FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

AUG 16 1977

Mr. Kenneth M. Curtis
Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1625 Massachusetts Ave, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Curtis:

This is to inform you that with respect to the complaint filed by your predecessor Robert S. Strauss, referenced above the Commission has found no reasonable cause to believe that a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, has been committed. Accordingly, the Commission has closed its file in this matter.

If you have any questions contact Andrew Athy, Jr. the attorney assigned to this case, telephone no. 202/523-4530.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704071591

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

August 2, 1977

Mr. Charles N. Brower
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

Based on your submission of supplemental evidence in the above referenced matter, the Commission has decided to amend its previous determination and substitute a finding that there is no reasonable cause to believe a violation was committed. Accordingly, the Commission has closed its file in this matter.

Upon closing the Commission views this file as subject to the Freedom of Information Act. If you have any further questions please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

7704001459

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
President Ford Committee) MUR 142 (76)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on July 28, 1977, the Commission determined by a vote of 6-0 that there is no reasonable cause to believe a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act had been committed in the above-captioned matter.

Accordingly, the file in this matter has now been closed.

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021593

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

July 20, 1977

In the Matter of the)
) MUR 142 (76)
President Ford Committee)

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. Prior Proceedings

The complainant alleged that a number of trips made by President Ford between June 20, 1975 and January 1, 1976 ostensibly for party building purposes were in fact related to his candidacy. On March 24, 1977 the Commission, by a 6-0 vote found reasonable cause to believe a violation of 2 U.S.C. §434, had occurred with regard to certain unreported costs incurred in connection with an October 29-30, 1975 trip by President Ford to California. The determination was based on a description of the trip provided in materials submitted by respondent which indicated that the President had met with the Chairman of the President Ford Committee of California and two members of the California State Steering Committee. Although respondent indicated the trip was for party-building purposes, the evidence suggested that the trip

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011591

may have related in whole or in part to the President's candidacy.

After the finding of reasonable cause to believe that the failure to report expenses incident to this meeting constituted a violation of 2 U.S.C. §434, the staff entered into conciliation with the respondents. At the inception of the conciliation process respondent indicated that it had further evidence available which would demonstrate that the meeting which constituted the basis for the Commission's finding was unrelated to the President's candidacy and was, in fact, incidental only to the party-building nature of the trip.

By letter dated June 21, 1977, respondent submitted an affidavit by Paul R. Haerle an attendee at the meeting. The contention set forth in the affidavit is that the meeting was "no more than 20 minutes" of "a social courtesy or handshake session" which "was entirely incidental to the official California Republican Party activities of that evening and the following day." The affidavit states, "no strategy for the President's forthcoming campaign was discussed."

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704015

II. Analysis

The additional evidence submitted by respondent during the conciliation process clarifies the record previously before the Commission and indicates that the Commission's finding of reasonable cause to believe was based on an incorrect inference regarding the nature of the meeting between President Ford and local officials. Since there is no evidence to controvert the information in the Haerle Affidavit, we are of the view that the file should be closed without a finding of a violation.

III. Recommendation

In lieu of the prior finding of reasonable cause to believe that a reporting violation had been committed with respect to the October 29-30, 1975 trip of President Ford the Commission should substitute a finding that on the basis of the information now set forth in the record, it appears that there is no reasonable cause to believe that a violation had occurred. The file should accordingly be closed.

7/21/77
DATE

WILLIAM C. OLDAKER
GENERAL COUNSEL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011459

July 21, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: Marjorie Emmons

FROM: Eliése T. Garr

SUBJECT: MUR 142

Please have the attached General Counsel's Report on MUR 142 distributed to the Commission and placed on the Compliance agenda for July 28, 1977.

Thank you.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001459 7

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Mr. Charles N. Brower
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

Based on your submission of supplemental evidence in the above referenced matter, the Commission has decided to amend its previous determination and substitute a finding that there is no reasonable cause to believe a violation was committed. Accordingly, the Commission has closed its file in this matter.

Upon closing the Commission views this file as subject to the Freedom of Information Act. If you have any further questions please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001593

ACC 731

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

'77 JUN

June 21, 1977

William C. Oldaker, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

771904

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Oldaker:

I wish now to reply formally to your letter in the above-designated matter dated April 20, 1977, which has been the subject of several discussions and a meeting with members of your staff.

The one point touched upon in the first paragraph of your letter appears to be based on the following notation under date of October 29, 1975 in the enclosures to my letter to John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq. dated November 3, 1976:

> "President met in his suite with Chairman of the President Ford Steering Committee of California, and 2 Members of President Ford Steering Committee of California."

As appears more fully from the enclosed affidavit of Paul R. Haerle, Esq., sworn to May 19, 1977, those references appear to be to Mr. Leon Parma, Mrs. Anita Ashcraft and Mr. Charles Bakaly, respectively, who, to the best of Mr. Haerle's recollection, were introduced to the President at that time in the company of California Attorney General Evelle Younger and himself. (As the affidavit notes, Mr. Haerle at the time was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California and was the official host for this Presidential visit.) The affidavit of Mr. Haerle substantiates that the meeting in question was "no more than 20 minutes" of "a social-

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7719041504

courtesy or handshaking session" which "was entirely incidental to the official California Republican Party activities of that evening and the following day."

Under the circumstances, I trust the Commission will conclude that this activity falls within the terms of Section 106.3(b)(3) of your Regulations and, accordingly, that there has been no violation of the indicated statute.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021601

AFFIDAVIT OF PAUL R. HAERLE

County of San Francisco)
)ss.:
State of California)

PAUL R. HAERLE, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am an attorney and a member of the Bar of the State of California, where I have practiced law for the past 21 years. I am currently a partner in the law firm of Thelen, Marrin, Johnson & Bridges, Two Embarcadero Center, Suite 2200, San Francisco, California 94111.

2. In October, 1975 I was Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California. At the same time I was a member of the recently created President Ford Steering Committee of California.

3. As chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of California, I was the official host for President Gerald R. Ford who had come to California on October 29, 1975 to engage in fund-raising and party-building activities for the state committee. The President visited Los Angeles on the 29th and on the following day he flew to San Francisco. Each trip was devoted to fund-raising activities for the California Republican Party.

4. The principal purpose for the President's trip to Los Angeles on October 29, 1975 was to attend a black-tie Republican Party dinner at the Century Plaza Hotel that night. Prior to the dinner the President attended a cocktail party for several hundred California Republicans.

7704001601

5. To the best of my recollection, immediately prior to his attendance at the large pre-dinner cocktail party the President met very briefly with me and several other California Republicans who were serving on the President Ford Steering Committee for California. This meeting could best be characterized as a social-courtesy or handshaking session where the President chatted with myself, Mr. Evelle Younger, State Attorney General, Mr. Leon Parma, Mrs. Anita Ashcraft, and Mr. Charles Bakaly, each of whom had been named to the President Ford Steering Committee of California. At the time I was

7704100160

there wearing two hats, as head of the state party and as a member of the President's California Steering Committee. We were all dressed in formal attire, ready to attend the dinner and cocktail party. We shook hands with the President, had a drink, and engaged in some small talk about the President's recent busy schedule, including, as I now recall it, some comments about the New York City financial crisis. A photographer then came in and took some pictures. The entire session lasted no more than 20 minutes and no strategy for the President's forthcoming campaign was discussed. It was more a social session than anything else, and it was entirely incidental to the official California Republican Party activities of that evening and the following day.

Paul R. Haerle

Sworn to me this 19th day of May, 1977.

E. Kathryn Dalton
Notary Public

E. KATHRYN DALTON
NOTARY PUBLIC-CALIFORNIA
CITY AND COUNTY OF
SAN FRANCISCO
My Commission Expires Nov. 26, 1979

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001460

WHITE & CASE
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON D C 20006

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

WASHINGTON DC 20
PM
JUN
1977

William C. Oldaker, Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

To docket
Pls place in file

June 16, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: William Oldaker

FROM: Andy Athy

RE: MUR 142 (76)

Robert Visser by telephone today promised that the affidavit by party officials in California which will provide a basis for closing MUR 142, will be forwarded next week.

As reason for the delay, Visser says that Charles Brower, Special Counsel on the matter has been out of the country for some time.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704071690

7704001460 6

20 APR 1977

Mr. Charles N. Brower
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

In the above-numbered MUR the Federal Election Commission has determined that there is reasonable cause to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of 2 U.S.C. §434 by failing to report as expenditures within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(f) expenses in connection with an October 29, 1976 meeting in Los Angeles by President Ford with the chairman of the President Ford Committee of California and two members of the California state steering committee. The finding was premised on a belief that the meeting may have related to the President's candidacy.

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(A) the Commission has a duty to correct this violation for a period of not less than 30 days by informal methods of conference, conciliation and persuasion. In this connection, it would be helpful if information indicating the purpose of the meeting were supplied.

If we are unable to reach agreement during that period, the Commission may upon a finding of probable cause that a violation has occurred institute a civil suit, 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(B). Please contact us regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

AAthy:pjg:4/11/77

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
President Ford Committee)

MUR 142 (76)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on April 14, 1977, the Commission determined by a vote of 4-0 to approve the Statement of Reasons for Commission Action in the above captioned matter. Commissioner Aikens abstained from voting. Commissioner Tiernan was not present at the time of the vote.

Betty S. Moo
for Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001607

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
April 12, 1977

In the Matter of the	)	
	)	MUR 142 (76)
President Ford Committee	)	

STATEMENT OF REASONS FOR COMMISSION ACTION

On March 24, 1977 the Commission, by a 6-0 vote found reasonable cause to believe a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, had occurred in the captioned matter when the respondent failed to report expenditures in connection with a meeting by Gerald Ford with the Chairman of the President Ford Committee of California and two members of the California state steering committee.

The complainant claimed that a number of trips made by President Ford between June 20, 1975 and January 1, 1976 ostensibly for party building purposes were in fact related to his candidacy.

The Commission determined that expenses incurred in connection with the California meeting were expenditures within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(f) and thus reportable

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001460

under 2 U.S.C. §434. This was because of contact between the President and the chairman of the President Ford Committee of California and two members of the California State steering committee, which appeared to relate to the President's candidacy.

7704021600

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Mr. Charles N. Brower
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

In the above-numbered MUR the Federal Election Commission has determined that there is reasonable cause to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of 2 U.S.C. §434 by failing to report as expenditures within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(f) expenses in connection with an October 29, 1976 meeting in Los Angeles by President Ford with the chairman of the President Ford Committee of California and two members of the California state steering committee. The finding was premised on a belief that the meeting may have related to the President's candidacy.

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(A) the Commission has a duty to correct this violation for a period of not less than 30 days by informal methods of conference, conciliation and pursuasion. In this connection, it would be helpful if information indicating the purpose of the meeting were supplied.

If we are unable to reach agreement during that period, the Commission may upon a finding of probable cause that a violation has occurred institute a civil suit, 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(B). Please contact us regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011610

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Mr. Charles N. Brower
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

The Federal Election Commission has determined that there is reasonable cause to believe that a violation of 2 U.S.C. §431(F) was committed with regard to expenditures made for President Ford's appearances in Newport, Rhode Island, on August 30, 1975, on Detroit, Michigan in October 10, 1975, and on Los Angeles, California on October 29, 1975.

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(A), the Commission shall make every endeavor to correct such violation for a period of at least 30 days by informal methods of conference, conciliation and persuasion and to enter into a conciliation agreement. If we are unable to reach agreement during that period, the Commission may upon a finding of probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred, institute a civil suit pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(5)(B).

Please contact us regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

William Oldaker
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL 1776-1976

7 7 0 4 1 0 1 4 6 1 1

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)
)
President Ford Committee) MUR 142 (76)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on March 24, 1977, the Commission determined by a vote of 6-0 that there was Reasonable Cause to Believe that the President Ford Committee had committed a violation of 2 U.S.C. §431(F) with respect to the October 29-30, 1975 trip of President Ford to Los Angeles, California.

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001461 2

March 22, 1977

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of	)	
	)	MUR 142 (76)
President Ford Committee	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. Summary of Allegations

This MUR was initiated through a notarized complaint by Robert S. Strauss, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, received by the Commission on May 12, 1976. On December 17, 1976, counsel for the complainant requested that this complaint be withdrawn. (See Attachment A).

The issue raised is whether a number of trips made by President Ford between June 20, 1975 and January 1, 1976, ostensibly for party building purposes, were in fact, related to his candidacy. If they were, the costs of the trip would be reportable as expenditures within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(f) and would count toward the overall expenditure limitations of 2 U.S.C. §441a(b)(1)(A). Central to this issue is AO 1975-72 (40 FR 56589) which has now been codified as proposed Commission regulation, §110.8(e).

II. Evidence

The complaint included documentation (transcripts, newspaper reports, etc.) relevant to Presidential appearances

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704014611

on twenty specific dates. At the preliminary inquiry stage, the respondent failed to provide any substantive evidence to rebut the complainants allegations. The Commission then found that there was reason to believe that 16 of the 20 challenged appearances were for the purpose of aiding President Ford's campaign for the Republican nomination. In recommending that the Commission find reason to believe, the General Counsel's Report stated that this did not imply the party building presumption of A.O. 1975-72 was rebutted but rather that the respondent had failed to present any substantive evidence at the preliminary inquiry stage to indicate that the appearances fell within the scope of the presumption.

After notification of the finding of reason to believe the respondent submitted prepared texts of speeches and schedules of events for most of the concerned dates. Further, it submitted an affidavit explaining the distinction between the reporting of these appearances and the appearances in Massachusetts on November 7 and North Carolina and Georgia on November 14 which were paid for by the Ford Committee. Although requested, it failed to supply records of whom the President saw and solicitations or press releases used at the party or promotional events that the President attended.

7704011611

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

III. Legal Analysis

This matter is interwoven with the Commission's opinion in A.O. 1975-72 which was issued in response to a request by the RNC. The opinion stated in pertinent part:

> "While there is no question, given the nature and functions of the RNC, that such appearances can and do promote party-building, there is also little doubt that when these appearances occur in proximity to an election in which the President is a candidate the appearances may be reasonably construed to confer a benefit to the President's own candidacy. Cognizant of these realities, the Commission will divide President Ford's party appearances into two categories: those occurring before January 1 of the election year, and those occurring after January 1 of the election year. The post January 1 appearances will be presumed to be candidate-related and will be governed by the relevant portions of the FECA, as amended. Those before, January 1 will be presumed not to be candidate-related. The Commission's conclusions may be rebutted upon a showing, inter alia, that the solicitations for the party event, or the setting of the event, or the remarks made by candidates who were invited to attend were "for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of [that candidate(s)] to Federal office." (See 2 U.S.C. §§431(c) and (f); 18 U.S.C. §591(e) and (f)).

The issue raised by this complaint is whether there is sufficient information to rebut the party building presumption characterized above. Although the available evidence suggests that to some degree the challenged appearances benefited the President's candidacy it seems unclear (except in the three instances outlined below) that the appearances were so clearly candidate related as to rebut the presumption. In short, in our view, except for the appearances in Newport, Rhode Island,

7704001461

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

Detroit, Michigan and Los Angeles, California, the candidacy. aspects of the trips were either so minimal or tangential to the main activity as to afford no reasonable cause to believe the Act has been violated. Accordingly, with the exceptions of the three appearances described below we recommend no further action. The exceptions can be described as follows:

1) On August 30, 1975 the President traveled to Newport, Rhode Island where he attended a Republican fundraiser. Newspaper accounts of that event report that four leading Republicans endorsed the President's candidacy. Mayor Cianci of Providence said to the audience estimated at 1,100 that "I am a Republican who supports Jerry Ford because I think he is best for Providence and the state of Rhode Island." The dinner chairman and toastmaster was James DiPrete former mayor of Cranston who said of Ford "that everyone thinks that you are doing a marvelous job." Mayor Taft of Cranston pledged a "100 percent effort to see you are re-elected" and former Governor and now Senator elect Chaffee said "We are with him two thousand percent."

2) On October 10, 1975, Ford visited Detroit where he attended another Republican fundraiser. At that function before a crowd estimated at 4,000 Governor Milliken, a Republican, publicly endorsed Ford. According to newspaper reports, he

7704016

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

said on that occasion that "the most important goal for all is the returning of our President to the White House." He pledged "our very best effort to support the President" and suggested a grass root fight to "continue this Republican who is in the White House now in the White House in 1976."

3) On October 29 - 30 the President travelled through Los Angeles and San Francisco. According to the schedule submitted by the respondent, the President met in Los Angeles with the chairman of the President Ford Committee of California and two members of the California state steering committee. This activity clearly related to Ford's candidacy.

With respect to the other trips, the evidence submitted by the PFC - e.g. detailed itineraries of the President's trips, copies of formal remarks, and listing of the activities attended by the President, does not reveal evidence of overt campaign activities or speeches by the President or his hosts. In such circumstances and in light of the fact that the original complaint relied only on newspaper accounts, we would recommend that the Commission find no reasonable cause to believe that a violation occurred with respect to these other appearances.

In summary, there is reasonable cause to believe that the expenses relative to these appearances in Newport, Detroit and Los Angeles were not reported as campaign expenses by the

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021461

Ford Committee. Accordingly, the PFC should reimburse these expenses and similarly amend their reports.

IV. Recommendation

Find reasonable cause to believe that a violation of 2 U.S.C. §431(f) has occurred with regard to three named trips and send attached letter.

William C. Oldaker
General Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001611

CC # 1194

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

'77 JAN 5 AM 10:40

January 4, 1976

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

770043

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter is in further response to your letter of October 4, 1976, supplementing my previous submissions under cover of letters dated October 18 and 22 and November 3, all in 1976.

Enclosed please find detailed summaries of President Ford's travel for the trips involving August 19 and 24-25, 1975, as requested by your letter of October 4, 1976 and described in my letter of November 3, 1976. You have now been provided with complete summaries as requested.

The only information you requested by your letter of October 4, 1976 which we have not provided would be "copies of all solicitation materials used at fundraising or party promotional events at which the President appeared . . . ." Notwithstanding the timely and unremitting efforts of the Republican National Committee staff and counsel we have not yet received such materials from the numerous state and local Republican organizations involved. On balance, however, rather than drag out this investigation beyond the date on which the President Ford Committee intends to cease operations, and confident that the record now before the Committee more than justifies dismissal of the complaint, we would request that the Commission make its determination on the basis of the present record.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures
cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704301461

Date	Places Visited and Individuals met with or Events Attended
8/18/76	President motored from residence at Vail to Nottingham Farm and from there flew by helicopter to Paraho Oil Shale Development site, Rifle, Colorado - President toured the Demonstrate Site and received a briefing on the process of converting shale to oil, etc. President motored from shale vegetation site to helipad zone and flew to Grand Junction Airport President met with Colorado West Area Council of Government representatives and then flew from Grand Junction to Air National Guard Facility, Des Moines, Iowa President motored from National Guard facility to Iowa State Fairgrounds and attended the Iowa State Fair where President addressed the crowd gathered at the Fair grounds President motored from Fairgrounds to Hotel Fort Des Moines where President met with Mary Louise Smith, Chairman of RNC and then attended a reception hosted by the Iowa State Republican Finance Committee - addressed approximately 500 guests attending fundraiser reception - President presented Republican Hall of Fame plaques to the Republican County Finance Chairman from Spirit Lake Iowa and the retiring Republican National Committeeman from Iowa President then attended a Republican fundraiser dinner and recepti with Gov. Ray President motored from Hotel Fort Des Moines to Airport and flew to Twin City International Airport, Minneapolis where he was greeted by Republican leaders President motored from airport to L'Hotel Sofitel, Bloomington, Minnesota where he remained overnight
8/19/76	President hosted a breakfast meeting for media executives from Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota and addressed approximately 100 tv and newspaper executives attending meeting President then went to the Le Cafe and attended a reception hosted by Mr. O. C. Carmichael, Treasurer of the RNC for a group of Minnesota "Key Men" Republicans President then motored from Hotel to the Minneapolis Convention Center, Minneapolis

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

7704011620

Date	Places Visited and Individuals met with or Events Attended
8/19/76 (continued)	In Minneapolis
	President attended the 57th Annual National Conventionof the American Legion - addressed approximately 8,2000 legionnaires
	President motored from Convention Center to Marriott Inn, Bloomington, Minnesota
	President participated in a photo opportunity with Minnesota Republican State Legislators and Municipal candidates
	President then attended a Minnesota Republican leadership rally and addressed approximately 750 people attending rally
	President motored from Marriott Inn to the Registry Hotel where he attended a fundraiser luncheon with Minnesota State Republican leaders and members of the "Elephant Club" President addressed approximately 400 Relublican luncheon guests
	President motored from Hotel to the Twin Cities International Airport and flew from Airport to Peoria Airport, Peoria, Ill.
	President motored from Airport to Pekin Public Library and Everett Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, Pekin, Ill, where he participated in dedication ceremony of the Center and tour the Center.
	President motored from Pekin Library to Peoria Hilton Hotel where he participated in a WH Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs sponsored by Office of Public Liaison and addressed approximately 850 persons attending the conference
	President motored from Hotel to Airport and then flew from Peoria airport to Walker Field, Grant Junction
	President flew by helicopter from Walker Field to Nottingham Farm and then motored from Nottingham Farm to residence in Vail, Colorado
	President overnight in Vail
8/20/76	President went from residence to Holiday Inn were he met with

7704011621

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date	Places Visited and Individuals met with or Events Attended
8/20/76 (continued)	In Vail members of the grain industry
8/24/76	President motored from resident at 8:45 am to Nottingham Farm and flew by helicopter from Farm to Walker Field Grand Junction President flew from Grand Junction to Glacier International Airport, Kalispell, Montana President flew by helicopter from Glacier International Airport to the Libby Dam helipad, Libby, Montana and participated in dedication ceremony for Libby Dam President motored from Libby Dam dedication platform to helipad and flew by helicopter from Libby Dam to Glacier International Airport, Kalispell, Montana At airport President met with Montana State Republican leaders President flew from Glacier Airport to O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Illinois President motored from Airport to Chicago Yacht Club and attended a reception and dinner for the World Star Class Sailing Champions' sponsored by Mayor Daley and City of Chicago in the President's honor President then motored to Palmer House and remained overnight at Palmer House
8/25/75	President attended a breakfast meeting with approximately 35 Republican leaders from Cook County, Illinois President participated in a interview for Chicago Sun Times President motored from Palmer House to McCormick Place where he attended the opening session of Hardward Industry Week of American Hardware Manufacturers Assn.

7704021622

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date	Places Visited and individuals met with or Events Attended
8/25/75 (continued)	In Chicago
	President addressed approximately 4,400 persons attending Hardward Industry Week. The President's remarks were broadcast over local TV
	President motored from McCormick Place to O'Hare airport
	President flew from O'Hare to General Mitchell Field, Milwaukee Wisconsin
	President motored to Pfister Hotel and attended a luncheon hosted by the editorial boards of the Milwaukee Journal and the Milwaukee Sentinel.
	President participated in a q & a session with luncheon guests
	President then had interview with local TV reporters
	President attended WH Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs and participated in q & a session with participants
	President met with Wisconsin State Republican leaders
	President motored from Pfister Hotel to General Mitchell Field
	President flew from Mitchell Field to Andrews AFB
	President returned to WH 9:57

7704016250

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

WHITE & CASE
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON D C 20006

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

CC # 1194
MUR 142

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
'77 JAN 4 AM 10 39

January 4, 1977

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter is in further response to your letter of October 4, 1976, supplementing my previous submissions under cover of letters dated October 18 and 22 and November 3, all in 1976.

Enclosed please find detailed summaries of President Ford's travel for the trips involving August 19 and 24-25, 1975, as requested by your letter of October 4, 1976 and described in my letter of November 3, 1976. You have now been provided with complete summaries as requested.

The only information you requested by your letter of October 4, 1976 which we have not provided would be "copies of all solicitation materials used at fundraising or party promotional events at which the President appeared . . . ." Notwithstanding the timely and unremitting efforts of the Republican National Committee staff and counsel we have not yet received such materials from the numerous state and local Republican organizations involved. On balance, however, rather than drag out this investigation beyond the date on which the President Ford Committee intends to cease operations, and confident that the record now before the Committee more than justifies dismissal of the complaint, we would request that the Commission make its determination on the basis of the present record.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures
cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704014623

Date	Places Visited and Individuals met with or Events Attended
8/18/76	President motored from residence at Vail to Nottingham Farm and from there flew by helicopter to Paraho Oil Shale Development site, Rifle, Colorado - President toured the Demonstrate Si te and received a briefing on the process of converting shale to oil, etc. President motored from shale vegetation site to helipad zone and flew to Grand Junction Airport
	President met with Colorado West Area Council of Government representatives and then flew from Grand Junction to Air National Guard Facility, Des Moines, Iowa
	President motored from National Guard facility to Iowa State Fairgrounds and attended the Iowa State Fair where President addressed the crowd gathered at the Fair grounds
	President motored from Fairgrounds to Hotel Fort Des Moines where President met with Mary Louise Smith, Chairman of RNC and then attended a reception hosted by the Iowa State Republican Finance Committee - addressed approximately 500 guests attending fundraiser reception - President presented Republican Hall of Fame plaques to the Republican County Finance Chairman from Spirit Lake Iowa and the retiring Republican National Committeeman from Iowa
	President then attended a Republican fundraiser dinner and recepti with Gov. Ray
	President motored from Hotel Fort Des Moines to Airport and flew to Twin City International Airport, Minneapolis where he was greeted by Republican leaders
	President motored from airport to L'Hotel Sofitel, Bloomington, Minnesota where he remained overnight
8/19/76	President hosted a breakfast meeting for media executives from Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota and addressed approximately 100 tv and newspaper executives attending meeting
	President then went to the Le Cafe and attended a reception hosted by Mr. O. C. Carmichael, Treasurer of the RNC for a group of Minnesota "Key Men" Republicans
	President then motored from Hotel to the Minneapolis Convention Center, Minneapolis

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001626

Date	Places Visited and Individuals met with or Events Attended
8/19/76 (continued)	In Minneapolis
	President attended the 57th Annual National Conventionof the American Legion - addressed approximately 8,2000 legionnaires
	President motored from Convention Center to Marriott Inn, Bloomington, Minnesota
	President participated in a photo opportunity with Minnesota Republican State Legislators and Municipal candidates
	President then attended a Minnesota Republican leadership rally and addressed approximately 750 people attending rally
	President motored from Marriott Inn to the Registry Hotel where he attended a fundraiser luncheon with Minnesota State Republican leaders and members of the "Elephant Club" President addressed approximately 400 Relublican luncheon guests
	President motored from Hotel to the Twin Cities International Airport and flew from Airport to Peoria Airport, Peoria, Ill.
	President motored from Airport to Pekin Public Library and Everett Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, Pekin, Ill, where he participated in dedication ceremony of the Center and tour the Center.
	President motored from Pekin Library to Peoria Hilton Hotel where he participated in a WH Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs sponsored by Office of Public Liaison and addressed approximately 850 persons attending the conference
	President motored from Hotel to Airport and then flew from Peoria airport to Walker Field, Grant Junction
	President flew by helicopter from Walker Field to Nottingham Farm and then motored from Nottingham Farm to residence in Vail, Colorado
	President overnight in Vail
8/20/76	President went from residence to Holiday Inn were he met with

7704001627

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date	Places Visited and Individuals met with or Events Attended
8/20/76 (continued)	In Vail members of the grain industry
8/24/76	President motored from resident at 8:45 am to Nottingham Farm and flew by helicopter from Farm to Walker Field Grand Junction President flew from Grand Junction to Glacier International Airport, Kalispell, Montana President flew by helicopter from Glacier International Airport to the Libby Dam helipad, Libby, Montana and participated in dedication ceremony for Libby Dam President motored from Libby Dam dedication platform to helipad and flew by helicopter from Libby Dam to Glacier International Airport, Kalispell, Montana At airport President met with Montana State Republican leaders President flew from Glacier Airport to O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Illinois President motored from Airport to Chicago Yacht Club and attended a reception and dinner for the World Star Class Sailing Champions sponsored by Mayor Daley and City of Chicago in the President's honor President then motored to Palmer House and remained overnight at Palmer House
8/25/75	President attended a breakfast meeting with approximately 35 Republican leaders from Cook County, Illinois President participated in a interview for Chicago Sun Times President motored from Palmer House to McCormick Place where he attended the opening session of Hardward Industry Week of American Hardware Manufacturers Assn.

7704014621

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date	Places Visited and individuals met with or Events Attended
8/25/75 (continued)	In Chicago

President addressed approximately 4,400 persons attending Hardward Industry Week. The President's remarks were broadcast over local TV

President motored from McCormick Place to O'Hare airport

President flew from O'Hare to General Mitchell Field, Milwaukee Wisconsin

President motored to Pfister Hotel and attended a luncheon hosted by the editorial boards of the Milwaukee Journal and the Milwaukee Sentinel.

President participated in a q & a session with luncheon guests

President then had interview with local TV reporters

President attended WH Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs and participated in q & a session with participants

President met with Wisconsin State Republican leaders

President motored from Pfister Hotel to General Mitchell Field

President flew from Mitchell Field to Andrews AFB

President returned to WH 9:57

7704011620

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

WHITE & CASE
1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON D C 20006

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

William Oldaker, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

CA 1176
MUR 142

DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

'76 DEC 21 PM 2:05

December 17, 1976

764297

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Att: John G. Murphy, Jr., General Counsel

Dear Commissioners:

The Democratic National Committee wishes to withdraw at this time its complaint of May 4, 1976, [Federal Election Commission number MUR 142(76)] concerning the payment of presidential travel expenses incurred by Gerald R. Ford and his political committee.

We seek to withdraw the complaint at this time because we believe that the issues raised must be treated in a more comprehensive fashion through legislative and regulatory changes. We would not wish our complaint to color any thorough review of this area. Nevertheless, we reaffirm our belief that the issues raised here are significant, and that they must be examined in other contexts in the near future.

Very truly yours,

Sheldon S. Cohen

SHELDON S. COHEN
General Counsel

SSC:RJG:rw

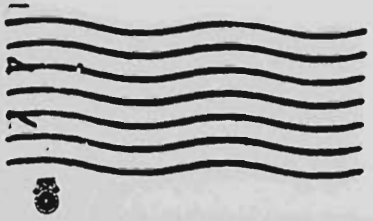
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

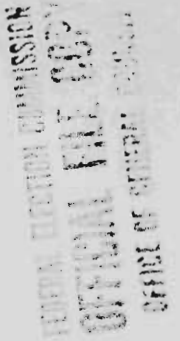
7704041631

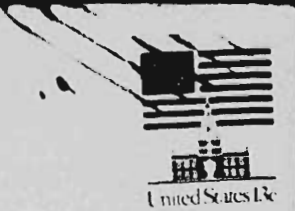
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: John C. Murphy Jr.,
General Counsel







CC-4955

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

'76 NOV 4 AM 11:34

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 3, 1976

763419

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter is in further response to your letter of October 4, 1976, supplementing my previous submissions under cover of letters dated October 18 and 22, 1976.

Your letter of October 4 specifically requested "a summary of whom [President Ford] saw, where he appeared . . . ." You will find enclosed detailed summaries responsive to this request relating to all of the travel listed in the attachment to your letter of October 4, other than the trips which took place on August 19 and 24-25, 1975 (summaries as to these trips are still in preparation and will be submitted as soon as available). You will note from the enclosed summaries the extensive party building character of the travel involved, with each trip including a variety of meetings with Republican Party officials, supporters, contributors, candidates and office holders. I believe that from these statements, as well as the other materials heretofore submitted, it can only be concluded that the travel in question was party building in nature and poses no reason for payment of any related expenses by the President Ford Committee (other than those referred to in previous correspondence with respect to the travels of November 7 and 14, 1975).

We look forward to completing our submission in the reasonably near future. We are continuing to gather

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704116363

additional necessary materials and will advise you promptly when our final submission is completed.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704071463 1

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

HAND DELIVERED

Andrew Athy, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
July 11, 1975	President departed White House 11:30 am and flew to Cherry Capital Airport, Traverse City, Michigan
	The President was greeted by the Gov. of Michigan, and the Mayor of Traverse City and then greeted a non-partisan welcoming committee consisting of seventy-five Traverse City residents.
	President motored from Airport to the National Cherry Festival Parade staging area, where he was greeted by the National Cherry Festival President and the National Cherry Festival Queen
	The President participated in the National Cherry Festival Parade
	President then motored to Senator Griffin's residence where he attended a reception hosted by Senator in his honor
	President motored from Griffin residence to Cherry Capital Airport
	President flew from Cherry Capital Airport to O'Hare Airport, Chicago.
	President was greeted by Air National Guard Commander, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank of Chicago and the Chairman of Board of Beatrice Foods Co.
	President flew by helicopter from O'Hare to Meigs Field, Chicago and was greeted by Mayor of Chicago
	President motored from Meigs Field to Palmer House where he was greeted by VP of Hilton Hotels Corp and General Manager of Palmer House
	President met with Mayor Daley in his suite and then greeted Chairman of Board of Arthur Anderson Co. Member of the Mid-America Committee and Chairman of Board of Harris Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago
	President then went to State Room and attended the Mid-America Committee sponsors reception

7704001636

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

July 11, 1975 - continued

President then went to Red Lacquer Room accompanied by members of Mid-America Committee and attended the General Reception for the Mid-America Committee

President then went to the head table holding room and greeted head table guests

President then went to head table and dinner began

President was introduced after dinner by Mr. Wood, Member of Mid-America Committee and Chairman of Board of Sears and Roebuck Co.

President addressed approximately 750 guests attending Mid-America Committee dinner (open to press)

President then hosted a post-dinner reception with approximately 50 Mid-America Committee guests

President returned to suite and there hosted a reception for approximately 14 couples from Mid-America Committee

Overnight at Palmer House

July 12, 1975

President went to Crystal Room, Palmer House and attended buffet breakfast with Illinois Republican Leaders

President went to suite briefly and then to Adams Room where he held Press Conference - broadcast live over local radio and tv

President left hotel and motored to McCormick Place, Chicago State University where greeted by President of University and Chairman of the Board of Governors

President greeted 20 honor students of the 1975 graduating class and then went to robing area, where he greeted members of the 1975 graduating class

President then went to Green Room where he greeted guests including members of Board of Trustees and selected faculty members and advisors from Chicago State University

President then went to stage in the Aire Crown Theatre and attended commencement exercises for Chicago State University President was presented with Honorary Doctorate Degree

7704001637

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

July 12 -continued

President spoke to approximately 4,5000 attending the ceremony - live press coverage

President motored from University to O'Hare Airport

President flew from O'Hare to Cherry Capital Airport, Traverse City, Michigan

President was greeted by Sen. Griffin and Cong. Cederberg

President flew by helicopter from Airport to Traverse City Golf and Country Club for Walter Hagen Golf Tournament
President played golf with Senator Griffin, Gordon Howe and Baxter Elhart (cherry grower in Traverse City) and on 9th green went to trophy table where he addressed the crowd gathered for the Walter Hagen Golf Tournament

President returned to locker room and then went with Sen. Griffin to Main Dining Room where he attended the Walter Hagen Golf Tournament Banquet

President then went by golf cart to helipad and flew by helicopter to Interlocken Arts Academy

Presiden went to Kresge Auditorum where greeted by President of Interlochen National Music Corp and then went into Auditorium

President attended performance by National High School Band and then greeted members of the band

President then motored from Interlochen Arts Academy to helipad and flew by helicopter to Mackinac Island

President greeted by Gov. of Michigan and Mayor of Mackinac Island

President stayed overnight at residence of Gov. Milliken

7704016633

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

July 13, 1975

President went by carriage to Grand Hotel in Mackinac Island

At hotel President attended a breakfast for participants in the 36th Annual Conference of the Sixth Judicial Circuit Court of the U.S. and addressed approximately 450 guests

President returned by carriage to Governor's residence and then went to Trinity Episcopal Church for worship services

President then boarded carriage for tour of the Island and tour of Fort Mackinac

President then attended a luncheon at Gov. Milliken's residence (among guests, Sec. & Mrs. Griffin, Max Fisher, Cong. Cederberg, Congressman Ruppe, Congressman Vander Jagt)

President then went to Grand Hotel tennis court and played tennis with Gov. & Mrs. Milliken and Bill Seidman

President returned to Gov. residence briefly and then went to golf course and played golf

President then went to Mackinac Helipad and flew by helicopter to Kincheloe AFB, from Kincheloe AFB he flew in Spirit of 76 to Andrews AFB and from Andrews by helicopter to White House arriving at 9:00 pm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places visited
August 30, 1975	President departed WH 7:22 am
	President flew by AF Jetstar from Andrews to Brunswick Naval Air Station, Maine and was greeted by Gov. Longley, Chairman of the Maine Republican State Cmte., and Base Commander of the Naval Air Station
	President motored from Brunswick Station to Agusta Civic Center, Augusta, Maine - and participated in a Field Day Program sponsored by the Maine American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) for the benefit of the Pineland Hospital and Training Center for Retarded Children
	The President addressed approximately 6,500 persons attending the program - live regional tv coverage
	President motored from Civic Center to Holiday Inn, Portland, Maine - accompanied by Cong. Cohen and Congressman Emery President was presented with key to city of Portland and a proclamation declaring August 30, 1975 as President Ford Day in Portland by Mayor of Portland
	President attended a reception in Andres Coggin Room for 50 Maine Republican contributors
	President then to platform in banquet hall and attended a Republican Fundraising Luncheon - addressed approximately 600 guests
	President then participated in photo opportunity with Maine Republican State Legislative candidates
	President motored from Holiday Inn to Portland International Jetport and flew by Jetstar to the Theodore Francis Green Airport, Providence, RI - was greeted by Mayor of Providence, Gov. of Rhode Island, Senator Pastore, Republican National Committeeman for RI
	President then greeted Republican State Legislators from RI and City and town Republican Chairmen from RI and Members of the Republican State Executive Cmte. of RI
	President motored from Airport to Sheraton-Islander Inn, Goat Island and went to suite
	President then went to America's Cup Room and participated

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

August 30 -continued

in an interview with WJAR-TV of Providence, which was taped for broadcast over 12 tv stations in New England

President motored from Inn to residence of Mrs. John Slocum - she is Co-Finance Chairman of Republican State Central Committee of RH

President attended RI Republican Fundrai-s ing dinner and addressed approximately 1,000 guests attending dinner

President motored from Slocum REsidence to Theodore Francis Green Airport Providence and flew by jetstar to Andrews AFB, Md. (via Warwick, RI)

From Andrews AFB President motored to Camp David, Maryland

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001641

Date of Trip	Events and places visited
September 4, 1975	President departed White House 9:55 am
	President flew from Andrews to Boeing Field, Seattle, Washington - greeted by Gov Evans of Washington, Sen. Magnuson and Mayor of Seattle and Seattle Civic Welcoming Cmte. President addressed crowd.
	President motored from Boeing Field to Seattle Center Exhibition Hall where he attended a Republican Fundraising luncheon and spoke to approximately 1,800 guests attending luncheon - broadcast over local tv
	President motored from luncheon to Fred Hutchison Cancer Research Center, Columbia - President toured the Cancer Research Center
	President motored from Cancer Research Center to Olympic Hotel - where greeted by Jack Blume, Finance Chairman of Republican State Central Committee of Washington
	President went to Georgian Room and attended a Washington State Republican luncheon - addressed approximately 225 guests attending luncheon
	President then went to Board Room and participated in photo opportunity with approximately 45 Washington State Republican candidates
	President then met with representatives of the sponsoring organization for the Seattle White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs
	President went to Grand Ballroom and participated in the Conference - addressed approximately 700 guests attending conference and participated in a q&a session with representatives of the sponsoring organizations - remarks broadcast over local tv
	President went from Olympic Hotel to Boeing Field and flew from Boeing Field to Portland International Airport Portland, Oregon - greeted by delegation of Oregon State officials and Republican leaders
	President addressed crowd

7704091464

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

September 4, 1975 continued

President motored from Airport to Sheraton Portland Hotel, Lloyd Center - met by Senators Hatfield and Packwood

President went to Grand Ballroom and attended an Oregon Republican Fundraising General Reception greeting approximately 400 guests

President then went to Promenade Room and attended an Oregon Republican Fundraising Special Reception, greeting approximately 50 guests attending reception

President then participated in a photo opportunity with Oregon Republican State Legislative candidates and head table guests for the Portland Republican Fundraising dinner

President then went to Grand Ballroom and attended Portland Republican Fundraising dinner - addressed approximately 750 guests attending dinner

President left hotel and motored to Portland Memorial Coliseum where he attended the Portland Youth Bicentennial Rally - President addressed approximately 12,6000 youths attending rally and participated in q&a session with participants in the Rally.

President motored from Coliseum to Portland International Airport, and flew from Portland Airport to McClellan AFB, Sacramento, Calif. - was greeted by delegation of California State officials and Republican leaders - also Gov. Brown of Calif.

President motored from AFB to Senator Hotel, Sacramento where he remained overnight

7704011641

September 5, 1975

President left Hotel and motored to Sacramento Community Convention Center where he addressed the 49th Annual Sacramento Host Breakfast sponsored by the Host Committee in conjunction with the California Chamber of Commerce for leaders in California government, business, finance, education agriculture and labor - President addressed approximately 1,250 guests attending breakfast

President motored from Convention Center to Senator Hotel and returned to his suite

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

September 5, 1975
continued

President walked from Hotel to the office of the Governor of California in the State Capitol (enroute President was target of unsuccessful assassination attempt)

At Capitol President met with Gov. Brown and then with members of Governor's Cabinet and Senior staff

President then went to Senate Lounge and met with bipartisan leaders of California State legislature

President then met with State legislature escort committee and went to the California State Assembly Chamber where he addressed a joint session of the Legislature

President returned to Senate Lounge and participated in individual photo opportunities with California Republican legislative leaders

President then went to another room and met with California Republican Legislators

President left Capitol and returned to Senator Hotel

President had lunch in hotel with Robert List, State Attorney General (R-Nevada), Dean Phillips, President of PRT Inc. Reno, Nevada, and Frank Fahrenkopf, , Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Nevada

President met with Chairman of Republican State Central Committee of California Paul R. Haerle

President the participated in an interview with KNXT-TV, LA - remarks taped for broadcast over nation-wide tv

President motored from Hotel to McClellan AFB, Sacramento, Calif.

President flew from McClellan AFB to Andrews AFB, Md. Arrived White House 10:50 pm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021641

Date of Trip	Events and places visited
September 11, 1975	8:09 President left WH for Andrews, flew to Dillant-Hopkins Airport, Keene, New Hampshire
	President was greeted by New Hampshire state officials and Republican leaders
	President motored from airport to storefront campaign headquarters of Republican Senatorial candidate Louis Wyman accompaned by Wyman, Sen. Cotton and Mayor of New Hampshire President greeted volunteer campaign workers
	President morored from campaign headquarters to Keene Center and addressed crowd assembled there for his visit
	President motored from Keene Center to Marlborough NH accompanied by Wyman and Sen. Cotton, he was greeted by Republican state officials
	President motored from Marlborough to Yankee Publication Co., Dublin, NY accompanied by Wyman and Sen. Cotton Greeted at Company by Republican officials and Editor of the Farmers Almanac and Yankee Magazine - received Bicentennial copy of the Farmers Almanac
	President went from Yankee Publication Co. to intersection of Route 137 and Route 101 with Wyman and Cotton - greeted crowds gathered there for visit
	President went from crowd site to radio station WSCV and ESLE-FM Peterborough, NH- participated in interview with radio correspondent
	President motored from radio station to Peterborough Town Center with Wyman and Cotton - was greeted by local government officials and Republican leaders
	President motored from Town Center to intersection of Route 31 and 101 with Wyman and Cotton - greeted crowd assembled there
	President then went to Hitchner Manufacturing Co. Milford, NY and participated in tour of Company
	President motored from Hitchner Co. to Bales Elementary School with Wyman andCotton - greeted students at school

7704001464

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Sept. 11, 1975
continued

President left School and went to Milford Town Square where he greeted crowd

President went from Milford to residence of Mr. George Brown, Amherst - Brown is a retired Post Office employee - Gov. Thompson greeted President at residence and the party attended a picnic luncheon

President went from lunc to Amherst Town Center with Wyman and Cotton, greeted crowds gathered there

President went from Town Center to Amherst Street Elementary School, Nashua, NY and greeted students gathered there

President went from School to Nashua, NY where he was greeted by Mayor of Nashua and viewed the Vargas Circus elephants in parade and greeted crowds

President went from Nashua to Sanders Manufacturing Co. with Wyman and Cotton, greeted crowds

President went from Sanders Co. to Hudson, NY and was greeted by Hudson Republican officials

President went from Hudson to Windham Center School with Wyman and Cotton, greeted students gathered for visit

President went from School to Salem, New Hampshire with Wyman and Cotton, was greeted by Republican organizers of Salem

President went from Salem to Hampstead with Wyman and Cotton, greeted by Hampstead officials

President went from Hampstead to Bakie Elementary School Kingston, NY - greeted by Kingston officials

President went from Kingston to Exeter Town Square, greeted crowds gathered for visit

President went from Town Square to Portsmouth Town Square with Wyman and Cotton, greeted crowds

President went from Portsmouth to Pease AFB - and flew to Andrews AFB, Md.

Returned to WH 10:21 pm

7704001645

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 12, 1975	President departed White Houe 11:23 am
	President flew to Lambert Field, St. Louis, Mo. greeted by Gov. Bond and airway officials
	President participated in q&a with members of press
	President motored from Lambert Field to KMOX TV and participated in interview with KMOX TV - remarks were videotaped for broadcast on Newsmakers tv program
	President motored to Henry W. Kiel Auditorium and attended the 95th Annual Session of the National Baptist Convention - addressed approximately 10,500 guests attending convention - remarks broadcast over local tv
	President motored from Auditorium to Bel Air Hilton Hotel where he attended a reception for Missouri Republican leaders - greeted by A. Fleischer, Chairman of Missouri Republican Finance Cmte. and D. Wolfsberger, Missouri State Republican Reception Chairman - addressed approximately 100 persons attending reception
	President motored from Bel Air Hilton Hotel to Stouffer's Riverfront Towers Inn and participated in the St. Louis White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs - President met with representatives of co-sponsoring organizatio of Conference and then addressed approximately 800 guests attending conference; President then participated in a q & a session with representatives of co-sponsoring organization - broadcast over local tv
	President left Conference and went to St. Louis International Airport where he flew to Kansas City Municipal Airport, Kansas City, Mo. - greeted by Mayor Wheeler of Kansas City
	President motored from Airport to Overland Park Ramada Inn where greeted by Gov. Bennet & Sen. Dole and Sen. Pearson
	President attended fundraiser receptionfor members of the Kansas Leadership Club and greeted approximately 125 Kansas Leadership Club reception guests
	President then went to Grand Ballroom and attended Kansas Capitol Club Reception, speaking to approximately 150 Kansas Capitol Club members attending reception

7704011647

Sept. 12, 1976
continued

President left Ramada Inn for Alameda Plaza Hotel where greeted by committee for Missouri Republican State Dinner

President attended a Missouri State Republican reception and greeted approximately 150 reception guests

President then met with Jerry B. Fogel, Republican Chairman for Jackson County, Missouri

President then attended Missouri State Republican Fundraiser Dinner and addressed approximately 650 guests

President overnight at Alameda Plaza Hotel

September 13

President motored from Alameda Plaza Hotelto Kansas City Municipal Airport - enroute the President participated in a photo opportunity with local Congressional and State candidates

President flew from Kansas City airport to Love Field, Dallas, Texas and was greeted by Mayor of Dallas and local state and government officials

President participated in q&a session with members of press

President motored from Love Field to Dallas Convention Center - greeted by Mary Louise Smith, Chairman of RNC and Richard Obenshain, Co-Chairman of RNC

President attended 18th Biennial National Federation of Republican Women's Convention - addressed approximately 2,5000 persons attending convention

President motored from Dallas Convention Center to residence of Mr. and Mrs. Trammell Crow and attended a luncheon with Texas Republican leaders

President motored from Crow residence to Souther Methodist University, Moody Coliseum

President attended the special convocation commemorating SMU's 60th Anniversary and Bicentennial observance President received honorary Doctor of Laws Degree and addressed approximately 9,100 students, faculty, alumni and guests

7704011643

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

September 13-
continued

President left SMU and went to Owen Fine Arts Building and then to Bob Hope Theatre - participated in tour of Bob Hope theatre and met with approximately 35 Fine Arts students

President motored from Owen Fine Arts Building to Love Field and flew to Midland-Odessa Airport, Midland, Texas greeted by Mayors of Midland and Odessa

President motored from Airport to Permian Basin Petroleum Museum Library and Hall of Fame

President participated in dedication ceremony of the Permain Basin Petroleum Museum Library and Hall of Fame

President introduced by Congressman Mahon and addressed guests attending the dedication ceremony. President toured the museum and greeted approximately 400 guests attending ceremony.

President motored from Museum to Mid-land-Odessa Airport. President flew from Midland Airport to Andrews AFB Md.

returned to WH 11:26

7704001464

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places visited
September 19, 1975	President departed WH 2:27 pm
	President flew from Andrews AFB to Tinker AFB Oklahoma City, Oklahoma - greeted by Oklahoma State Republican Officials
	President motored from Air Force Base to Oklahoma State Fairgrounds, accompanied by Sen. Bellmon and Sen. Bartlett
	President toured Oklahoma State Fairgrounds and went to the Beef Barn - participated on tour of livestock area
	President left livestock area and went to the Independence Arch and Constitution Fountain, Oklahoma State Fairgrounds
	President attended dedication ceremony for the Independent Arch - addressed approximately 23,000 people gathered for dedication ceremony
	President motored from Oklahoma State Fair to Lincoln Plaza Inn accompanied by Sen. Bartlett and Cong. Jarman
	President went to the Blue Room and attended a reception for approximately 50 "Gold Trunk and Diamond Trunk" Republican party contributors.
	President went to Independence Hall and attending a fundraising reception for "Bronze and Silver Trunk" Republican campaign contributors
	President addressed approximately 1,000 reception guests
	President motored from Lincoln Plaza Inn to Tinker AFB, Oklahoma City and flew from Tinker AFB to LA International Airport, LA - greeted by Mayor and city officials
	President motored from Airport to Century Plaza Hotel and went to suite - Remained overnight at Century Plaza Hotel

7704071550

FORMAL DESIGN COMMISSION OFFICIAL FILE COPY

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 20, 1975	President overnight at Century Plaza Hotel, L.A.
	President went to Regents Dining Room and attended a breakfast meeting with the Editorial Board of the LA Times newspaper
	President participated in an interview with KNBC -TV news staff to be shown over local TV
	President motored from Hotel to Santa Monica Helipad and flew by helicopter to Pepperdine University
	President went to Brok House residence of President of Pepperdine and attended a brunch and dedication ceremony for Brock House as permanent residence of President of Pepperdine
	President addressed approximately 300 guests attending ceremony and participated in photo opportunity with members of Board of Pepperdine
	President went from Brock House to Firestone Fieldhouse, Pepperdine U. and participated in a dedication ceremony of the Firestone Fieldhouse
	President then met with student leaders
	President received Honorary Degree and addressed faculty, students and special guests attending the dedication ceremony
	President motored from Firestone Fieldhouse to helipad and flew by helicopter from Pepperdine to L A International airport
	President then flew from LA International airport to Monterey Peninsula Airport, Monterey, greeted by Mayor and local officials
	President motored from airport to "Ryomi" , the Firestone residence, Pebble Beach, California
	President went from Ryomi to Cypress Point Golf Course, Pebble Beach and played golf
	President returned to Ryomi and later hosted private dinner
	President remained overnight at residence of Amb. Firestone

7704021165

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 21, 1975	President left Ryomi (Firestone residence) for Cypress Point Golf Course - played golf
	President attended a luncheon at Clubhouse (private)
	President motored from Colf Course to Firestone residence
	President motored from Ryomi to Monterey Peninsula Airport and felw to Moffett Field NAS, Palo Alto, Calif.
	President motored from Moffett Field to Stanford U. Law School, San Francisco, Calif.
	President participated in dedication ceremony of the new law school building at Stanford University, addressed students, faculty and alumni
	President met withapproximately 26 student leaders from campus law organizations and participated in a q & a session with students
	President attended reception with approximately 250 honored guests
	President motored from Sanford U. to Moffett Field and flew from Moffett to LA International Airport, LA
	President flew by helicopter from LA Airport to Disneyland Convention Center helipad, Anaheim, Calif.
	President motored from Disneyland helipad to Disneyland Convention Center and attended the 86th Annual Convention of the National Association of Life Underwriters (NALU)
	President addressed approximately 2,200 members and guests attending the John Newton Russell Awards dinner - broadcast liver over national tv
	President motored to Disneyland helipad and flew to Los Angeles International Airport, then flew to Monterey Penisula Airport, Monterey
	President motored from Airport to Ryomi and was overnight guest at Firestone residence

7704001652

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 22, 1975	President motored from Ryomi to Monterey Peninsula Airport, Monterey
	President flew from Monterey to San Frandisco International Airport Coast Facility
	President motored from Airport to Hyatt Regency Hotel
	President participated in the 58th Annual Convention of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and addressed approximately 550 members attending convention
	President motored from Hotel to the St. Francis Hotel
	President attended the general reception with approximately 1,000 members of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, then went to Borgia Room
	President attended a head table reception with approximately 20 head table guests
	President addressed approximately 1,000 members of the World Affairs Council of Northern California at luncheon
	President then participated in video-taped interview with members of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company Station KPIX
	President returned to motorcade (enroute he was the target of unsuccessful assassination attempt)
	President motored to San Francisco International Airport and flew to Andrews AFB - returned to WH 11:47 pm

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 30, 1975	President departed WH 4:43 pm
	President flew from Andrews AFB To O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Ill.
	President motored from Airport to Conrad Hilton Hotel, accompanied by Sen. Percy, Congressman Michel and Congressman John Anderson
	President attended General Reception of the Illinois State Republican Fundraiser Dinner sponsored by the Illinois Republican Finance Cmte. and addressed approximately 1,000 persons attending dinner
	The President attended an after dinner special reception for approximately 150 guests
	President left Conrad Hilton Hotel and went to North Shore Hilton Hotel where he was overnight guest
October 1, 1975	President participate in a meeting with approximately 36 Mayors from Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana
	President motored from North Shore Hilton Hotel to O'Hare Field and flew to Offutt AFB, Omaha, Nebraska
	President went from Offutt AFB to Omaha Hilton Hotel
	President participated in an interview (tv video-taped) with local networks
	President attended a reception with approximately 20 statewide Nebraska Republican leaders
	President participated in a WH Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs and addressed approximately 800 people attending the conference - he then participated in q& a session with sponsors of conference
	President motored from Hotel to Offutt AFB and flew from Offutt to Andrews AFB
	President arrived WH 9:40

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
October 10, 1975	President left WH 2:05
	President flew from Andrews AFB to Detroit Metropolitan-Wayne County Airport, Detroit, Michigan
	President motored from Detroit Airport to Cobo Hall
	President participated in his 20th Press Conference with members of the Detroit Press Club and the National Press Corps
	President motored from Cobo Hall to Hotel Portchartrain
	President attended reception hosted by Chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee for a group of Michigan "key men" Republicans
	President motored from Portchartrain Hotel to Cobo Hall
	President attended special reception for 750 guests preceeding Michigan Republicans Salute the President dinner
	President then attended Michigan Republicans Salute the President fundraiser dinner hosted by Republican party of Michigan - President addressed approximately 3,850 guests
	President motored from Cobo Hall to Detroit Metropolitan-Wayne County Airport
	President flew from Detroit airport to Andrews AFB
	President returned to White House 11:51

OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
October 29, 1975	1:35 President left White House
	President flew from Andrews AFB to L A International Airport, California
	President motored from LA Airport to Century Plaza Hotel
	President attended a reception for approximately 50 California "Keyman" Republican leaders
	President met in his suite with Chairman of the President Ford Steering Committee of California, and 2 Members of President Ford Steering Committee of California
	President attended a receptionfor approximately 200 members of Calfornia Republican Golden Circle Club and the Statesman Club
	President attended a California "Salute the President Dinner"
	President remained overnight at Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles
October 30, 1975	President went to Santa Monica Room at Hotel and participated in interview with local TV stations
	President went from hotel to LA International Airport where he flew to San Francisco International Airport
	President motored from Airport to the St. Francis Hotel
	President attended a California "Keyman" meeting with approximately 40 Republican leaders
	President attended a VIP reception for approximately 150 guests attending the fundraiser luncheon hosted by Republican State Central Committee of California
	President attended a fundraiser luncheon hosted by the Republican State Central Committee of California, greeted head table guests and addressed approximately 700 guests attending luncheon
	President motored from St. Francis Hotel to San Francisco Airport and flew from San Francisco to General Mitchell Field, Milwaukee Wisconsin

7701161655

GENERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

October 30, 1975
(continued)

President motored from Mitchell Feild to Milwaukee Performing Arts Center

President attended a General Fundraiser Reception hosted by Republican Party of Wisconsin, greeted approximately 500 reception guests

President attended a fundraiser dinner hosted by the Republican Party of Wisconsin, address ed approximately 500 guests attending dinner

President attended a Wisconsin Republican fundraiser program for guests attending the Wisconsin fundraiser reception and dinner

President went to Uihlein Hall and addressed the crowd gathered for the Wisconsin fundraiser program

President attended a reception for approximately 400 members of the Wisconsin Republican Founder's Club and greeted guests attending reception

President motored from Milwaukee Performing Arts Center to General Mitchell Feild and flew to Andrews AFB

President returned to White House 1:00 am Oct. 31

7704031637

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places visited
November 14, 1975	8:55 President left White House (Callaway was on Marine I) President flew from Andrews AFB to Raleigh-Durham Airport, Raleigh, NC (Callaway was on AF I)
	President motored from Raleigh -Durham airport to McDougald Gymnasium, N.C. Central University, Durham
	President greeted platform guests participating in Convocation of North Carolina Central University
	President participated in the Convocation of University and was presented with an honorary Doctor of Laws degree
	President addressed approximately 5,000 guests attending convention
	President met with delegation of students from university
	President motored from University to Roayl Villa Hotel
	President attended a Republican Sponsors reception hosted by Gov. Holshouser for approximately 35 guests
	President went to Room E, accompanied by Howard Callaway and Gov. Holshouser
	President participated in reception hosted by the PFC for approximately 50 guests.
	President attended a North Carolina Republican fundraiser reception - and addressed approximately 1,000 guests attending reception
	President motored from Hotel to Raleigh-Durham Airport and flew from Raleigh-Durham airport to Dobbins AFB, Marrietta, Ga. - greeted by Republican State officials
	President motored from AFB to Marriott Motor Hotel. President participated in pho to opportunity with Republican candidates for Congress from Georgia
	President participated in his 22nd Press Conference - broadcast liver over local TV
	President attended reception hosted by President Ford Committee for approximately 30 guests

7704071650

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

November 14, 1975
continued

President attended reception for approximately 75 members of the Georgia Republican Executive Cmte. and theGeorgia Chairman's Club

President attended a Georgia Republican Fundraiser Dinner

President addressed approximately 1,000 dinner guests

President participated in a meeting with Georgia Republican leaders

President motored from the Marriott Motor Hotel to Dobbins AFB , Marietta, Ga.

President flew from Dobbins to Andrews AFB, Md.

President deplaned and participated in a departure ceremony on the occasion of his visit to the International Economic Summit meeting, Rambouillet, France

President left Andrews for Orly International Airport, Paris, France 12:53

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and Places Visited
November 7, 1975	9:22 President left White House
	President flew from Andrews to Westover AFB, Chicopee, Mass.
	President motored from Westover AFB to Baystate West Hotel Springfield, Mass.
	President attended the 21st Annual Convention of the New England Society of Newspaper Editors and greeted approximately 125 guests attending the convention
	The President participated in a q & a session
	President motored from Hotel to Westover AFB and flew from Westover to Logal International Airport, Boston.
	President motored from Logan International Airport to Sheraton Boston Hotel
	President attended the 51st New England Council Conference and addressed approximately 800 guests attending the conference
	President participated in a meeting with Massachusetts Republican leaders
	President participated in a meeting with Northeastern State Governors
	President motored from Sheraton Boston Hotel to Museum of Science, Science Park
	President greeted approximately 200 guests attending Mass. fundraising Key Club Reception
	President attending the Massachusetts fundraising Century Club reception
	President addressed approximately 500 guests attending the reception and greeted reception guests
	President motored from Museum of Science to Logan International Airport
	President went to the British Airways Lounge where he met with approximately 50 Massachusetts elected Republican officials

7704014661

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

November 7, 1975
continued

President went to platform in the John A. Volpe International Terminal and attended the Massachusetts Republican Fundraiser Celebration Reception

President addressed approximately 1,500 guests attending the reception

President flew from Logan Airport to Andrews AFB

10:00 President returned to White House

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

WHITE & CASE
7 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

7704001466 2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

HAND DELIVERED

Hand Delivered

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

OC #846
MUR 142

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

'76 OCT 26 PM 1:54

October 22, 1976

HAND DELIVERED

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

763146

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

In further response to your letter of October 4, 1976, and supplementing our submission under cover of my letter dated October 18, 1976, we are submitting to you the enclosed affidavit of Stuart K. Spencer, Deputy Chairman of the President Ford Committee, sworn to October 22, 1976, together with a letter signed by Robert P. Visser, Esq. and T. Timothy Ryan, Esq., General Counsel and Assistant General Counsel of the President Ford Committee, respectively, under cover of which the aforementioned affidavit was transmitted to me. I believe these two documents fully respond to your very specific request, quoted in both of those documents, to be advised of the reasons why the President's trip to North Carolina and Georgia on November 14, 1975, as well as a portion of his trip to Boston, Massachusetts on November 7, 1975, were reimbursed by the President Ford Committee, whereas the rest of the travel listed in the attachment to your letter of October 4, 1976 was not so charged.

I have been advised orally today by Benton L. Becker, Esq. on behalf of the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee that that Committee has now assembled a certain amount of documentation in response to my letter of October 11, 1976, based on your letter of October 4, 1976, and I will promptly review those materials and forward to you such of them as appear to be responsive to your request.

As indicated in my previous correspondence with you on this matter, additional time continues to be required

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704114363

for completion of our submission in response to your request, but, as evidenced by our submission of October 18 and the enclosures to this letter, we are continuing to furnish you information and documents promptly as they become available.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704114561

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011863

AFFIDAVIT

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: ss.

STUART K. SPENCER, being duly sworn, says:

1. I am Deputy Chairman of the President Ford Committee (PFC), and I make this affidavit in opposition to the complaint designated MUR 142(76) filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). In particular, I make this affidavit in response to the request made by John G. Murphy, Jr., Esquire, General Counsel of the FEC, in a letter dated October 4, 1976 addressed to Charles N. Brower, Esquire, Special Counsel to the President Ford Committee, for a "sworn statement" indicating:

> "[T]he basis by which [the PFC] distinguished between the President's candidacy related appearances and his party building appearances between the period in question [June 1975-January 1, 1976]."

Mr. Murphy's letter request expressed particular interest:

> "[I]n two dates -- Boston, Massachusetts and Portsmouth, New Hampshire on November 7, 1975 and Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975 -- which apparently involved payments by the Republican National Committee that were later repaid by the President Ford Committee."

2. During the month of November 1975 I was Deputy Chairman of the PFC and have personal knowledge of the reasons why all of the expenses for the President relative to a trip to Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975 were paid by the PFC. At that time Howard H. Callaway was Chairman of the PFC and was experiencing a considerable amount of opposition because of

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

certain statements he had previously made at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference held in Houston, Texas. It was determined to be important at that time for the President to appear together at a public event accompanied by Mr. Callaway, who prior to November 14,1975 had at no time accompanied the President on any of his travels while serving as Chairman of the PFC. The decision was made for political reasons related to the candidacy of the President that Mr. Callaway should accompany the President to North Carolina and Georgia, the latter being Mr. Callaway's home state, in order to reinforce Mr. Callaway's position in the South as Chairman of the PFC. Accordingly, the PFC reimbursed the Republican National Committee (RNC) $3,680 with respect to the North Carolina stop and $5,136.03 with respect to the Georgia stop on November 14, 1975.

3. All other travel of the President from June 19, 1975 to January 1, 1976 listed in the attachment to the aforementioned letter of Mr. Murphy was deemed at the time to be properly chargeable to the RNC as Republican party building activities, although I understand that subsequently, out of an overabundance of caution, the PFC reimbursed the RNC the sum of $362.40 for a portion of the President's trip to Boston, Massachusetts on November 7, 1975, where the President made the following incidental remark in conjunction with

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

7704071563

his candidacy on departure from Logan Airport to return to Washington:

> "Now let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, and every other Primary, and I know he's going to win. He's going to stick it out and he is going to win, if he has any competition, right up to the end of August, 1976. And, don't forget it."

Stuart K. Spencer
STUART K. SPENCER

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: ss.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of October, 1976.

June R. Watson
Notary Public JUNE R. WATSON

My Commission Expires October 31, 1979

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704121 4637

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

'76 OCT 26 PM 1:56

HAND DELIVERED

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

HAND DELIVERED

7704001468

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

October 22, 1976

'76 OCT 26 PM 1:55

HAND DELIVERED

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

In further response to your letter of October 4, 1976, and supplementing our submission under cover of my letter dated October 18, 1976, we are submitting to you the enclosed affidavit of Stuart K. Spencer, Deputy Chairman of the President Ford Committee, sworn to October 22, 1976, together with a letter signed by Robert P. Visser, Esq. and T. Timothy Ryan, Esq., General Counsel and Assistant General Counsel of the President Ford Committee, respectively, under cover of which the aforementioned affidavit was transmitted to me. I believe these two documents fully respond to your very specific request, quoted in both of those documents, to be advised of the reasons why the President's trip to North Carolina and Georgia on November 14, 1975, as well as a portion of his trip to Boston, Massachusetts on November 7, 1975, were reimbursed by the President Ford Committee, whereas the rest of the travel listed in the attachment to your letter of October 4, 1976 was not so charged.

I have been advised orally today by Benton L. Becker, Esq. on behalf of the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee that that Committee has now assembled a certain amount of documentation in response to my letter of October 11, 1976, based on your letter of October 4, 1976, and I will promptly review those materials and forward to you such of them as appear to be responsive to your request.

As indicated in my previous correspondence with you on this matter, additional time continues to be required

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

7704104560

for completion of our submission in response to your request, but, as evidenced by our submission of October 18 and the enclosures to this letter, we are continuing to furnish you information and documents promptly as they become available.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704901671

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

October 22, 1976

Charles N. Brower, Esquire
Special Counsel for the
President Ford Committee
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 142(76)

7704001457

Dear Charlie:

You have asked that the President Ford Committee (PFC) supply a sworn statement and any other relevant information in response to the following request contained in the letter to you of John G. Murphy, Jr., Esquire, General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission (FEC), dated October 4, 1976:

> "Finally, please indicate the basis by which you distinguished between the President's candidacy related appearances and his party building appearances during the period in question. In particular, we are interested in two dates -- Boston, Massachusetts and Portsmouth, New Hampshire on November 7, 1975 and Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975 -- which apparently involved payments by the Republican National Committee that were later repaid by the President Ford Committee."

As the enclosed affidavit of Stuart K. Spencer, Deputy Chairman of the PFC, sworn to October 22, 1976 indicates, all travel referred to in the attachment to Mr. Murphy's letter has consistently been regarded by both the Republican National Committee and the President Ford Committee (PFC) as Republican party building in nature, and therefore not chargeable to the PFC, with the single exception of the November 14, 1975 trip to North Carolina and Georgia. As Mr. Spencer's affidavit explains, due to the particular political circumstances at the time, it was deemed important that the then Chairman of the PFC, Howard H. Callaway, a Georgia native and resident,

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

accompany the President to his home state, although Mr. Callaway to our knowledge had never otherwise accompanied the President on any of the trips referred to in the attachment to Mr. Murphy's letter. Accordingly, it appeared that the trip through North Carolina to Georgia was sufficiently related to the candidacy of the President as to require the PFC to make reimbursement for the travel costs of the President.

As Mr. Spencer's affidavit also reflects, a portion of the President's trip to Boston on November 7, 1976, to the extent of $362.40, was reimbursed by the PFC notwithstanding that the trip to Boston in general was regarded as Republican party building and not related to the President's candidacy. The affidavit of Mr. Spencer correctly describes this reimbursement as having been made out of an "over-abundance of caution". At the very last stop on that trip, Logan Airport in Boston, prior to departure to Washington, the President in the midst of other remarks made this brief statement:

> "Now let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, and every other Primary, and I know he's going to win. He's going to stick it out and he is going to win, if he has any competition, right up to the end of August, 1976. And, don't forget it."

Upon review of all of the travel records from the latter half of 1975, it was determined that this was the first time that the President stated publicly that he would enter all primary elections, and this statement was conveyed to the American public by the national media as a major political decision respecting the 1976 Republican nomination. We are sure that Mr. Murphy himself will recall that Mr. Visser telephoned him personally as soon as he heard press reports of these frankly unexpected comments of the President. Mr. Visser stated to Mr. Murphy that, in view of the candidate-related nature of the President's remarks in conjunction with a trip which had been made solely for the benefit of the Republican National Committee (RNC), the PFC had decided to make reimbursement for the applicable portion of that trip so as to avoid any conceivable question with respect to the proper source of finances with respect to that portion of the trip. Mr. Murphy doubtless will also recall that at the time of his telephone conversation with Mr. Visser, no allocation regulations had been issued in final form by the FEC and all lawyers involved in the election process were generally uncertain of the necessity for any allocation under such circumstances. In retrospect, we believe such allocation may well not have been required

7704014467

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

by law, but having made it we have let it stand. In any event, no similar statement was made by the President in any of the previous travel referred to in the attachment to Mr. Murphy's letter, and the only subsequent trip, to North Carolina and Georgia, was fully reimbursed by the PFC, as indicated above.

We trust this information, together with the enclosed affidavit of Mr. Spencer, will be sufficient to satisfy the Commission as to the reasons for reimbursement in the two cited cases and the reason that none was contemplated with respect to the other trips. Should the FEC require any further information, however, we will endeavor to meet its requirements expeditiously.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Visser

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

Timothy Ryan

T. Timothy Ryan
Assistant General Counsel

RPV:nh:r
Enclosure

7704014677

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

AFFIDAVIT

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: ss.

STUART K. SPENCER, being duly sworn, says:

1. I am Deputy Chairman of the President Ford Committee (PFC), and I make this affidavit in opposition to the complaint designated MUR 142(76) filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). In particular, I make this affidavit in response to the request made by John G. Murphy, Jr., Esquire, General Counsel of the FEC, in a letter dated October 4, 1976 addressed to Charles N. Brower, Esquire, Special Counsel to the President Ford Committee, for a "sworn statement" indicating:

> "[T]he basis by which [the PFC] distinguished between the President's candidacy related appearances and his party building appearances between the period in question [June 1975-January 1, 1976]."

Mr. Murphy's letter request expressed particular interest:

> "[I]n two dates -- Boston, Massachusetts and Portsmouth, New Hampshire on November 7, 1975 and Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975 -- which apparently involved payments by the Republican National Committee that were later repaid by the President Ford Committee."

2. During the month of November 1975 I was Deputy Chairman of the PFC and have personal knowledge of the reasons why all of the expenses for the President relative to a trip to Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975 were paid by the PFC. At that time Howard H. Callaway was Chairman of the PFC and was experiencing a considerable amount of opposition because of

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704014671

certain statements he had previously made at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference held in Houston, Texas. It was determined to be important at that time for the President to appear together at a public event accompanied by Mr. Callaway, who prior to November 14,1975 had at no time accompanied the President on any of his travels while serving as Chairman of the PFC. The decision was made for political reasons related to the candidacy of the President that Mr. Callaway should accompany the President to North Carolina and Georgia, the latter being Mr. Callaway's home state, in order to reinforce Mr. Callaway's position in the South as Chairman of the PFC. Accordingly, the PFC reimbursed the Republican National Committee (RNC) $3,680 with respect to the North Carolina stop and $5,136.03 with respect to the Georgia stop on November 14, 1975.

3. All other travel of the President from June 19, 1975 to January 1, 1976 listed in the attachment to the aforementioned letter of Mr. Murphy was deemed at the time to be properly chargeable to the RNC as Republican party building activities, although I understand that subsequently, out of an overabundance of caution, the PFC reimbursed the RNC the sum of $362.40 for a portion of the President's trip to Boston, Massachusetts on November 7, 1975, where the President made the following incidental remark in conjunction with

7704001467

his candidacy on departure from Logan Airport to return to Washington:

> "Now let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, and every other Primary, and I know he's going to win. He's going to stick it out and he is going to win, if he has any competition, right up to the end of August, 1976. And, don't forget it."

Stuart K. Spencer
STUART K. SPENCER

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: ss.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22nd day of October, 1976.

June R. Watson
Notary Public JUNE R. WATSON

My Commission Expires October 31, 1979

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001675

Andrew Athy, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

October 22, 1976

Charles N. Brower, Esquire
Special Counsel for the
President Ford Committee
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

RE: MUR 142(76)

Dear Charlie:

You have asked that the President Ford Committee (PFC) supply a sworn statement and any other relevant information in response to the following request contained in the letter to you of John G. Murphy, Jr., Esquire, General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission (FEC), dated October 4, 1976:

> "Finally, please indicate the basis by which you distinguished between the President's candidacy related appearances and his party building appearances during the period in question. In particular, we are interested in two dates -- Boston, Massachusetts and Portsmouth, New Hampshire on November 7, 1975 and Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975 -- which apparently involved payments by the Republican National Committee that were later repaid by the President Ford Committee."

As the enclosed affidavit of Stuart K. Spencer, Deputy Chairman of the PFC, sworn to October 22, 1976 indicates, all travel referred to in the attachment to Mr. Murphy's letter has consistently been regarded by both the Republican National Committee and the President Ford Committee (PFC) as Republican party building in nature, and therefore not chargeable to the PFC, with the single exception of the November 14, 1975 trip to North Carolina and Georgia. As Mr. Spencer's affidavit explains, due to the particular political circumstances at the time, it was deemed important that the then Chairman of the PFC, Howard H. Callaway, a Georgia native and resident,

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

accompany the President to his home state, although Mr. Callaway to our knowledge had never otherwise accompanied the President on any of the trips referred to in the attachment to Mr. Murphy's letter. Accordingly, it appeared that the trip through North Carolina to Georgia was sufficiently related to the candidacy of the President as to require the PFC to make reimbursement for the travel costs of the President.

As Mr. Spencer's affidavit also reflects, a portion of the President's trip to Boston on November 7, 1976, to the extent of $362.40, was reimbursed by the PFC notwithstanding that the trip to Boston in general was regarded as Republican party building and not related to the President's candidacy. The affidavit of Mr. Spencer correctly describes this reimbursement as having been made out of an "over-abundance of caution". At the very last stop on that trip, Logan Airport in Boston, prior to departure to Washington, the President in the midst of other remarks made this brief statement:

> "Now let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, and every other Primary, and I know he's going to win. He's going to stick it out and he is going to win, if he has any competition, right up to the end of August, 1976. And, don't forget it."

Upon review of all of the travel records from the latter half of 1975, it was determined that this was the first time that the President stated publicly that he would enter all primary elections, and this statement was conveyed to the American public by the national media as a major political decision respecting the 1976 Republican nomination. We are sure that Mr. Murphy himself will recall that Mr. Visser telephoned him personally as soon as he heard press reports of these frankly unexpected comments of the President. Mr. Visser stated to Mr. Murphy that, in view of the candidate-related nature of the President's remarks in conjunction with a trip which had been made solely for the benefit of the Republican National Committee (RNC), the PFC had decided to make reimbursement for the applicable portion of that trip so as to avoid any conceivable question with respect to the proper source of finances with respect to that portion of the trip. Mr. Murphy doubtless will also recall that at the time of his telephone conversation with Mr. Visser, no allocation regulations had been issued in final form by the FEC and all lawyers involved in the election process were generally uncertain of the necessity for any allocation under such circumstances. In retrospect, we believe such allocation may well not have been required

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001167

by law, but having made it we have let it stand. In any event, no similar statement was made by the President in any of the previous travel referred to in the attachment to Mr. Murphy's letter, and the only subsequent trip, to North Carolina and Georgia, was fully reimbursed by the PFC, as indicated above.

We trust this information, together with the enclosed affidavit of Mr. Spencer, will be sufficient to satisfy the Commission as to the reasons for reimbursement in the two cited cases and the reason that none was contemplated with respect to the other trips. Should the FEC require any further information, however, we will endeavor to meet its requirements expeditiously.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Visser

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

Timothy Ryan

T. Timothy Ryan
Assistant General Counsel

RPV:nh:r
Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021690

19 OCT 1976

Charles W. Brower, Esquire
Special Counsel for the
President Ford Committee
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

This letter is in response to your letter of October 11, 1976.

As you were notified by letter on October 4, 1976, the Federal Election Commission, pursuant to its powers under 2 U.S.C. §437g, has found reason to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of §434 of the Federal Election Campaign laws by failing to report costs incurred in connection with Presidential appearances between the time President Ford registered as a candidate with the Federal Election Commission (June 9, 1975) and January 1, 1976. The Commission is therefore conducting an investigation of this matter in connection with which you have been requested to submit any relevant factual or legal materials. It was further requested that such materials be submitted within ten (10) days of receipt of the notification letter.

In response to your inquiries, we note that the basis of the Commission's reason to believe determination was indicated in the notification letter. It is our understanding that the materials mentioned therein are all available to you. Accordingly, we trust that you will respond within the time frame suggested.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: John G. Murphy, Jr.
John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

AAthy/SSwirsky:jl:10/18/76
cc: MUR 142(76) File
JGM
Oldaker
SSwirsky

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001468

MUR 142

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

HAND DELIVERED

76 OCT 19 A10:07

October 18, 1976

762984

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I am submitting to you herewith certain materials requested by your letter of October 4, 1976 in the above-entitled matter, and wish to inform you of the present status of our response.

As set forth in my interim response of October 11, 1976, I have requested the Counsel to the President and the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee to assist in assembling the materials you requested. I enclose a copy of a letter to me from Philip W. Buchen, Esq., Counsel to the President, dated October 16, 1976, transmitting a substantial portion of the materials you have requested, as set forth hereinafter, and stating as follows:

> "As you have discussed with a member of my staff, this is a time-consuming process, and it cannot be entirely completed in the time frame sought by Mr. Murphy. However, in order to comply as fully as possible with this request, I will provide to you on a periodic basis the materials as soon as they are available to this office. Accordingly, I am enclosing copies of the texts of speeches made by Mr. Ford in connection with the specific trips identified by Mr. Murphy.
>
> I am hopeful that with the current resources available to this office, we can fully respond to this request within fifteen additional days."

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
BEFORE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704016

I also enclose a copy of a letter sent to me by Benton L. Becker, Esq., a partner of the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee, informing me likewise that steps are being taken expeditiously to enable us to achieve full compliance with your requests. Mr. Becker, who is most directly supervising this matter for the General Counsel, was hospitalized last week, but we trust that his recovery will also facilitate early completion of our submission.

The enclosed materials constitute all of the texts of speeches and press conferences which you have requested, and inferentially set forth a list of President Ford's appearances during the travels referred to in the attachment to your letter of October 4, 1976. I believe some particularized comment is required in conjunction with most of the "trips" you have listed, and therefore will discuss them hereafter seriatim.

July 11, 1975. Since the attachment to your letter of October 4, 1976 is copied verbatim from entries in the "Index of Materials Relating to Individual Presidential Trips" enclosed with the initial complaint of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in this matter, it perpetuates that Committee's error in listing stops at Traverse City, Interlochen, Mackinac Island and Kincheloe Air Force Base in Michigan for this date. In fact, only Chicago, Illinois was visited by the President on July 11, 1975. Nevertheless, since you have listed these Michigan locations, and the material enclosed with the DNC complaint refers to appearances in those places, the enclosed materials include remarks made in all those locations on July 12-13, 1975, as well as the text of a news conference and a commencement address in Chicago on July 12, 1975. You thus will find in the enclosed materials a text relating to each appearance listed in the materials accompanying the DNC complaint.

August 19, 1975. The materials furnished by the DNC in support of this complaint fail to disclose that the appearances in Minneapolis, Minnesota and Pekin and Peoria, Illinois on this date were part of a trip which commenced on August 18, 1975 with an appearance at the Iowa State Fair followed by an appearance at a Republican reception held in the Grand Ballroom in the Hotel Fort Des Moines in Des Moines, Iowa. Following that reception the President attended a Republican dinner in the same hotel. The materials reflecting

7704016303

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

these appearances have been included in the enclosed materials for the sake of completeness. In addition, the materials enclosed with the DNC complaint refer to Vail, Colorado, where this trip commenced and to which the President returned. Inasmuch as the DNC thus refers to Vail, Colorado it has been deemed appropriate to include the text of President Ford's remarks to members of the boards of directors of certain wheat growing organizations in Vail on August 20, 1975. With these amplifications, the enclosed materials include texts related to all the appearances mentioned in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint.

August 24-25, 1975. The enclosed materials include texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to these dates.

August 30, 1975. The DNC omitted to state in the materials submitted with its complaint that in addition to the four appearances listed in those materials for this date the President made extended remarks at a gala dinner reception in Newport, Rhode Island at the Slocum residence. With the addition of the text of these remarks, the enclosed materials include texts related to all the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

September 4, 1975. As with the trip of August 19, 1975, and indeed four subsequent trips, the DNC has failed to disclose that the trip of this date was part of a longer trip which continued to Sacramento, California. The President spoke on September 5, 1975 at the Forty-Ninth Annual Sacramento Host Breakfast in conjunction with the California Chamber of Commerce, later addressed the California State Legislature, and subsequently made remarks to reporters in both Sacramento and upon his return to Washington. For the sake of completeness, the texts of remarks at all these appearances are included, together with texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

September 11, 1975. The enclosed materials include texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7 7 0 4 0 0 1 1 6 3

September 12, 1975. Again the DNC in its complaint has failed to point out that appearances of this date in St. Louis and the Kansas City, Missouri area were part of a larger trip which continued on September 13, 1975 to include appearances in Dallas, Texas at the 18th Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Republican Women and at a special convocation at Southern Methodist University commemorating the Bicentennial and the University's 60th anniversary, as well as travel to Midland, Texas, where the President made remarks both at the airport and at the new museum in Midland. Accordingly, the texts of remarks at these appearances are included, together with texts relating to each of the appearances to which the DNC complaint refers with respect to this date.

September 20, 1975. Once more the DNC failed to disclose in its complaint materials that the appearances by the President on this date were part of a longer trip. The trip commenced in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on September 19, 1975 with remarks at the opening of the Oklahoma State Fair and remarks at a Republican reception, before continuing to appearances in Los Angeles on September 20, 1975. Regarding September 20, 1975, the DNC failed to refer in the materials submitted with its complaint to one of the two Presidential appearances at Pepperdine University, and the text of remarks on that occasion is included. In addition, this trip continued on September 21 to the Stanford School of Law, where the President dedicated a new school building and participated in a question and answer session with law students, and continued later to Anaheim, California, where the President spoke to the annual convention of the National Association of Life Underwriters. From there the President continued to San Francisco, which travel is described both by the DNC and the attachment to your letter as a separate trip (it is dealt with in the following paragraph). Texts of remarks with respect to all of these additional related occasions, as well as with respect to all of the appearances referred to in the materials submitted by the DNC with respect to this date, are enclosed herewith.

September 22, 1976. The enclosed materials include texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date. As indicated above, this was a continuation of a trip covering Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Los Angeles, Mailbu, Stanford University and Anaheim, California.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7 7 0 1 0 0 1 4 0 8

October 1, 1975. Once again, the DNC has isolated a portion of a trip, and has failed to state in the materials submitted with its complaint that the appearance in Omaha, Nebraska on this date was preceded on the same trip by a Presidential speech at a Republican fundraising dinner in Chicago on the previous day, September 30, 1975. Accordingly, I have added the text of those remarks to the enclosed materials, which encompass texts related to each of the appearances referred to in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

October 10, 1975. The enclosed materials include texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

October 29-30, 1975. One more time the DNC has carefully refrained from disclosing that the travel to which it objects was part of a more extensive trip. This trip did not conclude, as the complaint suggests, in San Francisco. It concluded in Milwaukee, Wisconsin with remarks at a Republican fundraising dinner, as well as later remarks at a Republican rally. Accordingly, texts of the remarks on those occasions, as well as texts with respect to each appearance referred to for these dates in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint, are enclosed herewith.

November 7, 1976. The enclosed materials include texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

November 14, 1975. The enclosed materials include texts related to all of the appearances described in the materials submitted with the DNC complaint with respect to this date.

As forecast in my previous letter of October 11, 1976, more time will be required for completion of the extensive submission under oath requested by your letter of October 4, 1976. As indicated above, Counsel to the President believes that in any event approximately fifteen additional days will be required to complete the work which must be done by that office to assist us in making the requested submission. In addition, it is evident from the enclosed letter of Benton L. Becker, Esq. that substantial inquiries and review must be made within the Republican organization.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704163

Finally, the affidavit setting forth the rationale for the President Ford Committee distinguishing between treatment of trips on November 7 and 14, 1975, which were charged in whole or in part to the President Ford Committee, and the other trips, which were not, is in the process of preparation by the General Counsel and Assistant General Counsel of the President Ford Committee at my request. You will doubtless appreciate that these individuals' time is more than fully occupied with the most immediate details of the Presidential election campaign, particularly since they are the only two lawyers on that staff, and that a certain amount of additional time will be required before our submission can be completed. This is all the more so since you ask for "sworn statements by individuals with personal knowledge of the matters raised" which must be drafted and executed.

I will continue to submit to you the requested materials as soon as they are made available to me and request in the meantime that we be granted a period of at least fifteen (15) additional days in order to complete our submission. As stated more extensively in my letter of October 11, 1976, no rights are jeopardized by such an extension, inasmuch as the DNC complaint relates to the primary election period and not to any alleged ongoing violations. Furthermore, 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4) of the Act the Commission is charged with administering mandates that subjects of any Commission investigation be granted a "reasonable opportunity" to respond.

I will appreciate your consideration and will contact you again as soon as possible with further information in response to your letter of October 4, 1976.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704163

CRAMER, HABER & BECKER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
475 L ENFANT PLAZA, S.W
SUITE 4100
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024

TELEPHONE 554-1100
AREA CODE 202

TELEX ITT 440048

WILLIAM C. CRAMER
RICHARD M. HABER
BENTON L. BECKER
ANTHONY J. McMAHON
MICHAEL A. MILWEE
GORDON M. STRAUSS
KENNETH M. BELLIS
JAN M. PEDERSON

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES W. SANDMAN JR
F. LAWRENCE MATTHEWS

October 18, 1976

Charles N. Brower, Esq.
Special Counsel for the
President Ford Committee
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

This office is in receipt of a copy of a letter dated October 4, 1976, from John G. Murphy, Jr., General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to you advising that the Federal Election Commission has found "reason to believe" that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of Section 434(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Laws and requested your submittal to the FEC of, "all relevant records pertaining to President Ford's Travel, including a summary of whom he saw, where he appeared, and texts of his speeches and public conferences. In addition, ...copies of all solicitation materials used at fundraising or party promotional events at which the President appeared, as well as any other materials pertinent to the event, such as pictures or press releases."

Further, this office is in receipt of your letter requesting that I immediately direct our client, the Republican National Committee (RNC), to expeditiously and thoroughly conduct a search of the RNC records requested in Mr. Murphy's communique and produce same to you. Such a directive has been transmitted to our client and they have asked me to assure you of their full and complete cooperation in this endeavor. Unfortunately, my unanticipated absence from my office last week has, in part, contributed to an unfortunate delay in securing further production.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704101637

oused in
e of this

cated at
materials
to you for
view of the
isplacement
a mutual
the Republican
am informed
til 30 days.

on Commission's
ing - continuing
t the Com-
hedule.

All relevant records requested by Mr. Murphy housed in our law office were delivered to you by an associate of this office on Friday evening, October 15, 1976.

RNC personnel continues to review the files located at the 310 First Street, S.E. address. When requested materials are obtained, they will be periodically transmitted to you for forwarding to the Federal Election Commission. In view of the shortage of personnel at this time, the scattered displacement of the requested records and, what I believe to be a mutual desire of both the Federal Election Commission and the Republican National Committee, to conduct a thorough search, I am informed that completion cannot reasonably be anticipated until 30 days.

Since the subject matter of the Federal Election Commission's inquiry does not represent an allegation of an ongoing - continuing violation of the Federal Election Laws; I trust that the Commission will find no objection to this requested schedule.

Very truly yours,

BENTON L. BECKER

cc: The Honorable Mary Louise Smith
Mr. Eddie Mahe
Mr. Robert Visser

7704116081

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 16, 1976

Re: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

In response to your letter of October 11, 1976, concerning the above-identified matter before the Federal Election Commission, my office is in the process of assembling, as expeditiously as possible, the materials requested by Mr. Murphy, to the extent such materials are located at the White House.

As you have discussed with a member of my staff, this is a time-consuming process, and it cannot be entirely completed in the time frame sought by Mr. Murphy. However, in order to comply as fully as possible with this request, I will provide to you on a periodic basis the materials as soon as they are available to this office. Accordingly, I am enclosing copies of the texts of speeches made by Mr. Ford in connection with the specific trips identified by Mr. Murphy.

I am hopeful that with the current resources available to this office, we can fully respond to this request within fifteen additional days.

I trust this material will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Charles N. Brower, Esq.
Special Counsel for the
President Ford Committee
1747 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021691

CC #720 MUR 142

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

76 OCT 13 P12:13

October 11, 1976

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

762847

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Your letter of October 4, 1976 addressed to me as Special Counsel to the President Ford Committee in conjunction with the complaint designated MUR 142(76) filed by the Democratic National Committee with the Federal Election Commission was received in my office October 6, 1976 and since such receipt has been the object of my careful attention. I have conferred with the General Counsel and other staff of the President Ford Committee and have determined that substantially all of the multitudinous materials requested in your letter, to the extent they are currently available, are in the possession, custody or control either of the Republican National Committee or of the Executive Office of the President, and in any event are not in the hands of the President Ford Committee. Accordingly, I have written directly to the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee and the Counsel to the President, and have this day requested their prompt and full cooperation in preparing the submission you desire. Copies of my letters to them are enclosed.

In proceeding to respond to your letter there are two matters as to which I must seek clarification. First of all, your letter states that the finding of the Commission is "based on a complaint with supporting documentation filed by Robert S. Strauss on behalf of the Democratic National Committee," as well as my response to that complaint on behalf of the President Ford Committee, and "available reports and statements." You will recall, as pointed out at length in my letter of response to the complaint on behalf of the President Ford Committee dated July 23, 1976, that the "supporting documentation" filed by Mr. Strauss with his complaint

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

consisted mostly, although not exclusively, of newspaper articles and editorial comment. A full 55 percent of the occasions to which the complaint appears to refer, most of which your letter seems to encompass, were "documented" by nothing more than such newspaper materials. You have excluded from the scope of your investigation, and hence at least impliedly rejected the Democratic National Committee complaint with respect to, three complete trips listed in such complaint (Newark, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; and Knoxville, Tennessee-Jacksonville, Florida), as to no part of which any material other than newspaper material was submitted by the complainant. However, a great number of the occasions included in the 14 trips to which the investigation now addresses itself are "documented" only by such material, if at all.

I therefore hereby request that you advise me forthwith as to whether the Commission relied to any extent on such newspaper materials, and, if so, the extent to which the Commission did so rely, since the scope of our reply on behalf of the President Ford Committee with respect to this investigation is necessarily determined by the scope of the Commission's findings. If the Commission was indeed influenced in its findings by the collection of newspaper articles scattered over nearly half a year and across the nation submitted by Mr. Strauss, then on behalf of the President Ford Committee it will be necessary for us to determine the extent to which it should, in responding to the investigation, review the national press for the same period with respect to the same events for countervailing material. If our response to the investigation is to be of corresponding scope, it would, of course, entail a far greater effort than would otherwise be required.

Secondly, I believe the President Ford Committee is entitled to know what are the "available reports and statements" on which you state the Commission has further relied. Since, according to the law and your procedures, the investigation the Commission has now ordered will result in a determination by the Commission on the merits as to whether or not the President Ford Commission has violated the applicable federal campaign laws, with all that such a determination entails, the elementary requirements of due process dictate that the Commission inform us forthwith on behalf of the President Ford Committee in more detail of the charges against it. This is all the more so in light of the fact

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704190

that the Commission has instituted this investigation notwithstanding that the complaint, as pointed out in our response to it of July 23, 1976, fails to comply with the requirements of the Commission's own regulations, which it has announced will be applied by the Commission notwithstanding the fact that they have not yet become law, insofar as it fails to be specific, and the complainant has expressly declined to comply with the Commission request that it so comply.

Under the circumstances, particularly if you indicate that the multitude of newspaper materials submitted with the complaint has not in any way served as a basis of the Commission's finding, one must assume that the investigation relied in significant part on the "available reports and statements" to which your letter refers. My letter of response of July 23, 1976 pointed out that a full 20 percent of the occasions encompassed by the complaint (it necessarily is a higher percentage of the occasions now embraced by the investigation the Commission has ordered) were not "documented" at all by the complainant, and therefore in connection with such occasions the Commission presumably must have relied on the reports and statements that you mention. Accordingly, we believe the President Ford Committee is entitled, as requested, to be informed of the identity and substance of such reports and statements.

It will have been obvious, even absent the necessity of our receiving a response to the inquiries contained in this letter, that the scope of the search and review of materials necessarily involved in preparing a submission in response to your letter will require a period of time exceeding the brief one allotted in your letter. It is our intention at the present time to respond substantively insofar as we can by the date indicated in your letter, but I would be remiss were I not to suggest at the outset that a full submission may not be possible within the presently allotted time. I trust, particularly given the necessity for certain clarifications on your part, that reasonable requests for additional time to complete the necessary submission will be viewed favorably.

In this connection, I would draw attention to the obvious fact that many of the campaign personnel having the greatest relevant knowledge are currently immersed in the final stages of a hotly contested national campaign for the office of

7704110091

President and that insistence on an extraordinarily speedy response to the complaint could prejudice the campaign being conducted on behalf of President Ford. Since the alleged violations all relate to events no more recent than three-quarters of a year ago and in many cases well over a year ago, and are directed at the primary campaign, which is long since past, there is no possibility that they entail any continuing violation which could have any effect whatsoever on the present general election campaign. I would suggest that this is emphasized by the action of the Commission itself, which apparently felt it could safely wait until September 30, 1976 to act on a complaint dated May 4, 1976, a period of nearly four months. This schedule, too, is doubtless an indication of what a court would find is a "reasonable opportunity" to respond as mandated by 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4) of the Act in question. Furthermore, you will know from your own familiarity with the extensive and detailed compliance policies of the President Ford Committee that any violation, if the Commission determines one has in fact occurred, was not willful or intentional, as is further reflected in the letter of Mary Louise Smith addressed to you dated September 17, 1976.

I will be in touch with you on or prior to October 16, 1976 to advise you further with respect to the President Ford Committee's response to your letter.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704211691

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 11, 1976

The Honorable
Philip Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Buchen:

As Special Counsel to the President Ford Committee I have been advised by John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq., General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission, by letter dated October 4, 1976, a copy of which is enclosed, that based on a complaint filed by Robert S. Strauss, Esq. on behalf of the Democratic National Committee

> "[T]he Federal Election Commission has found reason to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of §434(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Laws by failing to report costs incurred in connection with 14 Presidential appearances between the time President Ford registered as a candidate with the Federal Election Commission (June 19, 1975) and January 1, 1976 (see attached list)."

In this connection it is stated in Mr. Murphy's letter that:

> "These appearances were allegedly 'party building in nature,' within the meaning of Advisory Opinion 1975-72; however, information available to the Commission furnishes reason to believe that their purpose, at least in part, was to 'influence the nomination for election' of the President, and that the costs of the appearances were therefore reportable as expenditures."

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704104692

As you are aware, this determination by the Commission is simply a decision to investigate a matter which has been brought to its attention and in no way constitutes a decision on the merits. The Commission has simply requested that we cooperate in an investigation to satisfy the Commission, as the President Ford Committee has consistently stated, that it has been in full compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Laws.

