many serious challenges. As we work to resolve them, let us be encouraged by counting the blessings we have gained from those who have met similar challenges in the past. Let us draw strength from our unity of purpose and hope from our past resourcefulness. And let us work together to ensure that the good which we have achieved will be strengthened and preserved for our children and future generations.

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: The text of the message was made available by the White House Press Office. It was not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Safe Drinking Water Act

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law.
December 17, 1974

I am pleased to have signed the Safe Drinking Water Act (S. 433). Much effort has gone into the development of this legislation as much as for any enacted in this session of Congress.

This Administration proposed a Safe Drinking Water Act, and several others were introduced by Members of Congress. All of these bills had the same objectives: to increase protection of the public's health. Many compromises had to be made before this bill reached my desk. Yet it is a strong bill, reflecting the combined efforts of the Congress and the Administration.

This legislation will enhance the safety of public drinking water supplies in this country through the establishment and enforcement of national drinking water standards. The Environmental Protection Agency has the primary responsibility for establishing our national standards. The States have the primary responsibility of enforcing them and for otherwise ensuring the quality of drinking water. In some situations where States fail to enforce the standards, the Federal Government could. I believe this will seldom be necessary. During the extensive consideration of this legislation, spokesmen for the Administration opposed extensive Federal involvement in what has traditionally been State and local regulatory matters and unnecessary costs to the Federal Government. Even with the compromises that were made, I still have reservations about those two aspects of this bill, and I

intend that it be administered so as to minimize both Federal involvement and costs.

The bill enhances the ability of the Federal Government to conduct research into the health effects of contaminants in drinking water. Recent news stories have highlighted several potential drinking water problems that can only be resolved through research. I am pleased to say that we are already moving ahead on these problems.

Nothing is more essential to the life of every single American than clean air, pure food, and safe drinking water. There have been strong national programs to improve the quality of our air and the purity of our food. This bill will provide us with the protection we need for drinking water.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 433) is Public Law 93-523, approved December 16, 1974.

THE CHRISTMAS PAGEANT OF PEACE

The President's Remarks Before Lighting the National Community Christmas Tree. December 17, 1974

Thank you very, very much Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton, Mayor Washington, Mr. Hoffman, my fellow Michiganders from the University of Michigan Chorus, my fellow Americans:

Obviously, I am very delighted to participate in this celebration tonight, to light and to share with you the Nation's Christmas tree.

As a former National Park Service ranger a good many years ago, I have been and am concerned with conservation. I am pleased to know, of course, that this tree has a heritage from Colorado but was transplanted here from the great State of Pennsylvania. But this tree will be the National Community Christmas Tree and will be so for many, many years to come.

As a President vitally concerned with the saving of energy, I also want you to know that the electricity consumed, as the Secretary of Interior has said, is a considerable reduction of what has been used in years past. And that is the way it should be, and that is the way that it must be.

The glow of Christmas, however, should come from a power source which we will never run short of, our abiding faith and our love of God.

The true spirit of this season can best be seen in our faces. The children here tonight, like millions of children around the world, reflect the wonder and the excitement of anticipation. Those of us who are older look forward to the warmth of reunions with families and with friends.

Traditions, treasured memories, shared hopes—these are the ties that bind families together and nations together. The tree before us is a part of our national tradition, and, as such, it has seen both triumphs and tragedies.

Christmas and the New Year have always been a time to reflect on the past and then look ahead to the future. I firmly believe that 1975 will be a brighter year for all America, but it must also be a brighter year for the world around us, the entire globe, if we as a nation are to prosper.

And so I would like to share with you my personal list of Christmas wishes. At the top of my list are peace, economic well-being for all, and a caring climate that will permit everyone to achieve the fullest potential of their human gifts. And I wish this Nation a strong future out of a very proud past. And I wish every one of us the realization of love and belonging.

Billions of words over the years have been written, have been sung, have been spoken about the true meaning of Christmas. None have ever said it more eloquently than: "On earth, peace—good will toward men." And that is my final Christmas wish for all of us.

Thank you very kindly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:55 p.m. just before lighting the National Community Christmas Tree on the Ellipse with the help of Girl Scout Camille Deppe and Boy Scout James Williams. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Edwin K. Hoffman, vice-chairman, 1974 Christmas Pageant of Peace Honorary Committee. The President's remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

Veto of Willow Creek, Oregon, Flood Control Project Bill

The President's Message to the Senate Returning S. 3537 Without His Approval. Dated December 17, 1974. Released December 18, 1974

To the United States Senate:

I have withheld my approval from S. 3537, "To modify section 204 of the Flood Control Act of 1965."

This bill would authorize a revised Willow Creek Project in Oregon and provide for advance payment of the Federal share of the cost to relocate the water system of the nearby town of Heppner.

The Department of the Army, on behalf of the Administration, opposed this bill in committee on the grounds that it raised unresolved issues relative to the general principles and standards governing the evaluation of water resources projects.

These departures include:

- Re-evaluation of the project by using questionable methods for calculating benefits.
- Coupled with these methods of computing benefits, retention of an interest rate of 3¼ percent provided for in the original 1965 project authorization, compared to the present rate of 5⅞ percent now being used.
- Authorization for advance payment of the Federal share of the costs to relocate the town's water system, as compared to the standard approach—to await the actual beginning of construction of a project.

While I fully understand the desire of the town of Heppner to obtain Federal assistance in financing its water system, I cannot, in good conscience, accept the departures which S. 3537 would make from the established

principles and standards that are employed in the evaluation of other water resources projects.

In my judgment, the Willow Creek Project should be considered for construction on the basis of current evaluation principles and standards. Any other course would be indefensible at a time when the Congress is being asked to defer funding for numerous other water resources projects.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 17, 1974.

Secretary of Transportation

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Claude S. Brinegar Upon Mr. Brinegar's Resignation. December 18, 1974

December 18, 1974

Dear Claude:

I have your letter of December 17, and it is with deep gratitude for your dedicated service to our Nation that I accept your resignation as Secretary of Transportation, effective February 1, 1975, as you requested.

In doing so, I want you to know of my personal appreciation for the many improvements in the Nation's transportation system that have occurred in your tenure as Secretary. The Regional Rail Reorganization Act of 1973 and the National Mass Transportation Act of 1974 are but two of many legislative achievements of truly historical significance. Under your capable leadership, we have for the first time since the creation of the Department artic-

ulated a National Transportation Policy, and I particularly want to commend you for this important achievement.

As you now return to the private sector, I am confident you will continue your interest in government. It is only through the willingness of people such as you to serve that our system can receive its needed breadth of views and talents.

Betty joins me in extending to you and to your family our warmest good wishes for continued success and happiness in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable Claude S. Brinegar, Secretary of Transportation, Washington, D.C. 20590]

December 17, 1974

My dear Mr. President:

I would appreciate it if you would accept my resignation as Secretary of Transportation, effective February 1, 1975. In the interest of a smooth transition, I would be willing to serve for a brief time longer if my successor is not confirmed by that date.

My two years as the third Secretary of Transportation have been exciting, educational, and, at times, hectic. I believe that, on balance, I have made progress in a number of ways toward improving the Nation's transportation system, although I well recognize that it's a job that will never be finished. But now it is necessary for me to return to the private sector.

I would like to add that I have especially enjoyed serving under you. Please accept my very best wishes for good health and continued success.

Respectfully,

CLAUDE S. BRINEGAR

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

Deputy Assistant to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Richard B. Cheney. December 18, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Richard B. Cheney as Deputy Assistant to the President. Since September 30, Mr. Cheney has served as a consultant to Donald Rumsfeld in his capacity as Assistant to the President. Prior to joining the White House Staff, he was a partner in Bradley Woods and Co., an investment advisory firm in Washington and New York.

Mr. Cheney was born on January 30, 1941, in Lincoln, Nebr. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Wyoming and did additional graduate work in political science at the University of Wisconsin. He has

served previously on the staff of Gov. Warren Knowles of Wisconsin, and with Congressman William Steiger (R-Wis.) as a Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association.

During 1969 and 1970, Mr. Cheney was Executive Assistant to the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1971, he served on the White House Staff as Deputy to Presidential Counsellor Donald Rumsfeld. From September 1971 until February 1973, Mr. Cheney was Assistant Director of the Cost of Living Council for Operations and was responsible for directing the compliance and enforcement efforts during Phase II of the economic stabilization program.

He is married to the former Lynne Vincent. They have two children and reside in Bethesda, Md.

Associate Counsel to the President

Announcement of Appointment of Kenneth A. Lazarus. December 18, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Kenneth A. Lazarus as Associate Counsel to the President. Mr. Lazarus will be associated with Philip W. Buchen, Phillip E. Areeda, and William E. Casselman II, in the White House legal office.

Prior to his appointment, Mr. Lazarus had served as minority counsel to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and earlier was a trial attorney with the Tax Division of the Department of Justice.

Mr. Lazarus was born on December 10, 1942, and received his B.A. degree from the University of Dayton in 1964. He was awarded a J.D. degree from the law school of the University of Notre Dame in 1967 and was admitted to the New Jersey bar in the same year. In 1971, he received a master of laws degree from the George Washington University Law School.

He is married to the former Marylyn Flemming of Dayton, Ohio, and they have three children. They reside in Vienna, Va.

Special Assistant to the President for Women

Announcement of Appointment of Patricia Sullivan Lindh. December 18, 1974

The President today announced the appointment of Patricia Sullivan Lindh, of Baton Rouge, La., as Special Assistant to the President for Women. Since June of 1974 she has been Special Assistant to Counsellor Anne L. Armstrong for Women's Programs.

Mrs. Lindh was one of the founders of Women in Politics which is now affiliated with the Louisiana National Women's Political Caucus. She has previously served as first vice president. She is currently a member of the board of the organization. She served as Republican National Committeewoman for the State of Louisiana and resigned this position in order to devote full time to her White House duties. She was a delegate and member of the platform committee of the Republican National Convention in 1972. She was a member of the Horizons Committee of the Baton Rouge Bicentennial Commission.

While living abroad from 1955 to 1965, she was editor of the Singapore American Newspaper; founding president of the International Women's Club in Kuwait; member of the board of the American Association of Singapore and the Women's Club in Karachi, Pakistan.

Mrs. Lindh was raised in Cleveland, Ohio, and Chicago, Ill. She received her B.A. degree from Trinity College. Mrs. Lindh and her husband, Robert, have three children. They reside in McLean, Va.

Deputy Assistant to the President

Exchange of Letters Between the President and Tom C. Korologos Upon Mr. Korologos' Resignation.
December 18, 1974

December 18, 1974

Dear Tom:

It is not only with the deepest regret but also with a personal sense of loss that I accept your resignation as Deputy Assistant to the President, effective December 31, 1974, as you requested.

For more than three years, you have served as the President's representative in the Senate with brilliance, loyalty and the kind of political acumen that is the hallmark of the true Washington professional. I know from my own long experience in the Congress that your understanding of the complexities of our legislative system and your ability to work with and within that system is unsurpassed. On numerous occasions in recent months I have greatly valued your sound counsel and assistance on the difficult legislative issues which have come before us. You have given me your full, unhesitating support throughout the period of transition. For this and for your many, many contributions to my Administration and to our Nation you have my unqualified admiration and heartfelt gratitude.

I deeply appreciate your kind comments and expression of confidence as you prepare to depart the White House staff. I know that in the months and years ahead you too will be devoting your skills and energies to the future strength and prosperity of our nation.

Betty joins me in extending to your family and to you our very best wishes for every future success and happiness.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[Mr. Tom C. Korologos, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

December 12, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

After almost four years in the Congressional Relations office in the White House, personal considerations require that I submit my resignation as your Deputy Assistant for Legislative Affairs effective December 31, 1974.

I will always be grateful for your asking me to continue in my position the same day you were sworn in as President of the United States.

To serve as the President's representative in the Senate has been an incomparable experience which I shall always cherish; likewise, it has been a distinct privilege to serve on your White House staff. I shall remember fondly our personal relationship through the years when you were Minority Leader, Vice President and now as President. I also thank you for your many kindnesses, professionally and personally to me and my family.

I regret that I will not be able to share the many accomplishments that are ahead for you both domestically and internationally. I leave the White House, however, with the fullest confidence that you will achieve the goals you have set for our Nation. And, in your efforts, I wish you every success.

Warm best wishes to you and the First Lady.

Sincerely,

TOM C. KOROLOGOS

Deputy Assistant to the President

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

Special Assistant to the President

Exchange of Letters Between the President and W. Eugene Ainsworth, Jr., Upon Mr. Ainsworth's Resignation. December 18, 1974

December 18, 1974

Dear Gene:

I have your letter of December 9, and your resignation as Special Assistant to the President, effective as you requested December 31, 1974, is accepted with deepest regret. While I fully understand the personal and professional considerations which led to your decision, I want you to know that your superb services in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs will be greatly missed.

As an able, dedicated member of our Congressional liaison staff, no one better appreciates than you the vital importance of sound, effective working relationships be-

tween the White House and the Congress. Time and again, in fulfilling the special trust and responsibilities of your position, you have demonstrated that major legislative successes can be achieved even under the most difficult circumstances. This has been due in very large measure not only to your thorough understanding of governmental processes, but also to your exceptional ability to work within these processes and do so with utmost integrity and commitment to the greatest good for the American people. You have earned their thanks, the respect and friendship of your colleagues on both sides of the political fence, and my own lasting admiration and gratitude.

Now, as you prepare to depart, I am confident the same outstanding skills you brought to the White House will serve you well in your new career in the private sector. Certainly, you have my warmest good wishes for all of life's blessings in the years ahead.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable W. Eugene Ainsworth, Jr., The White House, Washington, D.C.]

December 9, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

Because of very pressing personal and professional demands which no longer can be postponed, I have regretfully concluded that I must submit my resignation as Special Assistant to the President effective December 31, 1974.

To represent the President with Members of the United States House of Representatives is a unique responsibility and a special trust. I have had the good fortune to serve you in this capacity as you seek the objectives of domestic prosperity and a lasting world peace. I will always be grateful for your confidence and many acts of personal kindness.

Your special relationship with the Congress will be vital to the Nation in the years ahead and I assure you of my continuing support in your efforts to develop the programs necessary for the good of our Nation. It has been an honor to serve you and your Administration.

Sincerely yours,

W. EUGENE AINSWORTH, JR.

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

White House Staff Organization

*News Conference of Donald H. Rumsfeld,
Assistant to the President. December 18, 1974*

MR. NESSEN. The briefing this afternoon is by Donald Rumsfeld on the White House organization. You have all the printed material and probably have had a chance to

read it. This is available for filming and taping, but there should be no filing until Don has concluded his briefing.

MR. RUMSFELD. A little over 2 months ago, I met with this distinguished group and we talked about the White House Staff a bit, and there were a number of questions about what might happen, and I allowed as how we would have to see how things evolved.

A great deal has evolved in the intervening weeks. Today, what I would like to do is comment on what exists and/or what will exist within the next month or so.

I would like to make a couple of cautionary remarks. What this amounts to is sort of a snapshot of where we are. It will continue to evolve in the coming months as the President moves through his term of office. It is not a static situation. But because there was such an interest in the White House, it struck me that it would be useful to come back and visit a bit about it. I will be happy to respond to questions after I have made several comments.

As I have indicated, what I will be talking about has evolved since August 9. The President feels that his approach and working style is reflected in this organization. Hopefully, it will help to implement his concept of leadership and management of the executive branch of the Government.

It is designed, really, with several objectives in mind, as we have indicated in the statement. First, to provide Cabinet officers and agency heads and Members of Congress and senior staff members with an opportunity to deal with the President as is necessary; to try to limit the functions performed in the White House to those functions that necessarily must be performed within the White House and to rely wherever possible on Cabinet heads and agency heads for those functions that they can best perform; to try to achieve a more clearly defined White House organization—although I must say it is very difficult to put a set of very complex relationships down on a piece of paper.

So, if the briefing today, and the pieces of paper that have been handed out, are taken as an effort to communicate and develop a better understanding of how it works, I think that is much better than trying to dot every "i" and cross every "t" and analyze each little thing. That is probably not useful.

It also is designed—our efforts have been designed to try to assure high ethical standards and behavior and also to see that the White House, itself, is an effective working part of the Government and does not get separated—either the individuals or the institutions—from either the rest of the executive branch or the Congress or the country.

If you will first let me just mention the things that have been handed out.

There is a general statement. There is an organization chart which, as I say, is probably imperfect in terms of the complex multiplicity of relationships that exist in an or-

ganization such as this.¹ There is a fact sheet that tries to set forth the principal functions of each of the major offices. There is a list of the individuals who will be commissioned as White House Staff members.

There is a brief layout of the floor space in the West Wing of the White House, the first floor and the second floor. The only reason that is being passed out is because there have been so many stories written about the subject that have not been completely correct that it struck me that it might be useful for everyone to be working off the same piece of paper.

And also, by popular demand, we are releasing the White House telephone book. This is something that has been a source of a good deal of discussion in this room, I am told, over a period of time. Again, the telephone book is probably accurate today. I cannot swear to that, but I think it is probably accurate today. It will probably be inaccurate tomorrow.

I think you will find the people that you call on the numbers indicated will be exactly the same people you would get through the White House central number, but since there was such a desire and appetite for the telephone book, we provided it.

Looking at the organization chart, I think it is probably useful just to go down through it very briefly.

There have been a number of articles about no floaters or something. Just to correct that misunderstanding, if you look at the box on the left underneath the President, you will see Cabinet-rank advisers. There are four individuals and there certainly will be others who will fill this role, but for the sake of a chart, those individuals obviously will consult with the President on a broad range of subjects that may or may not have anything whatsoever to do with the specific responsibilities that those individuals happen to be performing, as you will see as we get further down the chart.

So, there is that separate responsibility that those four individuals do have. The coordination function the President described when I was asked to assume these responsibilities.

Moving on down the chart, you will notice that there is the very necessary management and budget function. There is the Economic Policy Board function. There is the Domestic Council function, the National Security Council function, the normal function of the White House operations and the pieces that fit in that administrative area.

The Counsellor to the President, John Marsh, as you will see, has general organizational and supervisory responsibility for two very important areas: the Office of Congressional Relations, where Max Friedersdorf as a full Assistant to the President, of course, will be dealing with Congressional relations, and Mr. Bill Baroody, also

an Assistant to the President, dealing with public liaison. The Office of the Press Secretary you know more about than I do.

The Office of Counsellor Robert Hartmann includes not just the Editorial Office but also an Executive Assistant to the Counsellor who has not been announced, and that area will involve substantial responsibilities with respect to political advice and counsel. The final box you will see is the Office of the Counsel.

There are, of course, other staff members who will be working directly with the President. They include the Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, Max Friedersdorf; the Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, Bill Baroody; as well as the Special Assistant to the President for Minority Affairs, the Special Assistants for Human Resources, for Hispanic Affairs, for Consumer Affairs, and for Women, among others.

Fourth, I would mention this concept of the deputy. We felt that it would be desirable if the principal people on the staff did in fact have a deputy in every sense. That is to say, an individual who was personally used to working with the President, and with whom the President was used to working. An individual who, when a meeting was called, in the event the principal in that office was not available to be there could fill in so that the work of the Government could go on.

It is working; it has been working now for better than a month. I think it is a healthy thing. I personally have never subscribed to the idea that people ought to feel indispensable or be seen by others as being indispensable. I doubt that this is achievable, but, hopefully, some of the people who work in this building will be able to avoid separating themselves from their families and their neighbors and lead something approximating a somewhat reasonably normal life, because it seems to me it is healthier for them to be able to do so.

We have also addressed the question of the titles of the people working in the White House. This is not a major matter, but the President felt that it would be desirable to have individuals have titles that reasonably reflected, in fact, what they were doing, rather than titles that were general and applied to most everybody. So, you will notice some of the titles have been changed.

The White House Staff is being reduced by approximately 10 percent in size. Most of that has already been accomplished. The remainder will be accomplished in the coming few weeks. The support services, obviously, will be reduced as appropriate to reflect the staff size.

Q. What were the numbers involved in support figures for the last Administration?

MR. RUMSFELD. What I would like to do is to make sure when we talk about numbers that we all don't get confused. There is a certain set of numbers that can be put out which includes detailees, others that do not include the detailees, some that include consultants, some that

¹ The statement appears on page 1591 of this issue. The organization chart is on pages 1588-1589.

do not include consultants, some that include the various parts of the Executive Office of the President that have separate statutory authorization and get separate budgets from the Congress.

The figure that I am using is a figure, if I am not mistaken, that was 540 on August 1, and will be down in the neighborhood of slightly under 500 within a month or so.

Let me just continue a second here.

Q. What figures are these of the choices you just gave us? Do these include the detailees?

MR. RUMSFELD. They include detailees and consultants. My recollection is it does include detailees, and it does include consultants.

Q. It does not include the OMB?

MR. RUMSFELD. Not the OMB and not the National Security Council which are separate statutory organizations.

Q. It does not include NSC. It does not include NSC staff.

MR. RUMSFELD. It includes a few NSC staff, the ones on the White House payroll as opposed to NSC payroll. We can give you the specifics.

It does include consultants and detailees. That figure is what I described. It does include detailees. It does include consultants. It does not include those organizations in the Executive Office of the President that have a separate statutory appropriation.

Q. What is a detailee?

MR. RUMSFELD. A person who is on the rolls of a department or agency elsewhere in Government and was brought into the White House for the purpose of working in the White House.

And as I recall the rule now is that we should not have detailees here for more than 6 months. That is to say, if a person is really going to be working in the White House he ought to be put on the White House rolls, otherwise he ought to be put back to the place from which he was detailed.

As you will recall, the numbers in the White House are difficult because over the years at various times there have been a substantial number of people who have been actually on another agency's rolls but were brought in for the purpose of working in the White House.