In implementation of the right of the President Ford Committee pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4) to a "reasonable opportunity" to demonstrate that no violation has in fact occurred, Mr. Murphy has suggested the submission of certain factual and legal materials relevant to the Commission's investigation of the matter:

> "In particular, I would appreciate it if you would submit all relevant records pertaining to President Ford's travel, including a summary of whom he saw, where he appeared, and texts of his speeches and public conferences. In addition, your response should include copies of all solicitation materials used at fundraising or party promotional events at which the President appeared, as well as any other materials pertinent to the event, such as pictures or press releases."

I would assume that certain of the requested materials would be in the possession, custody or control of the Executive Office of the President and thus write for the purpose of urgently soliciting your attention to this matter, and your assistance in the assembling of the materials necessary to make as prompt a response as possible to the request of the Commission. You will note from Mr. Murphy's letter that a response within ten days of receipt of his letter, i.e., October 16, 1976, is requested.

I appreciate your consideration and shall look forward to your response.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Barry Roth

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021522

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 11, 1976

William O. Cramer, Esq.
General Counsel
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Mr. Cramer:

As Special Counsel to the President Ford Committee in conjunction with a complaint designated MUR 142(76) and filed by Robert S. Strauss, Esq. on behalf of the Democratic National Committee, I have been advised by John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq., General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission, by letter dated October 4, 1976, the enclosed copy of which indicates that Mr. Murphy has directed it also to the attention of your partner, Benton L. Becker, Esq., that:

> "[T]he Federal Election Commission has found reason to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of §434(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Laws by failing to report costs incurred in connection with 14 Presidential appearances between the time President Ford registered as a candidate with the Federal Election Commission (June 19, 1975) and January 1, 1976 (see attached list)."

In this connection it is stated in Mr. Murphy's letter that:

> "These appearances were allegedly 'party building in nature,' within the meaning of Advisory Opinion 1975-72; however, information available to the Commission furnishes reason to believe that their purpose, at least in part, was to 'influence the nomination for election' of the President, and that the costs of the appearances were therefore reportable as expenditures."

7701171697

As you are aware, this determination by the Commission is simply a decision to investigate a matter which has been brought to its attention and in no way constitutes a decision on the merits. The Commission has simply requested that we cooperate in an investigation to satisfy the Commission, as the President Ford Committee has consistently stated, that it has been in full compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Laws.

In implementation of the right of the President Ford Committee pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4) to a "reasonable opportunity" to demonstrate that no violation has in fact occurred, Mr. Murphy has suggested the submission of certain factual and legal materials relevant to the Commission's investigation of the matter:

> "In particular, I would appreciate it if you would submit all relevant records pertaining to President Ford's travel, including a summary of whom he saw, where he appeared, and texts of his speeches and public conferences. In addition, your response should include copies of all solicitation materials used at fundraising or party promotional events at which the President appeared, as well as any other materials pertinent to the event such as pictures or press releases."

I would assume that inasmuch as the noted travel, with the two exceptions indicated in Mr. Murphy's letter, was charged in full to the Republican National Committee as travel which was party building in nature, you would have, or have more immediate access to, much of the material that has been requested. Among other things, I would expect that solicitation materials used at fundraising or party promotional events at which the President appeared, as well as pictures and press releases, would be available to you from the various state and local Republican organizations which organized such events. Accordingly, we would very much appreciate your prompt cooperation in assisting us to assemble the necessary materials in response to the request of the Commission. In this connection you will note that Mr. Murphy has requested a response within ten days of the receipt of his letter, which was received in our office October 6, 1976.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

7741169

We look forward to your response.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosure

cc: Benton L. Becker, Esq.

7704101590

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

To Atty

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

76 OCT 13 October 11, 1976

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Mr. Murphy:

Your letter of October 4, 1976 addressed to me as Special Counsel to the President Ford Committee in conjunction with the complaint designated MUR 142(76) filed by the Democratic National Committee with the Federal Election Commission was received in my office October 6, 1976 and since such receipt has been the object of my careful attention. I have conferred with the General Counsel and other staff of the President Ford Committee and have determined that substantially all of the multitudinous materials requested in your letter, to the extent they are currently available, are in the possession, custody or control either of the Republican National Committee or of the Executive Office of the President, and in any event are not in the hands of the President Ford Committee. Accordingly, I have written directly to the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee and the Counsel to the President, and have this day requested their prompt and full cooperation in preparing the submission you desire. Copies of my letters to them are enclosed.

In proceeding to respond to your letter there are two matters as to which I must seek clarification. First of all, your letter states that the finding of the Commission is "based on a complaint with supporting documentation filed by Robert S. Strauss on behalf of the Democratic National Committee," as well as my response to that complaint on behalf of the President Ford Committee, and "available reports and statements." You will recall, as pointed out at length in my letter of response to the complaint on behalf of the President Ford Committee dated July 23, 1976, that the "supporting documentation" filed by Mr. Strauss with his complaint

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021701

consisted mostly, although not exclusively, of newspaper articles and editorial comment. A full 55 percent of the occasions to which the complaint appears to refer, most of which your letter seems to encompass, were "documented" by nothing more than such newspaper materials. You have excluded from the scope of your investigation, and hence at least impliedly rejected the Democratic National Committee complaint with respect to, three complete trips listed in such complaint (Newark, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; and Knoxville, Tennessee-Jacksonville, Florida), as to no part of which any material other than newspaper material was submitted by the complainant. However, a great number of the occasions included in the 14 trips to which the investigation now addresses itself are "documented" only by such material, if at all.

I therefore hereby request that you advise me forthwith as to whether the Commission relied to any extent on such newspaper materials, and, if so, the extent to which the Commission did so rely, since the scope of our reply on behalf of the President Ford Committee with respect to this investigation is necessarily determined by the scope of the Commission's findings. If the Commission was indeed influenced in its findings by the collection of newspaper articles scattered over nearly half a year and across the nation submitted by Mr. Strauss, then on behalf of the President Ford Committee it will be necessary for us to determine the extent to which it should, in responding to the investigation, review the national press for the same period with respect to the same events for countervailing material. If our response to the investigation is to be of corresponding scope, it would, of course, entail a far greater effort than would otherwise be required.

Secondly, I believe the President Ford Committee is entitled to know what are the "available reports and statements" on which you state the Commission has further relied. Since, according to the law and your procedures, the investigation the Commission has now ordered will result in a determination by the Commission on the merits as to whether or not the President Ford Commission has violated the applicable federal campaign laws, with all that such a determination entails, the elementary requirements of due process dictate that the Commission inform us forthwith on behalf of the President Ford Committee in more detail of the charges against it. This is all the more so in light of the fact

President and that insistence on an extraordinarily speedy response to the complaint could prejudice the campaign being conducted on behalf of President Ford. Since the alleged violations all relate to events no more recent than three-quarters of a year ago and in many cases well over a year ago, and are directed at the primary campaign, which is long since past, there is no possibility that they entail any continuing violation which could have any effect whatsoever on the present general election campaign. I would suggest that this is emphasized by the action of the Commission itself, which apparently felt it could safely wait until September 30, 1976 to act on a complaint dated May 4, 1976, a period of nearly four months. This schedule, too, is doubtless an indication of what a court would find is a "reasonable opportunity" to respond as mandated by 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4) of the Act in question. Furthermore, you will know from your own familiarity with the extensive and detailed compliance policies of the President Ford Committee that any violation, if the Commission determines one has in fact occurred, was not willful or intentional, as is further reflected in the letter of Mary Louise Smith addressed to you dated September 17, 1976.

I will be in touch with you on or prior to October 16, 1976 to advise you further with respect to the President Ford Committee's response to your letter.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

Enclosures

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704011170

OFFICIAL FILE COPY
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

RECEIVED OCT 13 1976

OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

HAND DELIVERY

William Oldaker, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

OCT 13 P12.

October 8, 1976

Ralph J. Gerson, Esquire
Counsel
Democratic National Committee
1625 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Gerson:

Thank you for your letter of October 4, 1976, regarding the complaint you filed with the Commission on May 12 of this year. I know you are fully aware of the restraints under which the Commission operates pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §437g with respect to disclosure of complaint-related matters; you will accordingly understand that the Commission can offer no comment with respect to the present status of your complaint.

I regret that I am unable to be more helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: John G. Murphy, Jr.

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

JGMurphy:jl:10/8/76
cc: Compliance
JGM

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001470 4

Commission Memo No.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

October 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: The Commission

THROUGH: Lan Potter

FROM: Jack Murphy

SUBJECT: Response to Letter from Mr. Ralph Gerson, Counsel to the Democratic National Committee

In the wake of yesterday's discussion of Mr. Gerson's letter during the Commission's compliance session, I propose to send the attached letter unless I hear objection by the close of business today.

Attachment

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Agenda 10/12

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

October 4, 1976

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

Dear Mr. Murphy:

By letter of May 12, 1976 we filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission concerning violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. As you know, 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(9) of the Act provides, in part, that in case of a failure on the part of the Commission to act on a complaint within 90 days after the filing of such complaint, a complainant is entitled to seek relief in District Court.

Section 2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(9)B provides that the complainant must act within 60 days of the beginning of the 90 day period established by 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(9)(A) in the event that the Commission does not act on the complaint. Therefore, in order to be able to fully exercise our right of petition, we must be informed of the present status of our complaint. However, other than the one occasion upon which we were asked by the Commission to submit further information, we have not received any communication on this matter from the Commission. Therefore we are requesting that you inform us as soon as possible of the present status of the case.

Your immediate attention will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Ralph J. Gerson

Ralph J. Gerson WDD
Counsel

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704101 1701

Andy

4 OCT 1976

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Charles N. Brower, Esq.
Special Counsel for the
President Ford Committee
1747 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Brower:

This letter is written to you in your capacity as special counsel to the President Ford Committee.

I hereby notify you that based on a complaint with supporting documentation filed by Robert S. Strauss on behalf of the Democratic National Committee, your response to that complaint, and available reports and statements, the Federal Election Commission has found reason to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of §434(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Laws by failing to report costs incurred in connection with the Presidential appearances between the time President Ford registered as a candidate with the Federal Election Commission (June 19, 1975) and January 1, 1976 listed in the index preceding p. 31 of the complaint. These appearances were allegedly "party building in nature," within the meaning of advisory opinion ~~in~~ 1975-72; however, information available to the Commission furnishes reason to believe that their purpose, at least in part, was to "influence the nomination for election" of the President, and that the costs of the appearances were therefore reportable as expenditures.

Under 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4) you are entitled to a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against you. Accordingly, I would be pleased to receive any factual or legal materials which you believe are relevant to the Commission's investigation of this matter. In particular, I would appreciate it if you would

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011707

7 7 0 4 0 1 1 1 7 0 2

6C

PS Form 3811, Mar. 1976

RETURN RECEIPT, REGISTERED, INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

● SENDER: Complete items 1, 2, and 3.
Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

1. The following service is requested (check one).
- ☐ Show to whom and date delivered..... 15¢
- ☒ Show to whom, date, & address of delivery.. 35¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom and date delivered..... 65¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery 85¢

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:

Charles N. Brower, Esq.

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

REGISTERED NO.	CERTIFIED NO.	INSURED NO.
	438193	

(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐ Addressee ☐ Authorized agent

B. A. McGovern

4. DATE OF DELIVERY OCT 6 POSTMARK 1976

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE: CLERK'S INITIALS

☆ GPO : 1976—O-209-488

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

CC #653
MUR 142

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

October 4, 1976

Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Attention: John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

762655

- Hardcopy Received OC 10/4/76 3:15

Dear Mr. Murphy:

By letter of May 12, 1976 we filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission concerning violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. As you know, 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(9) of the Act provides, in part, that in case of a failure on the part of the Commission to act on a complaint within 90 days after the filing of such complaint, a complainant is entitled to seek relief in District Court.

Section 2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(9)B provides that the complainant must act within 60 days of the beginning of the 90 day period established by 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(9)(A) in the event that the Commission does not act on the complaint. Therefore, in order to be able to fully exercise our right of petition, we must be informed of the status of our complaint. However, other than the one occasion upon which we were asked by the Commission to submit further information, we have not received any communication on this matter from the Commission. Therefore we are requesting that you inform us as soon as possible of the present status of the case.

Your immediate attention will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Ralph J. Gerson

Ralph J. Gerson
Counsel

WDD

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL
OFFICE OF GENERAL

7711171

7704001471 0

From:

THE DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

JOHN G. MURPHY

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of the)
)
President Ford Committee) MUR 142 (76)

CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on September 30, 1976, the Commission determined by a vote of 5-1 that there was reason to believe that a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, had been committed in the above-captioned matter. Voting that there was reason to believe were Commissioners Harris, Springer, Staebler, Thomson, and Tiernan. Voting that there was no reason to believe was Commissioner Aikens.

Marjorie W. Emmons

Marjorie W. Emmons
Secretary to the Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001711

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of the	)	
	)	MUR 142 (76)
	)	
President Ford Committee	)	

GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

I. Allegations

This MUR was initiated through a notarized complaint by Robert S. Strauss, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, received by the Commission on May 12, 1976.

The central issue raised by complainant involves A.O. 1975-72 (40 FR 56589), which has now been codified as a proposed Commission regulation, Section 110.8(e). The issue is whether a number of trips made by President Ford between June 20, 1975 1/ and January 1, 1976, ostensibly for party building purposes, were in fact, related to his Presidential candidacy. If they were, the costs of the trips

---

1/ Footnote 1 to A.O. 72 states that "since President Ford, on June 19, 1975, authorized a political committee to receive contributions and make expenditures on his behalf, at that time he became a candidate within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(b)(2) and 18 U.S.C. §519(b)(2)." Thus, if the presidential trips made after June 19, 1975 were for campaign-related purposes they would, under the language of A.O. 72, be reportable as expenditures. (See infra).

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

would be reportable as expenditures within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. §431(f) and would count toward the overall expenditure limitations set forth in 2 U.S.C. §441a(b)(1)(A).2/

II. Evidence

The Democratic National complaint states that "at least fifty towns" were used for the purpose of influencing the nomination of Gerald Ford. Attached to the complaint was a compilation of newspaper articles and editorial comments that indicate, in general, that during the period of June 20, 1975 to January 1, 1976 the President's travel served his candidacy. In addition, complainant included documentation (transcripts, newspaper reports, etc.) relevant to Presidential appearances on 20 specific dates. The costs of these 20 appearances constitute the gravamen of the complaint herein.

Upon receipt of the complaint, the Office of General Counsel invited the complainant to furnish more "specific facts." In a response dated June 29, 1976 complainant indicated that it felt "the information accompanying our initial complaint provides a sufficient factual basis for a Commission determination that it has 'reason to believe' that pertinent provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act have been violated."

2/ Complainant also asserts that A.O. 72 should be voided by the Commission. However, in view of the Commission's validation of A.O. 72 in §110.8(e) of its proposed regulations, we have not dealt with this assertion.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704021717

The response to the complaint filed by President Ford, through special counsel, complains of the lack of specificity in the complaint, asserting it lacks "a clear and concise statement of the acts which are alleged to constitute a violation of the Act" as provided in §111.2(b)(2) and the lack of documentation as provided in §111.2(b)(3). The response also claims that the documentation that is provided is not supportive of the allegations made.

The response contained no factual documentation to rebut complainant's allegations.

As part of its preliminary review in this MUR, the Office of General Counsel also made its own independent analysis of the Reports of the President Ford Committee and the Republican National Committee which were relevant to the period at issue. This analysis appears to indicate that two of the appearances at issue herein were classified as campaign related events and were paid for by the President Ford Committee, 3/ although only after payments

---

3/ We are unable to make a definitive conclusion in this regard because of the accounting format used in the reports of the President Ford Committee and the Republican National Committee. The costs reported by the two committees are not grouped by trip or event; rather, they are grouped in terms of the time at which the payment was made. In view of the fact that many payments appear to have been made a substantial time after the event with which they were connected, the precise outlays by each Committee for the purpose of the appearances are not completely clear.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704017

were initially made by the Republican National Committee. However, the costs of all of the remaining 18 appearances do not appear to have been considered campaign-related and were therefore not paid for by the President Ford Committee.

III. Legal Analysis

As suggested by the materials received from both the complainant and the respondent, this matter is interwound with the Commission's decision in Advisory Opinion 1975-72 (40 FR 56589, December 3, 1975). The opinion was issued in response to a request by the Republican National Committee, dated September 15, 1975, which concerned the matters that are now the subject of the present complaint. The request stated in pertinent part:

> National political parties * * * are charged with the ongoing responsibility of promoting voter registration and creating voter recognition of party identity and ideology, without reference to an individual candidate or election. A large measure of this function is performed by the President, Vice-President and their aides on behalf of their National and State parties.
>
> When the President, Vice President, and their aides are engaged in political activity on behalf of their National, State and Local political parties, the R.N.C. assumes the cost of their

7704041711

> travel and transportation, advance men, expense, telephone and telegraph cost and the cost of receptions incidental to those activities.

The request contained no specific information as to the particular party building appearances involved. Absent such information, the Commission's response was framed in general terms. The opinion set forth an exception to the general rule that costs relating to a political appearance which are incurred by a candidate after the time he becomes a candidate are reportable as expenditures (2 U.S.C. §§431(f), 434(b)). It established a presumption that "candidate appearances at a legitimate party promotional event, prior to January 1 of a Presidential election year are party building in nature and are not inherently intended to influence the candidate's nomination for election to Federal office." (After January 1 of an election year a reverse presumption applies.) The Advisory Opinion provided that the presumption may be rebutted "upon a showing, inter alia, that the solicitations for the party event or the remarks made by the candidates who were invited to attend were 'for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election of (that candidate) to Federal Office.'" The language of the opinion has now been codified in §110.8(e) of the Commission's proposed regulations.

7 7 0 4 0 0 1 1 7 1 6

It is our opinion, upon careful analysis of the evidence thus far submitted, that there is reason to believe that 16 of the 20 appearances enumerated by complainant were for the purpose--at least in part--of aiding President Ford's campaign for nomination. We do not mean to imply that the party-building presumption set forth in Advisory Opinion 1975-72 has been rebutted; however, the President Ford Committee has failed to present any substantive evidence at the preliminary inquiry stage to indicate the appearances fall within the scope of the presumption.

As already indicated, President Ford became a candidate within the meaning of the Federal Election Campaign Laws on June 19, 1975 (see fn. 1, supra). For the ensuing period, up to January 1, 1976, when the party-building presumption of Advisory Opinion 1975-72 was no longer applicable, the trips cited herein appear to encompass a substantial portion of the President's non-official domestic travel. However, only two appearances seem to have been classified as campaign-related and paid for by the President Ford Committee -- Boston, Massachusetts and Portsmouth, New Hampshire on November 7, 1975 and Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia on November 14, 1975. In both cases the payments were initially made by the Republican National Committee.

7704021717

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

With regard to the 18 remaining trips, our analysis of materials supplied by complainant indicated that on 14 occasions an inference can reasonably be made that at least some portion of the trips were intertwined with the President's candidacy. All of the trips were connected with States or regions which were, according to many political observers, important to the President's nomination campaign. In each instance, transcripts of the President's statements indicate that he made comments related to his candidacy, and finally, in each instance, there was at least some contact with prominent local leaders who could have some influence on Mr. Ford's candidacy. The attached appendix discusses the 14 trips, and, in addition, the two trips, noted supra, which have already been conceded to be campaign-related. For the four trips for which no inference could be made, only newspaper clips were supplied, and these did not refer to candidacy-related activities.

We recommend that the President Ford Committee be requested to supply pertinent documentation which would establish the truth or falsity of complainant's assertions as to the 16 trips noted herein. The submission should include a detailed accounting of the complete Presidential travel schedule, including a summary of whom the President saw, where he appeared, the texts of his remarks in speeches and at other public gatherings. In addition, respondent

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011713

should be asked to furnish copies of all solicitation materials used at fundraising events at which the President appeared, as well as any other materials pertinent to the event, such as pictures or press releases. It would also be helpful if respondent furnished a rationale as to the basis by which the President's candidacy-related appearances were distinguished from his party-building appearances. Such a rationale may emerge by requesting a specific reference to the President's November 7 and 14 trips, which appear to have been initially paid for by the Republican National Committee, but were subsequently paid for by the President Ford Committee.

Finally, we believe that it is unnecessary at the present time to seek a cost accounting with regard to the trips. Such an accounting, which would raise complex problems of cost allocation, would be relevant only if there is reasonable cause to believe that the trips were campaign-related. Thus, the cost accounting could best be handled, if necessary, in the framework of the post-reason to believe conciliation process.

IV. Recommendation

For the reasons set forth, infra, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the costs of the 16 trips described in the materials accompanying the complaint were related to President Ford's candidacy and were, therefore, reportable as expenditures pursuant to 2 U.S.C. §434.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7 7 0 4 0 0 1 7 1 0

We further recommend that the attached notification letter be sent to the respondents, permitting them "a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken by the Commission under (the Federal Election Campaign Laws) 2 U.S.C. §437g(a)(4))."

JOHN G. MURPHY, JR.
GENERAL COUNSEL

DATE: September 22, 1976

7704001721

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

A P P E N D I X

1. July 11 - In a trip to Chicago on July 11, 1975, the President related that at a breakfast meeting that morning with local Republican party leaders he "outlined to them how my personal campaign will work closely with, not with a part, but all elements of the Republican Party in the state of Illinois." [Complainant's Documents, 32-34, see Vol. 11, No. 29 Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 736-738.]

2. August 19 - The St. Paul Dispatch related on August 19, 1975, that in a speech to news media executives in Minneapolis, President Ford said that he might run the kind of "do-nothing" anti-Congressional campaign that President Harry Truman waged successfully 30 years ago [Complt. Doc., 43]. During the same trip, Mr. Ford also had separate breakfasts with 20 Minnesotans who were targets for major contributions to the national party [Complt. Doc., 42].

3 & 4. August 24 - 25 - (Counted as two separate trips) In a live television interview on August 25, 1975, in Milwaukee, President Ford responded to a question about the recent jump in his popularity over that of Ronald Reagan in the Harris poll by saying: ". . . that only means that what we have tried to do does have some

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

7704021-1721

appeal, and I can only say that what we do in the future is more the basic criteria." The President then went on to note, "Naturally, I do want to get nominated, and I can assure you, if nominated, then we are going to put on a very hard campaign . . ." [Complt. Doc., p. 54, See Vol. 11, No. 35 Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 903-907].

5. August 30 - In his opening remarks to reporters at the airport in Warwick, R.I., President Ford said: ". . . I know New England very well. I know a good many people up here. I love the country, and I think I am a good candidate." [Complt. Doc., 59, See Vol. 11, No. 36, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 918-923.] Also, according to the Providence Journal of September 4, 1975, during his stay in Rhode Island, the President discussed his own re-election drive with Mayor James L. Taft of Cranston, a leading Republican in the state [Complt. Doc., p. 67]. Moreover, according to the August 31, 1975, Journal, at a Newport fundraising party on that day four leading Rhode Island Republicans publicly endorsed the President. [Complt. Doc., p. 66].

7704017272

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

6. September 4 - Reporting on the President's travels in Seattle, Washington, and Portland, Oregon, newspapers characterized the President's speeches as looking toward his 1976 campaign. Copies of the speeches are not available. However, at a Republican Fundraiser in Portland, Oregon, on September 4 President Ford said: "I made a commitment about a year ago . . . I made a commitment then that in 1976 I thought the Presidential candidate ought to work with and not be separated from the national Republican organization and the respective State organizations." [Complt. Doc. p. 71, See Vol. 11 No. 36, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975 pp. 953-955.]

7. September 11 - On September 11, 1975, in a radio interview in Peterborough, N.H., President Ford stated: "I intend to be up here next March, . . . I will probably ask you for your support then." [Complt. Doc. 90, See Vol. 11, No. 57, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975 pp. 983-984] Mr. Ford's appearance in New Hampshire came one week after a similar appearance by Ronald Reagan. Time Magazine reported that Ford passed through 13 towns and came within reach of about 70% of New Hampshire's population "hinting all the while that he would be back

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704017

for the Presidential primary next March." [Complt. Doc. 91-92]

8. September 12 - In remarks to reporters in Kansas City, MO., Mr. Ford stated that "until he (Reagan) announces his candidacy, I am assuming that I am the only Republican candidate." [Complt. Doc. 95, See Vol. 11, No. 38, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 989- 994].

9. September 20 - In a television interview on September 20, 1975, in Los Angeles, President Ford discussed at length the possibility of a Reagan candidacy. The first five questions of the conference dealt with this topic. [Complt. Doc. 106-108]

10. September 22 - In San Francisco on September 22, 1975, in another interview with reporters, which was taped for broadcast, the President discussed his three trips to California within a month and a half, claiming that they were not, in fact, a "California blitz" to side-track Reagan, but were arranged well in advance and had no relationship to his political campaign. Mr. Ford also discussed various polls pitting him against possible

7704017

Democratic Presidential nominees. [Complt. Doc., 110-112; See Vol. 11, No. 39, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 1061-1064].

11. October 1 - In Omaha, Nebraska, on October 1, 1975, President Ford responded to a question concerning the recent assassination attempts made against him: "I can foresee no circumstances that would preclude me from seeking election in 1976." [Complt. Doc., 114, see Vol. 11, No. 40, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, p. 1094].

12. October 10 - In an interview in Detroit on October 10, 1975, President Ford expressed his views about 1976: "I expect to be nominated, and I think the prospects are excellent to be elected President in 1976." [Complt. Doc., 120-121, See Vol. 11, No. 42 Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 1161-1162]. Also, at a Republican fundraising dinner that evening in Detroit, according to the October 10, 1975, Detroit News, Governor William Milliken told an audience of nearly 4,000 "the most important goal for all (Republicans) is the return of our President to the White House" and that Michigan Republicans "will pledge our very best effort to support the President." [Complt. Doc., 122].

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704017 2

13 & 14. October 29-30 - (Los Angeles and San Francisco) According to the Washington Post, October 31, 1975, these trips were arranged to show that the President was in solid political shape in Reagan's own state. [Complt. Doc., 133]. On October 29, 1975, at a fundraiser in Los Angeles President Ford told 1300 Repbulicans: "I believe America wants a President who is a fighter, not a patsy. And as President, I will join with you in the fight for the enduring principles of the Republican Party . . ." [Complt. Doc., 128-132, See Vol. 11, No. 44, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, p. 1206-1210].

*15. November 7 - On November 7, 1975, President Ford attended a fundraiser in Boston at which he said: ". . . let me say with quiet emphasis, your President is going to enter the primary in Massachusetts, he is going to campaign in that primary, and I think he is going to win in Massachusetts." [Complt. Doc., 142-143, See Vol. 11, No. 46, Presidential Documents: Gerald Ford, 1975, pp. 1252-1253]. The Washington Star reported on November 8, 1975, that Ford announced in Boston that he will run in "New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida and every other primary" in 1976. [Complt. Doc., 145].

7704017 2 3

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

*16. November 14 - At a news conference on November 14, 1975 in Atlanta, Georgia, President Ford discussed various aspects of his campaign: the roles of Rogers Morton and Bo Calloway; the possibility of a black running mate; the possibility of George Wallace being his Democratic opponent; whether or not he had a Southern strategy.

7704001792

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Benton L. Becker, Esq.
Care of Krammer, Haiber, & Becker
Attorney at Law
475 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W.
Suite 4100
Washington, D.C. 20024

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Becker:

I enclose herewith a copy of a notification to Charles N. Brower special counsel to the President Ford Committee, indicating that based on a complaint with supporting documentation filed by Robert S. Strauss on behalf of the Democratic National Committee, the response to that complaint, and available reports and statements, the Federal Election Commission has found reason to believe that the President Ford Committee has committed a violation of Section 434(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Laws by failing to report costs incurred in connection with certain Presidential appearances between the time the President Ford Committee registered as a candidate with the Federal Election Commission (June 19, 1975) and January 1, 1976.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

Enclosure

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011724

Brady CC #557

Republican National Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

September 17, 1976

762322

John G. Murphy, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

The newspaper and magazine clippings accompanying the May 4, 1976, complaint filed by Robert S. Strauss, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the Republican National Committee's (RNC) responses to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to the complaint and the President Ford Committee's (PFC) responses have been reviewed by me.

The RNC's position with respect to the administrative viability of the DNC complaint is incorporated in a correspondence dated July 29, 1976, to you from RNC counsel, Benton L. Becker. This communique does not detract or mitigate those arguments advanced in Mr. Becker's letter of July 29.

In addition to my review of the above referred-to documents, I have reviewed certain of the available texts of Presidential utterances made by the President when engaged in the questioned pre-January, 1976, travel. My objective review of that material has unequivocally led me to the conclusion that the DNC May 4, 1976, complaint is both frivolous and politically motivated. I found no arguable textual reference to the President's candidacy, rather, the obvious thrust of each of the texts reviewed by me was a Presidential promotion of Republican causes and a solicitation for Party fund-raising.

I hope that this letter will serve to assist your office and the Commissioners of the Federal Election Commission in their deliberative processing in this matter.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise Smith

Mary Louise Smith

cc: Robert Visser, Esq.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center: 310 First Street Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 484-6500.

Republican
National
Committee.

John G. Murphy, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

SEP 11 4 00

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 14, 1976

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: MUR 142 (76) File

FROM: Jack Murphy JM

On Monday, September 13, 1976, Robert Visser, General Counsel to the President Ford Committee telephoned me with regard to several matters, including our conversation of September 11th. With regard to that, he stated that they would adhere to their position that until such time as the complainants or the Commission made the charges more specific with respect to individual trips, the Ford Committee would not be forthcoming with any documents.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 13, 1976

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: MUR 142 (76) File

FROM: Jack Murphy JM

On Saturday, September 11, 1976, I telephoned Robert Visser, Counsel to the President Ford Committee, and recommended that he reconsider their position that they would not turn over documents which Benton Becker had brought to an earlier meeting between my staff and theirs. He indicated that the reluctance was not based upon the content of the materials in question, but rather on the procedural point that they were being asked to respond to general allegations with respect to 50 trips and that unless the complainant was placed under a more severe burden to show wrongdoing, a respondent such as the Ford Committee would be hard pressed to carry out the research involved in reviewing 50 trips. I indicated to him that I agreed that the Commission had some obligation to filter out evidently weak or totally unsubstantiated allegations and should require responses only with respect to those allegations for which there was some evidence, or in other words, to particularize a generalized complaint to allow the respondent to focus on specifics. I said that nonetheless he should consider, without abandoning his procedural point, informally giving us the materials that Becker had at the earlier meeting and which might contain adequate information to provide a basis upon which this case could be resolved. He indicated that he was meeting the following day with the special counsel to the Committee, Charles Brower, and that he would in fact reconsider their position. The conversation was completely amicable.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704173

CC #503
MUR 142

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

76 SEP 7 P2:18

CNB:CMP

September 3, 1976

re MUR 142 (76)

RECEIVED
FEC
9/7/76
10:15

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

762037

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter supplements my previous letter and memorandum filed with the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") on July 26, 1976 in response to your letter of June 22, 1976 to Robert P. Visser, Esq., General Counsel to the President Ford Committee ("the Committee"), advising it of the complaint filed by the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") "alleging that the President is in violation of AO 1975-72 with respect to certain of his travel expenses which were paid for by the Republican National Committee in 1976 [sic]," and your further letter of July 2, 1976, indicating that the DNC has refused to provide "a statement of specific facts in support of" its complaint.

Since the time of submission of my previous letter and memorandum, the FEC has transmitted to Congress, on August 3, 1976, a set of proposed regulations as required by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). According to the letter signed by the Honorable Vernon W. Thomson, Chairman of the FEC, to the Honorable Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, which accompanied FEC's proposed regulations, "This submission represents the culmination of many long months of Commission effort to produce an exhaustive set of regulations for use by all candidates and committees in complying with the Act.".

We submit that these proposed regulations, representing FEC's own best efforts to promulgate "a readable

and practical guide for effective participation in the Federal election process", mandate the conclusion by FEC that as to DNC's complaint there is no "reason to believe" that the strong presumption of AO 1975-72 can be rebutted by DNC, or even in the absence of such a presumption that there are any grounds for a "reason to believe" that the Act has been violated.

The regulations submitted by FEC to Congress expressly adopt and incorporate the substance of FEC's earlier Advisory Opinion, AO 1975-72, that a bona fide appearance by the President for party-building purposes is presumptively party-related if it occurs prior to January 1 of the year of the election for which the President is a candidate, and that this presumption may be rebutted only by a showing to the FEC that the appearance or event was not party-related. Regulation §110.8, entitled "Presidential Candidate Expenditure Limitations", expressly declares in part,

> (e)(1) A political party may make reimbursement for the expenses of a candidate who is engaging in party-building activities, without the payment being considered a contribution to the candidate, and without the unreimbursed expense being considered an expenditure counting against the limitations in (a)(1) or (2), as long as --
>
> (i) the event is a bona fide party event or appearance; and
>
> (ii) no aspect of the solicitation for the event and the remarks or activities of the candidate in connection with the event were for the purpose of influencing the candidate's nomination or election.
>
> (2)
>
> (i) An event or appearance meeting the requirements of (e)(1) and occurring prior to January 1 of the year of the election for which the individual is a candidate is presumptively party related;

> (ii) notwithstanding the requirements of (e)(1) an event or appearance occurring on or after January 1 of the year of the election for which the individual is a candidate is presumptively for the purpose of influencing the candidate's election, and any contributions or expenditures are governed by the contribution and expenditure limitations of this Part 110;
>
> (iii) The presumptions in (i) and (ii) may be rebutted by a showing to the Commission that the appearance or event, was, or was not, party related, as the case may be. (emphasis added).

The "explanation and justification" which FEC makes to Congress for the foregoing proposed regulation declares that it "reflects Commission policy on party-building activities." (emphasis added).

For FEC to conclude that the flimsy DNC complaint is sufficient to give "reason to believe" that the Act has been violated would amount to a complete disavowal by FEC of the presumption originally adopted in AO 1975-72 and currently embraced by regulations which FEC now proposes to Congress. Surely, more than such an aggregation of hearsay and speculation, which DNC expressly has refused to supplement or to substantiate, and which consists for the most part of various newspaper clippings containing opinion, analysis and innuendo, and of miniscule portions of Presidential press conferences, is required of DNC to rebut the presumption of AO 1975-72 and Regulation §110.8. To conclude otherwise would be to render meaningless any such presumption and to awaken the belief that FEC "policy" is not the sound culmination of well-reasoned administrative analysis.

As we have demonstrated before, even in the absence of a presumption that the President's activities prior to January 1 were party-related, DNC's complaint fails to demonstrate hard facts sufficient to warrant a "reason to believe"

7704021738

that the Act has been violated. The clippings and speech materials submitted by the DNC reveal the following:

> -- 20% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are not "supported" by any evidence;
>
> -- 55% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are not "supported" by any material other than random newspaper clippings, much of which is admitted political "analysis" rather than the recitation of hard facts;
>
> -- 25% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are "supported" by brief snatches or portions of transcripts of press conferences or speeches, which in no way indicate that the Presidential travel involved was other than "party-building".

The transcripts of press conferences reveal that from time to time the President was interrogated by newsmen about his campaign while at a stop which was otherwise entirely of a party-building or official Presidential nature. DNC's hopes of converting such incidental contacts into violations of the Act conflict directly with another regulation submitted to Congress by FEC, which addresses the question of the allocation of expenses between campaign and non-campaign related travel:

> "Where a candidate conducts any campaign-related activity in a stop, the stop is a campaign-related stop and travel expenditures made are reportable. Campaign-related activity shall not include any incidental contacts." Reg. §106.3(b)(3)(emphasis added).

This proposed regulation is accompanied by the following "explanation and justification":

> "A candidate's campaign-related travel is reportable, no matter who pay for it. Where a candidate makes one campaign-related appearance in a city,

7704211735

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

> the trip to that city is considered campaign-related. Incidental contacts on an otherwise non-campaign stop do not make the stop campaign-related. For example, if a candidate makes a non-political speech to a civic association luncheon, and on the way out chats with a few attendees about his upcoming campaign, that conversation would not convert the appearance into a campaign-related event. However, if during the course of the speech the candidate asks for support, that would convert an otherwise non-campaign event into one which is campaign-related, and would require that travel costs be allocated, and reported as expenditures." (emphasis added).

Time and again DNC's complaint is based upon clearly "incidental contacts" which, according to FEC's own proposed regulations, should not convert a party-building or Presidential appearance into a campaign-related stop. To find "reason to believe" that a violation of the Act has occurred on the basis of such "evidence" would render meaningless the "incidental contact" policy of the FEC.

In summary, the regulations proposed by FEC to Congress on August 3, 1976 and the carefully reasoned policy they reflect, mandate rejection of the DNC's skimpy and speculative "case". To further proceed in this matter on the basis of such a collection of pure hearsay and otherwise inadmissible "evidence" would not produce the results of, as Chairman Thomson put it in his submission to Congress, "going forward with the campaign process in the manner in which all citizens may have confidence". Rather, for FEC to proceed further in this "case" would pave the way, by means of encouraging politically motivated unsubstantiated charges, for the unwarranted introduction of politics into FEC proceedings.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower

Charles N. Brower

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.
Robert Visser, Esq.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

CC # 359
MUR 142

CRAMER, HABER & BECKER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
475 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S. W.
SUITE 4100
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20024
(202) 554-1100
TELEX: ITT 440048

MIAMI, FLORIDA
(305) 558-0000

WILLIAM C. CRAMER
RICHARD M. HABER
BENTON L. BECKER
ANTHONY J. McMAHON
MICHAEL A. MILWEE
GORDON M. STRAUSS
KENNETH M. BELLIS

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR.
F. LAWRENCE MATTHEWS

HAND DELIVERED

July 29, 1976

FEC Correspondence Control # 76 1305

John G. Murphy, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This is in response to your letter of June 22, 1976, to the President Ford Committee (PFC) with copy to the Republican National Committee (RNC) advising of the receipt by the Federal Election Commission (FEC) of a complaint received from the Democratic National Committee (DNC) alleging, "that the President is in violation of AO 1975-72 with respect to certain of his travel expenditures which were paid for by the Republican National Committee in 1976." The complaint referred to in your letter was transmitted to the FEC on May 4, 1976, by Robert S. Strauss, Chairman of the DNC along with a packet of newspaper and magazine clippings reflecting media comments, transcript of press conferences and selected speech texts from Presidential travel undertaken before January 1, 1976.

On June 30, 1976, an associate of this office, Gordon Strauss, and I met with Mr. William Oldaker and Mr. Andrew Athy of your staff regarding this matter. I advised that the RNC's payment of the expenditures questioned by Chairman Strauss were made in good faith by my client relying upon the dictates and presumption contained in AO 1975-72, that the RNC and PFC had periodically reviewed the propriety of the travel and, on three separate occasions, had agreed to allow the PFC to voluntarily reimburse the RNC for expenditures paid by my client for certain

7704011733

of the pre-January 1, 1976, Presidential travel and, finally that the DNC complaint and "supportive documents" were so broadly and unfairly postured so as to require an exhaustive consumption of time and labor in which to respond to what appeared to be an unspecified, unsupported and unsupportable claim by the DNC. Accordingly, I suggested, and your office concurred, that if Chairman Strauss were requested to narrow and specify the specific travel questioned by the DNC, and if he agreed to do so, I would then endeavor to provide to the FEC the available supportive data demonstrating the history, intent and records of each such trip. Thereafter, your office made that request of Chairman Strauss and, on June 29, 1976, he declined to do so, commenting that, in his judgment, the packet of newspaper and magazine clippings transmitted by the DNC to the FEC provided, "a sufficient factual basis for a Commission determination that it has 'reason to believe'" (the violations occurred). In light of that exchange, your office has now requested that the RNC and PFC submit, "factual or legal materials (we) deem relevant to the (DNC) allegations."

Substantively, little has changed since my meeting with the members of your staff on June 30, 1976, with a possible exception, that the FEC apparently no longer concurs in our recommendation for a need for greater specificity from the DNC. The reasons for that apparent change in position are not, as yet, known to me.

I have reviewed the correspondence of July 23, 1976, to you from Charles Brower, Special Counsel to PFC on this subject, which communique constitutes PFC's response to your July 2, 1976, request to respond to the DNC complaint. I believe that Mr. Brower's letter sets out valid and rational positions for the PFC. The thoughts expressed therein reflect mine and those of my client; specifically, that the complaint does not contain, "a clear and concise statement of the facts which are alleged to constitute a violation of the Act," [Section 111.2(b)(2), proposed regulations of the Commission, 41 FR 21589], and that the DNC has not submitted the necessary, "documentation of allegations of the complaint available to the complainant" [Section 111.2(b)(3) 41 FR 21589].

Rather, the complaint appears to the RNC to be that type of politically motivated correpondence calculated to convert the legislative function intended to be served by the FEC into an arena for voicing partisan claims. It is the hope of the RNC that the FEC will not allow that to occur.

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

In issuing AO 1975-72, the FEC, after recognizing the traditional roles of political parties in the election process, concluded that President Ford's appearances occurring before January 1, 1976, will be presumed not to be candidate related. That presumption should continue to the present, and, we suggest, is not rebutted by the packet of periodicals submitted by the DNC. A conclusion by the FEC to the contrary would, in our judgment, stand as a lankmark to other overly enthusiastic political combatants who might attempt to use the resources and integrity of a Federal agency as a forum for political warfare. Should such be allowed to occur, the resulting dilution of your agency's resources would make it all the more difficult to deal efficiently and straightforwardly with justifiable complaints.

The offer extended to your office on June 30, 1976, by my client to voluntarily produce the available supportive data on any specific travel undertaken by the President before January 1, 1976, demonstrating the history, intent, and records of said travel remains open to the FEC.

Sincerely,

BENTON L. BECKER

BLB/ch

cc: William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.
Robert Visser, Esq.
Charles Brower, Esq.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001741

CRAMER, HABER & BE[illegible]ER
ATT[illegible] LAW
475 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S.W.
SUITE 4100
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20024

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL
RECEIVED
FILE COPY
OFFICIAL

John G. Murphy, Esquire
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

CC#346
MUR142

1747 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

76 JUL26 A9:19

CNB:JAH

July 23, 1976

re MUR 142 (76)

FEC CORRESPONDENCE
CONTROL #1210

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter and the enclosed memorandum are in response to your letter of June 22, 1976 to Robert P. Visser, Esq., General Counsel to The President Ford Committee ("the Committee"), advising the Committee of the receipt by the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") of a complaint from the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") "alleging that the President is in violation of AO 1975-72 with respect to certain of his travel expenses which were paid for by the Republican National Committee in 1976 [sic]," and your further letter of July 2, 1976, indicating that the DNC has refused to provide "a statement of specific facts in support of" its complaint. As you have previously been advised, I am acting as Special Counsel for The President Ford Committee in conjunction with this matter, and the enclosed memorandum constitutes the position of the Committee solicited by your aforementioned letters.

It may facilitate understanding of the Committee's position if I summarize it briefly here. As you know, the brief complaint of the DNC broadly alleges that the Committee, rather than the Republican National Committee, should have paid for "major expenses for Presidential travel" over a period of four months prior to January 1, 1976 involving "visits to at least 50 towns and cities". The DNC refused to comply with your request of June 22, 1976 to provide additional information concerning the complaint, and instead relies on the "packet of newspaper articles and editorial comments" submitted with the complaint, requesting that a full scale investigation be "carried out with the Commission's subpoena power." Such an investigation can, of course, be launched only if at least four members of the Commission conclude that the Commission "has reason to believe" that the presumption contained in Advisory Opinion 1975-72, pursuant to which Presidential appearances "before January 1 will be presumed not to be candidate-related," will be rebutted.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704117447

The clippings and scattered speech materials submitted by the DNC, however, reveal the following:

-- 20% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are not "supported" even by a single newspaper clipping;

-- 55% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are not "supported" by any material other than newspaper clippings;

-- 25% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are "supported" by transcripts of press conferences or speeches which in no way indicate that the Presidential travel involved was other than "party building".

In light of the distinct lack of specificity in the DNC complaint, which the DNC has expressly declined to cure; the total absence of supporting materials in some cases, and the submission only of newspaper clippings in most other cases; and the failure of such probative materials as have been submitted to support the complaint, it is respectfully submitted that the Commission is compelled to find that there is no "reason to believe" that the strong presumption of AO 1975-72 can be rebutted, or, even in the absence of such a presumption that there is any evidence whatsoever that the Act has been violated.

We will appreciate your careful consideration of the enclosed memorandum in formulating your report of the matter to the Commission, and trust that the members of the Commission will be given the opportunity to read it, as well as this letter, directly. We shall be pleased, of course, to elaborate our position further should you or the Commission so require.

Very truly yours,

Charles N. Brower DTM

Charles N. Brower

Enclosure

cc (w/encl.): William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.
Robert Visser, Esq.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011744

MEMORANDUM OF THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE
RE MUR 142 (76)

The Issue Before The Commission

The precise question raised by the complaint of the Democratic National Committee ("DNC"), MUR 142 (76), simply stated, is whether or not it would be justifiable for four or more members of the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") (see §111.4, Proposed Regulations of the Commission , 41 F.R. 21589) to determine, pursuant to Section 437g(a)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1976 (collectively "the Act"), that the Commission "has reason to believe" that the DNC can overcome the strong presumption embodied in AO 1975-72, 40 F.R. 56589, et seq., that Presidential travel expenses occurring prior to January 1, 1976 and paid by the Republican National Committee were not "inherently intended to influence the candidate's nomination to Federal office" and were for the purpose of "party building."

The Complaint

The complaint consists of a letter just over three pages, dated May 4, 1976, addressed to the Chairman of the

7704011743

Commission by the Chairman of the DNC. It states generally that

> payments by the Republican National Committee of the major expenses of presidential travel incurred by Gerald R. Ford and his committee since he made himself an official candidate for President on June 20, 1975, were for the purpose of influencing his nomination as a candidate, and constitute contributions to the President Ford Committee within the meaning of 'contribution', as defined in Section 591 (f) of the Act, as well as expenditures by the President Ford Committee within the meaning of 'expenditure', as defined in Section 591(e) of the Act.

The complaint goes on to state that

> The travel involved consists of visits to at least fifty towns and cities during the latter half of 1975. . . .

7704011741

The "Documentation" Submitted

As "documentation" in support of the complaint, the DNC has submitted two packets, as follows:

(1) A packet of 30 newspaper and magazine clippings, dated from August 6 to October 31, 1975, submitted under cover of an "Index Of General Editorial Comments", page numbered 1 through 32.

(2) Newspaper and magazine clippings, transcripts of press conferences and speech texts relating to

17 trips commencing July 11, 1975, page numbered 31 through 157.

It should be noted that although the materials list 59 different occasions during the first 15 of these trips where speeches were given, press conferences were held, or remarks were otherwise publicly made,1/ all of which were transcribed verbatim and published in Presidential Documents, the DNC has submitted texts relating to only 15 of these 59 occasions, or 25%. In addition, no specific documentation whatsoever is submitted with respect to "solicitations for the party event, or the setting of the event" as to any aspect of any of the trips (see AO 1975-72, 40 F.R. 56589). As to 12 of these 59 occasions, or 20%, the DNC has not even submitted so much as a relevant newspaper article. Thus, fully 55% of the presidential appearances are "documented" only by newspaper comment, and 20% by nothing at all.

1/This calculation excludes trips on November 7, 1975 to Boston, Massachusetts, and on November 14, 1975 to North Carolina and Georgia, as to which all or part of the political expenses were in fact paid by The President Ford Committee.

The Investigation Requested By The DNC

On the basis of its brief letter and this "documentation," the DNC expressly requests "that the Federal Election Commission make a thorough investigation" with respect to the President's travel to "at least fifty towns and cities" during the four month period encompassed by the complaint. The DNC specifically suggests that the Commission "exercise a subpoena power. . . to produce further material":

> Questions directed at key individuals and organizations concerning the advance work done for these trips, the nature of the invitations to the meetings, the selection of the audiences addressed, whether other potential candidates were accorded opportunities to appear, and other facts bearing on the purpose of the appearances, should be addressed.

These are all matters which the DNC,which has apparently worked on this matter for a full year, has wholly failed to address in its submission.

Events Subsequent To Filing Of The Complaint

In light of the lack of specificity of the complaint and the paucity of accompanying "documentation," the General Counsel of the Commission, by letter of June 22, 1976, requested the DNC to provide additional information

7704011718

concerning the complaint. By letter dated June 29, 1976, the DNC expressly declined such request and refused either to be more specific or to produce any further documentation, expressly preferring to rely on the "packet of newspaper articles and editorial comments" submitted with the complaint. The DNC again called for a further investigation by the Commission ". . .carried out with the Commission's subpoena power." Nevertheless, The President Ford Committee ("the Committee") has been asked by the Commission to state its position with respect to the complaint in its present imprecise and modestly "documented" state.

The Test To Be Applied
By The Commission

Your letters of June 22 and July 2, 1976 indicate, and the letter of the DNC dated June 29, 1976 expressly concedes, that the complaint presently is in the initial staff inquiry stage preparatory to a determination being made by the Commission, pursuant to §437g(a)(2) of the Act, as to whether it "has reason to believe that any person has committed a violation" of the Act.

This provision must be read in conjunction with AO 1975-72 (40 F.R. 56589, et seq.), which establishes

7704117747

a very strong presumption to the effect that any Presidential political travel prior to January 1, 1976 is properly chargeable to the Republican National Committee, rather than The President Ford Committee. The DNC in its letter of complaint expressly agrees that "For purposes of this complaint. . .the [DNC] is willing to accept" this presumption. Since upon completion of a formal investigation the Commission thus would not be justified in determining, pursuant to Section 437g(a)(5)(A), that there is "reasonable cause" to find a violation unless the aforementioned presumption is actually rebutted, the Commission cannot find that there is "reason to believe" such a violation exists, and thus set in motion a comprehensive investigation employing the subpoena power of the Commission, as requested by the DNC, unless there is "reason to believe" on the basis of the complaint that that presumption is likely to be rebutted.

In this connection, it is appropriate to consider the terms and purpose of AO 1975-72. In that opinion the Commission stated:

> The Commission is also of the opinion that candidate appearances at a legitimate party promotional event, prior to January 1 of a presidential election year are party building in nature and are not inherently intended to influence the candidate's nomination for election to Federal office.

7704011750

OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

In issuing this advisory opinion, the Commission recognized "the role of political parties in our electoral process" and referred to the legislative history of the Act favoring development and strengthening of the parties. Additionally, the Commission noted that the statutory scheme requiring matching payments out of public funds commencing January 1 evidences a Congressional determination that that date was the appropriate dividing line. Implementing what it understood to be the statutory scheme, the Commission ruled:

> . . .President Ford's party appearances . . .occurring. . .before January 1 will be presumed not to be candidate-related.

Hence, unless the complaint, together with the newspaper clippings and editorial comment submitted by the DNC, justifies the Commission in concluding that there is "reason to believe" that the DNC can be successful in rebutting the strong presumption established by the Commission in implementation of the statute, there is no basis for proceeding with a formal investigation. Otherwise the evil which the statute and the advisory opinion were formulated to avoid, namely, the launching of a large-scale, wide-ranging "fishing expedition," just on the "say so" of a political chairman, will have occurred.

7 7 0 4 0 2 1 1 7 5 1

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

The Evidence Required By The Commission To Rebut The Presumption

In its advisory opinion, the Commission clearly stated that its presumption "may be rebutted upon a showing, inter alia, that the solicitation for the party event, or the setting of the event, or the remarks made by candidates who were invited to attend were 'for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of [that candidate(s)] to Federal office.'" (emphasis added.) As stated previously, no documentation whatsoever has been submitted by the DNC with respect to the solicitation for or the setting of the events in question, except such as appears incidentally from the nature of the event or from a newspaper article, and documentation with respect to the remarks of President Ford has been submitted with respect to only about 25% of the appearances covered by the complaint. Another 20% is not documented even by a news clipping, and the remaining 55% is documented only by such news materials.

The Position Of The President Ford Committee

It is the position of The President Ford Committee that the Commission would be unwarranted in finding that there is "reason to believe" that its clear presumption can be rebutted, since:

7704017

(1) The complaint does not contain "a clear and concise statement of the facts which are alleged to constitute a violation of the Act" (see §111.2(b)(2), Proposed Regulations of the Commission, 41 F.R. 21589), and the DNC has expressly declined to provide such a statement;

(2) The DNC has not submitted the necessary "documentation of allegations of the complaint available to the complainant" (see §111.2(b)(3), Proposed Regulations of the Commission, 41 F.R. 21589), despite the fact that it has had a full year to assemble such documentation;

(3) Such limited "documentation" as has been submitted by the DNC clearly supports the conclusion that there is no "reason to believe" that the presumption of AO 1975-72 can be overcome, or that a violation can be established even absent the presumption; and, accordingly,

(4) To launch the "fishing expedition" sought by the DNC based on the subpoena powers of the Commission, absent a further and substantive showing by the DNC, would compromise the integrity of the Commission and its processes.

(1) The Complaint Is A "Blunderbuss" Accusation Generally Directed To A Period Of Four Months, Which Fails To State With Adequate Clarity The Specific Travels, Portions Of Travels, Or Public Appearances Which Are Allegedly Incorrectly Charged

In proposing regulations with respect to "Complaint Procedures", the Commission wisely suggests the requirement that a complaint contain "a clear and concise statement of the acts which are alleged to constitute a violation of the Act" (§111.2(b)(2), 41 F.R. 21589). The reason for this, as with any complaint procedure, is to enable both the Commission and the person at whom the complaint is directed to understand precisely what is alleged so that they can properly and adequately respond. Simple fairness dictates such a requirement.

As reflected in the previous quotes from the complaint, however, and the analysis of the "documentation" submitted with it, it is quite unclear exactly what is the subject of the complaint. The letter of complaint refers broadly to travel to "at least fifty towns and cities during the latter half of 1975," but is no more specific than that. While the "supporting" materials include a list of travels and appearances or stops encompassed by such travels, it is obvious from the foregoing that absolutely no supporting material whatsoever has been submitted with respect to 20% of such stops and appearances. It is impossible therefore to determine from what has been submitted exactly what expenditures are in fact intended to be the subject of the complaint.

7704011738

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

This deficiency is especially disturbing in light of the fact that the DNC has expressly declined to be more specific, even though it has taken a year to assemble its "evidence," and has so declined while knowing full well that some of the expenses literally encompassed by the complaint have been, in fact, charged to The President Ford Committee. To launch a comprehensive investigation employing the subpoena power of the Commission and making the numerous inquiries suggested by the DNC under the circumstances would be to grossly pervert the orderly and careful procedures of the Commission.

(2) The Complaint Is Not Supported By Any Documentation At All With Respect To Many Of The Allegations, And With Respect To Most Of The Remaining Allegations Is Not Supported By Probative Documentation

Out of the same need for orderly procedures, and the need to prevent the Commission from becoming an instant battleground for unsubstantiated complaints of contending parties or candidates, the Commission has also wisely proposed that any complaint filed with it, in order to be given consideration, shall "contain. . .any documentation of allegations of the complaint available to the complainant." (§111.2(b)(3), 41 F.R. 21589).

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011735

The DNC, which complains with respect to travel occurring as much as a year ago, July 11, 1975, has had a full year to collect materials, documentation and evidence with respect to the matters of which it now complains. Presumably the DNC has submitted all such documentation which is available to it which it believes would support its complaint. Since the DNC submitted some documentation with respect to some of the points of the complaint, it must be presumed from the failure to submit any documentation with respect to other matters apparently encompassed by the complaint that the DNC simply has no basis whatsoever for this other portion of the complaint. As noted previously, fully 20% of the Presidential appearances covered by the complaint are wholly undocumented.

In any event, the limited documentation submitted with respect to some of the points of the complaint is not of any probative value. Thirty-two pages of the documentation submitted in support of the complaint concededly consist of "General Editorial Comments"; these neither support a conclusion as to any specific travel or appearances, nor are probative with respect to any factual matters, since they are merely "editorial comments" reflecting the subjective political analysis of the author. The remainder of the submitted materials, numbered pages 31 through 157, likewise consists in substantial part of editorial comment

7704017

in newspaper and newsmagazine articles, which articles constitute the only documentation submitted with respect to 55%, or over half, of the appearances covered by the complaint.

In issuing AO 1975-72 the Commission expressly stressed the importance, for anyone seeking to rebut the strong presumption it established, of producing documentation regarding "solicitations for the party event," and "the setting of the event," as well as evidence of "the remarks made by candidates." Virtually no documentation whatsoever has submitted regarding "solicitations" for, or the "setting" of the various appearances encompassed by the complaint. It is inconceivable that the resources available to the DNC would be incapable of producing documentation in these areas during the past year, if evidence supportive of the complaint exists at all. It must therefore be concluded that with respect to the "solicitations" for and "setting" of the events, there is simply no evidence whatsoever to support the complaint. (It is understood, of course, that the Commission is not limited in it consideration of a complaint to the three categories of evidence to which reference is made, but they were clearly intended by the Commission to be characteristic of the type of evidence that would be relevant. In any event, no probative

7704117

documentation whatsoever, other than remarks of President Ford, dealt with in the next section, has been produced by the complainant relating to any of the three to which the Commission referred expressly.)

(3) The Limited Speech Texts And Press Conference Transcripts Submitted By The DNC Give No Reason To Doubt The Party Building Character Of The Subject Travel

The DNC has submitted actual texts of the remarks of President Ford only with respect to 15 stops or appearances out of the total 59 considered to be encompassed by the complaint, or about 25%. A careful analysis of these materials reveals that there could be no "reason to believe" that the appearances were other than "party building" visits, even if the strong presumption against such a finding had never been established by AO 1975-72. A review of the materials submitted by the DNC with respect to four randomly selected trips quickly makes this quite apparent, and incidentally demonstrates the broader deficiencies of the complaint.

Four trips have been selected randomly; the first trip listed by the DNC is analyzed, and every fourth trip listed thereafter is analyzed.2/ Since the November 14, 1975

2/ The random sampling is characteristic of the entire submission taken as a whole. As noted previously, the DNC has submitted actual evidence of President Ford's remarks as to only 15 of 59 stops (speeches, interviews, news conferences or other remarks) listed in support of the complaint omitting, as noted above, the November 7 and 14 trips, and has submitted no documentation as to any others, except, as to some, but not all, editorial comments and other newspaper materials.

7704017

trip to Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina and Atlanta, Georgia, for which materials are presented on pages 149-57 of the materials supplementary to the complaint, was in fact paid by The President Ford Committee, analysis of the "evidence" submitted with regard to that trip is omitted, even though it is one of the trips selected under the random selection system used.

(1) July 11, 1975 Trip To Chicago And Various Michigan Locations

The materials submitted by the DNC with respect to this trip list seven occasions on which the President made remarks during this trip. The DNC presents no evidence whatsoever with respect to six of these occasions. The only evidence presented by the DNC to rebut the presumption that this trip was not "candidate-related" is the transcript of the President's news conference in Chicago on July 12, 1976 (mistakenly listed in the DNC agenda for this trip as having occurred on July 11 and mistakenly listed among the Presidential statements included in the materials as having occurred on September 12, 1976.) (The copy of the transcript of the news conference on July 12, 1976 submitted by the DNC is taken from 11 Presidential Documents 736-41 (1975).)

In order to determine whether the evidence submitted regarding this news conference is sufficient to

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011735

rebut the presumption that the trip was not "candidate-related" under AO 1975-72, one must examine such things as the solicitations for the event, the setting of the event and the remarks made by the candidate. There is no evidence in the materials submitted by the DNC that there were any solicitations for the event. The setting of the event, rather than implying that the trip was "candidate-related," instead implies just the opposite. A Presidential news conference could occur anywhere; the fortuity of its having occurred while the President was not in Washington is hardly evidence that it had the purpose of influencing the President's nomination for election, regardless of what was discussed. Further, there is little in the text of the President's remarks which would even help to rebut the presumption that the trip was not "candidate-related."

The only prepared remarks delivered by the President at the news conference were wholly unrelated to the President's candidacy. In fact, the only remarks of the President which did concern the President's candidacy came in response to questions asked by reporters. These questions, and the answers thereto, take up less than half a page of the approximately five pages of transcript. There were also other questions relating to whether Vice

7704011761

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

President Rockefeller would be a candidate and the interaction of the Presidential campaign fundraising and the state and local campaign fundraising, but these are hardly remarks for the purpose of influencing the President's nomination. Finally, it seems incongruous to suggest, as the DNC apparently would, that whether a trip is "candidate-related" can be influenced by the questions asked by reporters over whom the candidate has no control and to whose questions the President is forced by circumstances to make some response, whether the news conference had occurred in Chicago or in the White House.

The evidence presented by the DNC is not sufficient to rebut the presumption that the trip was not candidate related. Actually, the evidence presented would not even suggest, in the absence of any presumption, that the trip was "candidate-related." The transcripts of Presidential remarks on other occasions during this trip (see 11 Presidential Documents 733-48 (1975)), which understandably were not put into evidence by the DNC, clearly demonstrate that the trip was not "candidate-related."

(2) September 4, 1975 Trip to Seattle, Washington and Portland, Oregon

The materials submitted by the DNC with respect to this trip listed seven occasions on which the President made

7704011761

remarks during this trip. The DNC presents no evidence whatsoever with respect to five of these occasions. The only evidence presented by the DNC to rebut the presumption that this trip was not "candidate-related" is (1) the transcripts of the President's remarks at a Republican fundraising banquet in Seattle, and (2) the transcripts of the President's remarks (and questions and answers thereto) at a Portland Youth Bicentennial Rally, accompanied by miscellaneous newspaper articles.

In order to determine whether the evidence submitted by the DNC regarding the trip on September 4, 1975 to Seattle and Portland is sufficient to rebut the presumption that the trip was not "candidate-related", under AO 1975-72, one must examine such things as the soliciations for the event, the setting of the event and the remarks made by the candidate. With respect to the Republican fundraising event in Seattle, the solicitation was to "have lunch with the President". It appears from the article in the Seattle Times of August 24, 1975 submitted by the DNC that the Republican fundraising banquet was organized by the state Republican party of the State of Washington, that it was publicly advertised and that tickets cost $25 per person. No evidence is submitted by the DNC regarding solicitation for the Portland

7704011761

Youth Rally. It is clear in the case of both events that neither was organized by the President or his staff, and no evidence is submitted by the DNC that the setting of either event is such as to "influence the nomination for election, or election," of the President. Finally, the remarks of the President at these two events lend little credence to assertions that the events were "candidate-related."

In the transcript of the President's remarks at the Seattle event (taken from 11 Presidential Documents 953-55 (1975)) submitted by the DNC, even the DNC can find only two paragraphs which it argues could be related to the President's candidacy. These remarks concern the need for a Presidential candidate to work with national and state Republican organizations in order to "have available the kind of leadership that is necessary in every state" and to obtain a "Republican victory in 1976." It is clear from the context in which the brief reference was made to the interaction of the Presidential campaign and national and state Republican organizations that the President was urging cooperation as a means of strengthening the activities of all Republican organizations, not as a means of influencing his own candidacy. In the approximately three pages of the transcript of the President's prepared remarks, and the questions

7704001765

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

and answers thereto, at the Portland Youth Bicentennial Rally (reproduced from 11 Presidential Documents 955-58 (1975)) submitted by the DNC, none of the President's prepared remarks have the slightest relationship to his candidacy. Further, he was asked only one question arguably related to his candidacy, namely whether he agreed with Mr. Reagan's statement that his running against the President would strengthen the Republican party and the nation, to which the President responded. It is illogical to suggest that the asking of an isolated question over which the President has no control can result in his trip to the place where that question was asked being a "candidate-related" trip

The 11 newspaper articles submitted by the DNC contain few facts; most of the portions of those articles highlighted by the DNC are unquestionably only a reporter's speculation concerning the effect of the trip on the President's candidacy. Other articles quote Mr. Baroody of the President's staff as saying that there are beneficial political side effects from the holding of the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Seattle, but even his comments do not attribute any "beneficial political side effects" to the President's attendance at such conference. It is notable that the DNC apparently does not rely on anything said by the President at such conference.

7704011761

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Several of the newspaper articles are limited to the reporter's own ideas about the activities of the President; one of these is by a reporter denominated as a "political writer," while another is baldly labeled "analysis." It is submitted that there is little or no real evidence in any of the newspaper articles submitted by the DNC; what evidence there is hardly rebuts the presumption that the trip was not"candidate-related." In fact, the evidence would not be at all persuasive even in the absence of the presumption. For example, several of the newspaper articles pointed out that the sponsoring organizations (such as a labor union, the League of Women Voters and the University of Washington) for the White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Seattle, at which the President spoke, were hardly concerned with the President's nomination or election. Another quotes a local Republican as saying "He's getting the party together." Seattle Times, September 5, 1975.

7704017

(3) September 22, 1975 Trip To San Francisco, California

The materials submitted by the DNC with respect to this trip list four occasions on which the President made remarks during this trip. One of those occasions is the President's remarks in Washington, D.C. upon his return in response to questions regarding his reaction to the attempt

on his life which occurred in San Francisco earlier that day. Two of the other three events are ignored by the DNC in its presentation of evidence. No newspaper stories regarding this trip are submitted by the DNC

The only evidence submitted by the DNC to rebut the presumption under AO 1975-72 that the trip was not "candidate-related" is a portion of the transcript (reproduced from 11 Presidential Documents 1060-64 (1975)) of an interview. In the approximately four pages of transcript there is one question asking whether the President's trips to California are attempts to "sidetrack" Mr. Reagan's "shadow campaign for the nomination in 1976"; to this question the President responded negatively. There is also a series of three questions regarding whether the President would accept former President Nixon's help in his campaign in 1976. Finally, the President was asked whether a recent Gallup Poll indicated that "you are in serious trouble in 1976 as a party and you as President." All of the answers by the President were made as responses to questions asked by reporters during an interview in San Francisco, California on September 22, 1975 for a television news program. It is obvious from the context that the President had no control over the questions asked, and thus could hardly control the substance of his remarks without being wholly unresponsive to the questions. The President thus had no control over the event or any "solicitations" in connection therewith.

7704001765

OFFICIAL FILE COPY

It is absurd to suggest that the President's responses to questions from others can themselves result in a trip not otherwise "candidate-related" becoming "candidate-related." With respect to the September 22, 1975 trip the DNC has not presented any evidence which tends to rebut the presumption that the trip was not "candidate-related" as is required by AO 1975-72, and has presented no evidence justifying the complaint even in the absence of such a presumption.

(4) October 14, 1975 Trip to Hartford, Connecticut

The materials submitted by the DNC with respect to this trip list two occasions on which the President made remarks during the trip. Significantly, the DNC is apparently unable to find anything in these remarks which are helpful to its assertion that the trip is "candidate-related," and has likewise submitted no probative evidence as to solicitations or setting. Instead, the DNC only submits two newspaper articles, neither of which is at all persuasive.

One article, from the Hartford Courant of October 15, 1975 is headed "State GOP Sees Big Fund Success" and states in the first sentence "President Gerald R. Ford travels here tonight to help Connecticut Republicans and is undoubtedly looking for their return assistance in 1976." The article later speculated that "Ford can hardly be forgetting" that he would

7704001767

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
ORIGINAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

like the state's votes at the 1976 convention, but the primary thrust of the article, evidenced by the first sentence is that the Pesident's trip was to "help Connecticut Republicans." The other article, from the New Haven Register of October 14, 1975, repeats the theme, stating that "Ford came to Hartford Tuesday night to seek support for nomination and election next year and to help Connecticut Republicans raise an estimated $125,000 for the 1976 campaign." The article goes on to refer to statements made by various Connecticut Republicans with regard to the probability of the Republican Party's successes in 1976 in Connecticut, noting incidentally, that the President's expenses were paid by the State Republican Committee. In this article, the Republican mayoral candidate in Hartford is quoted as having given a welcoming speech "on behalf of all Republican candidates who are seeking election this November [i.e., November of 1975] throughout the State of Connecticut". These two newspaper articles contain no evidence rebutting the presumption of AO 1975-72 that the President's trip to Hartford on October 14, 1975 was not "candidate-related," and indeed do not warrant such a conclusion even in the absence of such a presumption.

(4) The Integrity Of The Commission And Its Functioning Compel A Finding That There Is No "Reason To Believe" The Presumption of AO 1975-72 Can Be Overcome

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011763

The Commission appropriately is concerned not to become an easy battleground for overenthusiastic party warfare, just as it is concerned to deal fairly and forthrightly with complaints. The necessary balance between avoiding frivolous, politically motivated complaints on the one hand, and dealing efficiently and straightforwardly with justifiable complaints on the other hand has been struck by Congress in the Act and by the Commission through its advisory opinion. In this case that necessary balance exists in the requirement that an investigation proceed only when four or more Commissioners determine that there is "reason to believe," on the basis of a specific complaint and documentation submitted by the complainant, that the DNC can overcome the strong presumption that political travel of President Ford prior to January 1, 1976 was related to party building functions rather than his own candidacy. Unless the Commission is now going to overturn this statutory and regulatory scheme, and permit a party both to impose on the Commission, and to embroil a presidential candidate in, an extensive investigation merely upon a request, without material substantiation, the Commission must find that there is no "reason to believe," based on the complaint of the DNC, that it can overcome that strong presumption. The flimsiness of the DNC complaint is particularly striking given the fact that the DNC

7 7 0 4 0 0 1 1 7 6 0

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

has had a full year to assemble necessary evidence in support of its complaint, but has expressly rejected the request of the Commission General Counsel to particularize and support its complaint further. It is further compounded by the obvious failure of the DNC to recognize in its complaint that all or a portion of the expenses regarding two of the 17 trips encompassed in the complaint were charged to The President Ford Committee. The cavalier attitude thus demonstrated by the DNC, and its further failure to produce much more than excerpts from its own clippings file, inevitably lead to the conclusion that no more evidence to support its broad allegations in fact exists.

In sum, the DNC expects the Commission to begin a broad-scale investigation of over fifty appearances during a period of four months simply because the DNC Chairman submits a three-page letter requesting such an investigation and accompanies it with newspaper clippings, editorial comments and speech texts covering a portion of the travels. To launch an investigation on this basis would be in effect to establish a Commission precedent that a complainant will always be entitled to an investigation committing the full resources of the Commission

7704021771

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

so long as the complainant appears to allege substantial violations of the Act, and submits a file of newspaper clippings. It is respectfully submitted that such a result would be grossly unfair to all political parties and candidates and would have a disastrous effect on the functioning of the Commission.

Charles N. Brower
Special Counsel to
The President Ford Committee

7704011771

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

8 JUL 1976

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Robert P. Visser, Esq.
The President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Re: MUR 162 (76)

Dear Mr. Visser:

Enclosed is a reply from Robert S. Strauss to my letter of June 22, 1976, which requested a statement of specific facts in support of the above numbered complaint.

You are requested to submit within ten days any factual or legal materials you deem relevant to the allegations.

Again, please feel free to call if you have any questions regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: John G. Murphy, Jr.

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

cc: Mr. Benton Becker

AAthy:mpc:7/8/76

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001477 2

CC # 331
MUR 142

RE
FEDER
CO

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

78 JUL 2 PM 3

July 16, 1976

CORRESPONDENCE
Control # 76-1138

William Oldaker, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Oldaker:

Pursuant to my telephone conversation with your office today, this is to confirm that we will be filing our response to the complaint in the above-referenced matter no later than Friday, July 23, 1976. In view of the fact that you were on vacation and Mr. Athy was attending the Democratic National Convention this week, I trust that this will not be an inconvenience to you and appreciate your consideration in this matter.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Visser

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

RPV:dm

cc: Andrew Athy, Esq.
Charles Brower, Esq.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

The President Ford Committee. Rogers C. B. Morton, Chairman. Robert C. Moot, Treasurer. A copy of our Report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463.

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W. SUITE 200 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

William Oldaker, Esquire
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

76 JUL 21 A9:14

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

76 JUL 2 P4:51

July 2, 1976

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter will respond preliminarily to your letter of June 22, 1976 regarding the above-captioned complaint filed by the Democratic National Committee which requested a response within ten days.

As I have discussed with Mr. Athy on the telephone, the complaint in its present form, supposedly directed to Presidential trips to 50 or more cities over a period of some months, is unconscionably broad and diffuse. It nowhere specifies precisely the cities and trips or segments of trips involved, the categories of expenditures involved or the amounts thereof, and is unsupported by any reasonably probative evidence. We have subsequently been informed that the Democratic National Committee has submitted in support of its complaint 157 pages of newspaper articles and speech material. Apparently no additional information has been supplied by the complainant. This bulk of material likewise demonstrates that the complaint is overly broad in scope and that it lacks both specificity and the support of reliable and substantive evidence. I have therefore previously expressed my view that in fairness, and consistent with the authority of the Commission, the complainant should be required to refine its complaint by providing a specification in the nature of a bill of particulars. This bill of particulars must be supported with probative evidence. I gather from your letter that the complainant has been requested to do so, and upon receipt thereof we will address ourselves directly to the issues raised.

In any event, the breadth of the complaint appears to be such that the PFC has enlisted the services of special counsel to assist the PFC in this matter. Charles N. Brower, Esq., a member of the District of Columbia and New York bar has agreed to serve in this

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

The President Ford Committee, Rogers C. B. Morton, Chairman, Robert C. Moot, Treasurer. A copy of our Report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463.

capacity. Mr. Brower stated that a significant amount of time will be required to prepare and submit an appropriate response to the complaint. We shall also be coordinating our efforts with counsel for the Republican National Committee in order to make a full and timely response to any specific allegations.

Upon receipt of a more specific complaint I will seek to make an appointment with Mr. Athy and other persons involved to introduce Mr. Brower and review this matter further.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Visser

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

RPV:dm

cc: Charles N. Brower, Esq.
Benton L. Becker, Esq.
William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704011775

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET N.W. SUITE 1111 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

76 JUN 2 PM 1:50

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

76 JUL 2 P4:51

CC 888

July 2, 1976

FEC
CONTROL # 76-900

John G. Murphy, Jr., Esq.
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

RE: MUR 142(76)

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This letter will respond preliminarily to your letter of June 22, 1976 regarding the above-captioned complaint filed by the Democratic National Committee which requested a response within ten days.

As I have discussed with Mr. Athy on the telephone, the complaint in its present form, supposedly directed to Presidential trips to 50 or more cities over a period of some months, is unconscionably broad and diffuse. It nowhere specifies precisely the cities and trips or segments of trips involved, the categories of expenditures involved or the amounts thereof, and is unsupported by any reasonably probative evidence. We have subsequently been informed that the Democratic National Committee has submitted in support of its complaint 157 pages of newspaper articles and speech material. Apparently no additional information has been supplied by the complainant. This bulk of material likewise demonstrates that the complaint is overly broad in scope and that it lacks both specificity and the support of reliable and substantive evidence. I have therefore previously expressed my view that in fairness, and consistent with the authority of the Commission, the complainant should be required to refine its complaint by providing a specification in the nature of a bill of particulars. This bill of particulars must be supported with probative evidence. I gather from your letter that the complainant has been requested to do so, and upon receipt thereof we will address ourselves directly to the issues raised.

In any event, the breadth of the complaint appears to be such that the PFC has enlisted the services of special counsel to assist the PFC in this matter. Charles N. Brower, Esq., a member of the District of Columbia and New York bar has agreed to serve in this

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

The President Ford Committee, Rogers C. B. Morton, Chairman, Robert C. Moot, Treasurer. A copy of our Report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463.

7704011771

capacity. Mr. Brower stated that a significant amount of time will be required to prepare and submit an appropriate response to the complaint. We shall also be coordinating our efforts with counsel for the Republican National Committee in order to make a full and timely response to any specific allegations.

Upon receipt of a more specific complaint I will seek to make an appointment with Mr. Athy and other persons involved to introduce Mr. Brower and review this matter further.

Sincerely yours,

Robert P. Visser

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

RPV:dm

cc: Charles N. Brower, Esq.
Benton L. Becker, Esq.
William Oldaker, Esq.
Andrew Athy, Esq.

7704011727

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

President Ford Committee
[illegible] L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

William Oldaker, Esquire
Deputy Assistant General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

75 JUL 2 P4:50

President Ford Committee
1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Commissioner Joan Aikens
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

76 JUL 2 P4:50

President Ford Committee
1000 L STREET N.W. SUITE 250 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Andrew Athy, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

76 JUL 2 4:50

CC # 283
MUR 142

CRAMER, HABER & BECKER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
475 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S. W.
SUITE 4100
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20024
(202) 554-1100
TELEX: ITT 440048

MIAMI, FLORIDA
(305) 358-0050

WILLIAM C. CRAMER
RICHARD M. HABER
BENTON L. BECKER
ANTHONY J. McMAHON
MICHAEL A. MILWEE
GORDON M. STRAUSS
KENNETH M. ELLIS

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR.
F. LAWRENCE MATTHEWS

July 1, 1976

76-852

William Oldaker, Esquire
Deputy Assistant General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Re: Compliance Action Filed by DNC

Dear Bill:

This letter is a synopsis of our meeting Wednesday afternoon, June 30, 1976, attended by Gordon M. Strauss, of our office, and David Spiegel, Andrew Atthy and Edward Steele from your office, as well as the two of us. I appreciated the opportunity to meet with you and your staff on the matter of the complaint filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) on May 14, 1976.

You advised that the Federal Election Commission (FEC) had recently informed the DNC, in writing, to resubmit their complaint of May 14, 1976, with greater particularity and specificity. The FEC requested that the DNC make known the specific pre-January, 1976, Presidential travel questioned and to supply the available evidence supportive of the DNC's allegations regarding that travel. Upon receipt of said submission from the DNC to the FEC, the Republican National Committee (RNC) is prepared to provide your office with the available documentary evidence supportive of the propriety of RNC's payment for the questioned travel. Where available, the RNC will produce transcripts of Presidential remarks and statements of expenses incurred as well as other documentation relevant to a determination of the character and intent of the questioned Presidential travel.

In addition, I reiterate that this office will undertake all preliminary research into this matter. Naturally, should the Commission find "reason to believe" that a formal investigation

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

7704911738

into this complaint is desirable, then, in that event, the President Ford Committee would, by necessity, become more directly involved in any subsequent meetings. In this regard, I have taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of this letter to Mr. Robert Visser, General Counsel of the President Ford Committee.

If I may be of any assistance in the interim until the Democratic National Committee's submission, please do not hesitate to ask.

Sincerely yours,

BENTON L. BECKER

BLB/ch

cc: David Spiegel, Esquire
Andrew Atthy, Esquire
Edward Steele, Esquire
Robert Visser, Esquire

7704011781

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

CRAMER, HABER & BECKER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
475 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S.W.
SUITE 4100
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20024

78 JUL 2 AM 10:33

William Oldaker, Esquire
Deputy Assistant General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

JUL 0 1 1976

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Robert P. Visser, Esq.
The President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Visser:

Enclosed is a reply from Robert S. Strauss to my letter of June 22, 1976, which requested a statement of specific facts in support of the above numbered complaint.

You are requested to submit within ten days any factual or legal materials you deem relevant to the allegations.

Again, please feel free to call if you have any questions regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

cc: Mr. Benton Becker

AAthy:mpc:7/1/76

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001478

22 JUN 1976

CERTIFIED MAIL

RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Robert P. Visser, Esq.
The President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Visser:

This letter is to notify you that the Federal Election Commission has received a complaint from the Democratic National Committee alleging that the President is in violation of AO 1975-72 with respect to certain of his travel expenses which were paid for by the Republican National Committee in 1976. A copy of the complaint is enclosed.

The Commission is conducting a preliminary inquiry into this matter to determine what action, if any, it should take. The complainant has been asked to submit a statement specifying the dates and appearances that were improperly reported. When this, or any other correspondence is supplied, we will furnish you with a copy.

You are requested to submit within ten days any factual or legal materials you deem relevant to the allegations.

The attorney assigned to this case is Andrew Athy, Jr. (telephone no. 202/382-6648). Please feel free to call if you have any questions regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: John G. Murphy, Jr.

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

JGMurphy:amh:6/10/76

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001478 7

P.C.

PS Form 3811, Jan. 1979

RETURN RECEIPT, REGISTERED, INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

● SENDER: Complete items 1, 2, and 3.
Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

1. The following service is requested (check one).

- ☐ Show to whom and date delivered..... 15¢
- ☑ Show to whom, date, & address of delivery.. 35¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom and date delivered..... 65¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery 85¢

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
Robert Visser

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

REGISTERED NO.	CERTIFIED NO.	INSURED NO.
	438241	

(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐ Addressee ☑ Authorized agent

D Wm

4. DATE OF DELIVERY [redacted] POSTMARK

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE: CLERK'S INITIALS

☆ GPO: 1975—O-569-047

7704201173

June 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

FROM: Andy Athy, Jr. AA.

RE: MUR 142 (76) - Meeting with Benton Becker and Gordon Strauss

Representing the RNC Becker and Strauss indicated that they are anxious to provide all available data as soon as DNC provides further information specifying the dates being challenged. Strauss raised question as to what was permissible as "incidental" political activity.

7704001478

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

CC#273
MUR 142

DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

Robert S. Strauss
Chairman

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

76 JUN 30 A11:41

June 29, 1976

CORRESPONDENCE CONTROL # 76-811

John G. Murphy, Jr., General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Murphy:

This is in response to your letter of June 22, 1976, requesting additional information concerning our complaint dated May 4, 1976.

Included with our complaint is a packet of newspaper articles and editorial comments concerning the presidential trips made by Mr. Ford during the latter half of 1975. Included in this packet are the specific dates, times and places of the visits by Mr. Ford, as well as specific references to the many editorial comments highlighting the political nature of this series of presidential trips.

We feel that the information accompanying our initial complaint provides a sufficient factual basis for a Commission determination that it has "reason to believe" that pertinent provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act have been violated, thus warranting a further investigation by the Commission.

As stated in our complaint, we feel confident that such an investigation, carried out with the Commission's subpoena power, will corroborate the information which we have submitted to date and will clearly show that the expenses for these trips should be subject to the appropriate contribution and expenditure limitations of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as has been the case for all of the other candidates for President.

We welcome this investigation by the Commission and hope that this matter can be fully aired and expeditiously resolved.

Very truly yours,

Robert Strauss

Robert S. Strauss

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704011791

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

John G. Murphy, Jr., General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

June 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

FROM: Andy Athy, Jr.

RE: MUR 142 (76)

Conversation today with James Rosseel, legal assistant at DNC. Rosseel wanted to confirm that the Commission wanted the specific date and appearances challenged.

He complained of their limited resources and said that such would hinder their response to our request.

7704001479

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

INVENTORY FILE

FORD (RNC)/STRAUSS
MUR 142 (76)

1. Letter to Mr. Chairman, from Sharon Dent, dated May 4, 1976, filing a complaint with the FEC in accordance with Section 437(g).

2. 48-hour report MUR 142 (76).

7704001479

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 21, 1975	President left Ryomi (Firestone residence) for Cypress Point Golf Course - played golf
	President attended a luncheon at Clubhouse (private)
	President motored from Colf Course to Firestone residence
	President motored from Ryomi to Monterey Peninsula Airport and felw to Moffett Field NAS, Palo Alto, Calif.
	President motored from Moffett Field to Stanford U. Law School, San Francisco, Calif.
	President participated in dedication ceremony of the new law school building at Stanford University, addressed students, faculty and alumni
	President met withapproximately 26 student leaders from campus law organizations and participated in a q & a session with students
	President attended reception with approximately 250 honored guests
	President motored from Sanford U. to Moffett Field and flew from Moffett to LA International Airport, LA
	President flew by helicopter from LA Airport to Disneyland Convention Center helipad, Anaheim, Calif.
	President motored from Disneyland helipad to Disneyland Convention Center and attended the 86th Annual Convention of the National Association of Life Underwriters (NALU)
	President addressed approximately 2,200 members and guests attending the John Newton Russell Awards dinner - broadcast liver over national tv
	President motored to Disneyland helipad and flew to Los Angele International Airport, then flew to Monterey Penisula Airport, Monterey
	President motored from Airport to Ryomi and was overnight guest at Firestone residence

7704001791

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 22, 1975	President motored from Ryomi to Monterey Peninsula Airport, Monterey
	President flew from Monterey to San Francisco International Airport Coast Facility
	President motored from Airport to Hyatt Regency Hotel
	President participated in the 58th Annual Convention of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department and addressed approximately 550 members attending convention
	President motored from Hotel to the St. Francis Hotel
	President attended the general reception with approximately 1,000 members of the World Affairs Council of Northern California, then went to Borgia Room
	President attended a head table reception with approximately 20 head table guests
	President addressed approximately 1,000 members of the World Affairs Council of Northern California at luncheon
	President then participated in video-taped interview with members of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company Station KPIX
	President returned to motorcade (enroute he was the target of unsuccessful assassination attempt)
	President motored to San Francisco International Airport and flew to Andrews AFB - returned to WH 11:47 pm

7704014795

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
September 30, 1975	President departed WH 4:43 pm
	President flew from Andrews AFB To O'Hare Airport, Chicago, Ill.
	President motored from Airport to Conrad Hilton Hotel, accompanied by Sen. Percy, Congressman Michel and Congressman John Anderson
	President attended General Reception of the Illinois State Republican Fundraiser Dinner sponsored by the Illinois Republican Finance Cmte. and addressed approximately 1,000 persons attending dinner
	The President attended an after dinner special reception for approximately 150 guests
	President left Conrad Hilton Hotel and went to North Shore Hilton Hotel where he was overnight guest
October 1, 1975	President participate in a meeting with approximately 36 Mayors from Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana
	President motored from North Shore Hilton Hotel to O'Hare Field and flew to Offutt AFB, Omaha, Nebraska
	President went from Offutt AFB to Omaha Hilton Hotel
	President participated in an interview (tv video-taped) with local networks
	President attended a reception with approximately 20 statewide Nebraska Republican leaders
	President participated in a WH Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs and addressed approximately 800 people attending the conference - he then participated in q& a session with sponsors of conference
	President motored from Hotel to Offutt AFB and flew from Offutt to Andrews AFB
	President arrived WH 9:40

7704011795

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
October 10, 1975	President left WH 2:05
	President flew from Andrews AFB to Detroit Metropolitan-Wayne County Airport, Detroit, Michigan
	President motored from Detroit Airport to Cobo Hall
	President participated in his 20th Press Conference with members of the Detroit Press Club and the National Press Corps
	President motored from Cobo Hall to Hotel Portchartrain
	President attended reception hosted by Chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee for a group of Michigan "key men" Republicans
	President motored from Portchartrain Hotel to Cobo Hall
	President attended special reception for 750 guests preceeding Michigan Republicans Salute the President dinner
	President then attended Michigan Republicans Salute the President fundraiser dinner hosted by Republican party of Michigan - President addressed approximately 3,850 guests
	President motored from Cobo Hall to Detroit Metropolitan-Wayne County Airport
	President flew from Detroit airport to Andrews AFB
	President returned to White House 11:51

7704001797

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places Visited
October 29, 1975	1:35 President left White House
	President flew from Andrews AFB to L A International Airport, California
	President motored from LA Airport to Century Plaza Hotel
	President attended a reception for approximately 50 California "Keyman" Republican leaders
	President met in his suite with Chairman of the President Ford Steering Committee of California, and 2 Members of President Ford Steering Committee of California
	President attended a receptionfor approximately 200 members of Calfornia Republican Golden Circle Club and the Statesman Club
	President attended a California "Salute the President Dinner"
	President remained overnight at Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles
October 30, 1975	President went to Santa Monica Room at Hotel and participated in interview with local TV stations
	President went from hotel to LA International Airport where he flew to San Francisco International Airport
	President motored from Airport to the St. Francis Hotel
	President attended a California "Keyman" meeting with approximately 40 Republican leaders
	President attended a VIP reception for approximately 150 guests attending the fundraiser luncheon hosted by Republican State Central Committee of California
	President attended a fundraiser luncheon hosted by the Republican State Central Committee of California, greeted head table guests and addressed approximately 700 guests attending luncheon
	President motored from St. Francis Hotel to San Francisco

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704001793

October 30, 1975
(continued)

President motored from Mitchell Field to Milwaukee Performing Arts Center

President attended a General Fundraiser Reception hosted by Republican Party of Wisconsin, greeted approximately 500 reception guests

President attended a fundraiser dinner hosted by the Republican Party of Wisconsin, addressed approximately 500 guests attending dinner

President attended a Wisconsin Republican fundraiser program for guests attending the Wisconsin fundraiser reception and dinner

President went to Uihlein Hall and addressed the crowd gathered for the Wisconsin fundraiser program

President attended a reception for approximately 400 members of the Wisconsin Republican Founder's Club and greeted guests attending reception

President motored from Milwaukee Performing Arts Center to General Mitchell Feild and flew to Andrews AFB

President returned to White House 1:00 am Oct. 31

7704091791

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and Places Visited
November 7, 1975	9:22 President left White House
	President flew from Andrews to Westover AFB, Chicopee, Mass.
	President motored from Westover AFB to Baystate West Hotel Springfield, Mass.
	President attended the 21st Annual Convention of the New England Society of Newspaper Editors and greeted approximately 125 guests attending the convention
	The President participated in a q & a session
	President motored from Hotel to Westover AFB and flew from Westover to Logal International Airport, Boston.
	President motored from Logan International Airport to Sheraton Boston Hotel
	President attended the 51st New England Council Conference and addressed approximately 800 guests attending the conference
	President participated in a meeting with Massachusetts Republican leaders
	President participated in a meeting with Northeastern State Governors
	President motored from Sheraton Boston Hotel to Museum of Science, Science Park
	President greeted approximately 200 guests attending Mass. fundraising Key Club Reception
	President attending the Massachusetts fundraising Century Club reception
	President addressed approximately 500 guests attending the reception and greeted reception guests
	President motored from Museum of Science to Logan International Airport

7704011801

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

November 7, 1975
continued

President went to platform in the John A. Volpe International Terminal and attended the Massachusetts Republican Fundraiser Celebration Reception

President addressed approximately 1,500 guests attending the reception

President flew from Logan Airport to Andrews AFB

10:00 President returned to White House

7704001801

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Trip	Events and places visited
November 14, 1975	8:55 President left White House (Callaway was on Marine I) President flew from Andrews AFB to Raleigh-Durham Airport, Raleigh, NC (Callaway was on AF 1)
	President motored from Raleigh -Durham airport to McDougald Gymnasium, N.C. Central University, Durham
	President greeted platform guests participating in Convocation of North Carolina Central University
	President participated in the Convocation of University and was presented with an honorary Doctor of Laws degree
	President addressed approximately 5,000 guests attending convention
	President met with delegation of students from university
	President motored from University to Royl Villa Hotel
	President attended a Republican Sponsors reception hosted by Gov. Holshouser for approximately 35 guests
	President went to Room E, accompanied by Howard Callaway and Gov. Holshouser
	President participated in reception hosted by the PFC for approximately 50 guests.
	President attended a North Carolina Republican fundraiser reception - and addressed approximately 1,000 guests attending reception
	President motored from Hotel to Raleigh-Durham Airport and flew from Raleigh-Durham airport to Dobbins AFB, Marrietta, Ga. - greeted by Republican State officials
	President motored from AFB to Marriott Motor Hotel. President participated in photo opportunity with Republican candidates for Congress from Georgia
	President participated in his 22nd Press Conference broadcast liver over local TV

7704021 801

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

November 14, 1975
continued

President attended reception for approximately 75 members of the Georgia Republican Executive Cmte. and theGeorgia Chairman's Club

President attended a Georgia Republican Fundraiser Dinner

President addressed approximately 1,000 dinner guests

President participated in a meeting with Georgia Republican leaders

President motored from the Marriott Motor Hotel to Dobbins AFB , Marietta, Ga.

President flew from Dobbins to Andrews AFB, Md.

President deplaned and participated in a departure ceremony on the occasion of his visit to the International Economic Summit meeting, Rambouillet, France

President left Andrews for Orly International Airport, Paris, France 12:53

7704011807

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

GENERAL COUNSEL MURPHY (continuing): the speech itself. I think we can see that the appearance of, - on ostensibly apolitical basis, nonetheless has a bearing on the candidate's political fortunes. The decision of the Commission, if it adopts this Opinion, is that it is discounting that to the extent that the appearance is for purely Party strengthening purposes but that appearance can be shifted from that character into political character by express things. Pictures of Ford for President, or solicitations saying "come help the President, Reelect Ford." Or where the speech itself has an overtone of the political future of the speaker.

CHAIRMAN CURTIS: Yes, Lan.

STAFF DIRECTOR POTTER: May I raise a hypothetical question? What if the Commission receives a rebuttal, perhaps in the form of a complaint, which cites substantial press notice appraising the Commission of the fact that a certain visit or series of visits has had a substantial impact on the candidate's fortunes?

GENERAL COUNSEL MURPHY: Well, I don't know that the Commission is going to wish to get into a determination of a given appearance as political on the grounds of how commentators characterize it.

CHAIRMAN CURTIS: Amen. Unless they wrote a press release -

GENERAL COUNSEL MURPHY: I think you are going to have to rely on the record of the event itself, not what outsiders made of the event.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704211801

22 JUN 1976

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Robert S. Strauss
Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Re: MUR 142 (76)

Dear Mr. Strauss:

This letter is to acknowledge receipt of your complaint dated May 4, 1976, alleging violations by the President Ford Committee of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. We have numbered your complaint MUR 142 (76); please refer to this number in any correspondence.

The Commission has opened a preliminary inquiry into your allegations and a copy of your complaint has been forwarded to the respondent. We would appreciate it if you would within five days of receipt of this letter submit any further information you deem pertinent. This should include a statement of the specific facts which you believe indicate that the solicitations for the party events, [attended by President Ford], or the setting of the events, or the remarks made by the President, were for the purpose of influencing his nomination for election, or election, (A.O. 1975-72, 40 F.R. 56589, citing 2 U.S.C. Section 431(e)).

The attorney assigned to this matter is Andrew Athy, Jr. (telephone no. 202/382-6646). Please do not hesitate to call if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,

[illegible] John G. Murphy, Jr.

John G. Murphy, Jr.
General Counsel

FOR THE
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

AAthy:pjg:6/15/76

7040014800

P.C.

PS Form 3811, Jan. 1975

RETURN RECEIPT, REGISTERED, INSURED AND CERTIFIED MAIL

● SENDER: Complete items 1, 2, and 3.
Add your address in the "RETURN TO" space on reverse.

1. The following service is requested (check one).
- ☐ Show to whom and date delivered..... 15¢
- ☒ Show to whom, date, & address of delivery.. 35¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom and date delivered..... 65¢
- ☐ RESTRICTED DELIVERY.
  Show to whom, date, and address of delivery 85¢

2. ARTICLE ADDRESSED TO:
Robert Strauss

3. ARTICLE DESCRIPTION:

REGISTERED NO.	CERTIFIED NO.	INSURED NO.
	438240	

(Always obtain signature of addressee or agent)

I have received the article described above.
SIGNATURE ☐ Addressee ☐ Authorized agent
R. Youngs

4. DATE OF DELIVERY
6/23/76

POSTMARK

5. ADDRESS (Complete only if requested)

6. UNABLE TO DELIVER BECAUSE:

CLERK'S INITIALS

☆ GPO: 1975 O-569-347

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL: JUN 16 1976

NO. MUR 142 (76)

REC'D: 5/13/76

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

Complainant's Name: Robert S. Strauss, Chairman, Democratic Nat. Committee

Respondent's Name: President Ford Committee

Relevant Statute: 2 U.S.C. Section 431 (e) (by implication)

Internal Reports Checked:

Federal Agencies Checked:

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATION

Payments by RNC of President Ford's travel expenses from June 20, 1975 to January 1, 1976 were made for the purpose of influencing his nomination and not for party building. This is allegedly in violation of AO 1975-72 which was based on 2 U.S.C. Section 431 (e). The principles of AO 72 are now found in Section 100.8 (e) of the proposed regulations.

PRELIMINARY LEGAL ANALYSIS

Complaint consists of general allegations which are based almost entirely on attached newspaper articles relating to President Ford's travel. However, factual issues are raised that merit further inquiry in order to determine whether there is reason to believe a violation has occurred. The appearances challenged need to be particularized and specifically documented.

RECOMMENDATION

Leave file open for preliminary inquiry. See attached letters.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Date of Next Commission Review:

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Commissioner Aikens

MUR No. 142 (76)

Date and Time of Transmittal _____

( ) I object to the recommendation in the 48 hour Report.

COMMENTS: Bob Visser should receive everything. (Mrs. Aikens wants Mr. Visser should receive not only the Stevens letter, but the letter with all enclosures thereto.)

Date: 6-24-76 Signature: _____

PLEASE USE THIS FORM ONLY IF YOU WISH TO NOTE AN OBJECTION WITH REGARD TO THE ABOVE CAPTIONED MATTER. Return all objections to Ms. Marge Emmons ~~in the Compliance Office on the Fourth Floor~~. If no objection is received within 24 hours of transmittal, the matter will be deemed approved.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704271807

MUR 142 CC #155

HAND DELIVERED

DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

Robert S. Strauss
Chairman

76 MAY 12 P5:24

May 4, 1976

Chairman
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Be means of this letter, we are filing today a complaint with the Federal Election Commission in accordance with Section 437(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

We submit, for reasons herein stated, that payments by the Republican National Committee of the major expenses of presidential travel incurred by Gerald R. Ford and his committee since he made himself an official candidate for President on June 20, 1975, were for the purpose of influencing his nomination as a candidate, and constitute contributions to the President Ford Committee within the meaning of "contribution," as defined in Section 591 (f) of the Act, as well as expenditures by the President Ford Committee within the meaning of "expenditure," as defined in Section 591(e) of the Act. As such, these contributions must be counted in applying the expenditure limitations imposed by the Act on those candidates accepting presidential primary matching funds.

The travel involved consists of visits to at least fifty towns and cities during the latter half of 1975 and was the subject of Advisory Opinion 1975-72 issued by the Commission. In this Advisory Opinion, the Commission concluded that appearances made by the incumbent President after January 1, 1976, would be presumed to be candidate-related and would be governed by the relevant portions of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended. Those before January, 1976 would be presumed not to be candidate related. The opinion also stated that the Commission's conclusions "may be rebutted upon a showing, inter alia, that the solicitations for the party event, or the setting of the event, or the remarks made by the candidates who were invited to attend were'for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election' of [that candidate(s)] to Federal office."

As you know from our comments on the Advisory Opinion, we maintain that the Commission erred as a matter of law in superimposing an arbitrary presumption on the otherwise clear and concise language of Section 591(f). The Democratic National Committee believes that the line between (1) the political role of the President as head of his party and (2) the role of

Gerald R. Ford as an active candidate for office is not nearly so easily drawn as the Commission's Advisory Opinion suggests. We have consistently taken the position that a "purpose to influence" a nomination or election exists whenever there is a direct and substantial relationship between the transfer of money or other things of value and the furtherance of the candidacy of a particular individual, or group of individuals, to federal office. The existence of such a substantial relationship is indicated by evidence that the transfer contributes significantly or importantly to the furtherance of such a candidacy.

The Commission addressed itself to similar issues in two earlier Advisory Opinions: AO 1975-8 and AO 1975-13, where it stated, in part, that:

> "...once an individual has become a candidate for the Presidency, all speeches made before substantial numbers of people are presumably for the purpose of enhancing his candidacy."

We feel that these two earlier opinions are relevant to this complaint, and that if the travel and accomodation expenses of a Presidential candidate are made subject to the requirements of 18 U.S.C. Sections 610 and 611, they should similarly be made subject to the requirements and limitations of 18 U.S.C. Section 608. In AO 1975-72, the Commission attempted to distinguish the two cases by stating that the earlier situation dealt with "corporation paid travel expenses" as opposed to "national or state political party paid travel expenses." This is indeed a curious distinction, since the statutory language makes it clear that a standard of broader scope is applied to "corporation paid travel expenses" than to "national or state political party paid travel expenses." 18 U.S.C. Section 610 regulates all corporate or labor paid travel expenses made "in connection with" the particular election, while 18 U.S.C. Section 608 applies only to those expenditures made "for the purpose of influencing" a particular candidate's nomination. Certainly any expenditure that falls within the latter, narrow category will also be subsumed within the wide reach of the former standard.

In any event, we believe that there is little doubt, especially in light of the Commission's two earlier advisory opinions, that the political party paid travel expenses now in question were indeed made for the purpose of influencing Gerald R. Ford's campaign for the 1976 Republican nomination, and should therefore be made subject to the pertinent provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act.

For purposes of this complaint, however, the Democratic National Committee is willing to accept the arbitrary presumption created by the Commission in Advisory Opinion 1975-72. We assert that there are sufficient

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7 7 0 4 1 7 1 8 1 1

facts presently available to rebut this presumption. We feel certain, moreover, that the Commission will find, in the investigation provided for in Section 437 (g), incontrovertible evidence that the travel in question was in fact for the purpose of influencing the nomination of Gerald R. Ford.

Therefore, without conceding the correctness of Advisory Opinion 1975-72, we submit the following facts in rebuttal to the presumption created. Appended to this complaint are a number of newspaper articles and copies of presidential speeches which highlight the political nature of Mr. Ford's travel. The circumstances surrounding these appearances by Mr. Ford indicate that they were scheduled for times and places that would enhance his candidacy for the nomination for the Presidency.

The tenor of his speeches and the specific statements that he made indicate that Mr. Ford made these appearances for the purpose of furthering his campaign for nomination. Furthermore, inferences drawn by the media that such appearances were primarily campaign-related are indicative of the public perception of these visits and strongly support this conclusion. For example, Mr. Ford's two breakfast meetings on August 19, 1975 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the first with 96 regional media executives and the second with 20 major national GOP contributors, were described by the Minneapolis Tribune on August 20, 1975 as "..... groundwork for his [Ford's] own campaign in 1976." And in the September 16, 1975 issue of the Los Angeles Times, the following language was used to describe this series of trips:

> "Still not admitting that he is campaigning, President Ford is setting a pace reminiscent of Richard M. Nixon's when he committed himself to visit every state in his 1960 race against John F. Kennedy... The President clearly has his eye on Ronald Reagan and though aides insist that the Reagan factor is secondary, the Ford barnstorming seems designed in large measure to blunt a campaign by the former California governor before it gets started."

In light of the foregoing, we request that the Federal Election Commission make a thorough investigation, as required by the Federal Election Campaign Act, of these violations of the Act. Pursuant to Title 2 U.S.C. Section 437 d(a)(3), the Commission may exercise a subpoena power not available to the Democratic National Committee to produce further material. Questions directed at key individuals and organizations concerning the advance work done for these trips, the nature of the invitations to the meetings, the selection of the audiences addressed, whether other potential candidates were accorded opportunities to appear, and other facts bearing on the purpose of the appearances, should be addressed.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7 7 0 4 0 2 1 8 1 1

We are confident that such an investigation will corroborate the information set forth in this complaint and will clearly show that the expenses for these trips should be subject to the appropriate contribution and expenditure limitations of the Federal Election Campaign Act, as is now the case for all of the other candidates for President.

Very truly yours,

Robert S. Strauss

RSS:sar

Enclosures:

General Editorial Comments, pages 1 - 30

Material Relating to Individual Presidential Trips, pages 31 - 157

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the said Robert S. Strauss this 7th day of May, 1976, to certify which witness my hand and seal of office.

Sharon Dent

Notary Public, Dallas County, Texas

(Sharon Dent)

My commission expires:
June 1, 1977.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7704181

7704001481 3

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

76 MAY 12 P5:24

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

From:

THE DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

CHAIRMAN
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
1325 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Turk to Speagle

A10,12 To Speagle

The above-described material was removed from this file pursuant to the following exemption provided in the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552(b):

____	(1) Classified Information	____	(6) Personal privacy
____	(2) Internal rules and practices	____	(7) Investigatory files
____	(3) Exempted by other statute	____	(8) Banking Information
____	(4) Trade secrets and commercial or financial information	____	(9) Well Information (geographic or geophysical)
✓	(5) Internal Documents		

Signed _____

date _____

FEC 9-21-77

7704011811

INDEX OF GENERAL EDITORIAL COMMENTS

PAGE	DATE	SOURCE	TITLE OF ARTICLE
1	1/6/75	Los Angeles Times	Ford Back From Trip , Tells Vacation Itinerary
2	8/11/75	U.S. News and World Report	The Big Change At The White House
3	8/17/75	Chicago Tribune	Ford Planning 11 State Tour' Aide Denies Reagan Blitz
4	8/24/75	Washington Post	The President's Campaign Financing
5	8/24/75	Los Angeles Times	Ford Touring as President and Politician
6	8/27/75	New York Times	Nessen Calls Ford Trips Unrelated to Candidacy
7	8/27/75	Los Angeles Times	Ford's Politicking Practice Defended
8	8/28/75	Washington Post	Election Panel Eyes Billing For Ford Trips
9	9/5/75	Los Angeles Times	Ford Gives Tough Crime Talk
10			
11	9/5/75	Washington Star	Ford Gets Lots of Mileage Out Of His Trips
12	9/15/75	New York Times	On The Road
13	9/16/75	Los Angeles Times	President To Make Second California Trip As Barnstorming Pace Continues
14	9/16/75	New York News	Ford Giving His '76 Attack Out-of-Town Tryouts
15	9/19/75	New York Times	Suddenly The Questions Are As Far Reach...
16	9/21/75	Chicago Tribune	Ford's Grueling Travel Pace - Will It Change His Image
17	9/24/75	Washington Post	Bootleg Campaign Funds
18			
19	9/26/75	New York Times	Mr. Ford's Bad Politics
20	9/28/75	New York Times	Ford Will Go West Again, Hunting The Voters
21	9/30/75	Phila. Inquirer	Financing of Ford's Political...
22	10/6/75	Christian Science Monitor	Campaigning; Why Ford Doggedly Persists
23	10/10/75	Los Angeles Times	Ford Won't Visit Louisville Due To Busing Unrest
24			
25	10/12/75	Boston Globe	Ford Style is a Non-Stop Road Show
26	10/12/75	Phila. Inquirer	Ford Spends Too Much Time Travelling
27	10/13/75	Newsweek	...Call of...
28	10/25/75	National Journal	Have Road Show, Will Travel
29	10/27/75	U.S. News and World Report	Ford's Travels - Paying Off?
30	10/31/75	Los Angeles Times	The Stump vs. The Job

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

7701181

7704001815

OPS IN 7 STATES

Ford, Back From Trip, Tells Vacation Itinerary

BY GAYLORD SHAW
Times Staff Writer

NGTON—President Ford, from a 10-day European osed his vacation plans wo weeks with the Colora- as a host for 13 public

President would dedicate a medical center in Arkansas, visit a Vietnamese refugee camp, inspect a Colorado oil shale project, go to the Iowa state fair, [illegible] Midwest-

[illegible] Monday the Peoria and Milwaukee, breakfast with editors and address an American Legion convention in Minneapolis, dedicate an Illinois research center, speak at a hardware convention in Chicago and tour a hydroelectric dam in Montana.

White House aides said that Mr. Ford would keep up the pace in September and October. But they cautiously reported suggestions that he was already plunging into his campaign for a full term in the White House.

"He's just being President of all the people," said Press Secretary Ron Nessen.

Except for appearances at two GOP fund-raising events, Nessen said, Mr. Ford's travels are classified as nonpolitical and will be paid for by the federal government.

Travel costs associated with a GOP dinner in Des Moines and a Republican luncheon in Minneapolis will be paid by the Republican National Committee instead of by Mr. Ford's campaign committee because "he's going as leader of the party and not as a candidate," Nessen said.

Mr. Ford, who returned late Monday from his second European trip in three months, will leave Sunday for Vail, Colo., where he has taken winter and summer vacations in past years.

En route to Vail, he will stop in Ft. Smith, Ark., to dedicate a medical center, then travel to nearby Ft. Chaffee, Ark., where he will spend 90 minutes touring a camp which houses about 22,000 Indochina refugees.

Mr. Ford has [illegible] several days during the first week in Vail for conferences with energy advisers and other aides and plans to spend several afternoons on the golf course, Nessen said.

On Monday, Aug. 13, he will travel to nearby Rifle, Colo., to inspect an oil shale [illegible] project, the first part of his effort to "get a first hand look at alternative energy programs," Nessen said. Later the same day he will fly to Des Moines to attend the Iowa state fair and a fund-raising Republican reception and dinner.

The next morning he will attend a breakfast meeting in Minneapolis with editors, publishers and broadcast executives from Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, South Dakota, North Dakota and Minnesota, then address the American Legion national convention and attend a GOP fund-raising luncheon before flying to Peoria, Ill. There he will address a White House-sponsored conference on energy and the economy. Before flying back to Vail that night, Mr. Ford also will dedicate the Everett M. Dirksen congressional leadership research center in Pekin, Ill.

On Sunday, Aug. 24, Mr. Ford will inspect a [illegible] project at Libby Dam in Montana. The next day, en route back to Washington, he will address a [illegible] industry conference in Chicago and an [illegible] White House [illegible] conference in Milwaukee.

The President's [illegible] vacation travel schedule will be duplicated in September and October, White House aides said. During September, for example, he plans to spend a weekend in Southern California, making an address at Pepperdine University's Malibu campus along with other as yet undetermined appearances.

U.S. News and World Report
August 11, 1975

Start of Second Year—

[illegible] AT THE WHITE HOUSE

From the beginning, the pace was hectic, the challenges immense. Now, a year in office, Gerald Ford has put his own stamp on the Presidency.

It is with an eye on the future that Americans are sizing up Gerald Ford's first year in office.

The one-year mark will be reached on August 9, just a few days after the President's return from a historic conference in Helsinki and a foray behind the Iron Curtain.

Waiting for Mr. Ford upon his return were a wide range of problems to solve, tough decisions to make. There was a new burst of inflation to deal with, a continuing energy crisis, troubled negotiations in the Middle East, a balky Congress—much the same sort of problems that the President faced when he was first sworn into office.

It was an unprecedented and crucial time in American history when Gerald Ford became the nation's first nonelected President.

In the year that has passed since he inherited a crisis in Government stemming from Richard Nixon's resignation, Mr. Ford has brought considerable change to the Presidency and the way it is run.

For one thing, it is a far different White House now, with a top staff shaped entirely by Mr. Ford and responsive to his own ideas.

The Cabinet—a combination of Nixon holdovers and Ford appointees—is described at the White House as "essentially Ford's own."

The Republican President has enjoyed use of the veto power, with just the Democratic Congress on the defensive.

Even though the two parties remain, the Republican Party is bolstered by the fallout of Watergate from the severe [illegible].

In foreign affairs, Mr. Ford has characterized his leadership by such decisions such as the [illegible] which might not have been [illegible].

As his closest aides see it, the topmost accomplishment of the President's first year in office was restoration—after the trauma of Watergate—of national confidence in the integrity of the White House.

Says one associate: "He brought the presidential seal out of the dust."

Spotlighted in what follows are the changes that Gerald Ford has brought to the Presidency, his key associates, his ups and downs in a turbulent year and the problems that loom for the man who on July 5 formally announced that he is a candidate for election in 1976 in his own right.

The Ford Style

Mr. Ford's operating style as President is seen as a reflection of his personality—open and friendly.

He is far more accessible than most Presidents have been. Also, he has maintained high visibility. For example—

The Chief Executive has held 17 news conferences and has granted more than three dozen interviews. He has visited 51 U.S. cities in 31 States. He has met at least once with each of the 50 Governors and with more than 100 mayors. Trips abroad have taken him to Mexico, Japan, Korea, the Soviet Union, Martinique and twice to Europe.

Mr. Ford clearly likes his job, despite its burdens.

He told a recent visitor: "I am very happy. I enjoy getting up every morning and thinking of all the problems we have to work on, and I don't hurry away at night because we want to finish what we have on the agenda."

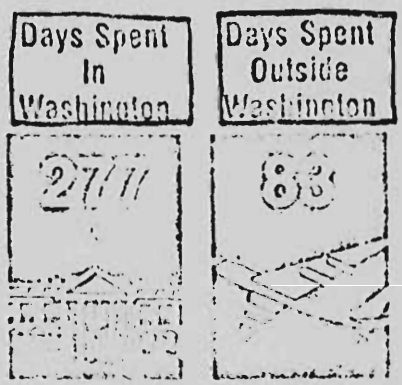
At 62, Mr. Ford is in excellent health except for a "football knee," which sometimes causes him to stumble.

A favorite form of relaxation for the President is a round of golf, often at the Burning Tree Country Club in suburban

A PRESIDENT ON THE [illegible]

OUTSIDE WASHINGTON: NEARLY 1 DAY IN 4

From Aug. 9, 1974 — the day Mr. Ford was sworn in as President — through Aug. 4, 1975:



OUTSIDE U.S.: OFF TO A RECORD PACE

Miles Traveled Average Per Year

Gerald R. Ford
Total: 16 countries

Richard M. Nixon
24,600 miles
Total: 28 countries

Lyndon B. Johnson
20,300 miles
Total: 19 countries

John F. Kennedy
12,400 miles
Total: 13 countries

Dwight D. Eisenhower
14,600 miles
Total: 25 countries

Harry S. Truman
5,900 miles
Total: 5 countries

Franklin D. Roosevelt
8,600 miles
Total: 14 countries

Source: White House

Chicago Tribune
August 17, 1975

Ford planning 11-state tour; aide denies 'Reagan blitz'

By Aldo Beckman

VAIL, Colo.—He is about to move around the country at a pace that would exhaust most Presidential candidates in the heat of a campaign.

President Ford will visit at least 11 states within the next month, bringing to 33 the number he has visited since moving into the White House. His top aides insist, however, that his schedule is simply a reflection of the President's fondness for meeting people and traveling.

"He feels it's good for the governing of the country to get out a lot," explained Donald Rumsfeld, White House chief of staff and the man Ford has designated as White House liaison with Ford's election campaign committee.

"It's not people's schedules pick up this time of year," said Rumsfeld, denying the analysis of a junior White House official that the whole effort is aimed at "beating Reagan" before he has threatened candidacy can get off the ground.

ASKED to discuss his and the President's view of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan's candidacy, Rumsfeld said he really hasn't had reason at this early date to give it much thought. He agreed to an interview, anyway, and then kept his word about not saying much to offer on the subject.

"Ronald Reagan . . ." he began, slumping into an easy chair in the relatively modest house owned by businesswoman Betsy Talbot across the street from the President. "I know him, and I like him."

"All along, the President has taken his word at face value," Rumsfeld continued. "I really believe that he hasn't made up his mind yet whether to run."

Other sources close to the President offer a more cautious view of the Reagan candidacy. "The President thinks that Reagan is extremely articulate and an effective campaigner with a proved record in government," said one source. "Naturally, he considers that he would be an adversary worthy of some note. He would not just brush him off."

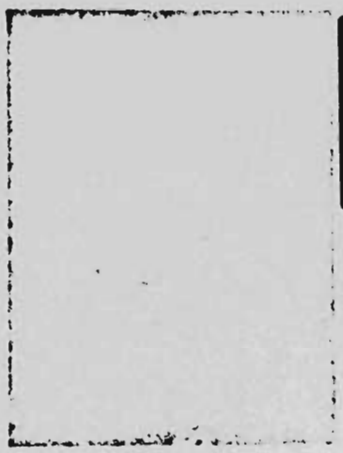
"THE PRESIDENT has no doubt, however, that he can win," the source added quickly.

Ford has little argument with any of the philosophical principles being expressed by Reagan, but one of Ford's aides, surveying the administration's strategy against Reagan, added, "Dealing with these problems is a little more difficult than simply analyzing them."

There are chuckles around the White House over efforts by Reagan's supporters to promote their candidate by emphasizing his conservative views.

"It's going to be pretty hard to get the country to buy the notion that the President is off to the left," said one Ford aide. "That doesn't concern us very much."

What does concern Ford aides, to some extent, is what they consider a cavalier attitude about the President's candidacy. "When some [illegible] candidate qualifies [illegible] federal matching funds [illegible] raised $5,000 in at least [illegible] with a $250 limit on individual contributions, it's big headlines," complained one Ford adviser. "When we put it in [illegible] two weeks, nobody even noticed, and it was buried in an interview with David Packard [Ford's campaign finance chairman]."



Donald Rumsfeld

WHETHER POLITICS or fondness for travel are the primary forces behind [illegible] he has scheduled [illegible] this fall, [illegible] can escape the assumption by his observers that politics is the greater factor.

His two trips to Colorado in September trigger the automatic assumption that it is a direct assault to undercut Reagan in his home state.

While Ford aides would be grateful for such a conclusion, they insist that the two trips so close together is the result of Ford's inability to say no rather than any grand political strategy.

Last March, while he was in Palm Springs, Paul Bartley, state Republican chairman in California and a former strong supporter of Reagan, invited Ford to attend a fund-raising dinner in early September.

FORD AGREED, but didn't bother to mention it to his schedulers, who were off on another track, planning a California visit later in the month. By the time Bartley contacted the White House about making final plans for what Ford had promised him, it was too late to cancel the second trip. So White House officials, by now used to adjusting plans after learning of a new Ford promise, moved ahead with arrangements for two cross-country flights within three weeks.

"He is the President," shrugged Rumsfeld. "He can do what he wants to do."

7704021813

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak 7704001 1819 Washington Post, August 24, 1975

The President's Campaign Financing

—President Ford intends to campaign this year without obeying stringent financial regulations imposed on all other presidential candidates by the new election law—an exercise in loophole seeking which could land him in political and legal trouble.

The President's intentions became clear Aug. 13 and 14 when his six purely political speaking stops were paid for by the Republican National Committee (including an approximate $[illegible] for rental for Air Force One). While [illegible] the national committee will pick up the tab for the rest of the President's 1976 political travels.

That relieves his specially created campaign organization, called the President Ford Committee, from spending its own money. Much more important, none of Mr. Ford's expensive and politically valuable travels [illegible] the law's limit of $[illegible] than two hours of Air Force One flying time—for Republican National Committee solicitations to a single candidate will become a burden.

The rationale: Although Mr. Ford is an announced candidate for President, his lawyers claim he is traveling politically this year as leader of the Republican Party, not as a candidate. Those travels will be financed by local party funds passed through the national committee when he is engaged in fund-raising and directly from the national committee when he is not.

"Although Mr. Ford is an announced candidate for President, his lawyers claim he is traveling politically this year as leader of the Republican Party, not as a candidate."

This outrages supporters of Ronald Reagan, who is legally a candidate for President opposing Mr. Ford, as defined by the election law. Even if Reagan announces his formal candidacy as expected, the Republican National Committee still plans to finance Mr. Ford's political travels. Protests from Reaganite national committee members would follow.

Mr. Ford's legal problems are more acute. "I see nothing in the law that [illegible] is a party leader and one who is not," a federal election commission source told us.

A Republican National Committee spokesman told us the President Ford Committee had asked the FEC for an advisory opinion. An aide at the President Ford Committee told us the request was being drafted at the White House. White House counsel Phillip Buchen told us his staff was preparing a [illegible] distinction between Ford-the-candidate and Ford-the-party-leader but might not ask the FEC for an opinion.

The upshot: The White House is interpreting the law as it sees fit and in a way possible for no other candidate.

●

The Kremlin's audacious attempts to manipulate the U.S. Congress reached new heights Aug. 13 when a senior Soviet official harangued 19 visiting House members to cut President Ford's defense budget.

A U.S. embassy cablegram reports Boris Ponomarev, a candidate member of the Politburo, telling the congressmen that the [illegible] interfering in the internal affairs of the USSR."

Then, Ponomarev promptly leaped into U.S. internal affairs by suggesting the congressmen could "make use of the growing role of the House to promote disarmament, particularly cuts in the defense budget. The Congress is now discussing the 1976 budget providing for an increase in the military spending which would reach a fantastic sum of $[illegible] billion."

Ignoring [illegible] Soviet arms expenditures and contending "our policy is firmly aimed at reducing military spending," he admonished the congressmen: "If your voice is heard in Congress . . . let us hope that this will lead to positive results."

A footnote: The embassy cable does not show the response from the congressmen. After we reported last month's exchanges between senators and the Russians, which the senators had covered up, the State Department ordered the Moscow embassy to stop cabling detailed accounts of such meetings.

●

Two western governors, unimpressed by the present field for the Democratic presidential nomination, have quietly turned to the high court for a new face: Associate Justice Byron ("Whizzer") White. Despite lack of encouragement from White, they are still trying.

Gov. J. J. Exon of Nebraska and Ed Herschler of Wyoming raised eyebrows this year to sound out White. Exon conferred with White for 1½ hours in Washington two weeks ago. Meeting the Justice for the first time, Exon was impressed but not encouraged. White, 58, told him he had never run for public office and had no intentions of leaving the bench.

Exon reported the bad news in a letter to Herschler. But Herschler, who knew White personally as a schoolmate at the University of Colorado, has not given up and plans to see the Justice on his next trip to Washington.

© 1975, Field Enterprises, Inc.

5

Los Angles Times
Auguest 24, 1975

A Part I—Sun., Aug. 24, 1975 Los Angeles Times 2★

Ford Touring as President and Politician

BY DON IRWIN
Times Staff Writer

Vail, Colo.—President Ford is off today on another [illegible] that has [illegible] to [illegible].

Before he returns to Washington late Monday, Mr. Ford will have presented his moderate-conservative message and an able down-to-earth personality at televised appearances in three heartland states that normally follow national trends in presidential voting.

The President, who looks tanned and refreshed, will depart this morning from Vail, his headquarters since Aug. 10. Much of his time in the mountain resort has been spent playing golf, but his press secretary, Jon Nelson, offered statistics compiled from a White House log to show that it has indeed been a working vacation.

Although the President logged 44 hours and 20 minutes at the tee—he played four sets of tennis and swam, in addition to playing golf—Nelson said the relaxation had been balanced by about 166 hours of work. He said 33 hours had been devoted to "private work," 31 hours to staff briefings and 33 hours and 55 minutes to "public events," mostly on short speaking swings away from Vail.

This morning, Mr. Ford will fly to Kalispell, Mont., then change to a helicopter to travel to the construction of a hydroelectric plant that completes the final stage of the $473 million Libby Dam on the Kootenai River. Aides said his talk there will deal with energy and the environment and that they expected the event to give the President an opportunity to meet Canadian Energy Minister Donald S. Macdonald.

ON THE LINKS—President Ford after teeing off on the first hole in Vail, Colo., Saturday. AP Wirephoto

Before he settles down for the night in Colorado, Mr. Ford is scheduled to attend a dinner honoring [illegible] yacht racers and a [illegible] of Democratic Mayor Richard J. Daley. On Monday, the President is expected to discuss economics before a hardware industry convention in Chicago, then take questions at a conference on domestic affairs in Milwaukee.

[illegible] name of the game is exposure, and the White House is playing it for [illegible] Put to the Nov. 3 [illegible] election. It began months ago, but it got [illegible] way last week and aides say that more trips are scheduled every week or 10 days through October. Such forays from Washington are likely to continue until the electioneering season warms up next spring. One trip is expected to bring the President to Los Angeles in late September.

A likely pattern for the trips was set last Monday and Tuesday, when Mr. Ford found opportunities to discuss farm policy and national defense and still play down-to-earth politics at a dozen appearances in Iowa, Wisconsin and rural Illinois.

After a farm speech in Des Moines, Mr. Ford made two appearances before party groups, one of them a speech to a fund-raising reception at which the audience helped sell enough $100 tickets to wipe out the $70,000 deficit of the Iowa GOP.

The talk, which was repeated in essence at other political appearances, expressed upbeat confidence that next year will provide the GOP with a "great, great opportunity" to recoup its losses (He never mentioned Watergate directly.) And it laid down specifications for the "constituency that I think wants Republicans to cultivate when he makes his first run for the presidency.

"We must reach out to that great, great American majority that does the nation's work, pays the nation's bills, provides for the nation's defense and obeys the nation's laws," the President said, urging that such "solid, solid Americans" be sought out regardless of race, religion or politics.

As he set a target for GOP recruiters, Mr. Ford outlined the fundamentally conservative philosophy with which he is approaching the campaign. He stressed a strong national defense, fiscal responsibility, private enterprise in preference to "meddling, muscle-bound government" and "local control over local problems."

At GOP meetings, Mr. Ford displays the expertise he acquired as House minority leader, spouting first names of local officeholders, crediting individuals for party services, encouraging precinct organization and steadfastly proclaiming his optimism about the party's future.

Now and then, the itinerary puts Mr. Ford in the middle of a lot of platitudes and he emerges as the approachable Michigan congressman he was for 25 years. At the Iowa state fair, he put in half an hour at a 4-H Club exhibit, shaking hands and exchanging pleasantries with creators of prize preserves and owners of prize steers.

He has been alternately President, politician and "good old Jerry Ford," and the mixture is unlikely to change as he continues his excursions. How much it will help him in the election won't be known for 15 months.

7704211821

Nessen Calls Ford Trips Unrelated to Candidacy

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 26—The White House, citing "Terrible political liabilities" of incumbency, said today that President Ford's extensive cross-country travels bore no direct relation to his candidacy for a full term as President.

Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, sought to draw the distinction in announcing trips by Mr. Ford to New England, West Coast next week.

He said that Mr. Ford had three separate roles—as President, as leader of the Republican party and as a candidate for the party's 1976 Presidential nomination—and that there were no plans for Mr. Ford to campaign on behalf of his own candidacy before January.

According to Mr. Nessen, the recent and prospective appearances by Mr. Ford in a number of states are all in his roles as President or party leader.

He said that the Republican National Committee would submit to the Federal Election Commission a formula for assuming the costs of Mr. Ford's travels as party chief.

Spending Limits Set

The distinction is important because the campaign reform law enacted last year by Congress sets overall limits on the amounts that White House aspirants may spend for campaign purposes, including travel.

The operation of Air Force One, the Presidential jet, costs $2,200 an hour. Thus the President could consume his [illegible] budget of about $[illegible] for the New Hampshire primary just by spending four days in the state if he did so as a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination.

Despite a common belief that Presidents have an edge over challengers by virtue of incumbency, Mr. Nessen said that it was his "personal observation" that "terrible political liabilities" were also involved in campaigning from the White House.

"No other candidate for office has to live with the consequences of his actions," he said.

The President must make decisions daily, Mr. Nessen continued, "and if one blows up in his face, he has to live with it."

Mr. Ford will conduct his campaign "strictly in accordance with both the spirit and the letter" of the reform law, Mr. Nessen said.

Suggestions of the putative Presidential candidacy of Ronald Reagan, the former Republican Governor of California, have suggested that Mr. Ford's journeys across the nation should be counted against his campaign budget.

But Mr. Nessen said today that it was "natural and normal" for the Republican National Committee to assume expenses of Mr. Ford's travels on behalf of the party as a whole.

'Not the First Time'

"This is not something that is happening for the first time in American history," the White House spokesman said.

He said that the national party would pay the full cost of the President's one-day visit to New England Saturday. Mr. Ford will address a hospital benefit in Augusta, Me., and party fund-raising events in Portland, Me., and Newport, R.I.

On Sept. 4, Mr. Ford is scheduled to address a regional White House conference on domestic issues in Seattle. Although the White House has yet to confirm it, he is also expected to take part in public and political meetings in California, Missouri and other states on his way to and from the Seattle conference.

These journeys come on the heels of a number of official and Republican party appearances by Mr. Ford in Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Montana, Minnesota, Illinois and Wisconsin during a two-week vacation [illegible], and on his way back to Washington.

[illegible] political [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

7704001182

Los Angles Times

August 27, 1975

Ford's Politicking Practice Defended

BY ROBERT SHOGAN
Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—The White House Tuesday defended the practice of having President Ford's political travel expenses paid for by the Republican National Committee, rather than by the committee running his own campaign for the GOP presidential nomination.

[illegible] would continue to pay the President's political bills at least until the end of the year.

Both the White House and the national committee have informed the Federal Election Commission of this arrangement, and the two letters were released by the White House. The commission, which is administering the new federal campaign reforms, has yet to rule on the matter.

The letters to the election commission—from White House counsel Philip Buchen and from Benton L. Becker, a lawyer for the Republican [illegible] both [illegible] with incumbent Presidents.

However, as a result of the 1974 federal campaign reforms, presidential candidates for the first time now face limits on the amount of money they can spend in campaigning.

Asked if it were fair, in view of the new rules, for the President to accept financial support from the national committee that might otherwise be charged against Mr. Ford's own spending limit, Nessen said other presidential candidates sometimes travel at government expense, if they are in Congress, and sometimes [illegible] one of the various candidates for President. And he is handling his affairs just as the others are."

So far as is known, though, Mr. Ford is the only declared candidate who has not yet tapped his own campaign funds to pay for any of his travel expenses.

Nessen maintained that the Republican National Committee's financial support for Mr. Ford was based on his special relationship to his party.

"Incumbent Presidents do have a role as the leader of their parties which is quite separate from their roles as candidates," he said.

Informed of the White House position, Lyn Nofziger, a spokesman for the Reagan for President committee, which is [illegible] the Republican [illegible] a candidate. This is what the FEC has to rule on."

The issue of payment for Mr. Ford's political travel came up at the regular White House briefing when Nessen announced that the President would make trips to both the East and West Coasts within the next 10 days.

His itinerary will include Republican fund-raising events in Portland, Me., and in Newport, R.I., on Saturday as well as a White House regional conference on domestic issues in Seattle Sept. 4, and a speech to the California Legislature in Sacramento, Sept. 5.

[illegible] fairs were [illegible] with ostensibly nonpolitical appearances.

Nessen said White House lawyers were drafting a proposed formula for apportioning various presidential travel expenses—such as the cost of flying Air Force One—among Mr. Ford's three roles as Chief Executive, party leader and candidate. The proposal will be submitted to the Federal Election Commission for its approval, Nessen said.

The White House correspondence with the Commission was touched off by a July 10 inquiry from commission chairman Thomas Curtis as to whether the President had a special office account for constituent services, similar to those maintained by congressmen.

The Commission subsequently ruled that all such accounts, apart from federally appropriated funds, were subject to contribution and spending ceilings of the federal campaign law.

Election Panel Eyes Billing For Ford Trips

By Douglas Watson
Washington Post Staff Writer

A spokesman for the Federal Election Commission said yesterday the commission probably will rule on whether President Ford's political travels this year can be billed entirely to the Republican National Committee or must partially be paid by Mr. Ford's own campaign organization.

Sen Lloyd M. Bentsen (D-Tex.), a Democratic presidential candidate, had charged earlier yesterday that the President is trying "to circumvent both the letter and the spirit" of the new campaign finance law by billing all of his political travel expenses this year to the Republican National Committee.

William Greener, deputy White House press secretary, responded, "The trips that the President has taken have been in conjunction with raising funds for the states or national Republican committees and this is why they are paid for by the Republican National Committee."

"We feel we are operating within the law," Greener added at a White House press briefing.

On Tuesday White House press secretary Ron Nessen said Mr. Ford's campaign committee has not paid for any of the President's political travel so far "because none of the trips have been made as a candidate for the nomination."

Nessen said that the President plans no political trips on behalf of his own candidacy this year and that all Mr. Ford's political travels this year will be for the Republican Party.

The distinction is important under the new campaign finance law because presidential candidates are limited to spending $10 million nationally on their campaigns and no more than [illegible] presidential candidate spending limit in any state.

In New Hampshire, for example, presidential candidates are limited to a maximum of $300,000 in primary campaign expenditures. However, the White House says that as long as Mr. Ford goes to that state on behalf of the Republican Party, not himself, his expenses aren't counted against the limit.

Bentsen said, "I was deeply disturbed by the statement attributed to White House press secretary Ron Nessen that Mr. Ford does not plan any campaign trips as a candidate for the rest of this year. The implication is clear.

"The White House wants the Republican Party to pick up all of Mr. Ford's campaign bills throughout the coming months while other candidates are forced to deplete their own campaign funds, which are severely limited under the new law," the Texas senator said.

Bentsen cited an Aug. 2 opinion to him from the Federal Election Commission, which oversees the new law, stating, "Once an individual has become a candidate for the presidency all speeches made before substantial numbers of people are presumably for the purpose of enhancing his candidacy."

David Fiske, director of press relations for the commission, said later that the commission's opinion to Bentsen dealt with a specific question raised by the Democratic candidate and did not directly address the issue of presidential political travel.

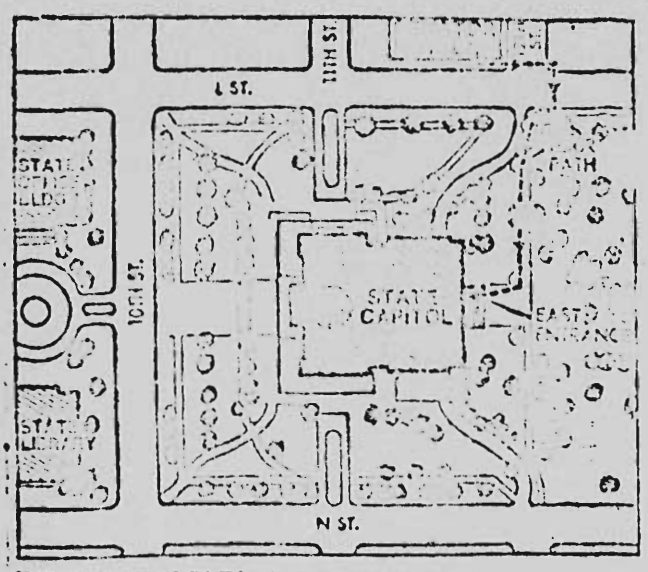
In regard to Bentsen's accusation against the President, Fiske said, "We (at the commission) are not treating it as a question of a violation. It's another question that needs a policy decision by the commission."

Fiske said there are literally hundreds of questions on implementation of the new campaign finance law before the six-member commission, which was sworn in April 14, but that a decision on who should be billed for Mr. Ford's political travels is likely [illegible]

[illegible] for the Republican Party [illegible] travels. The White House explanation as Mr. Ford's last week to Des Moines and Minneapolis were to attend party fund raisers, other political [illegible] and to [illegible] war chest, the spokesman [illegible]

Ford Gives Tough Crime Talk

9



THE PRESIDENT'S PATH—Mr. Ford was on way to the state Capitol from hotel when he was accosted. An "X" marks the spot.
Times chart by Russell Arapmith

Speech to Legislature Comes Shortly After Attempt on Life

BY WILLIAM ENDICOTT
Times Staff Writer

...0—Looking calm ... on an attempt on ... an hour and a half ... Ford Fields drive- ... and many streets of the Capitol ...

... highly tough talk ... to Democrats, ... to crime down to ... new crime measures we may ... proposals with by legisla- ...

... on 10th St. in Sacramento is ... to the people who walk ... as there as peace on the final ...

... President was just two blocks ... on L St., where a Democratic ... gave an invite to a morning ... Brown. When he was ... by a pistol-wielding woman ... identified as a follower of mass ... Charles Manson.

Despite the incident, Mr. Ford went ahead routinely with his ... which included a private ... session with the press and a brief meeting with legislative leaders before his address to the joint ...

Earlier Friday, the President addressed a breakfast meeting of California business leaders in the new Sacramento Convention Center, telling them all Congress would have to do is ... with California and provide tax incentives for private industry the nation could achieve full employment ...

"Starting from point zero not quite a century ago," Mr. Ford said, "the federal government now employs over 100,000 people whose sole responsibility is the writing, reviewing and enforcing of some type of regulation.

"One hundred thousand people whose principal job is telling you how to do your job. It's a bureaucrat's dream of heaven, but it's a nightmare for those who have to bear the burden."

With those remarks, he won loud and long applause from his audience of more than 1,000.

The President sat patiently for almost an hour while the names of 600 "out-of-town" guests were read off by Sacramento Host Committee members, a tradition that started with the first Host breakfast 40 years ago. The introductions ranged from a bowling veterinarian to corporate presidents.

The visit to the capital by Mr. Ford was billed as nonpolitical, but it could not mask the fact that he had decided to bring to ex-Gov. Reagan's own turf the fight for next year's Republican presidential nomination.

The President's reception from Brown, a Democratic governor, was particularly warm and, according to White House aides, "pleasing and surprising."

Brown's was the first hand shaken by Mr. Ford when he arrived via Air Force One late Thursday night at McClellan Air Force Base, and the two rode together in the back seat of the President's limousine to the Senator Hotel.

It had been rumored for days that Brown was reluctant to be seen with Mr. Ford publicly, but he showed no such hesitancy either Thursday night or Friday.

Both the governor and the Pres-

Please Turn to Page 22, Col. 1

Los Angles Times

September 5, 1975

7704021821

FORD GIVES TOUGH CRIME TALK

Continued from Third Page

ident greeted the crowd along a restraining line at McClellan Air Force Base and later at the hotel, and some observers said Brown "made the fence ahead of Ford" at the airport.

When the presidential party arrived at the hotel, Mr. Ford darted from his car across the street to a crowd of perhaps 500 people. Brown followed, shaking hands with great enthusiasm, and some in the crowd seemed as pleased to see the governor as they were to see the President.

Brown attended the [illegible] breakfast, arriving five minutes late and after Mr. Ford had been seated. In brief remarks, he said it as "a privilege, it's an honor" to welcome the President to California.

Later, he introduced Mr. Ford to the Legislature's joint session.

"He didn't bring it up . . . He showed no visible signs of being disturbed," said the governor, who learned of the attempt from a presidential staff aide.

Brown said he and Mr. Ford discussed the rising crime rate, the economy and the energy situation.

"I asked him to do everything he could to put people to work," Brown said. "It's going to require a national effort to put this country and this state back to work."

Brown, being mentioned with increasing frequency as a possible Democratic presidential candidate in 1976, said there was no discussion of politics. A reporter asked if Reagan's name was raised and the governor responded.

"The only time it got raised was when someone shouted it out from the crowd."

Despite some leading questions from reporters, Brown also refused to criticize Mr. Ford's trip [illegible].

"In public life, you [illegible] to get around and see people a[illegible]em," the governor said. "I t[illegible]portant for the President [illegible]."

Brown said he a[illegible] many of Mr. Ford's comm[illegible] Legislature on the need [illegible] on crime but said his [illegible]t in talking to the Pre[illegible]s "to stress the issue of [illegible]'s the area where we're [illegible] national policy in an ex[illegible]y way . . . it takes national [illegible]."

Mr. Ford spoke to [illegible]rs in the Assembly chambers [illegible] the gold-domed Capitol, [illegible]resident ever to address a [illegible]on of the California Legislature.

Upon entering, he m[illegible] way down the aisle shaking [illegible] a minute-long standing [illegible] the 6:00 in the audience incl[illegible]tors' families and top [illegible]state officials. The public was [illegible]ed in, but the speech was [illegible]ve on a statewide hookup.

Wearing a dark blue [illegible] a light blue shirt and a red, w[illegible] blue tie, the President stood at [illegible]m with Secret Service a[illegible]nt and at both sides of [illegible]d as throughout the chamber.

He talked for 35 m[illegible], never once deviating from [illegible]ared text or mentioning the [illegible] the pare. His remarks ran [illegible] the lines of law and or[illegible] he delivered last April [illegible] Yale University Law School [illegible]which he, as well as Brown, is a [illegible].

"Peace in our neighb[illegible] and places of business is also [illegible]portant as peace in the world," the President said.

"[illegible] crime is a threat so d[illegible] that I am convinced it can be brought under control only by the best concerted efforts of all levels of government . . . and by the enlightenment of (political) parties which are more concerned to [illegible] votes in Washington than an external enemy."

Offenders tried and convicted, Mr. Ford said, should be removed from society "for a definite period of time rather than returned to the streets to continue to prey on the innocent and law abiding majority."

He strongly advocated mandatory prison sentences for hard drug pushers and for persons found guilty of crimes involving the use of a dangerous weapon and for repeat offenders, with or without a weapon, "whose crimes show a potential or actual case of physical injury."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Washington Star, September 5, 1975

Ford Gets Lots of Mileage Out of His Trips

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — Exposure is what every politician craves, and President Ford has developed a system for getting as much of it as humanly possible whenever he travels outside Washington.

Basically, his game plan is to blitz every town he visits, jamming a variety of events — speeches, ceremonies, press conferences — into a short period of time.

In four hours in this city last night, Ford managed to squeeze in an arrival ceremony, a brief session with local reporters, appearances at two Republican fund-raising affairs and a speech before a cheering throng of about 12,000 teenagers.

He did even better in Seattle, his first stop on a two-day, three-city swing along the West Coast. Five hours in Seattle saw Ford give an arrival speech, address two GOP groups, answer questions from civic leaders, visit a new cancer research center and meet with some local Republican candidates.

BETTER STILL, from Ford's viewpoint, was the fact that two of the events — his arrival and the question-and-answer interrogation by civic leaders — were presented live on statewide television.

Today in Sacramento, the President's final stop before returning to Washington tonight, there was more television. Two speeches were to be shown live on local television, and a Los Angeles newscaster was scheduled to film a 30-minute interview with Ford.

Virtually everything the President does on his trips outside Washington — he will be making them almost every weekend through the end of the year — is tailored to generate the maximum political impact on whatever state he is visiting.

An entourage of White House reporters accompanies Ford on his trips, but he offers little in the way of news for them. His speeches break no new ground.

INSTEAD, he devotes his time to homers [illegible] on which he is basing his campaign for election to a full four-year term in the White House in 1976.

He never neglects to decry the evils of big government, and he always throws in a bit of criticism of the Congress which, according to Ford, just won't pass the costly legislation that the nation is demanding.

If his message doesn't come through loudly when he conveys it from Washington, this problem is eliminated when he spells it out in person.

And White House officials are careful to make sure that Ford is able to do his campaigning from the most congenial forum.

This ordinarily means speeches to Republicans, who cheer his conservative rhetoric lustily, and question-and-answer sessions with newsmen or civic leaders.

FORD'S ADVISERS are convinced that he comes across best when responding to questions, and the ones he gets outside Washington are usually soft and easy to answer.

In Portland, he took questions from some of the teenagers gathered for a bicentennial rally, and they offered up nothing but gopher balls. "What is the toughest job for you in Washington?" he was asked.

"Where are you going after you leave Portland?" "Were you ever a Cub Scout?" "What was the greatest thing you did when you were a Boy Scout?"

Ford, naturally, had no trouble with these. But he prefers questions on political issues, which newsmen and civic leaders are prone to ask, because they give him an opportunity to lay out the themes of his campaign.

Besides plugging away at his favorite themes, Ford has recently attempted to impress one key point on his Republican followers: They must go after the independent vote.

HE RARELY mentions the embarrassing poll showing that only 18 percent of the nation's voters identify themselves as Republicans, but it is the minority status of his party that has prompted Ford to make this appeal.

Obviously, he needs to attract a lot of independent voters if he is going to stand a chance to win an elected term as President.

"I believe that the Republican Party has a lot to say and a lot to give to the independent-minded voter in America today," he told about 1,000 of the GOP faithful who attended a $25-a-plate luncheon in Seattle.

"I suggest that we reach out and welcome in the independent-minded voter in Washington and elsewhere," he said. "It should be a great marriage, but we ought to make the initial overture and gesture. I believe they will respond."

7704018

New York Times

September 15, 1975

On the Road....

A President naturally wants to travel freely into different regions of the country and keep in touch with the people whose hopes and problems are his chief concern. As the leader of his party, he also has a responsibility to campaign for lesser candidates when he thinks that would be useful. In both these roles, President Ford is acting within the traditions of his office.

But it is questionable whether Mr. Ford, in devoting so much of this time to travel, is doing full justice to the other and more significant duties of his office. A President is also a policymaker, the executive head of a vast Federal bureaucracy, and a negotiator with Congress, with major interest groups and with foreign governments. None of these more substantive activities can be performed as well on the road as they can in the President's office in Washington.

Yet Mr. Ford, after spending a long, hard day in New Hampshire last Thursday campaigning for the Republican Senatorial candidate in the special election there, made several speeches this weekend in Missouri and Texas. These followed a three-day swing to the West Coast a week ago and an extended tour of the Middle West at the end of August, all devoted to the notion that the less government does for its citizens the better.

The President plans to be traveling two or three days a week virtually every week from now until the end of the year. And this is only a warm-up. Next February when the long grind of primaries begins, Mr. Ford will extend his travel schedule. Interspersed among all this domestic travel are major trips abroad such as the journeys to Helsinki last summer and to China this fall.

With the national election still fourteen months away, the country thus faces the prospect of a President spending one third to one-half—and eventually all—of his time [illegible] jet plane in an endless round of speechmaking, handshaking, on-the-run news interviews, and miscellaneous appearances.

77040011821

President to Make Second California Trip as Barnstorming Pace Continues

BY RUDY ABRAMSON
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—[illegible] Ford is returning to California for the second time in less than a month [illegible] campaign against Ronald Reagan [illegible]

In recent weeks he has spurned the advice of aides who believe that he should slow down and he continues to steer a course to the right despite the urging of Republican senators who recently called upon him to adopt a more moderate stance.

[illegible] that people [illegible] [illegible] large measure to limit a campaign by the former California [illegible] before it gets started.

[illegible] travel [illegible] New Hampshire [illegible] a day [illegible] Reagan last [illegible] and the White House announced Monday that the President will [illegible] his second trip to California [illegible] weeks the [illegible] [illegible] has been scheduled [illegible] the Saturday visit that brings [illegible] which will include a stop [illegible] but the President plans to continue hopping around the country every week [illegible] October, all at the expense of the government and or the Republican National Committee rather than the Ford campaign organization.

Since he took office, he has covered more than 100,000 miles, touching down in 20 states and 10 foreign countries.

With the presidential election still 14 months away, his incessant comings and goings have begun to bring [illegible] into the White House [illegible] ing that he stay at home for a change. Editorial criticism has begun, especially since the apparent assassination attempt against Mr. Ford in Sacramento. The New York Times declared Monday that "this country cannot afford an In-Tuesday, out-Thursday President."

Reagan has not contented Mr. Ford's using funds of the Republican National Committee for the travels [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

7704001820

New York News
September 16, 1975

Ford Giving His '76 Attack Out-of-Town Tryout

By JAMES WIEGHART

Washington, Sept. 15—Under the guise of fulfilling the Presidential responsibility of preserving the "vital contact" between the American people and their government, President Ford has crisscrossed the country in recent weeks on political barnstorming trips designed to insure his nomination by the Republican Party and to give himself a leg up on his 1976 Democratic opponent.

With polls showing the once-potent threat of a challenge from the GOP conservative right, led by former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, definitely receding, Ford has been able in recent days to train his gun more on the Democrats.

Thus, on last weekend's foray into Missouri, Kansas and Texas, reporters accompanying the President got what is likely to be a definitive preview of the campaign style Ford will adopt for the 1976 race.

Ford laid out the basic political attack he will use against the Democrats in the speech he gave in Dallas on Saturday before the National Federation of Republican Women.

In what was considered by most in the White House press corps as his toughest and best delivered political speech during his 13 months in the presidency, Ford laced into the Democrat-controlled Congress as big-spending proponent of a Big Brother federal government that would stifle the free enterprise system, submerge state and local government, make dangerous cutbacks in national defense spending, and bleed the working taxpayer white to pay for social programs aimed at making life more amenable to the shiftless ne'er-do-wells too lazy to work.

CAPITOL STUFF

Think this sweeping paraphrase sounds too harsh? Wrong. It is, in fact, mild compared to Ford's own language, which was replete with borrowings of some of the more demagogic phrases used to good advantage over the years by former Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Remember Johnson's sarcastic references to the "doom sayer" critics of his Vietnam policies? Here is Ford condemning "the negative attitude that would write a self-fulfilling prophecy of doom for America" in his Dallas speech: "I have heard too much from people who say everything is falling apart, how the quality of life in America is sliding downhill, how the dollar is worthless, how muggers amd murderers have driven everyone behind locked doors, and how even the President of the United States should stop visiting public places and seeing the American people."

On the evils of "massive Big Brother" government that would turn American life into a "1984 nightmare script," Ford borrowed one of Nixon's favorite quotes: "It is my fervent conviction that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have."

Ford got his biggest response — a standing ovation, in fact — by a clever use of the Nixonian devices of misstating history and misrepresenting the position of unnamed opponents on the explosive school busing issue, when he said: "... We have tried hard, we have written laws, we have appropriated money to accomplish quality education for the young in America.

"In 1954 the courts of this country decided that one way in their estimation to achieve that was court-order forced busing. Now, regardless of how we individually may feel, the law of the land must be upheld.

"But if I could give you a view that I have expressed, not just recently, but for 10 or more years, there is a better way to achieve quality education in America than by forced busing. We can and will find a better way."

Among the distortions are the fact that the historic 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision did not deal with busing or quality education but outlawed the abhorrent "separate but equal" segreagtion laws in the South; that the busing decision since 1970 were aimed at fostering integration, not upgrading the quality of educaion; and that the courts do not like busing any better than Ford, but regard it as a tool of last resort.

In the very next paragraph following his simplistic account of the busing issue, Ford goes the Wallace route by blasting again unnamed "politicians and the theorists" for subverting the strongly individualist goals of the founding fathers by pushing "theories that big government and federal spending could cure every social evil."

This sort of stump oratory hardly squares with his justification for the continued heavy travel schedule, as expressed in a statement issued in St. Louis Thursday: "The business of the presidency is people. It is to their hopes, their dreams and their aspirations tht the presidency is addressed."

New York Times

September 19, 1975

Suddenly the Questions Are as Far-Reach.

By JAMES N. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18—Critics used to complain about Presidents secluding themselves in the White House or at personal vacation enclaves. Not so with President Ford.

News Analysis

In scarcely more than a year in the White House, he has journeyed 45,554 miles abroad and 75,292 miles in the United States, spending the equivalent of nearly two weeks of his presidency inside an airplane. But the travels of the most peripatetic President have prompted different, perhaps more serious, questions than those raised about the comparative shut-ins he succeeded. Among the questions are the following:

¶Is Mr. Ford's escalating effort to take the Presidency to the people worth the increased exposure to crowds and the risk that entails? Two weeks ago a woman aimed a .45-caliber pistol at Mr. Ford from a crowd in Sacramento; one week ago Mr. Ford wore body armor beneath his shirt on an 11-hour political foray across New Hampshire.

¶With the President so often on the road, is he available for something short of an emergency? Senate Republican leaders, seeking guidance on a proposal to extend oil price controls temporarily, tried unsuccessfully for more than an hour to make contact with Mr. Ford as he motored along Highway 101 in New Hampshire last week.

¶Is Mr. Ford bending the spending limits of the new campaign reform law by touring the nation in the guise of the leader of his party? Despite a pell-mell pace of political appearances and an increasingly partisan tone to his rhetoric, Mr. Ford has yet to assess the cost of any trip against his own 1976 Presidential campaign committee, but the Republican National Committee has paid out or been billed for $200,000 of expenses on trips by Mr. Ford or Vice President Rockefeller this year.

The President will set out again tomorrow on a four-day official and political trip to Oklahoma and California. When he returns, he will have spent a total of 73 days outside Washington this year on either diplomatic or domestic trips.

The pace of his journeys has noticeably accelerated since July 8, when Mr. Ford formally declared his candidacy for a full term in the White House. By Monday, he will have been out of the capital 39 of the 70 days since declaring, evidently in more senses than one, that he was running.

"For what—14 years of the Presidency from inside the White House to different parts of the country," Mr. Ford told Chicago Sun-Times reporters in an interview this week. "We are trying to get the public to understand that a President can get to many, many places in the country, see many, many people and sort of get a rapport working between people and the President, press and the White House."

Laudable as Mr. Ford's objective may be, even some of his own advisers are worried that the Vice President has not been a more visible campaigner.

One White House aide, complaining a gulf he attributed to Robert Novak, the syndicated columnist, has disagreed in referring to the President's vigorous 118-mile motorcade last week, which seemed to exhaust everyone but Mr. Ford, as "the New Hampshire death march."

When there was Mr. Ford's 23-hour day on Sept. 4. After staff meeting and a two-hour breakfast conference with Congressional leaders, Mr. Ford flew off to Seattle, where he addressed two Republican fund-raising luncheons, toured a cancer research center and answered questions for 67 minutes at a regional White House conference.

He went on to Portland, Ore., to speak at party fund-raising banquet and, at what would have been midnight in Washington, stood before a battery of microphones at a "youth for Ford rally" to answer questions from 5-year-olds as "Is it true that Mrs. Ford was once a Communist girl?" (Answer: "I don't know her then") and "How old do you have to be before you don't have birthdays for people who have sickle cell anemia?" (answer: "I hope there will be one.")

Mr. Ford does work frementlly on White House business on long-distance flights in his Air Force jet. Sometimes, though aides will say on short notice that the President has locked himself preparing the text of the next speech he is to deliver. And his communications facilities, while unsurpassed, occasionally cannot keep with his schedule.

Last Thursday, Senator Robert P. Griffin, Republican of Michigan, the Senate minority whip, tried to reach Mr. Ford through the White House switchboard by leaving messages at hamlets where the President was appearing on his trip across New Hampshire. Mr. Ford was, of course, and always is in contact with the White House through special Army Signal Corps circuits reserved for emergency use. But Senator Griffin never reached the President through normal channels and eventually the Republican leader had to settle for a brief conversation by telephone with the White House chief of staff, Donald Rumsfeld, in Mr. Ford's limousine.

Meantime the Senate was balked in a search for an accommodation on oil price controls, an issue that has been a contingency on Mr. Ford's foreign journeys.

Perhaps the most nettlesome issue raised by Mr. Ford's travels is the context to which they may advance his Presidential candidacy and be subject, accordingly, to the spending limitations imposed by the campaign reform law that Mr. Ford signed last year.

According to the White House, Mr. Ford has three distinct roles: President, leader

7704021483

Chicago Tribune

September 21, 1975

Ford's grueling travel pace —will it cheapen his image?

By Aldo Beckman

Chicago Tribune Press Service

SAN FRANCISCO—Another plea from top advisers that he make his campaigning like presidency and not politically obliviously to make stuff pol[illegible] caused by his [illegible] travel schedule, President Ford is insisting on [illegible] out push to broaden his national political base.

He did react to warnings that Democrats might cheat he was to [illegible] around the country, instead of staying home to solve the nation's problems by adding the title of campaigner to the weekend.

Military aides who traditionally have been part of the Presidential "advance team" that makes the preparations have stopped because they don't have a major war. Now, they drop in the [illegible] before to see that everything is in place.

OTHER "ADVANCE men" [illegible] they are spending only [illegible] Fun nights in [illegible] time, but privately threatening to resign.

As further relief, [illegible] available, with one of his aides [illegible] because of many of the [illegible] first requests of old friends, whom Ford doesn't want to [illegible].

He went to California two weeks ago, where he entertained a [illegible] golfing, because he had promised Earl Hurley, an old friend and state G.O.P. chairman, that he would attend a dinner there.

During this California swing, he will make the round trip Sunday night from northern California to Anaheim, via Los Angeles, at the invitation of another old friend, Jack Hillenbrand, to speak at the National Association of Life Underwriters convention.

McDONALD, A FORMER Republican congressman from Michigan, now serves as a consultant to an insurance firm. Delivering the statement for the convention address was a major coup.

"It's the old vote-rich element," complained a White House official close to the situation. "Some old friend is calling his obligations to the Republican party instead of buying [illegible]."

"Things are happening so fast and there's so much travel that there is just no way that people can sit down and think things through like a White House organization should," the official said.

[illegible] said Ford believes he can [illegible] by making many more trips [illegible] by the end of the year.

FOR THE LAST month, Ford has [illegible] weekly, [illegible] Pennsylvania [illegible] Wisconsin [illegible] days [illegible] of the West coast last weekend and will be in the East—in California, W. Va., and Trenton, N. J., next weekend.

The heavy schedule will end early in November, according to [illegible] Most of November and all of December and January—with time out for a Christmas rest in Vail, Colo.—will be devoted to preserving the [illegible] for [illegible] then. All will be designed as an [illegible] for [illegible] 1976.

FORDS CURRENT travel [illegible] surprises in duration and [illegible] times of [illegible] to be the first chief executive to [illegible] travel more during a [illegible] year [illegible] during the actual campaign.

[illegible] limitations imposed on Presidential candidates by the new federal election campaign [illegible] no more than "incidental" [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Washington Post

September 24, 1975

7704021838

David S. Broder

Bootleg Campaign Funds

SAN FRANCISCO—All basic reforms face a moment, early in their lives, when they either improve the level of conduct or increase the level of hypocrisy in their fields. Prohibition didn't boost temperance, it promoted bootlegging. And it looks like the spending limits in the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 are going to have the same effect.

Perhaps the clearest proof of that unhappy prognosis was President Ford's weekend trip to California. The President is renowned for playing it straight, but his taxpayer-financed jaunt to the Golden Gate was a clear exercise in circumvention—if not violation—of the Watergate-inspired campaign finance reform act. And that is a pretty good indication of a fundamental flaw in the law.

That law, which Mr. Ford himself signed, sets a ceiling on spending for federal offices, including the presidency. The limit for the campaign for a major party's presidential nomination is $10 million. As a declared candidate for the Republican nomination, Mr. Ford is operating under its constraints.

The California journey was a massive exercise in public exposure in the home state of the President's only prospective rival for the GOP nomination, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan. It included speeches to two university audiences and to three business, labor and foreign policy groups, two half-hour television interviews and a meeting with the editors of the state's largest newspaper.

But none of the expense was covered by the campaign finance act, or paid for from political funds, because there were no "political" events on the schedule. Mr. Ford carefully avoided going to the Republican State Convention in San Diego—because that would have thrown the whole trip into the political category.

Now, only a fool would believe that the two visits to California in September and the scheduled appearance in October without mentioning any candidate's name, that the Ford campaign is, in fact, among his aides, there is no effort to conceal

that the ultimate purpose of this concentrated offensive in California is absolutely political—to dissuade Reagan from running, by confronting him with the prospect of defeat on his own home grounds.

Whether right or wrong, the view in the Ford camp—and particularly among the former Californians on his staff—is that Reagan has not yet committed himself to the challenge.

They speak of the California governor as a man of great ambition who, as one said, "would go for it like a shot if Ford stumbled badly enough to give him an opening." But they also see him as a proud man, who does not want to make a laughing-stock of himself in a hopeless exercise, and, particularly, does not want to embarrass himself in California.

For that reason, Mr. Ford has worked hard to line up the Republican hierarchy of California on his side—which he has done—and to confront Reagan with the likelihood of resounding defeat if he pushes his challenge in next June's California primary. Between May and August, Mr. Ford came from a 9 per cent deficit in the Mervin Field poll of California Republicans to a 45 to 38 per cent lead over Reagan.

The purpose of the heavy September and October schedule of appearances in California is to tip the polls even more in the President's favor—before Reagan makes his decision.

But none of this is "political" under the terms of the new law. Speaking to colleges, business, labor and foreign policy groups, or the state legislature—as Mr. Ford did on his previous visit—is within the official duties of the President. So the costs of these trips are borne by the government and are not charged against either Mr. Ford's personal campaign spending limit or the Republican National Committee's treasury.

Democrats complain about this, but Congress is in the process of carving in the same "loophole" for itself. When the Federal Elections Commission ruled that the spending limits for senators' and representatives' campaigns applied to their privately raised office funds—used for entertaining constituents, printing newsletters or otherwise enhancing the lawmakers' image—there was a howl of protest.

The upshot is likely to be that more of the political functions of congressional offices will be paid for by the taxpayers—just as the President's California trips have been.

It is easy to assail both the President and the congressmen for hypocrisy, but the real problem is in the law. So long as the sources of private campaign contributions are disclosed and their size limited, as the new law does, there is no useful public policy goal to be achieved by restricting spending.

The answer is not to bar the President or anyone else from campaigning in California. The answer is to repeal the useless limit on campaign spending and let Mr. Ford and the others play politics at their contributors' expense, not at ours. Campaigners should not be made into bootleggers.

New York Times

September 26, 1975

7704011831

Mr. Ford's Bad Politics

By James Reston

The President and the press are giving each other a lot of free advice these days, not for the first time. The press is advising the skipper to be a little more careful, lest he gain a few votes and lose his life, and the President is advising the press to be a little less sensational lest it make heroes of assassins and encourage the violence it deplores.

The odds are that both will agree in principle but go on as before: The President will keep working the crowds, with or without his safety vest, and the press will keep playing up the unusual, both on the assumption that this is what pays off with the public.

Mr. Ford is obviously not going to listen to the warnings that swimming crowds may be injurious to his health, but he might listen to the argument that it's bad for the Republican party. The evidence is fairly clear that it is. He wows the Republican regulars and raises a lot of money for the G.O.P., but the more he travels and talks, the more he seems to decline in the polls.

This tends to prove "O'Neill's Law." Tip O'Neill, the Democratic leader in the House and Mr. Ford's old adversary, friend and present golfing companion, has always said: "Gerry's a lovely guy but maybe a lousy President. You have to see a lot of him to know how little there is to see."

WASHINGTON

The reasons for Mr. Ford's decline in the polls are fairly clear. He has very little to say on these trips around the country about the present and coming predicaments of the nation, and he says it rather badly.

He is a dead honest conservative confronted with radical problems—high rates of inflation, unemployment, frustration and even anger—and he gives the country locker-room pep talks on the glories of fiscal responsibility.

Richard Nixon failed because he didn't have any principles, and ironically, Mr. Ford may very well fail because he has. For he honestly believes that he can bring the country back to its senses by vetoing the Democratic spendthrifts. New York is drowning and he gives it a lecture and throws it an anchor. "Swim out, want not," he says. "Help not, save not," reply the lucky voters.

He is such a modest guy with such long association and sympathy for the sort of conservatives who dominate Republican nominating conventions, that he actually takes the Reagan threat seriously.

His main political problem actually is not to worry about the nomination but to win the election, and this he cannot do with the Hooverish speeches he has been making in Dallas and the West. He is running a little south of center, and assuming that the country is in a conservative counter-revolution against the welfare state.

Maybe so, but unless the American people have suddenly decided on a course of spiritual reformation and redemption, which is hard to notice here in Times Square, the Ford strategy of dramatizing his political limitations all over the country is not likely to be very successful.

As long as he stayed in Washington struggling with the inflation, the unemployment and the energy crisis, he was "Jerry the Great," facing the divided and helpless Democrats to a standoff on the Capitol had never before been as manageable voters, and if nobody was very impressed with his performances, nobody was very mad at him either.

But now he is [illegible] in the political race, [illegible] is getting the best [illegible] getting in the country, but he was concentrating on a [illegible] and not on himself or his political problems.

Ever since he announced that he was a candidate he had to be careful to [illegible] so that [illegible] equal time [illegible] So he has been building up his presidential and political responsibilities, so that nobody [illegible] knew what was political and what presidential, and who cared [illegible]

This has not helped his slow-but-sure, straightforward image, and has led him into [illegible] series of speeches, interviews, coffee klatches, offhand comments, etc.

You should try to get through the transcript of everything the President actually says on one of these three-day [illegible] of the country, or the [illegible] and revealing—[illegible] amiable shallow, and all the more so because it is so utterly sincere.

So maybe these trips should be treated not as political events as if put on stage by pollsters. They may not be helping his political health but they are proving to be bad for his political future.

New York Times
September 28, 1975

Ford Will Go West Again, Hunting The Voters

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON—Twice this month President Ford [illegible] to California. Twice this month a woman [illegible] has aimed a handgun at the President. [illegible] goes a third journey to California [illegible] Week.

The most obvious explanation is the one that they [illegible] got going in the Ford White House: California has [illegible] votes, 45, in the electoral college and more delegates, 167, to the Republican National Convention than any other state. And it is the base of Ronald Reagan, the only visible potential threat to the 1976 Republican nomination of Gerald A. Ford for President.

The eerie determination of Mr. Ford to return to California may not be based solely, or even principally, on a desire to foreclose a foreign rivalry and to lay the political groundwork for success in Mr. Ford's first national campaign. But those objectives are clearly a powerful motive behind the President's insistence on continuing an odyssey that has taken him into 39 states in 14 months—21 of the states in the last dozen weeks since he became a formal candidate—despite the inherent and cumulative risks to his survival.

Mr. Ford and his aides give other reasons for his portable Presidency. He is, they say, trying to restore contact between President and public after nearly a decade of White House shutins. He is trying to listen for cues to what it is the citizens would have their Government do, or stop doing. He is trying to bring pressure to bear on a Congress of jaded by [illegible] that could lead to demand enactment of the White House energy program.

He sought [illegible] in a nationally televised [illegible] will not "cower" behind their desks, will not "capitulate" to the lawless, will "stand tall and strong in this confrontation with a limited number of people who don't represent all of us."

The point, however, seemed to be that Mr. Ford wanted very much to continue beyond 1976 representing all of us in the White House. His emotional televised commitment to continue mingling with crowds of wellwishers was natural enough, declared only six hours after the second woman had pulled a gun on him in 17 days. There was, as well, a sense of legitimacy to each of the official goals ascribed in the White House to Mr. Ford's cross-country shuttles.

All the same, as even an occasional White House tactician conceded, there was a deliberate political purpose wrapped up in Mr. Ford's strenuous travel schedule. Presidents have traditionally set aside September and October of prediction years to travel domestically. But no President in recent history has traveled so far, so often or so hard as Mr. Ford.

In the broad sense that nearly everything he does is "political"—that it becomes a part of the record the President will defend next year—Mr. Ford's appearances at a steady stream of events in the role of President or leader of the Republican Party "does and is intended to have an impact on how American voters perceive him," one senior White House aide acknowledged.

Building a Record

Thus, when Mr. Ford stands for up to an hour in Peoria, Seattle, Milwaukee or St. Louis, as he has done in the last four weeks, to answer questions of carefully chosen civic leaders at White House regional conferences, he is building a record for his "open" Presidency.

When the President addresses grandstand crowds, as he has done, at the Iowa and Oklahoma state fairs, he is taking the opportunity to try to defend what is, among wheat and corn growers, an unpopular Administration moratorium on grain sales to the Soviet Union that Senator Carl T. Curtis, the Nebraska Republican, warned Mr. Ford last week could be disastrous in the Farm Belt next year.

The frequent Ford speeches to business organizations, such as those recently in Illinois and Texas, afford countless occasions to try to build a consistency for the President's pledge to reduce Government intervention in corporate and citizen affairs.

And when he attends even more regular receptions, [illegible] and banquets at which $25 million has been raised so far for the Republican Party treasuries in a [illegible] to defeat many of the Democratic Congressmen who have opposed the President's attempts to dismantle his party as his predecessor was, in 1972, about disregarding it.

The pattern and tone of Mr. Ford's journeys reflect even more narrow political preoccupations as well.

For all the bravado one hears in the White House about Mr. Reagan either electing not to challenge Mr. Ford in the primaries or failing in the attempt, it is the President who acts as though he were the challenger.

When Mr. Reagan accepted an invitation to make a speech in New Hampshire Sept. 9 for Louis Wyman, the Republican candidate in a special Senate election, Mr. Ford arranged to spend 11 hours the next day delivering a score of speeches for Mr. Wyman. Mr. Reagan addressed the Dallas convention of the National Federation of Republican Women on Sept. 11. Mr. Ford appeared the next day and made his most fiery, and self-centered, political speech yet.

A Republican member of Congress warned the White House last spring that Mr. Ford would lose an opportunity to outpoint Mr. Reagan among staunch Republican conservatives in the smaller states unless he visited them in 1975. Come next year, the more he went, the less populous states could be overlooked in the concentration on the convention delegations from industrial areas. The message got through. Since July, Mr. Ford has been to Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Montana and Rhode Island.

Nor is it hapless coincidence that Mr. Ford's schedule has managed to take him into such traditional battleground primary states as New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Oregon, Illinois and, of course, California.

How much good all this travel can do for Mr. Ford is unresolved. But the initial evidence is not terribly impressive. Mr. Wyman's Senate candidacy in New Hampshire failed despite the aid of both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Ford. The Reagan operatives here insist the former California Governor will contest the Republican nomination. Mr. Ford's proficiency ratings in the opinion polls continue to hover below 50 per cent there has been no discernible clamor from the public for his energy program and a Gallup Poll issued yesterday reported that 45 per cent of the voting population feels "the risks are too great" for Mr. Ford to continue moving among crowds.

Although there are suggestions there will be fewer plunges into crowds, Mr. Ford is evidently going to keep on truckin' across the country. Some of his oldest associates have tried to dissuade him from such frequent travel. But Philip W. Buchen, a close friend and White House legal counsel, said he refrained from giving security advice to the President after the last California trip.

"I don't [illegible]," Mr. Buchen said, "except [illegible]

James M. Naughton is a White House correspondent for The New York Times.

Philadelphia Inquirer
September 30, 1975

Financing of Ford's 'Political'

By LOYE MILLER JR.
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Ford, who leaves for Chicago today, is incurring increasing criticism for the way his "political" travel is being financed.

In Chicago, Ford will address a Republican fund-raising dinner today and attend a reception for some of the state GOP's biggest contributors.

Immediately afterward, he will drive to suburban Skokie for an overnight stay at the North Shore Hilton.

Tomorrow, Ford will fly to Omaha for a local television interview and a White House-sponsored conference on domestic affairs.

Campaign Cited

Press secretary Ron Nessen said the Republican National Committee would pay the cost of Ford's travel to and from Chicago because of the political nature of events there. The Omaha leg of the journey, he said, would be financed with federal funds.

Top politicians in both parties are complaining that White House financial accounting practices are an attempt to give Ford a lopsided advantage over all of his potential 1976 rivals — Republican as well as Democratic.

Analysis

"It's an outrage," charges Richard Kline, a top official in the presidential campaign of Democratic Senator Henry M. Jackson. "It is wrong, unethical and almost certainly illegal."

Although they will not say so publicly, the men organizing Republican Ronald Reagan's potential challenge to Ford for the GOP Presidential nomination express the same complaints privately.

Essentially, the complaints are two-fold:

• Ford is traveling widely in purportedly "non-political" presidential trips that are actually politically inspired, and taxpayers footing most of the bill.

• Thus far, even trips that the White House admits are "political" are being paid for by the Republican Party, while other candidates must finance most of their travel from their closely hoarded personal campaign funds.

This disparity raises a question of propriety, which, could smudge the image Ford is trying to project as a political "Mr. Clean."

The problem is one of many that have arisen unexpectedly out of the new campaign-spending reform law passed by Congress as a result of Watergate.

Although well intended, the legislation obviously is inadequate for an impartial balancing of campaign financing and spending by an incumbent President with that of White House aspirants.

Part of Job

Clearly, it is proper for a President to travel around the country for nonpartisan and non-political speeches and other activities. That is part of his job.

On the other hand, any trip that exposes the President to voters is a potential political gain for him.

And so the question arises: When is it proper for the chief executive's trips to be paid for by the taxpayers, when by the Republican Party, and when by the separate Ford campaign organization?

The Federal Election Commission (FEC), established to enforce the

77140211837

7704001183

Christian Science Monitor
October 6, 1975

Washington Letter

Campaigning: why Ford doggedly persists

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington

While it has been said many times and truly that Richard Nixon was forced to resign because of widespread national pressure, it is also true that spearheading this result, from the beginning, were the Democrats.

It was the Democrats — particularly the Democratic liberals within Congress — who became angry at Nixon, right at the outset of his second term, when he held onto funds that Congress had appropriated for domestic purposes.

Congressional Democrats, conservatives and liberals alike, were upset by the President's scorn of a mandate as the result of his record-setting success at the polls in 1968, and by what they considered to be Nixon's arrogant or at least cavalier attitude toward [illegible] the majority in Congress.

[illegible] the convergence of Watergate and the eventual downfall of the President. And [illegible] Democratic leaders had long [illegible] and finally, in [illegible] him to resign.

But viewed politically the forced Nixon departure was a triumph for Democrats, who had been unable [illegible] the White House in either 1968 or 1972. In a sense it was a presidential victory for them — even though the man they elevated, Gerald Ford, was a Republican of long standing.

Thus, moving into 1976 the Democrats are riding a wave of victories, in congressional and gubernatorial elections last year and in the fulfillment of their efforts to oust Nixon.

The benefits accruing to the Democrats from Watergate are clear, too: The stigma of a Republican presidential scandal must fall, at least to some degree, on the Republican Party and all candidates who represent that party. Even in the recent New Hampshire loss — where President Ford did his utmost to save the day for the Republicans — the GOP candidate was widely perceived as one who was involved in some questionable political activity. And this cost him votes.

Thus it is that the Democrats can well contend that they now are in an excellent position to say that the majority of Americans are leaning toward the Democratic Party and that 1976 will be a Democratic year with a Democratic president.

And they can point to recent polls, including a new Gallup finding, which shows the Republicans are in a dismal state, with only one fifth of the voters identifying themselves as members of the GOP.

Now the President knows the playlet of his party. That is one of the reasons he has been doing so much personal campaigning around the United States — this together with the fact that Mr. Ford sincerely believes he can strengthen his leadership role by explaining his programs and by listening to the views of the people. Yet the [illegible] early presidential campaigning is also being carried on — knowledgeable observers say — with the hope that it can help Mr. Ford somehow win the election next year even if the Democrats continue to dominate elective offices in Congress and elsewhere at the state level.

Now the threat to his personal safety has forced the President to cut back on both his touring schedule and his meet-the-people style. Certainly, the President says he will continue his movement around the United States, including, perhaps, visits to nine states before the end of the year. But his campaigning will be substantially restricted. Thus — as in Chicago — Mr. Ford is reducing the number of events he is participating in and places he will go while on these visits. Thus, together with his submission to carefully controlled campaigning adds up to a definite curtailment in the kind of political effort the President deems effective and necessary if he is to maximize — to use a presidential-type word — his chances of victory.

However, these same knowledgeable people around the President assert that he will make only the "absolutely necessary" concessions to those who counsel a cramped campaigning schedule and that they expect him to come back in the open again "relatively soon — after passions have cooled."

The White House-oriented expectation is that by the first of the year the President will be able to move back into his full and unrestricted campaigning schedule. It may [illegible] a dicey situation to plunge back into [illegible], as he did in West Virginia last week. But informed sources are saying that the President will be a "most active" campaigner in the New Hampshire primary and that "the President's [illegible] very much felt and [illegible] everywhere."

The President is fully aware that he is not an elected chief executive. And while he can logically conclude that he is much better known than he was when he took office, he looks at polls which show him below the 50 percent mark. So he is convinced he must get even better known — and liked — if he is to win next year.

The President and Republican leaders are counting on an improved economy to help them perform this trick. But Mr. Ford still feels he must get around the country with a particularly diligent and unrestricted campaigning effort if he is to win against a tide that clearly is running in favor of the Democrats.

Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.

Los Angles Times
October 10, 1975

Ford Won't Visit Louisville Due to Busing Unrest

BY RUDY ABRAMSON
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—President Ford said Thursday night that he had canceled his plans to visit Louisville next week because of unrest in the city over court-ordered busing of students.

The trip, for a Republican fund-raising function, had been planned for weeks, though it was publicly announced only Wednesday.

Speaking at the first televised Washington press conference since June 25, Mr. [illegible] reported that he was advised by [illegible] officials, as well as others, that [illegible] the current circumstances I [illegible] cancel the trip to Louisville. And as a result it is being canceled."

After two attempts to assassinate him, the President has shown increasing caution [illegible] his travels but this was the first time an announced trip has been wiped from his schedule.

The decision came a few weeks after serious unrest occurred as schools in Louisville opened. Although the city has been quiet recently, the National Guard was called out at the height of the disturbances.

Mr. Ford travels to Detroit today for a party fund-raising dinner. He had initially planned to go to the Michigan-Michigan State football game on Saturday, but will not, apparently because of Secret Service concern over a large uncontrolled crowd.

The President said, however, that the Louisville cancellation would not "have any impact on my decision to travel where I think it's the right thing to do."

The President used the press conference to put new pressure on Con-

Please Turn to Page 7, Col. 1

7704011833

FORD WON'T VISIT LOUISVILLE

Continued from First Page

gram to accept the tax cut-spending reduction package he sent to Capitol Hill on Monday.

Renewing his pledge to veto his $28 billion tax-cut proposal unless Congress checks the growth in federal spending, Mr. Ford said he would exercise his veto power if Congress "plays politics" by cutting taxes without limiting spending.

"I absolutely without any equivocation say that if the Congress plays politics by sending a tax reduction to my desk without any responsible restraint in federal spending, I won't hesitate to veto it," he said.

The President made the same statement earlier this week in Knoxville, Tenn., and Administration officials have since indicated that the Republican White House is ready to make the tax cut a campaign issue with the Democratic Congress.

Mr. Ford said his travels across the country had convinced him of broad public support for tighter government controls on government [illegible].

The White House had announced routinely earlier [illegible] Thursday that Mr. Ford would not be making the brief trip to Louisville, but the President, in reply to a question, disclosed that the trip had been canceled on the recommendation of "local officials as well as others."

"I would like to add that there are some unusual circumstances in Louisville at the present time," Mr. Ford said.

"I am going . . . to several other places—to Detroit tomorrow night and to Connecticut next week—and under no circumstances does this decision involve Kentucky have any impact on my decision to travel where I think it is the right thing to do, bearing in mind any security problems that might be raised."

The President, who has several times declared his opposition to "forced busing," again restated his position.

"There has been some turmoil," he said, "as a result of court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial balance in the public schools and I think you all know that I have consistently and vigorously opposed court-ordered, forced busing to achieve racial balance.

"I think there's a better manner to quality education . . . This problem in Louisville at the present time has created some local disturbances and rather than involve any potential injury to anyone else, and for other security reasons, I have decided to cancel the trip."

In speaking of his travels, largely financed by the Republican National Committee, Mr. Ford said his frequent trips primarily were designed to [illegible] party. He [illegible] pointed out that the trips to help [illegible] had brought $6 million into the Republican coffers across the country.

In the wide-ranging press conference, his 14th since becoming President, Mr. Ford also said:

—He [illegible] opposed to the federal government bailing New York City out of its financial crisis, saying he has as yet seen no [illegible] congressional proposal he finds acceptable for federal assistance to the nation's largest city.

—He has given no consideration giving to the right in his political [illegible] has considered himself a [illegible] throughout his political career, [illegible] intended to do.

[illegible] marijuana and believes [illegible] a preponderance of evidence that it is not a he[illegible]ght to have." At the same time, he reiterated his [illegible] statement that he considered it "a very honorable [illegible] for his son, Jack, "to frankly admit that on a v[illegible] has he has done so."

In [illegible] new proposal to extend last year's tax reduc[illegible] encourage for a congressional ceiling on spend[illegible]ed emphasized that he was as much interested [illegible] ing controls as he was upon putting more money [illegible] hands of Americans.

He [illegible] not offered the proposal as a vehicle for [illegible] economy, but explained that the package was [illegible] "putting a meaningful tax reduction" and at "get[illegible]ame on the tremendous growth in federal spend[illegible]

"If we [illegible] pass one new law, if we don't make any change[illegible] lower in eligibility or rates," he declared, "the [illegible] in federal spending in the next 12 months, from [illegible] will be $50 billion—an increase in spending of $60 [illegible].

"We [illegible] the figure of $28 billion as a reduction in that $[illegible]ion to get some of these escalation programs under c[illegible]."

The [illegible]on from leading congressional Democrats has been [illegible] makers cannot agree to the spending cut before [illegible] on the tax cut, unless they know what programs the Administration proposes to trim.

RUFFLES—Mr Ford uses a handkerchief after his news conference. He said that he had a cold, the first in two years. AP Wirephoto

—Former [illegible] campaign is going well, and he [illegible] family, because of his [illegible] campaign, despite the resignation of Lee [illegible], the No. 2 member of the campaign organization.

25

Boston Globe
October 12, 1975

Ford style is a nonstop road show

★ FORD
Continued from Page 1

Back to Air Force One, but before boarding, shake hands with a 22-man receiving line, including nine cops, Knox County motorcycle patrolmen with "Blue Eagles" stenciled on their helmets. Their Honda 750s had escorted the President to the landing field, and each man got a presidential handshake, and a personalized word of thanks.

Now the stairs. But wait. All of a sudden here are two Cub Scouts, holding a framed landscape painting with raindrops appearing on the glass. Cameramen rush up, and the President of the US hands over, thanking the lads from Cub Scout Pack 39.

Only then, having wrung every palm in sight, does the leader of the free world climb swiftly up the stairs to the upholstered comfort of Air Force One. There, in the safest flying machine this nation can devise, he relaxes with a cocktail under framed color photos of himself in action.

He lands at Andrews Air Force Base, steps into a waiting helicopter, and chugs off to the lawn behind the White House.

But he's not through. After scarcely 15 minutes in the White House, he's back in a limousine, riding in a caravan up to a hotel to talk to a convention of oral surgeons.

It is now 9:29 p.m. The President has been up and working since dawn. He doesn't stop talking for 14 minutes, and, at the rate of 100 words per minute, he asks the oral surgeons to lend their weight to his tax cut-spending limitation scheme.

By now it is 9:43 p.m. Gerald Ford has been talking all day. He talked for a half-hour to four reporters on TV in Knoxville. He talked for more than an hour to questioners at a White House conference including a man who says he believes in Jesus and that strip mining is wrong. He has talked to seven governors for an hour on their money problems.

In short, President Ford is in perpetual motion. He is unstoppable. Last week he had three televised news conferences and a nationally-telecast speech; Monday night, his tax cut-spending limit proposal; Tuesday a regionally-telecast news interview with four questioners in Knoxville; Thursday night, a nationally-telecast news conference from Washington; and Friday, a regionally-telecast news conference in Detroit.

Now, take his travel.

Since a shot was fired in his direction Sept. 22 in San Francisco, Mr. Ford has traveled to Chicago, Omaha, Elkins, W. Va., Newark, Knoxville, Tenn., and Detroit.

This week he sets sail for a Republican fund-raiser in Hartford, on Tuesday. He had apparently wanted to drop in on the Michigan-Michigan State football game Saturday in East Lansing, but was reportedly convinced that the security risks of having him sit in a football stadium were such that he should pass up his alma mater's big game.

Mr. Ford likes to pack his bags, no question about it. Since becoming President in August of 1974, he's flown 128,838 statute miles, two-thirds of that total within this country.

Since Aug. 8 of this year he's visited 16 states. He's vowed to visit the handful of remaining states he hasn't seen since becoming President by the end of this year. That pledge, made in Chicago after two attempts on his life in California, recalled Richard Nixon's ill-conceived 1960 pledge to campaign in every state.

While John Kennedy husbanded his strength, time and organizational strength on the states he needed to win, Nixon was flying all over the place.

But don't tell Gerald Ford he should "Stay Home in DC," as one unfriendly sign in Tennessee advised.

For he sees himself as America's Number One traveling salesman, richocheting about the country, preaching conservative doctrine, trying to deflect Ronald Reagan's imminent grab for the Republican presidential nomination.

Whatever the wisdom of his traveling so much and talking so much, Mr. Ford has an admirable equanimity. "Whatever you do in life, there is a certain risk," he told questioners in Tennessee when asked what it's like to get shot at.

"It happened so rapidly you don't have time to think about it . . . I heard this noise that frankly sounded like a firecrack-

770401184

7 7 7 4 0 7 1 1 8 4 1

Philadelphia Inquirer

October 12, 1975

He has work at home

Ford spends too much time traveling

By ELSA GOSS
Of the Editorial Board

Gerald Ford is a man on the move. Refusing to be intimidated by the likes of Sara Jane Moore and Squeaky Fromme, he continues on his whirlwind, marathon tours of these United States. Pledging to visit every one of the 50 by the end of 1975 — a mere two and one-half months away — he's doing just fine, thank you.

Time magazine reported last week that he only had 11 more to go. In case you're keeping tabs, when Ford visits Alabama, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wyoming, he'll have kept his promise.

Way to go, Mr. President.

The only problem is that handshakes do not an effective President make.

Rather than pressing the flesh, Ford ought to be home in Washington, minding the store, working with Congress, and trying to put some money into those outstretched American hands. He may think that this nation would rather see the President in person than read of his Washington exploits, but there's evidence that's he's wrong.

Time published the results of a nationwide survey last week and the

fearful mood," the article read. "The chief reason seems to be inflation, which has so eroded confidence in President Ford that less than half of those polled consider him acceptable as the next President."

Our own letter writers tend to corroborate those findings. They like Ford and they'd like to give him a chance to be elected to the office he currently holds by appointment. But they are not dazzled by the number of miles (73,113) he's traveled this year or the days (123) he's been out of the White House since moving in.

The numbers that dazzle them are the high ones they find in the supermarket or the department store. And they think Ford ought to do something about those numbers—like lowering them, for instance. They are not interested in getting "meaningful dialogues" instead.

Wrote one man in a letter published last week, "The seemingly endless series of junkets taken by Mr. Ford for the purpose of 'politicizing' himself for his '76 campaign is, at least, improper, and at most, perhaps, illegal."

Another irate gentleman expressed his firm opinion that "President Ford ought to stay in Washington running the nation."

The writer went on, "He tells me and millions of other people to stay home to save energy and help stop pollution while he goes running all over the United States.

"If there is a shortage of energy, I will believe it when those who make the laws live up to them as they expect the people to do."

No one is suggesting that Ford isolate himself behind a Palace Guard, as his predecessor did. No one is suggesting that he insulate himself from the feelings of his countrymen.

No one can take issue with Ford's statement that "I can only say that two-way communication with my friends and fellow Americans is for me an essential part of doing the job properly." That philosophy is commendable.

Had Lyndon Johnson felt the same way, he would have known that the anti-war feeling in this country was not limited to jeering college crowds. The outpouring of support for Eugene McCarthy would not have come as such a shock to LBJ if he had kept the lines of communication open. Had he felt comfortable with his constituents, he would not have become a virtual prisoner in his last days in the White House.

But Ford's idea of communication is not communication at all. What does he learn about the feelings of most Americans when he addresses a $125-a-plate GOP fund-raiser in Chicago? As the honorary grand marshal in the Elkins, W. Va. Mountain State Festival parade, does Ford have time — or the opportunity —to find out what people are thinking?

Obviously not, since what some of them are thinking is, "Why is this man here?"

Ford's "communicating" is only another word for campaigning. And while he may face a tough time in '76, what with Ronald Reagan nipping at his heels and economic recovery fleeing from the grasp, the way to win votes and influence people is to stop acting like an over-anxious political hack and start acting like a President.

The election is still a year away and it's not too late for that much-vaunted honeymoon between Ford and the American people. All he has to do is stay put long enough to get himself to the church in time.

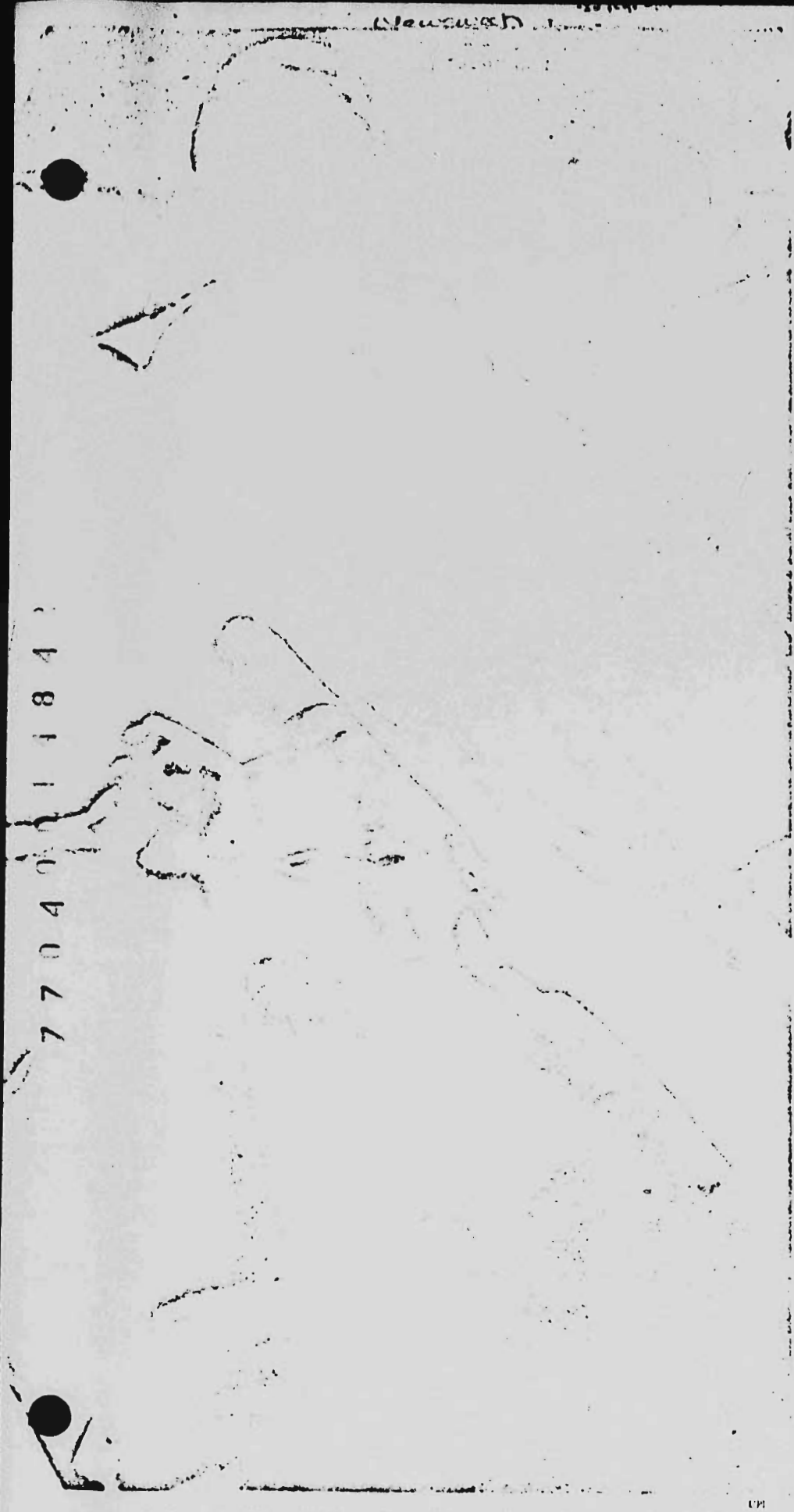
Newsweek , October 13, 1975

CALL OF

In the [illegible] aftermath of two near-miss assaults on his life, Gerald Ford and his movable Presidency journeyed forth twice more last week on his nonstop barnstorming tour of America. He promised this time to be "prudent and practical" about his safety, and for the most part he was, keeping clear of crowds, back-dooring in and out of hotels, cocooning himself in a bubbletop limousine for one parade in West Virginia. But his access of caution did not still the controversy over whether any President ought to put himself so freely and so frequently in harm's way. And beneath the public worry for Ford's security lay a deepening private concern for his political health—a suspicion among his well-wishers that he might serve himself, his party and his future as President better by coming in off the road.

Whatever political value Ford's grand tour might have had was largely lost with his gunpoint encounters with Squeaky Fromme and Sara Jane Moore; the major public interest in his travels thereafter has been whether he will survive them. But some of his people in and out of the White House had long since come to doubt their worth to him or to his reelection campaign. The road show has run Ford, his staff, his bodyguards and his logistical train red-eyed and ragged. It has opened him to the charge that he is neglecting the nation's business. It has done little for his popularity—his latest Gallup rating is a static 47 per cent—and has left even partisan audiences wondering why he came so far to promise so little. "The guy's got a lot of substance, but there ain't much drama," conceded one aide. "Unfortunately, this President's not that kind of guy."

Reagan: The ongoing pilgrimage has thus put Ford's weaknesses as well as his strengths on display, and has accordingly heartened both his Democratic and Republican opposition. The public line in the White House was that the President was succeeding in the first objective of his off-season campaigning—demonstrating to Ronald Reagan that, as one staffer put it, it is "not in his interest" to challenge Ford in the GOP primaries. But Reagan in fact was tiptoeing ever closer to declaring; his agents were in New Hampshire last week putting together a primary campaign committee, with moderate ex-Gov. Hugh Gregg as the likely chairman—and sending a shudder through the Ford camp for all its surface unconcern. The President's manager, Howard (Bo) Callaway, began preparing House Republicans for what he said would be a "very difficult time" for Ford in New Hampshire and Florida, too—and there was a shake-up in Ford's



UPI

At Omaha's Offutt Air Force Base: The watchword now was 'prudent'

Have Road Show, Will Travel

1492
10/25/75
NATIONAL
JOURNAL
©1975

The Ford Administration rapidly is becoming known as a government on wheels—or more appropriately in the jet age, a government with wings.

Aside from the President's own extensive journeys, there currently are three "traveling road shows" sponsored by the Administration:

- White House field conferences, under the direction of William J. Baroody Jr., special consultant to the President in charge of the Office of Public Liaison. Likened by the White House to town hall meetings, 14 field conferences (3 in 1974 and 11 in 1975) already have been staged in as many U.S. cities.
- Domestic Council conferences, conducted by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller. The first session was held in Denver Oct. 21, and five more are scheduled through Dec. 9 in Tampa, Austin, Philadelphia, Indianapolis and Los Angeles.
- Commerce Department "citizen hearings," supervised by John W. Eden, who holds the new post of deputy undersecretary for field programs, and moderated by Edward D. Failor, a controversial political figure. Nine regional hearings are scheduled from Oct. 28 to Dec. 11. Over the next year, they are due to be held in all 50 states.