We are trying to reduce down the number of individuals who are, so to speak, detailed into the White House. There always will be some.

For example, if a new function begins in the White House, you do not have an authorization or an appropriation or the people, you frequently detail from other departments and agencies where they have competence in that particular area, bring them in, get the thing started, and then go up to the Hill for an appropriation for that function.

For example, that is the way the Wage-Price Council has begun its work—Al Rees' operation—using detailees.

There are one or two areas where you leave detailees. For example, the President's Advisory Board on Foreign Intelligence I believe has two permanent detailees, because they are permanent employees of the Department of State.

Well, in any event, what we have indicated here in the organization chart and in the principal functions is an effort to have what the President wanted, and that is to say to assure that there are multiple sources of information for the President, to assure that he is in a position to deal with Cabinet officers and agency heads and the Congress, as well as the White House Staff, to assure that while even though information to the President comes up from multiple sources, that nonetheless the Presidential decision-making process will be orderly.

And I think, in fact, that the President has put his house in order, from an organizational standpoint. And as I have indicated, much of what has been presented here has, in fact, already been put in place.

I will be happy to respond to questions.

Q. Can you tell us whose authority has been enhanced and whose authority has been diminished under this arrangement?

MR. RUMSFELD. Yes, the President's authority is enhanced.

Q. Don, can I ask how this differs from past White House organization as you know it, and how much you borrowed from the recent past in making this new organization?

MR. RUMSFELD. It seems to me, number one, on the first question that what we have here is not something that raises or lowers somebody at somebody else's expense. What we have here is an organizational arrangement that the President feels he will be comfortable with and feels will provide an orderly Presidential decision-making process and one that will work.

As far as comparing it with the past, it seems to me, Peter, that that is difficult to do. First of all, I am not an expert on each of the previous Administrations. The first thing you would have to say is that the principal things that the White House does are not terribly different in this organization chart, although I do not know that other organization charts have been put out, but obviously there has to be the budget function, the domestic function, the economic function, and the national security function.

The budget is obvious. The last three have as their role attempting to bring in and harmonize and make more coherent the material and information and proposals that are coming in from Cabinet departments that are dealing with subjects in compartments that the real world does not have them in. That is to say, the real world is not neatly compartmentalized the way our Government structure is. Obviously, you have always had a Press Secretary function.

I would mention these things. It seems to me the things that are different—number one, the President is different. This is an individual who arrived here with a background and set of experiences and approach that is distinctive to him.

A number of the people are different that are involved in this organization. The reporting relationships, it strikes me, are somewhat different. But most of all, it is a matter of emphasis. It is a matter of his philosophy—of how he wants to operate—his decision that he wants as much as possible done through the departments and agencies, the principal statutory agencies and departments.

I think it also reflects his desire to assure himself that he, in fact, is receiving information from more than one or two or three or four sources, and so you see an organization that enables that.

Let's be honest. This has been in place, portions of it, for a month and one half, portions for a month, portions for a week, and the remainder in the next week or so. As I say, it will change and evolve as we go along.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, I see your name in more boxes than anybody else's. Does this mean that you are the chief aide, that you are the first among equals?

MR. RUMSFELD. No, it means exactly what the President said when I was announced, that he wanted me to be in charge of the administrative part and he also wanted me to serve in a coordinating responsibility to the extent that he doesn't. He does a good deal of the coordinating himself. That which he does not do, that needs to be done, that does not take care of itself, I assist with. But I think the announcement of my position is the most accurate reflection of what the President intends. It also happens that he asked me to be in the Cabinet, so I am in the other box.

Q. Could I follow up on that? You are familiar with the operation of the Nixon White House.

MR. RUMSFELD. Not from this vantage point, but certainly familiar with it.

Q. Well, no. Do you think you have more authority now in the Ford White House than Mr. Haldeman had in the Nixon White House, or less?

MR. RUMSFELD. As I have answered, Peter, I am not in a position to start making judgments as between different—I think, probably each White House during a given Administration evolved and changed during the course of that Administration. I think the important point here is that this is an organizational arrangement that the President wants, that he desires to have, that puts him in a position to conduct the business of government in the way that he wishes. I think that there is a little bit of tendency in this town to kind of overplay White House assistants as great powerful people and all this business, and maybe that is not quite the way it is.

It seems so to me what is important is the quality of the advice or the quality of the work that ultimately tells.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, I am wondering, in your announcement here you say that this organization should do all of these things. Number four says, "To assure a high ethical standard and behavior by his staff." What, in this organization, assures that?

MR. RUMSFELD. I think the lead paragraph before the colon says that the President had these objectives in mind and his hope was that by—we have done several things: One, he feels that by having people organizationally responsible to somebody who is dealing directly with him on a regular basis that his views and his concerns and his hopes and aspirations for the White House and for the country will be reflected down through their respective organizations and each of these individuals does have a management-leadership responsibility with respect to the people under him.

Secondly, we have, in fact, communicated extensively with people in the White House as to what the ethical requirements are. We have communicated with them directly on paper. We are in the process of communicating with them in various meetings so that there is an understanding of what the President desires in that area.

Obviously, an organization chart does not insure anything. All it does is try to portray a set of relationships, but this is something that has been on his mind and something that we feel we made some progress on.

Q. What are the requirements you mentioned, Mr. Rumsfeld, in that sentence "everyone has been told what their requirements are." What are the requirements? What are those things?

MR. RUMSFELD. There is a package of materials about laws and everything else, and Ron Nessen can make it available to you. We will be happy to give it to you.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, what about the role of the Vice President? He is on your chart here but you have not said a word about him.

MR. RUMSFELD. You are correct, I have not. It is due, really, to two principal things. One is that the Vice President, I think correctly, felt that prior to the time he was confirmed his efforts should be aimed toward getting confirmed, and he has been not doing things that would lead people to believe that he was presuming his confirmation as an accomplished fact.

For that reason, he has not been deeply involved in that question with the President or with the White House Staff.

The President does have ideas. The President will be meeting with the Vice President later this week after he is sworn in.

The second principal reason is it seems to me that is something for the President and the Vice President and I am not in a position to get into it.

Q. Can't you give us some idea of what his role is going to be?

MR. RUMSFELD. No, I cannot.

Q. Well, two questions about that.

MR. RUMSFELD. The President has thoughts. He will be meeting with the Vice President, and it seems to me that is something for them to discuss and not something for a member of the White House Staff to inject himself into.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, why would Robert Hartmann move to a new office?

MR. RUMSFELD. The answer is, I think, fairly simple. The President decided he would like to have an office next to his office, which happened to be the one Bob was in, where he could have it as a study and a more relaxed environment than the Oval Office. If people are trying to read things into that, don't.

Q. What happened to the other little office in between there? Who is occupying that?

MR. RUMSFELD. The little tiny one?

Q. Yes.

MR. RUMSFELD. It is still there. In other words, there is a very little, small office right between the Oval Office and Mr. Hartmann's.

Q. Would you then call it a hideaway office, a second office?

MR. RUMSFELD. Helen, I don't use adjectives like that. I would call it exactly what I called it, namely, a place where the President—

Q. Is it a second office in the White House for the President?

MR. RUMSFELD.—where the President can have an office that is a bit less formal than the Oval Office.

Q. Don, two questions now about the Vice President, two related questions. One, Ken Cole, of course, has resigned and the organizational chart, the various papers here, show that position vacant. Is that position being kept vacant in order that the person selected for it will be a person acceptable to and a person who can work with the Vice President?

MR. RUMSFELD. Before I answer it, just to explain the telephone book and the chart in some cases, they put down the names of the individuals who are presently in them. In some cases, just for better understanding, they have left it blank, in the instances where the individual has already announced his resignation.

Now, in answer to the question—

Q. What is the question?

MR. RUMSFELD. The question was, is there some reason for not filling the Domestic Council, that is to say, not announcing a person to succeed Ken Cole by this date because the President wished to discuss that with the Vice Presidential nominee after he becomes Vice President. Not to my knowledge. He just has not made a decision on it, but it may very well be something he will discuss, but I have not heard that particular reason. That is not to say it might not be the case. I have not heard anyone say that, so not to my knowledge is the answer.

Q. I had a related question. In the list of your functions—White House Operations Office—this lists a whole batch of them—"new Appointments Secretary, Personnel Office," and so forth and so on. Hasn't one been omitted? Won't you be in charge of liaison with the Vice President?

MR. RUMSFELD. The President has not discussed that with me, and I would think the President would be dealing with the Vice President.

Q. I mean, you know, just on a staff basis, somebody coordinating the operations of the White House Staff with the Vice President's staff.

MR. RUMSFELD. The answer to the question is the specific arrangements with respect to the Vice President have not been formalized because the Vice Presidential nominee has not been confirmed, and, at his request, he did not want to presume confirmation.

Q. To the extent there have been conversations about the sizes of the Vice President's staff, the composition of the Vice President's staff, would he have as large a staff as Mr. Ford had when he was Vice President? Aren't you handling those conversations? Isn't your office handling that?

MR. RUMSFELD. At this point, the President will be handling them with the Vice President at some point. The answer to your question, I think, is: It evolves over a period of time. The Vice President and the Vice Presidential staff will end up interacting with most of the people on this chart.

Q. At the present time, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget is also a Presidential Assistant and he has a White House office. Will that continue or will he not be a Presidential Assistant?

MR. RUMSFELD. I think he will be a Presidential Assistant and I think he probably will be located with the Office of Management and Budget employees and Deputy Director and the remainder of the economic team in the Executive Office of the President.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, can you tell us under this reorganizational chart who will be responsible for keeping contact with San Clemente and former President Nixon?

MR. RUMSFELD. I can. At the present time, Counsellor to the President Jack Marsh is dealing with that array of questions with respect to liaison with the former President, with the exception of specific legal questions which are being handled in the Counsel's Office.

I would imagine at some point in the period ahead an individual will be named with a specific responsibility for liaison with the former President other than Counsellor Marsh, but we do not have any announcement of that.

Q. Do you have any idea what rank this person would hold?

MR. RUMSFELD. I really don't.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, does the President have anything against the women? There surely is a dearth of not only top level but all the way down to the lower echelon of women. Is there any reason why?

MR. RUMSFELD. He certainly does not, Helen.

Q. Does he think we do not have any abilities or talents to fill these?

MR. RUMSFELD. Obviously not. That would be a very incorrect assumption. There are women shown here. There are women in high positions in the Government, in the departments and agencies, and there is no question but as the President continues to bring additional people into Government that women are certainly being very, very carefully considered for those positions.

Q. There has been a lot of criticism certainly in the press about the decisionmaking processes at the White House. Can you tell us whether the President was dissatisfied with the way things were going beforehand and whether there are any specific changes, or even general ones, that are being announced today which are designed to counter those problems?

MR. RUMSFELD. I think the first question probably is better directed to the President at his next press conference.

Q. Which will be when?

MR. RUMSFELD. Which will be when he announces it.

I can say this about the decisionmaking process here in the White House. I am personally satisfied, as of today, that on any given issue the President either will have the advice of his principal advisers with respect to a particular problem in a reasonably orderly way, or he will know that he does not have it with respect to one or more of those advisers.