Educational or political: The nomadic character of the Ford Administration during a campaign year raises the question of whether the elaborately orchestrated conferences are intended to be educational forums to serve the public or a diversional vehicle—sort of a wooden horse—to sell the President and his programs. Other questions involve the costs of the meetings, which are borne by the taxpayers, the political advantages accrued by an incumbent President and the public relations atmosphere that pervades the White House's out-of-town sessions.

Predictably, Administration officials are vague concerning the costs. They are explicit, however, in declaring that the conferences are intended to establish a dialogue between the Administration and the American electorate.

Objectives: "They are all part of a general process but at different levels with different specific objectives in mind," Baroody said.

The White House field conferences, he said, are tailored to underline President Ford's open Administration, restore confidence in public institutions and promote greater understanding of Administration programs.

"We are seeking general support and a political consensus in conjunction with official action," Baroody added.

Rockefeller operation: A spokesman for the Vice President's office reported that the Domestic Council conferences "are essentially the absolute reversal of Baroody's."

He said, "They put out the Administration line: we put out questions and wait for answers, which may have an influence on domestic policy proposals."

Rockefeller will preside over each of the one-day Domestic Council conferences. Cabinet officials will participate in the sessions, but there are no plans for the President to attend, as he has several of the White House field conferences.

Testimony will be given by regional officials and specialists on four basic issues: economic recovery (jobs and capital formation), resource development (food, energy and the environment), social policy (welfare reform, social security, food stamps, medicare and medicaid) and community building (education, housing, transportation and community development).

"We want to learn the thoughts and feelings of the people and the leadership in the various regions," the spokesman said.

Nonetheless, the forums will allow Rockefeller an excellent opportunity to redefine his social philosophy and project his image as a new-style Vice President involved in substantive policy issues.

Commerce hearings: The Commerce Department hearings purportedly will concentrate on issues within the scope of the agency. However, the two issues on which the hearings will initially focus—creating new jobs and regulatory reform—are only tangentially identified with the Commerce Department, which principally is concerned with business interests. Rather, they are recognized as Ford's major campaign issues so far. Consequently, Administration officials are hard put to defend the hearings as "non-political."

Failor's association with the hearings has embroiled them in controversy even before the first is held in Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 28. He earned a measure of publicity as a 1972 Nixon campaign worker who specialized in disruptive tactics against the Democratic opposition. Called "Fast Eddie" by some reporters, Failor earlier gained a reputation as a friend of the big coal operators while serving as the No. 2 man in the Interior Department's Bureau of Mines.

Counterpart: The traveling seminars are related closely to President Ford's public economic hearings at the start of his Administration. In retrospect, they may have been of little value, particularly since they failed to forecast the depth of the subsequent recession.

Notwithstanding the emphasis on citizen participation, outside influence on White House policy is limited by several factors, including the President's political philosophy, congressional reaction and the nation's financial resources.

Furthermore, Ford has just about written off the possibility of any new, wide-ranging domestic programs. During a Sept. 12 visit to St. Louis, the President said, "At the moment, it is my honest opinion we have got enough programs; we just have to make them work better. . . . A thousand categorical grant programs ought to be sufficient to handle the problems we have at the present time."

Open conferences, with high ranking Administration officials in attendance, nevertheless, receive considerable publicity and provide the appearance of action, even if little in the way of substantive policy making is accomplished.

City vote: Significantly, all of the Administration's conferences are scheduled in metropolitan centers. Because of his negative response to New York City's appeal for financial help, Ford stands in jeopardy of losing much of the urban vote. Hence, the "road shows" could be one way to try to convince big city inhabitants that he is aware of their own particular social problems and possibly to regain some of their dwindling political support. □

7704071841

FORD'S TRAVELS—PAYING OFF?

29

OVERSHADOWED by all the concern over the President's security on his trips around the United States are some basic questions: Just what does Gerald Ford hope to accomplish by his extensive campaigning? And how well is he doing?

Since late summer, Mr. Ford has been on the go. There have been speeches on major issues before nonpolitical audiences as well as political pitches at Republican fund-raising dinners. The President has given one interview after another on local television stations and has held many press conferences on the road.

To a reporter who has traveled with the President and has talked to listeners in his audiences and to local political leaders, this conclusion emerges:

Mr. Ford is helping his party considerably—but he may not be helping himself much in his effort to win election in 1976.

A modest disclaimer. The President has stated that his travel is meant to help in rebuilding the Republican Party rather than just to advance his own candidacy. He said at his October 9 news conference: "As leader of the Republican Party, I have an obligation to try and strengthen and rebuild the Republican Party organization in many, many States."

On that score, he has had quite a bit of success. Mr. Ford has raised nearly 2.5 million dollars, lifting many State party treasuries out of the red into which the Watergate crisis plunged them.

In Detroit, a key party worker says that Mr. Ford has "pumped new morale into party workers, not to mention helping us to raise the money we had to have for next year." Still, this official worries about a larger issue: Money and morale may not help much if unemployment persists in an election year.

The same sort of message was heard in Connecticut, where a Republican official said: "Ford is well received in the party. People like him. But you don't win elections at campaign dinners, and so much depends on the economy."

Apart from raising campaign funds and building up political IOU's, the President's heavy travel affords him the opportunity to preach his philosophic gospel"—and to try to drum up public support in his battle with a Democratic-dominated Congress.

His major themes: the need for fiscal restraint in Washington, a strong national defense, the return of power from the federal to local governments and more individual freedom for Americans. The Ford "basic speech" usually includes the promise of more vetoes to keep a lid on the federal budget and talk about "too much Government on your back," with accompanying jibes at bureaucrats.

How well Mr. Ford succeeds in winning converts to his views remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that the President is no inspiring orator, though he has come a way from the often clumsy delivery of the recent past.

While Mr. Ford asserts that his travels have been for general and his own election, White House aides obviously have expected some political gains for the President. But the score in that respect has not been encouraging.

Ford advisers had hoped that the President's speeches and public visibility would deter Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California, from entering the race for the Republican nomination in 1976, but by all accounts, Mr. Reagan soon will announce his candidacy. So far, the polls now are indicating on the good will generated by Mr. Ford's fund-raising efforts to be the decisive factor in a confrontation with Mr. Reagan in the primaries or at the Republican Convention.

GOP anxiety. Assuming that Mr. Ford becomes his party's nominee, has all the campaigning strengthened his position against a Democratic candidate? It is troubling for presidential advisers that the exhausting travel has done little for Mr. Ford in the public-opinion polls. His standing in the Gallup Poll, for instance, has been stuck for months at 46 or 47 per cent approval, which suggests that a majority of Americans are either dissatisfied with his brand of leadership or undecided.

There is also a growing concern among Republicans that the President himself may become a political issue. That Democratic politicians would raise the issue of "Who is minding the store?" is not surprising, but many of Mr. Ford's own party members are worried by the same question. And they are apprehensive that Mr. Ford's frequent trips out of Washington may give the impression that he is not tending to business.

Some are also concerned that the public reaction to Mr. Ford's insistence on campaigning despite attempts on his life may be shifting—from approval of his courage to doubts about the wisdom of continued exposure to risk.

Mr. Ford and his advisers so far have ignored demands that he stay home more. They see travel and public appearances as a proper extension of the office of the Presidency.

Whether or not Mr. Ford meets the goals he and aides have set for campaign efforts, it is certain that the pace will pick up in an election year and that the President, as one put it, "will not be a captive of the Oval Office."

The foregoing was prepared by John W. Mashek, chief of the magazine's White House reporting staff.

The presidential limousine, damaged in a collision in Hartford on October 14, is a 1972 Lincoln Continental loaded with extras and worth an estimated $500,000. The Government leases the car—for $10,000 a year—from the Ford Motor Company, which provides the White House a new limousine every four years. On trips the President takes out of Washington, the car is shipped by Air Force cargo plane. The Hartford incident was the second accident involving the 1972 limousine. The first one was a collision with a bicycle three years ago in Washington.

Los Angles Times
October 31, 1975

The Stump Vs. The Job

President Ford is quite a traveler. By our informal count he has spent all or part of 18 days outside Washington in the last two months. He has covered about 16,000 campaign miles to castigate Congress, to head off the candidacy of Ronald Reagan, and to raise money for the Republican Party.

Now, traveling is part of any President's job, and making campaign speeches is too. But a balance must be struck lest the moving about and the partisan speeches consume too much presidential energy that might be better spent on plans and solutions for all the difficult problems facing the nation.

Ford thinks the criticism of his travel is unfair. "Apparently only congressmen, columnists and pollsters should talk to the people," he says. "Well, I prefer to get my information firsthand."

Of course, because of tightened security, just about the only information he can get firsthand while traveling is from people who can pay up to $250 for a meal.

If the President really wants more firsthand information, a good place to start would be Washington.

There are people and issues and problems aplenty awaiting him there, begging for attention, for more study, for solutions on which he and Congress can agree.

Travel seems to have a particularly counterproductive effect. His strident speeches against the Democrats who control Congress invite replies in kind, not reasoned cooperation. The stump encourages inflammatory rhetoric, not careful planning and leadership.

The campaigner's style has had mixed results. Apparently appealing to conservative Republicans, Ford has proposed such a butchery of the food stamp program that even leading congressional Republicans are opposing him. His caustic censure of New York, and his unbending proposals for the city's financial plight, have opened new divisions and have left unheeded the bigger question of how the nation can avoid similar disasters in other great urban centers. His unrealistic demand for prompt congressional consent to his tax cuts and spending reductions makes clear that he hasn't had time to develop a plan that could win passage and help the economy, too.

He has good ideas for phasing out counterproductive price controls on oil and gas, but no coherent plan yet for developing energy resources. He has good ideas for deregulating the transportation sector, but some of these proposals still conflict with each other.

And some of his recent nominations for government posts demonstrate that he hasn't had time to locate worthy nominees.

The record shows a need for more homework. And homework can be done only at home.

Within the executive, more presidential direction could yield better-conceived plans and programs.

In dealings with Congress, a slower campaigning pace would enable Ford to turn down the decibel level of presidential rhetoric—and that must happen if he is to realize his hopes for a "good marriage" with the legislative branch.

Probably no President has ever been able to strike just the right preelection balance between stumping and governing. We would be critical if Ford chose to stay silently closeted inside the White House, pretending to be above the political fray and claiming he had no time for electioneering. There is no risk of that with a hard campaigner like Gerald Ford; the problem is that the presidency needs time and attention, too.

7704011841

Ford Travel: Halfway to a Record

President Ford has set a fast pace in the marathon for the title of most traveled American President.

If he makes his planned trip to China this year, Ford will have visited at least 16 foreign countries in only 17 months in office. He will have logged foreign mileage roughly half that of the current record holder, former President Nixon. Nixon covered 137,500 miles, traveling to 28 foreign countries in his five and a half years in office.

Ford already has visited 42 states, leaving Alabama, Delaware, Idaho, Hawaii, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Dakota and Wyoming yet to go. He has visited several states many times and returned to California in October for his third visit in two months.

Although Nixon was the first President to have gone to 50 states while in office, it was not until near the end of his first term that he visited his final states.

Other Presidents have spent extended periods outside Washington, but none appears to have been on the move so much as President Ford.

From the beginning of 1975 through his trip Nov. 2, Ford spent 86 of 306 days traveling outside Washington.

He has stepped up his traveling since July 8, when he announced he would seek the 1976 Republican nomination for re-election. Of the 117 days between the announcement and his Nov. 2 Florida trip he spent 52 in travel.

Past Travel

The itinerant life is not new to Ford. He logged 118,000 miles in 1974 during his eight months as Vice President.

As House minority leader, he led the same peripatetic existence. "In the eight or nine years that I was minority leader," Ford commented in 1974, "I traveled an awful lot.... Most years during that period I traveled some 200,000 miles each year."

Ford has not always been so footloose. From his election to the House in 1949 until his 1965 election as minority leader, Ford was a homebody. A list of his travels as a representative, provided by the White House, shows that in several of those years Ford made no official trips outside Washington, including 1964, the year before he became minority leader.

His appearances outside the capital then shot up to 27 in 1965 and to 72 appearances in 1966.

Local News Conferences

Submitting himself to interviews and question-and-answer sessions with local reporters is a recently added feature of Ford's travel to various states.

Beginning Aug. 25, Ford held seven such news conferences in seven weeks. The extensive use of this device appears to be unique in recent presidential press history.

Of the seven, six were broadcast live or taped for later broadcast on television. One was a live radio broadcast. During that period Ford also answered questions before Stanford University law students and a White House conference on economic and domestic affairs.

Party Leader

Since record keeping of presidential travel over the years has neither been standardized nor centralized, it is difficult to make comparisons between Ford and former Presidents.

But one thing is evident in Ford's travel pattern. He appears to be riding the political fund raising dinner circuit more than any of his recent predecessors.

He reportedly has raised more than $2.2-million for state coffers of his party, and the Republican National Committee has paid more than $400,000 in travel expenses for his 1975 political stumping.

Criticism

The extent of Ford's public exposure has drawn fire from Democrats who say he is campaigning in his own behalf while wearing the guise of party leader. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D Texas) and Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert S. Strauss have said that Ford is taking unfair advantage of new federal campaign spending laws by billing his political travel expenses to the Republican National Committee while his Democratic opponents have to foot their own bills.

The White House has said the Ford campaign committee will begin paying the tab Jan. 1, 1976.

The Federal Election Commission, charged with overseeing the new spending law, is considering the issue. It is expected to decide the matter some time in November.

Risk Factor

Ford's forays around the country have exposed him to greater personal risks than he faces in the White House. Two attempts on his life in California resulted in suggestions from the press and public that he should stay home more.

But Ford has stated that he will not be intimidated into avoiding contact with the public. In remarks to reporters just after the Sept. 5 assassination attempt in Sacramento, Ford said, "...I am going to continue to have that personal contact and relationship with the American people. I think it is vital and I intend to carry it out."

After the Sept. 22 San Francisco assassination attempt, Ford said, "The American people...expect a dialogue between them and their President.... We're going to stand tall and strong in this confrontation with a limited number of people who don't represent all of us."

The Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy concluded in 1964 that "absolute security is neither practical nor possible."

There have been indications that Ford may be curbing his travel slightly. In October two scheduled appearances were cancelled.

The White House denied that there have been any cutbacks in Ford's scheduling plans.

The White House has announced that in 1976 Ford will attend one or more bicentennial events each month across the country.

—By David Loomis

COPYRIGHT 1975 CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY INC.

New York Times, Jan. 12, 1976

Ford—Candidate and President

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12—With the national election campaign building up a head of steam, the White House is developing a kind of apparent schizophrenia—sometimes the occupant is President Ford and sometimes he is Candidate Ford.

News Analysis

This split personality is of very practical significance. As President, Mr. Ford finds that his travels are paid for out of the public purse. But as a candidate, he has his travel expenses picked up by his campaign committee under the new election law.

The law also provides that a Presidential candidate must spend no more than $10 million plus $2 million for raising funds before the nominating convention.

But there is no limit, except that provided by the Federal budget, on how much Mr. Ford may spend on his travels when he is being Presidential. The problem, therefore, is what standards are applied to determine when he is being political and when he is being Presidential.

Today, for example, Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, announced that Mr. Ford would make a political trip to New Hampshire on Feb. 7 and 8. The nation's first Presidential primary will be held in that state on Feb. 24. Mr. Nessen said it was the first planned political trip of Mr. Ford's campaign.

Why is it a political trip? "Because the President is clearly going to New Hampshire to campaign for himself," Mr. Nessen said.

Political Speech?

A week ago, Mr. Ford flew to St. Louis to address a meeting of the National Farm Bureau Federation. In his speech, he made a number of far-reaching promises to help farmers and farm income and told his audience that he stood for such things as "hard fruitful work," "basic morality" and "dependable outcomes."

A number of farmers in the audience interviewed after the address thought they had listened to a political speech. But the trip to St. Louis was designated by the White House as a Presidential rather than political event and was paid for by the public.

A Fine Line Divides 2 Categories of Travel Costs

The event advertised? A second was the citing of the event—were there Ford banners or pictures of elephants? The third was the contents of the remarks made by the speaker—did he ask for votes or money?

Mr. Fiske said that these tests were still very broad and amorphous. The commission will build up standards on a case by case basis as complaints come in or on its own initiative, he said, adding, "There are enormous gray areas."

Not Total Guidance

He said that, over the long run, "The system has to be self-governing. There is no way a government agency can give total guidance."

One example of self-regulation was demonstrated by the Ford campaign committee late last year after the President traveled to Boston on what was supposed to have been a trip to raise funds for the state Republican committee in Massachusetts. As such, the trip should have been charged to the Republican National Committee.

But Mr. Ford, growing increasingly expansive during a series of cocktail parties and receptions, started talking about his own candidacy late in the evening. Afterward, his campaign committee volunteered to pay for a part of the cost of that trip.

"We are being very conservative," Mr. Visser said. "We are aware that the President is in the spotlight and we are bending over backward to do the right thing."

The White House counsel's office has also taken pains to face the new restrictions squarely. Philip W. Buchen, legal counsel to the President, wrote to the commission explaining the plans for compliance with travel expense regulations and soliciting guidance.

But gray areas unmistakably abound. For example, when President Ford was vacationing in Vail, Colo., over Christmas week, a niteclub owner there gave a dinner in his honor. The same host also sent out solicitatio for contributions to many of the people invited to the dinner.

Was it a fund-raising dinner? If so, should the Ford campaign committ have paid for part of the travel expenses?

The President and his committee did not think so. The Vail trip was considered Presidential and paid for entirely by the public.

Most commentators, including Mr. Visser at the Ford campaign committe concede that the election law gives an advantage to the incumbent. In an election year, almost anything a candidate does it political, including t official acts of candidates already in office.

But, from the point of view of the Ford campaign committee at least, that is now a fact of life, not another obstacle to the President's campaign.

"We can't stop the President from talking about what his policies are," Mr. Visser said. "If every time he went on a trip and said something that could be political were charged to us, we'd be out of business in three months."

Meanwhile, he said, "we are acting by feel as to what is appropriate and reasonable."

7704001484 7

INDEX OF MATERIAL RELATING TO INDIVIDUAL PRESIDENTIAL TRIPS

PAGES	DATE OF TRIP	PLACES VISITED
31-37	July 11, 1975	Chicago, Illinois; Traverse City, Interlochen, Mackinac Island, and Kincheloe Air Force Base, Michigan
38-50	August 19, 1975	Minneapolis, Minnesota; Pekin and Peoria, Illinois; Vail, Colorado
51-57	August 24, 1975 August 25, 1975	Northwestern, Montana; Chicago, Illinois, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin
58-68	August 30, 1975	Augusta and Portland, Maine; Warwick and Newport, Rhode Island
69-87	September 4, 1975	Seattle, Washington; and Portland, Oregon
88-92	September 11, 1975	Keene, Peterborough and Portsmouth, New Hampshire
93-105	September 12, 1975	St. Louis, Kansas City, Missouri
106-108	September 20, 1975	Los Angeles, Malibu, California
109-112	September 22, 1975	San Francisco, California; and Washington, D. C.
113-114	October 1, 1975	Omaha, Nebraska
115-118	October 4, 1975	Newark, New Jersey
119-123	October 10, 1975	Detroit, Michigan
124-126	October 14, 1975	Hartford, Connecticut
127-137	October 29, 1975 October 30, 1975	Los Angeles and San Francisco, California
138-139	November 1, 1975 November 2, 1975	Knoxville, Tennessee; Jacksonville, Florida
140-148	November 7, 1975	Boston, Massachusetts
149-157	November 14, 1975	Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina Atlanta, Georgia

7704118

DATE OF TRIP: July 11, 1975

TO: Chicago, Illinois; Traverse City, Interlochen, Mackinac Island, and Kincheloe Air Force Base, Michigan

AGENDA: July 11, 1975

9:26 p.m. - Remarks at meeting of the Mid-America Committee for International Business and Government Cooperation (Chicago)
11:30 a.m. - Remarks at News Conference (Chicago)
1:50 p.m. - Commencement Address at Chicago State University
7:15 p.m. - Remarks at Golf Tournament (Traverse City)
9:26 p.m. - Remarks at conclusion of concert (Interlochen)
9:31 a.m. - Remarks to Judicial Conference (Mackinac Island)
7:08 p.m. - Remarks to Reporters (Kincheloe AFB)

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Remarks at Presidential News Conference - September 12, 1975 (Chicago)

7704011847

We have had reports. We have had recommendations. I submitted to the Congress early in this year a substantial program for conservation and new sources of energy. Unfortunately, there has been little or no action by the Congress in either conservation on the one hand or new sources on the other.

If we don't do something affirmatively in this area in the short range or in the long haul, this country's vulnerability to outside influences and actions gets worse and worse and worse every single day.

It is obvious that a sound economic recovery in this country demands a firm commitment to energy independence. No long-term economic growth in America can develop without an adequate and secure energy base.

We can no longer count on an abundant domestic oil and gas supply for continued economic growth. Obviously, alternative sources must be developed from coal, the atom, and the new and yet unproven alternatives, such as solar energy.

I happen to believe, however, that the free enterprise system is the best hope for freeing us from dependence on others for our energy in the United States.

For example, I have asked the Congress to approve legislation that would allow private enterprise for the first time to enter the business of enriching uranium and providing the kind of base that is essential and necessary for our nuclear energy in America, as well as for our allies and friends around the world.

Now, in speaking this evening, I have used terms like moderation, restraint, reason, savings, investment, and long-term. They aren't new ideas or new virtues. They are as old as civilization. They are sound, however, and history proves that they are right. I am convinced they are essential to our full economic recovery in America.

I believe that old values are as new as their need. I believe that great scientific discoveries of this century have changed the world, but I also believe that basic principles—such as honor, truth, hard work—have given it stability. I believe that the wisdom which mankind has learned over time is imperishable, and we ignore it at our own risk.

That is why I believe, with no apologies, in so-called old-fashioned, individual responsibility. Responsibility is the price of independence. It is the root of freedom, be it economic freedom, political freedom, or individual freedom.

We believe in the brotherhood of man because we recognize the worthiness of each individual.

I believe we do well to honor history—to consider carefully our past before deciding our future. America today turns back 200 years to rediscover its birth and its youth. We find that our first citizens were indeed a people of principle and truly remarkable perseverance. Those principles and that perseverance live in our country today.

It is our responsibility, yours and mine, to preserve and to protect the inheritance of the past two centuries. And let us this evening pledge to be worthy of that inheritance.

Let us, the pioneers of our Nation's third century, carry on these noble ideals and traditions that reflect not only the accomplishments of our past but the promise of our future.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:26 p.m. at the Palmer House, Chicago, Ill. In his opening remarks, he referred to Arthur Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck and Company, Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois, Brooks McCormick, president of International Harvester, and John Swearingen, chairman of the board of Standard Oil Company of Indiana.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF JULY 12, 1975

Held at Chicago, Illinois

THE PRESIDENT. Good morning. Won't you all please sit down. I have one short announcement, a very important announcement.

RELEASE OF COL. ERNEST R. MORGAN

I am deeply relieved at the report of the safe release of Colonel Morgan. Since his abduction on the 29th of June, the United States Government, with the close cooperation of the Government of Lebanon, has been trying to secure Colonel Morgan's return, and we are extremely glad to report that that has occurred.

At the same time, the United States is greatly appreciative of the extraordinary efforts of the Government of Lebanon in obtaining Colonel Morgan's release and for the assistance of others who have worked toward this end.

At this point, I would be glad to recognize Mr. Neil Mehler of the Chicago Tribune.

QUESTIONS

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Q. Mr. President, the Republican leaders with whom you met for breakfast say you talked to them of your campaign and of unity in the party here. How can you insure that there won't be a reoccurrence of the 1972 situation in which the Presidential campaign was competing for dollars in Illinois and competing for resources, especially when the party is as low as it is here now?

THE PRESIDENT. The meeting we held this morning brought in all elements of the party in Illinois, and I our-

lined to them how my own personal campaign will work closely with, not with a part, but all elements of the Republican Party in the State of Illinois.

We have this understanding at the outset, and I think it will improve rather than deteriorate. Under no circumstances will we have a repetition of the unfortunate developments in 1972.

Yes, Mr. Leubsdorf [Carl Leubsdorf, Associated Press].

DECONTROL OF DOMESTIC OIL PRICES

Q. Mr. President, last night you warned again of the dangers to inflation from Congressional spending, but many economists in the Congressional budget office think the greatest single threat at the moment is the forthcoming decontrol of domestic oil prices. With that in mind, are you prepared to accept the legislation that is being worked out now that would extend the control program to the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT. This is a very complicated question. I would accept an extension of the existing legislation that permits some overall control and flexibility on the part of the President.

At the same time, we do have to move to stimulate additional domestic production of oil in the United States. And I, early this next week, will submit to the Congress a responsible, well-timed decontrol of domestic oil so that there will not be a precipitous rise, but at the same time offer encouragement for those that are seeking to increase and improve our domestic oil production. This, of course, would make it far better from the point of view of the United States, because we would be less vulnerable to the foreign oil imports.

What I will try to do is to phase out control in a responsible and reasonable way under existing law, and if the Congress goes along with that program, I would welcome an extension of the existing law for overall control.

GASOLINE PRICES

Q. As a followup to that, as you know, the price of gasoline is now in the mid-60's per gallon. How high do you think it can go and still be economically and politically acceptable?

THE PRESIDENT. If we don't increase domestic production of oil and become more and more vulnerable to foreign oil imports, then gasoline prices could rise substantially.

My program for a self-sufficient energy program in the United States will preclude any precipitous rise in domestic gasoline prices. So, the Congress has to work with me in trying to get an energy program that will increase production at home so we will not be held vulnerable to foreign oil price increases.

I believe that we are making some headway, but the Congress must move more quickly if we are to foreclose the kind of gasoline price increases that might occur if we stay vulnerable to foreign oil imports.

Q. But there is no specific figure that you would like to hold it to?

THE PRESIDENT. No, because the Congress hasn't acted. Until we know what the Congress does, I can't predict with certainty what the domestic production will be.

PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, would you consider extending the pardon of former President Nixon to cover his recent testimony to Federal prosecutors and members of the grand jury?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should speculate on something like that. Nothing has happened. The decision I made in September was the right decision as to the time and otherwise, and I don't think I should speculate on something that hasn't taken place and may not take place.

THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE

Q. Mr. President, as you near the end of your first year in office and prepare to start campaigning for election to a full term, what do you consider your biggest personal accomplishments and failings as President?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that we have done the following: One, we have restored public confidence in the White House and in the executive branch of the Government.

On the economic side, we have made substantial progress in reducing the rate of inflation. A year ago, the rate of inflation was 12 to 14 percent. We have cut it in half; it is now roughly 6 percent. We are not satisfied, but it is going to be a constant struggle to reduce the rate of inflation in the months ahead, and I think we will be successful.

Secondly, in the economic field we are concerned about the rate of unemployment. We don't believe that an 8 percent or 9 percent rate of unemployment is acceptable. We are tailoring our domestic economic plans on reducing the rate of unemployment, and I believe that in the months ahead you will see a moderation and certainly a decline in the next 6 to 12 months.

I am encouraged—and I think this is a good sign—that despite the rate of unemployment, in the last 2 months the actual number of people employed in the United States has gone up by roughly 450,000. I think that is an accomplishment, bearing in mind the overall economic circumstances.

In addition, we have taken some other steps aimed at making the United States energy self-sufficient and less vulnerable to foreign oil imports. In addition, we have promoted what I think is very important—some constructive steps to deregulate the American economy, getting rid of those regulations that are no longer needed and

necessary. And progress in this area, I think, will be more significant in the months ahead.

When I look at the overall, concerning the problems we had on our doorstep when I took office last August, I think whether it is in foreign policy, where we have strengthened our relationship with the NATO countries, handled our disengagement in Indochina, took forceful action in the *Mayaguez* case, or whether you look at the overall domestically, in my judgment, considerable progress has been made.

Q. What do you consider your major failings?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will leave that to my opponents. [*Laughter*] I don't think there have been many.

COLONEL MORGAN'S RELEASE

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what was negotiated in order to obtain the release of Colonel Morgan?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, our representatives in Lebanon worked very closely with the Government of Lebanon and with other elements in order to make sure that Colonel Morgan was returned. We have a policy—and I think it is the right policy—that we will not as a government pay ransom, and as far as I know it was not done in this case by our Government. But by working closely and firmly with all parties, we were, thank goodness, able to return Colonel Morgan safely.

MEETINGS WITH REPUBLICAN GROUPS

Q. Sir, your aides tell us this is a nonpolitical trip, but as mentioned earlier you did meet with local Republicans, as you have done on several nonpolitical trips in the past. Now, other Presidents have done the same thing. But my question is: Since you have talked of setting high ethical standards for your campaign, do you think it is being totally candid to call these trips nonpolitical?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, if you look at the schedule that we have followed so far on this trip and the things that we are doing later, such as the commencement address to Chicago State University, this press conference, the activities in Michigan, in all honesty I think it is a nonpolitical trip.

Q. And you will continue to conduct some political business on trips paid for by the Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it is political business. If we have an early morning breakfast at roughly 8:00 and spend maybe 25 to 45 minutes, I don't think that can be construed to be political in the overall sense of the other things that we do.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

Q. Mr. President, is Vice President Rockefeller going to be on the ticket with you, or is he out of the campaign now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the delegates to the Republican National Convention will make that decision, just as they will make a decision as to whether or not I will be the Presidential candidate in 1976. Both Vice President Rockefeller and myself are going to be campaigning for delegates to the Republican National Convention next year, but the final judgment will be made by those delegates.

Q. But he won't be part of your campaign; this will be separate?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Vice President Rockefeller clarified that himself in a comment to the press several days ago when he indicated that he expected me, as a candidate, to try and get a majority of the delegates to the 1976 campaign and he, in effect, would do the same. And he disavowed any differences between me or himself in our efforts in the months ahead.

CONDUCT OF AMERICAN BUSINESSES OVERSEAS

Q. Mr. President, several major American corporations have recently acknowledged large bribes to Government officials overseas to get business. Northrop Corporation paid $450,000 for two Saudi Arabian generals in a military sales contract that was negotiated by the Defense Department. The question, sir, is: Does your Administration tolerate this conduct, particularly in the military sales program, or is it necessary to meet the competition?

THE PRESIDENT. If the payments are legally construed to be bribes, I forcefully condemn such payments. I am not going to discuss the legal ramifications of these payments. Some people have one view and some another, as lawyers often do, but if they are determined to be bribes, I forcefully condemn them.

Q. Sir, under American law, there is no American law to prohibit these practices, and I am just wondering if you see a need for a change in the law, particularly as it relates to defense contracts.

THE PRESIDENT. If there isn't a law that covers a bribe in these circumstances, then I think such legislation should be enacted.

PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

Q. Mr. President, some of your critics say that your Administration is insensitive to the urban crisis. I know that you met last night for about 20 minutes with Mayor Daley. Did you discuss the urban crisis with him, and what about the criticism?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I don't think there is legitimate criticism that this Administration isn't compassionate. This Administration, on the record, has an achievement of compassion. And let me quickly illustrate.

We have made available for the cities, for individuals, in the budget that I submitted for the current fiscal year, more money to meet the problems of the less fortunate in our society and for the cities that need help and assistance.

We have recommended to the Congress, for example, the extension of general revenue sharing, and instead of limiting the amount of money, we have provided for an annual increase that would go to the cities, providing, of course, the Congress approves it.

We have made some other recommendations which would make it easier for the cities to meet the problem with general revenue sharing.

Now, I also pointed out to Mayor Daley—and it was a very friendly and I think very constructive discussion—that the general revenue sharing program plus the multitude of categorical grant programs will be helpful in the solution of the financial problems, the human problems in our cities, and that we had to get together—the mayors, the White House, and the Congress—to make sure that these programs and these dollars are available, and too much tinkering with the existing law in the general revenue sharing might be harmful rather than helpful.

I also was glad to tell Mayor Daley—I think he knew it maybe a few hours before—but to say that we had sympathy for the transit system here, there was an award made by the Department of Transportation of $107 million to help and assist at the local level in improving transit operations in this city.

MAYOR RICHARD DALEY

Q. By the way, it was announced prior to yesterday that Mayor Daley would not greet your plane, and then he did meet it. Was there pressure brought from the White House for the mayor of Chicago to come to meet you?

THE PRESIDENT. There was no pressure brought from the White House. I can only say I have seen Mayor Daley on a number of occasions. We have a good personal relationship. I was delighted and pleased that Mrs. Daley and the Mayor met Mrs. Ford and myself, and we were especially pleased that they had the time to come to our suite in the hotel and sit for roughly a half an hour and talk about family matters, business matters. And I think that kind of a relationship is wholesome for the city of Chicago, and it is certainly beneficial to me.

WHEAT AND GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

Q. Mr. President, the United States is apparently prepared to approve negotiations of a multi-ton wheat and grain sale with the Soviet Union. Other countries are facing drought and may ask for sales, too. My questions are: How much can we sell without dipping in too much to our harvest this year, and won't this increase cost of bread and food here this year to our consumers?

THE PRESIDENT. First, we should thank the farmers of this country for their tremendous productivity. We are fortunate in America to be the breadbasket of the world. Our farmers do a tremendous job in the production of food for us and for the world as a whole.

We are anticipating the largest corn crop, the largest wheat crop in the history of the United States, but there are some uncertainties.

We hope that there will be a sale to the Soviet Union. It will be helpful to the American farmer and will be a reward for his productivity. We hope that there will be ample supplies of corn and wheat and feed grains so that we can help other nations around the world through our Food for Peace program.

And if there is this sizable crop in the variety of areas, it will mean that we can expand our Food for Peace program and act in a humanitarian way to the less fortunate.

I have no idea at this point what the amount will be of the sale to the Soviet Union, if it does materialize. But I think the fact that we can make one is a blessing, and I hope we do make one. But I want to assure you, as I do the American consumer, that we are alert to the danger of too big a sale or too much shipment overseas, because the American consumer has a stake in this problem as well.

So we have to find a careful line to tread, of selling all we can, but protecting the rights of the American consumer and utilizing the productivity of the American farmer to help our balance of payments, to improve our humanitarian efforts overseas, and to indirectly help us in our relations with other countries.

Q. But a sale of any substantial size would mean some increase in the loaf of bread here, wouldn't it?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I am in a position—or anyone else is in a position—to define what a substantial sale is. A big sale with big wheat and feed grain and corn production would have a minimal effect on consumer prices in the United States. I can only assure you and the American people that we are watching all aspects of this problem and we will keep alert to any pitfalls or dangers that might result.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

Q. Mr. President, the equal rights amendment has had an extraordinarily difficult time getting passed here in Illinois. At one time, your wife made several calls here. In the next session of the legislature, would you get on the phone and call some local Republicans, asking, urging them to pass the ERA?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think Betty does a fine job in this effort. I, of course, voted for the equal rights amendment when I was in the Congress. My record is clear. She is an effective spokesman, and I see no decrease in her enthusiasm for this. So, come next year, I suspect she can speak for both of us.

Q. A followup. What about your own personal effort? And just how important is the issue of sex discrimination going to be in terms of your campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have appointed to the executive branch of the Government a number of outstanding women to serve in positions of great responsibility.

We have a member of my Cabinet, Mrs. Carla Hills, who is Secretary of HUD. The head of the National Labor Relations Board is a woman and an outstanding person in that area of great responsibility.

We will continue to recognize women of talent and experience, because they have and will contribute significantly in the executive branch of the Government. And obviously, in our campaign you will see a lot of fine, attractive, able, articulate women out there selling the candidacy.

OIL COMPANIES

Q. Mr. President, the Federal Energy Administration suggested this past Thursday that 12 big oil companies may have inflated oil costs by $165 million. The FEA also recently accused a big company in Virginia of overcharging the State utility. My question is whether you think Americans can trust the oil companies today, or whether they might logically conclude that companies have been manipulating recent events to drive up their prices and profits.

THE PRESIDENT. I am very pleased that the Federal Energy Agency has taken the action that you indicate. It proves to me that they are on the job, and they are protecting the consumer's interests, and I expect them to continue such efforts. And they will do it under the law, and they will do it with emphasis.

I am not going to pass judgment on the oil companies, whether they are conspiring or not. The Department of Justice, the Federal Energy Office, will make sure that they live up to the law.

Q. Do you think people should trust them, and do you trust that they have done everything possible to create as much domestic production as possible in these times?

THE PRESIDENT. I am convinced that the oil industry in this country is doing everything it possibly can under the law to increase domestic oil production. There is no question about that in my mind. They are limited in some respects by law as to what they can do with the resources they have available. I think we ought to applaud what they have done in the past and urge them to increase their efforts in the future.

But, we have to get some changes in the law—and the Congress hasn't done anything here—in order to increase very substantially our domestic oil production.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Q. Mr. President, there is some talk that the people are losing control of the Government to the experts—following up something if it be is saying—the oil people are running the oil controls and the utility people are running the utility controls. Who can we yell at? How can we hear the voice of the people?

THE PRESIDENT. I think our system overall, when you compare it with any other system throughout the world, is running very well. We have some problems. The problems, however, are complicated by legislation or nonlegislation, by the fact that we haven't in the past focused quickly enough on some of the problems that we now have on our doorstep.

But this Government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branch—can respond to meet those problems. And the American people do have faith. And I think their faith will be justified as we make headway in our economic problems, energy problems, and the like.

I concede there may be some disappointment, but the American people have the opportunity under our system, fortunately, to make changes—if they are not happy—in a legitimate and proper way.

REGULATORY REFORM

Q. Well, on the other side of that, perhaps, how are you doing on deregulating, on getting rid of this maze of redtape?

THE PRESIDENT. I will make two points. One, I have met with 24 Members of the Congress, House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, working to get the various commissions and other regulators to reduce regulation, to give the American people a chance themselves to solve these problems.

Secondly, last week, I met with the Chairmen and the respective members of every one of the regulatory commissions, and we pointed out very specifically that they had an obligation to reduce the burdens they have placed on people and the economy so that our free economy can do more for itself than they can with their regulations.

I think we will make some headway. If we don't, we will change some of the commissions.

CIA PERSONNEL AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that CIA agents have been working clandestinely in the White House and perhaps in some other Government departments or agencies. Is this true?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as far as I know personally, there are no people presently employed in the White House who have a relationship with the CIA of which I am personally unaware.

Q. Do you know whether the report—I think the reports concerned administrations before yours, the Nixon Administration. Do you know whether there were CIA agents working clandestinely in the White House at that time?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter is being analyzed. As you indicated, the allegations concern not my Administration but the previous Administration. I can assure you that the facts will come out, if I have anything to say about it. But I reaffirm what I said. As far as I know, personally, there are no people presently employed in the White

House in this Administration who have a relationship with the CIA of which I am unaware.

Q. Excuse me, sir, but who is looking into the allegations that they were there in earlier administrations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the press for one. [*Laughter*] And I applaud that.

Secondly, I assume the Congress will make some investigation. And, of course, we, in a responsible way, will find out if we can, in a responsible way, of any such connections in the past.

RONALD REAGAN

Q. Mr. President, within the last week it became known that Governor Reagan was starting a committee, or a committee was being started in his behalf, looking toward the '76 campaign. And Mr. Callaway, your campaign manager, put a good deal of distance between himself and Mr. Rockefeller. He said he would do nothing to insure or promote Mr. Rockefeller's retention on the ticket. I wonder if there is any connection between those two events?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think there is any connection between the two events. We made our decision to actually and officially announce my own candidacy. And with the appointment of Bo Callaway to be the chairman of my campaign effort, he made some comments concerning how Vice President Rockefeller and I will conduct our efforts in the months ahead—the Vice President seeking his delegates, and I seeking mine.

We, of course, had no liaison with Governor Reagan and his people. They made the judgment on timing, I assume, on their own basis.

Q. Mr. President, what I meant was, is the fear of a Reagan candidacy one of the reasons why you are taking this unusual step of saying that Mr. Rockefeller is on his own to seek delegates?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think there is any connection whatsoever. The tradition has been that a President announces his candidacy for the high office, or other candidates do, and I don't see any relationship at all between what I have done and what Governor Reagan has done, or people have done on his behalf, and what the Vice President's effort is.

ALEXANDER BUTTERFIELD

Q. Mr. President, to get back to that CIA thing for just a minute, I wondered in the analysis that you have done so far, have you been able to determine yet whether Alexander Butterfield, who was mentioned so prominently in the news stories yesterday, did anything in an undercover way or anything that leads you to believe he was doing something that former President Nixon didn't know about?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no specific information in that regard, and until we get it or it is made available to us, I think it is premature to make any comment.

MR. LEUBSDORF. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's seventeenth news conference was held at 11:30 a.m. on Saturday, July 12, 1975, in the Adams Room at the Palmer House, Chicago, Ill.

CHICAGO STATE UNIVERSITY

The President's Address at Commencement Exercises at McCormick Place. July 12, 1975

Thank you very much, Mr. Ladd. Dr. Alexander, my good friend, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, Reverend Martin, distinguished graduates—which I am now proud partner with you—your honored parents and friends, ladies and gentlemen:

I am distinctly honored by the action taken by Dr. Alexander, and I will forever remember the opportunity to be an associate with all of you in the class of July 1975, and I thank you very much.

It is perfectly obvious that I am delighted with your invitation and the opportunity to be here at the commencement exercises of beautiful Chicago University. You know, that is what I admire so much about Dr. Alexander. He not only tells it like it is, but also like it better be. [*Laughter*]

Even during this very brief visit with all of you today, I can see that this graduating class has, excluding myself, talent, vision, ambition, and a sense of humor as well.

DATE OF TRIP August 19, 1975

TO: Minneapolis, Minnesota; Pekin and Peoria, Illinois; Vail, Colorado

AGENDA: August 19, 1975

10:34 a.m. - Remarks at American Legion National Convention (Minneapolis)
11:53 a.m. - Remarks at Republican Rally (Minneapolis)
12:58 p.m. - Remarks at Republican Luncheon (Minneapolis)
3:26 p.m. - Remarks at Dedication of Dirksen Research Center (Pekin)
4:42 p.m. - Remarks at White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs (Peoria)

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Washington Star - August 19; page 5
Minneapolis Tribune - August 19
St. Paul Dispatch - August 19
St. Paul Pioneer Press - August 20
Variety - August 20
Minneapolis Star - August 19
Minneapolis Star - August 19
Minneapolis Tribune - August 20
The Economist - August 23; page 47-48

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT INCLUDED:

Remarks at Republican Luncheon - August 19 (Minneapolis)

7704071853

39

a future bright with promise by our decision on election day, November 1976.

I have come here to this great meeting—and it is a great meeting—to ask your help in getting the message of commonsense government and hope for the future to the people of Minnesota. In one way or another all of you have distinguished yourselves as enthusiastic supporters of the Republican Party. Otherwise, you wouldn't be here today. But now I am asking each and every one of you, all good Republicans, to go that extra mile for the party, indeed, if it is necessary, that extra thousand miles for the party. We have the principles, we have the programs and the people to do it.

And what's more, we have the year to do it—1976. Let's make that a year to remember, to be remembered by all Republicans.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:53 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Marriott Hotel.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

The President's Remarks at a Republican Luncheon. August 19, 1975

Thank you very, very much, Al, Bill Frenzel, Tom Hagedorn, George Pillsbury, and the distinguished leaders in the Republican Finance Organization, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been a wonderful about 18 hours in Minnesota. We were warmly welcomed at the airport, had a wonderful meeting this morning with the news media people in radio, television, and newspapers, had a grand and wonderful reception at the American Legion convention, then, of course, the two meetings with the party people.

I have always had a great affection and fondness for Minnesota, but the time spent here on this occasion just magnifies my feeling and my sentiments toward those from Gopherville. [*Laughter*]

Speaking of the Gophers, one of the great experiences I have in traveling around the country is running into old friends.

It is hard to believe, but back in 1932 and '33 and '34 I had the opportunity at the University of Michigan of competing against Bernie Bierman's tough Minnesota football team. One of those that I competed against in those years was Pug Lund, and I was delighted and honored to see Pug here on this occasion.

Pug and I not only played against one another, but we were fortunate, subsequently, to play together on the Shrine East-West team and also in the Chicago All-Stars. So, we developed a friendship opposite one another and with one another, and Pug, it is just nice to see you, and I thank you for coming.

It was also great to see an old friend and a dear colleague of a good many years, Ancher Nelsen, who is a bulwark of strength and integrity and good commonsense. And we miss you, Ancher, but you've got a good replacement in Tom.

I guess you gather from what I have been saying that every visit I have ever made to Minnesota has been memorable, and this has been no exception.

As I was getting off the plane last night at the Twin Cities International Airport, an amazing thing happened to me. Somebody asked me how to get to the State capital in St. Paul. [*Laughter*] What made it so amazing—it was Governor Anderson. [*Laughter*]

It is also a pleasure to be in Minnesota, the land of 10,000 lakes, which, I understand, is now known as the land of 15,000 lakes. In a way, that recount could be a great lesson for the Republican Party. [*Laughter*]

Like those lakes, I think there are a lot more Republicans here in Minnesota than any of us realize. We just have to go out, find them, and get them interested and to the polls.

There has been a tremendous parade of my associates in Washington coming to Minnesota lately. Secretary Kissinger was here last month. So was Earl Butz. I thought I better come out to Minnesota and find out for myself what was attracting everybody to this great State.

But what I found is really what I have known for years—Minnesota is one of the most beautiful States in the Union, has some of the friendliest people anywhere, and it has some of the hardest working, most dedicated Republicans that I have ever met.

Of course, I have had some great associations with people from Minnesota in the House of Representatives—Al Quie, who is one of my long and very dear friends; Bill Frenzel, an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives, who is respected on both sides of the aisle; Tom Hagedorn, who is a newcomer. But I am convinced, having seen Members come and go, like Greyhound buses sometimes, that Tom is going to stay for a long time, like Al and Bill.

The only problem I think you have, you've got quality—you just need a little more quantity. [*Laughter*] So, if you could sort of add to the delegation, it would not only help your State, in my judgement, but it would give some strong support to Al and Bill and Tom.

As I travel around the country—and I have traveled a bit on nonpolitical meetings—I am optimistic about the Republican prospects for next year's election. I think we are going to have the right kind of candidates, the issues, the money, the workers, and, more importantly in the final analysis, the votes to win. But it will take a lot of hard work like many of you have contributed in the past.

And if we are to capitalize on the opportunities ahead of us—and they are vast—I think we have to reach out

to that great American majority that does the Nation's work, pays the Nation's bills, provides for the national defense, and observes the Nation's laws. That is our constituency.

No matter the color of their skin, the religion they practice, the politics they vote, these solid Americans are the Republican Party's bulwark of strength. They are the people to whom we must tell our story, over and over again, this year as well as next.

And after one year as President, I am even more firmly convinced than ever that Republican principles are really what most Americans believe in.

Specifically, as Republicans, we believe in the free enterprise system and in lifting the very heavy hand of government from business so that the system can work much more effectively.

We believe in fiscal responsibility and in keeping Federal spending—those levels down, which would not trigger further inflation.

As some of you may recall, a few months ago when I took some action, I said I was going to take a firm stand against any increase in the Federal deficit. And it was a fair warning to the Congress that they had to behave and not spend more money than we could afford.

We have made a little progress, but if the Congress doesn't show some restraint and responsibility, there will be a lot more vetoes. I think they are in the best interest of this country.

Obviously, I want to thank Al and Bill and Tom—I can't remember whether they voted to sustain every veto. I'm going back and check up on it. [*Laughter*] But I'm sure they have a pretty good batting average.

Well, as Republicans, we believe in this fiscal responsibility, and a $60 billion deficit is a big enough deficit. But if we don't hold the lid, in all honesty and sincerity, it will be $70 billion, $80 billion, or $90 billion, and that just leads to further momentum and acceleration for as large a deficit in the next fiscal year.

I just feel that the American people want us to handle their money in a responsible and effective way. So, with the help of good people—Republicans primarily, but a good many Democrats too—I think we are approaching a period of fiscal responsibility that's so important to our Nation's future.

Obviously, we, as Republicans, believe in a strong national defense as the best way that I know of to ensure the peace and to deter war. An adequate military budget with the kind of leadership that we are getting in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines is the best way to ensure our security.

We believe in the control of our affairs at the State and local level—the officials who are the closest to the problems and to the people that they represent. We think this is an infinitely better approach than having things controlled in Washington by a very remote bureaucracy.

But, most importantly, as Republicans, we believe in the freedom of the individual and in retaining that uniqueness of individual responsibility.

I think we are heading rapidly into a very, very important campaign. Next year's election at every level—local, State, as well as national—will be a critical test of our ability to convince a majority of Americans that Republicans care about things that concern most people today, that we are ready to listen to them, that we are prepared to work—and I mean work—our very hardest and to do our very best for them.

It is my sincere hope and my confident belief that if we are successful in getting across the message to the people over and over and over again, 1976 can be a great year for the Republican Party here in Minnesota, as well as throughout the United States. I believe that we can make future years great ones for our country. I have come here to ask for your help in that effort.

I want, obviously, to thank you for what you have done and what you are going to do. I am confident if we make this maximum effort—every one of us—we can share a great Republican victory in 1976.

Together we can make it a banner year. Let's make certain and positive that banner says "Republican."

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:58 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Registry Hotel.

Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center

The President's Remarks at the Dedication of the Center in Pekin, Illinois. August 19, 1975

Thank you very much, Howard Baker, my dear friend Louella, Senator Chuck Percy, Senator Jennings Randolph, Senator Roman Hruska, Governor Walker, my very good and dear friend, Charlie Halleck, and, of course, my long time friend and great helper, Les Arends, Mayor Waldmeier, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

As one of the many, many Americans who knew and loved Everett Dirksen, obviously I am pleased to be in his hometown for the dedication of this great building in his honor.

I wanted to be here in a very special capacity, not as President of the United States, not as a former President of the United States Senate, but as the spokesman for a very exclusive fraternity—minority leaders of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

Washington Star
August 19, 1976
page A 5

Ford, on Midwest Tour, Seeks to Upstage Reagan

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

MINNEAPOLIS — President Ford and his advisers betray little concern about Ronald Reagan's possible Republican presidential nomination challenge next year. But he is not just going to sit around assuming that good things are going to happen to him politically because he's a nice guy.

His political trip that began in Colorado yesterday and winds up with a dedication speech at the Everett M. Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center in Pekin, Ill., today is the beginning of a heavy schedule of political forays that will take him out into the country from Maine to Los Angeles at least once a week between now and the first of November.

If these appearances are any indication, Ford intends to cut the conservative ground from under Reagan. At a White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs in Peoria today he came out strongly for getting government regulation out of the free enterprise system, repeated his preoccupation with defeating inflation, and expressed his confidence that the American economy was coming out of its recession.

"America has weathered the storm both in foreign and domestic affairs," he said, adding that both the American political and economic systems had demonstrated the strength and resilience that made us the freest and strongest nation in the world.

He pledged to use his veto power to hold the line against "inflationary federal spending" and "a growing and unwarranted trend toward federal interference in the free enterprise system."

"Despite all the obstacles that well-meaning government has put in the way, the American system and the American worker continue to provide us with a living standard that is the envy of the entire world."

IN A SPEECH before the National American Legion Convention in Minneapolis a few hours earlier, he came out strongly for maintaining powerful American military posture and threatened to ask an additional $2 or $3 billion for strategic weapons programs in the next fiscal year if there is no real progress in the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the Soviet Union.

At the Iowa state fair in Des Moines he lavishly praised the American farmer and defended his administration's overseas grain sales program as beneficial to the farmer's welfare and as good for the American economy because agricultural exports cut America's trade deficits.

The tour not only gives him a chance to display the straightforward, "aw, shucks," personality that is his strongest personal political asset but it also gives him the opportunity to defend his domestic and international policies, an enormous political advantage to an incumbent president.

FORD WILL STORE UP political credit by addressing Republican fund-raising and other political events in most of the states he will visit in the next few months. On his way home from his vacation at the mountain resort area of Vail, Colo., next weekend, Ford will stop off to dedicate the Libby Dam in Montana, address a hardware dealers convention in Chicago and speak to Republican party functions in Milwaukee. The following weekend he travels to Maine and Rhode Island and possibly New Hampshire. The weekend after that he travels to Oregon, Washington and Sacramento. The first of two trips to California he will make in September.

He began his current trip with the tour of an oil-shale project near Rifle, Colo., before flying on to the state fair here in Des Moines. He then addressed a $1,000-a-plate fund-raising dinner — more than 500 Republicans were invited — which party leaders hoped would help retire the Iowa Republicans' $75,000 debt.

In Minneapolis today, he spoke at a party fund-raising luncheon after his speech to the American Legion convention, and then went on to Pekin for the Dirksen dedication and a question-and-answer session before the regional conference on domestic and economic affairs. On later tours, he will visit St. Louis, Dallas and Los Angeles.

THE WHITE HOUSE contends that only part of these trips is political, and that there is some presidential business that is transacted on them. But it was unable to work out a formula for the current trip. As a result, the national Republican party is picking up the tab for all the trip after the president left the shale project at Rifle. The White House has no estimate yet of the cost of the trip except that operation of the President's plane, "The Spirit of '76" is about $2,500 an hour.

FORD ARRIVED in Iowa the day after the respected Iowa Poll showed that approval of his job rating had soared to 67 percent among Iowa voters compared to only 19 percent who disapproved. This compares to a favorable job rating of 45 percent in the latest Gallup Poll and 38 percent in the August Harris Poll. It represents a dramatic jump from his 52 percent rating in the January Iowa Poll.

Ford got his highest rating in the Iowa Poll from young voters in the 18-to-24 age range, who gave him a 78 percent positive rating compared to only 12 percent negative; he was lowest with farmers, who approved of his job performance by only 56 percent to 36 percent, compared to a 67 to 18 percent favorable rating by town and city voters.

7704001851

Ford

Minneapolis Tribune
August 19, 1976

42

familiar arms-raised salutation to the crowd, which responded with cheers.

Meanwhile, Humphrey, one of those mentioned as a possible opponent of Ford in next year's election, remained at the hotel door shaking hands with those leaving the scene.

The president's major appearance in the Twin Cities will be a speech at 10:30 a.m. today in the Minneapolis Auditorium at the 57th annual convention of the American Legion.

Ford is scheduled to deliver what was being billed by the White House last night as his "toughest foreign policy statement" since he took office a year ago.

However, no one suggested that the main purpose of Ford's visit is anything but political. The state party organization, which has organized a fund-raising effort around the visit, will pay the entire cost — about $6,000.

In an apparent reflection of the president's current popularity here, most of the state's leading Democrats made plans to be present for Ford's arrival at the airport last night. They included Humphrey, Gov. Wendell Anderson, Lt. Gov. Rudy Perpich, Minneapolis Mayor Albert Hofstede and St. Paul Mayor Lawrence Cohen.

U.S. Rep. Tom Hagedorn, a freshman Republican from the Second District, said that a fellow party member suggested to him "This is about as exclusive as a public farm auction."

Charles Slocum, new Republican state chairman, expressed the hope that Ford's visit will be "a real boost to otherwise-sagging Republican spirits," Slocum said. "He has demonstrated a certain honesty, a certain candor, a certain openness that makes Republicans feel better about being Republicans," Slocum said.

Slocum said he feels that state Republicans have a realistic chance next year of regaining the Sixth District "congressional" seat lost in 1974, regaining control of the state Senate after being in the minority for four years, and doubling their 34-member contingent in the 134-member House of Representatives.

"Ford will turn out the 25 percent or 30 percent of the voters — most of them disillusioned Republicans — who stayed at home in 1974 and virtually turned over government to the Democrats," he said.

for his own campaign in 1976. He has separate breakfasts scheduled for this morning at the Hotel Sofitel with 20 Minnesotans who are targets for major contributions to the national party, and with 96 newspaper and broadcasting executives, most of whom have a voice in editorial endorsement of candidates for public office.

7704001861

43

770401186

Ford praises Rocky as teammate

By ROBERT J. DIECKMAN
Staff Writer

President Gerald Ford gave strong endorsement to Vice President Nelson Rockefeller today and indicated he might undertake a Truman-type campaign when he runs for the presidency next year.

The President spoke to about 30 publishers, editors and broadcast executives in a Hotel Sadler in Bloomington. A question-answer session followed his brief talk.

"He was my choice for vice president," Ford said of Rockefeller. "He has performed above my expectations.

"I THINK HE'S a good teammate and I would not like to break up a good team."

There have been anti-Rockefeller remarks within the Republican party, some of them by Ford's campaign manager, but the President himself at least gives the impression of being well satisfied with his vice president.

IN TALKING to the News media executives, Ford spoke of the economy, energy, foreign affairs and politics.

He said if Congress did nothing about energy and spending and continued to interfere with foreign policy, he would consider having the kind of "do nothing" anti-congressional campaign that President Harry Truman waged successfully almost 30 years ago.

"I would hope that would not be necessary," Ford added.

The president said he had gone more than half way to compromise with Congress on the energy issue.

"There's no way you can solve the energy crisis without [illegible] to the cost burden," [illegible].

THE UNITED [illegible] more vulnerable today than it was in 1973 to an oil boycott, the President said.

"It's incomprehensible to me that we can't get down to business," he declared.

In the area of interfering with foreign policy, he referred to congressional action in regard to Turkey and to a negative feeling in

See Rocky, Page 2

St. Paul Dispatch
August 19, 1975

St. Paul Pioneer Press
August 20, 1975

President gibes Anderson on trips

President Gerald Ford took a jab at Gov. Wendell Anderson Tuesday in two appearances before Republican groups.

Officials of the Minnesota GOP have been critical of the governor for traveling, and Ford — obviously primed by state Republican leaders — jabbed in.

"As I was getting off the plane at the Twin Cities International Airport last night an amazing thing happened to me," Ford said. "Somebody asked me how to get to the Capitol in St. Paul.

"What made it so amazing, it was Governor Anderson."

Ford, who recently returned from Europe and is scheduled for a trip to China, told reporters at the Capitol he always has communicated with respect about Ford and the office of President. His comments in the future, he added, will continue to show the respect deserved.

Presidential visit worth $165,000 to state's GOP

By ROBERT J. O'KELLY
Staff Writer

President Gerald Ford helped state Republicans strengthen their treasury Monday and told them they should strengthen the GOP campaign next year by going after independent voters.

Another story on Page 15.

In a day of several brief appearances here, the President was the key factor in the state GOP raising $165,000, according to Charles Slocum, state party chairman.

Ford's visit was described by one of Minnesota's most respected Republicans, Rep. Albert Quie of the 1st District, as the best shot in the arm the Minnesota GOP has had in nine years.

The President made three purely political stops in addition to speaking at the American Legion national convention, and to about 90 publishers, editors and broadcast executives.

He appeared briefly at a meeting with about 20 national Republican contributors at L'Hotel Sofitel, addressed Republicans at the Marriott Inn, and spoke to another GOP group at the Registry Hotel, all in Bloomington.

Independents are becoming more numerous throughout the country, Ford said, and to win next year Republicans should bring independents into the GOP vote column.

Republicans, Ford said, share with independents the desire for a sound economy, jobs, good education, housing and health care, but need justice, and relief from taxes and government intervention.

Republicans at the rally paid $10 each to attend.

The Registry Hotel event was a luncheon for about 300 members of the Elephant Club, which is composed of persons who contribute $500 a year or more to the GOP.

Slocum said Republicans hoped to get $150,000 from the Ford visit, through tickets to the rally and increased Elephant Club memberships. In hand, he said, they received $165,000.

Ford told the Elephant Club that 1976 will be a critical year for the GOP, but added that he is optimistic about the outcome.

He was introduced to Elephant

7704001 1986

45

Minneapolis Star
August 19, 1975

Ford arrival in Cities to be private

President Ford is scheduled to arrive at Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport at about 10 p.m. today for a brief visit.

His arrival will not be open to the public, but there will be press and live television coverage, a spokesman said.

Gov. Wendell Anderson, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Minneapolis Mayor Albert Hofstede, St. Paul Mayor Lawrence Cohen and the President's brother-in-law and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. William Bloomer of Wayzata, are scheduled to greet Ford.

The President will speak at 10:35 a.m. tomorrow at the American Legion's national convention at the Minneapolis Auditorium.

He will leave here tomorrow at about 1:22 p.m. after meeting with Republican officials and others at several gatherings during the day in Bloomington.

The cost of the President's trip, estimated $6,000, will be billed to the Minnesota Republican Party, according to Charles Slocum, state GOP chairman.

7704001486

Variety
August 20, 1975

PRESIDENT: Children see him

Continued from Page 1B

and-white button reading, "Right On, Mr. President!"

"He didn't comment on it," Brown said. "Maybe he didn't see it."

The button was made in Viking colors especially for Brown and given to him to wear by his friend, Henry W. Fisher, manager of the Registry Hotel, where the Elephant Club luncheon was held.

Fisher also wore a button reading, "Vote Gerald Rudolph Ford President 1976." Fisher said he was the first of a bunch made by a friend of his, "Who prefers to remain anonymous," he said.

* * *

Rudy Boschwitz, Republican national committeeman from Minnesota who owns Plywood Minnesota, a firm dealing in building materials, wore a painter's cap for Ford paints to greet the President.

* * *

Betsy MacMillan, whose leg was injured in a ski accident, had her cast autographed by the President. As he signed, he asked where it happened. When she replied, "Aspen," the President said, "It would never happen at Vail." The Ford family skis at Vail, Colo., where the family has a condominium.

* * *

When Colleen McMahon, a waitress in the Registry coffee shop, sang out, "Mr. President, we love you," the President came over and shook hands with her and several of her co-workers.

* * *

The Elephant Club lunch brought out private limousines with chauffeurs and many matriarchs of prominent Minnesota families, including Pillsbury, Whitney and Crington.

State Sen. George Pillsbury, who was master of ceremonies of the lunch, was delighted afterwards by a note he received from one of the women in attendance.

It suggested that Pillsbury remember to "stand up straight and not speak so close to the microphone." It was signed "Mother" and had been written by Mrs. John S. Pillsbury Sr.

* * *

At L'hotel Sofitel earlier yesterday, the Rev. and Mrs. Luther Larson, 8137 Xerxes Av. S., Bloomington, of Oak Hill Lutheran Church, were among those waiting to see the President.

Sharon Larson, 11, recently wrote a letter to the President about a bad dream she had. "I dreamed that the Secret Service men wouldn't let the children see the President," she said. "I said I hoped that wouldn't be true."

Whether her letter had something to do with it or not, children were allowed to line up in front of the waiting crowd.

* * *

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, although a DFLer, is a long-time friend of the President. Humphrey greeted Ford on his arrival Monday night, went to the Sofitel with him and stayed to greet people until about 2 a.m.

Humphrey was back at the [illegible] early yesterday to shake [illegible] hands.

One [illegible] to Dick Da[illegible] youth pastor of First Cove[illegible] Church in [illegible]. "I wa[illegible]

7704001486

Minneapolis Star
August 19, 1975

Ford may ride Congress in '76 race

By BETTY WILSON
and JOHN CALMAN
Minneapolis Star Staff Writers

President Ford strongly hinted to a group of news executives in Bloomington today that what he described as congressional irresponsibility will be his major election-campaign issue next year.

Ford criticized the Democratic-controlled Congress for its failure to set a satisfactory energy policy, and said the decision to retain the arms embargo against Turkey was the most irresponsible act by Congress in 25 years.

The President's remarks were at the first meeting of a hotel Sofitel with about 35 newspaper executives, publishers and broadcast executives from the Midwest. Ford then met with a group of major Republican financial contributors before addressing the national American Legion convention.

The working press was barred from both breakfast meetings today at L'hotel Sofitel. Persons who were at the meetings later said the President spoke candidly and informally.

In addition to his comments about Congress, Ford told the news-executive group that any new military conflict in the Middle East probably would bring a new oil embargo, that he is satisfied with the performance of Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller and that Iowa Gov. Robert Ray, a Republican, is a candidate for interior secretary.

Some persons who attended the meeting said Ford's strongest remarks were about Congress' refusal last month to lift the U.S. arms embargo against Turkey. The embargo was imposed after Turkey used U.S. arms when invading Cyprus last year.

Ford said the continued arms embargo has strained U.S. relations with Turkey and weakened the eastern arm of NATO.

The President added that he believes Turkey will not accept any solution to the Cyprus problem as long as the arms embargo remains.

Ford said he is encouraged by recent developments in the Middle East, and believes Israel and Egypt are close to a settlement of the Sinai problem.

But unless the two nations do reach a settlement, Ford said, there is a potential for military conflict in the Middle East later this year or next. There is a strong likelihood that renewed fighting would prompt the Arab nations to reinstate their oil embargo, he said.

Ford said the United States would be more vulnerable to a new oil embargo than it was to the [illegible] embargo because the nation is importing more oil now than it was [illegible] 1973.

Ford said the nation's inflation rate has slowed from 12 to 14 percent last year to between 6 and 8 percent now, but he said he does not consider an inflation rate of 6 to 8 percent satisfactory.

ROCKEFELLER, Ford said, has performed above expectations and done well in handling all his assignments.

"I don't like to break up

Minneapolis Tribune
August 20, 1975

will be to attract support from independents.

The president said he is "very strongly convinced that the independent voter is ready for a fresh start," a thought he later repeated in a luncheon talk to members of the Elephant Club at the Registry Hotel, Bloomington.

The Elephant Club is made up of a group of Minnesota Republicans who contribute at least $500 a year. State Sen. George Pillsbury co-chairman of the group, said yesterday that the membership has grown from 90 to 230 in the last few weeks, in part because of the Ford visit.

State Republicans also organized a general fund-raising effort around the presidential visit. Charles Slocum, state Republican chairman, said yesterday that in the last three weeks party workers had raised a total of $165,000, $15,000 more than their goal.

This effort pushes the total amount raised by the party so far this year to more than $600,000, which is two-thirds of its goal for the year. Party officials say they need $900,000 to wipe out a $200,000 deficit from the 1974 campaigns, cover on-going costs this year and begin 1976 debt-free.

Slocum, a veteran party worker who was elected chairman in June, said that he is "very high on the way the party has been moving — and Ford's visit couldn't have gone any better."

Ford did take time to do some groundwork for his own campaign in 1976, meeting for breakfast with two separate groups.

One consisted of 18 Minnesotans who are targets for large contributions to the Republican National Committee. They included Kenneth Dahlberg, an electronics executive who was a major fund-raiser for former President Richard Nixon in 1972; Charles Jackson, a vice president of Hoerner Waldorf Corp. and a member of the Republican National Finance Committee; F. Peavey Heffelfinger, director emeritus of the Peavey Co.; Curtis Carlson, Radisson Hotel owner; Donald Dayton, a member of the department-store family; Russell Lund, chairman of Lund's, Inc.; Clinton Morrison, vice president of First National Bank of Minneapolis, and William Bloomer, a Wayzata auto dealer, who is Mrs. Ford's brother.

The other group consisted of 96 midwestern newspaper and broadcasting executives, many of whom have a voice in their organizations' editorial policy and endorsement of candidates. Ford responded to questions on a wide range of topics

GOP, Legionnaires meet commander-in-chief

Visiting Legionnaires, state Republican leaders and ordinary Minnesotans got a chance to see President Ford in the flesh during his visit to Minneapolis Tuesday. Cameras and dark blue overseas caps seemed to be everywhere. At right, a Legion official watched the president acknowledge applause from about 5,000 members at the Minneapolis Auditorium. Behind Ford at left was Sen. Hubert Humphrey, D-Minn. Below, shutters clicked and hands reached as Ford moved into a crowd that greeted him at the Marriott Inn, Bloomington.

49

THE WORLD

American Survey

The Economist
August 23, 1975
page 47-48

Playing it up in Peoria

Peoria, Illinois

If the United States is in trouble, one would never know it from Peoria, Illinois, a showpiece of the heartland. Its unemployment rate is one of the lowest in the country, and its largest industries, a distillery and an agricultural equipment manufacturer, are booming. The people of Peoria—there are 130,000 of them—suffer few of the social ills so common elsewhere.

Similarly, if Mr Gerald Ford has problems there is no evidence of them here. The region's economic prosperity translates into a reaffirmation of its traditional Republicanism, and it is probably one of the strongest pockets of support for the president. With the latest polls, just out this week, emphasising his problems—the Gallup poll showed his national "approval rating" dropping to 45% and the Harris survey showed that 60% disapproved of the way he is doing his job—it was a perfect time for a boost to his ego.

He was not to be disappointed. In nearby Pekin (population 30,000), nearly the entire town turned out to watch the president dedicate a research centre and library in memory of its most famous citizen, Everett Dirksen, the late Republican leader of the United States Senate. The streets were decked out in red, white and blue bunting, and welcoming posters were everywhere. ("We're banking on you, Mr President", said one on the side of a bank.) Brass bands played football songs and the crowd was enthusiastic.

At a regional "White House conference on domestic and economic affairs" in Peoria, where several members of his cabinet had spoken earlier in the day, the president sounded his increasingly familiar conservative theme. There is, he said, "a growing and unwarranted trend toward federal interference—interference in the free enterprise system, interference in state and local government; and, as we are now beginning to discover, even interference in our personal lives. This trend must be reversed—and it will be if I have anything to say about it." He pleaded for public support of his vetoes of congressional spending programmes and for deregulation of the price of natural gas and other scarce fuels. The idea of the "White House conference", one of a series being held around the country, is, as the Administration puts it, "to facilitate genuine two-way dialogue between citizens and their government", and so Mr Ford has accepted questions directly from his carefully selected audience. For the most part, it was delighted with his answers and applauded with special enthusiasm when he clashed with the leader of a black organisation and reiterated his opposition to the use of "forced busing" to integrate the schools.

The visit was purely political—a fact that the White House made no attempt to conceal. Indeed, the expenses of Mr Ford's midwestern foray were paid not from public funds but by the Republican National Committee. His goal, besides boosting his own popularity and prospects for 1976, was to help the party raise more money. The results were mixed. While the president did, as the old political bromide has it, "play in Peoria", elsewhere this was not so certain. Addressing the Iowa state fair in Ames, he stumbled so clumsily through a long, prepared text that his listeners began drifting off to the amusement park. In Minneapolis, as long as Mr Ford was at fund raising functions for the wealthy Republican faithful, he was well received; but elsewhere the crowds were lukewarm.

It was barely a year ago that Mr Ford, newly installed as Mr Nixon's successor, shocked the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars by calling for a limited programme of amnesty for those who had refused the call to fight in the unpopular Vietnam war. But now Mr Ford is on the defensive with the right wing of his own party and so during the main event of this trip, his speech to the American Legion convention in Minneapolis, there was none of that. He commended the Legion, an ex-servicemen's organisation, for "its constant patriotism in peace as well as in war" and struck some patriotic notes of his own.

Wearing a Legion cap—the president is a member of the lodge in his home town of Grand Rapids, Michigan—Mr Ford said he was worried over "the cracks now appearing in the foundations of essential national unity on defence and foreign policy" and suggested that the disappearance of a national consensus on that policy would cripple "the role of the United States as the champion of freedom and peace throughout the world". He defended his and Mr Henry Kissinger's policy of detente with the Soviet Union, but said he would not accept "peace at any price". Detente, he insisted, "means the preservation of fundamental American principles, not their sacrifice". He drew his biggest applause from the legionnaires when he

77040186?

50

...e warning that congressional investi...ions of the American intelligence community might jeopardise necessary operations and when he promised to ...sist all major cuts in the defence bud... In fact, he said, unless the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Russians progressed satisfactorily, he would seek an increase of $3 billion in defence spending over the next two years.

One person who showed little enthusiasm for the president's remarks, as he sat only a few feet away from Mr Ford on the platform at the American Legion convention, was Senator Hubert Humphrey. Minnesota is Mr Humphrey's home territory, and the side show during the president's visit was the little minuet between the two men. Wherever Mr Ford went in Minnesota, the senator was there to greet him, and late at night Mr Humphrey dropped in at the press room in the president's hotel to see whether the reporters needed any help or had any questions for him. The result was an informal two hour political chat during which Mr Humphrey, increasingly mentioned as the man who could unite the divided Democrats in 1976, sounded like someone who wants to throw his hat into the ring once again. The prospects of a Ford-Humphrey contest were, in one regard, chilling for a public and press weary of politics as usual. Mr Humphrey is notorious as an indefatigable talker. And Mr Ford, for his own part, demonstrated his stamina by giving seven separate speeches in one day on the hustings.

DATES OF TRIP: August 24, 1975- August 25, 1975

TO: Northwestern, Montana; Chicago, Illinois and Milwaukee, Wisconsin

AGENDA: August 24th

1:58 p.m. - Remarks at Dedication of Dam (Northwestern)
9:25 p.m. - Remarks at Yacht Championship

August 25th - Dinner (Chicago)

9:37 a.m. - Remarks to American Hardware Manufacturers Association Convention (Chicago)
4:30 p.m. - Remarks and Question Period at White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs (Milwaukee)
3:00 p.m. - Remarks on live, local TV interview (Milwaukee)
7:10 p.m. - Remarks to reporters at airport (Milwaukee)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE INCLUDED:

Washington Star - August 25th; p. A3

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT INCLUDED:

Remarks on TV interview,- August 25th; (Milwaukee)

7704071851

stand why military hardware can't be shipped from Great Lakes ports to wherever the destination is.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. And we will see what we can do about it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Pfister Hotel, after being introduced by William J. Baroody, Jr., Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The President's Interview With John McCullough of WTMJ-TV, Ron Scott of WISN-TV, and Carl Zimmerman of WITI-TV, Broadcast Live on Local Television. August 25, 1975

THE ECONOMY

MR. SCOTT. Mr. President, first of all, once again, welcome to Milwaukee for this, the seventh of the White House Conferences. I know the economy is on the minds of just about everybody in the country right now, and since we are a little bit in advance of your appearance this afternoon, could you give us any kind of a preview of the message of hope you will bring to the people?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say, Ron, that overall we have made very substantial headway in cutting inflation from last year's rate of about 14 percent down to an annual rate today of between 6 and 7 percent. This is a lot of progress, and we are going to continue making progress, in my judgment, despite the last announcement which was a little disappointing, but I think that was for various reasons a unique report in the overall approach to solving the problem of inflation.

In the area of unemployment, we, of course, are very much against any unemployment rate of about 8.5, 8.6—too much—but I think we have to be also fair to say that in the last 4 months the total number of people gainfully employed has gone up about 1,200 thousand.

As long as we keep the number of employed going up, we are going to be able to gradually reduce the number of people unemployed. Now, as we look at the overall indicators—the gross national product, industrial purchases, housing starts, and other indicators—I am convinced that we have bottomed out and we are starting an uphill approach to a better economic system, a better economic environment and some encouraging news for all people.

Q. I gather from your statements in Chicago earlier this morning you are not exactly pleased with the speed of that upward swing?

THE PRESIDENT. As a matter of fact, it is reasonably on schedule—some disappointments, but, overall, I think we are moving ahead in a constructive way. It doesn't mean, however, that we are satisfied with the current unemployment rate. And we are not satisfied with the increase in the cost of living. But if you look at the overall, the kind of progress we have made in the last 12 months, we are doing quite a bit better. I am sure with the policies we have, with the cooperation of the Congress, we are going to have a healthy economic situation on a growing basis in the months ahead.

Q. We are working sort of a tightrope in our economy right now.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. We can't overheat the economy, of course. There is a current tax cut on the books now which ends the end of this year. Do you see a further tax cut next year?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a decision that I will have to make and the Congress will have to make. I think it is a little premature to make a final decision. If we need a further stimulant in the economy beginning on January 1, 1976, then I would recommend that the current tax cut be extended for another year. On the other hand, if we have to keep some additional pressure on inflation, then the judgment most likely would be otherwise.

So until we get several more months of readings from the economists and all of the technicians, I think it is premature to make any categorical commitment.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Mr. President, the opening remarks made at this morning's conference whereby the AFL-CIO leader of the State, and he was very critical of your Administration, particularly, for what he said—what he indicated was a callous disregard for the unemployed, saying that there is a 35 percent unemployment rate among the skilled trades here. What would you say if you were speaking to an unemployed worker in Milwaukee today?

THE PRESIDENT. I noticed the newspaper story where the gentleman was quite critical. I think he indicated that the rate of inflation when a Republican Administration took over was about 4½ percent, where the unemployment rate was about 5 percent, saying that when Republicans took over from the Democrats, conditions were good, unemployment was down, and inflation was less.

I think it is fair to say that you ought to put those figures in perspective. In 1969, when a Republican Administration took over from a Democratic Administration, we had 550,000 young men fighting in Korea [Vietnam], and we had a military force on active duty of over three million men.

Today, of course, we have nobody fighting in Vietnam, and we have about 2,100,000 on active duty in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

So, I think you have to put all of these factors in perspective. I hope, with the policies that we are following,

we are going to get unemployment down, employment up, and the rate of inflation under control.

I think it is a very unfair criticism to say that I have a callous disregard for the unemployed. This Administration, during my 12 months, has recommended the extension of unemployment compensation from 39 weeks to now 65 weeks.

We have broadened the eligibility so more people are covered under unemployment compensation. I think this is an indication that I and the people that work with me are very concerned about the unemployed, but more importantly, the policies that we are advocating and urging Congress to enact, in my opinion, would get our economy moving again without any difficulties internationally.

Q. This morning in Chicago you indicated that perhaps there should be a creation of many more jobs by 1980. Will there be some legislation coming from the Administration to do that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, all of the technicians tell me that if we are to create more jobs, we have to get more money invested in business because business buys the equipment, provides the factory, and provides the wherewithal for the expansion of business throughout the United States.

Secretary Simon recently appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means and indicated that we favored new legislation for the creation of funds for job formation, job creation. That legislation is before the Congress. I hope they act affirmatively.

SITUS PICKETING LEGISLATION

Q. Mr. President, one of the job bills or one of the bills that the construction industry here in the State of Wisconsin is vitally interested in is Senate bill 1479, which many of the contractors seem to feel would provide for an illegal secondary boycott. There have been some direct appeals, I know, to your office on 1479. Have you reviewed the bill? Have you made any kind of decision as to whether you will veto that bill or let it go by?

THE PRESIDENT. About 3 months ago, Secretary of Labor Dunlop appeared before the House and Senate Committees on Education and Welfare, and he testified that if the original so-called situs picketing bill were modified with three amendments—at least two amendments—it would be acceptable.

One of those amendments would provide that before you could have on-site picketing, it would require a 10-day cooling off period.

The second provision that would be mandatory as a part of the bill would be that no local could go on strike under those conditions without having gotten prior approval from the international.

Now, in my opinion, those two added amendments would make that bill acceptable, plus one other factor: There is also a bill that the Secretary of Labor is working on, with both management and labor, which in effect provides that there shall be greater responsibility for both labor and management on strikes and lockouts.

If that second bill comes to the White House with the original bill, plus those two amendments, then I think we have put together, working with management and labor and the Congress, an acceptable solution to this long-standing conflict.

CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

Q. Mr. President, I have sort of a philosophical question here, I guess you'd say. We hear from a lot of people at a television station, the three of us do, and we seem to feel that the people seem to feel that government is getting so big and impersonal and unresponsive, there is a frustration there, even a hopelessness. How can we come out of this? How can we bring people closer to their Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I recognize the feeling that you detect here in Milwaukee, and I find it in my travels around the country. The public feels they have to fill out too many forms, answer too many questionnaires, they are bedeviled by too many Government inspectors, et cetera, and I suspect that is true.

What I think we have to do is to reduce the number of forms that people in business and otherwise have to fill out. It is hard to believe, but there are about 5,200 forms that are sent out by various Government agencies. I think that is too many. It takes more time than the effort is worth. I believe that some Federal employees are too officious, too demanding. I think that attitude has to change.

In addition, I personally believe there are too many Federal employees, and I am glad to report that the request I made to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget that we had to cut down on the number of employees resulted in a cutback of 52,000 from the planned level. So, we now have 52,000 less Federal employees than was planned a year ago.

In these ways, I think we can restore or rebuild confidence, at least in the Federal Government, and I honestly feel that State and local units of government have to adopt the same attitude.

RELATIONS WITH THE CONGRESS

Q. I think one thing that worries them, too, is they see a Democratic Congress, a Republican Administration, and on our major issues, we have stalemates now. Do you see any way out of this?

THE PRESIDENT. I wish I could give you a pat answer. Unfortunately, in some areas there is good cooperation, but in other areas we have a stalemate.

In the energy program, there is a head-to-head stalemate. I have a program to solve our energy program. It has been on the desk of the Congress for 8 months now, but no action.

I said, if you don't buy my program, if you won't enact what I have recommended, come up with something else. At least, have a program as an alternative.

Regrettably, they have not either approved mine and they have not come up with an alternative. Now that kind of a stalemate is intolerable. I tried to phase out the control of old American oil by first a 30-month phaseout and then a 39-month phaseout in an effort to compromise, but the Congress rejected both offers.

I honestly think we have got to find some way. Otherwise, if we don't have an energy program to make us self-sufficient over the next 10 years, we become more and more vulnerable every day to the whims and fancies of foreign oil cartels, and that is not good for the security of the United States.

The Middle East

Q. Mr. President, Secretary Kissinger is in the Mideast and reportedly very close to working out an agreement in the Sinai between Israel and Egypt that may include the stationing of Americans between the two forces. Do you find that there may be some sort of a backlash if that were attempted from either Congress or the American people?

The President. What I say in answer to that question, I don't want to be construed as an affirmation that that is going to happen. There have been rumors in the newspapers, and I have heard it on radio and television, so what I say does not confirm or deny that as a possibility.

There has been talk that there would be American civilians, very limited in number, who would operate technical warning stations in a U.N. zone. As I say, that has not been decided. It has been rumored.

If it does materialize, I think it is my responsibility, if I approve it and it does take place, to submit it to the Congress for the Congress to say yes or no.

We aren't going to have any more action by the President not joined by the Congress. They have to be a partner in this kind of an operation if it does materialize.

When I say "a very limited number," I am thinking maybe 100, 150, as I have read the papers, and they would all be civilians and they would be in a U.N. zone, not with the Israelis, not with the Egyptians.

So if it happens, I would ask for the concurrence of the House and the Senate because it is a very important step, and then we will decide whether it is necessary, whether America wants to make that contribution to our security in the Middle East.

Q. Yes, but they would be American citizens there, and were there a problem of kidnaping, as the *Mayaguez* incident, or something like that, American forces would have to go in to get them out. Is that a proper assumption?

The President. Well, I really don't want to get into those details. You can always conjure up some very serious situation. But until we get down to the final signing, I think it is premature for me to make any assumption or conjecture concerning that situation developing.

The Republican Presidential Nomination

Q. Mr. President, let's talk politics for a minute. *[Laughter]* I know it is one of your favorite topics. While you obviously will take back some interesting grassroots feedback from a conference like this, a trip like this has to have some political advantage, too, I suppose. Are you heartened by the Harris poll which now is out that I think shows you with a 55 to 34 edge over Governor Reagan, or former Governor Reagan? Do you feel good about your political position right now?

The President. I do feel encouraged, and that poll this morning that came out in a number of newspapers was very good news. But that only means that what we have tried to do does have some appeal, and I can only say that what we do in the future is more the basic criteria.

Naturally, I do want to get nominated, and I can assure you, if nominated, then we are going to put on a very hard campaign, so that news is good, but we've got what, about 14 months to go before the election and about a year before the convention.

Q. By the time the primaries roll around though, I am assuming we will see you on the Wisconsin ballot?

The President. The probability is that I will enter a number of primaries. Which ones is difficult to forecast right at the moment.

I love a good political campaign. I like to campaign, but I think it is too early for us to make any categorical commitment as to which primaries or all of the primaries.

Détente

Q. Back to an international issue, Mr. President, the continuation of détente with Russia under your Administration has been criticized that Russia has the advantage in this. How do you look at that?

The President. I categorically deny that. Détente as it has proceeded is a two-way street. It can't answer every question that arises in the international scene, but détente has been very helpful in easing and relaxing tensions between the Soviet Union and ourselves.

In my judgment, there has been a balanced give-and-take by the Soviet Union and by ourselves. I can assure you that in the process of negotiating the strategic arms limitation agreement number two, there will be no unfair advantage gained by either side.

It has to be a completely fair and equitable reduction in strategic nuclear capabilities, but it is also important to understand that if we don't get a SALT II agreement, it means that the arms race continues, that we, the United States, will have to spend roughly $2 billion to $3 billion more a year to keep even with the Soviet Union in their planned strategic arms program.

So, it is to the advantage of both sides, the Soviet Union and ourselves to put a cap on the nuclear arms race, as Mr. Brezhnev and I did on a temporary basis at Vladivostok in December of last year.

7704011187

I can assure you that we will be tough Yankee traders, and I expect them to do the same. The net result will be a responsible cap on the nuclear arms race. If we do that, it makes our overall economic picture, our overall budget picture, a great deal sounder and better.

Arms Limitation

Q. On arms limitation, how do you look at it right now? Can we be optimistic, pessimistic? We have worked on it so long.

The President. I am optimistic, but I recognize there are some yet controversial issues and some technical matters that will satisfy both sides. We have to be able to have a high degree of capability of verification as to whether or not the Soviet Union is living up to the promises made if and when a SALT II agreement is made.

We have a tremendous technical capability in this regard, through a variety of means. I am sure they feel the same way.

But if the technical problems of verification, if other matters of balance are worked out—and I think it is possible—I think we will have a SALT II agreement.

Mrs. Ford

Q. Mr. President, there have been many things written and said across the country and here in Milwaukee about some recent viewpoints expressed by Mrs. Ford. You are quoted as saying that you think perhaps those remarks may have cost you some votes or something. What kind of an effect has that had, sir?

The President. Well, those remarks to which you refer, I said kidding her. She's got a good sense of humor, and she understood that my remarks were in that atmosphere.

Let me just again put this in proper perspective. Our family—my wife, our four children and myself—are very close. We have a tradition in the family of individual members of the family speaking their mind, discussing matters with their children, with their mother or father, and we speaking quite frankly to our children.

The family is closely knit. We have great affection and admiration for one another, and certainly I couldn't have had a finer marriage. My wife and I have been married almost 27 years now, I guess, and we have a minimum of differences, but we have a frank expression between ourselves.

Now, what Betty was really trying to say was, because of the closeness of our family and the understanding between children and parents, we are deeply concerned about the moral standards by which the family has been raised.

In that atmosphere, her discussions with any one of the four children are aimed at making sure—positive—that the moral standards that we have lived by and believe in are adhered to.

I think there unfortunately has been a misunderstanding. We are proud of the family. We think we have a high moral standard within the family. And we are close as a family, and, at the same time, we have a give-and-take among the children as well as among ourselves.

So, I am real proud of what Betty tried to say, and I regret there might have been some misunderstanding of what she did say.

TV Interviews

Q. This is the first appearance that you have made on local television in this kind of an interview, and one of your aides is quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying you are doing this because you are dynamite on television. [*Laughter*] Do you feel you are dynamite?

The President. Well, I am not the best judge of that. [*Laughter*] I just like to meet with people like yourselves and try to explain my views, our policies, and I enjoy the opportunity to have a give-and-take with top newsmen in a region like Milwaukee.

White House Conferences

Q. We have been addressing ourselves mostly to the "give" here during our meeting. I wonder if you could give us an idea, Mr. President, of what you hope to take back to Washington with you from Wisconsin?

The President. Well, this White House Conference, as I understand it, has 17 [19] cosponsoring organizations. I hope to answer a question from each one of the 19. If I do, I will get a flavor of what these organizations feel about our policies or what we are trying to do.

I am sure I will get, as I have in the past, written reports from all the other conferences. So, I am not going to prejudge until I have participated, until I have seen the written reports from those that have participated.

Food Prices

Q. One of the groups that you are likely to hear from will be the consumers. And your Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Butz, this morning assured us the farmer was doing his part to hold food prices down, but that there are almost uncontrollable costs in terms of labor and transportation and middleman costs. Do you plan any kind of direct action, legislative action to try to control that kind of price pressure?

The President. I think competition is the best way to solve that. The farmers have contributed magnificently. With their full production program, we are going to have the biggest wheat year in the history of the United States, the largest corn year, and I think soybeans will also be a record crop.

So, the farmers have contributed. I hope that others that take the farm product from the farm to the home will equally contribute to make good food in America, delivered as cheaply as possible.

Michigan-Wisconsin Football Game

Q. Mr. President, your Michigan Wolverines are coming here to Wisconsin. They are opening our season with the Badgers. Do you want to predict the outcome of that game? We would like to win the first one and start it off right.

The President. I know that Wisconsin, the Badgers, would love to win. It brings back a game, the only game I played against Wisconsin—1934—and they defeated us at Ann Arbor. That rivalry is great. I am a little prejudiced for those Wolverines, but I think it will be a great game, and I understand the Badgers are going to be tougher this year. So——

Q. They smell the roses.

The President. ——we better be a little cautious and go to work between now and then.

Q. Come see the game.

The President. I would love to, love to.

Vice President Rockefeller

Q. Mr. President, a North Carolina Republican chairman said last night that he felt there was a consensus of the Southern Republican leaders in the meeting over the weekend that Mr. Rockefeller should not be on the ticket in '76. Does that give you any cause for concern? Will you be talking about that with the Republican leaders of the State later on this afternoon?

The President. I will express, as I have before, that I think Nelson Rockefeller has done an extraordinarily good job as Vice President. He has lived up to my expectations, he works hard, he has got a lot of ideas, he has a lot of energy, he has been a good teammate. And you know I just do not like to break up a good team.

Ronald Reagan

Q. The meeting that you have with the Republican leaders later on perhaps will bring up some conservative sentiment. There is some in Wisconsin. Do you anticipate any questions about perhaps Mr. Reagan challenging in the State?

The President. Of course, I think I am a middle-of-the-roader or a conservative, and I am a practical conservative with, I think, a good orientation toward the solution of problems in the international field.

I will be glad to answer any questions the most conservative people want to ask because I am a practical conservative with a middle-of-the-road orientation. I think that is the only way a Republican can win a national election.

Q. Mr. President, our time is just about up. We want to thank you for being with us this afternoon and answering our questions. Thank you very much, sir.

The President. Thank you, Ron and John. I appreciate it very much. It has been a good experience.

Reporter. Thank you, Mr. President.

Note: The interview began at 3 p.m. at the Pfister Hotel.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The President's Remarks to Reporters at General Mitchell Field at the Conclusion of His Visit to Milwaukee. August 25, 1975

The President. Well, it has been a really great day with a wide variety of activities that I think have been very constructive. I leave Milwaukee with great memories, and I think a good dialog between the White House people, the Cabinet, and myself with the people of Milwaukee, and the opportunity to have this dialog, I am most appreciative of.

Q. What happened at your meeting with Republican leaders in Wisconsin, Mr. President?

The President. We talked about how we hope to increase the Republican contribution in the political arena in the State of Wisconsin. I think we can. We've got good leadership, we've got good people, and I think the Republican Party can be a stronger factor in the two-party system in the State of Wisconsin.

Q. Mr. President, how influential is this type of conference in making your decisions?

The President. They are very helpful. We had 19 organizations representing a wide variety of political and sociological views. It is helpful not only to my Cabinet and my top administrative people but it is important to me to get the kind of questions they ask, the suggestions they make. Too often I think Administrations in the past have listened only to the lobbyists in Washington. What we are trying to do with these various White House Conferences around the country is to get the American people from all walks of life to make constructive suggestions and recommendations. I can assure you we listen to them.

Q. Of all the suggestions today, what one particularly impressed you?

The President. I don't think I ought to discriminate against those of one kind or praise others. They were all good, and we will make an honest effort to evaluate their recommendations and hopefully come up with some answers that will satisfy people not only in Milwaukee but elsewhere throughout the country.

Thank you very much, everybody. It's nice to see you all.

Reporter. Thank you, Mr. President.

Note: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m.

Women's Equality Day, 1975

Message of the President. August 26, 1975

The celebration of Women's Equality Day reminds us of how much more needs to be done to make equal opportunity a reality in our national life. Last year the United States joined with nations around the world in proclaim-

Ford Ends Vacation On Stump

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

CHICAGO — It was officially billed as a two-week vacation for President Ford, but the White House would have been more accurate in calling it a campaign swing.

Ford is running hard for an elected term as president, and even though the 1976 election is more than 14 months away, he was not about to spend 14 days idly.

So he campaigned — vigorously. He appeared at a state fair. He spoke to business and patriotic groups. He met with Republican leaders. He dedicated a dam, inspected an oil-shale installation and visited a Vietnamese refugee camp.

IN BETWEEN these activities, he found time to rest and play golf in Vail, Colo., where he owns a condominium. Relaxation, however, seemed to be of secondary importance; politics was first.

To wind up his so-called vacation, the President was to whirl today through a series of appearances here and in Milwaukee. He is scheduled to return to Washington about 9:00 o'clock tonight.

As Ford's other recent appearances outside Washington, the White House is wary of admitting that they are aimed to bolstering the president's chances in 1976.

His speeches today in a convention of hardware manufacturers here and to a White House-sponsored conference of business and civic leaders in Milwaukee were presidential addresses, not political ones, according to the White House.

AND THE 30-MINUTE interview which Ford was to grant today to three television news anchormen in Milwaukee — the first of many interviews by local TV newsmen that Ford will be giving — was also nonpolitical, the White House said.

But the political nature of his trip was evident in his remarks prepared for delivery to the hardware group in Chicago. In the speech, Ford stressed some of the pro-business, anti-big government themes on which he is basing his campaign for a full term in the White House.

American business, he said, must be freed from the claw of oppressive government regulation. "In many industries — transportation, energy, communications, and in others — federal regulatory commissions have thwarted competition," Ford declared.

"THESE BUREAUCRATIC monopolies have tangled business in conflicting policies and red tape too long," he said. "They have burdened the consumer with the costs of misdirected regulation." Ford asserted that "one of the goals I have set for myself as President is to cut big government down to size — to make it more manageable, more responsive, more efficient — and less costly.

"I want to put an end to the mountain of paperwork and the quicksand of regulation which big government makes every American businessman cope with," he said.

"My objective is to get the federal government as far out of your business, out of your lives, out of your pockets and out of your hair as I can," he told the hardware manufacturers.

Noting that businessmen are inundated with government forms to fill out, the President said he wants "to

See FORD, A-8

7704041871

57

Washington Star
August 25, 1975
page A 3

58

DATE OF TRIP: August 30, 1975

TO: Augusta and Portland, Maine; Warwick and Newport, Rhode Island

AGENDA: September 30, 1975

10:10 a.m. - Remarks at AFL-CIO Program (Augusta)
2:17 p.m. - Remarks at Republican Fundraising Luncheon (Portland)
4:07 p.m. - Remarks to Reporters at Airport (Warwick)
9:15 p.m. - Remarks at interview with TV reporters (Newport)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Providence Journal - August 30
Providence Journal - August 31
Providence Journal - September 4
Washington Star-News - October 12

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Remarks to Reporters at Airport (Warwick)
Remarks at interview with TV reporters (Newport)

7704187

principal concerns of me as well as Bill and Dave and the Congress.

You know the danger of being at the mercy of some force beyond our control. And in this case, in energy, it the Middle East, the OPEC nations.

I think you understand first-hand the inconvenience, the uncertainty, even the suffering that that kind of a situation can create, where somebody can turn a spigot off in the Middle East and we could be in dire trouble.

And you also know the system—if I might change the subject—that the system of checks and balances which this Nation's founders wrote into the Constitution 200 years ago wasn't designed as a roadblock to progress.

When I said a year ago that I wanted a good marriage with the Congress, I meant it, and I still believe it. But a good marriage requires the best efforts of both partners to make it work. It requires compromise, it requires moderation in meeting the problems and the challenges in a marriage or in the relationship between the White House and Capitol Hill.

I must say that so far I have seen little compromise and less moderation in the policies and the legislative proposals of the Democratic Congress that was sworn in in January of this year.

What we as a nation need—and I say this with the deepest sincerity and the strongest conviction that I have—what we need is more of the politics of cooperation, not the politics of confromation. What we need is to carve out solutions so that our problems can be solved. We shouldn't confront just to get political issues for partisan purposes.