That is to say that there are times when for various reasons an individual might want to make a judgment or a decision based on something less than full consultation among the various people in the Government who have competence in that area.

What is important to me is that that be done only when he decides it should be done. So there have been instances where that occurs, but in each instance that I am aware of, he was aware that that was the case and felt that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages.

I think that avoids having him blindsided in some ways, and thus far I feel that that is presently the case. I cannot speak for the period before.

Q. Don't decisionmaking basically an untidy process, and aren't you trying to compress and to pigeon-hole this business of how the President comes by making a decision?

MR. RUMSFELD. Of course, in our country you lead by consent, not by command, and that means that during the period of decisionmaking if you decide that consent requires consultation, which it almost always does, that means that you have to begin to test those ideas in a marketplace of some sort, and it may involve extensive consultations within the bureaucracy. It may involve extensive consultations with Congress. It may indeed, in some instances, such as the economic summit, involve rather extensive consultation in a fairly public way as

you move towards your judgments, because your judgments may in some instances depend not only on what you might think in a vacuum but also what you might think would be achievable in the event that the accomplishment of what you are trying to move toward requires the full cooperation of some other sector of the society or some other branch of the Government.

So your point is right. There is no formula for how a Presidential decision gets made. There cannot be. There should not be.

And the organization chart, however, Peter, does not try to do what you suggested, namely compress Presidential decisionmaking into a certain pattern. The only thing I would say about that is what I said, namely, in my judgment the President of the United States either ought to know, one, that he does in fact have the advice of the principal people dealing with the subject. Now, any given issue—that might be, oh, the energy, international-economic, domestic-economic, legal, Congressional, and a couple of other people. Or if he does not have that he ought to know that he does not and make the conscious decision that he is willing to deal with that issue because of the advantages that are gained, absent a full, lengthy consultation process.

Q. Could you tell us of the slightly less than 500 people who will be on the staff, how many were here prior to August 9?

MR. RUMSFELD. I cannot. If you take professional people, I think the figure is something in the neighborhood of 112 permanent professional people. Don't take that number and compare it with the 500 because you will get mixed up. There are some nonpermanent people who count in that figure.

But I think out of 112, since August 9, something in the neighborhood of 70-plus who were here are not here, have departed, and I think there have been something in the neighborhood of 50-plus additions. So that is about what the turnover has been, which I would guess is fairly normal during a change in the Presidency.

Q. Could you elaborate a bit on point five? How are you going to keep the White House not unduly separated from the rest of the Government? And the reason for the question is an obvious one—the last White House did somehow get insulated. And could you elaborate on how you will go about doing that?

MR. RUMSFELD. I don't know whether I wrote that or said it, but the thought in my head was that it is probably desirable that, to the extent possible, the White House not be separated not only from the rest of the Government but—meaning the executive branch—but it also probably ought not to be separated—whatever that word means, "separated"—from the Congress and from the public and from the press. And I think there are a whole host of things one could say: the President's frequent interaction with the Congress, the President's more frequent press conferences, the concept of having a deputy.



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ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT
JOHN G. CARLSON
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ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY (FOREIGN AFFAIRS)
THOMAS P. DECAIR
ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY
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ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY
LARRY M. SPEAKES
ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY
LOUIS M. THOMPSON, JR.
ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY (ADMINISTRATION)
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WILLIAM E. CASSELMAN II
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
KENNETH A. LAZARUS
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
DUDLEY H. CHAPMAN
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL



Quite honestly, I think, it is probably healthier for people to be able to sustain their work with good judgments over a period of several years if they do not completely cut themselves off from their families. That is to say, I think people ought to be able to go home once in a while and maybe have a weekend with their children, maybe see some neighbors, and maybe even shop and find out what the prices of things are.

So, the idea of a deputy—and we are fortunate that this President is willing to work with other than simply a small number of individuals—has been functioning. That is to say, if the President needs a meeting on a certain subject and the principal happens not to be there at that moment and his deputy does, his deputy goes in and the President is perfectly willing to deal with him, just as are other senior staff members.

Now, will it actually work? I don't know. But we are making an effort to see that it works, and certainly the goal is to see that people are not exhausted to the point where they might make something less than perfect judgments, or even something less than the best judgments they are capable of.

Q. Would you call it a Ford White House now?

MR. RUMSFELD. It is.

Q. What is the question?

MR. RUMSFELD. Is it President Ford's White House and indeed it is. Now, she said.

Q. Is it his Cabinet yet?

MR. RUMSFELD. I have got a practice of not getting into that, kind of just like the Vice Presidential question. It seems to me that is very personal to him, and he is addressing those questions, and I do not have any announcements to make with respect to that subject.

Q. Do you decide who sees the President and who does not?

MR. RUMSFELD. Let me expand on my answer to the Cabinet. The reason I feel that way is it seems to me those are very difficult jobs, running a Cabinet department or a major agency. They are difficult enough that they do not need people in the White House commenting on them and cutting their legs out from under them, making their management tasks more difficult, and it seems to me people in those positions need to be supported.

To the extent the President makes any judgments that he wants to visit with them with respect to their future plans, that is his prerogative and his business.

Q. To expand the question a little bit, because my question included—

MR. RUMSFELD. I was finishing that one. Refresh me.

Q. Is there one person—is it you who decides who sees the President and who does not?

MR. RUMSFELD. No, it is not. I said I did not intend to become the doorkeeper and I have not become one. The way it works varies, but the President may get a phone call from a Member of Congress saying he would like to

see him, and the President will say, "Fine," or there may be a letter that comes in or a request from a staff member and in the morning normally and then again in the evening, and, if necessary, in the middle of the day I will visit with him and tell him, there are the people who are anxious to see him, and what the subject is to the extent I am aware of it.

To the extent I am not, I just tell him they want to see him. He then makes the judgments as to what his schedule will be.

Q. Mr. Rumsfeld, now, you brought this reorganization this far. Do you plan to stay here awhile?

MR. RUMSFELD. John, first, I have tried to use the word "organization" rather than "reorganization" because I think it is a little more accurate. It is kind of an indication of where we are. Secondly, I have no other plans.

Q. I wonder if I could expand on my Cabinet question without going into personalities, because that is what you indicated you did not want to talk about, the individual Cabinet Members. Can you give us any feeling you may have as to how rapidly or not this process may proceed without going into personalities?

MR. RUMSFELD. No.

Q. You said you would prefer to call it organization rather than reorganization. Is this essentially a little more than a rearrangement, perhaps, of bureaucratic titles and positions, and if not, can you point to any one thing here that you think is more significant than the rest of them?

MR. RUMSFELD. First, this is no big announcement. In other words, we are not up here today saying this is a great announcement. But we are here because there have been a lot of questions about the White House. People have asked for a phone book. Stories get printed about who sits where and who fits where, and the goal has been to try to provide some more effective communication so that there will be a somewhat better understanding of exactly the way it is working.

Q. We are very glad to have it, too.

MR. RUMSFELD. It will continue to evolve, and it seems to me that is understandable, and I think it would be a mistake to read every detail about it.

Q. Is there any one particular thing here that represents a substantive change from the way you were doing things 2 or 3 weeks ago?

MR. RUMSFELD. You are looking for hot news within the last 2 weeks?

Q. I just am under the impression—we were told there is going to be an announcement about organization at the White House. Now I just want to make sure—

MR. RUMSFELD. I have thought you were being told there would be a briefing on the subject of organizational arrangements in the White House, and that is what I have given you, not an announcement. The biggest change that has taken place, it seems to me—and this is not in

the last 2 weeks—the biggest change is the President himself. He is a different individual, and he behaves in a way that suits him. And his approach to the job, his dealings with the staff, his sessions with the people from the departments and agencies that are wrestling with questions on budget or economy, or energy, or whatever are pure Jerry Ford, and it seems to me that—really you know you can have varying organizational arrangements.

I think this does accurately reflect what exists in the White House today. But the most important thing is the interaction between the President and the people on the staff and all of the people here within the departments and agencies.

Q. Don, one or more senior staff members to the President have spoken from time to time of the so-called peek-in status. Those who had it could just sort of look in, and if the President was not otherwise occupied could go in and talk to him.

These nine senior staff with their specific responsibilities that are outlined here, will all nine of them have so-called peek-in status, or what is the status of that status?

MR. RUMSFELD. I think rather than answering your phraseology I would like to state it positively. Certainly the people listed across there, plus several others, have the ability of calling the President or asking Nell or the people right outside of his door, whoever happens to be there, if he is busy, and if he is not busy, opening the door and saying, "I would like to see you."

Q. Who are the others besides the nine?

MR. RUMSFELD. I mentioned a list of others in my statement who deal with the President directly and then obviously there are still others. It varies with the individual. It may vary with an individual from time to time. But it is up to the individual how he feels about doing that. If he is working on a project for the President that is continuous, it may be that for a period of 6 months he may do that. It may be 6 months later; it might not be appropriate because the President is not deeply engaged in that particular project at that time, and I think it would be wrong to try and finish a specific, hard list of who does whatever it is you said some people do.

Q. Don, how soon would you expect a clarification of the Vice President's Domestic Council responsibilities? He is being sworn in tomorrow. He is Vice Chairman of the Council by statutory designation. Do you have any idea whether this is coming in the next few days?

MR. RUMSFELD. I have no idea what the President and Vice President will discuss in this specific, and I certainly would not want to put a time limit on.

Let's make this the last question.

Q. You said several times here this afternoon the big thing is the President is different. I assume you mean he is different from former President Nixon?

MR. RUMSFELD. He is different from every President.

Q. How is he different in his organization than former President Nixon?

MR. RUMSFELD. It seems to me that that is for you to worry about. And what I can do is describe President Ford, and President Ford is an individual who is used to dealing with a variety of people with a variety of different views. He is very comfortable in situations where ideas are competing and conflicting and in participating in a process of sorting them out.

Certainly, 25 years, or however long it was, in the House of Representatives is pretty good training grounds for that. So, you see an individual who is willing to meet with larger groups, willing to listen to points debated and discussed, and perfectly capable of sifting and sorting through them and making judgments.

MR. NESSEN. I have one other announcement and one other piece of material to give you.

You raised a question about point four which is to assure high ethical standards and behavior by his staff. We have a memorandum by Don Rumsfeld and one by Phil Buchen to the staffs spelling this out, which are here, and we also have in this plain, brown wrapper these standards of conduct for the White House as distributed to the entire White House with the applicable laws, and so forth. They are available here.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: Press Secretary Ronald H. Nessen introduced Mr. Rumsfeld at 2:40 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

For a statement on the White House Staff organization, see the following item. The organization chart referred to by Mr. Rumsfeld appears on pages 1588–1589 of this issue.

White House Staff Organization

*Statement Issued by the White House Press Office.
December 18, 1974*

The White House Staff organization announced in today's briefing has been evolving since August 9. The working style of this President is reflected in this arrangement. It implements his concept of leadership and management of the executive branch and conforms to the way President Ford operates.