It is my judgment that the American people want action—not debate, not delay. They want a responsive Government committed to responsible progress. That is exactly what we in the Republican Party are prepared to offer the American people. Perhaps more than at any time in our Nation's history, our party's principles and its objectives match the hopes and the aspirations of the American people. Our Republican commitment to fiscal responsibility in government, to a vigorous free enterprise system, to a strong national defense, one second to none, to local control over local matters, and to personal freedom for the individual—these are commitments shared by the vast majority of the American people, and I am sure down Easterners.

Let's open, as I see it, the party's door to all Americans who happen to believe as we do the principles that I just set forth, rather than opening that door just a crack for a very limited few. Let's work together for a common victory rather than working against each other for a sure defeat.

The victory we seek as Republicans is not just a Republican victory. It is one we can share easily and properly with all the people of Maine and with all Americans. It can be a victory of action over apathy, decisiveness over delay, confidence over confusion. It can be a victory of responsive, responsible government that sees to people's needs but does not order people's lives.

This is the kind of victory that we can work for, we are working for, the kind of a victory that will make the next 4 years the best 4 years for peace, tranquility, domestic progress, and a renewal of the hopes and the aspirations of all that came before us and for the betterment of all that follow.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:17 p.m. at the Holiday Inn.

Warwick, Rhode Island

The President's Remarks to Reporters Upon Arrival at Theodore Francis Green Airport, August 30, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. I spent 5 years here when I was a few years younger. So, I know New England very well. I know a good many people up here. I love the country, and I think I am a good candidate.

Q. They say your oil policy doesn't make you a friend of New England.

THE PRESIDENT. We have to integrate New England's oil policy with the overall policy of the United States. It is more important to New England that we have a good energy policy than it is any other part of the United States.

What we are seeking to do is to find an energy policy that will solve it for New England and solve it for the United States as a whole. We cannot be dependent on foreign oil sources, and we are working with the Congress—and I hope they will work with me—to try and achieve this oil——

Q. Do you think you have found that policy yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We are working hard at it.

Q. Is there anything new on the decontrol of oil?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we had a very good meeting yesterday with Senator Mansfield and Speaker Carl Albert, and we have laid out a plan that—if they can produce the votes, I think we will find an answer.

Q. Many of the Congressional leaders are very uneasy about the possibility of American civilians going to the Middle East and essentially being the glue to secure the peace there. What is going to be your answer to them and to their objections fearing another Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. If there are a limited number of American civilians who would go to the Middle East, they would go in the area controlled by the United Nations, and they would be there in a noncombat capacity, acting as technicians.

The final decision has not been made, but I can assure you that they will be civilians if they go. They will be tech-

nicians, not military personnel, and they will be in a U.N. zone.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any message for the State with the highest unemployment rate in the country right here?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think we are making some headway. In the last 6 months, we have had about an increase of 1,200,000 in employment throughout the United States. We are gradually edging down the unemployment throughout the United States. It is slow, but, more importantly, we are doing it the right way as we try to achieve success against inflation.

Q. But it is not going down here, sir. It is going up.

THE PRESIDENT. I think you will find that it will go down.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:07 p.m.

Newport, Rhode Island

The President's Interview With Arthur Alpert, Sara Wye, and Jack Kavanagh of Providence Station WJAR-TV. August 30, 1975

SARA WYE. What you are about to see is a weekly public affairs program we at WJAR normally call "10 News Conference." Because of the stature of our guest, we have expanded the format and produced this special edition, which is being shared with 12 television stations throughout New England. All of you are most welcome.

Our guest is President Gerald Ford, who promised when he came into office a year ago to bring a new openness and accessibility to the White House. His presence in this unusual sort of regional format indicates he is making that effort.

Mr. President, welcome.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you. It is a pleasure to be on the program, Sara.

QUESTIONS

DECONTROL OF OIL PRICES

Q. Thank you. Asking the questions along with me tonight will be Jack Kavanagh of the WJAR news staff and Arthur Alpert, news director of WJAR Radio and TV.

I think one of the subjects you will be hearing a lot about in this discussion in the next half hour is energy. Obviously, it is heavily on the minds of most people in the country and, certainly, those of us in New England. Until Friday we were braced for a massive increase in domestic crude oil because of your decision to veto the Congressional extension of price controls. You have since changed your mind about decontrol, and you are suggesting perhaps a 60-day extension and gradual decontrol. What went into the decision to change your mind?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think first, Sara, you have to understand that the United States, our country, has a serious energy crisis. Actually, the energy crisis in New England is more serious than it is in any other part of the country, primarily because New England is more dependent on foreign oil than any other part of the United States.

So, unless we solve the energy problem for the United States and unless we make ourselves more free of foreign oil imports, New England is going to be in more and more trouble.

Now, in January I submitted to the Congress a comprehensive energy program for a 10-year period, and we made some exceptions as far as New England was concerned, recognizing the vulnerability of New England.

I had hoped that the Congress would act on a comprehensive plan, either the one I submitted or the one that they might put together. Unfortunately, Congress has not acted.

So, after attempting to decontrol on a phased basis on two occasions—one over a 30-month period with an increase in old oil, so to speak, at a rate of about 3 percent per month—the Congress turned that down.

Then I made another effort of compromise and conciliation, making it a 39-month phased decontrol program. The Congress turned that down.

Under those circumstances, I had no alternative but to say: Unless you act, we are going to decontrol all old oil, all domestic old oil. Well, I think at least the leadership in the Congress—Senator Mansfield and Speaker Albert—recognized that was not the right answer.

So, we had a meeting on Friday, and I said that I would hold off the veto until they could get their troops together and come up and agree to the phased program that I submitted about a month ago.

Q. So, what you are saying is that you never were in favor of immediate and sudden decontrol?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I proposed two examples of phased decontrol, one a 30-month, another a 39, but the Congress turned both down. So, in order to try and avoid an abrupt end, I agreed to resubmit a 39-month phased decontrol program, and, hopefully, the majority party leadership will be able to work with the Republicans in the House and get a phased program over a 39-month period.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Mr. President, the controls have to come off eventually, but New England will have to bear the brunt of those controls because we have such problems with energy, because our economy is in such bad shape right now. What do you say to the people who are unemployed here, who have to bear up under this energy crisis, or is the

Federal Government going to make any kind of a specific commitment to New England to help us bail out of this situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Over the last 3 or 4 months, I have made exceptions as far as New England is concerned. In the first imposition of the import levy, it had no effect on New England, it had an effect on the rest of the United States. When I put the second dollar on to try and prod Congress to do something, the second dollar only affected New England to—I think it was 60 cents a barrel.

So, I've tried to recognize the needs, the problems that exist in New England. As I said at the outset, New England has a greater need for a comprehensive solution to the energy problem than any other part of the United States.

So, what I have tried to do is to make exceptions for New England and at the same time get the Congress moving to enact an energy program that would solve the problem not only in the short haul but the long pull. Now, in the interim, while we have this unfortunate unemployment—and we do have more unemployment, not only in New England but elsewhere, than I certainly want—we have done a number of things. For example, we have extended the unemployment payments from 39 weeks to 65 weeks. We have broadened the coverage so that 12 million more people are covered under unemployment. I recommended, and the Congress approved about $450 million for the Summer Youth Program so that young people this past summer would be gainfully employed.

We have done a great deal with what they call public service employment. I recommended about $2 billion for that program. And I was talking to the mayor of Providence today, and he says it has been a very helpful program in that city. We have also tried to expedite some public works projects. I made available a $2 billion allocation for highway construction, which has been used in many, many States and, I presume, here in Rhode Island.

We have, for example, been trying to get some local projects going. I talked to the mayor of Providence today coming down here about a $32 million Federal building in the city of Providence. I am going to give it some personal attention when I get back to Washington. I think that kind of a project could be very helpful.

So, as we try to push forward for an energy program, which is what we need over the long haul, we are trying to take care of individual geographical problems.

Q. And yet, while we are working on it, the unemployment rate in this State here is about 16 percent, 12 percent in Massachusetts, 11 percent throughout New England. Is it possible for the Federal Government to redirect some of its major installations, relocate them, transfer them here, create new ones here? After 1972, when military bases were closed in New Hampshire, in Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, the economies were hit very, very hard.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course I am deeply concerned about the unemployment problem, not only in Rhode Island but Massachusetts and the 48 other States. But we have to try and rebuild the economy from an inflation-ridden economy of a year ago to one that is solidly based so that over the next few months when we get better employment—as we are at the present time overall—we are not going to have a reigniting of inflation like we had a year ago.

So, we will do all we can through public works, through unemployment insurance, through public service employment, summer youth employment, in order to meet the unique circumstances of a particular State. But the basic way to solve our unemployment, whether it is Rhode Island or 49 other States, is to get a healthy private sector economy. And we can do that through some tax proposals that I have recommended and some of the other legislation which we will be submitting shortly.

INFLATION

Q. Mr. President, Andrew Brimmer, who used to be a Governor of the Federal Reserve and who is a fiscal conservative, said—well, I think he disagrees with you. He says that next year, thanks to the Project Independence, your energy policy, thanks to grain sales, there will be 6- to 7-percent inflation, but he says there is no chance really that excess demand will push the inflation higher. And he says now you can do it, now you can lower interest rates, now you can provide jobs by encouraging the economy without the danger of inflation. Have you considered that and talked about that with Arthur Burns?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, I am sure you recognize I don't control interest rates. Those are basically controlled by several factors—one, the Federal Reserve Board.

I have talked to Mr. Arthur Burns, and we have what I think are appropriate as well as private conversations. He is cognizant of the need of an adequate supply of money, and he is very cognizant of the problem of higher interest rates.

Now, at the same time, I think you have to recognize that if the Federal deficit goes beyond my $60 billion deficit—and, unfortunately, the Congress is spending more money than I think they should—that will contribute significantly to higher interest rates and a shorter supply of money available in the private sector.

So, we have to control the Federal deficit. Sixty billion dollars is too darned big a deficit, but the Congress is continuously pressing to make it bigger.

Now, we are going to hold the deficit as low as we can, and we are hopefully expecting cooperation, and I think we will get it, from the Federal Reserve Board.

Now, I respectfully disagree with Mr. Brimmer if he alleged that the grain sales to the Soviet Union are a significant factor in inflation. I respectfully disagree with

him. Does he want us to put all that grain in storage and pay $1 million a day in storage charges as we did in the sixties? I don't think that is a very satisfactory answer.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Q. I think he did say that energy was the main component. But following up on your answer, I have been talking to people around New England in anticipation of your visit, and I keep coming up with that old folk saying: "Democrats get us into wars, Republicans into depressions." That, of course, may be oversimplified, but previous administrations and your Administration have chosen to fight inflation first and unemployment second.

I am just wondering, when will the time come to switch so that this recovery, which seems as if it is on the horizon, will recover in a hurry rather than just stumble along?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say that the recovery is doing better, that we are coming out of it more quickly now than some people anticipated. For the fifth month in a row, as I recollect, our overall indicators show that we were making headway. We are seeing higher housing starts. We are seeing better retail sales. We are making some headway, except for the last month, in inflation, and I think that was an unusual example. And we are optimistic in the future.

One thing I'd like to point out is I think it is important to talk about some affirmative things. In the last 5 months, we have had 1,200,000 more people gainfully employed in this country. We now have over 85 million people gainfully employed.

We have too many unemployed, but more and more people are being employed, and the indications are that that will be a continuing trend.

So, we have to win the battle against inflation. If we let the problems of inflation reoccur, every knowledgeable economist that I have talked to says: If you went back up to 10 or 12 percent inflation, in 12 to 18 to 24 months we would be in a far worse recession than we are at the present time.

So, it is a very narrow line that we are trying to follow: to win the battle against inflation on the one hand and at the same time provide more job opportunities. And I think we are being reasonably successful.

As Jack said over here, New England, or at least Rhode Island, has some unique problems, and we are going to work on it, as I indicated.

FOREIGN OIL PRICES

Q. Mr. President, let's return briefly to energy. We have dealt with domestic crude oil by saying the approach now is to gradually decontrol domestic oil prices. The OPEC countries, the oil producing countries, will be meeting to decide soon what price increases they will ask by October 1. It is widely rumored in the oil industry that you have let it be known that an 8-percent increase in foreign oil prices would be acceptable to you. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not familiar with that statement. A lot of statements are attributed to me. I have a pretty good memory, and I don't know where that statement came from.

Q. What are you looking for from the oil producing countries?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me put it this way, Sara. If the Congress had passed early this year the comprehensive energy program that I recommended, we would be in a lot better position to meet the challenge of any OPEC oil price increase. Unfortunately, nothing has been done legislatively. So, we are now more vulnerable today than we would have been otherwise.

I have said that, as far as I am concerned, we will do everything we can to defeat any OPEC oil price increase. Unfortunately, without an energy program, we don't have many tools to do that with.

SCHOOL BUSING

Q. Mr. President, school opens very soon around the country and in New England. And in Boston and Springfield, Massachusetts, that means forced busing for desegregation. Now, you have had a position on busing before. Can you take a minute and clarify? What is your position on busing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, before I say anything about what my own personal views are, I want to say most emphatically that I, as President, and all that serve with me in the Federal Government, will enforce the law, no question about that. We will, to the extent necessary, make sure that any court order is enforced.

Now, I add one thing that I hope is understood. We don't want any conflict developing in Boston or any of these other communities that have court orders forcing busing on local school systems. So, I have sent up through the Attorney General, the community relations experts—they have four or five people up there that are working with the court, with the school boards, and with parents, and with others. At the same time, the new Secretary of HEW, David Mathews, has sent up his top man to work with the school system. And that individual, Dr. Goldberg, has authority to spend extra Federal funds to try and improve the situation in Boston.

Now, having said the law is going to be enforced, that we are going to try and moderate and work with the people in Boston, I will give you my views on what we are trying to do.

The basic thing that everyone is trying to do is to provide quality education. There is a difference of opinion on how you achieve quality education. My personal view is that forced busing by courts is not the way to achieve quality education. I think there is a better way.

We have had court ordered forced busing in a number of communities. There are studies that indicate that it has not provided quality education for the young people, which is our personal concern.

I think there is a better way to do it. In my judgment, if the courts would follow a law that was passed, I think, 2 years ago or maybe 2½ years ago, it said that in those areas where you have a problem in seeking desegregation, the court should follow five or six rules. Busing was the last option.

There were five other proposals that courts could have followed, guidelines that the courts should have followed, and I think we would have avoided a lot of this conflict. That is one way I think we could have solved the problem. The other is the utilization of Federal funds to upgrade school buildings, provide better teacher-pupil ratios, to provide better equipment. That is the way, in my opinion, we achieve what we all want, which is quality education. I just don't think court ordered forced busing is the way to achieve quality education. I think there are better ways.

VETOES OF APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

Q. Mr. President, if I may follow up on that, you have come up with an alternative. But it would seem that because you were afraid of inflation, you have vetoed bills for more aid to education, you have vetoed bills for more public service jobs. So, are you prepared, you know, to turn around on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Arthur, let me just clarify something. The appropriation bill concerning public service employment that you say I vetoed—let me give you the history of it so the matter is clarified. I recommended $1,900 million—$450 million for summer youth employment and the remainder, which is roughly a billion and a half, for public service employment. The Congress loaded it up with $3 billion in nonessential spending. Sure, I vetoed it. When the Congress saw that the veto was sustained, they came back and virtually approved what I sent up there in the first place. So, we had $2 billion in summer youth employment money, and we had public service employment money.

Now, the education bill. The education bill that I submitted in January for the budget that started July 1 had more money in it for education than any other year in recent years. We increased it over previous years. Again, the Congress loaded it up with some programs that I think can't be justified if you are going to have any fiscal responsibility. I hope the Congress sustains that veto, because there is a lot of nonessential spending in it. Now, having vetoed that bill, there was nothing in there, in that proposal Congress passed, to do anything more in desegregation cases than I recommended. So, that is a moot issue as far as the Boston case is concerned.

LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

Q. Can I move you along to another area completely, and that is fishing, which is of some importance to the New England States. Our fishing industry is dying, and it would appear that foreign fleets, modern fleets, are perhaps wiping out fish for a long time, perhaps forever. The Senate has passed the 200-mile-limit bill. The House probably will, too. Will you sign it?

THE PRESIDENT. If my recollection is accurate, in this session of the Congress, the Senate has not acted. I think they acted last year.

Q. Right.

THE PRESIDENT. The House committee has acted, and it will be on the House agenda shortly. What we are trying to do, through the Law of the Sea Conference, is to settle all of the controversies on a worldwide basis involving fishing, the 200-mile zone, et cetera.

I am for the concept of a 200-mile zone. I think it is better to settle it on a worldwide basis rather than to do it unilaterally just for the United States.

Q. The problem, Mr. President, is that while we are waiting for the international treaty, our fish supplies are being depleted.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we had the second meeting of this Law of the Sea Conference ending earlier this year. They've got a draft proposal at the present time. They are going back to negotiations early next year. It is my hope that we can do it on a worldwide basis, and the United States, at my direction, is going to fight for a 200-mile zone. I think that is a better way to solve it than to do it on a unilateral basis, just the United States.

Q. But how long are you willing to wait?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we hope that the Law of the Sea Conference will be completed early next year. As I recollect, the conferees are getting together in January. We have made a lot of progress, and, if we can get it on a worldwide basis in 1976, that is far preferable to unilateral action just by the United States.

SENATE ELECTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Q. One quick question for New Hampshire. New Hampshire would like to know if you are planning to come up sometime before September 16 and campaign for Louie Wyman?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my expectation that I will. We are working on a date. Louie Wyman is a very good friend of mine. I served with him in the House. I think he'd make a fine Senator. I certainly expect to go up sometime between now and September 16 to help him if I can.

OFFSHORE OIL RIGHTS

Q. Mr. President, why can't the northeast New England States share in the profits from the leasing of offshore oil rights off the coast?

THE PRESIDENT. Under the legislation that we are working on—and there are about 10 different alternative proposals—I think that the coastal areas ought to get some help.

There is a bill in the Senate that goes, I think, further than it should. Of course, there are many inland States

who say: Well, this is a United States resource. Why can't we share equally with the coastal States? So, we've got these competing interests.

I believe, without any question of a doubt, that coastal States ought to get a high priority, the highest priority, and then we will have to work out some formula where I think we can equitably take care of any other interests that are involved.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

Q. Mr. President, two quick ones on politics. We presume you will be back in New Hampshire next winter——

THE PRESIDENT. I am looking forward to it.

Q. ——and that between now and then there will be a lot of pressure on you from the Reagan forces—some people call them the Connally forces—to dump Mr. Rockefeller. If it is necessary to do that to get the nomination, will you do it?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't put it that way. I picked Nelson Rockefeller for Vice President because I thought he was an outstanding public servant. He has exceeded any expectations that I have had. He has done a superb job. He has been a good teammate. I don't dump good teammates.

GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

Q. Okay.

Q. Mr. President, in 1972 when the Soviets bought 15 million tons of grain, food prices went up. Now, they would like to buy 21 million tons. Will they get it all? Will they get part of it? Will food prices go up?

THE PRESIDENT. You've got more information than I have. They bought about 10 million tons. There are rumors to the effect that they want to buy additional amounts.

I have indicated that we will make no more sales until we get the September crop report. All the indications are that we will have a record crop in wheat, in corn, in feed grains, including soybeans.

Now, if we get a record crop and if we can work out some fair and equitable arrangement, I think it is in the best interest of the farmer, the consumer, our relations on a worldwide basis, and best for the country, if we do make some additional sales to the Soviet Union.

Q. Mr. President, I have never seen a President end so neatly. You finished up the question, and we don't have to cut you off. It's really delightful.

Thank you. The time went awfully fast.

THE PRESIDENT. It did, and I enjoyed it. I thank all of you very much.

Reporter. Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The interview began at 6 p.m. in the America's Cup Room at the Sheraton-Islander Inn. It was taped for broadcast at 7:30 p.m.

Newport, Rhode Island

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. August 30, 1975

Thank you very, very much, John, Buddy Cianci, Jim Taft, Jim Field, Jim DiPrete, Bill Middendorf, and, of course, our wonderful host and hostess, John and Eileen Slocum, and all that worked:

Let me say without any hesitation or reservation, one, it has been a long day, but the culmination of a meeting like this makes it just like it was beginning all over again. Thank you very much.

As either Jim or Buddy or Jim Taft said, it has been my privilege to be in Rhode Island on a number of occasions over a period of years. I was happy and proud to come here when your fortunes were low to help in a municipal election, in a State election, or in an occasion such as this.

I've detected from time to time that all of you in Rhode Island were a little down in the dumps. You felt that the odds were much too great for any progress. But I have a distinct feeling tonight that you are on the way up and that you are going to make Rhode Island a good Republican State in 1976.

You've got good candidates. You've got excellent examples of people that can run either Providence or Cranston, or, I am sure, other communities in the State of Rhode Island.

You've got the enthusiasm. You've got the unity. You've got the feeling that you are going to beat the opposition. You've got 14 months to prove it—with money—[*laughter*]—with candidates, with unity. I will be very disappointed if you don't make it in November of 1976.

In the months ahead, as I have tried to do in the months before, it is my feeling that we have to make a tremendous effort to go to every State to talk to the people who have fought long hard battles, people who have been disappointed for one reason or another that we didn't do everything or we didn't succeed.

But it seems to me that we have the most unique opportunity in the months ahead to decide that America is going to continue to rise, to make the progress in the future that we have been blessed with in the past.

It is my judgment that the Republican Party is the vehicle that can achieve that. And if we are going to do it, I think we ought to take a look and see what our commitments are.

At least mine, and I believe most, as I travel around the country, would agree in these four or five basic commitments that we have, that seem to fall within the framework of what is good for our country: Fiscal responsibility in the Federal Government, the reinvigoration of a free enterprise system in this country, a strong national defense program that makes America second to none, local

Providence Journal
August 30, 1975

Bipartisan welcome awaits Ford in R.I.

President will end R.I. visit with partisan dinner at Slocum home in Newport; 1,000 guests due

By DOUGLAS C. WILSON
Journal-Bulletin Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Ford's six-hour visit to Rhode Island today will begin with a bipartisan airport welcome at 4:05 p.m., and close on a strongly partisan note tonight, when he attends a Republican fund-raising dinner in the heart of Newport's "high society."

Republican State Chairman H. James Field Jr. said yesterday that the party has sold more than a thousand $125 tickets to the reception and dinner at the Bellevue Avenue home of Mr. and Mrs. John Slocum. The advance sale is believed to be a record for a Republican fundraiser in the state's recent history.

The visit marks the first time that Mr. Ford will be in Rhode Island as President.

Late yesterday, the White House released a minute-by-minute schedule of Mr. Ford's itinerary. His Jetstar aircraft is due to arrive at 4:05 from an earlier Maine visit, touching down at the Air National Guard ramp of Green airport, where he will be greeted by the state's top Republican and Democratic officeholders, including Governor Noel, Mayors Vincent A. Cianci Jr. of Providence, and James L. Taft Jr. of Cranston, and Sens. John O. Pastore and Claiborne Pell, who will be accompanied by Mrs. Pell.

All of the state's top Republican Party officials and Republican legislators also will greet the President — led by Field and the state's two national committee members, Frederick Lippitt and Mrs. June Gibbs.

After the airport arrival, Mr. Ford's presidential limousine — flown in for the occasion — will take the President in a 13-minute motorcade to Newport's Sheraton-Islander Inn, where he is scheduled to arrive about 5 p.m. Mayors Taft and Cianci will ride with the President.

At the hotel, Mr. Ford will tape a half hour interview for WJAR-TV, beginning at 6 p.m., and he will leave immediately afterward for a 10-minute ride to the Slocum residence.

Mrs. Slocum, a descendant of both Roger Williams and Sam Houston, is involved in state Republican activities. Mr. Slocum, whose ancestry traces back to Myles Standish, has worked in cultural attache affairs for the U.S. State Department.

The itinerary has Mr. Ford arriving at the Slocums' "gala dinner tent" shortly after 6:45 for an "informal Newport Gala Dinner Reception. The tent dinner is set to begin precisely at 7:38, and a Republican speaking program will begin at 8:51. Mr. Ford is scheduled to speak for 15 minutes after a four-minute introduction by former Gov. John H. Chafee.

Mr. Ford's motorcade will start at 9:30 on its return to Green airport, and the President's plane will leave at 10:25.

He is scheduled to land at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington at 11:45, and will go from there to spend the rest of the Labor Day weekend at his Camp David retreat in Maryland.

The President is using the smaller Jetstar plane on his New England trip to save money for the Republican National Committee.

Press secretary Ron Nessen said yesterday the Jetstar will be paid for by the

Turn to VISIT, back page.

Symbolic soup kitchen protest allowed ... Page 10

Motorcade route

Here is the route President Ford's motorcade is expected to take this afternoon from Green Airport in Warwick to Newport:

Oaklawn-Quaker Hill (Airport) Road to Post Road, left to Route 95 South to Route 4 in East Greenwich, thence to Route 2, proceeding to Route 4 (Colonel Rodman Highway) in North Kingstown and onto Route 138 East to the Jamestown Bridge, across the island to the Newport bridge and from there to the exit ramp to Goat Island for the Sheraton-Islander Inn, arriving shortly after 5 p.m..

This route is subject to change at the last moment.

Visit

Continued from page one

Republican National Committee at a rate of $889 an hour compared to the $2,206 an hour for Air Force One, a big Boeing 707.

While the GOP may be saving, two other planes will be required to carry the presidential entourage and reporters.

Nessen said a DC-9, carrying other members of the presidential staff, Secret Service agents and a press pool, costing $1,004 an hour, will be paid for out of government funds as required support for the President.

A chartered press plane, paid for by the correspondents who use it, will also be required.

Nessens said that when it comes to presidential travel, all expenses involving Secret Service protection, including advance trips and hotel costs, communications and medical requirements are paid for out of government budgets. He said the expenses are not borne by the Republican Party or the presidential campaign fund, even if it is a political trip.

7704001881

770400 1881

Providence Journal
August 31, 1975

R.I. Republicans fall in behind the President

By JOHN P. HACKETT
Journal-Bulletin Political Writer

NEWPORT — President Ford last night received pledges of support from Rhode Island Republicans for his renomination and reelection next year and, in turn, he called on the local GOP to return the state to two-party status in 1976.

Republican victories in the former Democratic Solid South have brought healthier government there, Mr. Ford said. "If I might respectfully suggest, I think it would be good to have that same kind of competition right here in Rhode Island," he declared.

The President's campaign-style speech won constant applause during his half-hour delivery from some 1,100 partisans gathered for dinner in a large yellow and white striped tent at the Bellevue Avenue man-

sion of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Sloc[illegible] Mrs. Sloeum is GOP state finance co-chairwoman.

At $125 a ticket, the turnout amassed nearly $140,000 for GOP coffers minus overhead costs for the dinner, including the presidential party's expenses, and 10 percent for the Republican National Committee.

The financial and attendance success of the affair brought out exuberant expressions from all the speakers, including the President.

Former Cranston Mayor James DiPrete Jr., dinner chairman and toastmaster, called it testimony to "the revitalization of the Republican Party in Rhode Island." He introduced H. James Field Jr., GOP

Turn to DINNER, Page A-4

Dinner

Continued from page one

state chairman, as the "catalyst" of the Republican comeback and Mayors Vincent A. Cianci Jr. of Providence and James L. Taft Jr. of Cranston as examples of more party victories ahead.

"Everyone here thinks you are doing a marvelous job," DiPrete told the President. Cianci and Taft followed with full-fledged endorsements of Mr. Ford, who may face a renomination battle with former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

"I am a Republican who supports Gerry Ford because I think he is the best for Providence, the state of Rhode Island and the United States of America," Cianci said. "I say, phooey to such Democratic detractors of the President as Governor Noel and Sen. John O. Pastore", the Providence mayor said.

Taft joined in praising Mr. Ford as the man interested in New England's problems. He pledged on behalf of all "a 100 percent effort to see you are reelected."

Former Gov. John H. Chafee upped this in introducing the President. "We are with him 2,000 percent," Chafee said.

The President responded with equal enthusiasm. "I have a distinct feeling tonight you are on the way up and are going to make Rhode Island a good Republican state in 1976," he said.

The President offered these "basic commitments" for the GOP to attract voters — fiscal responsibility, reinvigorating the free enterprise system, a strong national defense program "that makes America second to none", local control over local concerns and personal freedom for the individual.

With the Bicentennial year ahead, America must decide what will mark its third century as government development of its first and industrial development its second, Mr. Ford said. The answer he gave was development of personal freedom.

"We have mass education, mass industry, mass government and mass communications," the President said. "I think the American people want their individuality preserved and expanded.

"They don't want to be subjected to the 'mass' of anything. They want to believe in their family and themselves.

"That should be our objective in the third century of America's history."

The local Republican speakers warmed up the crowd for Mr. Ford with high praise for the President's performance in office, contrasting this with what they charged was Democratic deception in Rhode Island.

Field hailed Mr. Ford's appearance as "proof of our party's rebuilding effort" that, he predicted, will end Democratic dominance of state government at the next election.

"While the president had 'restored confidence' in government by conducting yourself with a spirit of openness and candor," the GOP state chairman said, "These qualities have been lacking in Rhode Island under the Democrats.

"The Democratic leadership in this state, which controls every major part of our government, has wrapped itself in a cloak of secrecy." Field declared. "The people of Rhode Island have been consistently forced to witness a parade of political favoritism, conflict of interest involving the highest elected state officials and political fund raisers by the Democratic Party shrouded in secrecy for the past three years."

Cianci also noted a Republican resurgence in his extension of greetings on behalf of Providence from "a Republican mayor for a change." He said he exemplified the "new Republicanism that is now an integral part of the political future of this state...that is open to all people of from all walks of life, from all classes, from all ethnic groups from every segment of our society."

The Providence mayor concluded with praise of Mr. Ford's efforts to solve the energy problem that particularly besets New England. Taft alluded to this, reminding the President that this area is "87 percent dependent on foreign oil."

The Cranston mayor asked Mr. Ford "to take this into consideration" in his energy policy. He also urged him to adopt "whatever means possible to alleviate the tremendous unemployment problem" in the state.

Taft gave the President good marks for supporting continued revenue-sharing and the federal and Concentrated Employment Training Assistance programs, which, he said, have become "useful tools to combat unemployment."

Providence Journal
September 4, 1975

Pres. Ford: 'A man of the times'

By SANDRA A. STORTI

The day the President of the United States came to Rhode Island was a big day day for the state's GOP[illegible], and especially for Mayor Taft, who for five of the six hours that President Gerald Ford remained in the Ocean State, sat at the left hand of the President, exchanging ideas and discussing urban problems.

"It was a thrill of a lifetime," Mayor Taft beamed, as he explained that this was the fifth time that he had been in the company of Mr. Ford.

The first time the two Republican leaders met was in 1963 when then Congressman Gerald Ford, minority leader, came to Cranston to help raise funds for the election of former Mayor James DiPrete. In 1966 Mr. Ford returned to Rhode Island to raise money for the state GOP, and in 1967 Mayor Taft, along with James DiPrete, made an unannounced visit to Washington, D.C. to see the Congressman.

A few months ago, Mayor Taft was again in Washington, D.C. for a revenue sharing meeting, and again met with the President. This past Saturday, August 30, Mayor Taft and Providence Mayor Vincent Cianci greeted President Ford at the airport and rode with him to Newport for the GOP fund raising dinner.

Mayor Taft noted that the President was impressed by the warm reception extended to him along the route from the state airport to Newport . . . cheerful and proud smiles and waving and applause from the crowds of people waiting in the chilly rain [illegible] President of the United States.

"I was proud to be a Rhode Islander because of this reception," Mayor Taft said.

The Mayor related a story explaining that the youngest of his four daughters was unable to attend the dinner and when he told the President of her disappointment that she couldn't attend because she was too young, he had the limousine slow down along the way, where the Mayor's daughter was standing, to stop and give her a personal wave.

"He is a fine, human person," the Mayor commented, "very informal, and very relaxed . . . putting on his pipe as we discussed politics, unemployment in Rhode Island, the energy problem in New England and his re-election campaign."

"He knows where he's going and he's capable of setting policy and making tough decisions," the Mayor said of the President.

"He is a man of the times, and I publicly pledged my support for him. I feel good and secure that we have him as President."

"I am pleased, as a Mayor, with his support of the re-enactment of revenue sharing, and pleased with his manpower program which has permitted us to hire more police, crossing guards and bus drivers," Taft commented.

"President Ford is conscious of the problems of the cities. I don't and won't agree, however, with everything the President says, but loyalty and support doesn't necessitate agreement of every issue."

"I am all the way with Ford," the Mayor added, bringing to mind a good campaign slogan for the 1976 election.

The Mayor commended former Mayor DiPrete and State GOP Chairman Jim Field for the "successful banquet" which sold 1100 tickets, and a good majority of them were held by Cranstonians.

According to Mayor Taft, there is no question that the appearance of President Ford was a boost to the rebuilding of the state GOP party," and he noted that he hoped that the party would not somewhere [illegible] from the people.

Mayor Taft commented that it was "a tremendous day for the President of the United States in Rhode Island." It is only fair to add that it was also a tremendous day and honor for Rhode Island to have the President of the United States visit and to remain six hours to attend a GOP function, have dinner, meet with the people, and exchange ideas with the Mayor of Cranston and the Mayor of Providence.

For those fortunate enough to catch a glimpse of President Ford or to shake his hand, the thrill will remain indelible in their minds forever. It was really an honor for the citizens of Cranston to have their Mayor accompany the President during his visit . . . and to know that the President of the United States is aware of the problems that face not just all Americans, but the citizens of the City of Cranston, as well.

Press interviews President Ford as he arrives at State Airport. Mayor Taft looks on.

Washington Star
October 12, 1975

Ford Trips and the Fine Line

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

DETROIT — It was not too surprising when Michigan Gov. William Milliken uncorked a fervent endorsement of President Ford's bid for a full term in the White House.

Ford was back in his home state for a Republican fund-raising dinner, sitting on the third tier of a clogged dais in a spacious banquet room of Cobo Hall, and it seemed natural for his friend of long standing to deliver a plea for the President's election in 1976.

There was one problem, however. The Republican National Committee paid for Ford's trip to Michigan, since it was clearly political, but it was supposed to be political only insofar as fighting the Democrats is concerned.

PICKING SIDES in the race for the GOP presidential nomination, which is what Ford is angling for and Ronald Reagan is expected to take a stab at, and plugging for a single candidate was something quite different.

The incident raised again a question which has plagued Ford since he formally announced his candidacy three months ago: Is it is fair — or legal, for that matter, under the new federal election law — for the President to use Republican party money to advance his own candidacy?

The oft-repeated White House position is that the President is not promoting his personal election effort when he appears at GOP gatherings. He is simply aiding the party.

[illegible] Surely it helps [illegible] for the Republican nomination to state his case and defend his positions before the party faithful.

Once the GOP decides on a presidential candidate at its convention next summer, there is no problem. Then it is clearly proper — and indisputably legal — for party funds to be used to promote one presidential candidate.

Before then, it is questionable whether Ford should tap the party treasury for his appearances at Republican gatherings. Instead, a strong argument can be made that these expenses should be paid by the President's campaign organization, which has collected more than $700,000 in its three months of existence.

GOV. MILLIKEN, at the fundraiser here Friday evening, was effusive in his praise of Ford and his bid for the President's election in 1976 a necessity.

"The most important goal of all (for Republicans)," Milliken told the crowd of nearly [illegible] "the returning of our President to the White House."

The governor vowed that Michigan Republicans "will pledge our very best efforts to support the President. . . . I am confident that we can help this kind of energy [illegible] elected Republican candidates on the state level to keep one of our own in the highest office of the land."

He said the strongest kind of grass-roots [illegible] should be waged to "continue the Republican who is in the White House now in the White House in 1976."

THIS ENDORSEMENT was not the first that Ford [illegible] president at a Republican event at which he appeared under the auspices and funding of the national committee.

On Aug. 31, he delivered an address to a GOP gathering in Newport, R.I. Before he spoke, Mayor Buddy Cianci of Providence and another Rhode Island Republican leader urged the crowd of more than [illegible] to back Ford's bid for the nomination.

The party committee paid for that trip, just as it [illegible] to Detroit.

A White House official said that there is no way to ensure that people like Milliken will stay away from [illegible] the President for the nomination.

"There is no accounting for governors," the official said. "We cannot control Gov. Milliken. The President went to Detroit as head of the Republican party, not as a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination."

RONALD NESSEN, the [illegible] press secretary, described it this way [illegible] aboard Air Force One on the trip home from Detroit: "I don't know who paid Milliken's expenses, but the President went out there to raise money for the Republican party."

At his nationally televised press conference [illegible] the President [illegible] appearances at Republican [illegible] his quest for the nomination.

"As I point out and as the [illegible] of the Republican [illegible], I have tried to par-

DATE OF TRIP: September 4, 1975

TO: Seattle, Washington; and Portland, Oregon

AGENDA: September 4

* 11:59 a.m. - Remarks upon arrival at airport (Seattle)
* 12:45 p.m. - Remarks at Republican fundraising luncheaon (Seattle)
* 2:14 p.m. - Remarks at Washington State Republican fundraising luncheon (Seattle)
* 3:33 p.m. - Remarks and questions and answers at White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs (Seattle)
* 5:30 p.m. - Remarks upon arrival at airport (Portland)
* 7:47 p.m. - Remarks at Republican fundraising dinner (Portland)
* 8:25 p.m. - Remarks and questions and answers at Youth Bicentennial Rally (Portland)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Chicago Tribune, September 5; p. 2;
Seattle Times; August 24;
New York Times; September 5;
Seattle Times; August 14, 1975
Seattle Times; September 3;
Seattle Times; September 3;
Seattle Post Intelligencer; September 5;
Seattle Post Intelligencer; September 4;
Seattle Times; September 5;
Christian Science monitor; September 3;

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Remarks at Republican Fundraising Dinner (Portland)
Remarks at Youth Rally (Portland)

7704118B

shows. But if it is encouraging, I think it is in the best interest of the United States to use this great commodity for many, many beneficial purposes as far as the United States is concerned.

Thank you very much, everybody.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m.

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

Portland, Oregon

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. September 4, 1975

Dave, Bob Packwood, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sure it is very, very obvious that it is a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here tonight in Portland for this tremendous gathering of many, many Republicans and I add, a few that I know of—very special friends—and your most warm welcome is greatly appreciated. Your enthusiasm and commitment is most encouraging.

I added in the previous sentence some very close and very dear friends of mine who are here. I was delighted to see one of my former colleagues. She was on the other side of the aisle. We had a few differences, but we had infinitely more agreements. And, Edith Green, I thank you for coming, and I am most grateful for your presence.

In Edith Green's area of outstanding expertise—education—I don't think there was a Member of the House or Senate, Democrat or Republican, who was more knowledgeable and more articulate than she with ideas and, I think, thoughts, programs that would have been so important for education. And I thank you again for being here, Edith.

I do want to make a donation, if it is proper. Last year when I was here and had a very full day, I participated in an auction for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. I donated a pair of cuff links, and I am told they went for a reasonably high price—obviously, for a good cause. But, unfortunately, I will not be able to be here for that occasion when the meeting is held in 1975. But if I might, I would like to give to Dave Green for transmittal to Don Ellis a pair of cuff links, and I wish you well and hope you do as well in 1975. [*Laughter*]

I appreciated Jack Faust's comments about our golden retriever, Liberty. [*Laughter*] I had a confidential talk with Liberty when she returned from Oregon. I can only say we are anticipating on or about September 14–16 a wholesome litter of golden retriever puppies. I feel somewhat obligated to let the Republican Party of Oregon suggest a name for the one out of the litter that we keep. So, it is up to you to make some determination in that regard. [*Laughter*]

I was pleased that Dave Green mentioned something that I wanted to speak about, which is the historic meeting of the Northwest Compact, which, as I have perceived it from Washington, has effectively coordinated the work and enhanced the influence of Republicans of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. I think this is a concept that can be immeasurably helpful in pulling together geographical areas where you have a high identity of interests and a community of spirit. And I commend the Republicans in this State for putting together this 2-year plan for the party's activities and its strategies.

One thing that I have noticed in some of the travels that I have made most recently—last Saturday I was fortunate to attend in the State of Maine a Republican gathering where we saw the visible evidence of a revitalization of the Republican Party in that great State. And later in the day I participated in somewhat comparable activities in the State of Rhode Island on behalf of the Republican Party.

In both cases we had new, young, vigorous chairmen. In both cases we had a unification of ideologies where we could honestly say that the party, its people were going to be pulling together for what is in the best interest primarily of the State and the country but also in the best interests of the ideologies which we believe in. And it is my feeling, as I have had the opportunity of being in the State of Washington earlier today and here in Oregon tonight, that your party organization, your leadership is doing precisely the same thing. I compliment you and congratulate you for this effort.

This dinner tonight, I think, exemplifies what can be done as we face some very crucial issues and tremendous challenges between now and November of 1976.

The thing that I have noticed in the last 12 or 14 hours, that in the West there is still that tremendous pioneering spirit, a spirit of independence that is invigorating and tremendously refreshing. Two men certainly reflect this tradition of independence, and I refer specifically to Mark Hatfield, who is not here now but who has been with me a good share of the day, and Bob Packwood. Both are a tremendous credit to this great State which they represent so exceedingly well in the United States Senate.

Over the last few years I have had the privilege and pleasure of getting to know both of them quite well. If I have learned anything in the 25 years in the House of Representatives, it is the capability of analyzing people who have quality, dedication, integrity, forthrightness. And those characteristics which I think are invaluable in serving your State—both Bob and Mark have that to the overflowing. And I thank Bob, and I will thank Mark later for their contribution, not only to your State but to

what, I believe, is in the best interest of our country. Thank you very much, Bob.

I am a firm believer that party organization, party leadership is highly important, particularly in a national election year. I made a commitment about a year ago—I spoke to the Midwest Republican Party organization in the State of Illinois. They had all of the people from my part of the country there for one of these get-togethers over a weekend, and I made a commitment then that in 1976 I thought the Presidential candidate ought to work with and not be separated from the national Republican organization and the respective State organizations.

And I felt that such a commitment was not only right on a chart, but it was right if we were going to get and have available the kind of leadership that is necessary in every State. I happen to think in Dave Green you have that kind of leadership here in your great State, and, therefore, I can assure you that I and those that work with me will work with you and the State organizations in a Republican victory in 1976.

One of the characteristics that I have noticed about Dave is that he has a feeling that we ought to, as a party, appeal to the independent voters. It is my impression that this has paid off and will produce greater dividends in the months ahead.

As a matter of fact, in your State you have sort of a tradition of independence. If I might, I would like to make a specific appeal to that. I think it is important.

The independent voters, as I look at them and listen to them—they want a sound and very prosperous national economy without recession or inflation and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voters want jobs for those who can work and help for those who cannot. We as Republicans believe precisely the same way.

The independent voter wants his country to achieve energy independence and an environment of high quality. We as Republicans have that same thrust and that same belief.

The independent voter wants a good education, good housing, good health care, and good food for his family at prices that he can afford. We as Republicans have an identical view.

The independent voter—and there are many of them, some in more States than others—but in most States they are really the margin between victory and defeat.

The independent voter wants the scales of justice to balance the rights of the criminal defendant with the rights of a law abiding society and so do we.

Our friends, the independent voter wants America's national defense second to none. They recognize, as we do, that this is the best way to ensure peace.

If I might say parenthetically at this point, within the last 24 or 48 hours, a giant step, in my opinion, has been taken for peace with the successful negotiations between Israel and Egypt. This negotiation, which has literally gone on for months but culminated in the last several weeks, was successful because of the patience, the direction, and the leadership of the Secretary of State of the United States, Henry Kissinger.

I know some questions have been raised—and questions should be raised in a situation like this—but when you analyze what the alternative was to a settlement, the alternative was almost inevitably war in 6 to 8 months.

By taking some risks that I think are manageable, we have gambled for peace in the most volatile, most difficult, complex, controversial area in the globe. I believe that the Congress of the United States, after they have looked at the alternatives which, in my judgment, were an invitation to conflict and see what has been done with our leadership, the Congress will support a gamble for peace.

It is in our best interests in every way that I can see it. I believe that most Americans—Republicans, Independents, or Democrats—will support our leadership, our forthright efforts to bring two nations together that have literally been apart, fighting, disagreeing. And this is the kind of leadership that I think is important, not only in this case but in others, to lead us down a firm, constructive road of peace, not only in that area of the world but elsewhere.

Now, the independent voter wants relief from higher and higher taxes, from more and more Federal programs, and from bigger and bigger budget deficits. This has been the record of the Republican Party for all of my lifetime, and I think it will be our program and policies in the months ahead.

Every time I think of more and more Federal programs, bigger and bigger Federal budgets with the inevitable deficits that they place, I am reminded of several incidents on the floor of the House of Representatives where there were those in the House of Representatives who thought every time we had a problem the answer was another program with more Federal spending. That was the inevitable conclusion that many people came to.

One day I was sitting there talking to one of my associates or colleagues in the House of Representatives. And after we had gone through this sort of inevitable schedule that seems to come up all the time when there is a problem and we have to have solutions, I thought to myself—and the person who was debating and speaking and proposing this program was a fine person; I am not disagreeing with his motives—but I thought to myself, don't those he represents understand that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have?

Even more importantly, the independent voter wants America to get moving on the myriad problems facing it, moving confidently toward the future, and so do we.

There is one thing that my 25 years of public service have taught me, and it is this: A successful blend of per-

sonal initiative, private enterprise, and public service will come closer to solving our problems and realizing our country's great potential than will reliance on the massive, muscle-bound bureaucracy of Government by itself.

For far, far too long, too many Americans have relied too much on the Federal Government in our great Capital to meet their needs, grant their wishes and solve their problems. We have already lost too much of the enterprise and initiative and self-reliance which made America the hardiest of people in this the greatest of nations. As Abraham Lincoln so well put it, "The role of the national Government is to help people who cannot help themselves."

I think it is time we began to look elsewhere for the solution to too many of our problems—to our State capitals and our county seats and our town councils, to our offices, our shops, our factories, and our farms, to our homes, to our schools, and to our churches of America, and then—I put with emphasis—to ourselves.

That is where the real power and the real potential of America resides. That is where to find the creative genius, the knack for problem solving, the pioneering spirit, the Yankee ingenuity for which this country is so well known.

I firmly believe that if each of us shoulder more of life's responsibilities, taking a very personal interest to match the personal stake we have in the life and success of this Nation, we can truly make it a fresh start on America's problems and develop some new solutions even as we celebrate our 200th birthday.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:47 p.m. at the Sheraton-Portland Motor Inn.

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

Portland, Oregon

The President's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Participants in the Portland Youth Bicentennial Rally. September 4, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. Wow, what an experience! I know we have an energy shortage, but I sure don't see any sign of it tonight. Thank you.

I just finished telling a banquet audience that I came to Oregon just to visit, not to stay. After an ovation like that, it won't take much convincing to make me change my mind.

Now, I know why the Portland Timbers are doing so well. *[Laughter]* You sure know how to make a fellow feel like a champion. Thank you very much.

Let me express my appreciation to Dirk and your fellow emcees, Governor Bob Straub, Senator Mark Hatfield, and all of you great, young Americans and, I say with confidence, the future leaders of this great country.

Obviously, I am delighted and pleased to join with so many energetic, enthusiastic young Americans in this birthday celebration. I understand that this rally is one of numerous Bicentennial activities in this area of our country, and I commend your plans to remember the past but, just as importantly, to look at the future. That is the right note for our Bicentennial celebrations through the length and breadth of America.

The youth organizations represented here tonight have contributed so much in a constructive way to this great country. America owes very special thanks to the thousands and thousands of men and women who donate their talents and time to work with this tremendous reservoir of youth talent and capability.

The tradition of service of the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, 4-H, Salvation Army, YMCA, YWCA, and the Boys Club is a very solid part of our fine American system and tradition.

Tonight, I want to thank those organizations and the men and women behind them for what they have done and what they are doing for America. We are deeply indebted to each and every one of you, 214 million Americans who are very grateful.

I know firsthand from a good many years in the Boy Scouts how meaningful and important organizations of this kind are to youngsters growing up. I challenge all of you in this audience and all young people nationwide to continue this fine tradition of service and the betterment of society.

As we celebrate America's 200th year, its 200th birthday, let's remember that this Bicentennial isn't solely about patriots who made a successful revolution. It is about all Americans who took the dream of a new land, a new land of freedom, and made it a reality over the years since 1776. Millions of men and women whose names we will never know and whose heroism went unsung made that dream live.

To be sure, we honor the wise and articulate men who wrote what I consider two of the greatest documents ever devised by man—the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.

But the Revolution and its aftermath could have been a temporary footnote in the chronicle of its day without the unsung, unnamed Americans who made it permanent and imprinted its achievements indelibly in history.

Before the Revolution, the first English settlers dreamed of a better life and more freedom. They matched that glorious dream with a willingness to cross an ocean and civilize the wilderness.

This beautiful Pacific Northwest was settled by this same brand of courageous pioneers who carried the concept of self-government and faith in individual freedom to each new settlement and each new State.

Although today we are the world's oldest Republic, we are still a very young country. Our past truly is close to us. And although we may not recognize the names of ancestors who made this Nation possible, we can see their deeds and their legacy everywhere, a firmly established free system of Government and the most productive nation in the history of the world.

In 1876, at the Centennial exposition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America celebrated the wonders of an age just dawning, the shifts over from a rural to an industrial society.

The first bicycle was on display at the 1876 exposition. We can wonder today which of our modern inventions will prove historical. In the years before the end of the 19th century, there was an explosion of ideas and inventions: the automobile, the electric light, and the telephone.

Just as the American Revolution required followers and believers, so did our Industrial Revolution. Without the people who invested in the inventions and put them into use, we would all have arrived here tonight in a horse-drawn buggy.

The Wright brothers made history at Kitty Hawk, but the first passengers to ride in a plane made history, too. The believers—the believers who were not afraid of the new and untried made the age of flight just as sure as did the men who built those first rickety flying machines.

You are growing up, I say to all of you, with a depth of conviction. You are growing up in an age of space travel and worldwide communications. And the world in which your children will live may be as wondrously strange as the world is to your grandparents today.

As I look over this wonderful audience, at you who will lead America in the 21st century, I urge you to look to the past for inspiration, but within yourselves individually for courage, and to the future for challenge.

Many, many years ago, a Sunday school teacher taught me that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. The beauty of America is its many, many individuals, each a little different from the other.

For America's third century of independence, I commend to each of you this great objective—freedom for everyone who respects the freedom of others.

You, all of us are inheriters of a great trust. We must honor the past by working for the future. A nation born of a dream and carried forward by action requires from each and every one of us, all of us, a *commitment of faith* to advance individual liberty and to make America strong, to make America secure for this third century.

Thank you very, very much.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, Ronald Reagan said that his running against you would strengthen the Republican Party and the Nation. What are your thoughts on this?

THE PRESIDENT. I have always believed that competition in the political arena is healthy. I have always had political competition whenever I ran for political office in the past.

I emphasize, however, that in my own campaigns, instead of discussing the views of others or being critical of others, my view is that a person seeking public office ought to have his own platform, his own program, and sell that and concentrate on an affirmative program and an affirmative basis.

So, if and when there is competition for the nomination of my political party, I will run it in that way, affirmatively aimed at discussing the issues and not indulging into personalities. Competition is good in politics like anything else.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, the large corporations all around the Nation seem to be making the Bicentennial celebration too commercialized. Many Americans, young people included, believe the Bicentennial could be more relevant by realization of the revolutionary democratic principles our ancestors fought for. What is the White House commission doing to promote the revolutionary spirit for our 1976 Bicentennial?

THE PRESIDENT. It has been my privilege to participate in several Bicentennial celebrations, and none of them were commercial. None of them had any aspects that would, in my opinion, undercut the thrust and the emphasis that I think is important, which is recognition of the tremendous commitment, dedication, sacrifice that was made by so many some 200 years ago.

Let me illustrate. I am sure you have read—I am certain you know the story of Paul Revere and the Old North Church in the city of Boston. I participated in a celebration in the Old North Church, which is a historic facility that was there when Paul Revere actually saw the lantern and undertook his famous ride. Nothing commercial about that. I had the opportunity of visiting Lexington and Concord, where some heroic people made a great stand. Nothing commercial about that.

I think overall, overwhelmingly, really, the emphasis that has been given to the Bicentennial by the White House commission has been at the proper level, really telling all of us of the historic events that took place some 200 or more years ago.

A few will commercialize the Bicentennial. You can't prevent that, but if you follow the step-by-step activities, I am sure you will be convinced that the thrust of the White House commission, of John Warner, the head of the Bicentennial office, and everybody else is trying to establish the right atmosphere, the right direction for the Bicentennial celebration. I think it is good.

Q. Where are you going to go next after this?

THE PRESIDENT. Where am I going after Portland? Well, I am leaving following this wonderful evening with

all of you and going to Sacramento, California, for a 7 o'clock breakfast and then I am going to speak at a joint session of the California Legislature, and then I am going to spend some time with the Governor of California, who has invited me to talk with him about some problems. Then I have several other meetings in Sacramento. Then I am going back to Washington.

Q. Mr. President, I would like to know what I could do as a 10-year-old girl to help my country?

THE PRESIDENT. Rhonda, simply by asking the question and indicating your interest in helping your country, you have already made a great contribution.

Q. Mr. President, is it true that Mrs. Ford was once a Campfire Girl in Grand Rapids, Michigan?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't know her then. [Laughter] I didn't start courting her until she had outgrown her Campfire relationship or activities.

I can tell you this, however, we had three boys and a girl. She was a den mother for a good many years bringing up three boys, so I guess she learned to be a den mother by being a good Campfire Girl.

Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask you what your greatest moment in scouting was.

THE PRESIDENT. My greatest moment of scouting. Well, I suspect the greatest moment I had as a Boy Scout was when I was selected by Governor Green of the State of Michigan along with 70 other Eagle Scouts to be the first group of Boy Scouts as guides on Mackinaw Island in Northern Michigan to tell the people who come to Mackinaw about the history of that fortress. I spent a whole summer there with 70 other Eagle Scouts. That was probably the greatest recognition and probably the greatest thrill that I had among my many years as a Boy Scout, a Boy Scout Leader, and Assistant Scoutmaster, and I guess everthing else.

Q. Mr. President, don't you feel that the opponents of détente are gathering more support and eventually will jeopardize the improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say with sincerity and strong belief that if the opponents of détente are able to destroy this relationship, there must be a recognition by them that they are potentially destroying a means of communication, a means of relaxing tensions between the two super powers.

Détente has not been an answer to every conflict and confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, but détente has given the opportunity for the relaxing of tensions and the easing of confrontations, and détente has avoided some very potentially explosive head-to-head confrontations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

So, if the opponents of détente, those who want to be a cold warrior in peacetime, destroy this means of communication, this capability of avoiding confrontation, then they have to assume a serious responsibility.

I would rather use détente for peace than to destroy détente and increase the possibilities of war. So, I am in favor of détente because it gives us a tool to avoid war. And I will strongly not only defend it but use it so that we can achieve peace, maintain peace, and at the same time avoid a holocaust, whether it is in the Middle East or elsewhere.

Q. Mr. President, what are you doing—like what is the toughest thing you are doing in Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. What is the toughest thing I am doing in Washington? Well, there are a number of very difficult problems, Brian. One is to get the Congress to pass an energy program—either my program or one of their own.

Unfortunately, they haven't done either. But there are some other very important matters. I can assure you that Secretary Kissinger and myself spent literally thousands of hours working on how to help in the negotiations between Israel and Egypt, and that was a tough problem. We were very helpful, we were fortunately successful in keeping the momentum for peace going. That was a tough problem.

Of course, the decisions that had to be made at the time of the *Mayaguez* incident were very difficult. But there are many others. There are just a lot of them. It's kind of hard to pick out the ones that are the toughest, but it is a challenging and I think it is a great opportunity for me to have that opportunity to face up to those problems.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel Congress will approve Secretary of State Kissinger's Mideast peace program? And if they don't, what course of action do you plan to insure peace in the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very confident that the Congress will approve the role and support that I have recommended we—the United States—undertake in relationship to that agreement between Israel and Egypt. I am confident the Congress will do it, and I will be surprised if it is not an overwhelming support. Because I believe the Congress will act affirmatively, I don't think it will be necessary for me to, as President, to face up to what I will do if they reject it.

I only will add this, that if the Congress does not affirmatively approve our responsibilities in relationship to this agreement, then the Congress has to face up to the alternative, which is a very great, a far greater possibility of war in the Middle East. So, I think the Congress will opt for helping to maintain peace rather than risking the dangers of a war in the Middle East.

Q. Mr. President, how come you don't have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia?

THE PRESIDENT. Would you repeat that, please, I couldn't hear it.

Q. How come you don't have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Tyler, as I understand the question, it is why don't we have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia, is that right?

Q. Yeah.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the telethons, Tyler, that are held are usually generated by individuals or organizations. Now, I know a little about sickle cell anemia because in my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, there was a great deal of research done in a hospital. A very outstanding scientist and doctor was one of the leaders in working on the problem not only in Grand Rapids but in Detroit. It is a serious disease and there is an increasing emphasis in the Federal Government and also in various parts of the country in trying to find an answer to it.

It is my opinion that as more cases are discovered and there is more publicity to the tragedy of it, you will find a broadening organization, and once you get such an organization you will have a telethon develop. And I hope there will be one.

Q. Mr. Ford, were you ever a Cub Scout?

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, was I ever a Cub Scout. I was not. I joined the Boy Scouts, as I recall, the day that I was 12 years old, and that was the day that you could join in those days. I don't think there was a Cub Scout organization that far back. [*Laughter*] I am told that that was supposed to be the last question, but I will take one more.

Q. Mr. President, what is going to happen to all the Vietnamese in Camp Pendleton?

THE PRESIDENT. Could you repeat that again, please?

Q. What is going to happen to all the Vietnamese that are stationed at Camp Pendleton right now?

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, what is going to happen to all the South Vietnamese, Cambodians, that are stationed at either Camp Pendleton, Fort Chaffee, Eglin Air Force Base, and there is one in Pennsylvania.

There are now approximately 40,000 Vietnamese, Cambodian refugees who have not been sponsored. There were 140,000 in total. So, we have, in effect, gotten sponsors for roughly 100,000. I think that is a lot of progress. And I believe that at the rate of about 650 a day and about 4,000 a week, we will be able to get all of the remaining 40,000 sponsored and living in the United States by the middle of December or certainly by the end of this year.

May I thank you all, Governor Straub and the others, as well as the young people here, the audience, the participants. It has really been a great experience. I love this kind of an exchange between those of us who are older and those of you who are going to be the leaders in America.

I am proud of you. We all love you. And we know you will do a good job.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. at the Portland Memorial Coliseum Arena.

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

76

7704001891

Chicago Tribune
September 5, 1975
page 2

Campaign theme

Ford pledge: 'To govern—not dominate'

By Harry Kelly
Chicago Tribune Press Service

SEATTLE—President Ford, apparently unconcerned about speaking too soon, campaigned in the Great Northwest Thursday, reaching out for the country's millions of independent voters and talking like a man no longer nervous about a possible challenge by Ronald Reagan.

The President—after listening to advice of party moderates and seeing the latest poll figures—seemed to be looking beyond the nomination to the actual combat with a Democratic candidate as he urged independents to flock to his call and give his 1976 campaign a theme.

"We are prepared to govern—but not to dominate the American people," Ford told a G. O. P. luncheon here. "That is our pledge for the coming campaign and for the years ahead."

A GROUP of liberal and moderate Republican senators counseled Ford Thursday that there is no chance he will not win the G. O. P. nomination and urged him to therefore look beyond any challenge from Reagan by giving his message a broader appeal.

In addition, a new California poll, which previously had showed Ford trailing the former governor among the state's Republicans, now shows that Ford has spurted well ahead of Reagan—a development that heartened White House political aides.

For Ford, it was a long day's journey into night—well into the night—with a day that began in Washington and was scheduled to end in Sacramento some 16 hours later. There were six speeches, question and answer sessions, motorcades, bands, demonstrators, and dozens of yards of red, white, and blue bunting.

It seemed as if it should be September of 1976 rather than of 1975.

When the President arrived for a Washington state G. O. P. luncheon he was welcomed by critical signs and jeers from Indians and a group calling itself freedom socialists. Their signs were critical of Ford and his administration on environmental matters, on FBI activities, and on American Indian policies.

FOR A FEW moments during Ford's speech, some of them pounded on a closed door loud enough to be heard within the luncheon hall, the Seattle Center, until they were removed by police.

In his speech at another G. O. P. luncheon in Seattle, Ford reaffirmed his commitment to détente with Communist China and trade with Peking and other nations of Asia, particularly Japan.

"It is my desire and my goal to expand our trade, not only with Japan, but with the other nations of Asia," said Ford. "As a major step toward that goal, and toward our overall goal of peace and stability and normal relations with our neighbors in the world, I look forward to visiting the People's Republic of China later this year to continue the leadership discussions our two countries initiated four years ago."

In his speeches, Ford called for the G.O.P. to reach out to the "independent-minded voter" and bring independents "into the party which most closely reflects their views and their philosophy."

"THE INDEPENDENT voter, it seems to me, is concerned more with the future of his country than with the fortunes of one political party or another," said Ford.

At the same time, Ford urged a return to independence "from those huge institutions of society which have come so close to snuffing out the fire of personal initiative and individual achievement."

Ford said the Middle East agreement between Israel and Egypt has provided the atmosphere to keep the momentum for peace going. He said he found "near unanimity" in support among some 20 House and Senate leaders from both parties at a White House meeting early in the day.

Ford added that he believes a concurrent resolution to be put before the House and Senate approving the assignment of United States civilian technicians at early warning posts in the Middle East "would be approved."

Ford called the Israeli-Egyptian agreement "a gamble for peace."

7704001803

Seattle Times
August 24, 1975

The lively, open campaign style of President Gerald Ford—a sharp contrast to Richard Nixon's in 1972 — is evident in the preparations for Mr. Ford's visit to the Pacific Northwest September 4.

The state Republican Party last week ran newspaper ads with the headline: "Have lunch with the President." It pitched tickets at $25 each.

Usually it costs you $100 to have a meal in the same room with the President of the United States. (When Mr. Ford last visited Washington State in May, 1974, he was Mr. Nixon's new vice president. Then it cost $100 to attend a fund-raising dinner in Thurston County at which Mr. Ford was the headliner.)

Often invitations and tickets to a presidential event are distributed to a rather select list of citizens. But the G.O.P. advertisement said tickets to the Ford lunch can be ordered simply by dialing 622-FORD.

"We want to make the event as accessible and affordable as possible, so that as many people as possible can get to see the President," says State G. O. P. Chairman Ross Davis. "We really like the idea of going public this [illegible]."

So many tickets had been sold at week's end, the Republicans figured they'd eventually fill the 1,500 or so luncheon seats at Seattle Center Exhibition Hall.

Mr. Ford's Seattle stay of four hours or so also will include a speech to a White House Conference at the Olympic Hotel, plus a select $500 fund-raiser. Then he'll fly to Portland for a very-public, very lively schedule.

A key event there will be a "Bicentennial youth rally". A crowd of possibly 12,000 young people from Oregon and Southwestern Washington is expected in Portland's Memorial Coliseum for a musical program and pageant. Then—according to the plan—President Ford appears to hold a 40-minute question-and-answer session.

(There's also some speculation Mr. Ford will open a Q-and-A session in Seattle, too.)

7704001 1895

78

New York Times
September 5, 1975

President Makes Pledge

The President appealed here for a renewed attempt by the Republican minority to reach out to independent voters and, as the senators had suggested, he pledged himself to "good education, good housing, good health care and good food" for the United States citizen" at a price that he can afford."

But Mr. Ford did not waver from his earlier declarations that the way to do so was to stop relying on "the massive, muscle-bound bureaucracy of government."

He said that "too many Americans have relied too much, for too long on the Government in Washington to meet their demands, grant their wishes and solve their problems." He continued:

"I think it is time we look elsewhere—more to Washington state, for example, and less to Washington, D.C. We should look in the offices and shops, the factories, the farms, the laboratories, the homes, the schools and the churches of America."

His Seattle audience applauded with gusto, although about 100 demonstrators outside the hall shouted demands for more Government assistance to the jobless and to American Indians.

One group of demonstrators, angry over what they viewed as abrogation of Indian treaty rights to fish where they choose, chanted, "Stop the war —against Indians."

Draws a Laugh

Despite a sunny day in Seattle, the President drew a laugh from one party audience when he remarked that the city, which has frequent rain showers, "is the only place I know where you can be all wet and still get elected."

In a reference to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Mr. Ford then added, "Scoop, if you're listening, I'm only kidding." Mr. Ford, whose journey to Washington raised to 39 the number of states he has visited since becoming President little more than a

79

7704001 1897

Seattle Times
August 14, 1974

Ford will bring cabinet members on t

Several members of President [illegible]'s cabinet, plus other key presidential advisers, are expected to be in Seattle for the September 4 White House Conference here — an event which apparently also will kick off an important West Coast political swing by Mr. Ford.

The Seattle Chamber of Commerce today confirmed that the secretaries of health, education and welfare; housing and urban development; transportation, and co[illegible] are expected to attend, along with L. William Seidman, economic-affairs adviser assistant to the President, and the Environmental Protection Agency administrator, Russell E. Train.

"Invitations are going out now" to about 1,[illegible] area leaders of business, labor, local government and other interests who are expected to attend, a chamber spokesman reported.

President Ford is expected to address that conference, attend a G. O. P. fund-raising event at Seattle Center, then fly to a major speaking engagement in Portland that evening.

The next day Mr. Ford will begin a series of appearances in California, including an address to the California Legislature in Sacramento. A few days later Mr. Ford reportedly will make appearances in the Los Angeles area.

Political observers see some major presidential campaign significance in the schedule: Washington State is considered "Henry Jackson country"; California is "Ronald Reagan country."

Jackson is an announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination and Reagan is expected to mount an imposing campaign to wrest the G. O. P. presidential nomination from Mr. Ford.

Seattle's White House Conference — to be held in the Grand Ballroom of the Olympic Hotel — probably will feature discussions of a range of issues such as the economy, energy, the environment, transportation, housing and education.

Details of its agenda [illegible] haven't been put together [illegible], say planners. However, a tentative lineup of participants includes Transportation Secretary William T. Coleman, Jr.; Commerce Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton; H. E. W. Secretary David Mathews, and H. U. D. Secretary Carla Hills.

7704001 1893

Seattle Times
September 3, 1975

Ford visit may be hit as campaigning

By MICHAEL J. PARKS

The White House aide in charge of tomorrow's "presidential town hall meeting" in Seattle concedes that the meetings probably will be criticized as campaigning as the 1976 election draws near.

But William J. Baroody, Jr., President Ford's assistant for liaison with public institutions and groups, dismissed the idea that the meetings are a part of the President's campaign for re-election.

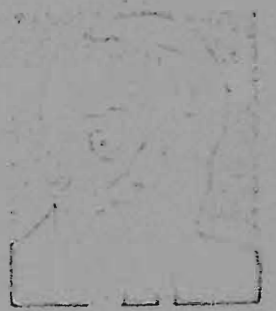
"I would point out that Webster defines politics as the art and science of government," Baroody said in an interview here today.

The town-hall meetings (tomorrow's is the ninth since the first of the year) are part of a Ford program to institutionalize a process of two-way communication between the government and the people, [illegible]

THEY ARE designed to redress the isolation of government leaders that became a problem in the Nixon administration, to expose the President and his top advisers to the people and to help restore confidence in government.

Baroody said that to the extent the town-hall gatherings and other such meetings in the capital help dispel the idea that government is not accessible or responsive to the people, "you are darn right there will be beneficial political side effects."

But the best indication they are not campaign activities is that groups and institutions which are "demonstrably not Republican-front organizations" are cosponsors, along with the White House Public Liaison Office, Baroody said. The conference here has 14 cosponsors, including the University of Washington and a labor union.



William J. Baroody, Jr.

The aide also conceded that the town hall meetings leave out the ordinary individual who does not belong to one of the sponsoring organizations, the "man on the street" who is a nonjoiner. His office has tried to correct this by asking sponsors to save a percentage of their tickets for nonmembers.

A few tickets also are reserved by the White House for interested individuals, though Baroody hedged on the question of whether any are left for tomorrow's session.

EVEN WITH this weakness, Baroody feels the meetings held so far have drawn a representative cross-section of the communities involved.

The meetings have resulted in a few specific policy changes and in a number of "interesting ideas" which still are being considered, Baroody said. At one meeting, for example, it was suggested that during periods of high unemployment, skilled workers be used to train the unskilled.

The government has a lot of manpower-training programs, but none that tailes precisely that approach.

Baroody said he believes the fact that President Ford has "gone the extra mile" by attending the town-hall meetings has helped improve the confidence climate, along with the President's style and approach to the office.

Plenty of time is being set aside for press interviews with the various cabinet officers and other leaders who will be in town for the meeting tomorrow.

Baroody said that availability of the officials to reporters is designed not so much to achieve maximum publicity for the administration as "maximum understanding" of the issues that will be brought up during the meeting.

(Editorial article, B 7.)

81

7 7 0 4 0 - 0 1 1 8 9 2

Seattle Times
September 3, 1975

Morton cites benefits of White House conferences

By [illegible] WYNNE

The White House conferences around the country are directly benefiting President Ford and his cabinet, Secretary of Commerce Rogers C. B. Morton said here last night.

Morton, arriving to attend tomorrow's Pacific Northwest White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs, said the meetings offer many productive opportunities.

"The President gets a opportunity to be President outside of the White House," Morton said. "I think it is exceedingly important to a President."

Morton noted the recent Milwaukee conference gave him a chance to meet with a variety of people.

"I got a chance to meet with the consumers of the Commerce Department," Morton said ". . . and an opportunity to meet, at the proper time, in depth with the press."

Morton said the conferences also give those dealing with government an opportunity to meet people within the government.

Morton, Republican Party chairman from 1969 to 1971, avoided questions about the political advantages of the conferences.

Morton will take part in an afternoon panel on energy and the environment at tomorrow's conference.

Morton said he also plans to inspect the Sand Point site of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Western headquarters.

Rogers C. B. Morton

770400119D1

Seattle Post Intelligencer
September 5

Just Like A Candidate...

BY SHELBY SCATES
P-I Political Writer

Gerald Ford hit town yesterday with everything but sandbacks and campaign buttons, and suddenly it seemed like 1976.

The place was more Republicans inside the Exhibition Hall at Seattle Cen-

Analysis

ter, friendly crowds on the streets outside and up on "Pill Hill" at the new Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center.

The Pres. [illegible] like a candidate, shaking hands, praising local Republicans, [illegible] with Sen. Warren [illegible] fellow Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Ford's five-hour sprint through the

Back Page, Column 5

Seattle Post Intelligencer
September 4, 1975

[redacted]

give [redacted] very much like the man to lead in 1976, a plain-spoken conservative who appeared surprisingly relaxed and confident.

Maybe it is the contrast with the Democratic Richard Nixon, who hated Ford out of the House and into the vice presidency when Spiro Agnew left.

So maybe it will fade.

But Ford looked like hot political merchandise yesterday.

"I think he would give Sen. Henry Jackson a pretty good run — right here in Washington state," said Ross Davis, the state chairman and perhaps the happiest Republican around.

Not only does he have a 1976 candidate, Ford's appearance at [redacted] fund-raising functions [redacted] rallied the state GOP out of the doldrums.

The President's other reason for coming to Seattle was to attend a "non-political" White House conference on domestic and economic affairs.

It was nonpartisan. It was not nonpolitical. It was the power of the incumbency to capture public attention and focus it on the Ford administration through a "freak display" between officials and conference participants.

Coming after Nixon's bitterness isolation, it is good seller. It's also excellent politics.

Candidate Ford was outside shaking hands. President Ford was inside deferent to the people. His

[redacted]

770401901

84

The President and All His People

Seattle Post Intelligencer
September 4, 1975

Today's Visit To Seattle

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD

BY SHELBY SCATES
P-I Political Writer

Fresh from a conference with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on a Middle East peace agreement, President Ford flies here today to join six of his top domestic officials in a "Presidential Town Hall Meeting."

About 800 persons will attend the all-day conference at the Olympic Hotel with the President and cabinet officers.

Indians aim to demonstrate for treaty rights on the streets outside.

Another 1900 Republicans will see the President at a pair of Republican party functions at the Seattle Center and the Olympic Hotel. Aimed at raising money, they have succeeded.

Ross Davis, the GOP state chairman, was jubilant yesterday.

"The luncheon at the Exhibition Hall ($25 per ticket) is a sellout and we're trying to figure out a way to get enough tables into the Georgian Room at the Olympic for a second lunch ($500 per ticket)," he said.

"For the first time in 15 years the state and all the county party organizations are in the black as a result of this fund-raising."

Davis brushed aside grumbles of criticism from some conference sponsors about the mingling of partisan politics with the White House meeting.

William Baroody, the President's assistant for public liaison and conference chairman, admitted that "as far as I can perceive, the visit isn't hurting" Ford's political popularity.

But this, he said, is the happy fallout of a new White House policy of going out to meet the people, listen to complaints and answer questions.

Seattle is the eighth city to stage

Back Page, Column 5

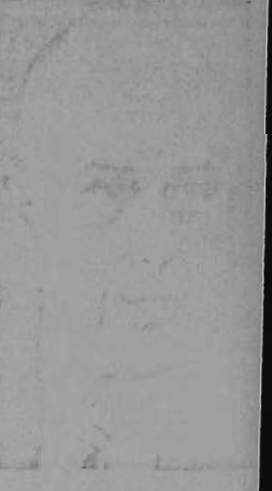
WILLIAM COLEMAN JR.
Transportation Sec.

CARLA A. HILLS
Secretary of HUD

ROGERS MORTON
Commerce Secretary

DR. DAVID MATHEWS
Secretary of HEW

RUSSELL E. TRAIN
EPA Administrator



WILLIAM SEIDMAN
Economic affairs

7704001901

Seattle Post Intelligencer
September 4, 1975
page A 12

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

OFF PAGE ONE

President's Visit

From Page A-1

such a conference. Baroody said similar conferences are planned through 1976, an election year, at the rate of one or two a month.

"It's just a good way of doing business," he said. "No, it's not entirely a fallout of Watergate and the isolation of President Nixon. It's something Ford proposed to Nixon in 1969. It's something we should have been doing for the past 20 years."

BARODDY

Cabinet officers participating are the secretaries of transportation, William Coleman, health, education and welfare, David Mattews, commerce, Rogers Morton, and housing and urban development, Carla Hills.

Russell Train, director of the Environmental Protection Agency, and William Seidman, the President's assistant for economic affairs, will also field questions at the conference.

U.S. Rep. Joel Pritchard of Seattle, the state's lone GOP congressman, will take the early morning flight to Seattle with the President.

Sen. Robert Packwood, R-Oregon, will be on the platform with him at the two noontime fundraisers.

According to the White House the Republican National Committee is picking up the tab for Ford's portion of the Seattle visit. The 14 organizations sponsoring the conference are spreading its cost among themselves and those invited.

"I'm not aware of any major announcements to be made by the President, but I wouldn't rule it out," said Baroody.

Gov. Dan Evans will introduce the President to the conference. Baroody said he expected Ford to spend most of an hour fielding questions from participants.

"That's been the pattern of previous conferences," he said. "About a three-minute speech, then questions and answers."

Previous conferences were held in Atlanta, Concord, N.H., San Diego, Hollywood, Fla., Peoria, Ill. and Milwaukee.

"All of the material — the questions and answers — are taped, transcribed and given to the government agency to which they pertain" said Baroody. "We've tried to get grass roots opinions by having the broadest possible sponsoring organizations." the Seattle Chamber of Commerce

The local sponsors range from to the Washington Environmental Council.

"Sure it's hard to separate politics from policy," said Baroody. "Good policies are good politics and we regard these town hall meetings as good policy.

"It's nonpartisan. You can't say the League of Women Voters or the University of Washington, two other sponsoring organizations, are out to re-elect Gerry Ford. We've found that the skepticism goes away when the conference gets underway."

7704011901

7704001901

Seattle Times
September 5, 1975

All was sunny for President

By RICHARD W. LARSEN
Political Writer

Seattle's reaction to President Gerald Ford's fast-traveling White House show yesterday was like the weather — sparkling, sunny and warm.

Maybe it's that people here like the way he's running the nation. Maybe not. Perhaps it's a reaction to the wholly non-imperious, old-shoe personal style of the guy from Grand Rapids.

More likely, thought some observers, it was mainly that the President of the United States was coming around to see the folks again.

Whatever the reason, President Ford, in a whirlwind five-hour visit to the city, encountered smiling faces and waving arms almost everywhere he went. He often went to the crowd, shook outthrust hands and said over and over, "Hi. Nice to see you."

"Wow," murmured Tamy Terkla, a teen-ager after the President had shaken her hand during his almost impromptu visit to the Hutchinson Cancer Research Center.

And there was that inevitable: "I'll never wash this hand again!" That came from a gray-haired woman tourist from Corvallis, Ore., who just happened to be in the sidewalk crowd at the Seattle Center when the President walked over to shake hers and other hands.

The President went so readily, willing to greet crowds and shake hands, some observers wondered about the security.

THE PRESIDENT came to town to address a regional White House conference. But there was no doubt that his speeches to two smash-success Republican fund-raising luncheons, his drop-in to the hospital and his other appearances around town were all pure 1976 presidential campaigning.

His most newsworthy utterance was on the new Mid-East peace agreement. No, said Mr. Ford, it won't drag the United States into another Vietnam. Instead it will be "added insurance for keeping the peace." (Details A 11.)

The Ford visit here — the first stop of a swift swing down the West Coast which ended today in California — had a profound effect on often divided Republicans in this state.

The fund-raisers (about 2,000 were served at a $250-a-person luncheon at Exhibition Hall and about 360 at a second $500 luncheon at The Olympic) paid off long-standing G. O. P. party debts.

Standing beside Mr. Ford on the Exhibition Hall speakers stand, Gov. Dan Evans looked out over the sea of conservative, liberal and in-between Republican faces and happily exclaimed: "DY-NO-MITE!"

Frank Atwood of Bellingham, a conservative Republican, said, of Mr. Ford's speech at the Olympic lunch: "Terrific! He's not super articulate, but it comes through. He's, well, you get the feeling you've known people like him. He's getting the party together."

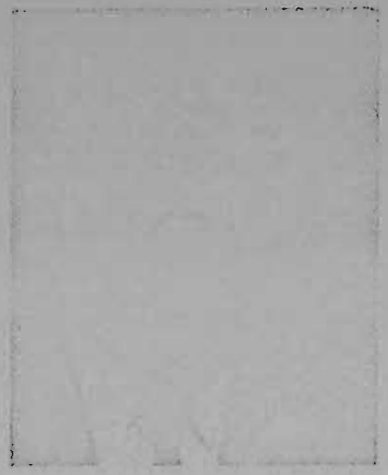
WHEN THE presidential motorcade finally rolled from downtown Seattle toward Boeing Field it was 4:30 p. m. All traffic on Interstate 5 and all its on-ramps were blocked by State Patrol cars.

It was the height of rush-hour congestion. Here and there a driver left his cars standing in the mess of stopped traffic to walk to a vantage point and wave to the passing presidential limousine.

A national-network TV cameraman, in a bus in the procession, saw that and said: "Now THAT'S what I call good-natured . . . "

(Photos, other details, A 2, 3, 10 and 11 and D 1.)

7704001-87



R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Reagan — dimming Ford's GOP star?

Ford leading for California to [illegible] political strength

By Carl T. Rowan

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

DATE OF TRIP: September 11, 1975

TO: Keene, Peterborough and Portsmouth, New Hampshire

AGENDA: September 11th

* 10:09 a.m. - Remarks at Town Square (Keene)
* 11:39 a.m. - Remarks for live Radio Interview (Peterborough)
* 8:15 p.m. - Remarks at Town Square (Portsmouth)

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Time Magazine, September 22, p. 28
Newsweek, September 22, p. 23

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT INCLUDED:

Remarks for radio interview (Peterborough)

7704211 1990

Now, let me indicate what I believe in and what Louis Wyman believes in, what our party stands for. We stand, first, for fiscal responsibility in the management of the public trust as far as your taxes are concerned and will fight hard and effectively, I hope, that your money that you pay into the Treasury, whether it is in New Hampshire or in Washington, will be spent wisely and economically.

We believe, also, that the free enterprise system is the best way to have a healthy nation. We believe that it is better to put young people, old people, working people not on the public payroll, but on the private payroll. We think it is more important that people work in a free enterprise system rather than working for the government as such.

We also believe that the United States must be second to none in national security. We believe that our Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines must be strong. That is the best way to achieve the peace and to preserve the peace.

We believe that the control of your local community is better when it is in the hands of locally elected officials. We think the people of Keene and the other many fine communities in New Hampshire can run their affairs better than having somebody in Washington tell them how to do it.

We believe that the freedom of the individual is important, that each of you should not be overcrowded by the Federal Government of certain rights, whether they are in education, in industry, in your community. The right of each of you as an individual is a sacred trust to us.

Let me conclude with this observation about my very close and old friend, Louis Wyman: I had the privilege of serving with Louis in the House of Representatives for better than 10 years. I know he is an experienced and able and effective legislator.

He started with a great Senator from your State, Styles Bridges. He served you more ably as attorney general. His record of public service is outstanding. And I can say from personal observation that he is a person who will do a good job for you in the United States Senate.

Louis Wyman understands some of those problems better than anybody that I know in Washington, as his record of attorney general speaks for itself. We have too much crime in America. Louis Wyman knows, as attorney general and as a Member of the Congress, how to effectively meet the challenge of crime in America.

Louis Wyman knows that you need jobs in New Hampshire, and Louis Wyman, while he was a Member of the House of Representatives, worked hard and, I think, effectively in trying to help the job situation in the State of New Hampshire.

Louis Wyman will do across the board the kind of a job that you will be proud of. And I can assure you that my long and personal, close relationship with Louis—that I will be proud to have him down there working for you, representing you, and working with us for a better America.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:03 a.m. Keene was the first stop during the President's motorcade through southern New Hampshire which included stops in the following towns: Marlborough, Dublin, Peterborough, Milford, Amherst, Nashua, Hudson, Salem, Hampstead, Kingston, Exeter, and Portsmouth.

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

Peterborough, New Hampshire

The President's Remarks in a Live Radio Interview With Dave Goblaskas of WSCV and WSLE–FM. September 11, 1975

MR. GOBLASKAS. Mr. President, with the veto of the oil price control bill and reports that that sustained veto could really increase the financial burdens on America, do you have any encouraging news on the oil situation for the people of New Hampshire and the Northeast?

THE PRESIDENT. Dave, let me say most emphatically that I proposed to the Congress a phased decontrol program that would, over a period of 39 months, alleviate any sharp increase. And, as a matter of fact, in the first 12 months in my 39-month phased decontrol program, oil prices would be less, not more.

Now, we are trying to work with the Democratic leadership in the House as well as the Senate to actually enact or approve the 39-month decontrol program that I have proposed. If it is enacted into law, actually, fuel prices will go down the first year, and we will be able to absorb in the months ahead the increases that will come over the succeeding 2 years and 3 months.

MR. GOBLASKAS. Mr. President, there have been several proposals that America should trade its surplus wheat to certain other countries in return for their oil. How do you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, the Congress as well as the President urged the farmers of America last year to go to all-out production, and they did. The net result is we are going to have a record corn crop, a record wheat crop, a record soybean crop.

We can sell that wheat abroad to Japan, to the Soviet Union, and others in place of storing it as we did for a good many years at a cost of $1 million a day in storage fees. So, I think it is better to sell it rather than to store it.

I know my good friend, Norris Cotton, used to fight against the storage fees of $1 million a day. Can you imagine that?

We want to sell it, and we can trade it. And we have a group of negotiators in the Soviet Union right now try-

ing to make a long-term sales agreement that will mean that they will buy from us, not in sporadic, erratic ways, but consistently, this great natural resource which we can use for humanitarian as well as diplomatic purposes.

So, I think it is a good deal not only to sell it—but it is conceivable, it is possible that we can use wheat in a negotiation for oil. And I would not rule out the possibility that that might materialize.

MR. GOBLASKAS. Mr. President, with the primaries approaching, do you see this campaign for Mr. Wyman as a possible test of your strength among the voters of New Hampshire?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I came, Dave, on this beautiful day in New Hampshire to do what I could to help my friend, Louis Wyman. And on the other hand, it is delightful to start in Keene and end up in Portsmouth to get reacquainted with some people I knew a good many years ago and, at the same time, to make some new friends.

I intend to be up here next March. I like the people of New Hampshire, and I will probably ask you for your support then. But today I want you to help Louis Wyman, and I hope you will.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:39 a.m. at the studios of WSCV and WSLE–FM.

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

Portsmouth, New Hampshire

The President's Remarks at the Town Square. September 11, 1975

Louis, Governor Thomson, distinguished guests:

At the very beginning, let me apologize for being late. We have had just unbelievable crowds beginning in Keene and running all the way across the State west to east.

I just appreciate, beyond any words that I can express, my gratitude for your patience, your understanding, and your warm and hospitable reaction to our coming in at this time.

This trip to New Hampshire has been a great lift, and it has been a lift because I am convinced that the people of New Hampshire are interested in having their election decided by them and not by the politicians in Washington, D.C.

It was my privilege to come to your State Capitol in April and to urge at that time that the right answer was by the people and the wrong answer was by the politicians in the Nation's Capital. You have that opportunity now. You have probably the greatest opportunity to make a decisive decision next Tuesday.

I am proud to be here on behalf of a friend of mine, Louis Wyman, but I am equally proud to be in the great State of New Hampshire because I am here representing, along with others, a unified party, a party that is working together on behalf of Louis Wyman's election. Governor Thomson, last night Governor Reagan, earlier today—and he may be here now—Senator Norris Cotton, Congressman Jim Cleveland was with us—all I am trying to say is we have presented a unified front because we think it is a crucial election.

I am delighted to see Ruth Griffin here who so ably represents your area, and she, like all of us, is standing steadfast on behalf of Louis Wyman.

Let me ask you or tell you, if I might, why we stand together. Why are we interested in the election of Louis Wyman? Louis Wyman believes in a strong national defense with the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marines first and not second best, and that is important to the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

Secondly, related to that, you have got a great naval installation here in Portsmouth—one that is very significant from the national security point of view, one that is a very vital part of the economy of this part of New Hampshire. Let me speak very strongly that Louis Wyman in 1964 and again in 1972 almost singlehandedly kept the Portsmouth Navy Yard open so we could have that facility here defending or helping to defend the peace throughout the world.

Let me add, you elect Louis and he will have an opportunity to continue that strong support for this great Navy installation which is such an integral part of our national security forces.

I don't have to tell all of you in New Hampshire that Louis, by actions, by words, is working hard to keep control of government at the local level. He knows and I know that we cannot run the city of Portsmouth nearly as well from Washington as your elected officials can do it right here in Portsmouth.

So, if you want local control with locally elected officials and the backup given to Lou that is necessary, then you ought to elect Louis Wyman on next Tuesday.

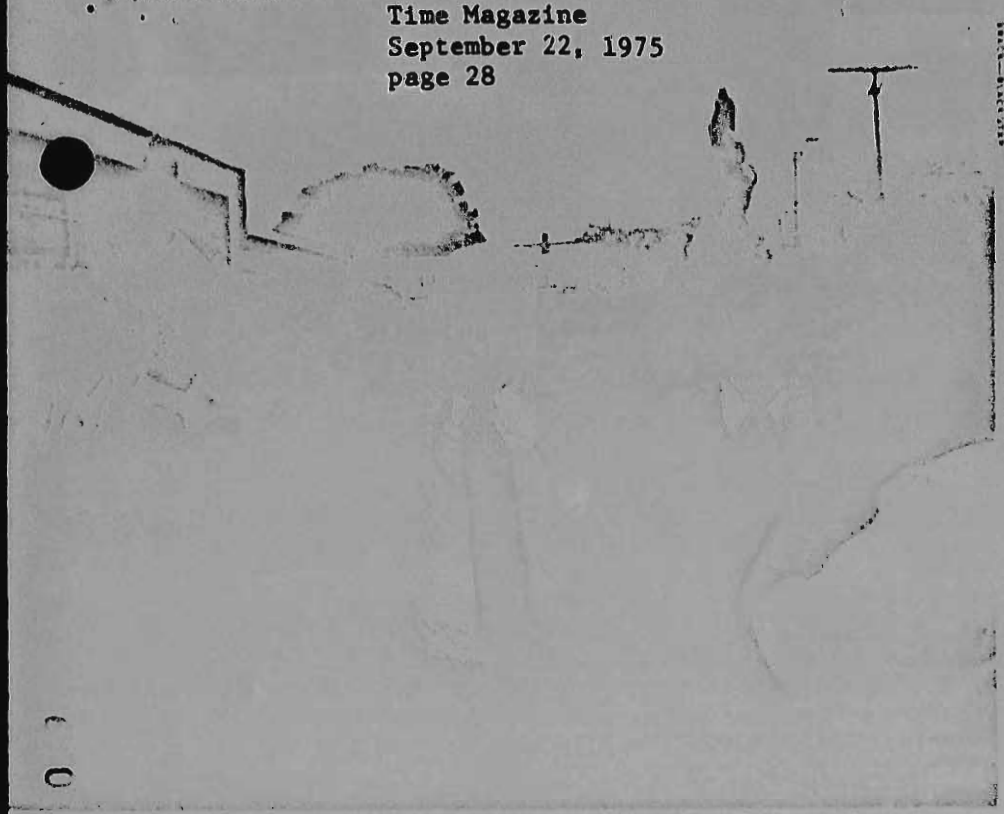
I would like to conclude a wonderful day, and it started early and it is ending late, but it has been an inspiration to me to meet so many old friends, to make so many new acquaintances.

Fortunately, a long time ago I used to come to New Hampshire then to vacation and ski, and I met some wonderful people who have been my friends over the years, and the characteristics of those people I have found in my opportunity to see others in New Hampshire today are independence, dedicated, with great conviction.

You have the kind of characteristics which I think are reflected in Louis Wyman. If you want an independent

Time Magazine
September 22, 1975
page 28

91



FORD, FLANKED BY SECRET SERVICEMEN, WAVING TO NEW HAMPSHIRE CROWD

THE PRESIDENT

A Scare and a Bulletproof Vest

Only six days after the threat to his life by Squeaky Fromme, President Ford last week was back doing what comes naturally: plunging into the crowds and pressing flesh with the people. It was the familiar rite—but this time there were some unsettling differences.

Toward the end of the week, Ford went to St. Louis to attend a $1,000-a-couple G.O.P. fund raiser and address some 8,000 members of the National Baptist Convention of America, a black, religiously conservative church with 6.5 million members. While Ford was being interviewed at television station KMOX, a minor drama was unfolding ten blocks away. Inside cavernous Kiel Auditorium, where the President was scheduled to address the Baptists about one hour later, Patrolman Thomas L. Calcaterra spotted a man standing on a catwalk about 40 ft. above the stage —holding what appeared to be a .45-cal. pistol.

Sealed Buildings. Dressed in a short-sleeved shirt, dark pants and a dark tie, and wearing what appeared to be a black wig, the man raced down the catwalk when Calcaterra shouted at him and disappeared into the maze of rooms, corridors and stairways in the upper part of the auditorium. Calcaterra quickly signaled fellow officers on his walkie-talkie, and the Secret Service joined 70 local security officers in sealing off the buildings. In the all-black Baptist gathering, the white man would have stood out, but the influx of dozens of plainclothes white security men preceding the President probably helped him to escape. Ford later addressed the convention without incident. Two bomb threats also were reported in the area but they turned out to be false.

Shirt Discomfort. Earlier in the week, uneasiness also filled the air as the President made a campaign swing through New Hampshire to support Republican Louis C. Wyman in his rerun Senate race against Democrat John A. Durkin. Ford spoke, shook hands, and waved at the large, friendly crowds at 22 political stops on a 118-mile motorcade—all the while wearing a protective vest under his shirt. It probably was a 4½-lb., ¾-in.-thick model made of Kevlar, a synthetic material that resembles fiber-glass cloth. The White House refused to confirm or deny press reports of the vest, but it was plainly visible across Ford's back just above his shoulder blades. His shirt was stretched tautly across his chest and bunched beneath his tie; at times the President fingered his shirt collar with apparent discomfort, and despite the early morning temperatures in the low 60s, he perspired profusely.

The extraordinary caution was taken at the urging of White House officials. Shortly after Fromme had pointed her loaded pistol at Ford, the Secret Service got a call from a manufacturer of "protective clothing." He offered to show some safety products for the President. Though there has never been much enthusiasm for heavy, uncomfortable bulletproof garments among those responsible for presidential security, the Secret Service nonetheless passed them on to the White House before the President left on his New Hampshire campaign trip.

It was understandable that the President should want to get out and test the political waters in a state where he will be a candidate in the Republican primary next year. Ford's all-but-declared challenger, Ronald Reagan, was also in New Hampshire last week stumping for Wyman. Though Reagan is fading in many places, recent polls have shown him edging close to Ford's popularity rating in New Hampshire, and he is expected to announce in November that he will run in its primary next March.

Under Surveillance. Yet some Americans were warily questioning the wisdom of Ford's making such a trip at all; at moments he and Candidate Wyman rode standing up in an open limousine. Beside him was the usual complement of four Secret Service agents, including Agent Larry Buendorf, who had wrested the gun away from Fromme. Other agents were on the perimeter of the presidential entourage. A former prominent Manson family member, Linda Kasabian, was at her home a few miles from Milford, N.H., when Ford stopped there; but the Secret Service and a state police officer kept her under close surveillance throughout the President's stay.

Most of the rest of Ford's week was spent indoors. Friday night he was in Kansas City, Kans., for another fund raiser; on Saturday he flew to Dallas, and amid inevitable reminders of John Kennedy, Ford addressed some 2,000 members of the National Federation of Republican Women and spoke at Southern Methodist University. Then he journeyed to Midland, Texas, where he dedicated the Permian Basin Petroleum Museum and was thanked with a shower of rose petals—a fitting gesture in a week when Congress sustained his veto of an oil decontrol bill.

Ford had decided to take these calculated risks. Though he was not wearing a bulletproof vest in St. Louis, reporters there pressed him on the issue of his security. He declined to comment directly on any specific precautionary measures but went on to say quite forcefully that "it is important for the American people to have an opportunity to see firsthand—close up —their President. I feel you have to balance or weigh the risks as to my own personal security against what is a very important aspect of our political life in America."

7704001903

Newsweek Magazine
September 22, 1975
page 23

the Secret Service closed off the airport for Ford's arrival last week—only to look on with dismay as he plunged into a small group of well-wishers assembled at the downtown headquarters of his host, Louis C. Wyman, a Republican who is in a stiff fight in this week's New Hampshire Senate runoff with Democrat John A. Durkin.

As Ford and Wyman set off on a ten-and-a-half-hour, 118-mile motorcade across the state, the President instructed the driver of his limousine to open the roof hatch so he and Wyman could be seen by the crowds lining the sidewalks. Wyman noted cautiously that the 60-degree weather was "kind of cold." Ford replied cheerily: "Lonne, you've got to be hardy if you're from New Hampshire." The two men finished their appearance in the open air—Ford's way.

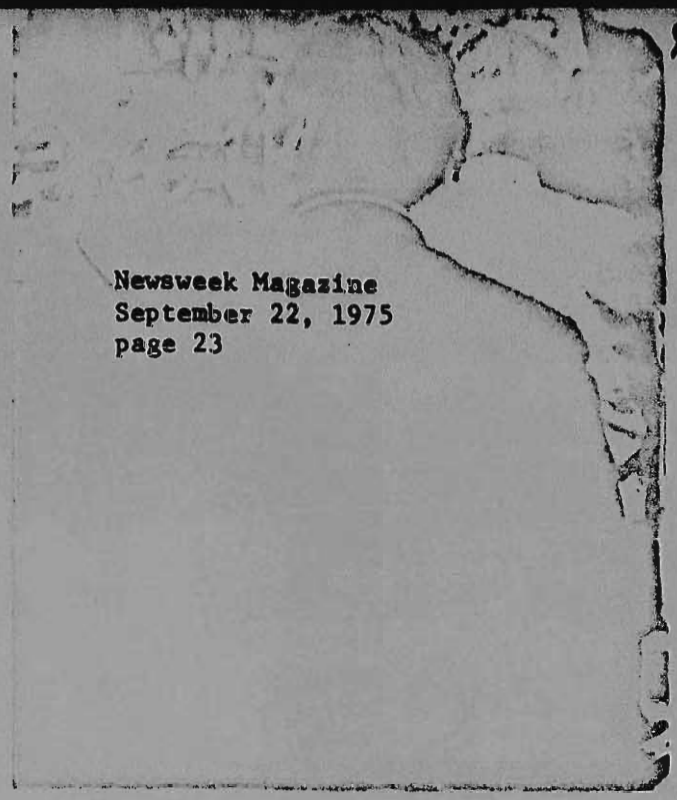
French Cuffs: Ford made his foray in New Hampshire only a day after Ronald Reagan had appeared in the state to plug Wyman's candidacy. Upstaging Reagan was the primary function of Ford's great progessional. To accomplish that mission, Ford passed through thirteen towns and came within reach of about 70 per cent of New Hampshire's population, hinting all the while that he would be back for the Presidential primary next March. After 26 stops, he wound up in Portsmouth on the state's Atlantic coast with his hair tousled, his voice hoarse, his Oxfords dusty—and his French cuffs soiled from all the handshaking.