The President designed the organization with several important objectives in mind:

1. To provide the Cabinet officers, agency heads, Members of Congress, and senior staff members with access to the President.

2. To limit the White House Staff function to those that must necessarily be performed within the White House. The Cabinet and agency heads will be relied upon to perform all appropriate functions best performed by their organizations.

3. To achieve a clearly defined White House organization in which staff responsibilities and functions are specifically assigned.

4. To assure high ethical standards and behavior by his staff.

5. To see that the White House is an effective working part of the total governmental process and not unduly separated.

To accomplish these objectives, the President today is making several announcements concerning the organizational structure and procedures for the White House Staff and those staff bodies in the Executive Office of the President:

First, there are four Cabinet rank advisers who will be available to the President on the full range of policy issues. Each will also have staff responsibilities.

Second, nine key staff officers will report directly to the President. They are:

- an Assistant to the President for Management and Budget and Director of OMB;
- an Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs and Executive Director of the Economic Policy Board, L. William Seidman;
- an Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Executive Director of the Domestic Council;
- an Assistant to the President dealing with national security affairs, Henry A. Kissinger;
- an Assistant to the President heading the White House Operations Office and with responsibility for coordination of White House Staff operations, Donald Rumsfeld;
- a Counsellor to the President principally responsible for Congressional relations and public liaison, John O. Marsh, Jr.;
- the Press Secretary to the President, Ronald H. Nessen;
- a Counsellor to the President principally responsible for the Editorial Office and political affairs, Robert T. Hartmann; and
- the legal Counsel to the President, Philip W. Buchen.

Third, other staff members will, of course, also work directly with the President.

These officers include the Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, Max L. Friedersdorf; the Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, William J. Baroody, Jr.; as well as the Special Assistant to the President for Minority Affairs, the Special Assistant to the President for Human Resources, the Special Assistant to the President for Hispanic Affairs, the Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and the Special Assistant to the President for Women, among others.

Fourth, key staff members will have a deputy authorized to act for him. It is hoped that this will allow the work at the White House to go forward even though one or more senior officials may be away from their office. Thus,

no one individual will be "indispensable," and this approach should help to alleviate the excessively long hours which can prevent White House Staff members from leading reasonably balanced lives.

Fifth, titles of the White House Staff positions have been adjusted so that they will more clearly identify the function performed by that position.

Sixth, the size of the White House Office is being reduced by approximately 10 percent.

Seventh, support services to the White House Staff will be reduced as appropriate to reflect the staff size and responsibilities.

Eighth, the President's schedule is being arranged to provide broad access to him by Cabinet members, agency heads, Members of the House and Senate and the public on matters in which he is personally involved.

Ninth, the number of Presidential commissions issued will be limited to staff members heading key offices or key functions.

These arrangements have been decided upon with the aim of facilitating an orderly Presidential decisionmaking process while assuring the President of multiple sources of information. Of course, the White House organization will continue to evolve.

NOTE: For a news conference by Donald H. Rumsfeld on the White House Staff organization, see the preceding item. An organization chart appears on pages 1588-1589 of this issue.

American Freedom Train

The President's Remarks at Ceremonies in Alexandria, Virginia, Marking the Recognition of the Train as an Official Bicentennial Event. December 19, 1974

Thank you very, very much, John Warner, Don Kendall.

Let me say at the outset I am most grateful for the participation by the Jefferson High School Band and the T. C. Williams High School Band, and I thank very deeply those who have participated and made it possible for this Freedom Train to undertake its journey throughout the United States.

Obviously I am tremendously pleased to participate in the official ceremony recognizing the American Freedom Train as a major Bicentennial effort.

When this train begins its 17,000-mile journey through 48 of our 50 States this spring, the Freedom Train will serve as one of the focal points for our Bicentennial commemoration.

It will visit 76 cities and give Americans a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to view some of the most historic national documents—documents which relate directly to our history for the last 200 years.

I strongly urge parents and teachers to make sure that your children and students take advantage of this wonderful opportunity. The cargo on this train represents much of our Nation's past history and our hopes for the future.

This exhibit touches virtually every phase of the American experience. The train will carry, for example, George Washington's personal copy of the Constitution. It will contain the handwritten draft of President Kennedy's inaugural address. There will be moon rock samples, the first Bible printed in America, Paul Revere's saddlebags, as well as exhibits representing the Nation's culture, technological progress, professions and trades, sports and the arts.

During the next year and a half, 40 to 50 million Americans are expected to view these exhibits as we near our 200th birthday as a Nation.

I sincerely hope that every American, as he or she contemplates these historical reminders, will reflect on how far we have come in the short span of 200 years. And as we take a long look back, let us also take a long look forward. If we do, we will be able to see the problems facing us today in a much clearer perspective.

Our problems are serious ones—especially our energy problems and those of our economy.

But think of the problems our forefathers had. Think of those 13 tiny colonies taking on the mightiest nation, the mightiest empire in the world. And think of them winning their liberty as well as ours.

Very few people back in 1776 would have thought that in just 200 years those 13 colonies would provide the jumping off spot from which, eventually, 50 united states would span a vast continent and beyond, tame a mighty wilderness, construct a technological society of enormous scientific complexity, and then set out to explore space itself. But as we look back over this span of time and see what we have today, that is exactly what took place and transpired.

As we reflect on these historic accomplishments, let us also look ahead to the future that we are building. Let us reaffirm our faith in the American spirit.

As one of the great nations of the world—spiritually, militarily, diplomatically, and economically—we in America have the best of many worlds. We have nearly all of the resources which we desperately need. We have the technological resources. We have the human resources. Now, what we need in this period of—a critical time, we must have the will to resolve those problems, the will to win and the will we will win with in the months ahead.

By the year 2000, I see a people living in a community of peace with other nations, with a standard of living still the highest in the world, with disease greatly conquered, with individual liberties secure for everyone, with wide opportunities for good education and good housing, and with our national will and spirit still climbing as we move toward celebration of our tricentennial.

I see the Bicentennial of 1976 as a rebirth as well as a birthday—a rediscovery of our strength and of our potential. It will strengthen our resolve to fulfill the promises of our forefathers. It will fortify our determination to continue to build a freer, more just, and more humane society.

This American Freedom Train will be a fitting symbol for what the Bicentennial really represents. Since the day the golden spike was driven, the railroad has symbolized our unity as a nation.

On behalf of all Americans, I thank the American Freedom Train Foundation and the corporations that have provided grants for this Freedom Train. I know that your contributions will inspire others to participate in the Bicentennial. I would like to say a very special word, a special word of thank you to the people of Portland, Oregon, who provided the iron horse that will actually pull this Freedom Train.

I look forward to the Freedom Train to provide a unifying symbol of the heritage that made America's great past a great one, and will make its future an even greater one.

Now if I might, I would like to pick up this and present it to the Freedom Train for display, which is a document of tremendous historical significance, symbolic of what America really stands for—freedom.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. at the Alexandria Railway Station, Alexandria, Va. Following his remarks, the President presented George Washington's personal copy of the Constitution to Donald M. Kendall, chairman of the National Advisory Board of the American Freedom Train Foundation.

Department of Defense

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Joseph Laitin To Be Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. December 19, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joseph Laitin, of Bethesda, Md., to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. He will succeed Jerry W. Friedheim, who resigned effective September 15, 1974.

Since November of 1963, Mr. Laitin has been with the Office of Management and Budget as Assistant to the Director for Public Affairs. Also during this time he served on the Marshall Commission from 1966 to 1967, the Eisenhower Commission from 1968 to 1969, and the Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest (Scranton Commission) in 1970. From 1965 to 1966, he served in the Office of the White House Press Secretary before returning to the Bureau of the Budget.

He has held various reporting assignments during the period before World War II, his first being with the Brook-

lyn Daily Eagle and the Standard News Association. During World War II, he was head of the United Press staff in Washington, D.C., and later became a war correspondent in the Pacific theater for Reuters and NBC. He also spent 10 years freelance writing, teaching, and broadcasting, in Los Angeles, prior to entering Government service.

Mr. Laitin is married and has two children. They reside in Bethesda, Md.

Interstate Commerce Commission

Announcement of Intention To Nominate Robert J. Corber To Be a Member of the Commission. December 19, 1974

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert J. Corber, of Arlington, Va., to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner for the remainder of a term expiring December 31, 1976. He will succeed W. Donald Brewer who resigned effective June 30, 1974.

Since 1951, he has been associated with the law firm of Steptoe and Johnson. He was State chairman of the Republican Party from 1964 to 1968 in the State of Virginia.

Mr. Corber was born on June 29, 1926, in Topeka, Kans. He received his B.S. degree from the University of Kansas in 1946 and his J.D. degree from Washburn University in 1950. He completed course work for a degree of Doctor of Juridical Science in 1951 at the University of Michigan. He served in the United States Navy from 1944 to 1947.

He is married and has four children. They reside in Arlington, Va.

Legal Services Corporation

Announcement of Selection of 11 Members of the Board of Directors. December 19, 1974

The President today made a preliminary selection, pending all clearances, of the 11 members of the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation. They are:

- WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR., 54, of Philadelphia, Pa.; partner, Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Levy & Coleman, Philadelphia.
- OMER W. FRANKLIN, JR., 60, of Atlanta, Ga.; former Superior Court Judge and member, Federal Judicial Council.
- ABRAHAM S. GOLDSTEIN, 49, of New Haven, Conn.; dean, Yale Law School, New Haven.
- EDITH STARRETT GREEN, of Portland, Oreg.; retiring Member of Congress.
- DENISON KITCHEL, 66, of Phoenix, Ariz.; retired partner, Evans, Kitchel & Jenckes, Phoenix.
- WILLIAM LEE KNECHT, 46, of Moraga, Calif.; assistant counsel to the California Farm Bureau Association, Berkeley.

BENITO MOLIERO LOPEZ, JR., 41, of New York, N.Y.; partner, Dewey, Ballantine, Bushby, Palmer & Wood, New York.

RODOLFO MONTEJANO, 36, of Santa Ana, Calif.; partner, Montejano & Aprahanian, Santa Ana.

REVIUS O. ORTIQUE, JR., 50, of New Orleans, La.; practicing attorney, New Orleans; president, National Legal Aid and Defender Association.

GLEE S. SMITH, JR., 53, of Larned, Kans.; former president, Kansas State Senate and member of the board of governors of the Council of State Governments.

GLENN C. STOPHEL, 37, of Chattanooga, Tenn.; partner, Stophel, Caldwell & Heggie, Chattanooga.

Denison Kitchel is the President's choice for Chairman.

The Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation was established by the Legal Services Corporation Act of 1974. The purpose of the Corporation is to provide financial support for legal assistance in non-criminal proceedings to persons financially unable to afford legal assistance by making grants and contracts with individuals, partnerships, firms, corporations, non-profit organizations, and State and local governments.

Defense Distinguished Service Medal

The President's Remarks Upon Presenting the Medal to Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster on His Retirement as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. December 19, 1974

Let me just say I have known General Goodpaster, well, I guess, since 1951, or thereabouts, and all of you know better than I his long and distinguished record, 35 years or more in the military, a wide variety of commands and responsibilities.