Some of Ford's aides had feared that putting the President's prestige on the line behind Wyman's ailing campaign might be a mistake. Ford disregarded their advice, arguing that he had no intention of following Richard Nixon's 1972 style of abandoning GOP candidates. The President's men hoped that Ford's trip might smoke Reagan out of hiding—or even out of the race. "He just does not have the instinct for the jugular that a guy who wants to take on an incumbent President has to have," predicted one member of Ford's palace guard. Ford operatives have already lined up a formidable array of support within the top leadership ranks of the Republican Party. And the Gallup poll placed Ford ahead of his reluctant rival by more than 2 to 1 among Republican voters.

In response, Reagan doubled the road time for his own gauzily disguised campaign. "He's made up his mind," said Reagan strategist Lyn Nofziger. "He's going to go." One of Reagan's first stops was the National Federation of Republican Women in Dallas, where 2,000 delegates waved white hankies in approval as Reagan delivered a 40-minute stem-winder. "Ford's an Edsel," read the campaign button of one young Reagan hopeful. But the President still held an edge in the minds, if not the hearts, of most of the shrewder women in Dallas. And to some GOP leaders the Reagan candidacy was beginning to look like an indulgence all around. "The whole thing is crazy," said one member of the Republican National Committee. "We have our President in the White House—and we can keep him there if things break right."

For the moment, the drift of the nation's politics—if not its economy—did seem to be going Ford's way. The GOP National Committee formally selected Kansas City, a Presidential favorite, as the site for its 1976 convention last week. And Ford clearly planned to show up with the nomination in his pocket. "I did not take the sacred oath of office to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of America," he said in Dallas. The rhetoric was Churchillian, but the thought was just plain Ford.

—TOM MATHEWS with THOMAS M. DeFRANK traveling with the President and HAL BRUNO in Dallas

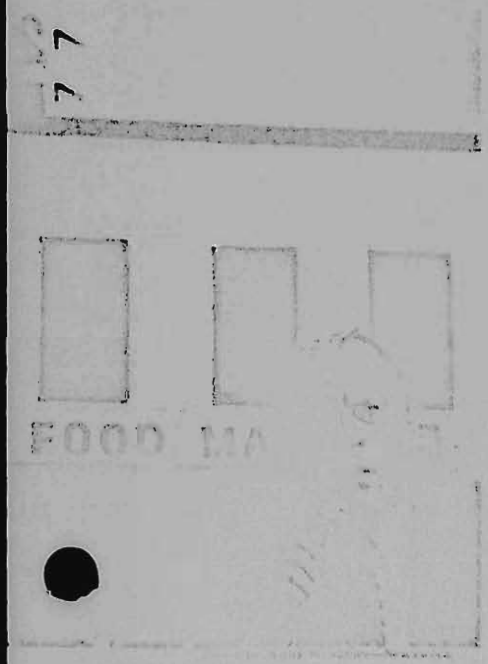


Ford with Wyman: Telltale outline of body armor

FORD'S NEW VEST

The extra security measures for President Ford's latest stumping tour were predictable—machine-gun-toting guards at the margins of the Presidential procession, lookouts on roofs and overpasses. But there was a difference in New Hampshire last week: the bulges under Ford's suit jacket revealed that he was wearing a bulletproof vest. The White House refused to release details, but the garment was thought likely to be one of those stocked by the Secret Service and made of a recently perfected artificial fiber called Kevlar. Weighing about 4 pounds, the garment is worn under the shirt, with flaps for tucking into trousers. The fabric was first developed to replace steel in belted tires, then modified for body armor; seven layers are sufficient to stop slugs from the fastest handguns in the world—including the .45 pointed at the President by Squeaky Fromme—but even the 25-layer vest will not ward off a bullet from a sniper's rifle.

Protection: The last word in body armor



an crowds as Ford campaigns in Keene

7704021911

DATE OF TRIP: September 12, 1975

TO: St. Louis, Kansas City, Missouri

AGENDA: September 12, 1975

12:32 p.m. - Interview with Reporters (St. Louis)
1:04 p.m. - Interview with Reporters (St. Louis)
1:55 p.m. - Remarks at the National Baptist Convention's Annual Meeting (St. Louis)
4:05 p.m. - Remarks and question-and-answer session at Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs (St. Louis)
6:22 p.m. - Remarks to Reporters at K.C. Airport (Kansas City)
7:45 p.m. - Remarks to members of the Capitol Club (Overland Park, Kansas)
10:09 p.m. - Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner (Kansas City, Missouri)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Los Angeles Times - September 13, 1975
Kansas City Star-Times - September 12, 1975
Kansas City Star-Times - September 14, 1975
Kansas City Star-Times - September 13, 1975

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Interivew with Reporters at Airport (St. Louis)
Interview with T.V. Newspaper Reporters (St. Louis)

7704010491

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 19, 1975

St. Louis, Missouri

The President's Remarks to Reporters Upon Arrival at Lambert Field. September 12, 1975

[EDITOR'S NOTE. *The President was asked by a reporter if he was wearing a bulletproof vest. The President responded as follows:*]

THE PRESIDENT. The security precautions that are taken, it seems to me that that is something that should not be disclosed.

Q. Do you have any reflections a week after that incident in Sacramento? Did you think about it?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I am very grateful for the fine action taken by the Secret Service, that I was not—I really have not had time to think about it.

Q. Those House documents—how serious a matter is that?

THE PRESIDENT. Which ones are you referring to?

Q. The ones that you have asked the House to obtain, the House committee.

THE PRESIDENT. What we did there was to give these documents to a House committee on the basis that they would abide by an agreement as to what would be released and what would not. Unfortunately, the committee took action that did not coincide with the agreement that we had with the committee. And as long as we feel that we had a good faith agreement and it was breached then I think that we have proper action in requesting a return.

Q. Will Governor Reagan be acceptable as a running mate?

THE PRESIDENT. We are all in the Republican Party, and that will be a decision made by the convention.

Q. One question, Mr. President. Your policy on decontrol of oil prices has caused much concern among area service station dealers, and, in fact, they are afraid big oil is going to run them out of business and are going to picket today.

THE PRESIDENT. Not under my plan would that happen. We have requested the Congress that if there was decontrol, that the Congress pass legislation which protects the independent dealer as we have requested legislation to protect the small independent refiner.

The Congress has an obligation to pass such legislation, and, in the meantime, we are working with the various majors to have them in good faith continue their working relationship that they have with small dealers, and I think they will.

REPORTER. Thank you, sir.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m.

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

St. Louis, Missouri

The President's Interview With Julius Hunter of KMOX-TV, Robert Hardy of KMOX Radio, Richard Dudman of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, and John Flack of the St. Louis Globe Democrat. September 12, 1975

MR. HUNTER. Welcome to "Newsmakers." I am Julius Hunter.

My guest today is the most consistent and most recognized newsmaker in the world. President Gerald Ford is in St. Louis to attend a White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs. The conference is billed as a town meeting, a chance for the President and the members of his Administration to exchange views with the citizens of St. Louis.

Joining me in the questioning of Mr. Ford today are Richard Dudman, chief Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, Jack Flack, political editor of the St. Louis Globe Democrat, and Bob Hardy, director of special events for KMOX Radio.

Mr. President, welcome to St. Louis, and thank you for making this your first stop.

QUESTIONS

THE PRESIDENT'S SAFETY

Our first question concerns a matter of major concern to the vast majority of Americans; that is, your personal safety. It is a frightening fact that a President of the United States would have to wear a bulletproof vest, and we wonder whether this is going to become standard hardware, standard issue from the White House for future American Presidents and yourself? We also wonder whether or not you feel that in the interest of national security, world security, you should modify your campaign style?

THE PRESIDENT. Julius, let me say at the outset I don't think I should discuss whether I wear or don't wear—or whether I do something or don't do something that involves the security.

The Secret Service makes recommendations. I feel an obligation to follow their recommendations. But to identify, Julius, what I am doing or why I am doing it, involving security, I think makes security that much more difficult.

As to my desire to meet people when I come to either St. Louis or in New Hampshire, where I was yesterday, I feel it is important for the American people to have an opportunity to see firsthand, close up, their President.

In any job, you know, there is a risk of some kind. I feel that you have to balance or weigh the risks as to my own personal security against what is a very important aspect of our political life in America.

It is helpful for me to meet with the people, shake hands with them, get their questions, and it is just as important for them to have me say hello or to answer their questions.

So, as I put the alternatives or the contending arguments on the scales, it seems to me that what is good for the country overbalances anything else.

Q. We can see that your vest today that we can see matches your suit and is quite attractive.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Q. Mr. President, you seem to be doing more than just meeting the American people, though. You are actually campaigning at a breakneck speed, with the election still 14 months away. You seem to be campaigning as if it is going to happen next week. Why are you doing that? Are you afraid of Ronald Reagan as a possible rival? I'd like to ask you, also, if you think this is a wise use of your time when there are so many problems of Government bearing on you?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer the last question first. I work a minimum of 12 hours a day, and usually it is 14, and the odd times that I take out to come to St. Louis, to New Hampshire, do not in any way whatsoever interfere with the conducting of White House business by me as President.

I have an excellent staff. They prepare the options for me to make decisions. I have ample time to read and to study. So, when I come to St. Louis, or Kansas City, where I am going, or New Hampshire yesterday, it in no way whatsoever interferes with the responsibilities I have, which are the highest, of being President of the United States.

Now, I don't consider coming to St. Louis a campaign effort. I didn't go to New Hampshire yesterday for myself. I went there for the purpose of trying to elect a Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Governor Reagan had been there the night before. That was not for me, but for him or for our party's candidate. So, any personal campaigning has been minimal. The aim and objective of coming here is to appear on this program, to attend a White House Conference, to help the Republican Party in Missouri and Kansas City. I don't consider it a personal campaign effort.

RONALD REAGAN

Q. Mr. Dudman also asked you another question, and that is regarding Mr. Reagan and your possible fear of his candidacy.

THE PRESIDENT. Julius, I like competition in the political arena. Governor Reagan has not announced as a candidate yet. He has indicated either personally or through one of his representatives that he may some time in November.

Governor Reagan was a fine Governor of the State of California. Until he announces his candidacy, I am assuming that I am the only Republican candidate, and I will welcome any competition. I love it.

CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

Q. Mr. President, with the seeming inability of Government to solve the Nation's critical problems—oil, energy, the economy, growing Federal spending—and the seeming preoccupation with intelligence probes and pay raises and recesses, what can be done to restore confidence, believability, and credibility in Government?

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of things that I think can be helpful. There isn't any one thing that will answer the perplexing problem that you have posed.

I happen to believe that a President traveling around the country, meeting people, is one way. The alternative for a President is to sit in seclusion in the Oval Office. I don't think that adds to the credibility or improves or enhances the public impression of Washington.

On the other hand, I think the Congress, which is an integral part of our Government, one of the three major branches, has an opportunity to also project itself and to improve its credibility by the work that it does, the

7704011911

answers that it gives, and its efforts to meet firsthand the American people.

There are some substantive matters that have to be solved that would enhance the credibility of the Government as such. We are making slow progress, but I think constructive progress, out of the recession. Employment has gone up by about 1.5 million in the last 5 months, even though the unemployment statistic is still too high.

We are making headway in meeting the challenge of inflation. It is half now what it was a year ago. It is not good enough. We are going to have to do better. But as we move forward in meeting the challenge of our economy, that will enhance our Government's credibility with 214 million people.

Also, energy must be solved, and this is probably the most frustrating domestic problem that I have faced. Having submitted a plan, a comprehensive program, to make the United States invulnerable against foreign oil cartels in January, I hate to admit it, but the Congress has done nothing affirmative either on their plan—if they have one—or on my plan, which I submitted.

I think the American people are frustrated in this area, and our credibility as a Government is harmed. I still think we can do something here, but we have to achieve this improved credibility two ways—by people in Government appearing to be human and by having the Government do things affirmatively.

Q. Mr. Flack.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

Q. Mr. President, the latest poll shows that Nelson Rockefeller is not doing too well in the form of popularity. I wonder if you'd give us some thoughts on the polls and how much faith you have in him and whether Rockefeller continues to go this way that he won't be your running mate the next time around?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, you recognize the final decision as for myself as the Republican candidate and the Vice Presidential candidate will be made by the delegates to the Republican Convention.

I am, of course, interested in the polls, both personally as well as concerning any other individual for President or Vice President, but I don't think that should be the sole criteria.

I believe that a candidate for President or Vice President must be either approved or disapproved on the job that is done. If a President does a good job, even though the immediate public opinion polls may not be favorable, I think the delegates ought to approve him, and the same for Vice President.

Now, in the case of Nelson Rockefeller, I picked him because he had done a fine job in New York State. He has done far better as Vice President than I could possibly have expected. He is a hard worker. He is a good team player. He has got a vast amount of experience. I think those attributes will be watched, and the delegates will respond to them at the Republican Convention. So, based on performance and expectations, I would assume that the delegates would probably nominate him.

Q. If I may interpret, as we so-called political experts do, that sounds sort of like an endorsement for the Vice President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I certainly have to endorse the job he has done, no question about it.

BLACK AMERICANS

Q. Mr. President, in your speech to the National Baptist Convention, you promise that economic and social equality will become a reality for black Americans. That is a rather easy surface promise to make to a group that represents some 5.5 million potential votes. How do you plan to make that a reality, your promise?

THE PRESIDENT. In the first place, we are going to get the economy as a whole out of the recession, and we are on our way now to, I think, a substantially improved economic picture. In the process of that, the black American will also benefit, as all other Americans will.

If we look back on the last 5 years, Julius, we find that more blacks have gone to college, more blacks are entering better paying jobs. We are doing our utmost to improve living conditions for all disadvantaged people, including blacks.

We are seeking to enforce very vigorously the equal employment opportunity legislation. I appointed a friend of mine from Michigan, Lowell Perry, who you may or may not know, as the new Chairman of that very important commission, and they are going to do a good job.

So, through a combination of circumstances, the general improvement plus specific actions, I believe that blacks as a whole, particularly those in the lower end of the spectrum economically, will be the beneficiaries.

EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to ask you a question about the Middle East. The United States, for the first time, is becoming directly involved there, and quite deeply, with the prospect of stationing technicians. Don't you owe it to the American people in these circumstances to make public every American commitment that is being made and every detail of the deal that the United States has helped bring about between Israel and Egypt?

THE PRESIDENT. We have submitted all of the official documents to the two committees in the Congress—the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on International Relations—and Secretary Kissinger has testified to those two committees and the two Armed Services Committees.

We are working out arrangements to give the documents that I mentioned plus the content of any other

communications between me and the heads of state of Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other.

Now, we have committed to give the content of those documents and those communications, but I do not think—it has never been done in the past—that a direct communication between a President and another head of state should be made public. As long as the content is there, the commitment is there. I think that is adequate assurance to the American people.

I would add, the commitment that we have made at the request of Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other—they made them to us—authorizing up to 200 U.S. technicians, nonmilitary, in a UN buffer zone—all of the details concerning that part of the agreement will be made public.

Q. The exact words, though, won't be available. The sense of it will be filtered through selected Congressmen and Senators. Is that not right?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the exact words of our commitment of up to but not more than 200 American technicians will be made public, no question about that.

Q. I understand that, but things like the level of aid that is to be given to Israel and——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, no, no, I must correct the record there. There is a negotiation going on now between the United States and Israel as to the amount of the first year's aid, economic and military.

When I submit the budget request for the total foreign aid program on a worldwide basis, I will submit the details of the request of economic and military aid for Israel just as I will do it in the case of Egypt. But that will all come as a part of the package for the total worldwide foreign aid program.

GRAIN AND OIL

Q. Mr. President, it has been suggested that we use our grain for Soviet oil or for somebody's oil. You currently have someone working on that in the Soviet Union now, we are told. What kind of a deal do you see, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a high level group of negotiators under Assistant (Under) Secretary of State Robinson in Moscow now negotiating for a long-term purchase agreement by the Soviet Union up to, say, 5 years for American grain and other agricultural products. We feel that a long-term agreement with minimums and maximums is in the best interests of the farmer and the country, as well as our relations with the Soviet Union.

Now, there are some very preliminary discussions going on concerning grain and oil, but they have not gone beyond very preliminary discussions.

Q. Have you reached some level of amounts when you talk in terms of oil? Have you set a figure or a number of barrel amount?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no specifics because these are preliminary discussions. The Soviet Union, we understand, does have a surplus of oil. We have a surplus of grain. So, at least we ought, in a very preliminary way, just discuss any alternatives, but we have not gone beyond that.

Q. Has any kind of barter arrangement—if the Soviet Union cannot supply the oil in exchange for grain, are you hoping that they will exert their influence over the Arabs who listen to them?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there is a better way to exercise our influence with the Arab nations, and that is through the International Energy Agency, which was set up or promoted primarily by the United States about a year ago, where the basic industrial consuming nations have joined together to meet with the producing nations, OPEC, for example.

We are negotiating directly with them. I think that has more potential than relying on the Soviet Union to help us with the Arab nations.

Our relations with the Arab nations are good. I don't think we have to go through the Soviet Union in this case or any other case, as far as dealing with Arab nations.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Q. Mr. President, if Israel is expelled from the United Nations, would the United States withdraw, and can you foresee any circumstances that might prompt the U.S. to withdraw from the UN?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't expect the United Nations to kick Israel out, and, of course, the United States would vigorously protest and vote against any such effort on the part of any nation or nations. We believe that the prospects for that happening have subsided considerably, particularly since the agreement between Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other.

If we can continue to have momentum in the Middle East—which I think will continue—the prospects of Arab nations and other nonaligned nations trying to kick Israel out becomes less and less.

In other words, the position of Israel in the United Nations becomes stronger as we keep momentum going for a solution, a long-term solution, to the problems in the Middle East.

To answer your last question, I foresee no circumstances where the United States would leave the United Nations. I think it would be a mistake. It is good for us to be a part of that forum, to have an influence—

Q. You know we have had problems there in the past.

THE PRESIDENT. We have problems in other forums as well. I have always found the best way to win a game is to play it, not to sit on the sidelines. And the United States ought to be in the game in the United Nations to protect our interests. It is a lot better inside than sitting out doing nothing.

Q. Would it be in the interests of the United States to try to arrive at a formula sometime so that North and

South Vietnam could enter the United Nations? They were vetoed this time because of the connection with Korea. But isn't it true that the United States continues to have a great interest in that part of the world, and isn't there a danger that relations with North and South Vietnam can get into a deep freeze the way China and Cuba did for so many years, to nobody's advantage?

THE PRESIDENT. We believe in the universality of the United Nations. We feel that it is in the interest of the world as a whole to have all nations that want to become a part of the United Nations be members, but the effort of North and South Vietnam to get in was predicated on their coming in alone.

We felt if North and South Vietnam were to be a part of the United Nations, South Korea, that has had its application in to be a member for a good many years, also ought to be included. You can't be selective on who or what nation should be a part of the United Nations.

I presume, based on our overall interest in matters involving Southeast Asia, that it is conceivable under certain circumstances that our relations with North and South Vietnam will improve, but a lot has to happen.

For example, North Vietnam continues to refuse to give us information concerning the MIA's, and they try to bribe us by saying, "We will give you information about MIA's if you will let us in the United Nations."

Well, North Vietnam agreed in January of 1973 to give us information, to give us access to North Vietnam to find the MIA's, and they have not lived up to it. So, how can we trust them? They have got a lot of things to do before we are going to be very receptive to their participation.

SCHOOL BUSING

Q. Mr. President, busing is a subject and a practice that is distasteful to a large segment of the American population, both black and white. If it is such a distasteful and wasteful process, why bus? And is there any alternative that you see?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have to decide in the first place what we are really trying to do by busing before you discuss whether it is good or bad. All of us—white, black, every American, in my opinion—wants quality education.

Now, the Court decided in 1954 that separate but equal schools were unconstitutional, and the courts have decided that busing is one way to try and desegregate on the one hand and perhaps improve education on the other.

Many of those decisions have raised great problems in many, many localities—Louisville and Boston being the most prominent at the present time.

Discussing those two communities, let me very strongly emphasize the court has decided something. That is the law of the land. As far as my Administration is concerned, the law of the land will be upheld, and we are upholding it.

But then I think I have the right to give what I think is a better answer to the achievement of quality education, which is what we all seek. And there is always more than one answer. I think that quality education can be enhanced by better school facilities, lower pupil-teacher ratios, the improvement of the neighborhood, as such. Those are better answers, in my judgment, than busing under a court order.

Quality education can be achieved by more than one method. I was reading in the Washington Post this morning a column by one of the outstanding black columnists, Mr. Raspberry. And Mr. Raspberry has come to the conclusion that court-ordered forced busing is not the way to achieve quality education for blacks or whites in a major metropolitan area. That is a very significant decision by Mr. Raspberry, who I think Mr. Dudman, for example, highly respects.

Q. I certainly do. In Boston and Louisville, where the court has ordered busing, how well do you think the people of those two cities have conducted themselves in bringing about court-ordered exchanges of black and white students?

THE PRESIDENT. There has been some disorders there over the last year or more.

Q. I am thinking about this fall. There have been Federal agents there, of course, to try to maintain order. Are you reasonably well satisfied with the way things have happened or not?

THE PRESIDENT. So far there has been a minimum of local disorder. I hope that that attitude can prevail in the months ahead as the police involvement and the Federal marshal involvement becomes less and less. I am always an optimist, even though I disagree with the method by which they are trying to achieve quality education.

Q. Well, are you counseling the people of those two cities to cooperate with the courts, or are you encouraging them to maintain their strong feelings in some cases that this is an improper solution?

THE PRESIDENT. Last year I did a televised tape urging the people of Boston to cooperate with the court and to maintain law and order. I did that then, and I have counseled everybody that I talked with in Boston to encourage their fellow Bostonians to obey the law and follow the court's action.

Q. We have time for one short question and one short answer.

DEBATES BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Q. Mr. President, assuming your nomination, will you agree to broadcast debates with the nominee of the other party?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that gets into some problems involving the current law. I am not sure that a public debate on television is the best way for the public to analyze a candidate. I don't rule it out, but I won't make any firm commitment at this time.

Q. What about a public debate on radio?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is a possibility, but I would not want to make a firm commitment at this time.

MRS. FORD

Q. Mr. President, a cartoon in the newspaper recently mentioned that your wife's comments on the CBS program, "Face the Nation," would only hurt your campaign if she ran against you. [*Laughter*] How do you feel about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am very proud of her, and we have had a wonderful marriage. We have in our family the right of Betty, as well as the children, to speak their minds. I think she was misunderstood to some extent, but I repeat, I am proud of her and we have had a very happy marriage.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for being with us today in St. Louis.

Welcome, again.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 1:04 p.m. in the studios of KMOX-TV at the Gateway Tower Building. It was taped for broadcast that evening.

National Baptist Convention

The President's Remarks at the Convention's Annual Meeting in St. Louis, Missouri. September 12, 1975

Thank you, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Burson, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset, let me congratulate Dr. Jackson on his birthday yesterday and the fact that he was reelected president for the 22d time. I have got a long way to go, Doctor. [*Laughter*]

It is a very great privilege and pleasure for me to be here today before one of the strongest and most important institutions in our society—the church.

As you know, it was freedom—religious freedom—that inspired many of our early settlers to come to these faraway shores to found our Nation. All of us can be very proud, despite the imperfections of our country, that we have never reversed the goals of our Founding Fathers. Dr. Martin Luther King was able to stand before this Nation and this world, despite our country's travail, and will say, "I have a dream."

The dream of blacks in America actually began long before our Declaration of Independence. History tells us that blacks were American pilgrims as well as pioneers. As many as 20 blacks came ashore at Jamestown in 1619, just 12 years after the first settlers arrived.

In Boston today, the Crispus Attucks' monument stands proudly as a tribute to a black man who died leading a protest against the British 6 years before our Declaration of Independence.

As early as 1770, your Baptist faith began to take a foothold in America. At that time blacks were organizing Baptist State conventions in our various colonies.

Through the years, religion has always been a very important force in American life. It has been one of the pillars of black communities, as witness to your faith in God and all that is right.

As we look back on some of the shortcomings of America, slavery leaves a sad and sorry chapter in our history. But a powerful belief in God enabled many blacks to endure those dark and dreary and sad days.

As we begin to celebrate the Bicentennial of our Nation, we have another historic triumph to celebrate—our victory over tragic injustice—where all of God's people walk free in a land of a new day.

Equality, in the true spirit of our Founding Fathers, is not yet a full reality for all Americans. I am sorry to say that. Minorities and women still do not participate equally in employment. They do not share many economic, social, and other resources of our Nation. Yet the struggle goes on. And it must continue until the vision of our Founding Fathers and the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Jackson, and others have become a reality.

Who will ever forget Dr. George Washington Carver and his experiments with the peanut and sweet potato, which were the basis for more than 400 different products? Or Lewis Latimer, the son of a runaway slave, who invented the first incandescent electric light bulb with a carbon filament and who also helped Alexander Graham Bell develop the telephone? Or Dr. Charles Drew, who developed the apparatus for preserving blood plasma?

In the field of politics, progress has been slow, but today there are more than 3,500 black elected officials in the United States, including 135 mayors. And those numbers are increasing every year. There will be more and more and more. And, of course, there will be solid, splendid national leaders like Senator Ed Brooke and others in the Congress, providing the dedicated leadership that our country needs now and in the future.

History has not recorded accurately the countless contributions made by blacks to America. Yet times are changing as we begin our Bicentennial celebration. As President, I wish to help bring about this change by recalling some vitally important black contributions to our history.

The right to vote is the cornerstone of our democracy. I was proud to have been in the forefront of the battle to

100

Los Angeles Times
September 13, 1975

7704011913

Ford Makes It Clear--He Won't Be Intimidated

BY RU[illegible] RAMSON
[illegible]

ST. LOUIS--Responding to criticism of his campaign travel and mingling with crowds, President Ford declared in a prepared speech Friday, "I have no intention of allowing the government of the people to be held hostage at the point of a gun."

But in a last-minute change of plans, Mr. Ford threw away the prepared speech and spoke off the cuff as he addressed a White House-sponsored conference on domestic and economic affairs. As he spoke, he did not refer to the assassination attempt against him last Friday in Sacramento.

When he arrived in Kansas City, Mo., later in the day, the President was asked why he did not stick to his prepared speech, particularly concerning the question of his personal security.

"I decided I'd followed scripts sufficiently in various speeches," he said. "I thought I'd incorporate a shorter version to give the people more opportunity to ask questions, and so I just condensed it."

In the prepared text Mr. Ford voiced—and flatly rejected—advice that he curtail his public appearances.

"While I appreciate the attitude that inspired this advice," he said, "I must respectfully disagree. The business of the Presidency is people. It is to their hopes, their dreams and their aspirations that the Presidency is addressed."

Setting out on another two-day largely political trip out of Washington, Mr. Ford in his prepared text said he intended to go on meeting the public directly.

"You cannot begin to gain a sense of what's on people's minds by sitting in the safety of the Oval Office and looking at opinion polls," he said. "Only by going around the country to meetings like this, by meeting people face-to-face, and listening to what they have to say, can you really learn how people feel and what they think.

Please Turn to Page 18, Col. 5

PRESIDENT WON'T AVOID PUBLIC

Continued from First Page

"Doing this is an important part of my job. I have no intention of abdicating that responsibility. I have no intention of allowing the government of the people to be held hostage at the point of a gun."

Aides said early in the day that Mr. Ford had been thinking for several days of making such a statement about the apparent attempt on his life.

But en route to St. Louis Mr. Ford reviewed the speech, White House press secretary Ron Nessen said, and decided that under the circumstances it was better to speak extemporaneously.

When he addressed the conference, he eliminated all references to the Sacramento incident.

When he arrived in St. Louis, Mr. Ford was wearing a blue, three-piece pin-stripe suit that made it impossible to determine whether he was wearing the protective vest he apparently wore beneath his clothing Thursday when barnstorming in New Hampshire.

He was asked about the vest here at the airport and in a radio interview later, but he refused to discuss the subject.

"I don't think I should discuss whether I wear or don't wear or whether I do something or don't do something that involves security," he told interviewers, adding that he felt obligated to follow security recommendations of the Secret Service.

But the Secret Service, which has gently suggested it would prefer that the President be more cautious in crowd situations, evidently has not dissuaded Mr. Ford from his public handshaking.

"In any job," Mr. Ford told interviewers, "there's a risk of some sort. I feel that you have to balance and weigh the risks to my own personal security against what is a very important aspect of our political life in America . . . It seems to me that what's good for the country overbalances everything else."

The President also disagreed Friday with a suggestion that his political travels were keeping him away from his job too much at this early stage in the campaign.

"I have ample time to read and to study, so when I come to St. Louis or Kansas City, where I am going, or New Hampshire yesterday, it in no way whatsoever interferes with the responsibilities I have, which are the highest . . . being President of the United States."

When asked about the prospective candidacy of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, Mr. Ford told interviewers, "Until he announces his candidacy, I am assuming that I am the only Republican candidate."

"And," he added, "I will welcome any competition. I love it."

During five hours in St. Louis he also addressed the National Baptist Convention, a predominantly black group representing a membership of more than 6 million, and attended a GOP fund-raising reception.

In the late afternoon, he flew to Kansas City to attend party fund-raising dinners in both Missouri and Kansas. He is scheduled to appear in Dallas and Midland, Tex., today before returning to the White House this evening.

During his wide-ranging radio interview with four St. Louis reporters, Mr. Ford, besides discussing the personal security issue and politics, also discussed the Middle East, a possible grain-for-oil trade with the Soviet Union, and his views on the continuing school busing controversy.

He seemed to soften the remarks he made last fall when, in the face of serious civil disorders in Boston, he emphasized his objections to busing, openly disagreeing with court-ordered busing plans.

Friday, although not concealing his dislike for busing, he emphasized that court decisions were "the law of the land."

Referring to Louisville and Boston, where the controversies are most intense, Mr. Ford said, "Let me very strongly emphasize that the court has decided something. That is the law of the land and will be upheld, and we are upholding it."

But, he added, "I think that quality education can be enhanced by better school facilities, lower pupil-teacher ratios, the improvement of neighborhoods as such. Those are better answers, in my judgment, than busing under a court order."

On other subjects, the President told reporters:

—He assumes, "based on performance and expectations," that the Republican National Convention next year will nominate Vice President Rockefeller for the Vice Presidency.

—The American public will receive all the details of the Middle East agreement, though not full copies of communications between himself and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin of Israel.

—There have been talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the possibility of trading U.S. grain for Soviet oil, but they have not gone beyond the preliminary stages.

—The United States will continue to resist United Nations membership for North Vietnam or South Vietnam as long as the governments continue to withhold information on Americans missing in the war. "They have got a lot of things to do before we are going to be very receptive to their participation."

Kansas City Star Times
September 12, 1975

7704001491

Run er Post

upset the power structure of committees. During the long debate Bolling pursued his goal in a scholarly and conciliatory way.

The committee reform package was defeated shortly before the arrival of a large class of freshmen Democrats who were generally sympathetic to Bolling's proposals. Bolling expects to do well in winning support from younger members of the House in his bid for majority leader.

Bolling maintains a voting record popular with organized labor, minorities, environmentalists and consumer advocates. However his positions, particularly on the economy, no longer draw the wrath of Republicans, businessmen and conservative Democrats.

Another hallmark of the changing Bolling has been a decline in partisan

Continued on Page 2A

Ford's Schedule

President Gerald Ford's tentative schedule during his visit to the Kansas City area tonight and tomorrow.

6:20 p.m.—Presidential party arrives at Municipal Airport and leaves immediately for Ramada Inn in Overland Park, I-35 and 95th. For security reasons, the motorcade route is unannounced.

6:30 p.m.—Ford arrives at Ramada Inn where he will attend two receptions with Kansas Republicans. The President is expected to make brief remarks at the second reception with the Capital Club.

—Leaves for Alameda Plaza Hotel, by motorcade route unannounced.

—Arrives at Alameda Plaza, where Ford will attend a reception with [illegible] persons who paid $1,000 each.

—A sit-down dinner attended by 600 persons.

9 p.m.—Ford addresses dinner audience about 20 minutes.

10:10 p.m.—Ford retires to the presidential suite in the hotel.

9 a.m.—Presidential party leaves hotel for Municipal Airport, motorcade route unannounced.

9:15 a.m.—Arrives Municipal Airport.

9:30 a.m.—Presidential party leaves for Dallas.

Office Space For Lease
Moseley & Company—Adv.

President To Arrive Tonight

By Repps B. Hudson
A Staff Writer of The Star

President Gerald Ford tonight will lend his prestige as national Republican party leader to GOP members in Kansas and Missouri who he hopes will strengthen their state organizations for 1976.

State party chairmen expect the President's second trip to Kansas City in less than a year to help replenish their campaign chests for the election year quickly approaching.

Ford, who will arrive at 6:20 p.m. at Municipal Airport and will leave tomorrow morning, has scheduled two fund-raising receptions at the Ramada Inn in Overland Park on behalf of Kansas Republicans. Then he will join a reception and dinner at the Alameda Plaza Hotel to benefit the Missouri state and Jackson County GOP.

Jack Ranson, Kansas state chairman, said last night Ford is delaying the outgoing remarks he planned earlier this week when he told the Republican National Committee meeting in Washington that he wants to concentrate on building the party at the state level.

"He said if the state party is healthy, that is the key to keeping the national party healthy," Ranson said.

Ford is expected to raise roughly $20,000 for Kansas Republicans after his expenses for the receptions and a share of his travel costs are paid. The fund-gathering is for the party, Ranson said, which is facing five U.S. House races, the presidential contest and election of all members of the state legislature.

On the Missouri side, Ford will mingle and talk with 250 persons who have

Continued on Page 2A

Thought for Today

The greatest name on earth is the man who saves up every friend he can make. —Archer Armstrong, American author, 1906-1955.

ut Still Record

greater than last year's harvest and 3 per cent below last month's estimate. The wheat forecast is up 19 per cent from 1974 production and slightly below the USDA's August forecast.

Officials say the soybean harvest, important as a high-protein livestock feed supplement and for export, will be 1.48 billion bushels, up 17 per cent from last year but short of the record 1.65 billion bushels from the 1973 harvest.

Last month the USDA estimated soybean production at slightly less than 1.6 billion bushels.

[illegible] production of the [illegible] was estimated [illegible] from last year's [illegible] production

billion tons, up 18 per cent from 1974, the same as the August estimate.

Oilseed output, mostly soybeans but also including peanuts, cottonseed and flaxseed, was estimated at 49 million tons, up 15 per cent from last year. The estimate in August was 50 million tons.

The wheat estimate included 1.63 billion bushels of winter wheat, compared with 1.62 billion indicated in August and the harvest last year of 1.66 billion bushels. The yield was put at 27.3 bushels an acre, compared with 32 bushels in August and the average of 29.7 last year.

Durum wheat, in demand for macaroni and other pasta, was estimated at 120.7 million bushels, compared with the August forecast of 119 million and the 1974 harvest of 93 million bushels. The yield was put at 26.6 bushels an acre compared with 25.7 in August and 19.8 harvested in 1974.

Kansas City Star Times
September 12, 1975

7704001492 1

President Here Today

Continued from Page 1A

paid $250 each to meet him. Following will be a $100 a plate dinner for 625 party supporters. The dinner is sold out.

Jerry Fogel, Jackson County G.O.P. chairman, anticipates the total net income from the two events in Kansas City will be $45,000, of which about three fourths will be turned over to the state party, which owes $30,000 on a note signed this year by several leading party members to pay off a previous debt.

Before flying to Kansas City, Ford is to attend a fund-raiser in St. Louis after making two "nonpolitical" appearances. That fund-raising event could net $15,500 for the state party, Fogel said.

Fogel said he intends to reassure Ford that "the full organizational support of the party" is behind him, a reference to the potential campaign of Ronald Reagan, former California governor who repeatedly has attacked Ford as being too liberal on many issues.

"We want to present a unified front on the part of the delegates at the Republican National Convention, which begins here Aug. 16," Fogel said, adding that a real possibility of support for a Reagan challenge exists around the state.

Unless he veers from his announced schedule, Ford will not be shaking hands or greeting crowds during this trip. His motorcade will move by undisclosed route to the Kanada Inn at I-35 and 87th in Overland Park and he will return to the Alameda Plaza Hotel under equally tight security.

The motorcade to the airport at 9 a.m. tomorrow also is being carefully planned to avoid anything resembling the attempted assassination a week ago in Sacramento by a 26 year old follower of Charles Manson, convicted murderer.

Larry Short, agent in charge of the Secret Service here, said last night security arrangements always are tight for the President and this trip was no cause for extra heavy precautions. More than 200 Kansas City police officers as well as about 20 Kansas highway patrolmen and officers from the Johnson County Tactical Squad will be assisting in protecting the President, Short said.

203

Kansas City Star Times
September 14, 1975

AS CITY, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1975 216 Pages in Seventeen Sections Including Star Magazine Sports, 471-3021—News, Business Office, 421-1200 Want Ads, 221-6200—Circulation, 221-6200 40c

Ford Continues Pleasing Crowds

By Joseph A. Lastelic
Chief of the Washington Bureau

Dallas—In his political trip this weekend President Ford set the theme for his campaign for the presidency, albeit a somewhat soft one.

Activities were as intense as those usually associated with the closing days of a campaign. The rhetoric heated up as the mileage increased. The urge to stop and shake just one more hand was difficult to resist.

Ford has found a slogan that is a sure applause getter: "A government big enough to give you everything you want is big enough to take away everything you have." He said that in St. Louis, Kansas City and Dallas and his audiences, of the same conservative philosophy as the President, reacted with roaring approval.

Another theme in his defense of his 37 vetoes so far, most of that is the only way he can keep Congress from creating a budget deficit of $5 billion to $6 billion this year. Taking a line from F.D.R., Ford proclaimed: "I have vetoed and if necessary I will use it again.

For
The
oppo
grate
the
Hav
beth
tion
the

Campaigning on Other Fronts Page 24A

out of the Republican encyclopedia of political thought: The Democratic Congress engages in reckless spending, social programs threaten the American economy, big government, bureaucrats and federal regulations strangle local and state government and stifle individual enterprise, the predictions by prophets of gloom and doom. But he is optimistic, he has faith and Republicans will show the path to a new day and the trend will be reversed.

The President has yet to mention, much less criticize, any of the top presidential hopefuls of the Democratic party. He always has praise for Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller and expects they will be together next year. As for Ronald Reagan, Ford noted in answer to a question, the former California governor is not yet a candidate.

[illegible] and answer

asked of the memories of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas 12 years ago, Ford said, "Quite frankly I hadn't thought about it." He went on to explain he has been to Dallas several times in recent years and always has had a friendly reception.

When asked if he thought the assassination investigation should be reopened, Ford, who had served on the Warren Commission, said he believes the right decision had been made and it would be unwise to reopen the matter. He explained he knew of "no additional significant evidence."

The President found Dallas friendly, with knots of persons lining the route of his motorcade, smiling as he went by. At Southern Methodist University 9,500 students and faculty members greeted him, conferred an honorary doctor of law degree and made him a member of the pony Mustang band. To that the President said he was "glad to be a Ford Mustang."

He went to an estate yesterday and, amid the magnolia trees, enjoyed a lawn luncheon, escorted by John B. Connally, former Texas governor and Treasury secretary.

Before returning to Washington late last night Ford traveled on to Midland, in West Texas, to dedicate what he described as a symbol of the free enterprise system—the Permian Basin Petroleum Museum, Library and Hall of Fame.

104

Kansas City Star Times
September 13, 1975

1975 — 64 PAGES

Want Ads, 221-6000—Circulation 221-6200
Sports 471-3821—News, Business Office 421-1260

15¢

Ford Plans on Economy Welcomed By G.O.P.

7 7 2 4 0 1 1 4 9 2

Missouri Republican committeeman. Cheering the President were John C. Danforth, Missouri attorney general, (far left), and Gov. Christopher S. Bond (far right).
(Staff photo by William H. Batson)

Continued on Page 12A

105

Kansas City Star Times
September 13, 1975

7704021925

☆Ford Terms Convention 'Boost for Midwest'

Continued from Page 1A

Republican party chairman; Rep. Larry Winn (R-Kan.) and Rep. Garner Shriver (R-Kan.).

Ford then took an elevator to the eighth floor penthouse of the motel where he spoke informally to a group of 125 members of the Republican Leadership Conference, which is composed of Kansas Republicans who have contributed more than $2,500 each year to the party. The session was closed to the media and Ford didn't comment on it.

About 7:30 p.m. Ford entered the ballroom on the main floor of the motel where he was greeted by about 175 members of the Capital Club, a group of persons who have donated at least $500 each year to the Kansas Republican party. After walking around the room, shaking hands and chatting informally about 15 minutes, Ford moved to a podium where he spoke for another 15 minutes before leaving through a rear door.

The Senate Wednesday failed by six votes to override Ford's veto of legislation extending price controls on domestic crude oil. The veto let the long-running debate over a national energy policy almost back where it started. Ford's goal is to reduce consumption of oil through decontrol of domestic oil prices, a policy Democrats deplore. No alternative energy program, however, has cleared both the Democratic-controlled House and Senate.

Ford spoke forcefully on the oil-decontrol issue. In 1972-73 the United States spent $3 billion for imported oil, he said. This year the amount has climbed to $26 billion.

"That's $26 billion a year that goes to foreign oil producers, takes jobs away from Americans. That money, if we had adequate production in America, could stay home."

Ford also said he has been criticized by the press for the number of bills he has vetoed since taking office 13 months ago.

"Some so-called experts have alleged that a veto is negative action," Ford said. "That's a total misconception of our veto powers.

"The Constitution gives to a president the authority, the constitutional authority, to veto. What it amounts to is that by constitutional authority, a president can veto in order to give the Congress more time to think about whether they made the right decision [illegible]."

In his talk to Capital Club members Ford congratulated Kansas and Missouri Republicans for their successful efforts in landing the 1976 G.O.P. convention and also teased Bennett about a political controversy in Kansas in which a list of items being sought for refurbishing the governor's mansion was made public. The list included matching bedspreads at a cost of $485 each.

"Since Governor Bennett and I have worked very closely in the past on a number of matters, tonight I'm going to make him an offer which I honestly don't think Bob can resist," Ford said, laughing.

"Bob, I'll give you a bedspread in the governor's mansion, if you'll get me a room for the convention in 1976."

Ford also joked with audience about a disparaging remark about the choice of the G.O.P. convention site made Thursday in the U.S. House by Rep. Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass.).

"The opportunity for us as a party to come out to Kansas in 1976 is wonderful for our party," Ford said. "And it is, I hope, going to be a shot in the arm for the Middle West and Kansas in particular.

"Yesterday on the floor of the House, the Democratic majority leader of the House, Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts, got up in one of his tirades about how unwise it was for the Republicans to chose to go to Kansas City because the last time that they had a convention here Herbert Hoover was nominated," Ford said.

"Well, John Rhodes, who is a great Kansan, the Republican minority leader of the House, got up and said he thought it was much wiser for us to go to Kansas City than for the Democrats to go to 'debt city,' New York City," Ford said, drawing a laugh from the partisan crowd.

Irene Whitlock, executive director of the Capital Club, said the club sold $500 memberships which enabled the members to attend the reception. Persons who already were members of the club also were invited to attend, she said.

From $30,000 to $40,000 is expected to be raised by the receptions in Overland Park, Ranson said.

DATE OF TRIP: September 20, 1975

TO: Los Angeles, Malibu, California

AGENDA: September 20, 1975

8:57 a.m. - Interview with reporters (Los Angeles)
12:03 p.m. - Remarks at Pepperdine University

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Interview with TV reporters (Los Angeles)

7704021492 1

go out and fight hard, give time, efforts, talents, and everything else, especially enthusiasm, to carry this message to the American people.

If we do, I am optimistic as to the results in the Presidency, the Congress, the governorships, the State legislatures, and the local offices on November 2, and America will be better off for it.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:05 p.m. at the Lincoln Plaza Inn. As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

Los Angeles, California

The President's Interview With Bob Abernethy, Jess Marlow, and Warren Olney of KNBC-TV. September 20, 1975

MR. ABERNETHY. Good evening and welcome. I am Bob Abernethy, KNBC News. To question the President are KNBC News reporters Jess Marlow and Warren Olney.

Mr. President, welcome.

QUESTIONS

RONALD REAGAN

A prominent California Republican said the other day that he thinks it would be healthy for the Republican Party if Ronald Reagan were to try to get the GOP nomination for the Presidency. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't see any serious problems in that regard. I have always thought that competition in the political arena was healthy for the candidates and for the party. I certainly feel that former Governor Reagan and myself are close enough personal friends that we can have any competition without having a divisive impact on the party. So, competition being good for candidates and the party, I think, under our system, I see no serious harm in that regard.

Q. More and more people are saying they think it is inevitable that Governor Reagan will run. Do you share that view?

THE PRESIDENT. I really should not pass judgment on what he will or won't do. So, since that is a judgment on his part, I think we ought to wait and see.

Q. Mr. President, you suggest the competition would be healthy. Indeed are we not seeing some of that competition right now with your concentrated schedule in California?

THE PRESIDENT. My efforts here, as part of the responsibility as President that I have to talk to groups in the education field, the labor field, and other areas—and I also feel it is a part of my responsibility on this trip to help the party per se, to help get the party strengthened in the responsibility it has for organization as well as fundraising. There is nothing in this trip that relates to my candidacy as such.

Q. Mr. President, is there any question in your mind that if you went head-to-head in the primary in New Hampshire, Florida, and other places, that you could beat him?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't like to forecast what I will do in the political race. I am confident the policies we have for the country, the policies that we are trying to implement domestically and foreign policy-wise put us in a pretty good position against any competition within and without the party.

Q. In the event Governor Reagan should defeat you in New Hampshire and Florida, how serious a blow would that be to your efforts to get the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't speculate about defeat. I look at it affirmatively, that we will do well in any of the primaries, whether New Hampshire, Florida, or otherwise, just as I feel the policies we are trying to implement for the country will be favorable and, therefore, we don't analyze what will happen if we don't do well.

NEW HAMPSHIRE SENATE ELECTION

Q. How do you see the result of the Senatorial race in New Hampshire? A lot of people will say it was a rebuke to your policies.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't feel it was necessarily. The opposition was extremely well-organized up there. They got out roughly 30,000 more votes for Durkin than they got in 1974 in November. Strangely enough, Louis Wyman got about three or four thousand more votes than he got in November. So, it was really an organizational effort rather than the ideology of the Administration being repudiated.

Q. Both you and Governor Reagan campaigned there, though. That is about as heavy an artillery as your party could have brought in.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and I got a very favorable response from the people of New Hampshire, for which I am very grateful. I don't think that response or the result really entered into that election as such, and the technical adviser to the Democratic Party, Dick Scammon, discounted any impact on a national level from that particular election.

GOVERNOR REAGAN

Q. Mr. President, one more Reagan question. Your friend, indeed your host for part of this weekend, the U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, has said he doesn't think Ronald Reagan is qualified to be President. What do you think? Is he qualified?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I ought to pass judgment on that. He was a very good Governor for the State of

California, and I don't think I should enter into those discussions.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Q. Mr. President, you expressed confidence that your policies would get you past any primary competition, indeed in the general election, too, and you particularly noted foreign policy. I would like to ask you a couple of questions about foreign policy, particularly about the recent Middle East agreements. First of all, is there an agreement to supply Pershing missiles to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. The documents carefully spell out that we will study with Israel their request for Pershing missiles. It is carefully phrased, and it goes only to the commitment to study the need and necessity for Pershing missiles for Israel.

Q. Senator Howard Baker said here yesterday he believes—and he emphasized it is only his belief—that Israel has nuclear weapons now. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not know categorically whether they do or do not. Therefore, I don't think I should speculate.

Q. Another missile question. The Hawk missile for Jordan—did you insist that we be assured that those could only be used defensively?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly, the intent is that those Hawk missiles should be used for defense purposes. It is important for Jordan to have that defensive capability, and the intent—and I think the agreement itself—is aimed at that direction.

Q. Did Jordan regard it as an insult that we suggested it only be defensive? Is that the only business that was made public?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a very technical dispute, and it is my opinion that those differences have been resolved—and I think constructively so—for the Middle East as a whole.

Q. Mr. President, another concern regarding the Middle East is those 200 American civilians who may go into the Sinai, concern that they may become targets or hostages and that may cause us to make a larger movement of men. Can you promise that if 200 civilians are sent to the Sinai now, more Americans will not have to go in the future?

THE PRESIDENT. There is certainly no intention that that technical contribution be enlarged. I see no reason why it should. As a matter of fact, it is fully understood by the parties that it will not be enlarged.

To compare that to the situation in Vietnam is not an accurate comparison. In Vietnam, there were two parties at war, and the American initial contribution back in 1961 was at the request of one party and in opposition to the other party.

In this case, both Israel and Egypt requested our contribution. So, it is a totally different situation, and there is no intent on our part to enlarge it. There is no request by either party to enlarge it. So, I see no possibility of that happening.

Q. Supposing there was some kind of an attack on those people by the Palestinian Liberation Organization? What would this country's response be?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, our effort would be to bring those American technicians out of the area in case of any forecast of trouble arising in the area. They are there, will be there in the U.N. buffer zone along with the 7,000 or 8,000 U.N. forces, and I think they are thoroughly protected.

I think it is an area, in my opinion at least, that it is safe for those Americans. I think it is well to point out that we have now, I think it is, 15 or 20 Americans there with the U.N. forces at the present time. So, this is a very technical contribution in a protected area, the U.N. buffer zone. So, I don't think that problem is going to arise.

THE FEDERAL DEFICIT

Q. Mr. President, the Congressional Budget Office reported this week if the Federal Government would increase the deficit by another $25 billion—would put a million people back to work who wouldn't otherwise be put back to work, by the end of 1977, with a very tiny increase in inflation. If that is true, why don't you do it?

THE PRESIDENT. An extra $25 billion to a $61 billion deficit would have serious ramifications.

Q. Is that study wrong, that Congressional Budget Office study wrong?

THE PRESIDENT. I respectfully disagree. I think there is a better way of approaching the problem. Of course, their recommendations came out prior to the announcement on Friday that we have made very significant progress in the battle against inflation, and I think it is important to point out that in the last 8 months the cost of living has gone up 4.8 percent on an annual basis compared to a figure for the previous comparable period of an inflation rate of 8.3 or 8.4, so the Congressional Budget recommendation for a $25 billion increase in the deficit, taking it up to $85 or $86 billion is the wrong approach, predicated on the facts that were revealed by the Department of Labor on Friday.

U.S. ECONOMIC GROWTH RATE

Q. The Governor of California, among others, thinks that the growing costs of energy and raw materials, demands from the poor nations for more of what we have—all this means that our days of significant economic growth are over. Do you agree?

DATE OF TRIP: September 22, 1975

TO: San Francisco, California and Washington D. C.

AGENDA: September 22nd

10:50 a.m.	-	Remarks to AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department Convention (San Francisco)
1:28 p.m.	-	Remarks with World Affairs Council Participants (San Francisco)
2:56 p.m.	-	Interview with reporters (San Francisco)
11:55 p.m.	-	Remarks to reporters in the White House

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT INCLUDED:

Interview with reporters (San Francisco)

7704111927

commitment by us, except to study, for the delivery of a Pershing missile to the Middle East.

Nuclear Powerplants

Q. Mr. President, today in a speech you said that you envision some 200 nuclear powerplants by the year 1985. Here in California enough citizens are concerned about the safety and disposal problems of these plants to have put it in issue on the ballot in June to ban the construction of them. How do you feel about the safety problem and about the disposal problem?

The President. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which was established by the Congress last year and which is now in operation, and the Energy Research and Development Organization, which was likewise established by the Congress, both are in the process of studying safety, nuclear power development, et cetera.

So far, I believe that the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence indicates, number one, that we have a safe nuclear power capability and furthermore that, if there are any serious questions, that the further research and development will result in even a higher degree of safety, better safeguards.

I think in light of our serious, almost critical energy shortage, that it is unwise for any State to ban the development and the utilization of nuclear power in the future.

We expect to build 250 nuclear powerplants, as I recall, in the next 10 years. If 49 other States do it, I can imagine there could be a serious, adverse economic impact on the State of California. It would potentially—I don't say certainly, but potentially—interfere with the economic development of the great State of California. It would mean the loss of potential jobs as we need more jobs for the young people, for others.

I think there is a better approach than an arbitrary ban because the safety record so far and the prognostications of responsible people indicate to me, at least, that the danger is not a serious one, and if there are any problems, they can be resolved.

The President's Trips to California

Q. Mr. President, we are very glad to see you back in California again, and I understand you will be returning again next month. The question is why three trips in less than a month and a half and if this California blitz—if you will pardon the expression—is really just to try to sidetrack Ronald Reagan's shadow campaign for the nomination in 1976?

The President. Our plans to come to California 2 weeks ago and the plans for this current weekend were made a good many months ago. They were made because we have visited, or I have attended, a number of meetings of a variety of organizations.

I spoke at Pepperdine University on Saturday, at Stanford University on Sunday. I spoke at the AFL–CIO building and construction workers convention this morning, or on Monday. I spoke to the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.

It is a whole list of very diverse organizations that give me an opportunity to get acquainted with their interests and to indicate my policies. California is a big, it is an important State. We want Californians to understand their President, and I want to get to know Californians. It has really no relevance as far as the political campaign is concerned.

I am coming back in October for a purely Republican Party function. That is a different type of activity, and I think it is important for me, as the head of the party, to participate.

Former President Nixon

Q. There is one other Californian you did speak to. You spoke to Richard Nixon yesterday. Why did the White House wait until today to report that, and will you accept Richard Nixon's help in your campaign in 1976?

The President. My relationship with the former President is a personal one, a personal friendship that has existed for 26 years. I don't think it is necessary for us to volunteer when I call him or he should happen to call me.

It is my understanding that if Ron Nessen was asked, he would say yes, I called the President, I am in the State where he lives, within a relatively short distance of his home. I think it is a perfectly natural thing for longstanding friends to talk on the telephone. His participation in 1976 is a matter for him to decide, and we will wait and see what he does decide.

Q. If he decides, would you want his help?

The President. I don't think you accept anything in the political arena. A person has to make a choice himself as to what he wants to do. We have no plans to ask him, but if a person decides, it is a free country. He can participate in any way that he wishes, but that is a personal choice for him.

Q. So by that answer, Mr. President, without trying to put words in your mouth, you would not reject his help or whatever support he would give you?

The President. That is a matter of semantics. What he does is his decision. We are going to run my campaign, as I said several months ago, on my record and on our program for the future. If people want to help, I can't preclude it. It is up to them to decide.

Central Intelligence Agency

Q. I have a couple of questions, sir, about the Central Intelligence Agency which has been in the news, as we all know, for the past year or so with mounting rapi[illegible].

This is a much more complicated subject. We have plenty of oil today and an agreement with the Soviet Union for oil would be sort of a good insurance policy in case there was an oil embargo from the Middle East.

If Russia has oil that it wants to sell, and we need some, which I think would be good insurance, I think it makes sense to try and get both a grain deal and an oil deal.

Gasoline Prices

Q. Sir, on the subject of energy and oil, you fought long and hard for decontrol of domestic oil, indicating that the rise in price would somehow help us to conserve somewhat. How high are you willing to see the price of a gallon of gasoline go before reversing that procedure?

The President. It is higher than I would like right now. [*Laughter*]

On the other hand, it has to some extent helped us to conserve; it has helped us to prevent the squandering of some of our energy sources.

I believe, however, that the price rise has gone sufficiently high, and if we can get an energy program on line, it is my opinion that any further price rise will be minimal.

As a matter of fact, if the Congress had approved my phased decontrol program over a 39-month period, in the first 12 months of that phased decontrol program, energy prices related to oil would have gone down.

Unfortunately, the Congress wasn't wise enough to understand it or to take action to approve it. So, now that they have rejected a phased decontrol program, we are pretty much faced with total decontrol, which is not the best alternative. But even with total decontrol, I don't think you are going to have any significant increases in fuel costs.

Q. Wouldn't that, though, if it did happen, really hit at the poor, the working class more than anybody else, because they would be the ones who could not afford to pay the prices?

The President. It would affect everybody, but I urge you to go back to what I said in January when I offered a comprehensive energy program. I said, if there are any energy cost increases, we would rebate to the American people $12 billion for added energy costs by a reduction in income tax payments. We would give $80 a person to the poor who had no income to compensate them for the added energy costs.

Again Congress has not acted on the rebate program that I recommended. I wish they had. We wouldn't be faced with a problem of, to some extent, adding energy burdens to the American people.

Energy Independence Authority

Q. Mr. President, in your travels around the country, you have persistently launched an attack against the Federal Government and big government and the Federal bureaucracy and at one point promised to get the Government off people's back and out of their pockets. Yet today here in San Francisco, you are proposing a $100 billion Government corporation to be established subject to the approval of Congress to help find ways to develop our energy resources. This would include massive amounts of Federal money.

How do you square that with your comments about less government? Are we admitting that we cannot solve our energy problems in the private sector?

The President. Most of our energy problems can and will be solved in the private sector, but there are some programs where we are in the process of exotic research and development--solar energy for example—where once the scientists and technicians have developed the capability for expansion of that energy source, we do have to take the first step from research and development to an operational plan to prove that it will work.

That first plan, so to speak, has to be perhaps financed by this joint government private sector program. And that is what the energy resource corporation will be aimed at, not in a long range financing of energy sources, but aimed at primarily, not exclusively, but primarily taking the position from completion of research and development to the first use where there is a hesitancy on the part of investors, because of the uncertainty to invest.

This is where I think we have to act. We did in the case of the synthetic rubber plant in World War II. We did it in the Manhattan Project with the atomic bomb. We did it in our efforts to get to the Moon. We have done it with COMSAT. It is a procedure that has been used in the past, and I think it can be adequately used in the future.

The 1976 Elections

Q. In doing so, you are leaving yourself open to a charge by probably your critics that you are going to have billions of dollars of Federal funding going to big oil and big business, and this leads me to the question: the public's perception of your Administration is one that is friendly to big business. I think in your relationship with labor leaders you would find that. And recently in a Gallup poll, Mr. Gallup said that of the adults who were questioned—and he addressed this nationwide—only 21 percent would own up to being Republicans. And then you have the results of New Hampshire. Would this indicate to you that you are in serious trouble in 1976 as a party and you as President?

The President. I think any of the polls that have pitted me against a Democrat, with the exception of Ted Kennedy—and even there one month he is ahead, and the next month I am ahead—but pitting my own candidacy against any other Democrat, every poll that I have seen for the last 6 months shows that I would win.

We have 14 months to go before the election, and my Democratic friends have to pick a candidate first, and they are going to have a little trouble there. But I welcome whoever they pick. But I think it categorically inaccurate and unfair, and I don't think it is said by people who have

thought it out, that this Administration is predominantly interested in big business. That is totally inaccurate.

We have increased our funding, for example, in a wide spectrum—education, unemployment compensation, the whole area of human assistance. We have recommended in the budget for the current fiscal year more money than any Administration in the history of the United States for social programs.

ADVICE TO YOUNG PEOPLE

Q. Mr. Ford, I am sorry to cut off because I understand you probably want to go forth. We only have about 30 seconds left, and I wondered if you could in that time possibly sum up how you would talk to some of the young people of this country about their mounting fear of losing control of their country, what with the murder of a President, the murder of a candidate running for President, paralyzing of another, et cetera. It goes on and on, still even happening today with a threat against your life. What do you tell the young people of this country?

THE PRESIDENT. I tell them that, number one, we have a great country, they have a great stake in it. They can decide what course of action, what aims, what visions we should have in this country, and I find a great and good response from the young people across the board.

I am optimistic about what they will do with America. I think they will make it a better place for them and those that follow.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The interview began at 2:56 p.m. in the MacArthur Suite at the St. Francis Hotel. It was taped for broadcast at 9:30 p.m.

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

Incident in San Francisco, California

Statement by the White House Press Secretary. September 22, 1975

At the conclusion of a TV interview with KPIX-TV, in a suite on the sixth floor of the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco, President Ford boarded an elevator and rode to the ground floor of the hotel on the Post Street side. The President greeted a small group of well-wishers in the lobby of the hotel.

The President stepped out on Post Street, where his car was parked at the curb. As he walked from the hotel door to the car, he waved briefly to a large crowd on the other side of Post Street.

At that point there was a sound of a single gunshot. Secret Service agents Ron Pontius and Jack Merchant and Assistant to the President Donald Rumsfeld pushed the President down toward the sidewalk shielding him behind his car from the crowd. The President, agents Pontius and Merchant, and Donald Rumsfeld entered the car, and the motorcade departed immediately for the San Francisco International Airport.

For the first several blocks after departing from the hotel, the President was stretched out on the floor of his car between the seats with agents Pontius and Merchant and Mr. Rumsfeld shielding his body. After the car was out of the area, the President sat in the middle of the rear seat with agents Pontius and Merchant on either side and Mr. Rumsfeld in the jump seat.

Mrs. Ford arrived at the San Francisco International Airport by U.S. Air Force C-9 aircraft from Monterey a moment or two after the President and boarded Air Force One.

She was told of the episode in the Presidential cabin. Mrs. Ford received the information calmly. The President can be described as serious following the episode and on the flight home to Washington.

The individual who fired the gun has been identified as Sara Moore, age 47. The weapon has been identified as a 5-shot .38 revolver.

During the flight home to Washington, the President told his staff aboard Air Force One that he felt that the U.S. Secret Service and the State and local law enforcement officials had performed their duties in an outstanding manner, and he asked that his thanks be expressed to all involved.

The President indicated to his staff that a circumstance where the political leaders are forced into isolation from their constituents because of the threats of a few would be intolerable. The communication of ideas is fundamental in our system, and to allow it to be unduly restricted, warped, or inhibited would be to weaken, if not destroy it.

He believes it is vitally important for the leadership of our country to be free to communicate with the people they serve.

NOTE: The statement was released on board Air Force One during the flight from San Francisco to Washington, D.C.

Return to the White House

The President's Remarks to Reporters in the Diplomatic Reception Room. September 22, 1975

REPORTER. Mr. Ford, could you speak to us for just a moment please and tell us how you feel?

THE PRESIDENT. Can I have just a minute to look at all of you?

Q. Mr. President, what——

THE PRESIDENT. May I take just a minute, Obviously, Betty and I are delighted to be back here very safely, and we are most grateful that Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Rockefeller have met us. We have talked to our four children, and I guess they are kind of happy that we are back here all right.

DATE OF TRIP: October 1, 1975

TO: Omaha, Nebraska

AGENDA: October 1st

1:32 p.m. - Remarks to Reporters (Omaha)
2:00 p.m. - Remarks to local reporters (Omaha)
4:35 p.m. - Remarks to participants of conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs (Omaha)

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Interview with local reporters (Omaha)

7704011931

114

determining the fate of their husbands and fathers. Is there anything especially hopeful you will be able to tell Mrs. Stenderwick when you meet with her today?

THE PRESIDENT. I have met at least once as President and once as Vice President with the representatives of the MIA. In addition, on several occasions, in other communities—Dallas, for example—I have met with either parents or widows of MIA's.

I can assure you that the Defense Department, the State Department, and myself have made every possible effort that we can to get the North Vietnamese to permit us to move in and check on the sites or the locations where we understand there is some possibility a crash might have occurred or a person might have escaped.

But the North Vietnamese have totally violated the January 1973 accords by failing to permit us to carry out these investigations. The House of Representatives has just approved and appointed a committee to investigate the whole subject. We will give that committee, under Congressman Montgomery of Mississippi, our full cooperation, lay out in detail what we have done and what the problem is which, in this case, is North Vietnam. I can assure her, as I am saying here, that we have made and will continue to make a maximum effort in this regard.

THE ENERGY CRISIS

Q. I was going to ask a very light question, Mr. President, but now I am afraid to after that heavy answer. Some people feel that there is a lack of leadership or perhaps I should say a lack of inspirational leadership from the top in the energy crisis situation, and I will tell you what I mean by that.

All of the accent seems to be put on how can we become independent of foreign sources, and obviously we have to do that, but shouldn't more emphasis be put on conserving, because this is probably only the forerunner of a number of world shortages, and we don't have any feeling of crisis about it. Do you really think, for instance, this country should continue to use 30 to 35 percent of the world's energy?

THE PRESIDENT. We have always said the answer to the energy problem for the United States is, one, stimulation of new sources and conservation of the energy we have. Every document I have ever sent to the Congress, every statement I have ever made, emphasizes both new sources of energy and conservation of those that we have.

In my energy program that I submitted in January of this year, we put a considerable amount of emphasis on conservation. The United States has squandered energy; we squander energy today. And we have to convince people they should drive less, they should use less energy in their homes, not quite as cool in the summer or hot in the winter.

We have urged the automotive industry to build automobiles that have a higher degree of efficiency. And I am glad to report—you may have seen—the new models, I think, increase the energy use or they will cut back on gasoline to an average of 13 percent. This is a response which is good.

I couldn't agree with you more, but you know it takes a crisis sometimes to get people to do what they should.

Q. But we are really in a crisis, are we not?

THE PRESIDENT. We certainly are.

Q. Then what I was trying to find out is, don't you really think a direct appeal to the people—I think people would sacrifice; I really do.

THE PRESIDENT. We have tried it. We have made some headway, obviously, because the use of energy is down, whether it is gasoline, whether it is heating oil, whether it is any of the other sources of energy.

But it is not enough, and I continue to urge it, and, of course, the increase of price by the OPEC nations ought to make people more conscious of our vulnerability and make Congress more responsive to passing a better—or any—legislation.

PLANS TO SEEK ELECTION IN 1976

Q. Mr. President, in the wake of the recent attacks on your life—in some cases maybe an alleged attack on your life—has it caused you to take second thoughts or your family ask you to take second thoughts about running for reelection, and are there any conditions under which you would not seek reelection next year?

The PRESIDENT. I can foresee no circumstances that would preclude me from seeking election in 1976. My family fully supports my candidacy. They are enthusiastic about it. My wife thinks I ought to be a little more careful and cautious as I travel around the country, and she isn't the only one, obviously.

But we are using, I think, greater discretion and prudence, and, on the other hand, for me to sit in Washington and just go through papers making decisions when I can do that and at the same time come to Omaha or to Chicago or to other places, I think it is important.

The American people ought to have an opportunity to see firsthand or to listen more directly with their President, and we aren't going to let unusual circumstances deter us from a responsible effort to travel in this country.

CRIME

Q. Many Presidents lately have made declarations concerning crime and the problems of crime and that something has to be done about it. Certainly, this is an area you must have given a lot of thought to lately. If you could point out the biggest need you think needs to change today to help stop the pattern that crime has taken in the Nation, what would it be?

THE PRESIDENT. I set that forth in a crime message to the Congress where I said, "Our concern to date ought to be for the victims of crime." The crime message that I

DATE OF TRIP: October 4, 1975

TO: Newark, New Jersey

AGENDA: October 4, 1975 - Fundraising Dinner (Newark)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

The Record - October 5th; p. A1
Newark Star Ledger - October 5th; p. 1
Newark Star Ledger - October 6th; p. 1

7704011933

7704001 4931

The Record
October 5, 1975
page A 1

Public pays for Ford's N.J. trip

By ALLAN F. YODER
The Record Trenton Bureau

Behind the pomp and drama of a Presidential visit to New Jersey lie some hardnosed financial calculations.

President Ford's visit to Newark last night raised about $80,000 to $100,000 for New Jersey Republicans. Those who got to see and hear the President included contributors who paid $100 for a roast beef dinner or $1,000 for a free drink at a private reception that offered a handshake with the President.

But as New Jersey Republicans were taking a small step out of debt and raising the largest chunk of their fall legislative campaign money, the city of Newark and state and federal agencies had to pick up the tab for the enormous expense of Presidential travel.

The cost for Ford's trip to the GOP fund-raising affair, in fact, is estimated as greater than the amount of money the Republicans were able to raise.

Newark police, for example, foresee an overtime bill of $30,000 for the 500 policemen who worked yesterday while the President was in town.

Thousands more were spent by State Police called in for extra duty and for dozens of Secret Service agents who preceded and traveled with the President to ensure his safety.

The cost of Secret Service protection for such a trip isn't made public. The agency keeps the figure secret for the same reasons of security that

See PUBLIC, Page A-10

From Page A-1

it won't disclose the number of agents who protect Ford.

Plane costs $1,400

A few thousand dollars more was paid from the government treasury to subsidize the cost of Air Force One, the Presidential plane. The White House says the plane costs $2,200 an hour to operate. With a two hour round-trip between Washington and Newark, that's $4,400.

The federal government, however, won't pay the entire bill. Because this visit was strictly political, state and national GOP organizations will be charged for the travel of Ford and nine Republican guests aboard the plane. With a round-trip fare of $90, the GOP will pay $900 for the 10 passengers. That leaves a balance of $3,500.

New Jersey Republican officials concede that even a fund-raiser starring Ford isn't going to raise enough money to get the red ink out of the party books.

"We won't be out of the woods, that's for sure," said Conover Spencer, the state party's executive director. Spencer says the party owes $120,000, not including the $40,000 or more in delinquent bills left from the disastrous 1973 gubernatorial campaign of Charles W. Sandman Jr.

The first $10,000 of the money raised last night will go toward the campaign expenses of 80 Republicans running for state Assembly seats throughout the state. Fifty per cent of income in addition to that $10,000 also will go to the Assembly campaign costs.

No figures yet

Precise figures on the Ford fund-raiser won't be available for a few weeks. Assuming the dinner raised $100,000 — the top estimate given by GOP officials — $70,000 will go to the Assembly campaigns, leaving the state GOP with only $30,000 toward its overdue bills.

The limited success of the dinner, acknowledged by most GOP officials, is blamed on the lateness of Ford's announcement that he would come.

"We didn't even have a month to prepare for this," said Steven Dudiak, the Passaic County Republican who is chairman of the dinner committee. "If the White House had given us another two weeks notice, we'd have been able to sell a lot more tickets. We wouldn't have been able to find a room big enough to hold everybody then."

Poor planning charged

Other Republicans said privately that the dinner didn't make as much money as it should because of poor planning. According to these Republicans, dinner prices should have been set at $250, not $100, and the dinner should have been held in a more friendly place than Newark, a Democratic bastion.

As proof of their claim, these GOP dissidents point to last summer's fund-raiser with Vice-President Rockefeller and Treasury Secretary William E. Simon. Tickets for that event cost $250 a piece for a dinner at a lavish restaurant in an Essex County suburb. The state GOP raised $100,000 at that affair, which did not have the party's star attraction, President Ford.

State GOP counts gains after Ford appearance

Newark Star Ledger
October 5, 1975
page 1

By FRED HILLMANN

The wheels of Air Force One carrying President and Mrs. Ford lifted off the runway at Newark International Airport at 9:55 p.m. Saturday, bringing an instant end to the undeniable tensions which had served as a backdrop before and during the Fords' visit to New Jersey.

By yesterday afternoon, the only physical reminders that the President had spent Saturday evening mingling with Republicans at a fund-raising dinner in Newark's Robert Treat Hotel were the fence used to keep spectators back in Military Park across the street from the hotel and an empty police car seemingly abandoned in the middle of the park.

The 1,000 Republicans who had paid either $1,000 to shake hands with the President at a reception or $100 to share dinner with Ford were long gone.

The banner over the hotel marquee, welcoming Ford to Newark, had been taken down. And the horde of Secret Service agents who had set up the security umbrella for Ford's visit had packed it in for the next assignment.

It took only hours to dismantle a security operation that had taken the agents and Newark police two weeks to plan, set in motion and then carry out.

There was a variety of reasons, though, mostly of a political nature, for Ford to keep the Newark trip on a presidential travel log that was severely curtailed after the two attempts on his life in California.

And in the end, the New Jersey junket proved profitable for nearly everyone concerned.

Ford, ostensibly in New Jersey to help Republican Assembly candidates get elected this year, took the opportunity to do some advance legwork on behalf of his own presidential candidacy next year.

Ford reserved a good portion of his speech for a strong admonition to New Jersey Republicans to bury their well-publicized internal differences over ideology and money.

He told the state party the New Jersey elections this year could serve as a "bellwether"

(Please turn to Page 4)

(Continued from Page One)

for national GOP chances next year if the party "concentrates on beating Democrats, not discrediting Republicans."

Then, too, Ford, simply by virtue of his office and the fanfare attendant to it, was almost assured better reviews on his visit than those given a possible rival for the GOP presidential nomination, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, after a trek through the state earlier this year.

Reagan came at the behest of Jersey GOP conservatives at a time when the party's ideological split was most evident. And his junket proved to be a financial bust, if not politically unfruitful as well.

On the other hand, Ford provided "a heck of a shot in the arm" for the state party, according to its executive director, Conover Spencer, who figures the President helped raise money, spark much-needed enthusiasm and produce favorable visibility for Jersey Republicans.

Spencer said the money generated by Ford's appearance should carry the state party until next year's presidential campaigning begins. He said the enthusiasm Ford left behind would mostly benefit Assembly candidates, most of whom are newcomers to political campaigning.

* * *

And he said the publicity generated by Ford's visit has been the best for the state party since before the 1973 gubernatorial campaign.

The most important for the deficit-ridden party, no doubt, was the money. Based on claimed proceeds from the Ford dinner (950 of the $100 tickets sold and 37 of the $1,000 tickets sold), the party should have ample funds to seed its Assembly campaign to the tune of about $50,000 and still have $30,000 or $40,000 to apply to the GOP's remaining $100,000 debt.

Ironically, another beneficiary of Ford's visit was the City of Newark and its Democratic mayor, Kenneth A. Gibson, subjects of unusual praise by the Republican President, who paid special tribute to the city's revitalization efforts.

By the same token, the federal agents and national press had nothing but praise for the Newark Police Department's security operation, involving nearly 500 city policemen on overtime duty. Newark Police Director Hubert Williams noted later that the city took such strict precautions in an effort to dispel any fears about safety in Newark.

Ford, from touchdown to takeoff, was in the city for about four hours, although security was so tight that the public had little chance of catching more than a glimpse of his bullet-proof limousine speeding by.

Besides shaking a finger at the state party in his speech, Ford also addressed three issues of vital concern to New Jersey: Energy, jobs and military bases.

The President renewed his call for deregulation of natural gas as a way to prevent further cutbacks in production and employment in New Jersey, which is expected to be hit very hard this winter by shortages of the fuel.

And he assailed Congress fr making unnecessary cuts in the nation's defense spending, which he maintained may be at the root of the proposed manpower reductions at three military installations in New Jersey vital to the state's economy.

11F

FORD'S PURPOSE WAS TWO-FOLD

Visit boosted hosts . . . and guest

By FRED HILLMANN

Gerald R. Ford came to New Jersey yesterday ostensibly to help Republican legislative candidates get elected this year, but also, no doubt, with a shrewd political eye toward promoting his own candidacy for the presidency next year.

As it is, some early checking on the disposition of New Jersey Republicans is not a bad political move, since the state party has been wracked for the past three or four years by a wide ideological split and a bitter war over party finances and debts.

Then too, Ford's chief potential rival for the GOP presidential nomination, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, stumped the state earlier this year.

The Reagan trip, hard on the heels of a tour by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, was sponsored by Jersey GOP conservatives after party moderates refused to participate. As a result, the Reagan visit was a financial flop that only sharpened ideological differences.

It'll be easy, therefore, for Jerry Ford to outshine his erstwhile GOP rival on the Jersey hustings. That's got to be a reason for making the trip.

And, there's little doubt the Jersey junket was left on Ford's schedule — after cutbacks following the two California attempts on his life — because the trip will prove mutually beneficial for Ford and the state party in at least three other important ways:

● Pouring oil on troubled waters. By virtue of his office alone, Ford has brought the battling state GOP pols together for one night of unity.

● Providing a campaign boost. The GOP expects to make significant gains into a lopsided 64-to-14 Democratic edge in the State Assembly this year. And, Ford might get fallout credit for appearing if

(Please turn to Page 42)

(Continued from Page One)

those GOP gains are bigger than expected.

● Generating badly needed money. Whatever the eventual paid count is for the $1,000-a-ticket reception and $100-a-plate dinner last night, the Republicans are sure to clear enough to seed their Assembly campaign and greatly reduce the party's $100,000 debt.

* * *

The financial arrangements for dividing the proceeds from last night's events will give the first $30,000 to $40,000 netted to a legislative campaign committee headed by Assembly GOP Leader Thomas H. Kean (R-Essex), a figure representing substantially more financial aid than the Democrats expect to offer their candidates this year.

Any Ford dinner proceeds over and above the campaign seed-money level will go to the state party.

The GOP financial wizards apparently feel confident enough about the returns to have offered a share to former Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., the chief spokesman for the state party's conservative wing.

* * *

Sandman had a 1973 gubernatorial campaign holdover debt of more than $250,000. He now claims by settlement to have reduced that debt to $75,000, but a two-year battle over responsibility for the deficit has left deep wounds in both the moderate and conservative factions of the party.

The former South Jersey congressman will get one half of each $1,000 reception ticket he sells, although the mere fact he was offered a deal for any part of the Ford dinner proceeds nettled some GOP moderates all over again.

In any event, the Ford appearance brings surface peace to the state party.

State GOP Chairman Webster B. Todd and GOP National Committeeman Bernard M. Shanley, who fought tooth and nail most of this year for control of the party's finance reins, will be on the dais. Sandman also will be on the dais, along with the state GOP's longest-residing liberal, Sen. Clifford P. Case.

There were some observers who were reading the planned absence of former Republican Gov. William T. Cahill as some sort of calculated snub. Although, party leaders argued that is unfair, since Cahill has not attended a GOP fundraiser since leaving office.

Ford was in New Jersey earlier this year to make a non-political speech to a convention in Atlantic City.

He was last in the state for a political tour in March, 1974, when as vice president he made a two-stop fundraising trek to Millburn and Atlantic City. That visit, just months after Sandman's gubernatorial loss ripped the state GOP apart, proved a financial bust.

7704011931

Newark Star Ledger
October 6, 1975
page 1

DATE OF TRIP: October 10, 1975

TO: Detroit, Michigan

AGENDA: October 10, 1975 - 4:15 p.m. News Conference
- 9:05 p.m. Republican Fundraising Dinner (Detroit)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

* Washington Star News, October 12, 1975
* Detroit News, October 10, 1975; page A 3

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Interview with local reporters

7704011937

present setup, the abuses are horrendous. So, I think we ought to tie it down, give more to the needy and less to those that shouldn't qualify.

RONALD REAGAN

Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question involving Governor Reagan. There are some reports in the past few weeks that are confusing. One report one time will say that you have managed to blunt Governor Reagan's conservative attempt, and then a few days later we have a report that your campaign organization is in disarray and that your people are really worried about Governor Reagan. I would like to know if you are really worried about Governor Reagan challenging you for the Presidential nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Phil [Phil Jones, CBS News], I am not worried about any Democrat or any Republican competitor. I expect to be nominated, and I think the prospects are excellent to be elected President in 1976. And I don't sit around worrying about any competitor, whether it is Republican or Democrat.

We are going to run our own campaign. I think we will have a good record to run on, in foreign policy and domestic policy, and I will take my chances on that record. And I am not going to worry about what some other candidate does, whether it is a Republican candidate or any one of 20 Democrats.

Q. Senator Goldwater has been quoted as saying that he might support Governor Reagan for the nomination rather than you. What is your reaction to this, or do you think it will have any effect on your nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Goldwater is a very close, personal friend of mine. I admire his record in the Senate. I saw the report. It is a newspaper story. I have heard nothing——

Q. What do you mean by that? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it speaks for itself—[*laughter*]—and until I hear that there is a change from what I think the attitude is of Barry Goldwater, I am not going to comment about it.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE UNEMPLOYED

Q. Mr. President, Dennis Pajot of the Oakland Press. Back here, we hear a lot of concern about unemployment and a lot of talk about your record of unemployment as the election year comes up. And we understand that one proposal by Congress to address unemployment would be to increase Federal funding for public works. I was wondering if you would veto such a program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you are talking about the $5-billion program, which I understand is somewhere in the House of Representatives, based on what we know about those kinds of programs in past years of economic disability or difficulty, I believe that it is uneconomical, it won't solve the unemployment problem, and the probability is I would veto it.

We find—and this has been done historically—that if you have unemployment in one year and you take the kind of program you are talking about and approve it, you are out of the recession or you are over your economic difficulties before you put any number of people back to work.

It just takes a long time. If we are going to do anything, I think, in this area, I think we ought to expedite our highway construction program, our water and sewer pollution programs, which are going programs that are in the mill. But to take the program I think you are referring to, I think the help would come much too late and it wouldn't provide for the kind of meaningful things that we could get from EPA.

Q. Is that just that program or any Federal funding for public works?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you will recall, back early this (last) fall I met with 10 or 12 Governors, and at their request, I did approve an extra allowance of $2 billion for highway projects that could be initiated by June 30.

That program was in a going program where they had projects that were ready for contracts to be let. I did that. We have been trying to expedite the Environmental Protection Agency programs for water and sewer projects.

Those are the kind of projects that have specific meaning and can be gotten underway quickly, rather than pulling projects out of a grab-bag, which I understand is what that legislation involves that I believe you mentioned.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSED TAX PLAN

Q. Mr. President, you said last night that the tax program had as one of its central purposes, if I understood you correctly, building more equity into the tax system as it applies to individuals. If that is the case, would you explain why it is equitable to give a tax cut of slightly more than $300 to people with incomes of $50,000, and to take away the tax credit of $300 for those whose incomes are $5,000 or less?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what you are talking about, Mr. Naughton [James Naughton, The New York Times], is that in the 1975 Tax Act, Senator Russell Long got the Senate to approve what is called an earned income credit, and this is, in effect—that was not a tax reduction. It was paying people who didn't pay taxes so that it was not a tax reduction—they weren't paying taxes anyhow.

What my proposal does is to treat that group of taxpayers just like all other taxpayers. They don't pay any more taxes, and the amount that is going to a well-off person is roughly the same in my proposal as it was in the 1975 Tax Act.

But where we would provide equity, we give a larger tax reduction to those people who have an income—a

family income between $8,000 and $25,000. This is the group that got short shrift in the 1975 act, and this is the group that are hard-working, industrious people who deserve a better break instead of getting cut short on every tax reduction.

And so, I have complete faith in the way in which this tax reduction bill that I am proposing is handled. The poor pay no more taxes than they were required under the 1975 act. The very wealthy get no more tax reduction. But the middle-income people are the ones who will be the biggest beneficiary and get a larger tax reduction, as they should, under my tax proposal.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Bill Black, WJR News. Mr. President, despite recent improvements in the economy, one of four in the Detroit area are still out of work, some for more than 2 years. One, what would you say to those who have been out of work for more than 2 years, and, two, how much impact will unemployment and the economy have on the next election?

THE PRESIDENT. We are making headway in a good many areas in trying to eliminate unemployment. Even though the unemployment statistic has not gone down—except it went from 9.1 down to 8.3—the encouraging thing is that in the last 6 months we have had 1,600,000 more people added to the employment rolls, and the trend is going up. There are longer hours being worked. The economy is out of the recession and starting toward a better time, and this is going to have an impact in Detroit in the automobile industry.

The automobile industry has responded very well to the needs in the energy program. And let me tell you how it is going to help employment. The automobile industry in the last 2 years has increased gasoline efficiency by 27 percent—14 percent this year over last year. I think the automobile industry, by responding to the need of people, is going to have an excellent year, and that will have a very good impact here in Detroit and in other automotive centers like Flint and Lansing, et cetera.

Now we believe that there will be a continuing downtrend in unemployment rate between now and the end of calendar year 1976. It won't be as low as we want it, but it will be going down, and furthermore we will be making continuous improvement in the rate of inflation. I believe, with those trends—a lesser rate of inflation, a downward trend in the unemployment statistic—it will be a good environment politically for the right candidates.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Q. Would you consider yourself a civil next year?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I sure don't. I never enter a ballgame thinking I am going to win, but I sure work at it as though I am going to lose. And I think we do, with the programs we have, our prospects aren't bad.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I will take one more. I am being prompted to——

REDUCTION IN FEDERAL SPENDING

Q. Mr. President, would you expand on your answer about where you think Congress should make the $28 billion in cuts besides food stamps—for example, in revenue sharing and what cuts should be made in defense spending?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said in my speech the other night, I think it was Monday night, I said that there had to be a sharing of reduced spending, and I included in my remarks the Defense Department. I think they can manage the Defense Department better than they have been managing it. I think we can be harder bargainers with weapons suppliers. I think we can cut out some of the frills in the military—frills that I don't like, that have been there just because they are there by tradition. I think we ought to cut them all out. I think the Defense Department can run a tighter ship, and they will have to.

Thank you very much.

LEONARD BARNES. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's twentieth news conference was held at 4:15 p.m. on Friday, October 10, 1975, in Room 2001-B at Cobo Hall. The President was introduced by Leonard R. Barnes, president of the Detroit Press Club.

Detroit, Michigan

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. October 10, 1975

Thank you very, very much, Max Fisher, Bill Milliken, Bob Griffin, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Al Cederberg, Eddie Hutchinson, Guy Vander Jagt, Marv Esch, Garry Brown, and, of course, Bill McLaughlin, Bob Evans, and my old and very dear friend, George Romney, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me say at the outset that I share Bill Milliken's views entirely, in toto, concerning Max Fisher, the wonderful job that Max has done, not only for this occasion but for many others. It seems to me that it is most appropriate, under the circumstances, that we give Max a round of applause on this occasion.

Of course, Max would be the very first to admit that as much as he has given to making this dinner a success, it could not have been accomplished without the tremendous help that he has gotten from so many. And I would hesitate to start enumerating the individuals who have done the job under Max's leadership, but if we can do it

Ford Trips and the Fund Limo

122

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

DETROIT — It was not too surprising when Michigan Gov. William Milliken uncorked a fervent endorsement of President Ford's bid for a full term in the White House.

Ford was back in his home state for a Republican fund-raising dinner, sitting on the third tier of a clogged dais in a spacious banquet room of Cobo Hall, and it seemed natural for his friend of long standing to deliver a plea for the President's election in 1976.

There was one problem, however. The Republican National Committee paid for Ford's trip to Michigan, since it was clearly political, but it was supposed to be political only insofar as fighting the Democrats is concerned.

PICKING SIDES in the race for the GOP presidential nomination, which is what Ford is angling for and Ronald Reagan is expected to take a stab at, and plugging for a single candidate was something quite different.

The incident raised again a question which has plagued Ford since he formally announced his candidacy three months ago: Is it is fair — or legal, for that matter, under the new federal election law — for the President to use Republican party money to advance his own candidacy?

The oft-repeated White House position is that the President is not promoting his personal election effort when he appears at GOP gatherings. He is simply aiding the party.

But is he really giving a boost to the GOP alone? Surely it helps his bid for the Republican nomination to state his case and defend his programs before the party faithful.

THUS, shouldn't his expenses in traveling to these functions be paid by his own campaign apparatus, the President Ford Committee, rather than by the organization of all Republicans, the national committee?

After all, there is already one challenger in the field, an obscure opponent from Worcester, Mass., named Jacob John Geraldo. The Republican National Committee isn't paying his traveling expenses, nor is it financing the political travels of [illegible] may jump in the race soon.

Once the GOP decides on a presidential candidate at its convention next summer, there is no problem. Then it is clearly proper — and indisputably legal — for party funds to be used to promote one presidential candidate.

Before then, it is questionable whether Ford should tap the party treasury for his appearances at Republican gatherings. Instead, a strong argument can be made that these expenses should be paid by the President's campaign organization, which has collected more than $700,000 in its three months of existence.

GOV. MILLIKEN, at the fundraiser here Friday evening, was effusive in his praise of Ford and labeled the President's election in 1976 a necessity.

"The most important goal of all (for Republicans)," Milliken told the crowd of nearly 4,000, is "the returning of our President to the White House."

The governor vowed that Michigan Republicans "will pledge our very best effort to support the President. . . . I am confident that we can mobilize this kind of energy (which elected Republican candidates on the state level) to keep one of our own in the highest office of the land."

He said the strongest kind of grass-roots fight should be waged to "continue this Republican who is in the White House now in the White House in 1976."

THIS ENDORSEMENT was not the first that Ford has received at a Republican event at which he appeared under the auspices and funding of the national committee.

On Aug. 31, he delivered an address to a GOP gathering in Newport, R.I. Before he spoke, Mayor Buddy Cianci of Providence and another Rhode Island Republican leader urged the crowd of more than 1,000 to back Ford's bid for the nomination.

The party committee paid for that trip, just as it did for the one to Detroit.

A White House official said that there is no way to assure that people like Milliken will shy away from endorsing the President for the nomination.

"There's no accounting for good taste," the official said. "We cannot control Gov. Milliken. The President went to Detroit as head of the Republican party, not as a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination."

RONALD NESSEN, the White House press secretary, explained it this way to newsmen aboard Air Force One on the trip home from Detroit: "I don't know who paid Milliken's expenses, but the President went out there to raise money for the Republican party."

At his nationally televised press conference Thursday, the President denied that he is using appearances at Republican affairs to help his quest for the nomination.

"As President and as the leader of the Republican party, if I am asked to participate in one of those meetings, I am glad to do it because I firmly believe that the strengthening of a state organization is very helpful for all Republican candidates, including the candidate for President," he said.

"I think that is part of the function that I have as head of the party," he added.

FORD REFUSED to concede, at the news conference, that the appearances are assisting him in getting the nomination, but he said [illegible] over a Democrat next fall.

Washington Star
October 12, 1975

7704011941

Detroit News
October 10, 1975
page A 3

In other issues of interest to Detroit, the President:

● Called the disappearance of ex-Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa a "strange case." He said it is being pursued diligently by the FBI and Justice Department. He has "full faith" in those agencies and doubts that Congress can initiate "any criminal investigation."

● Said he is "sure" the Department of Labor is investigating the Teamsters Union's alleged misuse of its $1-billion-dollar pension fund.

● Declared he has not urged Gov. Milliken to enter the race for the Senate seat held by retiring Democrat Senator Philip Hart. "It seems to me that is a decision for the Governor to make," Ford said. "He knows the situation better than I."

In other political matters, President Ford indicated that he is not perturbed over reports of gains made by ex-California Gov. Ronald Reagan.

"I expect to be nominated," Mr. Ford stated firmly, "and I think the prospects are excellent to be elected President in 1976. I don't sit around worrying about any competitor."

At one point, he gave a boost — intended or not — to U.S. Rep. Marvin Esch, R-Ann Arbor, one of the Republican hopefuls for Hart's seat. Esch, he noted at some length, sponsored the anti-busing legislation requiring courts to look for alternative measures.

He refused direct reply to a question about former President Nixon. Mr. Ford was asked if Mr. Nixon wanted to take a foreign policy-related job or campaign for him in 1976. Mr. Nixon, he said, had made "no such request."

Recalling a telephone conversation with Mr. Nixon, he said: "He sounded better on the phone at that time, and I am very happy that his health is apparently much, much better."

Between 750 and 800 persons attended the $500 a couple reception in Cobo Hall and about 3,000 tickets were sold for a $50-a-plate reception and dinner that followed.

At the $50-a-plate dinner, Mr. Ford chided congressional critics for calling his tax cut-spending limit plan preelection politics.

7704001 49 41

DATE OF TRIP: October 14, 1975

TO: Hartford, Connecticut

AGENDA: October 14

7:30 p.m. - Remarks to the Connecticut Association of Realtors Convention (Hartford)
9:12 p.m. - Remarks to a Republican Fundraising Dinner (Hartford)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

New Haven Register - October 14; page 1
Hartford Courant - October 15

7704011494

New Haven Register
October 14
page 1

125

Republican Fete Attracts 2,000

By JACK ZAIMAN

Surrounded by extraordinary security, President Ford came to Hartford Tuesday night to seek support for nomination and election next year and to help Connecticut Republicans raise an estimated $125,000 for the 1976 campaign.

More than 2,000 Republicans turned out at the civic center to greet the President in another in his series of political trips to various states.

The President, affable and untiring, shook hands with hundreds who attended a special $250-a-person cocktail party at the Sheraton hotel that preceded a dinner at the Hartford Civic Center.

"Your presence," GOP State Chairman Frederick K. Biebel of Stratford told Ford at the dinner, "has given us not only a tremendous psychological lift but a substantial financial lift as well."

OTHER STORIES
PHOTOS, PAGES 6, 16

Ford, continuing his attacks on a "can't do" Congress, challenged Democratic lawmakers to approve his proposal to cut annual federal taxes and expenses by $28 billion.

From the moment the President's airplane—expenses paid for by the state GOP—touched down at Bradley International Airport, security was tight.

All traffic was halted on I-91 between Windsor Locks and Hartford for the President's motorcade. Hundreds of state and local police guarded bridges and highway exits, as well as the approaches to Hartford. In and around the Sheraton and the civic center, police and Secret Servicemen were everywhere. The civic center was searched Tuesday afternoon for possible explosives.

For the President, the journey to Connecticut was nothing new. He got his law degree from Yale University in New Haven in 1941, where he was also an assistant football coach.

He was greeted by GOP into Bradley. There, Mona Welliner of Danbury, who observed her 14th birthday Tuesday, gave the President a Connecticut Bicentennial Medal worth about $100. It was almost pure silver.

Then, in a well-guarded cavalcade, he came to the Sheraton in Hartford to say personal hellos to more than 300 Republicans at the cocktail party.

A little later, after the other 23 members of the head table were seated, Ford was escorted into the exhibition hall at the civic center for the dinner. About 1,000 persons paid $125 for dinner while another 1,000 paid $15 for a box dinner.

Shirley L. Scott, Republican mayoral nominee in Hartford, gave a 33-word welcoming speech "on behalf of all the Republican candidates who are seeking election this November throughout the State of Connecticut."

Earlier in the day, Mayor Athanson, a Democrat seeking election, expressed irration at not being invited to give the city's greetings to the President at the dinner. "I don't know what he's angry about," commented Biebel. "This is a Republican dinner."

Biebel, acting as toastmaster, "assured" Ford that Connecticut will go Republican next year in the presidential election.

"Since the beginning of this year," said Biebel, "Connecticut has been a one-party state. The governor is a Democrat and both branches of the state legislature are heavily controlled by Democrats.

"The people of Connecticut have already had ample cause to regret this situation."

7704001943

Hartford Courant
October 15, 1975

126

State GOP Sees Big Fund Success

By JAMES MUTRIE JR.
Capitol Bureau Chief

HARTFORD — President Gerald R. Ford travels here tonight to help Connecticut Republicans and is undoubtedly looking for their return assistance in 1976.

A White House press spokeswoman said today the tentative sched[illegible]has Ford arriving at Bradley somewhere around 6 p.m[illegible] stressed, however, that the time schedule was still "te[illegible]ive."

The spokes[illegible]man said also that she was uncertain on the topic of the president's speech.

State GOP officials are claiming the fund-raising extragavanza will hit the original goal and that some $100,000 to $125,000 will be pulled n to the party's coffers. More than 2,000 persons are expected to be in the Hartford Civic Center for the ford appearance.

They will be paying from $15 to $125-per-ticket — depending on whether they are going to dinner or getting a box lunch in another room. Arrangements have been made so that all will get to watch and listen to the president's speech once the actual dinner is over.

Some 300, who want to pay an extra $125, will be attending a prior private reception for the president.

In coming to Connecticut, Ford can hardly be forgetting the fact that he'd like the state's votes at the GOP's 1976 presidential nominating convention. His visit tonight may go a long way toward guaranteeing that as state GOP chieftains add up the financial assistance the president has handed them in one swoop.

The party treasury had been all but bare until the Ford dinner receipts started piling in. Now the Connecticut GOP will not only have enough money to keep the headquarters operation running at a reasonable pace but will also have some left over to help out in the 1976 campaigning.

Spurred by the two recent attempts on the president's life, security will be the tightest in Connecticut history for a presidential visit. More than 125 Hartford policemen alone will be thrown into the job of protecting the president during his stay in the state. The nation's number one citizen will be arriving early tonight at Bradley International Airport in

(Continued on Page 2)

State GOP Sees Big Fund Success

(Continued from Page 1)

Windsor Locks and proceeding in a small motorcade directly to the Civic Center.

His welcome to the state at the airport will be politically a bi-partisan one, with his former Congressional colleague, Democratic Gov. Ella T. Grasso, on hand to greet him along with Republican officials. After that, however, it will be all Republican as Mrs. Grasso leaves the president in the hands of State Chairman Frederick K. Biebel Jr. and other party officials.

The two Connecticut Republicans in the U.S. House of Representatives — Stewart B. McKinney and Ronald A. Sarasin — will be flying into Bradley Field with the president. U.S. Sen. Lowell P. Weicker will either be with the small delegation greeting the president at the airport or will meet him at the door of the Civic Center, according to Biebel.

Ironically, the White House agreement to the Connecticut trip last month came only an hour or two before the assassination try in San Francisco. There had been some concern among the GOP here that the visit might have to be cancelled out as the chief executive cut down on his traveling. However, Ford decided to stick to the promise.

It will be Ford's second visit to Connecticut since assuming the presidency in 1974. He was in New Haven last spring to address a dinner at the Yale Law School.

7704001941

DATE OF TRIP: October 29-30, 1975

TO: Los Angeles and San Francisco

AGENDA: October 29, 1975

9:55 p.m. - Remarks to a Republican Fundraising Dinner (Los Angeles)

October 30, 1975

7:44 a.m. - Interview with News Reporters
1:10 p.m. - Remarks to Republican Fundraising Luncheon (San Francisco)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Washington Post - October 31; p. A1
Washington Star-News - October 30;
Christian Science Monitor - October 31; p.1

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Remarks to a Republican Fundraising Dinner (Los Angeles)

7704111941

now ripe for some straight answers, some straight talk. And I am confident that we can solve the problem, and when we do it, and do it right, I think I will have a friend or two in New York City.

MR. BROOM. Mr. President, we will get a chance for a reaction to that question next Wednesday when Mayor Beame speaks to this audience.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m. at the National Press Building, after being introduced by William W. Broom, president of the National Press Club.

Municipal Bankruptcy Legislation

The President's Letter to the Speaker of the House and to the President of the Senate Transmitting Proposed Legislation Concerning Indebtedness of Major Municipalities. October 29, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker: (*Dear Mr. President:*)

Enclosed for your consideration and appropriate reference is a legislative proposal to amend the Bankruptcy Act to add a new Chapter XVI dealing with the adjustment of debts of major municipalities.

This legislative recommendation is submitted because of the inadequacies of Chapter IX of the current Bankruptcy Act in its application to the problems of major municipalities. The attached draft legislative proposal would provide a desirable alternative to Chapter IX of the Bankruptcy Act.

A major concern of all of us is the need for meaningful action to bring into balance the revenues and expenditures of a city which may need to seek relief under the Bankruptcy Act. The attached legislative proposal will provide the incentives needed to force such a city to make the hard decisions required to achieve this important objective. The draft legislation will accomplish this without improper intrusion into the internal governmental affairs of any State.

We do not wish for any city to have to undergo bankruptcy. However, recent events remind us we cannot ignore the fact that there must be relief legislation ready and available in the event insolvency forces resort to relief under the Bankruptcy Act. I can assure you that the Executive Branch would be prepared to work with the bankruptcy court in a proceeding under the proposed Act.

Administration witnesses will be pleased to consult with and advise the Committee to which this legislation is assigned. This legislation is urgently needed. I respectfully urge its early consideration by the Congress.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

NOTE: For the President's remarks concerning the proposed legislation, see the preceding item.

Los Angeles, California

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. October 29, 1975

Chuck, I can't express deeply enough—and as deeply appreciative that I am—of those more than generous words. Let me add, if I might, my great gratitude for the tremendous turnout here tonight that expresses a faith, a conviction, a dedication to the principles and the things that all of us believe in as Republicans in effectuating what we seek and desire at the local, the State, and the Federal level.

But, let me say first I am delighted that Andy Hinshaw and Don Clausen are here, Ev Younger, of course Paul Haerle, and your incomparable leaders in the State, Margaret Brock and Bill Banowsky.

I have had the opportunity in several meetings this afternoon and this evening to renew acquaintanceships with some of the members of the legislature that I have met and, of course, those local officials that are so essential and vitally important. And I had the privilege again of renewing acquaintances with individuals I served with in both the House, as well as the Senate. It is just nice to be here, and I can't express adequately my appreciation for the warm welcome.

You know, it is always a great enjoyment coming back to California, particularly when it is so close to October 31—*[laughter]* a very special time when we observe the mysterious and supernatural when people tell strange tales about big houses where rooms lay ghostly silent, where lights are never seen, where mortals never tread. In most places, it is called Halloween; in California, it is called the Governor's Mansion. *[Laughter]*

I deeply appreciate your kindness in tendering this Salute to the President's Dinner, but I would prefer to designate—and I say this most sincerely—this evening as a salute to all the men and women of the Republican Party of California and throughout the Nation who are working to prove that the elephant has not forgotten how to win elections or provide good government.

Ladies and gentlemen, our Republican elephant will neither be stampeded nor exterminated. We are full of energy. We are full of faith. We will prove the rumors of our political extinction have been greatly exaggerated and certainly have no foundation in this great State of California.

California and the Republican Party started going together with "Free Soil," "Free Speech," John C. Fremont in your great State of California. Unfortunately, in 1856, California had only four electoral votes, and Fremont didn't get them.

But, let me say this with emphasis, and reiteration, if I might: I can assure you as Republicans, we are going to get a lot better deal in California and the rest of the Nation in 1976 than we did in 1856. But even more significantly and far more importantly, we will do much, much better than we did in 1974, here as well as elsewhere in this great Republic.

The reason I am confident—and I can say this from traveling the length and breadth of this country—is the hard spade work that you are doing right here in California that is being reproduced throughout the country. You are rescuing votes we would otherwise lose—the votes of over one million registered Republicans who did not go to the polls last November.

You can be proud—and I say that as a former precinct worker myself—of the dynamic job being done by Walt Smith and Al[illegible] and many other California stalwarts, have reregistered nearly 400,000 voters in this State alone.

Your voter registration drive is giving new life to the precincts and, as I said a moment ago, that is where I started, and I am proud of that heritage and that experience.

Your 1975 fundraising, including the great work of the Golden Circle Club, is having its best year yet. You are building the Republican Party on the local level, where it really counts. And every elected official in this hall this evening knows that to be true. There is no substitute for it.

We approach a year of decision, as I see it, for all Americans. It is the year to save the two-party system or abandon America to a one-party rule. It is a year to stop the annual growth of Federal budgets that already have amounted to more than we spent to win World War II. It is a year Republicans must stress our differences with Democrats rather than with other Republicans. It is a year to win elections instead of arguments. It is, above all, the year to build a platform big enough to hold all who care about America and believe in the principles of the Republican Party.

Two hundred years ago our forebears set out to build a new kind of a nation which would govern itself through the political mechanisms of self-correcting balance. The governmental balance of powers which they envisioned and which we have perfected over the years is not limited to the constitutional separation of legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the Federal Government, nor are the balanced scales of justice the property of the judiciary alone. Justice, as Hamilton and Jefferson for once agreed, is the goal of all government.

Balance is essential among the Congress and the President and the Federal courts, but so is balance among the States and the cities and the Federal establishment. So is balance among the conflicting claims of pressure groups and special interests within our complex society—and it is so complex—and if freedom is to endure, so is balance between our two great political parties.

And so is balance in our bookkeeping. If you don't believe it, just look what is happening to New York City. The only thing wrong with New York City—and I had a few words to say about that today—*[laughter]*—is that too many things have gotten out of balance, including far, far too many budgets. The only thing wrong with this country is that too many things have gotten out of balance, including too many budgets.

The balance has shifted against business and industry to the degree that both the freedom and the enterprise are being taxed and regulated right out of the free enterprise system. The balance on taxes has shifted to penalize hard-working, law-abiding Americans, and especially taxpayers in the middle income groups, and to reward able bodied adults who want benefits without work.

The balance has shifted against the disadvantaged, the poor, and the pensioners who live on fixed incomes as

the Congress fires up inflation by voting benefits for many, many who don't need them at the expense of those who do. The balance has shifted against the States, counties, and cities that practice sound fiscal management and in favor of those communities which spend beyond their means and look to Washington for a bail out.

The balance on crime has shifted so heavily on concern for the rights of the criminals that the rights of their victims are almost forgotten. I say this with emphasis, this must stop.

The balance on national defense has shifted against our Armed Forces to the point where many members of the Congress would rather spend your money for controversial social experiments than for the essential insurance of a defense second to none. You and I know that America's strength is the only solid basis for peace in the world and that weakness is the surest way, the surest path to war.

The balance of world power must not be shifted against us and the free world because without freedom, nothing else is of value. Freedom must always come first.

Fortunately, there is a way to correct all these imbalances. We have weights with which to right every balance. We do not call them weights, we call them ballots. For too long many Americans have been putting their weights, their votes, under the wrong side of the scales. Balance can be restored to this country's affairs and I stand here to ask for your help in this critical and crucial moment. With all our weights put together, yes, our ballots, we will do the job.

The job starts with the Congress. A Congress that refuses to cut taxes and spending is drastically out of balance and drastically out of touch with you and others who will go to the polls in November of 1976.

America's vitality and prosperity is being sapped by the irresponsibility of the Congress, the irresponsibility of their spending; a Congress dominated two to one by Democrats; a Congress controlled by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years, and I might add for 33 of those 38 years there have been substantial Federal deficits.

What have those deficits brought, or what have they brought to us. You are painfully aware of how a massive bureaucracy is running more and more of your individual daily life. You know how Democratic-controlled Congresses have discouraged your enterprise and your initiative, encouraged and endorsed the unfair redistribution of your efforts and your incomes to others.

For the last 20 years, Congress after Congress, all controlled by Democrats, has spent and spent and elected and elected. In 1962, let me illustrate if I might very quickly, the Federal budget for the first time in American history exceeded $100 billion. I can recall that vividly. It was a headline. It startled us; it shocked us.

I had been in Congress roughly 13 years and I couldn't believe it. Democratic Congresses then doubled the budget to $200 billion in only 8 more years. Unless we bring sanity to the spending madness of the present Congress, the Federal budget in the coming fiscal year will more than double again to an estimated $423 billion.

Where did these massive increases come from? That is a good, legitimate, honest question that ought to be asked by all people, Democrat, Republican or otherwise. Because of the mountains of Federal debt incurred through soaring Congressional spending, annual interest—annual interest on the public debt almost tripled in the last 10 years, from $11 billion in a period of one year, interest has grown to $32 billion in 12 months.

Another example. Between 1965 and 1975, Democratic-controlled Congresses increased spending for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by nearly 400 percent—400 percent. Ladies and gentlemen, how can this Democratic Congress now tell the American people—and listen, because this is the crux of the issue we are to be faced with in the months ahead—how can the Democratic Congress now tell the American people that it cannot hold down anticipated spending for fiscal 1977 by a mere 7 percent? They have no answer.

Just over 3 weeks ago, I made the Congress a perfectly reasonable proposition. The Congress wanted to cut income taxes again next year, but go right on spending to the tune of another $60 billion deficit.

I said, okay, let's have a tax cut, an even bigger, more equitable, and permanent tax cut than you are considering, a tax cut of $28 billion. Americans do need more of their own paychecks to spend. But, along with a tax cut, let's have a comparable $28 billion cut in the growth of Federal spending. They go hand-in-hand, partners, in trying to save America's fiscal situation now and in the future.

Let's set a spending ceiling of $395 billion instead of the projected $423 billion, and start right now to cut back our annual deficit so we can have a balanced budget, an honest one, a certain one within 3 years.

Did Members of the Congress say okay, we will try? You know the answer. They didn't. They howled, they cried, they said I was being political. Tell me—and this is a thoughtful distinction—tell me why is it political to want to cut spending along with taxes, but it is not political to cut taxes and go right on spending for politically popular programs?

Do you realize that under the laws Democratic Congresses have already written—they are in the statute books right now and have been for the last several years—without a single new appropriation or program, and despite everything I can do as President by vetoing further increases, our Federal expenditures will automatically increase next year by $50 billion? No new programs, no changes in any laws, just the automatic increase because more people are eligible or their escalation clauses, or a wide variety of other reasons, an increase automatically of $50 billion.

Fifty billion dollars in spending growth—think of it for a minute. That is nearly five times the total annual spending of the great State of California.

The majority in Congress—as Chuck Reed said—don't like my vetoes. If I could reiterate, those vetoes have already saved the taxpayers some $6½ billion, and I will go on vetoing unwise, unnecessary spending bills again and again and again.

The sole criteria will be, will it save you money and save our country's future? Now, the Congress obviously doesn't like my combination of a tax cut and a spending cut proposal. Having served 25 years in the Congress, I understand it. I know why. Without being seriously unkind to my former colleagues and some of their new Members, you know, some call this a spendthrift Congress.

I will say this: It is sure a lot more spend than thrift. But to be more emphatic and more deliberate and more specific, I call it a "Can't Do Congress." They can't pass an energy bill, they can't face up to one issue after another, but most of all, on the issue I am discussing, they say: "We can't cut the budget. They complain, they tell us we are to cut it, they ask, where do we start?

Very well. Let me tell them. For a starter, Congress can begin by slashing the food stamp program. Every Congressman, Democratic as well as Republican, knows the abuses of the food stamp program are notorious. Congress has no excuse whatsoever not to begin the $28 billion reduction right here in this program. Congress can save taxpayers more than $1 billion in 12 months by passing my proposed food stamp reform program.

This Democratic Congress knows as well as I do that approximately one—unbelievably—one out of every five Americans has now become eligible for food stamps. Congress knows that 57 percent of those eligible for food stamps are above the nationally defined poverty level—57 percent.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Bill Simon, who was here just a few days ago, he and his department have calculated that 43,000 American families with annual incomes above $18,000 per year received food stamps last year—43,000 families. Why? You tell me why. Why does a family earning $18,000 a year need food stamps? Better still, tell your Congressmen and your Senators.

Since 1965, the cost of this experiment has increased from $34 million annually to nearly $6 billion for every 12 months. Twenty-one million people, 41 times more than recipients in 1965, are now getting food stamps. It is unbelievable.

My policy in food stamps is simple, fair. The Federal Government should, within the limits of its resources, help Americans in need who cannot help themselves. We should not give Federal assistance—and I emphasize we should not give Federal assistance—to able-bodied adults without dependents who do not choose to work.

I simply don't understand the logic of this Democratic-controlled Congress. If every housewife can revise her budget and every businessman can cut the frills out of his office, or industrial activity on spending, why can't the free-spending Congressional Democrats do the same?

I say, in all sincerity, I will work with the Congress to ensure that those who deserve the help of our Nation will continue to get it. The elderly, the poor, the men and women who have borne our Nation's arms, the Federal Government must and will meet these legitimate obligations. But we must not pay one more cent of tribute to interest groups with frills who can afford to work and we cannot afford to support.

I will also keep faith with those who innovate and invest, those who work, those who pay their taxes, those who obey the law and those who save for their children's future. I speak to you in these very frank and categorical terms tonight to underscore my deep conviction and greatest concern, that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

While serving in the Congress, I won five "Watchdog of the Treasury" awards. I am very proud of that. I am still a "Watchdog of the Treasury" in the White House now and in the future.

You know some of my friends told me I shouldn't come to California again. [*Laughter*] They say there is nothing a President can learn by leaving Washington and meeting Americans face-to-face. Apparently only Congressmen, columnists, and pollsters should talk to people. Well, I kind of prefer to get my information first-hand and speak to all of you face-to-face.

As President, I can advance programs, I can prod the Congress, but I need your voices, loud, clear, telling me where you stand and where you want to go individually and collectively.

Tonight as I conclude, I will tell you where I stand.

—Your President will not cave in to the big spenders and the budget busters in the Congress.

—Your President will not fling open the U.S. Treasury to every city with a hole in its pocket.

—Your President will not let a massive bureaucracy dominate your State, your cities, your business, and, more importantly, your lives.

—Your President will not play dead while the foreign oil cartel drains off $25 billion plus a year from our economy.

—And your President will never stand idly by while the Congress downgrades America's defenses and dismantles America's intelligence-gathering capability.

I believe America wants a President who is a fighter, not a patsy. And as President, I will join with you in the fight for the enduring principles of the Republican Party, those principles for which we have always stood—fiscal responsibility in Government, local control over local af-

132

fairs, the freeing of the free enterprise system, a national defense second to none, and the realization of individual freedom for each and every one of us and 214 million other Americans.

With your talent, with your enthusiasm, with your help, and, yes appreciatively, with your dollars, we can make 1976 a year for all Republicans and independents, a year that they will remember fondly, constructively, and wholesomely, and a year the Democrats may never forget.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. at the Century Plaza Hotel.

Los Angeles, California

The President's Interview With Herbert G. Klein, Vice President of Metromedia, Inc., and Metromedia Reporters Gabe Pressman, Alan Smith, Larry Moore, Gilbert Amundson, and Kenneth Jones.
October 30, 1975

ANNOUNCER. America's largest city, New York, the "Big Apple," is on the verge of bankruptcy. Other cities also fight for survival. Traffic chokes the arteries, spewing fumes into the once clear skies, streets and sidewalks are turned into garbage dumps, crime is rampant. Frustrated by spiraling costs, public servants go on strike and march in picket lines. A desperate plea for help goes out to the President and Congress. Searching for answers, Metromedia News reporters from across the country have gathered in Los Angeles for an exclusive interview with President Gerald Ford about the crisis in the cities and other issues. Metromedia Vice President Herb Klein is the moderator.

MR. KLEIN. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. President, it is a pleasure to welcome you to this unique Metromedia news team presentation of an interview based on the problems of the cities and many other current issues facing the country at this time. It is a pleasure. Welcome, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Herb. I am delighted to have an opportunity of seeing some old friends and making some new acquaintances, and I look forward to a very active discussion of some of the problems that I know are on the minds of these gentlemen as well as others.

MR. KLEIN. Thank you. Our first question will be from a man you know from New York, Mr. Gabe Pressman, from WNEW, Channel 5, New York City.

NEW YORK CITY'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

Q. Mr. President, the New York Daily News today carried the following headline bannered on its front page, "Ford to the City: Drop Dead." Is that what you were saying yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. Gabe, not at all. I was saying to the city of New York that the best way is for we in the Federal Government to put pressure on the responsible officials in the State and in the city to do some things that had to be done that have been neglected, have not been done over a period of time, and indicate to the city that if responsible officials at the State and local level don't act, then there was a way in which the Federal Government, after default, could come in and participate in providing what we call essential services.

But the people in New York have been the victims of mismanagement by public officials, and the only way to get that situation straightened out is to put the pressure on those people to do what they should have done over the years. I have great sympathy for the people of New York, the eight million people who have been misled, who have not been given the leadership that they need.

Q. Mr. President, you made two speeches yesterday, one in Washington in which you said that our leaders in New York have to take the responsibility for past follies, what you have just said. You also made one here in Los Angeles to a Republican fundraising dinner in which you expressed great sympathy for the middle Americans, the middle-class Americans, and the pensioners, and the people who are really footing the bill and taking the punishment in this country. Isn't it a fact that default in New York City is going to affect tens of thousands of these people, both civil servants who will be laid off and people who work for private vendors that aren't going to be paid by the city of New York? So, is there an inconsistency between your attitude on default and your sympathy expressed for the little guy?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all, Gabe. The principal investors in the securities, the long-term bonds and the short-term notes are the banks in New York City and throughout the country. They have made an investment in a free market. They took a gamble on a tax-free investment; they expected to get a good return. If the city officials of New York don't do something properly to correct the situation, these investors, yes, will have to defer the receipt of their interest and the repayments on principal. But they made an investment in a free market. They should have known that the circumstances weren't as good as they might have been told they were.

On the other hand, we have said to the fireman, to the policeman, to the nurse in the emergency ward, we will help and work with the court if default comes, and there is no need for it to come in the first place. But if it does, we will help that group of people to provide those essential services to the eight million people in the city of New York. I don't think there is any inconsistency at all.

Q. Granted what you just said, and I will just make a very short question, Mr. President. There are thousands of people, it is a fact, who are not big banks, who have New York City bonds, including widows and orphans and

Washington Post
October 31, 1975

7704011951

Reagan Country Chilly for Ford

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 30—President Ford campaigned on Ronald Reagan's home turf today with denunciations of government spending and food stamps reminiscent of the favorite political rhetoric of the former California governor.

Mr. Ford's speeches, to 1,300 Republicans here at a fund-raising dinner Wednesday night and to another 700 Republicans in San Francisco today, were designed to demonstrate that he is in solid political shape in Reagan's own state.

Instead, the tepid applause of the party faithful seemed to underscore the potential vulnerability of Mr. Ford to a Reagan challenge for the presidential nomination. The President spoke for 32 minutes at the Los Angeles affair and received what even some of his supporters said was the lightest applause ever accorded a Republican President at a fund-raising dinner here.

The crowd did not warm up at all until Mr. Ford discarded his prepared text and launched into a Reagan-style attack on Congress and the federal bureaucracy.

"Your President will not cave in to the big spenders and the budget busters in the Congress," Mr. Ford said.

"Your President will not fling open the U.S. Treasury to every city with a hole in its pocket.

"Your President will not let a massive bureaucracy dominate your state, your cities, your business and, more importantly, your lives.

"Your President will not play dead while the foreign oil cartel drains off $25-billion-plus a year from our economy.

"And your President will never stand idly by while the Congress downgrades America's defenses and America's intelligence-gathering capability."

While the response to Mr. Ford's speech clearly was disappointing to some of his California backers, party officials were pleased with the financial response to the two

See PRESIDENT, A5, Col. 3

Washington Post
October 31, 1975

Ford Stumps Reagan Country

PRESIDENT, From A1

"Salute to the President" affairs.

The Los Angeles dinner and the San Francisco luncheon grossed nearly $500,000 for the party coffers, of which the state GOP is expected to net more than $300,000 after paying for presidential travel costs.

The two fund-raisers were sponsored by an impressive list of major Republican contributors, including such men as Los Angeles automobile dealer Holmes Tuttle and industrialist Henry Salvatori, who have [illegible] past [illegible] Reagan but [illegible] was listed as a sponsor, although he did not show up [illegible]

[illegible] some of the sponsors privately warned against using the dinner list as a guide to determining support for Mr. Ford. They pointed out that the California primary is not until June, leaving supporters of both candidates plenty of time to make their choices on the basis of the voting in such early primaries as New Hampshire and Florida.

Two of Southern California's most knowledgeable Republicans, Los Angeles County Supervisors Peter Scharbarum and James Haynes, underscored the fluidity of the political situation here. They joined California Attorney General Evelle Younger, leader of the Ford election campaign in the state, in meeting Mr. Ford when Air Force One arrived at the Los Angeles airport.

But the presidential motorcade was not yet out of sight before both supervisors predicted that Reagan was likely to give Mr. Ford a stiff [illegible] in the primary.

This also was the [illegible] attitude of many of the Ford supporters [illegible] the [illegible] Plaza Hotel Wednesday night.

Even state GOP Chairman Paul Haerle, a one-time Reagan supporter who is now an enthusiastic Ford backer, said that a primary race for California's 241 delegates to the Republican National Convention would be "a tossup" between Reagan and the President at this time.

"California Republicans in their hearts would like to vote for Reagan, but in their heads they know they ought to vote for Ford, and they will," Haerle said.

Other Ford supporters were less optimistic.

"I think that the President can defeat Reagan," said recently re-elected San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, a moderate who supports Mr. Ford. "But I'm not taking Reagan lightly. He can charm the birds out of the trees."

This ability was not demonstrated by the President Wednesday night. Most of the time his audience sat in near total silence as the President uttered such lines as, "Ladies and gentlemen, our Republican elephant will neither be stampeded nor exterminated!"

Security was tight in both California cities, and the President deliberately avoided mingling with crowds as he had on two California visits last month when assassination attempts occurred.

At the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco, Mr. Ford drove in through a garage entrance rather than pulling up outside the hotel and walking in through the crowd as he did Sept. 22. In Los Angeles police investigated a report of a bomb in the room where Mr. Ford was to speak, but found nothing.

Mr. Ford broke no new ground in his San Francisco speech, in which he reiterated his opposition to deficit spending and reviewed administration foreign policy efforts. He appeared to be indirectly confirming reports of difficulties in obtaining a new strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union by saying:

"I want a good agreement; if it takes a little more time to negotiate a good agreement, I'll spend that time. I will not be rushed by any artificial deadline."

Historical Feast For the President

MT. VERNON, Oct. 30, (AP)—As part of the host duties Pres. Ford was scheduled to receive when he arrived here today was a copy of the Declaration of Independence made out of two pounds of alphabet noodles.

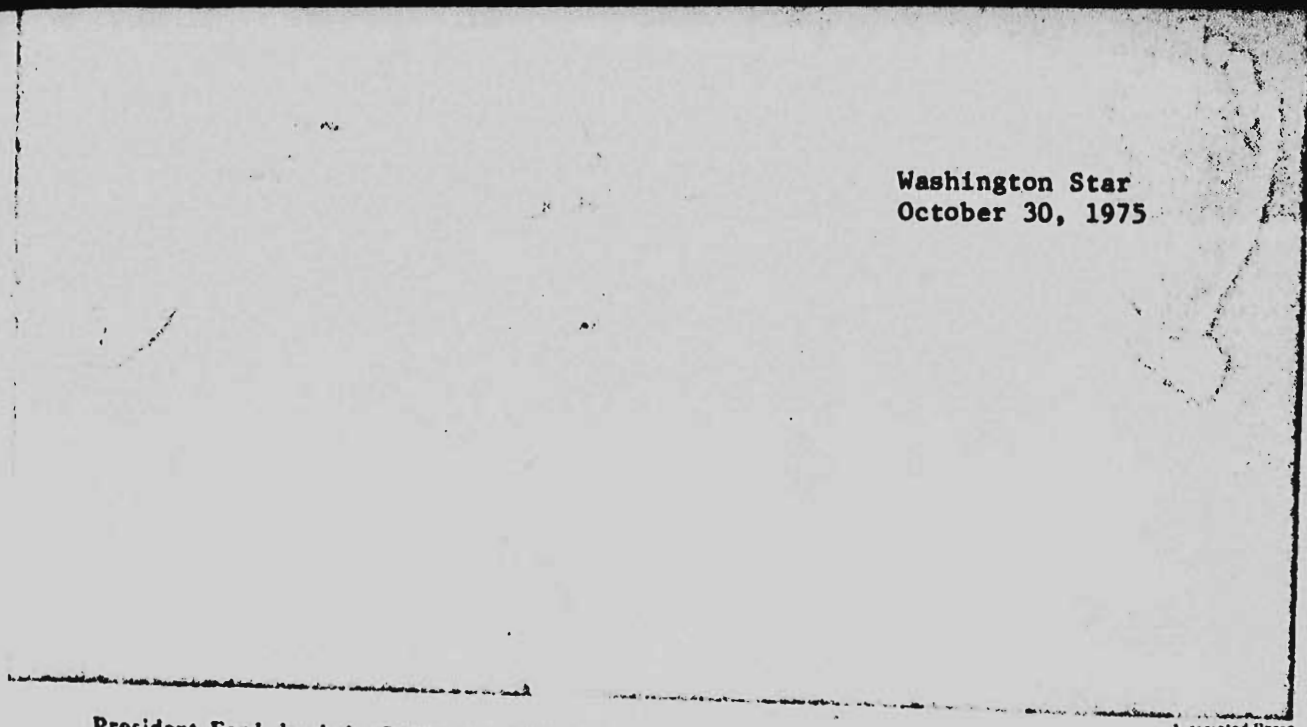
The copy was made by 16 members of a Richland Center Girl Scout troop who devoted an estimated 60 hours to the project. One scout said it took almost as long to get permission to present the project to the President.

Creating the unusual gift for Mr. Ford required the scouts first to sort roughly 8,000 letters from two one-pound boxes of noodles.

134

Washington Star
October 30, 1975

135



—Associated Press

President Ford, back in California, addresses a GOP fund-raising dinner in Los Angeles last night.

'Tell Me Where You Stand'

Ford Seeking the GOP Voices

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — President Ford's favorite explanation of why he travels so much around the country is that he needs to talk to the people and hear their views.

This was the reason, he told a friendly Republican gathering here last night, why he returned to California, the scene of two apparent attempts on his life last month.

Though some of his friends advised him to stay in Washington, Ford said, "I prefer to get my information first hand. . . . As President, I can advance programs. I can prod Congress. But I need your voices, loud and clear, telling me where you stand, where you want to go."

THE EVENTS which the President usually attends on his far-flung domestic travels, however, tend to undercut this high-toned purpose of getting the word from the people. He mostly meets with well-heeled Republicans, ostensibly aiding the party but shoring up his own election campaign as well.

A WHITE HOUSE official on the trip was asked to explain how Ford's schedule of appearances fit in with his desire to get in touch with the will of the people. The official, with a sheepish look on his face, gave no response.

It was unclear how much the President helped his campaign for a full term in the White House by returning to California, the home turf of his expected challenger for the GOP presidential nomination, former Gov. Ronald Reagan.

In his campaign, Ford has laid great emphasis on California, which will hold the final major primary in the GOP presidential race next June.

The President has been successful in plucking off some of Reagan's key supporters in the state, such as state GOP chairman Paul Haerle.

REAGAN WAS conspicuously absent from the two fund-raising affairs, though he was listed as a co-chairman of them. He was in both California cities while Ford was there, but chose to meet with organizers of his unannounced presidential campaign instead of attending the events.

Unsurprisingly, the security net around Ford was extremely tight in California. He debarked from Air Force One at a remote corner of Los Angeles International Airport, with only newsmen allowed to watch his arrival.

FORD DID NOT chance an outdoors arrival at the hotel. He rode in his bullet-proof limousine into the hotel's underground garage before getting out.

Christian Science Monitor
October 31, 1975
page 1

Ford out to halt bid by Reagan

Behind President's return to California

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
With the Ford party in California

President Ford came here for one purpose, as California politicians see it: to campaign against Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Ford came just as Republican leaders are taking a new look at Mr. Reagan. A few weeks ago state leaders were responding to Monitor questionnaires with an almost unanimous view that Mr. Reagan would not have a chance of unseating the President.

Now, new soundings show they are beginning to view Mr. Reagan as a "serious threat."

Many are echoing a highly regarded Midwest GOP leader who says: "If Reagan gets off to a strong start in the early primaries, he just might be able to embarrass the President terribly."

Republican leaders across the nation are, by and large, behind the President. They express strong support for Mr. Ford together with confidence that he would be able to win next year.

These leaders take the position that Mr. Reagan can do no more than embarrass the President and divide the party. They do not see how he possibly could unseat an incumbent President with the popularity that Mr. Ford now holds among his fellow Republicans.

But the growing concern of these leaders is that Mr. Reagan may split the Republicans into two warring factions unable to unite behind the President in the postconvention campaign.

*Please turn to Page 9

7704011951

Christian Science Monitor
October 31, 1975
page 9

★Ford in California to halt bid by Reagan

Continued from Page 1

Thus "Reagan just might help to put the Democrats back in power," as an Eastern leader expressed it.

The "Reagan threat" to Republican prospects for remaining in the White House is—as one veteran and influential Republican put it — "a most delicate point to try to put over to the Republican rank and file."

"The President can't say this," this informant said, "without infuriating Reagan supporters — and, very likely alienate them."

So all that the President can do is to make himself as visible as he can in the primary states, coupling this with a presidential record which, he hopes, will keep Republicans behind him.

The President is known to feel that while he might lose a few primaries along the way, he must win here in California. He is well aware that candidates who pick up this big group of delegates just before the convention usually gain the nomination.

Should Mr. Reagan win here in his home state he could be powerfully influential at the convention. He could put a sizable Reagan imprint on the party platform and could influence the naming of the vice-presidential candidate — perhaps making it necessary for Mr. Ford to jettison Nelson A. Rockefeller and replace him with Mr. Reagan.

Further, of course, should Mr. Reagan put a California primary victory together with several other primary wins — he could probably stage a potent and bitterly divisive bid to replace Mr. Ford at the top of the ticket.

While GOP chiefs do not see Mr. Reagan as able to push Mr. Ford aside, they might, later on, revise their views about that, too.

[Mr. Ford returned to California under stringent security, according to the Associated Press. Mr. Ford said that some of his friends had advised him to stay away from the state where he twice had encountered gun-wielding women.

[Much of what Mr. Ford had to say in Los Angeles at a $250-a-plate fund-raising dinner could easily have been part of a Reagan speech. But the California Governor, whose presidential campaign has been organized but not yet formally announced, was not there.

[An aide said Mr. Reagan was in Los Angeles meeting privately with political advisers about the GOP presidential campaign he is expected to announce late next month in an effort to wrest the 1976 nomination from Mr. Ford.

[An associate said Mr. Reagan skipped the dinner lest conservative supporters read into a joint appearance a weakening of his resolve to take on the President. Mr. Reagan was mentioned only in the "salute to the President" program which listed his name along with 25 other co-chairmen.

[President Ford called for Republican unity behind a 1976 platform broad enough to embrace all party viewpoints.]

DATE OF TRIP: November 1,2, 1975

TO: Knoxville, Tennessee; Jacksonville, Florida

AGENDA: November 1, 1975 - Meeting with Tennessee GOP leaders
November 2, 1975 - Interview with Local Reporters (Jacksonville)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

* Jacksonville Florida-Times-Union - November 3, 1975

7711001954

Jacksonville Flotida-Times-Union
November 3, 1975

State GOP Leaders Meet With President

By CLARK REID

The Republican Party's star could be on the rise during the 1976 election year and President Gerald Ford was told Tuesday that Tennessee would be in the vanguard of states leading the way up again.

Education Funding Deferred

By PEGGY DUGGAN

City Board of Education's request for a $840,000 supplement to the school budget was [illegible] Tuesday night by City Council.

George [illegible], city schools business manager, said $468,000 of the additional money would be used to raise teachers' salaries, figured on a base pay of $[illegible] to $[illegible].

The new budget supplement was proposed by action which is to come from city revenue surplus [illegible] at the end of this year. [illegible] Director Gus [illegible] said he could not certify such funds would be available and could not guarantee.

"It's a little too early," said Whaley. "All the projections I have [illegible] certify that surplus funds will be available and could not guarantee.

"State tax revenue is somewhat higher than expected, but other revenues are down."

Lane Fisk, executive director of the Knoxville Tennessee Association, questioned the economic claims and [illegible] property tax [illegible] — [illegible] — by County Property Assessor Fisk Strader — [illegible].

While said Strader's estimates assumed all taxes would be collected. "I'm not

Continued on Page 3, Col 3

Martha Mitchell Has Bone Cancer

WASHINGTON (AP) — Martha Mitchell, estranged wife of former Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, is suffering from a bone marrow disease which her doctor described Tuesday night as "a type of malignancy."

Dr. Thomas F. O'Brien would not name the ailment although he would not deny a report that it was multiple myeloma, which has been described as a rare form of bone cancer.

The ailment has hospitalized Mrs. Mitchell for three weeks.

Dr. O'Brien said [illegible] is a treatable cancer. He said he had told Mrs. Mitchell that her prognosis for recovery was favorable.

Ford met for approximately an hour with top GOP leaders from across the state while he was in Knoxville for a Mid-Appalachian White House Conference on Domestic and Economic Affairs.

Leading the Tennessee Republicans in those discussions with the chief executive were Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., Sen. Bill Brock, U.S. Rep. John Duncan, U.S. Rep. Jimmy Quillen and Dortch Oldham, state GOP chairman.

"We discussed the general health of the party," Baker said after the meeting. When asked what the consensus of the group was, Tennessee's senior senator replied, "Very good — no gloom [illegible] here."

Oldham echoed Baker's statement and added that the President is "keeping up on the action in Tennessee." The state chairman said Ford is "keenly interested" in developments here.

A major portion of the meeting was devoted to Ford's policies and Baker summed up the discussions for the majority of those who attended the gathering.

"I was heartily surprised at the freedom of time and topic," the senator said.

Oldham said that after a brief opening statement by the President, the entire group got down to talking about the philosophy of the Ford Administration's policies.

"I sensed any time one group on a matter agreed with the President a little and sometimes," the GOP leader continued.

[illegible] and Brock praised [illegible] proposed [illegible] from tax cut which the President had [illegible] Monday.

[illegible] was a good maneuver," Baker said, adding, "He has posed a challenge to the Congress and then to [illegible]."

Brock termed the proposal "the most [illegible] thing the President has proposed [illegible]."

[illegible] said he was impressed that the [illegible] Ford is showing the [illegible] on the [illegible] is well [illegible] of a tax [illegible] to assure he has [illegible] to come here and campaign for himself," the junior senator said. "I'll bet we see campaigning."

Other GOP leaders attending the meeting included Attorney Gen. [illegible] Comptroller [illegible] Jake [illegible], [illegible] Democratic Executive Committee [illegible] Chairman [illegible] Democratic Executive Committee [illegible] Chairman [illegible] Democratic Executive Committee [illegible] Chairman

DATE OF TRIP: November 7, 1975

TO: Boston, Massachusetts

AGENDA: November 7

12:35 p.m. - Remarks to reporters (Westover Air Force Base, Chicopee, Massachusetts)
2:57 p.m. - Remarks to New England Council (Boston)
7:15 p.m. - Remarks to Century Club, Republican fund-raising reception (Boston)
8:15 p.m. - Remarks to Republican fundraising reception (Logan International Airport, Boston)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

Washington Star-News - November 8
Boston Globe - November 7; page 1
Boston Globe - November 8; page 1

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Remarks to Reporters (Westover Air Force Base)
Remarks to Century Club Republican Fundraising Reception (Boston)
Remarks to Republican Fundraising Reception (Boston)

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, November 14, 1975

11/7/75

Chicopee, Massachusetts

The President's Remarks to Reporters Upon Departure From Westover Air Force Base. November 7, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. How are you all? It is nice to see you. I have a couple of minutes here if you want to ask a question or two.

Q. Mr. President, we have really got a State that is concerned about jobs, about a 16-percent unemployment. Do you see any possibility of the Government as an employer of last resort, especially in the Northeast, which has been pretty hard hit?

THE PRESIDENT. We have a number of programs, the CETA program for public service employment. We have a number of other training programs. And, as the economy moves up—and it is moving up and getting stronger and healthier—I think we will find a downward trend in unemployment in Rhode Island, in Massachusetts. In my own State of Michigan, we are making real headway. In the meantime I think we will have the kind of programs that are helping in many, many instances in places like Springfield.

Q. Mr. President, would you see the money running out, though, by June?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, no. The appropriation for the CETA program, if the Congress appropriates what I have recommended, will fully fund the program through June 30 of next year.

Q. Mr. President, would you consider a woman Vice President?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, I would.

Q. Mr. President, there is an impression, with the changes in your Cabinet, that Dr. Kissinger is being moved out of the national security area and being restricted only to the foreign policy area. Is that a correct reading?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't hear the last part.

Q. That Dr. Kissinger is being moved out of the national security area pretty substantially and being restricted to the foreign policy area at the State Department.

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Kissinger will continue to have great influence in the overall strategy that we have on a worldwide basis. As Secretary of State, as an active member of the National Security Council, he will have tremendous influence. But we will also have an input from other sources—the Secretary of Defense, head of the CIA. It is a combination of high-ranking people, each with specific responsibilities. And the recommendations will come to me, and I will make the final decisions.

Q. Sir, doesn't that represent some diminution though of Dr. Kissinger's influence?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't think so. He will have a very great influence, and he has, and he will. But there is also other voices that have to contribute to the recommendations that come to me, and those voices will be heard as well.

Q. Mr. President, who do you see as a possible running mate in '76?

THE PRESIDENT. We have got a wide variety of fine potential candidates, and I couldn't take all the time to name them, they are all so good and there are so many of them.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m.

New England Council

The President's Remarks at the Council's Meeting in Boston, Massachusetts. November 7, 1975

Thank you very much, Ed King, Mrs. Stotz, distinguished Governors, my former colleagues in the Congress, Congressmen Silvio Conte and Margaret Heckler, members of the New England Council, my old and very dear friend, the former Speaker of the House, John McCormack, ladies and gentlemen:

sions and the threat of thermonuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies have had the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people. I will continue to seek that support, the kind exemplified for so many, many years by our former Speaker, John McCormack.

Without a clear consensus among the 214 million Americans, the United States could not continue as the champion of freedom and peace in the world. The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity, and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, the Administration will give them no such temptation.

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States must and will remain alert and strong.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States. It is very easy to be a cold warrior—especially in peacetime. But it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontations when consultations would advance the cause of peace. As I said at Helsinki, peace is crucial but freedom must always come first. Today, I reiterate that priority.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreements on a two-way street, with credible strength of our own and in concert with our allies. Nor will we be hurried into a bad agreement. Any agreements we reach must be verifiable.

An essential element to any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks and exposés of intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. I did not take the sacred oath of office to stand by passively while the intelligence security of the United States is unilaterally dismantled.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or by any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of comprehensive studies by the Rockefeller Commission and by the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy and related matters, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses. But intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our Nation's security—even our survival.

It may be even more important in peace than in war. Reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations could be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, skill and very substantial resources. I know—and you know—that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Let me say one time more loud and clear: There is no struggle between the concepts of defense and détente. We have been pursuing both. But to make détente succeed, we must have a strong defense. We make the world safer by both policies. And I will continue, as I know all of you will, to stand for strength, security, and a safer world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:57 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel.

Boston, Massachusetts

The President's Remarks at the Century Club Republican Fundraising Reception. November 7, 1975

Let me first thank John Sears, and I do want to speak up very affirmatively about the wonderful efforts of Senator Ed Brooke. And, of course, I would be very negligent if I didn't say nice things about my former colleagues in the House of Representatives Sil Conte and Margaret Heckler. And I do appreciate Maria Ryerson's efforts as Chairman of this event. I am sure that she and those associated with her did a wonderful job in seeing to it that all of you came to help a cause that I believe in, I trust you believe in, we just have to get more people to believe in, and I think we can.

Before getting into a few other comments, I would like to set the record straight in two respects. Despite the election results in 1972 in the State of Massachusetts, your President is not going to abandon Massachusetts to the other side.

And let me cite some concrete evidence of how I can say that. Number one, within the last several months I have been to Massachusetts twice, and I will comment later on what I expect to do in the future as far as Massachusetts is concerned.

Let me add that as solid evidence that the State of Massachusetts is making a great contribution to this Administration, we have four members of the Cabinet from Massachusetts. We have Henry Kissinger, John Dunlop, Pat Moynihan, and, of course, we are getting, very shortly, Elliot Richardson. That is four out of twelve. I am not sure I should remind people in other parts of the country of the near monopoly that Massachusetts has on the Cabinet of the Ford Administration. [*Laughter*]

But let me make one other observation: The Republicans in 1976 can and will win in Massachusetts and nationally. And let me give you some good evidence why I think you can in Massachusetts. You do have—there is some more evidence of the impact of Massachusetts [1]—but in John Sears and Nancy Sinnott you have darn good,

[1] The President was referring to John A. Volpe, U.S. Ambassador to Italy.

extra fine people taking the Republican Party and giving it the kind of leadership it ought to have.

Now having said that the Republicans are going to win in Massachusetts and in the country in 1976, let me say with quiet emphasis, your President is going to enter the primary in Massachusetts, he is going to campaign in that primary, and I think he is going to win in Massachusetts.

And may I add, I am going to be in New Hampshire, in Florida, and we are going to go right down to the wire in the convention in Kansas City and win there, too. I never got in a ball game we didn't play until the last minute of the last quarter.

Now let's talk, if we might, about some of the reasons, in all honesty, I think we can prevail. I believe that the Republican Party has a unique opportunity. And let me illustrate by just taking some statistics in your State, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As I understand the figures, and I hope I am quite right, you have, out of 240 members of your lower House, you have 188 Democrats, and out of 40 members of the State Senate, you have 33 Democrats. Do you think they are doing a good job? Whatever happens, it is their fault, and we welcome them to have the blame. [*Laughter*]

But we can't just rest on the faults and mistakes and errors they make. We have to look beyond that. We have to have some affirmative programs, whether at home or abroad, and I think we will.

We have had a tough 12 months, really tough, both at home and abroad, but we had a steady course to take, we haven't panicked, we have kept moving forward, and the net result is—although the results are not totally satisfactory, and I don't want to kid anybody—we are on the way up. The economy is getting better and it is going to get progressively better. We are going to do for New England everything we possibly can, and in Ed and Margaret and Silvio you have got some people down there fighting for New England and Massachusetts on a daily basis. But the main thing is we should be optimistic about the future of this country both at home as well as abroad.

I happen to believe that this country is still the leader of the free world, and what it does makes a difference as far as peace and security on a worldwide basis. We have had a setback or two, but if you look at the balance on the scales, we have had a lot more success overseas than we have had disappointments. And I happen to believe that in the months ahead, whether it is NATO, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Latin America, or otherwise, we are going to be moving ahead and ensuring the prospects for a longer and more secure peace than at any time in this generation.

What really bothers me is that a lot of people are writing off America, and I don't believe in that attitude. This country has gone through the peaks and valleys, the disappointments and the optimism in the years before us, even recently. But the people who fought at Concord and Lexington—they didn't quit, they stood up and fought. Every generation that followed them had the hope, the aspiration, the feeling that there was something different about America. And that is why we have such a cosmopolitan population in this great country. Somebody told me one time that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors and the strength of America comes from the diversity of our backgrounds.

But the point that we have to make is that the Republican Party is not a rich man's party, it is not a party of one nationality or one religion or one geography—it is a broad national party.

We almost won a governorship in the State of Mississippi just last Tuesday. We came within less than one percentage point, as I recall. We are going to make every State a two-party State. Competition in the political arena is there. It is good in Massachusetts. It is good in Mississippi. And I don't like those odds that you have got in the State legislature—[*laughter*]—and I don't like them in the Congress. And I happen to think that—you have Margaret and Silvio here, they are high on quality, but they need a little more quantity.

So, it is my feeling that we have the programs both at home and abroad. We have to recruit the candidates. We have to go out with the time and the talents and the money.

This is a turning point in political history in 1976. We want a Republican candidate who can win. We want a Republican candidate who knows how to work with the Congress. We want a Republican candidate who knows that it is essential to win in the Statehouses and in the State legislatures.

We can get that kind of a program and that kind of a candidate, and I hope and trust that when I come up here in the spring of 1976 I will see all of you.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. at the Museum of Science.

Boston, Massachusetts

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Reception. November 7, 1975

Thank you very, very much, Ed. I am most grateful for all that you have done for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the United States Senate. I am deeply grateful for all you have done for the United States in the United States Senate. You should be doggone proud you have a Senator like Ed Brooke, and I am.

Let me say I feel better that John Volpe is our Ambassador to Italy. Representing us in a tough situation, John, we thank you for the fine work you are doing on behalf of our country.

And I had the great privilege of serving in the House of Representatives with this young fellow and this very young lady, and I can tell you that they are quality, real topnotch fighting quality for what they represent in your State. The only problem is we need a little more quantity. [*Laughter*] So why don't you multiply the representation that Silvio and Margaret give by giving us a couple of more or more Representatives in the House of Representatives from the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I am honored and pleased to speak up on behalf of an outstanding State chairman and an outstanding young lady who has done a superb job, Nancy Sinnott and John Sears. I know a little bit about those people and the job they do, and they are first-class. And I hope you let them stay in there and fight for us in 1976.

And then we have had some great chairmen, Mrs. Cutler and Mrs. Logan. I am grateful for what they have done, and I appreciate all of you being here. This is great to come to Massachusetts and find this kind of a warm welcome and a sizable crowd. But we should thank Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Cutler for their part in it, too. Thank you very, very much.

Now can I say a word or two to get the record straight. A great Democratic Governor of New York once said, "Let's look at the record."

I am not going to abandon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1976, and I want that very clearly understood. And let me give you some evidence of that. And I want you way in the back to listen. The best evidence of the fact that I want Massachusetts in and not out is the fact that in the Cabinet of twelve we have four from Massachusetts. We have Henry Kissinger, John Dunlop, Pat Moynihan, and Elliot Richardson—very soon. That is not bad representation.

And, number two, I have been in the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts twice in about the last 4 or 5 months. I love it. I like the people, and I am going to come back in the spring of 1976 to win the primary.

Now let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, and every other primary. And I know he is going to win. He is going to stick it out, and he is going to win, if we have any competition, right up to the end in August of 1976. And don't forget it.

And then, I know a fellow that is going to win in 1976—in November. [*Laughter*] And I happen to think with the kind of leadership you have in Ed, Silvio, and Margaret and John and Nancy and all of you out there, and millions like you all throughout the Commonwealth, we are going to win in Massachusetts in 1976.

You know, I am delighted, I am really delighted to be in Massachusetts again tonight, the home of the world champion Boston Red Sox. That is right—the world champion Boston Red Sox. Like any good Republican and Boston Red Sox fan, we are thinking of 1976. [*Laughter*]

You know, coming to Massachusetts—now let's be quiet back there—[*laughter*]—it is great to come to Massachusetts again. I feel sorry for the Democrats in the Commonwealth. They have 188 seats out of 240 in your lower House; they have 33 out of 40 in your upper House; they have every constitutional office and look where they have left you. [*Laughter*] They have nobody to blame but themselves. And if we don't win in 1976, we have nobody to blame but ourselves.

Now let's talk a little practicality. The Republican Party has the right philosophy, but in order to win you have to come in first. Coming in second doesn't do any good. So, I say to you we should open the doors to everybody that believes fundamentally in our philosophy.

We are not a rich man's party. We are not a farmer's party. We are not a laborer's party. We are not a big city, we are not a small city party. We are a party of the people in this country. And let me assure you when I come, or this friend of mine comes back up here to campaign in 1976, he is going to prove to you that between now and then he had a great concern and compassion for the people in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

We don't like high unemployment. We don't like the difficulties that you face economically. I don't like them any better in Massachusetts than I do in my State of Michigan. But we are on the upgrade. We have turned the situation around economically. We are going to have more employment. We are going to have less unemployment. We are going to have far less in the rate of inflation. We are on the way in this country to a solid, cheaper, healthier economy.

But more importantly, because it involves all that we stand for, we are on the road to real progress overseas. We strengthened, as Ambassador Volpe knows, our relationships both militarily and economically in Western Europe. We made headway despite a setback in Vietnam in strengthening our ties in Japan and elsewhere out in the Pacific. We are making tremendous strides in the steps toward a just and permanent peace in the Middle East. We are moving forward in trying to find an answer to the problems between those behind the Iron Curtain and those on this side. We are going to push under proper circumstances for a way to lower our arms burden without interfering with our national security.

We are on the road to making real progress at home and abroad, and this is what the American people want—an affirmative forward moving program. And that is what the Republican Party stands for, and that is why we should open our doors to people from small towns, big cities, the people from the working class to the other people in our society who may be bankers or professional people. We should open our doors to people in all stratas of our society. We love people, and we want them in the Republican Party.

Washington Star
November 8, 1975

145

Ford Declares He Will Enter Every Primary

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

BOSTON — President Ford declared last night he intends to run in every Republican primary election next year in his quest for a full term in the White House.

At a GOP fundraising rally at Logan International Airport here, Ford announced that he will run in "New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida and every other primary" in 1976.

It was the first time that Ford, who announced his candidacy for an elected term last summer, has disclosed specifically which primaries he will enter.

AT AN EARLIER Republican affair in Boston last night, Ford stated only that he will run in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Florida, where the first three primaries next year are scheduled to be held.

Then, at the airport rally, he expanded the list of states in which he intends to run for delegate support for the Republican presidential nomination to each of the 30 states in which primaries are held.

The announcement may have surprised Ford's campaign strategists, who have said in recent days that the precise number of primaries in which Ford would run had not been decided on.

The President's disclosure of his primary plans was also surprising for another reason. He made it on a trip which was financed by the Republican National Committee.

Under the new federal campaign law, the committee is not supposed to pay any campaign expenses for someone who is seeking the Republican presidential nomination, as Ford is. Once a single candidate is selected at the Republican National Convention, committee funds may be used to support his campaign.

WHITE HOUSE officials had no immediate response to the questions about the propriety of Ford's campaign declarations while traveling at the expense of the party.

At both GOP fundraisers, Ford said he hopes to see the party members in the audience when he campaigns in the Massachusetts primary. Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan

Ford Again Stresses Need for Strong Defense, Page A-5.

Ambassador Patrick Moynihan and Commerce Secretary-designate Elliot Richardson.

Speaking of Massachusetts, Ford said, "I love it. I like the people and I'm going to come back in the spring to win the primary."

ALTHOUGH Sen. George McGovern, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1972, carried Massachusetts, Ford asserted that "your President is not going to abandon Massachusetts to the other side . . . a Republican in 1976 can and will win in Massachusetts and nationally."

Ford pledged to wage an agressive primary campaign. "We're going to go right down to the wire in the convention in Kansas City (next year) and win there," he said.

7704101961

Boston Globe
November 7, 1975
page 1

146

7704001961

Criticism

Globe Staff

President Ford told a Boston audience today that the [illegible] criticism of his Cabinet shakeup could harm the national security.

"I want to be absolutely sure that these [illegible] political patriots are not heard around the world," he said. "Our allies and our adversaries must not be confused or misled." Mr. Ford told an audience of New England businessmen at the Sheraton Boston.

The President's statement was contained in the advanced text of his speech.

Mr. Ford chose the occasion, his first opportunity for a speech since he announced the shakeup in the national security posts last Monday, to warn that "without a clear consensus" at home in our national security policies, the "ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished."

The President came to Boston from Springfield where he met the New England Society of Newspaper Editors.

[illegible]

[illegible] Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), an announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination is expected to deliver a sharp attack on Mr. Ford's defense policies before the same group of editors.

Mr. Ford warned his Boston audience that "the temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistible."

He defended his appointment of Donald Rumsfeld to be Secretary of Defense and George Bush to be head of the CIA. He did not mention secretary of Defense James Schlesinger whom he fired last Sunday.

"Weakness invites war," said President Ford, adding that America's policies for "a defense capability second to none . . . has not changed and will not change.

"I reiterate this policy because there has been some criticism and speculation following my announcement on Monday of several new appointments among my top national security advisers that these personnel changes signal a policy change for the United States in this extremely important and sensitive area."

Mr. Ford vowed to maintain American strength, criticized Congress for closing the courts of the United States and defended the policy of detente with the Soviet Union.

(Cont. Page 16)

Boston Globe
November 8, 1975

147

Ford tapo critics of cabinet change

By David Nyhan
Globe Staff

President Ford warned yesterday that those who take "political potshots" at his shake-up of national security chiefs may encourage the nation's enemies to move against the United States.

"The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistible," he told 300 New England businessmen in Boston.

Mr. Ford, on [illegible] through Massachusetts, used the opportunity of a speech before the New England Council to defend the firing of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Central Intelligence Agency chief William Colby.

He dismissed critics that he's naive, but praised their reputations and said that no matter [illegible]

[illegible]

President says he'll run in N.H., Mass.

By David Nyhan
Globe Staff

[illegible]

770401 1965

Boston Globe
November 8, 1975

President says he'll run in N.H., Mass., Florida

FUNCTIONS

7704001 1965

DATE OF TRIP: November 14, 1975

TO: Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia

AGENDA: November 14, 1975

10:44 a.m. - Remarks upon receiving honorary Doctor of Law Degree (Durham)
1:22 p.m. - Remarks to a Republican Fundraising Reception (Raleigh)
5:01 p.m. - News Conference (Atlanta)
8:38 p.m. - Remarks to a Republican Fundraising dinner (Atlanta)

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED:

The News and Observer - November 15, 1975; page 7
The News and Observer - November 15, 1975; page 7
The News and Observer - November 15, 1975; page 6

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS INCLUDED:

Remarks to a News Conference (Atlanta)
Remarks to a Republican Fundraising dinner (Atlanta)

7704011967

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF NOVEMBER 14, 1975

Held at Atlanta, Georgia

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. Will you all please sit down. This is a new format, the first press conference just for the local press, and I am looking forward to it.

Mr. Merriner, will you ask the first question?

THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE

Q. Jim Merriner, Atlanta Constitution. Will Rogers Morton take an active role in your campaign, and will Bo Callaway's role be downgraded in substance, if not in his actual title?

THE PRESIDENT. First, Bo Callaway is doing a fine job. He will continue as he has been. Rogers Morton is Secretary of Commerce. As long as he holds that post, he will have no official responsibilities with the President Ford Committee.

When he leaves the post on or about February 1, he has said he would like to help in any capacity where he can be helpful, but under no circumstances that I foresee would he do anything more than a part-time aide in that area.

PIKE COMMITTEE'S CONTEMPT CITATION OF SECRETARY KISSINGER

Q. Mr. President, the Secretary of State, saying he was acting on your orders today, was cited by the House intelligence committee for refusing to divulge certain documents. What is your reaction?

THE PRESIDENT. The Pike Committee in the House of Representatives several days ago made a demand for a very substantial number of documents. They wanted, for example, in this area documents from 1962 to 1972, documents which included recommendations from previous Secretaries of State to then Presidents.

It requested, for example, recommendations from a number of departments through the 40 Committee, which is our intelligence covert activity group that recommends to Presidents actions that a President would approve or disapprove.

On the advice of the Attorney General, after thoroughly analyzing the documents requested, the Attorney General has advised me to exercise Executive privilege, which I have.

Q. Do you expect him to be cited by the full Congress and be indeed fined or sent to prison?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't speculate on what the House of Representatives might do, but we have taken this action with reluctance. But it is important to preserve Executive privilege where recommendations are made by top officials to a President, and I regret very, very much that the committee has taken this action.

I think it is shocking. I think it has very broad and serious ramifications. Over a period of 5 months, I have tried to cooperate with that committee, giving them tremendous amounts of material, a very substantial number of documents in order to cooperate. But in this case it doesn't involve my Administration. It involves the period from 1962 to 1972.

I think it is wrong, and, therefore, to protect the confidentiality of recommendations from previous Secretaries of State to previous Presidents, I have exercised Executive privilege.

Q. Thank you, and to identify myself, I am Gloria Lane with WSB Television.

THE PRESIDENT. Nice to see you.

NEW YORK CITY'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

Q. Craig Lesser, WBHF, Cartersville. Sir, considering Governor Carey's latest proposals as well as the serious possibility of a defeat in the New York primary, to what extent do you support Secretary Simon's latest proposal of aid to New York?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me clear up one thing. I don't believe there is a primary as such in New York City. I expect to get very substantial support in New York State when they make the decision at the convention.

The situation in reference to New York is precisely this: Based on the factual situation, I have not changed my decision and have not agreed for any bail-out of New York City. For the first time we have in writing things that the State of New York, the City of New York, the investors, and labor organizations have agreed to do. But as of this moment, nothing factually has been done.

One of the matters that they must do, of course, is to reenact a piece of legislation that permits cities and municipalities to extend maturity dates and to reduce interest rates on certain obligations.

That legislation, I am told, has not yet been enacted. It is, in effect, a procedure under State law that is somewhat comparable to a Federal bankruptcy procedure. But on the basis of the facts now, there is no change in my position.

We are analyzing the documents received from Governor Carey. We will consult with others. I am encouraged. But until we have analyzed, until they have acted, there is absolutely no change in my position.

Q. Consider if the legislation is passed that Governor Carey did suggest yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of other things that have to be done. They have to agree to raise their taxes—city and State. They have to agree to reduce expenditures quite substantially. Investors have to agree to extend maturities and to reduce interest rates. Labor

organizations have to renegotiate the pension plans that have been in effect.

This is a series of steps that must be taken. If and when they are done, of course, we will take another look at it. It is perfectly conceivable, with all of those constructive steps, they might be able to handle their seasonal financing without any Federal intervention.

But there is a long way to go. We have it on paper, they have promised, but we don't have any action at the present time.

Supreme Court Vacancy

Q. Mr. President, I am Bill Cotterell with United Press International. Sir, what qualities are you looking for in a Supreme Court Justice? How much have you narrowed down the list, and does it include any Democrats, women, Southerners, or, sir, members of your Cabinet? [*Laughter*]

The President. I am looking for the best person—the best person qualified. We have a preliminary list that the Attorney General has put together. I have asked a number of people to suggest names, and a number of people have made such suggestions. They are being communicated to the Attorney General. He will consult with the bar. Their observations will certainly be considered by me.

The list could be quite comprehensive, but until it is submitted to me as a firm list by the Attorney General after this consultation process, I can't make any determination who will be on it and who won't be on it. But we are trying to expedite it because it is vitally important that the vacancy on the Court be filled as quickly as possible.

Q. How quickly do you think you can do it?

The President. I hesitate to put a deadline, but I can assure you we are trying to maximize the speed because the Court does need a full nine-member membership. They have some very serious cases coming before it. And I would hope that within 3 weeks at the most we would have some name submitted to the United States Senate.

Senator Edward Brooke

Q. Katherine Johnston, Associated Press. Mr. President, you said today in North Carolina that you would consider the possibility of Senator Edward Brooke running as your Vice-Presidential mate in 1976. Do you consider Brooke a serious contender, and would a black enhance your chances of winning the election?

The President. I was asked a question by one of the students at North Carolina Central University, was there anyone in a minority group who I would consider. And I readily said Senator Edward Brooke, a man of experience, integrity, and certainly an outstanding Member of the United States Senate.

I don't rule out anyone. The field is wide open since the Vice President withdrew. At the proper time, I will make a specific recommendation. I am simply saying that Senator Brooke is certainly a person, among many others, who ought to be considered.

Motor Carrier Reform Legislation

Q. Mr. President, Mike Christenson of the Atlanta Journal. How can you possibly benefit politically from deregulation of the trucking industry as you proposed?

The President. Well, if the trucking industry has been over-regulated as far as the consumer is concerned and they have a competitive advantage over other forms of transportation, I think some deregulation is called for.

The recommendations made to me, which I submitted to the Congress yesterday, are carefully thought out. We have not only analyzed what has been done under the ICC over a period of time, we have consulted with the trucking industry, we have consulted with the labor organizations related to trucking.

We think that this is a bona fide, legitimate area for some deregulation, and I think it will benefit the consumer. I think it will improve and strengthen the trucking industry. Therefore, I strongly favor what we have submitted.

Q. Do you think this will help you politically?

The President. I think it will because there are elements in the trucking industry, there are consumers who deal with the trucking industry who are very supportive of this. So, I think on balance, first it is right, and if something is right I think it is politically beneficial.

The Supreme Court

Q. Mr. President, Nick Taylor with WXIA–TV in Atlanta. Returning to the Supreme Court for a moment, what sort of philosophical makeup would you like to see in the Supreme Court when you fill the seat vacated by Justice Douglas?

The President. I don't think it is appropriate to start discussing such characteristics as philosophical views or other criteria that might be used. I want the best person to fill that vacancy that I can possibly get, and I think it is premature and unwise to draw a prescription because everybody then will take a person and relate it to that prescription. I would rather have the names submitted. I will analyze them, and I will submit one name. But I think it is unwise to draw up a prescription at this time.

Q. Would you expect the Court, once your appointment is made, to continue the moves away from the sort of libertarian attitudes espoused by the Warren Court?

The President. I have felt that the Court has moved somewhat in a direction that I approve in the last several years, yes.

Funding of Revenue Sharing and Employment Programs

Q. Mr. President, Don Hicks, with WBIE Radio in Atlanta. My question is, what is your Administration's

position in regard to continued funding of revenue sharing and also CETA programs?

THE PRESIDENT. I strongly favor general revenue sharing. About 4 months ago I requested that the Congress renew the present law for a 5-year period. Unfortunately, the Congress hasn't moved in this area as rapidly as I think they should. I hope that mayors and Governors and other local officials will join with me in urging the Congress to extend the present general revenue sharing legislation.

I also favor the CETA legislation, the Comprehensive Education (Employment) and Training Act. I think it is good legislation. I recommended that it be fully funded. I think it was very helpful in the recession that we were in, and I hope that we can continue it in the future.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Q. Mr. President, Shelby McCash, with the Macon Telegraph and News. One of the candidates for President on the Democratic ticket, Jimmy Carter, by name, is proposing a massive reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy, trimming down Government, I think, by several hundred agencies and bureaus, he claims. If this is a feasible and worthwhile goal, why isn't your Administration taking the initiative to do this?

THE PRESIDENT. He has never submitted such a plan to me—[*laughter*]—so I am not familiar with the details of it.

We, of course, have been undertaking for the last 6 months a very broad program to deregulate the American business, the American people. We think this is a big step in the right direction.

I think the biggest danger we fear is not the elimination of agencies—although I think some can be done away with. I think the biggest danger with this Congress, they want to foist more agencies on the President, and I might say to my good friend, the former Governor, that this Democratic Congress is the one that is trying to add to the agencies, not subtract from them.

Q. But there are a few you believe that could be eliminated? Nothing like 300, however?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is a slight exaggeration.

ARMY TRAINING STATIONS

Q. Mr. President, I am Beryl Sellers, from the Columbus Ledger-Inquirer. Recently, the Department of the Army has come out in favor of a one-station training program for soldiers, but this program has run into some serious trouble in Congress. I want to ask you, do you favor this program, and, if so, what can you do to salvage it?

THE PRESIDENT. That particular recommendation has not come to me from the Department of Defense. In theory, I think it makes sense. You do run into, however, various Members of the House and Senate in those States where a base might be closed or a station eliminated. And so that is the problem. But until the actual recommendation has come to me—I have not, of course, made a decision.

Q. You have received no recommendation from the Department of the Army or the Department of Defense?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct, sir.

BEN BLACKBURN

Q. Mr. President, Bob Ketchersid, WSB Radio, Atlanta. What is your reaction, sir, to the Senate Banking Committee's action just a couple of days ago refusing to confirm Ben Blackburn to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Ben Blackburn would have been a good Chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board. I regret the decision by the Senate Committee. I think he could have and would have performed his responsibilities in a most able way, and I think it is unfortunate that the decision was against him 8 to 5.

Q. Do you have any plans to renominate him or perhaps to name him to another Government post?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not had that matter before me since the action by the Senate Committee.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON ZIONISM

Q. Diane Tannen, WGAC Radio in Augusta. Some 32 nations abstained on the United Nations Zionist resolution vote. Are you now reassessing American foreign policy toward these ambivalent countries, and, if so, what specific changes can be expected?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are, of course, very disappointed with the vote taken in the United Nations. Ambassador Moynihan made a very, very strong speech setting forth the policy of this Government, strongly urging that the United Nations defeat the resolution. I think the United Nations by that resolution has seriously handicapped, at least to some extent, its usefulness. I hope and trust, however, that it will realize and understand the ramifications and will not proceed any further in that direction or anything comparable to it.

I do not, however, think that the United States should withdraw from the United Nations just because of the unwise action on this resolution. You can always do better trying to correct something from within than from without. We have no particular plans for any recriminatory action against any of those 32 nations. We just think they were very wrong.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. There was some 70 nations—excuse me—that voted that way.

ENERGY LEGISLATION

Q. Mr. President, Ron Wilson, Georgia Network in Atlanta. What direction are you leaning in now on the

energy compromise bill, and are you in favor of extending oil price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. The energy conference report was orally agreed to by the conferees, night before last. I had a 2-hour meeting with a number of the conferees last evening. A number of the conferees are uncertain as to some of the specifics.

I am reserving judgment on that legislation until the conferees put the agreements in writing in legislative form. And I am told they won't have that done for about a week.

I would hope we could have an energy bill that I could sign, but it would be very unwise for me to make a decision without having looked at and read and analyzed the specific once the committee puts it in writing. But we hope to do that some time next week.

OIL PRICE CONTROLS

Q. On oil price controls, are you in favor of extending those past this Saturday?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the 30-day extension to give all of us more time—which the Senate has passed and which the House of Representatives probably will pass today—I think that is desirable just to give us 30 more days to analyze the Congressional action once they put it in writing. I will sign a 30-day extension.

GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE

Q. Mr. President, Walt Smith, United Press International. How does the entry of Governor George Wallace into the Democratic race, his formal entry this week—how do you think that affects the Democratic race, and, specifically, do you think that Governor Wallace will get a spot on the Democratic ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. I am really not an authority on what might or might not happen in the Democratic Party. I know, of course, that in 1972 he ran very well in my State. I think he will probably run very well in my State again in 1976. He will be a factor—that is perfectly obvious. Whether he will be on the ticket or not, I just don't think I am qualified to give you an answer.

Q. As a follow-up question, if he decided to go the third party route, do you think that that would have a definite effect upon the election? Could it throw it into the House of Representatives?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very possible. It almost did in 1968 when I think three or four States, if they had gone one way or another differently, might have thrown it into the United States House of Representatives.

I think the impact of Governor Wallace running as a third party candidate depends somewhat upon the Democratic nominee, and we don't know that, of course. So, I don't think I should speculate until we get more information, one, as to whether Governor Wallace is going to be on the Democratic ticket, two, whether he will be a third party candidate; and who the Democratic nominee will be. Those are uncertainties at the present time.

REVENUE FROM GASOLINE TAXES

Q. I am Sally Lofton with Southeastern Newspapers. Governor George Busbee is attempting to convince Congress that the Federal Government should allow States to preempt a portion of Federal taxes on motor fuel. I just wanted to know what your position is on this.

THE PRESIDENT. I recommended to the Congress several months ago a proposed new highway act, and one of my recommendations was that the Congress should take off one of the cents that is now charged by the Federal Government in the gas tax and turn it over to the States. I think that would help the States to finance their share of highway construction. The Congress thus far has not acted on my recommendation. It appears that Governor Busbee and myself agree in this regard.

TVA BOARD OF DIRECTORS NOMINEE

Q. Mr. President, I am Alma Bowen from the Times in Gainesville, Georgia. I wanted to ask you about the Tennessee Valley Authority. You have appointed a man on the Board of Directors who is from Mississippi, and I understand he is having problems, or there has been a delay in confirmation of this appointment in the Senate. And my question is, if this man is not confirmed, would you consider a man from Georgia since some TVA lakes are located here and a lot of citizens up there want a representative from Georgia on the Board of Directors?

THE PRESIDENT. If Mr. Hooper is not confirmed for the TVA Board membership, I will certainly consider qualified individuals from any of the States that are affected by TVA, including Georgia.

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION

Q. John Patrick, TV-5 News Scene, WAGA-TV. Mr. President, Time magazine this week was highly critical of your dismissals of Messrs. Schlesinger and Colby, labeling it bad management and subverting morale in many Government departments. Do you consider having your own team more important than the effect of another high-level change in your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the changes that I made, or have recommended, are constructive. I was pleased yesterday that the Senate Committee on Armed Services voted 16 to nothing to approve Don Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense.

I think that is a good indication that he is a highly qualified man and will do a good job. I think George Bush will do the same in the CIA. I believe that Elliot Richardson later, when he replaces Rogers Morton, will be a highly qualified and a good appointee. I think these are all constructive, and I respectfully disagree with the conclusions as you state them.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan any other changes in your Administration very soon?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have any Cabinet changes in mind. I think it is fairly well set.

But I would like to clarify one thing. Again, up in Raleigh, I was asked a question by one of the students relating to the Cabinet, and I said it was set and then somebody raised a question, well, does this preclude Carla Hills, Bill Coleman, Ed Levi, and others from maybe being considered for a United States Supreme Court appointment.

I want to clarify it by saying that if I nominated any one of those three, I would think it was a promotion. So, it is in a different category than asking someone to resign from the Cabinet. That would be a promotion, and I would not say that I am precluding them from being considered for a Supreme Court appointment.

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

Q. Mr. President, Charles Hayslett, with the Journal. Your remarks of a few moments ago suggested a healthy respect for Governor Wallace's political strength. Assuming you win your party's nomination, who would you rather face in the South—Governor Wallace or Governor Carter? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a very speculative, hypothetical question, as far as the Democratic nominee is concerned. So, I really don't think at this time I am qualified to give you an answer.

Q. Would you take a shot at it? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is so speculative and so hypothetical that I don't really think I should answer it.

THE SOUTH AND THE 1976 ELECTION

Q. Mr. President, I am Tim Dobbs with WMAZ Radio and Television in Macon, Georgia. Continuing in the same vein of thought with my newspaper colleague there, there seems to be a great deal more emphasis being placed on the South in the early days of these campaign times, more Presidential candidates than we have seen in some time, more often—yourself, for instance, have been in Georgia three times this year. Do you feel that the South would possibly be a trigger or could be the region of the country which could be a deciding factor in the election?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I like Georgians and I like to come to Georgia. Furthermore, the South is a growing, burgeoning part of our country. It is, population-wise, a bigger percentage today than it has been, say, 20 or 30 years ago. It is more significant politically. Therefore, I think that is very understandable that more Presidential candidates are coming to Georgia and to other Southern States.

Q. A follow-up question: One of the Presidential candidates who has not yet said he is a Presidential candidate, Mr. Reagan, was asked about Southern strategy, and he said there is no such thing in his view as Southern strategy per se as far as the Presidential election is concerned. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no Southern strategy as such. I have been to, I think, 20-some, almost 30 States. I have traveled here as well as elsewhere in the South. I think it is important to visit as many of the States of the Union as possible. But as far as having a geographical thrust of my campaign, the answer is no. I want to prevail in all 50 States.

MR. MERRINER. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Mr. Merriner. It is nice to see you all.

NOTE: President Ford's twenty-second news conference was held at 5:01 p.m. on Friday, November 14, 1975, at the Marriott Motor Hotel.

Atlanta, Georgia

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. November 14, 1975

Thank you very, very much, Mack. And may I say at the very outset how grateful I am for your hospitality and the superb job that you do as a State chairman of this great State. All of us who represent the Republican Party in office are deeply grateful for the great job that you have done and the superb organization that you have. And the fine support is obvious here. Thank you very, very much.

To Nora Allen, Nolan Murrah, Bo Callaway, Ben Blackburn, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, let me express my deepest appreciation for the warm welcome and the great day that we have had in Atlanta. I can't thank you deeply enough for this tremendous dinner and the wonderful people that I have seen and the kind of organization that I know you have. Thank you very, very much.

May I very strongly acknowledge an outstanding Republican sitting out there in the audience. He is an old and very, very dear friend, one of your number one citizens from the great State of Georgia. And while he is no longer Secretary of the Army, there is no doubt that Bo Callaway still knows how to fight.

Bo, I thank you for your unselfish dedication, and I congratulate you for your long and magnificent record, your tremendous dedication to public service. Your State and our country is better off for the things you have done for all of us. And we thank you.

It really is a pleasure to be in your great State again, particularly at this time of the year. I hear rumors that some of you may be going to the Georgia-Auburn game in Athens tomorrow. Somebody even suggested that as a

The News and Observer
November 15, 1975
page 7

155

Under the Dome

Continued from Page One

"I'm pretty pleased with the way we're going here in North Carolina," said Ford whose national campaign manager, Howard (Bo) Callaway, journeyed with the President to the Tar Heel state.

The President said he was delighted to have Gov. James E. Holshouser Jr. as his Southern campaign coordinator.

Ford also acknowledged that Holshouser and the state's congressional delegation have submitted the name of state Chief Justice Susie M. Sharp for consideration to fill the vacancy on the U. S. Supreme Court created by the resignation of Justice William O. Douglas.

The Governor said later that the President indicated he would put Justice Sharp's name into the review process he has instituted to help him select a Supreme Court nominee.

SELLING — Tar Heel Republicans showed Friday that there's more than one way to sell the President.

In the process, they bailed their party out of debt.

State Republicans, who have successfully sold tickets for Governor's Mansion functions and for playing golf with the governor, put their selling expertise to work Friday with President Ford as the main attraction.

For $50, the GOP faithful could stand in the Royal Villa ballroom and munch sauteed chicken livers, marinated herring and other goodies. With that, came a chance at shaking the President's hand or at least seeing him up close.

PHOTOS — For those who wanted a photographic keepsake of Ford's visit, 5-by-7 color prints were available at $25 each.

The state GOP had a photographer positioned near Ford, snapping pictures as reception guests passed by.

Guests had previously been handed [illegible] to fill out and be handed to an attendant [illegible] seeing the President.

The biggest splash of all was reserved for reception sponsors.

They paid $1,000 each for a private luncheon with Ford, Gov. Holshouser, U. S. Sen. Jesse A. Helms and various White House aides.

Nine persons coughed up the $1,000 sponsor's fee.

State GOP officials identified them as J. E. Broyhill of Lenoir; J. A. Dalpiaz, president of Manufacturing Services Inc. of Gastonia; William Anderson, sheriff of Wilkes County; state Rep. Cass Ballenger, R-Catawba; Joseph Weinstein; Robert Lambert, president of Dynateria Inc of Dunn; Renee Wescott Hill, commissioner of social services, and her husband, Dr. Richard Hill; Kenneth Roberson of Robersonville, a member of the Secondary Roads Council; and Pete Barnwell of Raleigh.

7704001 4971

News and Observer
November 15, 1975
Page 7

156

Ford Gets Warm Welcome

Continued from Page One

pulling for his alma mater against Ohio State Nov. 22.

"But you can bet I'll be pulling for the Eagles to beat A&T," he said. North Carolina A&T is the arch-rival of N.C. Central, which is nicknamed the Eagles.

That got him about his biggest hand of the day.

But the biggest ovation of all, bar none, was for Philip Simmons, an NCCU student who gave a dramatic reading of Dr. Martin Luther King's Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech.

When he reached the climax — "Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, I'm free at last" — the crowd jumped to its feet with a standing ovation.

Still, there was plenty of applause to go around — applause for Holshouser, applause for Ford and some applause for seven young whites who interrupted Holshouser's introduction of the President to protest the death penalty.

But Ford wasn't even the target of that, the lone protest during the day.

One protester, Mark Walling, 23, of Durham, told reporters later that the demonstration was aimed at Holshouser alone, because of the 93 persons who have been sentenced to death in North Carolina.

When Holshouser got up to speak, they began chanting, "93 lives in your hands."

Holshouser replied, "I suppose since there are those who would show the discourtesy of interrupting me, perhaps you'll give me the courtesy of interrupting you. I'll simply say that, in our system of justice, until the cases reach the court of final resort, those cases do not come to the governor's desk. As a defense lawyer, I would never influence and perhaps damage the rights of defendants by doing something in advance of their final day in court."

Ford gave the protestors hardly a glance, but plainclothes policemen and Secret Service officers moved to the area around them. They didn't try to remove them or even speak to them, however, until Walling and another protester, Jeffrey Margolis, 20, a Duke student, came out of the crowd to talk with reporters. One policemen then asked them for identification, but they declined to give it to him.

Security Tight

There was a tight security net around Ford all day.

At the NCCU gym, two policemen were at every exit, looking over the crowd. Secret Servicemen stood around the gym, doing the same thing.

Even as Ford mixed with a friendly Republican crowd at the Royal Villa, two plainclothesmen moved quietly through the gathering just before him.

The security precautions caused some problems for drivers along U.S. 70, at the Raleigh-Durham Airport, Interstate 40 and the Durham Freeway. As the motorcade of a dozen cars and three press buses sped along, highway patrolmen and sheriff's deputies closed off all bridges and access roads.

When the motorcade left the Royal Villa on U.S. 70 en route to the airport for Ford's departure, traffic was backed up along all three lanes about a half mile to the west.

Parked cars covered the area around the hotel as a host of Republican state officials, taking their lunch break or a day's vacation, and well-dressed, middle-aged party loyalists crowded the meeting room — a sharp contrast to the young, casually-dressed crowd at the NCCU gym.

The food and drink at the Republican luncheon, which cost $50 a couple, was skimpy — some red punch and fruit was all that was available, for the most part. One stylish matron walked through the crowd eating an orange. A man joked, "I've never paid this much to eat a bunch of grapes."

About a dozen walked around in identical white sweaters, dark skirts and "Ford for President" hats and sashes. One hat read, "President Ford has a [illegible]" Some badges boosting David T. Flaherty, secretary of human resources, for governor also were in evidence.

But the outstanding item there was a three-foot ice sculpture spelling out "GOP."

One Republican gazed at it a few moments and mused, "It's melting. I hope that's not an omen."

7704001

News and Observer
November 15, 1975
page 6

N.C. GOP Convention Begins

By DANIEL C. HOOVER
Staff Writer

More than 1,000 North Carolina Republicans kicked off their state convention on Friday afternoon, then beat back several half-hearted challenges to the party platform.

The convention at Memorial Auditorium will conclude today with an address by former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally and the election of Robert Shaw of Greensboro, who was unopposed, as state chairman.

A reception for President Ford kicked off a convention weekend which should end with the party's long standing debt eradicated.

The Ford visit raised approximately $5,000 through the sale of more than 1,000 tickets at $50 each, plus concession sales at $1,000 each.

The net figure to the party is expected to equal the lingering $65,000 in debts, about half of which stemmed from the disastrous 1974 election campaign.

Friday's convention session, although it produced some booing and hissing of generally unpopular efforts to amend the platform, was essentially devoid of the bitterness engendered two years ago in a hotly contested race for chairman.

ECU Issue Survives

The main issue debated Friday, and that only briefly, was a plank endorsing the East Carolina University medical school. The plank survived.

Henry Wilmer, a delegate and former county chairman from Mecklenburg, made the motion to delete the ECU plank.

Wilmer, defeated two weeks ago in the race for mayor of Charlotte, argued that "many sindies have been made . . . and it has been proved conclusively that the (ECU) expansion . . . would cost twice as much as at an existing school."

The program, given its final endorsement and financial backing by the 1975 General Assembly, is inconsistent with the party's fiscal conservatism, Wilmer said.

He was supported by state Rep. Fred Dorsey, a delegate from Henderson County.

"It's essential that this should not be in the platform. We fought long and hard in the General Assembly to keep it from being funded," Dorsey said.

Dorsey concluded his remarks to hisses and boos, mostly from eatern Republicans.

The plank in question read:

"We urge the quick and complete consideration of all concerned parties in the establishment of the medical school at ECU."

George Williams, a delegate from Edgecombe County, warned that deletion of the plank would "be a bad blow to the Republican Party" in Eastern North Carolina.

He was joined by Kennedy Sharpe of Wake and Malcolm J. (Mac) Howard of Pitt.

Effort Tabled

Wilmer's effort was tabled on a motion by Harold Stanley of Ashe County.

The delegates approved 13 resolutions, some castigating the Democrats, but most praising the efforts of the Republican administration.

The 20 platform planks included such areas as state government, law enforcement, transportation, energy, taxes, status of women, labor and higher education.

Algernon Butler Jr. of Wilmington was elected permanent convention chairman.

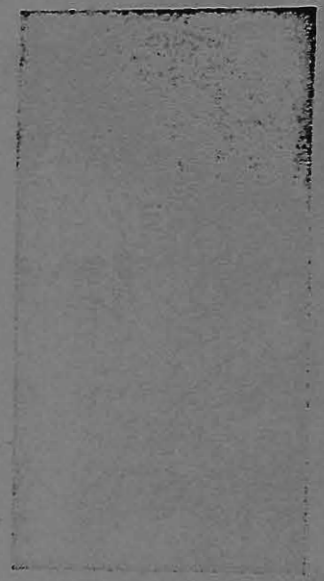
By noon Friday, 1,200 delegates had been registered and the figure is expected to exceed 1,500 by the time Butler gavels the convention to order at 9:30 a.m. today.

Upbeat Message

T. Avery Nye, commissioner of labor, welcomed the delegates with an upbeat message keyed to the "New Day" of the Holshouser administration and the promise of new victories in 1976.

"Gone forever are the days of iron-fisted control by a few party leaders," Nye said. "We're marching to a successful drummer . . . the drummer of '76."

Memorial Auditorium was festooned with the first open signs of candidacy by several GOP gubernatorial hopefuls, including Human Resources Secreatary David T. Flaherty,



John Connally

Transportation Secretary Jacob F. Alexander and Revenue Secretary J. Howard Coble.

"Think Jake," some banners touting the transportation chief read. Others promoted "Flaherty for Governor '76."

There were presidential overtones, too.

A 20-foot long, red-white-and-blue banner proclaiming "Ford for President" adorned one side of the hall.

Backers of Ronald Reagan had their own signs:

"Get Right with Reagan."

157

7704001497

7704001977

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JULY 11, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Chicago, Illinois)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
MID-AMERICA COMMITTEE FOR
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT COOPERATION

THE PALMER HOUSE

9:26 P.M. CDT

Senator Percy, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Brooks McCormick, John Swearingen, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me say at the outset that Betty and I feel very deeply the warmth of your thoughtfulness and reception, and on her behalf, as well as mine, I thank you very, very much.

This has been a very enjoyable and educational evening with the Mid-American Committee. Coming from Washington, it is good to know there is at least one committee that really works. (Laughter)

With all apologies to you, Chuck, (Laughter) we have a little trouble with them -- not Chuck (Laughter). Some of those committees in Washington really are the best places to do nothing that I know. (Laughter)

If it is true that all roads today lead to America, as they once did to Rome, then it is also true that America's roads actually lead everywhere. Time, distance, language and other barriers and other boundaries of the years in the past disappear almost daily, and the facts of life are that they will disappear more rapidly and more readily in the future.

Whether we like it or not, we live in a competitive world of swift communication and dynamic change. This evening, with your indulgence, I would offer you a quieter and perhaps a longer look at America and the world, not a stop and go, short-term view of the United States programs and policies, not the world of immediate answers and instant cures, but some long-term observations on the long-range future of our country.

America's first order of business, at least my first order of business -- and I think it is that of 214 million Americans -- is full economic recovery.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
OFFICIAL FILE COPY
OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

MORE

I know that many of you in your respective businesses have economists, analysts, forecasters and others, as we do in the Federal Government. And it is the information that I get -- and I think it is reasonably reliable -- that tells me that the decline in output and the increase in unemployment, has stopped, and that is good news for America.

No one can say with certainty -- no one can say that everything points precisely in the way that we want it, but there are far, far more signs on the plus side indicating to us that we are on the road to economic recovery.

On the other hand, as we look at the path ahead of us, it is my judgment that we must take all necessary steps to make sure, to make certain, and to make positive that this recovery continues avoiding some of the pitfalls of the past and the problems that have been not well-handled in the years of a few experiences before.

This means to me three things -- if I might be quite categorical. Sustained economic growth -- we must make a maximum effort to curb inflation, and we must provide job opportunities for the maximum number of Americans, particularly all that want the opportunity and the responsibility.

And this means, as I see it, individual economic opportunity and freedom; jobs mean individual dignity. And I can assure you that I will do my utmost to restore that dignity to all American workers.

This is a very delicate time, calling for carefully considered deliberate decisions for carefully constructed long-range economic planning. If we are to have the absolute necessary, sustained growth for this country, we must have that growth with inflation under control. And if we are to avoid new, perhaps worst inflation than ever before, then our recovery policies of today must be based on responsible fiscal restraint.

I was looking at some figures the other day, and a few weeks after I took office the rate of inflation was between 12 and 14 percent per annum, the worst this country had sustained for a long period of time.

Many people felt that we had no capability of answering or meeting that problem, but some decisions were made and some results have been achieved so that for the last five months -- according to the statistics -- instead of 12 to 14 percent inflation we are down to five t. s[illegible]

That is not satisfactory, and we will not be satisfied with it. But, I think we have made substantial progress and we have done it in a sound and a constructive way.

I must say it hasn't been easy (Laughter), but the American people have been wise and tolerant, and the consequence is that a policy of fiscal restraint and some strength has brought us to a point where we can look ahead with some optimism.

As we look down the road, I think we must be moderate in our economic plans and expectations. It would be foolhardy, in my honest opinion, to allow the economy to start and then stop, and then start again.

We must not permit Government pump priming to break the economic dikes again, as it did in the past. False hopes, as I see it, must not be paraded before the American people -- the promise of a quick fix -- leaving them with empty illusions.

To avoid all that, to the best of our ability, we will continue to steer a firm and steady course in our Government's economic policy. Obviously, I will continue to veto some unnecessary spending by the Congress.

If I might say so parenthetically, I thank those Members of the House and the Senate, both Democrats as well as Republicans, for the support that they have given in some of these very tough, difficult decisions that they had to make in legislation that had a good title.

I give the benefit of the doubt to good intentions, but they were fundamentally unsound economically.

Those that stood with us when the going was tough -- and I thank them who are here, and those who are not in our audience tonight -- at this point let me say, however, too many in the Congress have been playing with fire, attempting on too many occasions to add huge amounts to spendings that would under any circumstances rekindle inflation.

If I might add at this point, in those circumstances the veto is the only Presidential tool that can be used to seek a constructive answer in a compromise with the Congress.

7704001 4981

Too many people have the impression that a veto is a negative action by a President. That is not true at all. The history of a veto over the last 25 years is -- whether it was Mr. Truman, Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Nixon or myself -- if a President vetoes a spending bill, eventually the Congress comes back with some moderation, a better put together piece of legislation in language or in dollars.

So, the net result is that a President uses the veto in a constructive way, not in a negative way.

In the shortrun, some of these vetoes may be unpopular, with some at least. In the longrun, I believe they will be seen as the right action to have by the White House. I can assure you tonight, as I have tried on other occasions, to assure the American people that we will not spend them into more headaches and more heartaches for a hollow victory, a short-term period of economic resurgence that might last a year or two if we took the expedient course.

If we look back over the last 25 years of our economic life in this country, you will find we have had too many peaks and valleys. What we really need is sustained growth, and we can have it if we use the right fiscal and monetary policies.

It is my judgment that a President has to look at the longer range. He should not look at tomorrow or the next month. He should aim at a re-establishment of a stable, solid foundation for the years ahead.

Excessive Federal spending has already inflicted a tremendous toll in taxes and economic damage to the public. The roots of the problem, as most of us know, dates back many years. Too many politicians, and some theorists, over the years have advocated massive spending as a cure for just about everything that has ailed us economically in America.

MORE

In the past 15 years alone, enormous, unbelievable Federal deficits were used to finance record-breaking domestic spending, and too many of these expenditures, as we look through the records, have produced short-term benefits for some Americans while inflicting long-term damages on all Americans. And we cannot and will not condone that policy.

Now, many of those programs which sought to help the poor, the elderly, the disadvantaged--these people are now trying to cope with the inflationary crunch of Uncle Sam's spending spree. And this phrase became a trademark of the Congress in the 1960s and beyond. And let me phrase it this way: Legislate first and perfect later.

But, unfortunately, as some in this room know, the law-makers rarely, if ever, got around to perfection.

What happened is that the Federal Government has been living and dispensing the Nation's treasure far beyond its means for far too long, engulfing the economy in the flames of inflation in the process; and I think the American people now realize that benefits cannot be created for some without imposing costs on everybody.

The net result is that moderation and restraints -- and these aren't very exciting words, but they are key words in an economic lexicon. Now some will say they don't blow your mind, but neither will they blow your salary and savings that you worked so hard for all of your life.

It is my judgment that the American people today want to know where they stand, where the country stands, what the facts are, and I believe the American people are tired of siren songs and would appreciate some simple, very straight talk.

I believe there is a magnificence in simple economic truth, because it has been so abused over the years -- it has almost been lost. I believe that much of the discouragement, much of the disillusionment we have seen in the past several years has been caused by excess in words, in action by some in our society.

I firmly believe that real strength, true courage, is found in life's long-distance runners. And there are many in our Nation who have run their businesses and their careers with a controlled and sometimes painfully agonizing effort, but progress has been steady. These are the qualities of [illegible]ess, not the instant fix or the short-term band-aid

7704001498

What are the priorities to achieve our economic goals? You must increase production in our Nation. We must not only restore old jobs but create new ones, and we do this internally as well as internationally.

To accomplish that we must increase the amount of capital in our society. It is an essential ingredient to progress in the future.

Our economic difficulties of the past year mask a very serious weakness in our industrial capacity. Much of our productive machinery is obsolescent and inadequate to meet the demands of a dynamic economy. We run the risk of industrial capacity running out as we meet the demands in the months ahead, particularly if we want to restore the jobs of those Americans that we want gainfully employed -- and we want them all.

As many of you know even better than I, to create a job in private industry today it costs an average of about $40,000 in our today's market. And I know from all of the advisers I have gotten within and without the Government that American industry faces a great capital short-fall in the present, in the future, and we must do something about it.

In the past decade our industry raised and invested $1.5 trillion; that is a lot of money. As a matter of fact, it approximates the Nation's total output for one year at the current annual rate.

Looking at the next decade, between now and 1985, our investment needs are stupendous. Estimates given to me show $4.5 trillion. We know that investment means jobs. To create more jobs, this Administration believes that a number of tax changes and other measures are absolutely necessary to promote investment in capital formation. We must put some muscle into our productivity if the economy is going to make the steady, sure progress we need for full economic recovery.

The President's Labor-Management Committee, of which Arthur Wood is a distinguished member, recommended about a month ago a number of tax changes to speed utility construction, which I have endorsed and this Administration is trying to promote in the House and Senate.

Special action in this industry is needed for two very basic reasons.

First, adequate energy is essential as a key to economic growth. We must start now to assure sufficient energy to support economic growth for the 1980s.

Second, accelerating construction in this vitally needed industry--one of our largest of capital using industry-- means jobs in the immediate future, and we want meaningful jobs in the private sector in preference to those jobs that are made by Government action. The former are far more important for the well-being of the worker and for our society as a whole.

One of the answers to our increased capital needs is a greater involvement of America's middle income group in savings and investment. I look not only to mid-America for progress, but also to middle-Americans.

There are two other areas in our long-range plan for full economic recovery, and future growth. We must reform the Government's regulatory processes which threaten to choke the life of our private sector.

If I might, let me make two points. Everybody in Washington who has a reasonably objective view, believes that we have to get the regulatory commissions to do something affirmative in this area. And we took the initiative and we had 24 Members of the House and Senate -- 12 Democrats, 12 Republicans -- down to make sure that the Congress was working with us and we were working with them in trying to get some initiative from the regulatory agencies to do something about their responsibilities.

And then several days ago, I had a meeting with the chairman and all of the commission members of the 15, or thereabouts, regulatory commissions to make sure that they knew that although they are independent, they have a responsibility to the Congress, to the President, but more importantly to the American people, and they better get moving in correcting the time lag, the inefficiencies and the other things that make the American people so unhappy with them. I think we are going to make some headway.

And then I will add this: I made a speech a month or so ago to, I think the Chamber of Commerce or one of the organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, and I said that Washington was overwhelmed with paperwork.

And I cited that there were 5,125, as I recollect, forms that were distributed by various agencies of the Federal Government, and this was just too much for society to bear. And that is true. (Laughter) But I also told my staff that a year later there better be less rather than more. (Laughter) There better be about 500 less or we haven't done our job.

But there is another area which I think needs your attention and my attention, and the attention of the Congress, and I speak now about a long-range commitment to energy independence. We have had Government red tape involved in this problem for too long a time. We have had little action and no affirmative results in trying to get the United States to have a meaningful energy program.

MORE

We have had reports. We have had recommendations. I submitted to the Congress early in this year a substantial program for conservation and new sources of energy. Unfortunately, there has been little or no action by the Congress in either conservation on the one hand or new sources on the other.

If we don't do something affirmatively in this area, in the short-range, or in the long haul, this country's vulnerability to outside influences and actions gets worse and worse and worse every single day.

It is obvious that a sound economic recovery in this country demands a firm commitment to energy independence. No long-term economic growth in American can develop without an adequate and secure energy base.

We can no longer count on an abundant domestic oil and gas supply for continued economic growth. Obviously, alternative sources must be developed from coal, the atom, and the new and yet unproven alternatives, such as solar energy.

I happen to believe, however, that the free enterprise system is the best hope for freeing us from dependence on others for our energy in the United States.

For example, I have asked the Congress to approve legislation that would allow private enterprise for the first time to enter the business of enriching uranium and providing the kind of base that is essential and necessary for our nuclear energy in America, as well as for our allies and friends around the world.

In speaking this evening, I have used terms like moderation, restraint, reason, savings, investment, and long-term. They aren't new ideas or new virtues. They are as old as civilization. They are sound, however, and history proves that they are right.