Somebody told me that you were a real triple threat operator in the services, General, and as I looked at the record I am very, very impressed with that broad area of responsibility and achievement.

I certainly congratulate you on this fine, fine record.

Those who have served with you in the military of course know infinitely better than I the things that you have done and the achievements that you have accomplished. And I share with them the pride that I have as Commander in Chief. And I can assure you that we look upon people such as yourself as the epitome of achievement in the military, representing all of us who are civilian.

And I congratulate the services. And I congratulate you. And I thank your wife and family, for I am sure the many hours that you were gone, and the difficulties they had in holding the fort, so to speak, while you were serving your country.

And I congratulate you, and thank you, and wish you the very, very best.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act

Statement by the President Upon Signing the Bill Into Law. December 19, 1974

I have signed S. 4016, the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act. This measure provides the following:

Title I: governs the possession, security, and accessibility of tape recordings and other materials of the former President. Included are virtually all documents produced within the White House during the previous Administration. The Administrator of General Services is charged with obtaining "complete possession and control" of the tape recordings and materials which would be made available immediately, subject to any rights, defenses, or privileges which may be asserted, for "subpoena or other legal process."

The Administrator is also directed to issue protective regulations "at the earliest possible date" governing the possession, security, and custody of the tapes and materials. Finally, the Administrator shall draft regulations governing general public access to the tapes and materials, taking into account a series of specified needs: (1) to provide the public with the "full truth" on the abuses of governmental power incident to "Watergate"; (2) to make available the tapes and materials for judicial proceedings; (3) to guarantee the integrity of national security information; (4) to protect individual rights to a fair trial; (5) to protect the opportunity to assert available rights and privileges; (6) to provide public access to materials of historical significance; and (7) to provide the former President with tapes or materials in which the public has no interest.

Title I also provides for the expeditious judicial review of challenges to the "legal or constitutional validity" of the statute or of any regulation issued under its authority, and any action or proceeding involving "the question of title, ownership, custody, possession or control" of any tape recording or other material. In the event it is determined that the former President has been deprived of personal property under the provisions of Title I, "just compensation" shall be paid to him.

Title II: establishes a "Public Documents Commission" to study problems with respect to the control, disposition, and preservation of records produced by or on behalf of "Federal officials." These are defined to include elected Federal officials and any officer of the executive, judicial or legislative branch of the Federal Government. The Commission is directed to make specific recommendations for legislation and other recommendations for rules and procedures as may be appropriate regarding the documents of such officials. A final report fulfilling their mandate is to be submitted to the Congress and the President by March 31, 1976.

It has been my consistent policy toward the records of the former President to protect both the records themselves and the legal rights of all parties involved. Following the release of an opinion of the Attorney General of the United States to the effect that the tapes and materials of the former President constituted his personal property, an agreement was entered into by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Sampson, the Administrator of General Services, on September 6, 1974. This agreement was intended to govern the possession, security, and accessibility of the tapes and materials and it secured them from destruction or alteration during the periods when they might be needed in court and grand jury proceedings. Since then, a great deal of litigation and public attention have centered on that agreement. Although I believe it would not be appropriate to comment on the various issues, constitutional or otherwise, which are presented by pending cases or by the subject bill, I do want to mention that, by agreement made November 9, 1974, the interests of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force for access to the tapes and materials were fully accommodated.

It is my understanding of the intent of the Congress that this act will provide the former President and others with the opportunity to litigate any right or privilege which may be asserted relevant to the tapes or materials.

The Administrator of General Services will move promptly to obtain complete possession and control of the tapes and materials and to discharge his other duties under the law.

I will name the Presidential appointees to the "Public Documents Commission" as quickly as possible. I am hopeful that the Commission will suggest even-handed and uniform rules governing the documents of all Federal officials.

NOTE: As enacted the bill (S. 4016) is Public Law 93-526, approved December 19, 1974.

Confirmation of Vice President-Designate Rockefeller

Statement by the President. December 19, 1974.

I am delighted that Nelson Rockefeller has been duly confirmed today to be the 41st Vice President of the United States. I congratulate him and look forward to his participation and assistance in the Administration.

I commend the House of Representatives for its confirmation vote today and the Senate for its vote earlier. Members of the 93d Congress have rendered a service to the Nation by filling the constitutional office of the Vice President before adjournment. All Americans will benefit

from the distinguished and devoted public service of the new Vice President.

NOTE: Following the confirmation vote in the House of Representatives on Thursday evening, December 19, the President and Mrs. Ford accompanied Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller to the Senate Chamber at the Capitol where Governor Rockefeller took the oath of office as the 41st Vice President of the United States.

Civil Aeronautics Board

Announcement of Intention To Appoint Richard Joseph O'Melia as Acting Chairman. December 20, 1974

The President today announced his intention to appoint Richard Joseph O'Melia, of Maryland, to be Acting Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board until he designates a new Chairman in 1975. Mr. O'Melia was appointed to a full 6-year term by President Ford on September 27, 1974, and his term, therefore, expires on December 31, 1980.

Since 1957, Mr. O'Melia has been a member of the staff of the Civil Aeronautics Board, serving as Special Assistant in the Office of the General Counsel, Deputy Director of the Bureau of Enforcement. From 1953 to 1955, he was a member of the professional staff of the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations, serving from 1953 to 1955 as General Counsel of the Committee.

He was born in Rhinelander, Wis., on May 24, 1917. Mr. O'Melia received his M.A. degree from the University of Notre Dame in 1939 and his LL.B. from the Marquette University Law School in 1948, following his service as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1941 to 1946. From 1948 to 1951, he was engaged in the private practice of law with the firm of O'Melia and Kaye, in Milwaukee, Wis., and from 1951 to 1953 he was assistant city attorney for the city of Milwaukee.

Mr. O'Melia is married to the former Anetta Jane O'Neil. They have five children.

United States Railway Association

Announcement of Nomination of Charles B. Shuman To Be a Member of the Board of Directors. December 20, 1974

The President today announced his nomination of Charles B. Shuman, of Sullivan, Ill., to be a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Railway Association for a term of 2 years. This is a new position created by Public Law 93-236 of January 2, 1974.

Mr. Shuman is a retired grain and livestock farmer. The United States Railway Association was established by Public Law 93-236 of January 2, 1974, to plan and finance a new rail system for the Northeastern region of the United States. Its Board of Directors includes 11 members: the Chairman, three Government members (Secretary of Transportation, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and Secretary of the Treasury, or their designees), and seven members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. On April 30, 1974, the President announced that he would nominate Arthur D. Lewis, of New Canaan, Conn., to be Chairman of the Board.

The seven Board members appointed by the President are made from among recommendations of: the Association of American Railroads (Mr. Aydelott), the AFL-CIO (Mr. Burke), the National Governors' Conference (Governor Scranton), the National League of Cities and United States Conference of Mayors (Mr. Blatz), financial institutions and the financial community (Mr. Payne), and two from among recommendations of shippers and organizations representative of shipping interests including small shippers (Mr. Smith, Mr. Shuman).

Birthday Party for Senator John J. Sparkman

The President's Remarks at the Party Marking the Alabama Senator's 75th Birthday. December 20, 1974

Thank you very, very much for the opportunity of coming to your birthday party, John. It was not on the program as such, but I knew that you were having a party, and I knew I wanted to come.

So we are here because of the great respect and admiration I have, not only for you personally but for the fine and outstanding job I know firsthand you have done in the Congress.

A 75th birthday is quite a landmark and a milestone. Let me put it in football terms. John, you may be too old for the University of Alabama, but I think you could be too young for the Washington Redskins. [Laughter]

Thirty-eight years in the Congress is something that I never achieved. I, under no circumstances, could have made it.

I do respect those who have served six terms in the House of Representatives and the remainder of that long and constructive record in the United States Senate.

I think the people of Alabama have benefited tremendously from the work that you have done for that State. But those of us who know the record, that come from different States, can honestly say that your contributions have been national. And I would go one step further—and I

know this firsthand—your contributions have been international, for the objectives and the goals and the aims that all Americans want: peace and a good and happy life for all of us.

So I thank you, as a former colleague of yours in the Congress, and now as President, and wish you and your wonderful family the very, very best for another good many years.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in the Senate Caucus Room at the Capitol.

The 93d Congress

Statement by the President. December 20, 1974

Inasmuch as I was elected to the 93d Congress and was part of it for half its term, any assessment I make of its accomplishments upon adjournment sine die cannot be entirely objective. But I will always be grateful for the personal friendship and courtesies Members of this Congress have shown to me in three different official capacities, and for the confidence they have demonstrated in confirming both me and my subsequent nominee for the Vice Presidency.

The legislative accomplishments of the 93d Congress have been less than I had hoped, but perhaps that is the perspective of everyone at this end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and certainly this has been far from an ordinary session. Among the measures for which I do commend and congratulate the Congress are trade reform, pension reform, housing and community development, mass transit, assistance for the temporarily jobless, deep water ports, creation of the new Energy Research and Development Administration, and strengthening the antitrust laws.

In my first message as President, I told the Congress that "we have work to do." Much has been done, but much more remains. I wish the departing Members a warm farewell and all a happy holiday season. I look forward to the coming Congress and the New Year with the mixture of challenge and hope that the always-unfinished agenda of our Nation inspires in those who serve it in all its branches.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

included since they appear in the list of nominations submitted to the Senate, below.

December 15

During a visit to Martinique for meetings with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President Ford and the French President visited the Hotel Leyritz, a restored 18th century sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantation.

December 16

Following a departure ceremony at Lamentin Airport in Martinique, the President returned to Washington.

December 17

The President met at the White House with the bipartisan Congressional leadership. Topics discussed included: his meetings in Martinique with French President Giscard d'Estaing, the foreign aid authorization bill, and House confirmation of Vice President-designate Rockefeller.

The President has acknowledged the retirement of Ben C. Connally as Chief Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, effective December 28, 1974.

The President announced the designation of Alfred J. Eggers, Assistant Director of the National Science Foundation, as Chairman of the Geothermal Energy Coordination and Management Project. The President also announced the appointment of Gerald L. Parsky, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Trade, Energy, and Financial Resources Policy Coordination, as a member of the Project.

The President transmitted to the Congress the second biennial report on National Growth and Development prepared by the Domestic Council in accordance with the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970.

The President had lunch with syndicated columnist Joseph Alsop, who is retiring at the end of the year.

The President today accepted the resignation of Charles C. Edwards as Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, effective January 15, 1975.

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a Christmas Ball at the White House for Members of Congress, the Cabinet, and the senior White House Staff.

December 18

The White House announced that British Prime Minister Harold Wilson has accepted President Ford's invitation to visit the United States beginning January 30, 1975.

The President hosted a luncheon at the White House for executives of the ABC, CBS, and NBC television networks.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir met with the President.

The President met with his Labor-Management Committee. Following the meeting, the President met with former Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz, who is a member of the Committee.

December 19

The President met with his energy advisers to receive their recommendations following the weekend energy meetings at Camp David, Md.

The President has designated John H. Fanning as Acting Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

The President and Mrs. Ford hosted a Christmas party for members of the White House press corps.

December 20

The President met at the White House with leaders of the Jewish community.

The President announced his intention to nominate William B. Cummings, of Virginia, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia for a term of 4 years.

In ceremonies in the Oval Office, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Rolf Sieber of the German Democratic Republic, Hasan Makki of the Yemen Arab Republic, and Abdelhadi Boutaleb of Morocco.

The President today accepted the resignation of D. Eldred Rinehart as a member of the Renegotiation Board, effective January 31, 1975.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted December 14, 1974

WILLIAM B. SAXBE, of Ohio, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to India, vice Daniel P. Moynihan.

Submitted December 19, 1974

JOSEPH LAITIN, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Jerry Warden Friedheim, resigned.

ROBERT J. CORBER, of Virginia, to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner for the remainder of the term expiring December 31, 1976, vice W. Donald Brewer, resigned.

CHARLES B. SHUMAN, of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Railway Association for a term of 2 years (new position).

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT**Approved December 13, 1974**

S. 3308----- Public Law 93-519
An act to amend section 2 of title 14, United States Code, to authorize icebreaking operations in foreign waters pursuant to international agreements, and for other purposes.

S. 3546----- Public Law 93-520
An act to extend for one year the time for entering into a contract under section 106 of the Water Resources Development Act of 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued**Approved December 14, 1974**

H.J. Res. 444----- Public Law 93-522
Joint resolution to authorize the continued use of certain lands within the Sequoia National Park by portions of an existing hydroelectric project.

S. 1561----- Public Law 93-521
An act to provide that Mansfield Lake, Indiana, shall be known as "Cecil M. Harden Lake".

Approved December 16, 1974

S. 433----- Public Law 93-523
Safe Drinking Water Act.

Approved December 18, 1974

S. 1353----- Public Law 93-524

An act to deduct from gross tonnage in determining net tonnage those spaces on board vessels used for waste materials.

S. 3906----- Public Law 93-525
An act to amend title 10, United States Code, by repealing the requirement that only certain officers with aeronautical ratings may command flying units of the Air Force.

Approved December 19, 1974

S. 4016----- Public Law 93-526
Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

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

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES—Continued**Released December 13, 1974**

Advance text: remarks upon arrival in Martinique, French West Indies

Released December 14, 1974

Advance text: toast at dinner with French President Giscard d'Estaing in Martinique, French West Indies

Released December 17, 1974

Advance text: remarks at the Christmas Pageant of Peace

Released December 18, 1974

Fact sheet: commissioned White House Staff
Fact sheet: principal functions of major offices shown on White House organization chart

Biographical data (11 releases):

Roy L. Ash
Philip W. Buchen
James H. Cavanaugh
Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
Robert T. Hartmann
Jerry Jones
Henry A. Kissinger
John O. Marsh, Jr.
Ronald H. Nessen
Donald Rumsfeld
L. William Seidman

Released December 19, 1974

Advance text: remarks at the American Freedom Train ceremonies in Alexandria, Va.

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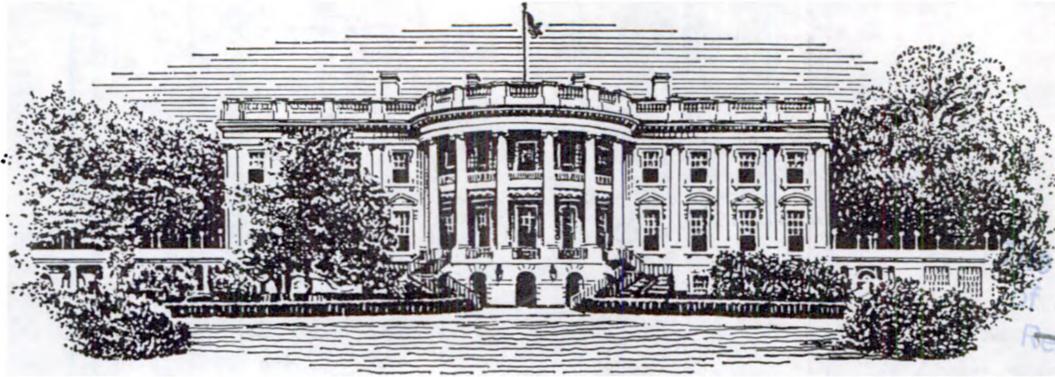
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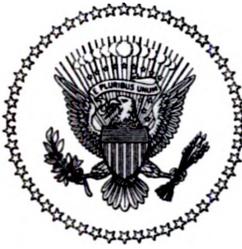


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Weekly Compilation of
**PRESIDENTIAL
DOCUMENTS**

Monday, December 30, 1974



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WEEKLY COMPILATION OF *Presidential Documents*

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Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, December 27, 1974

The Role of Vice President Rockefeller

*Remarks of Press Secretary Ronald H. Nessen
Following a Meeting Between the President and the
Vice President. December 21, 1974*

Governor Rockefeller met with the President from 4:45 to 5:15 alone, and at 5:15 members of the two staffs joined in.

On the Vice President's side there was Robert R. Douglass, Ann Whitman, and James Cannon.

The President's staff members who attended were Rumsfeld, Marsh, and Scowcroft. And then a little later Hugh Morrow, the Vice President's Press Secretary, and I joined the meeting, and it just broke up about 5 minutes ago, so you can judge the time.

Both meetings, or the entire meeting, was to discuss Vice President Rockefeller's duties. And the President asked him to take on the following duties:

One, to be a member of the National Security Council, acting as Vice Chairman.

Two, to be Vice Chairman of the Domestic Council, with a strong emphasis on working with the White House to find a new Executive Director to replace Ken Cole.

The Vice President also expressed his special interest in handling the Domestic Council's role in coordinating activities with the Governors and mayors.

The President said that he wanted Vice President Rockefeller, because of his wide association in and out of Government, to help with the recruiting of top people for the Ford Administration.

The President also asked the Vice President to become a member of the so-called Murphy Commission, named for Robert Murphy, the diplomat. The purpose of this Commission is to analyze American foreign policy and

to make recommendations on implementing and improving American foreign policy. Anne Armstrong formerly served on that Commission, and, since she has resigned, the President has asked Vice President Rockefeller to join.

The President asked the Vice President to study the question of whether the system of a White House science adviser, or board of advisers, should be revived, and if so, in what form. And the President asked that this be done rather quickly and to have his recommendations in on the question of a new science adviser, or advisory board, in a month or so from now.

The President also asked Vice President Rockefeller to help in presenting and explaining the President's programs, both domestic programs and international programs—the SALT agreement was mentioned as one—throughout the country. And Vice President Rockefeller took on that assignment.

Also, it was decided that members of the Vice President's Staff will be attending regular White House Staff meetings.

The President also asked Vice President Rockefeller to play a role in the Bicentennial celebration. The exact role was not decided.

It was discussed, and the President felt strongly that he has an open door, as he put it, to the Vice President; that any time the Vice President wants to see him, he could either pick up the phone or simply walk into the office. The President says, "There is no doorkeeper for the Vice President. He does not have to get on my schedule." . . .

At the end of the meeting, the President, in commenting on having Vice President Rockefeller here, said, "I am excited about it." And the Vice President replied, "We are excited to be here. And we are excited to work with you." And the President said, "In looking toward the future with the Vice President now in place, we have a great opportunity."

NOTE: Mr. Nessen made the remarks at his news conference at the White House shortly before 6:30 p.m. on Saturday, December 21, 1974. They were not issued in the form of a White House press release.

Antitrust Procedures and Penalties Act

Statement by the President on Signing the Bill Into Law. December 23, 1974

I have signed S. 782, the Antitrust Procedures and Penalties Act, which will strengthen significantly antitrust laws and the ability to enforce them.

This legislation is the first major reform of the Nation's antitrust laws in nearly 20 years. It changes such antitrust violations of the Sherman Act as price fixing from misdemeanors to felonies; increases the maximum sentence from 1 year to 3 years; and raises maximum allowable fines from \$50,000 to \$1 million for corporations and from \$50,000 to \$100,000 for individuals.

In my economic message to the Congress on October 8, 1974, I called for legislation which would give us the tools to fight inflation. Increased penalties, as those in S. 782, are some of those tools.

The bill also amends the Expediting Act permitting appeals of civil antitrust cases directly to the Supreme Court *only* upon a finding of the district court that the case is of national economic importance. This will halt the practice of clogging the Supreme Court docket by taking all antitrust appeals directly to that tribunal, thus denying it the wisdom and advice of the U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals.

Finally, S. 782 provides for closer scrutiny and greater participation by the public in the consent decree process. This is used by the Government in the pretrial settlement of its civil antitrust cases.

The time is long overdue for making violations of the Sherman Act a serious crime, because of the extremely adverse effect which they have on the country and its economy. S. 782 will provide a significant deterrent to potential violators and will give the courts sufficient flexibility to impose meaningful sanctions. Moreover, the bill will serve the public interest by expediting cases that have a profound influence on American industrial organization and allowing the courts to do other important work at the same time.

I called for further antitrust legislation in my October message, and I hope that the new Congress will carry that forward. It includes an amendment to the Antitrust Civil Process Act allowing the Department of Justice to take testimony in antitrust investigations—as the Federal Trade Commission has done for years—rather than simply relying on routine document subpoenas.

This Congress recognized that antitrust violations injure both our economy and individual consumers, and I commend it on enacting S. 782. I assure you that with this new legislation, this Administration will continue to create a strong antitrust record. In times like these, we cannot afford to do less.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 782) is Public Law 93-528, approved December 21, 1974.

The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

Budget Rescission Bill

Statement by the President on Signing H.R. 17505 Into Law. December 23, 1974

I have signed H.R. 17505, a bill to rescind \$131 million budget authority that is not needed for five Federal programs. This is the first such bill to come to me under the new provisions established by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. In that respect, I take pleasure in signing this bill because its passage demonstrates that the new procedures will work.

However, at the same time, I am dismayed that the Congress failed to include in this bill rescissions I proposed of \$85 million for the so-called "REAP" program and \$456 million for the Rural Electrification Administration. By failing to include my proposals in this bill, the Congress has, in effect, insisted that \$541 million of the taxpayers money be spent, even though there is no demonstrated need.

Instead of accepting its responsibilities as a full partner in the struggle to keep Federal spending under control, the Congress has yielded to the pressures of special interest constituencies and provided unneeded benefits at the expense of the fight against inflation and the welfare of the taxpayer. For the Nation's sake, this kind of action must not set the pattern for the future. I urge the Congress to reconsider this matter.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 17505) is Public Law 93-529, approved December 21, 1974.

The statement was released at Vail, Colo.

Veto of Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Bill

The President's Memorandum of Disapproval. Dated December 21, 1974. Released December 23, 1974

I have withheld my approval from H.R. 14214, the "Health Revenue Sharing and Health Services Act of 1974."

H.R. 14214 conflicts with my strong commitment to the American taxpayers to hold Federal spending to essential purposes. The bill authorizes appropriations of more than \$1 billion over my recommendations and I cannot, in good conscience, approve it. These appropriation authorizations are almost double the funding levels I have recommended for Fiscal Year 1975 and almost triple the levels I believe would be appropriate for 1976.

As part of my effort to see that the burden upon our taxpayers does not increase, I requested the Congress last month to exercise restraint in expanding existing Federal responsibilities, and to resist adding new Federal programs to our already overloaded and limited Federal resources.

These recommendations reflect my concern with both the need to hold down the Federal budget and the need to limit the Federal role to those activities which can make the most necessary and significant contributions.

In H.R. 14214, the Congress not only excessively increased authorizations for existing programs but also created several new ones that would result in an unjustified expenditure of Federal taxpayers' funds. Although the purposes of many of the programs authorized in this bill are certainly worthy, I just cannot approve this legislation because of its effect upon the economy through increased unwarranted Federal spending.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Federal Government will spend almost \$20 billion in 1975 through Medicare and Medicaid for the financing of health services for priority recipients—aged and low-income persons. These services are provided on the basis of national eligibility standards in Medicare and State eligibility standards in Medicaid and therefore are available to individuals in a more equitable and less restrictive manner than many of the programs authorized in H.R. 14214:

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 21, 1974.

NOTE: The text of the memorandum was released at Vail, Colo.

Veto of Tennessee Valley Authority Bill

The President's Memorandum of Disapproval. Dated December 21, 1974. Released December 23, 1974

I have withheld my approval from H.R. 11929, "To amend section 15d of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 to provide that expenditures for pollution control facilities will be credited against required power investment return payments and repayments."

This bill would permit TVA to defer or offset its repayment obligations to the United States Treasury about \$85 million per year for 5 years because of expenditures required to install pollution control equipment—and thereby enable TVA to postpone some rate increases otherwise required.

The people who are provided with electric power by the Tennessee Valley Authority have been subjected to substantial increases in power rates in recent months. I must point out, however, that consumers of electricity throughout the Nation have experienced similar rate increases for essentially the same reasons—the rising prices of fuel and materials, the cost of installing air pollution control equipment, and the rising cost of labor.

Nevertheless, TVA customers still pay among the lowest power rates of any region in the Nation—about 30 percent of rates in New York, 64 percent of Chicago, and 78 percent of Louisville, Kentucky.

No one likes to pay higher electric bills. But we must not allow this simple fact to result in new legislation which violates the fundamental principle that electricity should be priced to reflect its cost of production, including the cost of pollution abatement and control. My environmental advisers as well as my economic advisers agree with me that this principle must be upheld.

I see no basis in equity or in logic for departing from this principle in the case of the TVA, and for asking the general taxpayer to make up the difference in TVA power rates. To do so would be unfair to power consumers elsewhere in the Nation who do not have the benefit of Tennessee Valley Authority power facilities and who are required to bear the costs attributed to pollution control in their power bills.

GERALD R. FORD

The White House,
December 21, 1974.

NOTE: The text of the memorandum was released at Vail, Colo.

Special Representative for Trade Negotiations

Exchange of Letters Between the President and William D. Eberle Upon Mr. Eberle's Resignation. December 24, 1974

December 24, 1974

Dear Bill:

I have your letter of December 17, and it is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy, and as my Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

For more than three years, you have served our Nation with the greatest devotion and distinction. You can be very proud of the vital role you played in helping to develop and carry out our country's international economic and trade programs, often under the most demanding circumstances. Your skills in the area of trade negotiations have won you the respect of your colleagues throughout the Government as well as the esteem of the economic and business community for the many substantial contributions you have made in advancing America's position in the world marketplace. You deserve the heartfelt thanks of your fellow citizens, and I want to take this opportunity to express my own admiration and gratitude.

I am grateful, too, for your offer of assistance in the future. You can be sure if the occasion arises we will not

hesitate to take advantage of your talents. You have my best wishes for success and happiness in the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD

[The Honorable William D. Eberle, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

December 17, 1974

Dear Mr. President:

It is my personal desire to return to the private sector after more than three years of Government service, and am therefore submitting my resignation as Executive Director of the Council on International Economic Policy and as your Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. I hardly need say that I came to the decision only after considerable thought. It has been a privilege and a most rewarding opportunity to have served the Government of the United States, and I take this decision with a sense of regret.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, for the honor of serving our country that has been given me and to wish your Administration the very best. I will stand ready as a private citizen to continue to assist you in any way that I can.

Sincerely,

W. D. EBERLE

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The texts of the letters were released at Vail, Colo.

Emergency Assistance for New Jersey

Announcement of Emergency Declaration and Authorization of Federal Assistance Following Severe Storms, Winds, and High Tides. December 24, 1974

The President today declared an emergency for the State of New Jersey because of the impact of severe storms, high winds, and abnormally high tides. The President's action will permit the use of Federal funds in relief efforts in designated areas of the State. The President's declaration of an emergency will allow the Federal Government to undertake emergency protective measures.

Federal relief activities in New Jersey will be coordinated by the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the direction of Administrator Thomas P. Dunne. Mr. Dunne will designate the specific areas within the State eligible for Federal assistance.

Mr. Thomas R. Casey, Regional Director of the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration, HUD Region 2, will be designated as the Federal Coordinating Officer to work with the State in providing Federal emergency assistance under the Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Public Law 93-288.

NOTE: The announcement was released at Vail, Colo.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

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

December 21

The President today accepted the resignation of Harlan Hosch as United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Illinois.

The President today accepted the resignation of William C. Turner as a member of the United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs.

The President met with an ad hoc group of the Senate Republican Conference to discuss the proposed economic policy initiatives of the Conference.

December 22

En route to Vail, Colo., on Air Force One, the President talked with reporters concerning newspaper accounts of alleged domestic intelligence activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. The President stated that he had talked with CIA Director Colby by phone and had told him that "under no circumstances would I tolerate any such activities under this Administration."

The President telephoned Lady Bird Johnson at her ranch in Johnson City, Tex., to wish her a happy 62d birthday.

December 25

The President telephoned former President Richard Nixon to extend Christmas greetings to him and his family.

December 26

The President received the report on alleged domestic intelligence activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. The President had contacted Dr. Henry A. Kissinger on Monday, Dec. 23, and requested that the report be made by the CIA.

December 27

A group of energy and economic advisers arrived in Vail, Colo., for today's daylong meeting with the President on the energy situation and tomorrow's meeting on the economy.

NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned *sine die* on Friday, December 20, 1974, no nominations were submitted during the period covered by this issue. The first session of the 94th Congress will begin on Tuesday, January 14, 1975.

CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELEASES

NOTE: All releases received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue have been included in the issue.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

Approved December 21, 1974

- H.R. 17505..... Public Law 93-529
An act to rescind certain budget authority recommended in the messages of the President of September 20, 1974 (H. Doc. 93-361), October 4, 1974 (H. Doc. 93-365) and November 13, 1974 (H. Doc. 93-387), transmitted pursuant to section 1012 of the Impoundment Control Act of 1974.
- S. 782..... Public Law 93-528
Antitrust Procedures and Penalties Act.
- S. 4040..... Public Law 93-527
Veterans and Survivors Pension Adjustment Act of 1974.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved December 22, 1974

- H.R. 6274..... Public Law 93-539
An act to grant relief to payees and special indorsees of fraudulently negotiated checks drawn on designated depositories of the United States by extending the availability of the check forgery insurance fund, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 6925..... Public Law 93-540
An act to authorize the exchange of certain lands between the Pueblo of Acoma and the Forest Service.
- H.R. 7072..... Public Law 93-534
An act to allow advance payment of subscription charges for publication for official use prepared for auditory as well as visual usage.
- H.R. 7730..... Public Law 93-530
An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to purchase property located within the San Carlos Mineral Strip.
- H.R. 8352..... Public Law 93-535
An act to establish the Cascade Head Scenic-Research Area in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 8824..... Private Law 93-100
An act to provide for the conveyance of certain real property of the United States to Mrs. Harriet La Pointe Vanderverter.

ACTS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT—Continued

Approved December 22, 1974—Continued

- H.R. 10337..... Public Law 93-531
An act to provide for final settlement of the conflicting rights and interests of the Hopi and Navajo Tribes to and in lands lying within the joint use area of the reservation established by the Executive order of December 16, 1882, and lands lying within the reservation created by the Act of June 14, 1934, and for other purposes.
- H.R. 15818..... Public Law 93-536
An act to amend title 44, United States Code, to redesignate the National Historical Publications Commission as the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, to increase the membership of such Commission, and to increase the authorization of appropriations for such Commission.
- H.R. 17026..... Public Law 93-532
An act relating to former Speakers of the House of Representatives.
- S. 2193..... Public Law 93-537
An act to provide for increased participation by the United States in the Asian Development Bank.
- S. 2363..... Public Law 93-538
Disabled Veterans' and Servicemen's Automobile and Adaptive Equipment Amendments of 1974.
- S. 3164..... Public Law 93-533
Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act of 1974.

Editor's Note

Note Concerning the Closing Time of This Issue

The President was in Vail, Colo., at the cutoff time of this issue. Releases issued there but not received in time for inclusion in the issue will be printed next week.

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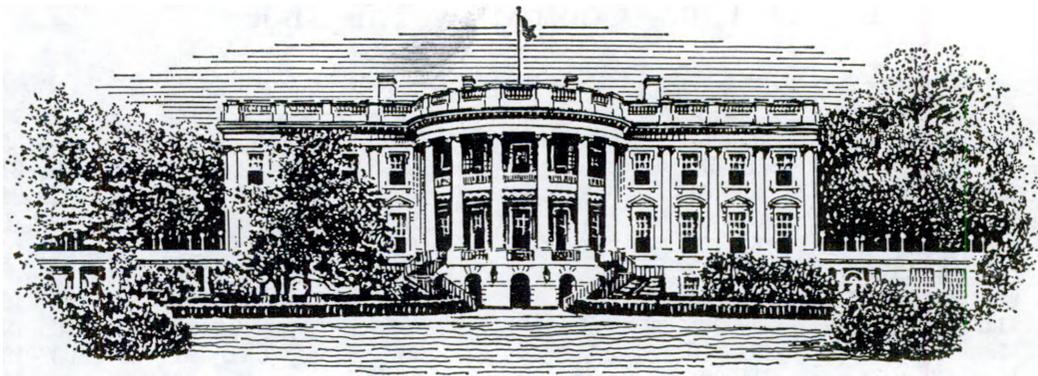
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In an effort to meet the needs of both the occasional and the specialized user of the Weekly Compilation, two basic approaches are incorporated in this index:

● Bold-face entries in general indicate the *format* of documents, such as Addresses and Remarks of the President or Statements by the President, or *groupings* which

may be of interest to certain researchers, such as Appointments and Nominations or Meetings With Foreign Leaders.

● Other entries reflect *subject matter* of the documents. The following lists of bold-face entries and some of the major subject entries are presented in the hope that they may help the user to narrow his search.

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