I am convinced they are essential to our full economic recovery in America. I believe that old values are as new as their need. I believe the great scientific discoveries of this century have changed the world, but I also believe that basic principles such as honor, truth and hard work have given it stability.

I believe thatthe wisdom which mankind has learned over time is imperishable, and we ignore it at our own risk.

That is why I believe, with no apologies, in so-called old fashioned individual responsibility. Responsibility is the price of independence. It is the cost of freedom, be it economic freedom, political freedom or individual freedom.

We believe in the brotherhood of man because we recognize the worthiness of each individual.

I believe we do well to honor history, to consider carefully our past before deciding our future. America today turns back 200 years to rediscover its birth and its youth. We find that our first citizens were indeed a people of principle and truly remarkable perserverance.

These principles and that perserverance live in our country today.

It is our responsibility, yours and mine, to preserve and to protect the inheritance of the past two centuries and let us, this evening, pledge to be worthy of that inheritance.

Let us, the pioneers of our Nation's third century, carry on these noble ideals and traditions that reflect not only the accomplishments of our past, but the promise of our future.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 9:58 P.M. CDT)

7704001 4987

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF JULY 12, 1975

Held at Chicago, Illinois

THE PRESIDENT. Good morning. Won't you all please sit down. I have one short announcement, a very important announcement.

RELEASE OF COL. ERNEST R. MORGAN

I am deeply relieved at the report of the safe release of Colonel Morgan. Since his abduction on the 29th of June, the United States Government, with the close cooperation of the Government of Lebanon, has been trying to secure Colonel Morgan's return, and we are extremely glad to report that that has occurred.

At the same time, the United States is greatly appreciative of the extraordinary efforts of the Government of Lebanon in obtaining Colonel Morgan's release and for the assistance of others who have worked toward this end.

At this point, I would be glad to recognize Mr. Neil Mehler of the Chicago Tribune.

QUESTIONS

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Q. Mr. President, the Republican leaders with whom you met for breakfast say you talked to them of your campaign and of unity in the party here. How can you insure that there won't be a reoccurrence of the 1972 situation in which the Presidential campaign was competing for dollars in Illinois and competing for resources, especially when the party is at low ebb here now?

THE PRESIDENT. The meeting we held this morning brought in all elements of the party in Illinois, and I out-

7704001 1983

lined to them how my own personal campaign will work closely with, not with a part, but *all* elements of the Republican Party in the State of Illinois.

We have this understanding at the outset, and I think it will improve rather than deteriorate. Under no circumstances will we have a repetition of the unfortunate developments in 1972.

Yes, Mr. Leubsdorf [Carl Leubsdorf, Associated Press].

DECONTROL OF DOMESTIC OIL PRICES

Q. Mr. President, last night you warned again of the dangers to inflation from Congressional spending, but many economists in the Congressional budget office think the greatest single threat at the moment is the forthcoming decontrol of domestic oil prices. With that in mind, are you prepared to accept the legislation that is being worked out now that would extend the control program to the end of the year?

THE PRESIDENT. This is a very complicated question. I would accept an extension of the existing legislation that permits some overall control and flexibility on the part of the President.

At the same time, we do have to move to stimulate additional domestic production of oil in the United States. And I, early this next week, will submit to the Congress a responsible, well-timed decontrol of domestic oil so that there will not be a precipitous rise, but at the same time offer encouragement for those that are seeking to increase and improve our domestic oil production. This, of course, would make it far better from the point of view of the United States, because we would be less vulnerable to the foreign oil imports.

What I will try to do *is* to phase out control in a responsible and reasonable way under existing law, and if the Congress goes along with that program, I would welcome an extension of the existing law for overall control.

GASOLINE PRICES

Q. As a followup to that, as you know, the price of gasoline is now in the mid-60's per gallon. How high do you think it can go and still be economically and politically acceptable?

THE PRESIDENT. If we don't increase domestic production of oil and become more and more vulnerable to foreign oil imports, then gasoline prices could rise substantially.

My program for a self-sufficient energy program in the United States will preclude any precipitous rise in domestic gasoline prices. So, the Congress has to work with me in trying to get an energy program that will increase production at home so we will not be held vulnerable to foreign oil price increases.

I believe that we are making some headway, but the Congress must move more quickly if we are to foreclose the kind of gasoline price increases that might occur if we stay vulnerable to foreign oil imports.

Q. But there is no specific figure that you would like to hold it to?

THE PRESIDENT. No, because the Congress hasn't acted. Until we know what the Congress does, I can't predict with certainty what the domestic production will be.

PARDON FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, would you consider extending the pardon of former President Nixon to cover his recent testimony to Federal prosecutors and members of the grand jury?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should speculate on something like that. Nothing has happened. The decision I made in September was the right decision as to the time and otherwise, and I don't think I should speculate on something that hasn't taken place and may not take place.

THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE

Q. Mr. President, as you near the end of your first year in office and prepare to start campaigning for election to a full term, what do *you* consider your biggest personal accomplishments and failings as President?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that we have done the following: One, we have restored public confidence in the White House and in the executive branch of the Government.

On the economic side, we have made substantial progress in reducing the rate of inflation. A year ago, the rate of inflation was 12 to 14 percent. We have cut it in half; it is now roughly 6 percent. We are not satisfied, but it is going to be a constant struggle to reduce the rate of inflation in the months ahead, and I think we will be successful.

Secondly, in the economic field we are concerned about the rate of unemployment. We don't believe that an 8 percent or 9 percent rate of unemployment is acceptable. We are tailoring our domestic economic plans on reducing the rate of unemployment, and I believe that in the months ahead you will see a moderation and certainly a decline in the next 6 to 12 months.

I am encouraged—and I think this is a good sign—that despite the rate of unemployment, in the last 2 months the actual number of people employed in the United States has gone up by roughly 450,000. I think that is an accomplishment, bearing in mind the overall economic circumstances.

In addition, we have taken some other steps aimed at making the United States energy self-sufficient and less vulnerable to foreign oil imports. In addition, we have promoted what I think is very important—some constructive steps to deregulate the American economy, getting rid of those regulations that are no longer needed and

7704001 1980

necessary. And progress in this area, I think, will be more significant in the months ahead.

When I look at the overall, concerning the problems we had on our doorstep when I took office last August, I think whether it is in foreign policy, where we have strengthened our relationship with the NATO countries, handled our disengagement in Indochina, took forceful action in the *Mayaguez* case, or whether you look at the overall domestically, in my judgment, considerable progress has been made.

Q. What do you consider your major failings?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will leave that to my opponents. [*Laughter*] I don't think there have been many.

COLONEL MORGAN'S RELEASE

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what was negotiated in order to obtain the release of Colonel Morgan?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, our representatives in Lebanon worked very closely with the Government of Lebanon and with other elements in order to make sure that Colonel Morgan was returned. We have a policy — and I think it is the right policy — that we will not as a government pay ransom, and as far as I know it was not done in this case by our Government. But by working closely and firmly with all parties, we were, thank goodness, able to return Colonel Morgan safely.

MEETINGS WITH REPUBLICAN GROUPS

Q. Sir, your aides tell us this is a nonpolitical trip, but as mentioned earlier you did meet with local Republicans, as you have done on several nonpolitical trips in the past. Now, other Presidents have done the same thing. But my question is: Since you have talked of setting high ethical standards for your campaign, do you think it is being totally candid to call these trips nonpolitical?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, if you look at the schedule that we have followed so far on this trip and the things that we are doing later, such as the commencement address to Chicago State University, this press conference, the activities in Michigan, in all honesty I think it is a nonpolitical trip.

Q. And you will continue to conduct some political business on trips paid for by the Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it is political business. If we have an early morning breakfast at roughly 8:00 and spend maybe 25 to 45 minutes, I don't think that can be construed to be political in the overall sense of the other things that we do.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER

Q. Mr. President, is Vice President Rockefeller going to be on the ticket with you, or is he out of the campaign now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the delegates to the Republican National Convention will make that decision, just as they will make a decision as to whether or not I will be the Presidential candidate in 1976. Both Vice President Rockefeller and myself are going to be campaigning for delegates to the Republican National Convention next year, but the final judgment will be made by those delegates.

Q. But he won't be part of your campaign; this will be separate?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Vice President Rockefeller clarified that himself in a comment to the press several days ago when he indicated that he expected me, as a candidate, to try and get a majority of the delegates to the 1976 campaign and he, in effect, would do the same. And he disavowed any differences between me or himself in our efforts in the months ahead.

CONDUCT OF AMERICAN BUSINESSES OVERSEAS

Q. Mr. President, several major American corporations have recently acknowledged large bribes to Government officials overseas to get business. Northrop Corporation paid $450,000 for two Saudi Arabian generals in a military sales contract that was negotiated by the Defense Department. The question, sir, is: Does your Administration tolerate this conduct, particularly in the military sales program, or is it necessary to meet the competition?

THE PRESIDENT. If the payments are legally construed to be bribes, I forcefully condemn such payments. I am not going to discuss the legal ramifications of these payments. Some people have one view and some another, as lawyers often do, but if they are determined to be bribes, I forcefully condemn them.

Q. Sir, under American law, there is no American law to prohibit these practices, and I am just wondering if you see a need for a change in the law, particularly as it relates to defense contracts.

THE PRESIDENT. If there isn't a law that covers a bribe in these circumstances, then I think such legislation should be enacted.

PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

Q. Mr. President, some of your critics say that your Administration is insensitive to the urban crisis. I know that you met last night for about 20 minutes with Mayor Daley. Did you discuss the urban crisis with him, and what about the criticism?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I don't think there is legitimate criticism that this Administration isn't compassionate. This Administration, on the record, has an achievement of compassion. And let me quickly illustrate.

We have made available for the cities, for individuals, in the budget that I submitted for the current fiscal year, more money to meet the problems of the less fortunate in our society and for the cities that need help and assistance.

We have recommended to the Congress, for example, the extension of general revenue sharing, and instead of limiting the amount of money, we have provided for an annual increase that would go to the cities, providing, of course, the Congress approves it.

We have made some other recommendations which would make it easier for the cities to meet the problem with general revenue sharing.

Now, I also pointed out to Mayor Daley—and it was a very friendly and I think very constructive discussion—that the general revenue sharing program plus the multitude of categorical grant programs will be helpful in the solution of the financial problems, the human problems in our cities, and that we had to get together—the mayors, the White House, and the Congress—to make sure that these programs and these dollars are available, and too much tinkering with the existing law in the general revenue sharing might be harmful rather than helpful.

I also was glad to tell Mayor Daley—I think he knew it maybe a few hours before—but to say that we had sympathy for the transit system here, there was an award made by the Department of Transportation of $107 million to help and assist at the local level in improving transit operations in this city.

MAYOR RICHARD DALEY

Q. By the way, it was announced prior to yesterday that Mayor Daley would not greet your plane, and then he did meet it. Was there pressure brought from the White House for the mayor of Chicago to come to meet you?

THE PRESIDENT. There was no pressure brought from the White House. I can only say I have seen Mayor Daley on a number of occasions. We have a good personal relationship. I was delighted and pleased that Mrs. Daley and the Mayor met Mrs. Ford and myself, and we were especially pleased that they had the time to come to our suite in the hotel and sit for roughly a half an hour and talk about family matters, business matters. And I think that kind of a relationship is wholesome for the city of Chicago, and it is certainly beneficial to me.

WHEAT AND GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION

Q. Mr. President, the United States is apparently prepared to approve negotiations of a multi-ton wheat and grain sale with the Soviet Union. Other countries are facing drought and may ask for sales, too. My questions are: How much can we sell without dipping in too much to our harvest this year, and won't this increase costs of bread and food later this year to our consumers?

THE PRESIDENT. First, we should thank the farmers of this country for their tremendous productivity. We are fortunate in America to be the breadbasket of the world. Our farmers do a tremendous job in the production of food for us and for the world as a whole.

We are anticipating the largest corn crop, the largest wheat crop in the history of the United States, but there are some uncertainties.

We hope that there will be a sale to the Soviet Union. It will be helpful to the American farmer and will be a reward for his productivity. We hope that there will be ample supplies of corn and wheat and feed grains so that we can help other nations around the world through our Food for Peace program.

And if there is this sizable crop in the variety of areas, it will mean that we can expand our Food for Peace program and act in a humanitarian way to the less fortunate.

I have no idea at this point what the amount will be of the sale to the Soviet Union, if it does materialize. But I think the fact that we can make one is a blessing, and I hope we do make one. But I want to assure you, as I do the American consumer, that we are alert to the danger of too big a sale or too much shipment overseas, because the American consumer has a stake in this problem as well.

So we have to find a careful line to tread, of selling all we can, but protecting the rights of the American consumer and utilizing the productivity of the American farmer to help our balance of payments, to improve our humanitarian efforts overseas, and to indirectly help us in our relations with other countries.

Q. But a sale of any substantial size would mean some increase in the loaf of bread here, wouldn't it?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I am in a position—or anyone else is in a position—to define what a substantial sale is. A big sale with big wheat and feed grain and corn production would have a minimal effect on consumer prices in the United States. I can only assure you and the American people that we are watching all aspects of this problem and we will keep alert to any pitfalls or dangers that might result.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

Q. Mr. President, the equal rights amendment has had an extraordinarily difficult time getting passed here in Illinois. At one time, your wife made several calls here. In the next session of the legislature, would you get on the phone and call some local Republicans, asking, urging them to pass the ERA?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think Betty does a fine job in this effort. I, of course, voted for the equal rights amendment when I was in the Congress. My record is clear. She is an effective spokesman, and I see no decrease in her enthusiasm for this. So, come next year, I suspect she can speak for both of us.

Q. A followup. What about your own personal effort? And just how important is the issue of sex discrimination going to be in terms of your campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have appointed to the executive branch of the Government a number of outstanding women to serve in positions of great responsibility.

7704001 1991

We have a member of my Cabinet, Mrs. Carla Hills, who is Secretary of HUD. The head of the National Labor Relations Board is a woman and an outstanding person in that area of great responsibility.

We will continue to recognize women of talent and experience, because they have and will contribute significantly in the executive branch of the Government. And obviously, in our campaign you will see a lot of fine, attractive, able, articulate women out there selling the candidacy.

OIL COMPANIES

Q. Mr. President, the Federal Energy Administration suggested this past Thursday that 12 big oil companies may have inflated oil costs by $165 million. The FEA also recently accused a big company in Virginia of overcharging the State utility. My question is whether you think Americans can trust the oil companies today, or whether they might logically conclude that companies have been manipulating recent events to drive up their prices and profits.

THE PRESIDENT. I am very pleased that the Federal Energy Agency has taken the action that you indicate. It proves to me that they are on the job, and they are protecting the consumer's interests, and I expect them to continue such efforts. And they will do it under the law, and they will do it with emphasis.

I am not going to pass judgment on the oil companies, whether they are conspiring or not. The Department of Justice, the Federal Energy Office, will make sure that they live up to the law.

Q. Do you think people should trust them, and do you trust that they have done everything possible to create as much domestic production as possible in these times?

THE PRESIDENT. I am convinced that the oil industry in this country is doing everything it possibly can under the law to increase domestic oil production. There is no question about that in my mind. They are limited in some respects by law as to what they can do with the resources they have available. I think we ought to applaud what they have done in the past and urge them to increase their efforts in the future.

But, we have to get some changes in the law—and the Congress hasn't done anything here—in order to increase very substantially our domestic oil production.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Q. Mr. President, there is some talk that the people are losing control of the Government to the experts—following up something that he is saying—the oil people are running the oil controls and the utility people are running the utility controls. Who can we yell at? How can we hear the voice of the people?

THE PRESIDENT. I think our system overall, when you compare it with any other system throughout the world, is running very well. We have some problems. The problems, however, are complicated by legislation or nonlegislation, by the fact that we haven't in the past focused quickly enough on some of the problems that we now have on our doorstep.

But this Government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branch—can respond to meet those problems. And the American people do have faith. And I think their faith will be justified as we make headway in our economic problems, energy problems, and the like.

I concede there may be some disappointment, but the American people have the opportunity under our system, fortunately, to make changes—if they are not happy—in a legitimate and proper way.

REGULATORY REFORM

Q. Well, on the other side of that, perhaps, how are you doing on deregulating, on getting rid of this maze of redtape?

THE PRESIDENT. I will make two points. One, I have met with 24 Members of the Congress, House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans, working to get the various commissions and other regulators to reduce regulation, to give the American people a chance themselves to solve these problems.

Secondly, last week, I met with the Chairmen and the respective members of every one of the regulatory commissions, and we pointed out very specifically that they had an obligation to reduce the burdens they have placed on people and the economy so that our free economy can do more for itself than they can with their regulations.

I think we will make some headway. If we don't, we will change some of the commissions.

CIA PERSONNEL AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that CIA agents have been working clandestinely in the White House and perhaps in some other Government departments or agencies. Is this true?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as far as I know personally, there are no people presently employed in the White House who have a relationship with the CIA of which I am personally unaware.

Q. Do you know whether the report—I think the reports concerned administrations before yours, the Nixon Administration. Do you know whether there were CIA agents working clandestinely in the White House at that time?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter is being analyzed. As you indicated, the allegations concern not my Administration but the previous Administration. I can assure you that the facts will come out, if I have anything to say about it. But I reaffirm what I said. As far as I know, personally, there are no people presently employed in the White

7704001499?

House in this Administration who have a relationship with the CIA of which I am unaware.

Q. Excuse me, sir, but who is looking into the allegations that they were there in earlier administrations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the press for one. [*Laughter*] And I applaud that.

Secondly, I assume the Congress will make some investigation. And, of course, we, in a responsible way, will find out if we can, in a responsible way, of any such connections in the past.

RONALD REAGAN

Q. Mr. President, within the last week it became known that Governor Reagan was starting a committee, or a committee was being started in his behalf, looking toward the '76 campaign. And Mr. Callaway, your campaign manager, put a good deal of distance between himself and Mr. Rockefeller. He said he would do nothing to insure or promote Mr. Rockefeller's retention on the ticket. I wonder if there is any connection between those two events?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think there is any connection between the two events. We made our decision to actually and officially announce my own candidacy. And with the appointment of Bo Callaway to be the chairman of my campaign effort, he made some comments concerning how Vice President Rockefeller and I will conduct our efforts in the months ahead—the Vice President seeking his delegates, and I seeking mine.

We, of course, had no liaison with Governor Reagan and his people. They made the judgment on timing, I assume, on their own basis.

Q. Mr. President, what I meant was, is the fear of a Reagan candidacy one of the reasons why you are taking this unusual step of saying that Mr. Rockefeller is on his own to seek delegates?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think there is any connection whatsoever. The tradition has been that a President announces his candidacy for the high office, or other candidates do, and I don't see any relationship at all between what I have done and what Governor Reagan has done, or people have done on his behalf, and what the Vice President's effort is.

ALEXANDER BUTTERFIELD

Q. Mr. President, to get back to that CIA thing for just a minute, I wondered in the analysis that you have done so far, have you been able to determine yet whether Alexander Butterfield, who was mentioned so prominently in the news stories yesterday, did anything in an undercover way or anything that leads you to believe he was doing something that former President Nixon didn't know about?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no specific information in that regard, and until we get it or it is made available to us, I think it is premature to make any comment.

MR. LEUKSDORF. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's seventeenth news conference was held at 11:30 A.M. on Saturday, July 12, 1975, in the Adams Room at the Palmer House, Chicago, Ill.

CHICAGO STATE UNIVERSITY

The President's Address at Commencement Exercises at McCormick Place. July 12, 1975

Thank you very much, Mr. Ladd, Dr. Alexander, my good friend, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, Reverend Martin, distinguished graduates—which I am now proud partner with you—your honored parents and friends, ladies and gentlemen:

I am distinctly honored by the action taken by Dr. Alexander, and I will forever remember the opportunity to be an associate with all of you in the class of July 1975, and I thank you very much.

It is perfectly obvious that I am delighted with your invitation and the opportunity to be here at the commencement exercises of beautiful Chicago University. You know, that is what I admire so much about Dr. Alexander. He not only tells it like it is, but also like it better be. [*Laughter*]

Even during this very brief visit with all of you today, I can see that this graduating class has, excluding myself, talent, vision, ambition, and a sense of humor as well.

7704001499

I asked one of the graduating students here today, "What inspired your school symbol, that symbol you have of a black hand and a white hand clasped together. Does it symbolize the brotherhood of learning?" He said, "No, Mr. President. The clasped hands have an entirely different meaning. After a big rainstorm, that is a black student and a white student helping each other to get from the university center to their classes." [*Laughter*]

I was so deeply moved by the more than 5,000 signatures on the petition inviting me, that no rainstorm could have kept me away. I was impressed not only by the great number of signatures, but also by the Chicago State University success story.

CSU serves the urban needs of a great city. Not long ago, CSU came under heavy attack, but you effectively answered the challenge. Today, CSU is graduating a first-rate and hopeful class of 1975. You have overcome. You can today share a justifiable pride; so can the City of Chicago, the State of Illinois, and the entire United States. You have proved the critics wrong.

I know of the sacrifices of your husbands and wives, your parents, your grandparents, yes, even your great grandparents. Some of your guests here today were denied even the opportunity to complete high school, but none can stand taller in American achievement than they do for the inspiring and encouragement that they have given to today's graduates.

To those relatives who never had a chance to attend an institution of higher learning, I say: You have learned the greatest history lesson that the United States of America can teach. You have learned to nourish hope, to sustain belief in a better life for the next generation, to work toward that goal, and now to experience the proof that the American dream is possible for all.

To the graduates, I say: You have made your loved ones proud; you have made Chicago State University proud. You have made me proud to be President of a Nation where graduates like you strive against heavy odds for self-betterment, for equal opportunity, for constructive change, and for excellence; where graduates build on abilities rather than cop out on disabilities; where graduates believe in themselves and in the contribution they can make to their community; and where graduates provide a living demonstration of how we are going to turn around the problems of our great cities.

Chicago State University is a showcase of what can be done by people with determination. You have shown how white and black hands can unite to build a multiracial institution. You have shown academic achievement. And you have responded to the real needs of the community that you serve.

Most of today's graduates had to work full or part time on outside jobs, and, if I might, I would like to share a personal experience. As a freshman at the University of Michigan, I worked as a busboy in the nurses' cafeteria at the University Hospital. I also waited on tables in the interns' dining room. I will say parenthetically, I liked the first job better. [*Laughter*]

7704001 1991

But let me add very quickly that even during the Great Depression it was much easier for me. I was not the victim of racial prejudice nor of a deprived environment. So, I cannot honestly say that my experiences were the same as that of those who are struggling today in Chicago and elsewhere in an effort to make it. But, I do say that my own personal experience leads me to care about and to identify with every upward-bound individual in this great Nation.

I defy anyone to put down the greatest fraternity of them all—the college graduates who learned something about life by dirtying their hands.

I am deeply concerned about the unemployment of this recession and those now employed beneath the level of their capacities. A nation that deprives anyone of equal opportunity is itself deprived. A nation that cannot create the conditions for human dignity for all is itself lacking a measure of humanity and dignity.

The dignity of the individual is based ultimately on a sense of pride. It does not come from government programs that take over the individual's life and reduce the person to a case file and a claim number. Real aid to the individual is aid that helps the individual to help himself or herself. Federal assistance that helps people achieve higher education and higher qualification is fully justified, because that is the aim and that is the objective.

I am told that one of your graduates here today receiving a degree in education is a 45-year-old woman who worked as a teacher's aide. She aspired to teach. With nine children—one severely handicapped—it was obviously not easy. But her perseverance is typical of this entire graduating class; so is the spirit of your Vietnam veterans and others who caught up to win degrees today.

The Federal Government can provide financial aid to education, but it cannot give individuals the determination that you have displayed in earning your degrees.

As President, I am deeply concerned about the attitude of government toward individuals. But I am also concerned about the attitude of individuals toward the national community and toward themselves in terms of personal self-respect.

I cannot and I do not say that we are all in the same boat. Some people, unfortunately, are outside the boat, so to speak, struggling in stormy waters. We, the fortunate, are in the boat and can throw out—for illustrative purposes, I say—a life preserver. We can and we will help. But those in the water must not just hang on indefinitely to their life preservers, but must swim toward rescue.

Real assistance is to help people to help themselves. We can't do everything for everybody, but there is room for all who try to make it. The only soul really lost is the one who gives up without trying.

Many of the problems, for example of cities, remain unsolved. And I should say with great emphasis, I am dedicated to turning around the trend of deterioration and despair, of crime and unemployment, of pollution and bad housing, and of drugs and premature death. But I am also dedicated to the conviction that local problems must, in the final analysis, be solved by local people. The Federal Government has helped and will continue to help.

7704001499

Frankly, that is why I came to Chicago today to meet you. We in Washington can learn a great deal from you. Many of you have overcome a deprived environment and economic limitations. You succeeded because you are rich in human capacities and have the love of families who care. This auditorium is filled with individual success stories. I don't see any reason whatsoever to worry about the class of 1975 at CSU.

But, I am concerned about the future of some other young Americans who are today neither in school nor working at jobs. Tragically, they are on the streets. Some have lost hope and motivation to the extent that they no longer are even looking for work or education. Some, tragically, have police records.

Society has begun to think of them as records and public enemies rather than as human beings in trouble. Some are sick with addiction to drugs because they are so empty inside, so devoid of hope, that they fill themselves with artificial illusions of contentment.

So, I challenge today's graduates to use your new skills to help the people who are not in this hall today. You are uniquely equipped. I challenge the graduates in education to teach young people how to read and how to write. I challenge the graduates in the liberal arts to stimulate the mind and to inspire the spirit. I challenge the graduates in corrections and law enforcement to counsel and to motivate individuals from the path or paths of destruction of themselves and others. I challenge the business and administration graduates to conceive of new jobs that are more interesting, challenging, and rewarding. I challenge all graduates to set an example that gives hope to the millions who have not yet made it.

You have demonstrated by your own achievements and accomplishments that your determination can make a significant difference. You might have been part of the problem, but now you are part of the pride, and I congratulate you.

CSU has shown that a new tradition can emerge from problem areas. Your president, Dr. Alexander, made CSU a school that demands performance of its students. He made CSU a school where you shape up or ship out.

I agree with the CSU philosophy. You kill pride if students are passed merely because they come from disadvantaged backgrounds. That is no favor. It is a disservice. You sacrifice for an education, and consequently, you are entitled to a fair chance to learn. CSU is not a school where the student can coast blithefully through for 4 years and emerge with a degree but without competence.

The pursuit of excellence makes more valid the diplomas you are receiving today. It is a service to the university, to the students, and to the community. You welcomed the challenge, and you made the grade.

A united America requires opportunities for all citizens and the cooperation of all races and all groups in our society. That is why I draw such encouragement from the achievements of this graduating class, and I am delighted to be a part of it even though I am not sure I earned it. You are the individuals who will provide new energy, new ideas, and new leadership to help resolve the plight of the cities.

If I can go once more to the days when I was going through high school and college, there was a poem by a Victorian Englishman that was a favorite of commencement orators at that time. Frankly, I heard it recited so many times that I think I still may know it by heart.

7704001 1995

The last part went something like this, and I quote: "It matters not how straight the gait, how charged with punishments the scroll. I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul."

Those sentiments served my generation, but maybe they sound a little old fashioned today. I don't know whether that is true or untrue, but I do know this: America is a far better place today than it was when I graduated from college 40 years ago. Because of you, and because of your determination, I do believe in a better tomorrow for all Americans.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. in the Arie Crown Theatre at McCormick Place, Chicago, Ill. In his opening remarks, he referred to Jeffrey R. Ladd, chairman of the board of governors, Chicago State University, Representative Ralph H. Metcalfe of Illinois, Rev. B. Herbert Martin, and Dr. Benjamin H. Alexander, president of the university, who conferred an honorary doctor of laws degree on the President.

Traverse City, Michigan

The President's Remarks at the Walter Hagen Invitational Golf Tournament. July 12, 1975

Let me thank all of you for the opportunity of coming up and playing in the Walter Hagen golf tournament and to have the opportunity of being in Traverse City.

It was a wonderful day yesterday, and it is wonderful to be back this evening. I just wish that my score had been better. But it is too high. [*Laughter*]

But I had a lot of fun with good people, and I am delighted to be here with Bob Griffin today and Bob and Governor Milliken yesterday and all the fine people who are here from the region as well as from elsewhere.

It is very refreshing to come up to God's country. It is a wonderful place, not only in the summer like now, but, as many of you know, we used to ski over at Boyne Mountain in the northern area up here.

It is just a charming, delightful place with superb people, and you have been nice to Betty and me, and we will try to come back if you will have us.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. at the Traverse City Golf and Country Club, Traverse City, Mich.

Following his remarks, the President attended an informal banquet for participants in the tournament.

Interlochen, Michigan

The President's Remarks at the Conclusion of a Performance at the Interlochen Arts Academy. July 12, 1975

President Jacoby, and all of the wonderful people connected with Interlochen:

Let me thank all of you on behalf of Betty and myself. I don't know who made the selections on the program, but everything on the list was on my list of favorites, and I thank you.

May I congratulate again, on Betty's and my behalf, the superb young people in the band, the orchestra, the chorus. It makes all of us extremely proud to see young people with such enthusiasm and talent and dedication.

As I sat back there, I couldn't help but be impressed to see the words that are on the back of the stage, "Dedicated to the promotion of world friendship through the universal language of the arts."

That is a hallmark; that is something all of us should strive for and seek. And all of you who participate, whether it is in the summer or year round, make a giant contribution to a better world through the spoken word of the arts.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:56 p.m. in the Kresge Auditorium at the Interlochen Arts Academy, Interlochen, Mich. In his opening remarks, he referred to Roger Jacoby, president of the academy.

Sixth Circuit Judicial Conference

The President's Remarks at a Breakfast for Participants Attending the Conference on Mackinac Island, Michigan. July 13, 1975

Thank you very much, Judge Engel, Governor Milliken, Justice Stewart, Senator Bob Griffin, Judge Phillips, distinguished Members of the Congress, my former colleagues in the House, Al Cederberg, Phil Ruppe, and Guy Vander Jagt, Bishop Dimmick, and an old and very dear friend of mine, Judge McAllister and his wonderful wife Dorothy, ladies and gentlemen:

Before I begin, I would like to ask a question of this very distinguished Judicial Conference.

7704001997

Last Thursday, one of the tires on Air Force One blew out as we were landing in Cleveland, and that night a newspaper reported the incident as follows: "Air Force One landed in Cleveland today with a flat tire, and President Ford stepped out." And now for the question: Can I sue? [*Laughter*]

It is a privilege to meet this morning with such a distinguished group of jurists and lawyers from Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Tennessee, and obviously I am honored to share the platform with my former law school classmate, Justice Potter Stewart. It's wonderful to see you, Potter, and we look back, I am sure, from time to time, at those fine days in the Yale Law School. And I am extremely pleased to see so many families here today, and families of people that I have known so long myself.

I can't help but make an observation and comment about Judge Tom McAllister. I was delighted that Tom was finally accorded the recognition that he should get. The University of Michigan Law School finally gave him his degree—[*laughter*]—after some 55 years of reticence. And secondly, some of you may or may not know, but just a few years ago Tom McAllister was permitted to receive the Legion of Honor from the French Government that he earned in World War I. And, Tom, it's nice to see you. I can't see where you are sitting.

I think it was in 1936 that Tom ran for the House of Representatives from the district that I had the honor to represent, and he came so close—I think less than 200 or 300 votes—if he had ever won I probably wouldn't be here. [*Laughter*]

And then I am especially pleased to have been introduced by Judge Albert Engel. His father was a very distinguished Member of the House of Representatives when I first went to the Congress in 1949, and he decided after one—my first term—he decided to seek the governorship of Michigan.

And he had had a long and very distinguished record on the Committee on Appropriations. And when he left to seek the governorship, I was fortunate enough to get on the Committee on Appropriations at a relatively early stage in my Congressional career.

I was sorry that Albert didn't get to be Governor, but I was thankful that I was given the opportunity to succeed him on the Committee on Appropriations. And I can only say to you, Albert, your father was one of the outstanding Members of the House of Representatives during my career in the Congress.

Now, despite the importance of the judiciary, I think we on the outside do recognize that many of the problems that you face and that you tackle go unnoticed and unreported. Too often, we pay attention only when Federal court decisions are controversial or the problems of court mismanagement become overwhelming.

You know better than even those of us who look at the statistics, that the caseloads in Federal courts have expanded tremendously in the past decade. Those of you on the Federal bench know personally about the 25-percent increase in criminal cases and the 55-percent increase in civil cases between 1961 and 1974.

And I think, with mixed blessings, we recognize that the Sixth Circuit is one of the busiest and most productive and has one of the finest records, according to the statisticians in the country. And I compliment you and congratulate all of you, those on the circuit court as well as those in the district courts for that very enviable record.

You have this impressive record of accomplishment in keeping up with the explosive development of cases in or under Federal jurisdiction, and by all of the experts that I have read you have handled these tremendous responsibilities extremely well.

But I think it is self-evident there is a very serious question, how long the Federal Judiciary will be able to function smoothly without additional manpower. And I can say with emphasis that this Administration strongly supports the recommendations for additional district and circuit court judgeships.

Your judicial conferences have said on more than one occasion, the need is there, and legislation has been introduced in both the House and the Senate to provide I think it is 51 or 53 additional Federal judges.

I can assure you personally that I will do all I can to convince the Congress that action is required. I think all of us in this room recognize that you may have to make some division between one group and another in order to get it approved, but I think the overriding interest is in the need for judges.

So, as far as we are concerned, we will work out with those that feel there should be some equal division—and I understand it—so that we can meet the needs of our Federal court system. I think we also have to recognize there is a need for an increase in Federal judicial salaries.

Let me assure you that in the most discreet way, the Chief Justice, without violating any constitutional limitations, has talked to me on several occasions. [*Laughter*] He has talked to a number of Members of the Congress. And at his specific request, I got a group of the Democratic and Republican leaders to the White House along with people from the executive branch to again mention with emphasis the problems in the field of compensation for Federal judges. So, you have a good advocate. We just have to find some way to get some action.

Let me say this: In my crime message, which was submitted to the Congress several weeks ago, I strongly supported, as I think it is absolutely essential, legislation to expand the jurisdiction of Federal magistrates. You know better than I that the expansion of that responsibility can be very helpful in alleviating some of the caseload problems in the Federal judicial system.

In addition, in this crime message, I did propose action on the scope and the process of Federal jurisdiction, in-

cluding the range of diversity, jurisdiction, the advisability of three-judge courts, possible avenues of Federal-State cooperation, and related proposals—all of which could be materially beneficial in reducing the caseload.

Accordingly, in this process, I have requested a comprehensive review of Administration efforts on judicial improvements and an examination of the full spectrum of problems facing the Judiciary.

Because the State courts are being equally, if not greater, taxed by special problems, I have recommended an extension of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration programs calling attention specifically to the financial and the technical assistance requirements of our State courts.

The Administration is also aware of the need to consider the judicial impact of any new legislation, and I can assure you that we will examine the potential for litigation arising from any of our proposals. It has been my observation that too often Federal laws have been passed without adequate consideration of their impact or the effect on our Federal court system.

From its founding, the Nation has expected its courts to perform vitally important functions, and in recent years the Federal bench has wrestled with many of these controversial issues in our society.

In fact, we are turning too often to the Federal courts for solutions to conflicts that should have been tackled by other agencies of the Federal Government or even the private sector.

We cannot expect the Judiciary to resolve and to balance all of our opposing views in our society. Neither can we rely on the courts as the sole protector of our individual liberties. I think other agencies or partners in the Federal Government have an equal responsibility. We can't, in all honesty, put the full burden and total load on the judicial system.

The Judiciary is the Nation's standing army in defense of individual freedom, but all segments of our society—government, business, labor, education—must work to see that the individual is not stifled.

In our first century, the Nation established a continent-wide system, a very unique system of government. That first century of our country's history provided our people with the opportunity to put together a government that worked to protect the rights of individuals and created stability for this new and growing Nation.

In our second century, we developed a very strong economic system. We moved from the east coast to the West, and from the North to the South, and we developed this industrial complex under a free enterprise system that permitted our country to move ahead and become the strongest industrial nation in the history of the world.

So, in the first two centuries, we developed that wonderful form of government that we have. And alongside with it in our second century, we put together this industrial might that has given us so much. We developed stability in freedom in the first hundred years and economic strength in the second.

Now in the third, the challenge, as I see it, is to advance individual independence. If we don't do something in this third century to protect the individual against mass education, mass government, mass labor, where the rights of the individual are lost because of the totality of the effort—the individual has to be given his unique opportunity to participate and not get lost in the crowd.

Daniel Boone moved west to find some "elbow room." Elbow room for the individual is what our next century as a nation must be about. We must give ourselves as individuals ample room to grow, to achieve, and to be different, if we want to be, and to define the basic quality of our personal existence.

You know, out of the slogans and the myths and the memories of 200 years of American history, the first words still ring very, very true. "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of happiness."

Those words are not just for political orations or even court decisions. They are the watchwords of what we must be about as a people in the coming years. Freedom for a nation begins and ends with the freedom of the individual. With that commitment, our future will be as glorious as our past.

Thank you very much.

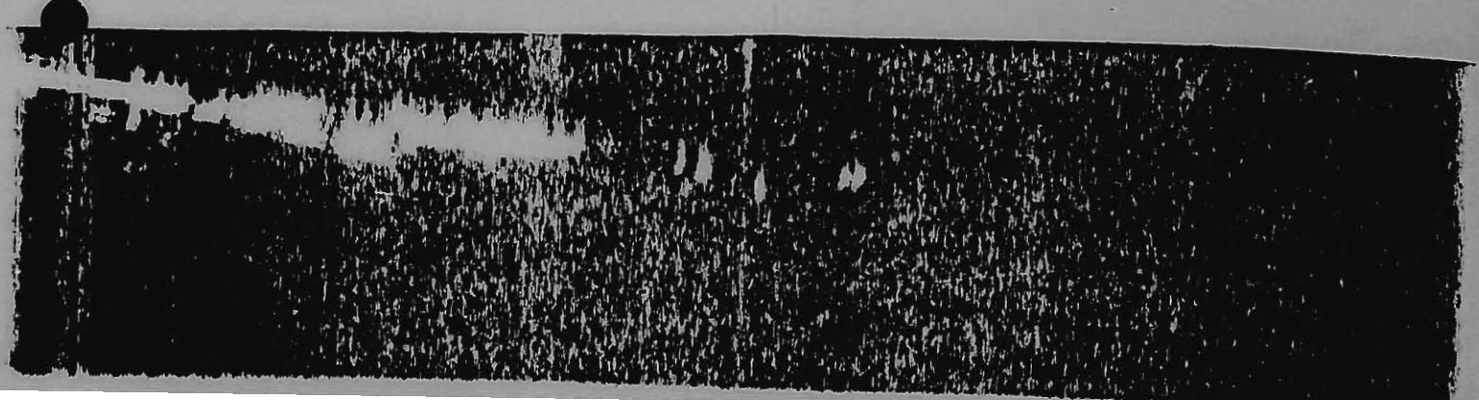
NOTE: The President spoke at 9:31 a.m. in the dining room at the Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, Mich.

Kincheloe Air Force Base, Michigan

The President's Remarks to Reporters at the Conclusion of His Visit to Michigan. July 13, 1975

Well, it is a great weekend in Michigan, of course—first, the Cherry Festival in Traverse City, and then coming up to Mackinac Island—with a tremendous opportunity to see Interlochen and to hear the wonderful music by the talented young people, and the inspirational efforts by all of those who follow in the best tradition of Dr. Maddy; but then to come to the Upper Peninsula and have an opportunity to see Kincheloe, which is a very important and vital installation in our overall national security setup.

I am delighted to praise the people in the military who do such a superb job, and I am most grateful for their warm welcome. They do something that most Americans need to appreciate. They are on alert. They are in the frontline of maintaining the peace, and we should be most



7704001 1990

grateful for the long hours and the dedication that they do for all of us.

And I would simply say to the people of Kincheloe and K. I. Sawyer and Wurtsmith Air Force Bases that we are just proud of them and thankful for the contribution that they make. It is a great place to come, and we will try to come back as often as we can.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:08 p.m. at Kincheloe Air Force Base, Mich.

7704001500

Des Moines, Iowa

The President's Remarks at the Iowa State Fair.
August 18, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. *Thank you very, very much. Governor Bob Ray, Senator John Culver, Representative Gradley and Representative Smith, Mayor Olsen, Mr. Kleve, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

The first thing that I would like to do is to ask the secretary of the fair, Ken Falk, to come forward.

First, I'd like to congratulate Ken for the fine job that he has done with the arrangements for the fair. Since I don't qualify for Ed's day, free admission, I will gladly give Ken my $2 to pay me way in. *[Laughter]*

MR. FALK. Thank you, Mr. President. You are a great sport, and you are setting a fine example for people everywhere, both young and old. Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT. Governor Bob Ray, I am deeply grateful for your more than kind and very generous introduction, and I can assure you that I will, to the very utmost, seek to live up to the high principle that you have set and the high principles that you indicated. I thank you very, very much, Bob.

Let me reassure you, however, that I will make these remarks very short and very much to the point. If there is one thing Iowa doesn't need in August, it is more hot air. *[Laughter]*

Obviously, it is a great pleasure to be in Iowa, and as I look about me—at the industry, the creativity, the achievement, the good will, the good cheer, and the good humor of all who are here today—I can't help but think that in Iowa, happiness is contagious. You catch it from each other.

Flying over mile after mile of the heartland of America to get here this afternoon, I couldn't help but think that these vast farmlands are perhaps our Nation's greatest asset. The farm communities, the men and women and children who are a part of it, are prime examples of the resourcefulness and the industry, of all that is good in this great land of ours.

7704001500

What a remarkable achievement it is that less than 5 percent of America's population feeds the remaining 95 percent of us, with enough left over to significantly supplement the food needs of much of the rest of the world. I congratulate each of you who participate in this miracle of abundance. You should be very proud, as we are proud of you.

I think it is amazing that in our Nation today one farmworker provides food for himself and 55 others. Output per manhour on the farm has nearly tripled in the last two decades.

There are reasons—understandable reasons—for this. One is the high capital investment in agriculture. Another is hard work by the men on the farm. And the third is individual initiative.

American farmers have moved very quickly to adopt new techniques, new machinery, and new science and technology. As a result, capital investment in American agriculture has reached more than $98,000 per worker—the highest in the world. In contrast, capital investment in manufacturing in our country stands at $55,000 per worker.

The results are here to see. The productive genius of American agriculture provides a showcase filled with the bounty of our Nation's farms.

And I am delighted—and I thank you, too—that farmers have responded so enthusiastically to the demands of the market for full production. Of course, I am concerned about crop losses in Iowa due to the dry weather the last several weeks. But the general abundance of the crop in the Middle West shows that gains can be made from a policy of full production.

Be assured—and I say this with emphasis—that this Administration's national farm policy is and will continue to be one of full production. It is good for everybody. It is a policy of fair prices and darn good income for farmers through commercial sales of their products on a worldwide basis.

It is a policy *not* of Government handouts, but of Government hands off. However—and this is equally important—let me assure you that your Government will be involved when your interests are at stake.

For example, charges have been made by some foreign buyers that American grain shipments on occasion have been of lesser quality than specified by shippers and weights have been under what they should be. Unfortunately, some of these charges are true, but our farmers are not at fault. And just as importantly, I will not permit our farmers' integrity to be jeopardized.

I can assure all farmers and their overseas customers that we will move vigorously to clean up the problem. We will demonstrate to the world the validity of America's reputation as an honest and dependable supplier of high quality farm products. That's the kind you raise in Iowa. That's the kind we will ship from our ports.

In recent weeks, a great deal of interest has been aroused by Soviet purchases of American grain. So far—and I emphasize so far—these purchases total 9.8 million tons; that's about 382 million bushels.

As you all know, the Agriculture Department's August crop forecast, which was announced last week, calls for record crops of corn and wheat and above-average crops of other grains. Estimates of corn and wheat harvest were down slightly from the July 1 forecast because of dry weather. But we still expect a record crop. We are grateful, and we thank you.

Looking ahead—and I use these words advisedly—we anticipate further purchases of grain by the Soviet Union. While our crops look good and we expect a record harvest, it is still premature to confidently predict our final production.

Accordingly, as Secretary of Agriculture Butz said, we have asked American exporters to temporarily—and I emphasize temporarily—delay further sales to the Soviet Union.

Additional sales to the Soviet Union must be in our best national interest—in the interest of all Americans, farmers and consumers alike. We must be sure that we have enough grain to meet our needs and the needs of our traditional customers, who have consistently bought from us throughout the past several decades. Year in and year out, farm incomes are dependent on a pattern of expanding exports to long-term customers.

Let me emphasize that our sales of grain and other foodstuffs to the rest of the world is one of the brightest areas of our economy. These sales ensure a firm, fair price for your hard work and your tremendous investment. These sales create jobs on the farm and in the factories of manufacturers and suppliers. They have given us self-sufficiency in nutrition that is the envy of the world.

Last year, U.S. farm exports shipped to purchasing nations totaled nearly $22 billion. Since we imported less than $10 billion in agricultural products, this means we received approximately $12 billion net earnings from farm product trade on a worldwide basis. I think this is a green harvest we all understand. And we should be proud of it.

Consider for a moment what would happen if that $12 billion of positive foreign exchange were all of a sudden erased or eliminated. We would have a huge balance of payments deficit, our dollar would be weakened in foreign markets, and we would pay higher and higher prices for the many things we import every day.

In short, our Nation's farmers not only raise crops but our standard of living as well. And we are deeply grateful to you for that contribution to our national welfare. The foodstuffs that you produce and America exports are a dynamic contribution to a stable and orderly world.

As the race between the stork on the one hand and the plow on the other continues, American farm exports become more and more important. By the year 2000, world population could be over 6½ billion people, instead of the 3,800 million people it is today.

7704001500

This means that about 75 percent more people need to be fed—a massive challenge at a time when there is no new Western Hemisphere to discover nor any more virgin Iowa sod to plow.

A sound, fully productive agriculture is a very key element of this Nation's quest for peace. Let me emphasize that. Fully productive agriculture is a key element of this Nation's quest for peace.

The American farmer has become a vital part of this effort. Our agricultural abundance helped open the door to 800 million people on the mainland of China. It helped to improve relations with the Soviet Union. It helped to build bridges to the developing world. It enabled us to contribute over the past 20 years about $25 billion worth of food to hungry mouths throughout the rest of the world.

We are truly a fortunate people, and the American farmer stands 10 feet tall in his contribution to this Nation's greatness.

Man's future is virtually unlimited if approached with a spirit of optimism and openmindedness. We can be optimistic because of the strength you in this great Midwest give to this Nation and the sustenance that you give to the world in all parts of the globe. All Americans, indeed all people, are in your debt. I thank you.

Before I leave this wonderful audience—and it has been, and I thank you so much—I have a very pleasant assignment to perform.

I have asked your great Governor Bob Ray to please join me at the podium.

Bob, the Iowa Development Commission has been very successful in promoting exports of goods manufactured in your State. They have been so good, in fact, that the U.S. Department of Commerce is giving its "E" award to the Commission. The award is given for outstanding performance in promoting exports from the United States.

I want to present it to you, Bob, on behalf of the Commission. The "E" award has been well-earned. Iowa manufacturers exported slightly over $.290 million of goods to the other countries in 1969. By 1972, this had been more than doubled to about $575 million.

In just 2 years—2 very short years—this has jumped by over 60 percent to more than $1 billion last year. Even though Iowa ranks 25th in population, this State ranks 21st in the exporting of manufactured products. And when you add the great agricultural products or exports that I talked about earlier, Iowa ranks 12th out of 50 States in the Union. That's a great record to be proud of.

I congratulate you, Bob, and all of you good Iowans for adding so much to this country's favorable balance of payments and, equally important, creating more, many more, jobs in your great State.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:46 p.m. at the Iowa State Fair grounds. After signing the 1975 Exhibit Hall at the Fair, he began speaking remarks, the President referred to Richard Olson, mayor of Des Moines, and Jean M. Kleve, president of the Iowa State Fair Board.

Des Moines, Iowa

The President's Remarks at a Republican Reception. August 18, 1975

Thank you very much, Bob Ray, Chuck Grassley, Mary Louise Smith, John McDonald, Margaret McDonald—these Scotsmen seem to predominate around here—Bill Goodrich, Tom Stoner, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen—and I have to add a postscript—your new Miss Iowa is a most attractive young lady:

Well, it is nice to be here on this occasion, but I must say, it has been a wonderful opportunity to come back to Des Moines. I have a great fondness for the people here, people in Iowa, and I thank you not only for the warm reception at the State fair this afternoon but for the great reception here tonight. I want you to know I appreciate it.

You know, I have been looking forward to this evening and particularly the entertainment part of the program that follows this speech. I understand that Governor Bob Ray and Attorney General Dick Turner are going to sing a duet together. It will be their favorite song, "Come Josephine In My Flying Machine." [*Laughter*]

But I am really so encouraged to be here tonight to enjoy your wonderful hospitality and especially ask for your help next year in making it a banner year for the Republican Party in Iowa, as well as across the country.

Without question, 1976 offers a great, great opportunity for the Republican Party to prove once and for all to the skeptics that it has the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse the Nation's greatness, and the will to win elections. We can do it, and we're going to do it.

I think it is obvious to all of you the fondness that I have for Bob Ray, who is nearly a year into his fourth term and who is also serving with great distinction as the Chairman of the National Governors' Conference. He has done a magnificent, a superior job of putting across what I think is the most important thing—the commonsense philosophy of the Republican Party—and making it work here in your great State of Iowa.

His successful administration, not one, but several, is a testament to the effectiveness of both his leadership and the sound Republican approach he has brought to government here in your State.

And I must say I thank you very, very deeply for giving us Mary Louise Smith, who is doing an outstanding job as Republic National Chairman. As you know, the Iowa State slogan is "Iowa is a place to grow." Mary Louise has definitely applied this philosophy, this thinking to the Republican Party nationally, and we are seeing some results. And I thank you and congratulate you, Mary Louise.

And in Chuck Grassley, you have a fine new younger Member of the House of Representatives. He may be outnumbered—what is it, five to one, Chuck? [*Laughter*]

7704001503

Not always because votes do count in the House, but when you put it on another scale, I'd rather have quality than quantity.

Chuck has impressed me as well as his colleagues in the House of Representatives, and after spending 25 years in the House, I have a feel for the kind of people that will grow and become more and more effective. And it would be my judgment that Chuck fits that pattern. He started well, he will do better and better every year. Just give him some help here in Iowa. We could use those votes, too.

I visited every State in the Union in the last 10 years since I became first the Minority Leader of the House and then Vice President and now President, so I know State organizations, I know the kind of people that back State organizations. And I think here in Iowa, you have a good State organization. And I wish to congratulate those who have been giving you the leadership and those who will now take over and continue that leadership. You are fortunate in Iowa, and I congratulate you, John, and those who have worked with you, Charlie.

Now, if we are to capitalize on the opportunities ahead of us, we must, in my judgment, reach out to that great, great American majority that does the Nation's work, pays the Nation's bills, provides for the Nation's defense, and obeys the Nation's laws. That is the group that we believe ought to be in the Republican Party.

You know, no matter the color of their skin, the religion they profess, the politics they vote, these solid, solid Americans who make up this vast Midwest heartland of the Republican Party's natural constituency—I could feel that out there at the State fair today—they are the people to whom we must tell our story, over and over and over again, this year and next year.

Once again in our party's history our principles and our goals match the beliefs and, I happen to think, the aspirations of a majority of the American people.

Republicans have always believed that too much government spending has been the primary cause of inflation, and I have a feeling, as I travel around the country, that on a daily basis more and more Americans agree with that principle.

Aren't we fortunate that these people who are getting this new approach, this new attitude, look to the Republican Party as their only hope. That is one reason I have been vetoing some of the bills that compel excessive Federal spending.

And quite frankly, I'll keep on doing it as long as the Congress keeps sending down to the White House these "budget busters" to me. But let me put it this way: They stop, I stop. It is just as simple as that. *[Laughter]*

Our Republicans, as you know, have always believed in a strong, effective, ready national defense program. Today, most Americans are convinced that a strong defense is the best guarantee of peace in the world, and I will do everything in my personal power to see that Congress appropriates sufficient funds to make sure that the United States, our country, always has a military capability second to none.

Republicans have always believed that personal initiative and private enterprise, not a meddling muscle-bound Government, a Federal Government, are what made this Nation great.

Today, more and more Americans, as I see people from the 50 States, are reaffirming that view. They want personal initiative and private enterprise to be rewarded. Hard work and diligence are the foundation in many respects in any endeavor that we undertake. Frankly, that is one reason why I am trying to free American business from the shackles of Government overregulation, why we, on a daily basis, in the White House are seeking to free the individual citizen from the pressures of a faceless bureaucracy insensitive to personal differences and personal desires. I think Republicans have always believed that local control over local problems is better than turning to Washington for every single solitary solution.

Today, after nearly 40 years of seeing reruns of "Washington Knows Best," in the halls of the Congress and elsewhere, the American people are ready for a fresh start. And we are going to give it to them.

That is why I have proposed what we call a new agenda for America's future. And I ask the American people through what we hope to do in a series of community meetings around the country. I ask the American people to help me write that new agenda.

There is a message I think we have to get across to our fellow citizens, a message that says loud, that says clearly, "Republican government is common sense government; it is the most effective government." A message that says, "Republicans stand for and work for the very same things that the majority of Americans believe in." And finally, a message that says, "We can win the elections of 1976 from the courthouse right here in Des Moines to the White House in Washington. Let's do it."

If we broaden our party, bringing in to join us those who have a philosophical agreement with us—and I think we must—opening our door wide to all Americans rather than opening it just a crack for a few, if we work together for a common victory, as we must, rather than working against each other for sure defeat, I am convinced that 1976 can be a great election year for all of us.

Together, you know, there is so much that we can do for our party, for the American people, but primarily for our country. Let's get to work. Let's get it done. Let's make sure 1976 is a banner year. And let's make sure, let's make certain that that banner says, "Republican."

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:44 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Hotel Fort Des Moines. In his opening remarks, he referred to Iowa State Republican Chairman John McDonald and Mrs. McDonald.

Following the reception, the President attended a Republican dinner at the Hotel Fort Des Moines.

7704001500

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Minneapolis, Minnesota)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION

MINNEAPOLIS CONVENTION CENTER

10:34 A.M. CDT

Thank you very, very much, Commander Wagonseller, Governor Anderson, Senator Humphrey, Congressman Quie, Congressman Hagedorn, Mrs. Kubby, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

As a fellow Legionnaire of 30 years and as a Member of the Furniture City of Post Number 258, I am proud to be here with all of you as a fellow Legionnaire. I am proud of the organization, locally, nationally and otherwise.

I strongly commend the American Legion for its constant patriotism in peace as well as in war. This great organization has given life and meaning to our motto, "For God and Country".

As President, I salute you and say for all Americans, "Hang in there".

I am very, very happy to have this opportunity to talk with you, my fellow Legionnaires, about two things which the American Legion has always held dear -- freedom and peace for our country and for the world.

Freedom always comes first. Let there be no doubt about that. Patrick Henry answered that question for all of us some 200 years ago. The Marines, the Seamen and the Airmen who rescued the MAYAGUEZ gave the same clear answer which was heard 'round the world.

All Americans are terribly proud of their success. But in today's world of technological terror, with weapons of awesome sophistication and destructiveness, it is difficult to see how freedom, as we know it, could survive another all-out war. It is even questionable whether a free society such as ours could survive an all-out unrestricted arms race.

We are, therefore, confronted with this dilemma that has faced the American people and their Government since the post-war Administrations of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. The question is: How do we preserve, protect and defend our freedom and that of our allies? How do we advance the cause of freedom worldwide? And how do we at the same time preserve the general peace and create conditions that reduce the chances of war? How do we control the tremendous cost of maintaining the capabilities required for a potential major war.

MORE

These are exceedingly difficult questions to answer. At times we have come perilously close to a major military confrontation. We have suffered some serious setbacks, and we are still unable to resolve some dangerous conflicts festering on nearly every continent in the world.

But we have prevented World War Three. We have preserved civilization. Few who remember the immediate post-war period after World War II would say that the world is not calmer and better off today than it was.

The Free World, as we define it, is essentially intact after 30 years of uneasy peace between the super powers, instability in former Colonial areas and sporadic outbreaks of local and regional violence. And three decades of imperfect peace have permitted unprecedented gains in productivity and economic progress for much of mankind, including the United States.

Some fundamental lessons were learned in this period. They must not be forgotten. First, the military might, the material strength and moral purpose of the United States were absolutely essential to achieve the present level of international stability. They remain absolutely essential. We are still the principal defender of freedom throughout the world.

Second, our enormous defense capability and its economic base have been reinforced by the growing resources our allies in Europe and in the Pacific --and by the increasing interdependence of industrial democracies in both military and economic areas. They must continue.

Third, the policies of five American Presidents before me for a strong national defense, for reduction of East-West tensions and the threat of thermo-nuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies that have the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people, I will continue to seek that support.

But today I ask you, my fellow Legionnaires, to help me achieve that objective, and I know that I can count on your support.

We share a very deep concern over the cracks now appearing in the foundations of essential national unity on defense and foreign policy. Without a clear consensus among 214 million Americans, the role of the United States as the champion of freedom and peace throughout the world would be crippled, crippled very seriously, if not fatally.

The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistable. With your support and that of other Americans, my Administration will give them no such temptation.

MORE

future.

Scientific progress in the Pentagon must be an equal partner with the best in personnel and the best in weapons in maintaining peace and deterring war.

MORE

7704001600

George Washington, our first President, said the best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war. In one way or another, each of President Washington's successors has repeated that truth.

Unfortunately, we have historically ignored it. We have abruptly demobilized after war, and the next generation -- the next generation of Americans -- paid very dearly for this folly.

I see some danger signs of our doing it again, with the stakes infinitely higher than ever before. That is why I say to you, I am determined to resist unilateral disarmament. I am equally committed to keeping America's defenses second to none.

Now that Americans are no longer fighting on any front, there are many sincere -- but in my judgment short-sighted -- Americans who believe that the billions for defense could be better spent for social programs to help the poor and disadvantaged.

I am convinced that adequate spending for national defense is an insurance policy, an insurance policy for peace we cannot afford to be without.

It is most valuable if we never need to use it, but without it, we could be wiped out.

Certainly the most important social obligation of Government is to guarantee all citizens, including the disadvantaged, sufficient protection of their lives and freedoms against outside attack.

Today, that protection is our principle hope of peace. What expense item in our Federal Government is more essential?

This is one place where second best is worth nothing. The proportion of Federal spending for national security and the proportion of our Gross National Product going for defense requirements have declined in recent years. The dollar figures in the Federal budget is but simply because of inflation. The weapons we can purchase and the personnel we can afford have declined.

During the Vietnam War, defense spending concentrated -- and properly so -- on current combat requirements, shortchanging our long-range research and development efforts. If our technological lead is not rapidly recovered, this could be fatal to our qualitative superiority in the future.

Scientific progress in the Pentagon must be an equal partner with the best in personnel and the best in weapons in maintaining peace and deterring war.

MORE

7704001507

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States, as a result, must be alert and strong, and it will be.

The defense budget, which I submitted for fiscal year 1976, represents, under these circumstances, the bare minimum required for our national security. I will vigorously resist all major cuts in every way I can, and I hope I have your help.

For the next fiscal year -- 1977 -- I honestly and sincerely hope to hold down our spending on nuclear forces. This tentative judgment is conditioned on real progress in SALT II, but the Congress and the American people must realize that unless agreement is achieved, I will have no choice but to recommend to the Congress an additional $2 billion to $3 billion for strategic weapons programs in current and coming fiscal years.

In recent weeks, there has been a great deal said about the subject of detente. Today, let me tell you what I personally think about detente.

First of all, the word itself is confusing. Its meaning is not clear to everybody. French is a beautiful language, the classic language of diplomacy, but I wish there were one simple English word to substitute for detente. Unfortunately, there isn't.

Relations between the world's two strongest nuclear powers can't be summed up in a catch phrase. Detente literally means easing or relaxing, but definitely not -- and I emphasize not -- the relaxing of diligence or easing of effort. Rather, it means movement away from the constant crisis and dangerous confrontations that have characterized relations with the Soviet Union.

The process of detente -- and it is a process -- looks toward a saner and safer relationship between us and the Soviet Union. It represents our best efforts to cool the cold war, which on occasion became much too hot for comfort.

To me, detente means a fervent desire for peace, but not peace at any price. It means the preservation of fundamental American principles, not their sacrifice. It means maintaining the strength to command respect from our adversaries and provide leadership to our friends, not letting down our guard or dismantling our defenses or neglecting our allies. It means peaceful rivalry between political and economic systems, not the curbing of our competitive forces.

MORE

Since the American system depends on freedom, we are confident that our philosophy will prevail. Freedom is still the wave pfthe future. Detente means moderate and restrained behavior between two superpowers, not a license to fish in troubled waters. It means mutual respect and reciprocity, not unilateral concessions or one-sided agreements.

With this attitude, I shall work with determination for a relaxation of tensions. The United States has nothing to fear from progress toward peace.

Although we have still a long way to go, we have made some progress -- a defusing of the Berlin time-bomb, the ABM treaties, the first SALT agreement, and progress on SALT II, the start of mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe and other arms control agreements regarding space, the seabeds and germ warfare.

We have established the basis for progress toward detente and cooperation in Europe as a result of the summit meeting in Helsinki of some 35 nations, but the principles we adopted there must now be put into practice. The principles, I should say, will be put into practice.

We cannot raise the hopes of our people and shatter them by unkept promises. We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude toward detente and cooperation in European security.

The situation in Portugal is one of them. We are deeply concerned about the future of freedom in Portugal, as we have always been concerned about the future of people throughout the world.

The reality of the Portuguese situation is apparent to all. The wishes of the moderate majority have been subverted by forces more determined than representative.

We are hopeful that the sheer waste of numbers, the 80 percent of the Portuguese people who support the democratic process will prevail in this conflict of ideology. But they must find the solution in an atmosphere that is free from the pressures of outside forces.

So far, my meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and Helsinki have been constructive and helpful. Future success will, of course, depend on concrete developments.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States.

7704001500

It is easy to be a cold warrior in peacetime, but it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontation when consultation would advance the cause of peace.

So, I say to you -- as I said to Mr. Brezhnev and the leaders of other European nations in Canada and Helsinki -- peace is crucial, but freedom must come first.

Those who proclaimed American independence almost 200 years ago asserted not merely that all Americans should enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but that all men everywhere are endowed by their creator with such inalienable rights.

I told the leaders of Europe that these principles, though still being perfected, remain the guiding light of American policy, that the American people are still dedicated to the universal advancement of individual rights and human freedom implicit in the Helsinki declaration.

It gave me great pride, as the spokesman of the United States at Helsinki, to say to both East and West -- My country and its principles of freedom have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent, and still does.

On the other hand, I emphasize that we are tired of having our hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unkept promises.

I reminded all there in Helsinki that detente must be a two-way street because tensions cannot be eased with safety and security by one side alone.

Through detente, I hope that we are on a two-way street with the Soviet Union.

But, until I am certain of real progress, I must reserve final judgment about the defense budget, and particularly our plan for strategic nuclear forces.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreement, but this will be possible only with sufficient and credible strength of our own, in concert with our allies. Moreover, any agreement we reach must be verifiable for our security. To put it very practically; that is, we must possess the means of making sure that they are being honored.

7704001501

The time has not yet come when we can entrust our hopes for peace to a piece of paper. Thus, another essential element of any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our own intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks, overgeneralization against our intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. Today's sensations must not be the prelude to tomorrow's Pearl Harbor.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of the constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of the comprehensive studies of our intelligence agencies by the Rockefeller Commission and the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

Intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our national security, even our survival. It may be even more important in peace than in war. Any reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legimate operations would be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our best friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, with skill and with substantial resources.

I know and I know you know that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Finally -- and this relates both to our vital intelligence installations and to the imperative need to strengthen key alliances such as NATO--let us now consider our relations with our friend and ally of many years--Turkey. How do you explain to a friend and ally why arms previously ordered and paid for are not being delivered? How do you explain to your other allies in the potential damage that this may cause to the NATO Alliance? How do you justify to the American people the loss of strategic intelligence data with its attendant effect on our national security that this action has caused?

I don't know because I am at a loss to explain it myself. As a man of the Congress, and proudly so, for 25 years, the last thing I seek is confrontation with my friends, my former colleagues on Capitol Hill, both Democrats and Republicans.

Obviously, I am troubled that the House of Representatives has refused to permit the shipment of arms to Turkey. But I respect their sincerity and the motives of those who support this position. However, I know when the bottom line of any issue is the ultimate security of the United States, which it is in this case -- the Congress and the President always found a way to close ranks and to act as one.

MORE

7704001501

This does not mean that one side or the other capitulates blindly. Let us put this issue on the table and once again debate it, not in a climate of fire and fury;, but in a reasoned approach based on what is right and what is best for America.

I am convinced from my personal talks last month with the leaders of Greece and Turkey and Cyprus and that their differences can be settled peacefully.

We can help -- the Congress, the President and the American people. We can help cool the passions that have caused so much heartbreak in the Mediterranean.

The American political system is one of checks and balances, but it works best when the checks do not become roadblocks. As President, I need the cooperation and the full support of the Congress which I know is as concerned as I am about our Nation's security.

Just as important, your representatives in the Congress need to know where you stand. They have to realize that you place America's security above personal and political consideration.

This morning I am deeply honored to have had this great opportunity to meet with you here in the heartland of America and to share some of my deep concerns and some of my personal thoughts on the future of our Nation.

But talk is only the starting point, and so I ask each of you, as well as this great organization, to join with me in the commitment that I have made for the reinforcement of lasting peace and the enlargement of human freedom.

I ask this not only for ourselves but for our posterity and for all peoples who pray that the torch of liberty will continue to burn bright.

God helping us, freedom and peace will both prevail.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 11:05 A.M. CDT)

7704001501

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Minneapolis, Minnesota)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP RALLY

GRAND BALLROOM
MARRIOTT HOTEL

11:53 A.M. CDT

My good friend Al Quie, Bill Frenzel, Tom Hagedorn and Mrs. Ring, and all of you great Republicans:

It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here. You know, it brings back a good memory I have going back to 1932, my first visit to Minnesota. (Laughter) I came up here with the University of Michigan football team, and played against some of those great football players you turn out up here.

I was a sophomore, and it was five below zero, and that stadium was very cold. I wasn't good enough to play very much, so I sat on the bench most of the time. I won't tell you the score, but two years later you made up for it and beat the devil out of us. (Laughter)

I think you know every visit I have ever made to Minnesota has been memorable, and it is without exception.

As I was getting off the plane at the Twin Cities International Airport last night an amazing thing happened to me. Somebody asked me how to get to the State Capital in St. Paul.

What made it so amazing, it was Governor Anderson. (Laughter)

Obviously, I am pleased to be with such a tremendous gathering of Republicans here in the great State of Minnesota, and I understand from Chuck and the others that you have earned your way here in a tremendous effort in raising money for the party in your local communities.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001501

I know, from my long practical experience in trying to get re-elected to the Congress, the heart and the soul of the Republican Party depends upon what all of you do in your local communities.

So, I thank you. I just hope you don't have to give two-thirds of that money to the DFL as well. (Laughter)

Even more importantly, your individual achievements and accomplishments must give you a great deal of satisfaction because you know what you have done will have an impact on the party locally, statewide and nationally.

It has been my experience that there is a rising tide of enthusiasm and a great deal of optimism as far as the party's election prospects in November of 1976.

Frankly, as I travel around the country, I like what I see, and I am glad to see this same spirit here in Minnesota today. You have a great chairman in Chuck Slocum.

I talked to Chuck, as he indicated, after he was selected, and it is wonderful to meet him here today. He is a young man with energy, talent, plenty of talent to spare, and no time to waste.

I know he will do as fine a job, and as good a job as Bob Brown did before him.

If I could take off what I think about these three gentlemen in the back here, (Laughter) I am only going to tell you the good things I know about them. (Laughter)

Of course, Al Quie has been one of my long-time and dearest friends in the Congress, and he is a great Member of the House of Representatives. Bill Frenzel, a fine, fine, upstanding, effective Member of the House of Representatives, who has done -- and I am sure will do -- a great job. And, of course, Tom, a newcomer, but I have had some experience in seeing newcomers.

Some come and some go, but I can feel in Tom that he is the kind of person that is going to stay there a long time and do a good job.

7704001501

I see among the group today a number of your Republican State Legislators from around the State, and I had the privilege of meeting many of them just before I came in here.

They are the foundation of the Republican Party. The only problem you have is, you need more, and we need more in the State Legislature after the next election. Let's be sure that happens.

Grassroots Republicans have traditionally been the great strength of the Republican Party. I do not care whether it is in Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa or elsewhere. We, as candidates, cannot get elected without the help and assistance of people like yourselves at the grassroots level.

And I am convinced as I see this group here, as I saw a great group in Iowa last night, that the Republican Party is on the upbeat, the upswing, and I just thank you for being among those who started when our fortunes were low and our prospects were bleak. You had enough dedication to principle, enough dedication to what is good for the country to start when things looked bad and are willing to work as hard as you have and be successful as evidenced by being here.

People in Minneasota, from my experience, are known for your pioneering spirit, your taste for a real challenge and you ability to excel in a wide range of endeavors.

After talking with a number of your Members of Congress over a period of time, I know that you here in Minneasota are known as somewhat independent minded, and I am convinced that this year and next the Republican Party can appeal to the independent minded voter here in Minneasota and across the country.

I am convinced -- I am very strongly convinced -- that the independent voter is ready for a fresh start, and that is exactly what we are prepared to offer them. The independent voter wants a sound and prosperous national economy without recession, without inflation, and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voter wants jobs for those who can work and sensible help for those who want. The independent voter wants his country to achieve energy independence, and so do we.

This wonderful independent voter wants a good education, good housing, good health care and good food for his family at the prices he can afford, and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voter wants the scales of justice to balance the right of the criminal defendant with the right of a law-abiding society, and so do we.

Our crime program is aimed at domestic tranquility with deep concern for the victim of crime, and the independent voter wants that as well.

This independent voter -- and more and more of them are appearing in every State of the Union -- wants an America at peace with itself and throughout the world. But the independent voter knows that peace is too easily broken, and he knows that the surest guarantee of peace is a strong and ready national defense, and so do we.

The independent voter wants relief from higher and higher taxes, from more and more Government programs intruding into his business and into his private life, from bigger and bigger Federal budget deficits, and so do we.

And this above all, if I might, the independent voter wants America on the move again, moving in new directions with a vision of what can be, and so do we.

As we look toward the future, none of us can be certain and positive what is in store for us. But if we approach the future with faith in ourselves, in each other and in our country, we need not fear the future's mysteries nor miss its opportunities.

We, as Republicans, and millions, millions of more throughout the country as independents can help create a future bright with promise by our decision on election day, November 1976.

I have come here to this great meeting -- and it is a great meeting -- to ask your help in getting the message of common sense Government and hope for the future for the people of Minnesota, in one way or another all of you have distinguished yourselves as enthusiastic supporters of the Republican Party. Otherwise, you would not be here today, but now I am asking each and every one of you, all good Republicans, to go that extra mile for the party, indeed, if it is necessary, that extra thousand miles for the party.

We have the principles, we have the programs and the people to do it.

And what's more, we have the year to do it -- 1976. Let's make that a year to remember, to be remembered by all Republicans.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 12:05 P.M. CDT)

7704001516

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Minneapolis, Minnesota)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT A
GOP LUNCHEON

REGISTRY HOTEL

12:58 P.M. CDT

Bill Frenzel, Tom Hagedorn, George Pillsbury and the distinguished leaders in the Republican Finance Organization, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been a wonderful about 18 hours in Minnesota. We were warmly welcomed at the airport, had a wonderful meeting this morning with the news media people and radio, television and newspaper, had a grand and wonderful reception at the American Legion Convention, then, of course, the two meetings with the party people.

I have always had a great affection and fondness for Minnesota, but the time spent here on this occasion just magnifies my feeling and my sentiments toward those from Gopherville. (Laughter)

Speaking of the Gophers, one of the great experiences I have in traveling around the country is running into old friends. It is hard to believe, but back in 1932 and 1933 and 1934 I had the opportunity at the University of Michigan of competing against Bernie Beerman's tough Minnesota football team.

One of those that I competed against in those years was Pug Lund , and I was delighted and honored to see Pug here on this occasion. Pug and I not only played against one another, but we were fortunate to play together on the Shrine East-West team, and also in the Chicago All-Stars.

So, we developed a friendship opposite one another and with one another, and Pug, it is just nice to see you, and I thank you for coming.

It was also great to see an old friend and a dear colleague of a good many years, Anchor Nelson, who is a bulwark of strength and integrity and good common sense, and we miss you, Anchor, but you have a good [illegible] Tom.

MORE

I guess you gather from what I have been saying that every visit I have ever made to Minnesota has been memorable, and this has been no exception.

As I was getting off the plane last night at the Twin Cities International Airport an amazing thing happened to me. Somebody asked me how to get to the State Capital in St. Paul. (Laughter)

What made it so amazing -- it was Governor Anderson. (Laughter)

It is also a pleasure to be in Minnesota, the land of 10,000 lakes, which I understand is now known as the land of 15,000 lakes. In a way, that recount could be a great lesson for the Republican Party. (Laughter)

Like those lakes, I think there are a lot more Republicans here in Minnesota than any of us realize. We just have to go out, find them and get them interested and to the polls.

There has been a tremendous parade of my associates in Washington coming to Minnesota lately. Secretary Kissinger was here last month. So was Earl Butz. I thought I better come out to Minnesota and find out for myself what was attracting everybody to this great State.

What I found is really what I have known for years -- Minnesota is one of the most beautiful States in the Union, has some of the friendliest people anywhere and it has some of the hardest working, most dedicated Republicans that I have ever met.

Of course, I have had some great associations with people from Minnesota in the House of Representatives.

Al Quie, one of my long and very dear friends. Bill Frenzel, an outstanding Member of the House of Representatives, who is respected on both sides of the House. Tom Hagedorn, who is a newcomer.

But, I am convinced, having seen Members come and go, like Greyhound buses sometimes, that Tom is going to stay for a long time, like Al and Bill.

The only problem I think you have, you have got quality -- you just need a little more quantity. (Laughter)

So, if you could sort of add to the delegation, it would not only help your State, in my judgment, but it would give some strong support to Al and Bill and Tom.

7704001501 3

As I travel around the country -- and I have traveled a bit on non-political meetings -- I am optimistic about the Republican prospects for next year's election. I think we are going to have the right kind of candidates, the issues, the money, the workers,and more importantly, in the final analysis, the votes to win.

But it will take a lot of hard work like many of you have contributed in the past. And if we are to capitalize on the opportunities ahead of us -- and they are vast -- I think we have to reach out to that great American majority that does the Nation's work, pays the Nation's bills, provides for the national defense and observes the Nation's laws. That is our constituency.

No matter the color of their skin, the religion they practice, the politics they vote, these solid Americans are the Republican Party's bulwark of strength. They are the people to whom we must tell our story, over and over again, this year as well as next.

And after one year as President, I am even more firmly convinced than ever that Republican principles are really what most Americans believe in, specifically as Republicans, we believe in the free enterprise system and in lifting the very heavy hand of Government from business so that the system can work much more effectively.

We believe in fiscal responsibility and in keeping Federal spending, those levels down which would not trigger further inflation. As some of you may recall, a few months ago when I took some action, I said I was going to take a firm stand against any increase in the Federal deficit. And it was a fair warning to the Congress that they had to behave and not spend more money than we could afford.

We have made a little progress, but if the Congress does not show some restraint and responsibility, there will be a lot more vetos. I think they are in the best interest of this country.

Obviously, I want to thank Al and Bill and Tom -- I cannot remember whether they voted to sustain every veto. (Laughter) I am going back and check up on them. (Laughter) But I am sure they have a pretty good batting average.

Well, as Republicans, we believe in this fiscal responsibility, and a $60 billion deficit is a big enough deficit. But if we do not hold the lid, in all honesty and sincerity, it will be $70 billion, $80 billion or $90 billion, and that just leads to further momentum and acceleration for [illegible] a deficit in the next fiscal year. I just feel that [illegible] people want us to handle their money in a responsible and effective way. So with the help of good people, Republicans primarily, but a good many Democrats too, I think we are approaching a period of fiscal responsibility that is so important to our Nation's future.

Obviously, we, as Republicans, believe in a strong national defense as the best way that I know of to insure the peace and to deter war. An adequate military budget with the kind of leadership we are getting in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines is the best way to insure our security.

We believe in the control of our affairs at the State and local level, the officials who are the closest to the problems and to the people that they represent. We think this is an infinitely better approach than having things controlled in Washington by a very remote bureaucracy.

But, most importantly, as Republicans we believe in the freedom of the individual and in retaining that uniqueness of individual responsibility.

I think we are heading rapidly into a very, very important campaign. Next year's election at every level--local, State, as well as national--will be a very critical test of our ability to convince a majority of Americans that Republicans care about things that concern most people today, that we are ready to listen to them, that we are prepared to work -- and I mean work -- our very hardest, and to do our very best for them.

It is my sincere hope and my confident belief that if we are successful in getting across the message to the people over and over and over again, 1976 can be a great year for the Republican Party here in Minnesota, as well as throughout the United States.

I believe that we can make future years great years for our country. I have come here to ask for your help in that effort. I want, obviously, to thank you for what you have done and for what you are going to do. I am confident if we make this maximum effort, every one of us, we can share a great Republican victory in 1976.

Together we can make it a banner year. Let's make certain and positive that banner says "Republican."

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 12:11 P.M. CDT)

7704001 5020

When I was elected Minority Leader in January of 1965 of the House of Representatives, Ev Dirksen was already the sage and the seasoned Minority Leader of the United States Senate. I was the new boy, but he never put me down. Instead, he took me in.

I met almost every day and sometimes oftener with the masters, and he taught me the trade. He knew as much about the House as I did, and, of course, he knew everything about the United States Senate.

He knew every wheel and every cog that makes the Congress tick. And he knew a thing or two about some Presidents.

In our relationship, I was the spear carrier, and I must say, we used to aim some short ones in the direction of the then occupant of the White House. But Ev's were always softened with a chuckle. I suspect he was much more effective.

Every couple of weeks, as has been noted by Louella, we would hold a two-headed press conference that became known as the "Ev and Jerry Show". It really should have been known as "Dirksen and Company". (Laughter)

The "Dirksen and Company Show" -- because it is obvious, you know, who was the star.

It seems that some of the legacy of homespun humor left in this part of Illinois by Abraham Lincoln was reborn in Everett Dirksen. He had a little quip, or he had a little story for each and every occasion, regardless of the circumstances.

He was the only politician I have ever known who could walk into a press conference like the prophet Daniel and walk out leaving the lions all purring and without a scratch on him. Is that right? (Laughter)

I learned an awful lot from Ev, and it is only fitting that others should learn from him also. The Dirksen Research Center, with momentoes and papers from his long and productive career will enable generations of students to learn more about the United States Congress and how it works.

The Senator believed, as you all know, the opportunities to examine the papers and documents of top legislators were far too limited. He had an idea for a research center long before his death. And I agreed with him, as I think most of the Members of the House and Senate would, that the study [illegible] been far too long neglected. Ev knew every piece of legislation, and he knew that every piece of legislation could have a lasting imprint on our society and this country.

7704001502

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Peoria, Illinois)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
DEDICATION OF THE DIRKSEN WING
OF THE
ILLINOIS PUBLIC LIBRARY

PEKIN, ILLINOIS

AT 3:26 P.M. CDT

Howard Baker, my dear friend Louella, Senator Chuck Percy, Senator Jennings Randolph, Senator Roman Hruska, Governor Walker, my very good and dear friend, Charlie Halleck and, of course, my long time friend and great helper, Les Arends, Mayor Waldmeier, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

As one of the many, many Americans who knew and loved Everett Dirksen, obviously I am pleased to be in his hometown for the dedication of this great building in his honor.

I wanted to be here in a very special capacity, not as President of the United States, not as a former President of the United States Senate, but as the spokesman for a very exclusive fraternity -- Minority Leaders of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

How delighted Ev would be that the dedication coincided with your third annual Marigold Festival. This city really looks beautiful today with so many thousands of Ev's favorite flowers in bloom.

And as I said a moment ago, I did want to be here representing Minority Leaders. Unfortunately, as Charlie Halleck and I both know, our fraternity has been overwhelmingly Republican in recent years, though we keep trying to recruit more Democrats every day. (Laughter)

We take some comfort, however, in the obvious fact that leading the Minority in the House or the Senate is a much more demanding job than leading the Majority and, if ever a Minority Leader could be said to dominate either body, the House or the Senate, that man was Everett Dirksen.

He was a power to be reckoned with, and he did it not by the numbers of his Minority, but by the sheer power of his unique personality, his persuasiveness, his profound gift [illegible] and his consummate legislative skills.

MORE

He believed more historical attention should be given to the drafting and the approval of Federal legislation. With the Dirksen papers and those of other Congressional Leaders, this center will give students in many universities and colleges in this area a very special viewpoint on American history.

One of the most facinating areas of study in the Dirksen papers will be to trace just how influential a single dedicated man can be. His career expanded almost four decades and six Presidents.

From the very first of the 100 days of President FranklIn Roosevelt to Ev's eventful ten years of service as Minority Leader in the Senate, Senator Dirksen participated rigorously in the enormous social and political changes of those years

MORE

7704001502;

I have sometimes wondered whether Ev Dirksen ever regretted that he promised his mother not to pursue a career on the stage. (Laughter) But he got around it by playing a much larger stage, and we were lucky to have been in his company.

I think it is wonderful that the tapes of Senator Dirksen's speeches will be available to students because his voice, as well as his presence, were part of his political magic.

The person who knew and loved him best, Louella, his wife and partner for 42 years, wrote this of Ev, and I quote: "My husband loved life. It seemed to love him also. He was awed by the beauty of the flower and the spoken word. He could cultivate them as no other man could. His flowers continue to grow. His words still echo."

I was looking through some of my old files for some of Ev Dirksen's words from the "Ev and Jerry Show" that perhaps I might include in my remarks here this afternoon. I thought maybe I could find one of his hilarious stories about his adventures as an Army balloonist in World War I or some other particularly funny observation.

Instead, I found a comment which Ev said he had pounded out on his trusty portable because he was in a special philosophical mood. It was in 1968, a few days after the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy.

There were riots and violence all across the land. Senator Dirksen wrote this, and I think it is appropriate at this time: "The time has come to rethink our history. It should have emphasis in every school, church, and forum in the land. The legacy which is ours came from those who were here before us into this land.

"They built their skills and talents, their hopes, their dreams, their tears and their sacrifices. Today, we are the trustees of America. Upon us is a two-fold duty. The one is to those who came before us and gave us this land for our inheritance. The other is to those who shall come after us.

"Perhaps" -- as Ev Dirksen said it -- "three words can state the whole case -- dedication, discipline and duty."

I know that those words, spoken only as Ev Dirksen could, are somewhere in this edifice, reminding Americans of their continuing need for dedication, discipline and duty.

Yes, Louella, his words still echo.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 3:38 P.M. CDT)

7704001 5021

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Peoria, Illinois)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

THE PEORIA HILTON HOTEL

4:42 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Senator Chuck Percy, Mayor Carver, members of my official Administration, Cabinet and otherwise:

It is a great privilege for me to be with all you distinguished guests, representatives of the great area here in Illinois.

Because of the emphasis on questions and answers rather than speeches, I am certain that this conference will long be remembered in the history of verbal communication.

It has been said that a dialogue is when you exchange views with a colleague and a monologue is when a politician exchanges views with you. (Laughter)

Today, I think we have taken a moderate-size step in the direction of eliminating that monologue. So, I come to Peoria, not just to be heard, but to look, listen and learn.

As a starter, I would like to tell you about the goals and plans of the Administration, and I also want you -- I emphasize you -- people of Peoria and Illinois to tell me some of your feelings and some of your deep concerns about the vital issues facing us as a Nation.

One thing very certain -- we have plenty to discuss.

I have been President for only a year, but what a year it has been. Even though most of us would not like to go through it again, I think we have had more plusses than minuses.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001502

There have been some difficulties, some reverses, in this 12-month span, but America has weathered the storm both in foreign and domestic affairs.

Once again--and this is the most important thing--the American system, the Government, the people, have met the test.

Consider for a moment this economy. Since March of this year, total employment has risen by 1.2 million, industry production by 1 percent, personal income by 4 percent and retail sales by 8.8 percent.

Not only our economy, but our political system, has demonstrated anew the strength and the resilience that has made us the freest, as well as the strongest, and wealthiest, Nation in the world.

Where it counts, America has not and will not ever be satisfied with second place.

Don't misunderstand me. I am not saying that our troubles are over, that we have reached the promised land, but we have a darned good vehicle to get us through to that promised land, and it is called the free enterprise system.

MORE

The job of all Americans is to help put that vehicle into high gear. Although most of the evidence that we see so far points to a healthy economic recovery, we cannot afford to take that recovery for granted at this stage of the ball game.

There are plenty of problems left that require our prompt and concerned attention.

Take for a minute inflation. The last figures show an annual rate increase for June of just over 9 percent in the cost of living, and over 15 percent for July in the Wholesale Price Index.

I think this should serve as a warning that with the worst of the recession behind us, we must guard against -- guard against vigorously -- the kinds of excessive new Federal spending that could trigger another protracted round of double-digit inflation.

For my part, I pledge to you I will do all that I can to hold the line against inflationary Federal spending.

I cannot stop a runaway Congress from voting appropriations that fan the flames of inflation, but I can and I will continue to use my veto authority to curb the inflationary spending excesses of the Majority of the Congress.

There has to be, in fact, there must be enough good women in both political parties in the Congress who will ban together to sustain my vetoes in the public interest.

Remember -- and I think this is what we often forget -- inflation does not recognize party labels. When the cost of living zooms upwards, we all pay the price, especially the old, the poor, jobless and those on fixed incomes, be they Democrats or Republicans, Independents or dropouts. The burden is shared by everybody.

Inflation is a common enemy, and we must fight it with a common front.

And so each time I use the veto to battle inflation, I am taking, I think, a positive, not negative step. The vetoes that I have exercised so far will save you -- the public as a whole in this country, the American taxpayer -- an estimated $6 billion by 1977 in tax payments or loss of purchasing power through inflation.

We are talking about preserving your purchasing power and the value of your paycheck, your pension, your social security check and especially your savings.

7704001027

We are talking about your future economic stability. Now, I am well aware of the fact that some people do not accept this argument. I respect their view, and I respectfully disagree. They say, for example, that no inflationary price tag exists on massive Government spending, but in my considered judgment, they are wrong.

In their view, the solution to all of our ills is for Government to spend more of your money and for Government to regulate more of your lives. Unfortunately, their argument for bigger Government and bigger Government spending has been accepted all too often in the post-war years. The result has been a growing and unwarranted trend toward Federal interference--interference in the free enterprise system, interference in State and local Governments and as we are now beginning to discover, interference in our personal lives.

This trend must be reversed, and it will be if we have anything to say about it. Despite all the obstacles that well-meaning Government has put in the way, the American system and the American worker continue to provide us with the living standard that is the envy of the entire world.

I do not think you have to look any further than Peoria for proof of what I am saying. Thanks to productive, competitive industry and skilled, willing workers the Peoria area turns out industrial goods that sell not only coast to coast, but all around the globe.

And one blessed result of this productiveness is that you have an unemployment rate well under the national average. That is a fine record, one to be proud of and you have achieved it in spite of, not because of big Government.

Let me give you just one example, if I might, before we get to the questions and answers. I understand there is a serious local concern in this area about the possibility of future natural gas shortages.

Now, if this is the case, we ought to ask ourselves what is the reason. Is it because we do not have enough known sources of natural gas? No, for the present, at least, there is enough to meet all our needs. The problem is not one of supply, it is one of regulation -- obsolete Federal regulation that may cost this part of Illinois and other regions of America, in fact, ten States, to be frank with you, it will cost jobs, and it will cost economic growth.

The basic problem is just this: for 20 years now the Federal Power Commission has been required by law to set specific low prices at the wellhead for natural gas sold in interstate markets. The result has been that gas producers sell as much of their products as they can inside their respective State borders at free market prices, creating shortages in non-producing States of the Union, in communities like Peoria, and communities like Peoria have and may well suffer.

Believe me, this is not the first time I have said this, and I say it every time with greater feeling and determination. I said it as Vice President and I have said it repeatedly as President. I have consistently urged the Congress to deregulate natural gas to expand its supply nationwide.

It is amazing, when you talk to Congressional Members from Texas or Louisiana or Oklahoma where they have these abundant supplies of natural gas, but where they are not going to ship it across state lines to Illinois, Michigan, Indiana or any place else, they say we are going to keep it, and then we will get our factories and our jobs down in our State where we can sell this natural gas at whatever price we decide.

It is unbelievable to me that the Congress has not responded in this area so that we, in your area, or we, in any part of the country or elsewhere, cannot get this great natural resource so we can have more productivity, more jobs and a better country.

But as I said, the Congress has done nothing, even though common sense says it must be done and public opinion recently show a growing popular support for deregulation.

Further delay is intolerable. Even if the Congress should act this session, it will still be one or more winters before we could feel the beneficial results of that action.

I am delighted to be here. I just had a wonderful experience over in Pekin -- the dedication of the Everett Dirksen Research Center. I am delighted to hear from all of you, to urge each of you to make your voice heard for the kinds of free and prosperous America we all want and believe in.

Freedom, in my judgment, is more than a word. It is a way of life, a vital living thing, and each generation must strengthen and renew it or it will surely perish, as we have seen all too often elsewhere in the world.

The time is now for our generation to keep this idea alive. We must make sure that our first 200 years as a free people, glorious as they have been, will only be the beginning of the American success sotry.

Together let us prove to the entire world that the American dream is best realized when we are wide awake.

Thank you very much, and let's go to the questions.

MORE

7704001502

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Bill Wombacher, a Peoria lawyer, interested in the energy field and Chairman of the Peoria Area Chamber of Commerce.

I would like to ask you what priorities, if any, has the White House set in resolving the seemingly irreconcilable differences in goals of the Federal Energy Administration and the Environmental Protection Agency. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I could take quite a bit of time answering that, but what we have tried to do is to get Russ Train and Frank Zarb to sit down and work together to make some reason and rationale out of the sometimes conflicting interests of a great need for additional energy and still the great desire to protect our environment.

I recall very vividly some discussions we had in December about what the auto emission standards should be. We worked it out, and I want to compliment both Frank and Russ for doing it.

Of course, we subsequently had a report that put a different light on the situation, but what I am trying to illustrate is that we have people in this Administration who have positions of responsibility who are willing to sit down and talk with those who have potentially conflicting interests.

Although I think in most cases we have come out with a good answer, I admit there are some areas where we are still in some disagreement. But, I know that we can have a responsible energy program and still not destroy our environment, and that is our objective.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Stanley Johnson, President of the Illinois State AFL-CIO.

Labor was critical of the Administration, which you had to take over sometime ago in the crisis of Government. We commend and appreciate your low-key approach to that particular crisis.

Labor, as you know, was quite critical of the national direction of governmental policy in the previous Administration. What disturbs us again is probably some of the same advisers are still in your Administration.

These advisers may have caused you to veto several measures. At this point, we also have to respectfully disagree with your vetoes. The recent study of the Library of Congress indicated some of those measures would have added some 638,000 jobs, the bulk of which would have been in the housing and building industry.

As you know, that industry is a good bellwether of our total economy.

Therefore, Mr. President, our question is how can we tell the jobless, who are not interested in theory, that they must continue to bear the heaviest cost of a projected economic turnaround, which may not help them very soon?

THE PRESIDENT: Sir, I think you have to look back at what the circumstances were in August of 1974. At that time, we had inflation of 12 to 14 percent. I admit at that time we had 5 percent unemployed. But, that high inflation rate was hurting everybody, those employed and those unemployed.

If we hadn't done something to try and check inflation, I am convinced we would be still in a disastrous recession.

We have had a tough time. We have had to take some stern measures. But, the net result is we made substantial progress against inflation. The most encouraging thing is -- and this is what I would tell the unemployed -- I would tell them that in the last two or three months the number of gainfully employed has gone up over a million and that the prospects are that we will continue to add to the total number of employed and that although the rate of unemployment may be higher than we want -- and obviously it is -- we will do it while we are able at the same time to continue to squeeze the inflationary impact out of our society.

Now, some of these decisions, I am sure you recognize, are not easy. Let's take the housing one that you spoke of.

We recommended a housing bill. We proposed that some additional stimulant be given to the housing industry, but unfortunately, the Congress added a lot of extras that would have had a substantial adverse impact on our deficit.

It is big enough now. Sixty billion dollars isn't a bad deficit by any standards and, if we had let that housing legislation through, it would have added significantly to it.

I vetoed the bill, not because I didn't want a housing bill, but I didn't want a bad housing bill. The Congress reconsidered, took some time, analyzed the arguments that we presented and they passed another housing bill, which is the housing bill we are using and implementing.

7704001503

In fact, I asked the Congress just before they recessed for a vacation to appropriate an additional $5 billion for what we call the tandem plan to stimulate housing.

I can't say that what we have done is the reason we had an announcement yesterday that there was a 14 percent increase in housing starts over the previous month.

Housing is beginning to go, and that is going to end the unemployment in the construction trades where there has been a very heavy and a very substantial unemployment rate.

But, you can't turn a spigot and get all these things done overnight. It takes time, and a narrow path, a very narrow position to win the battle against inflation, construct a strong economy and reduce unemployment and provide jobs.

We are doing the best we can.

Thank you.

MORE

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am John Feretl, President of the Illinois Press Association. Our member newspapers are very much dependent upon the mail service, especially the second-class mails.

We fear that the posture taken by the Postal Service since reorganization will result in disaster to the free flow of information. We are, however, encouraged by the provisions of House Bill 8603, which re-establishes the concept that the mails are a public service and that the cultural, educational and informational values of the mails must be considered in setting rates for all classes of mails.

Mr. President, do you support this public service concept, and can we count on your support for House Bill 8603? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I support the concept of public service for the Postal Service. I support the concept. When I was in the Congress, we voted to move the Post Office Department to the Postal Service, and we set up a ten-year -- or five year span, as I recollect -- for the transition from a non-selfsupporting Postal Department to a self-supporting Postal Service.

In the interim, the Congress, at the recommendation of the President, would recommend about, as I recall, $400 million a year for this public service.

Now the second and third class mail users came in -- I think it was last year -- and asked for an extention from the five-year transition period to the ten-year transition period. And as I recall, I approved that bill. I know I voted for it.

So we have been understanding of your problem, and Congress this year is being asked to recommend, as I recall, roughly about $900 million to give public service support to the Postal Service. And part of this has come because we have extended the time span from five to ten years.

I believe in the public service concept, but I cannot in good conscience, without reading the fine print, endorse that bill you are talking about.

Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is John Gwynn, the local and State President of NAACP. My concern is the endorsement of the Federal laws as they exist, as they relate to race relations. Since race relations remain the single overriding issue in America, and since we have law[illegible]ting [illegible] the Fourteenth Amendment, the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the 1964 Civil Rights Act -- these are some of the laws that exist, with the others -- we are asking, Mr. President, what are you going to do to make sure these laws are enforced with all deliberate speed? Again, I would like to state that we feel that race relations is being pushed under the rug.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say, in the first place, I just appointed an outstanding person in Lowell Perry to be the head of the OEE -- Equal Employment Opportunity Administration (Commission).

Lowell Perry is a first-class person to do that job, and I can assure you that in that position, Lowell Perry will make certain that the rights of blacks and other minorities are fully protected.

Let me give you another illustration. I respectfully disagree with your view that race relations are being pushed under the rug by this Administration.

I recommended the extension of the existing voting rights legislation, and my Administration pushed, in the House as well as in the Senate, to get that re-enacted.

Chuck Percy, sitting here, knows very well how delicate that situation became at the very last minute, and I think this Administration played a considerable part -- I believe a major part -- in making that legislation for seven more years.

In addition, I think in any other area the employment of minorities in the Federal Government, not only the employment, but the advancement of minorities in positions of responsibility has been recognized and carried out by this Administration.

And I pledge to you that that will be our position in the future.

QUESTION: What about the integration of schools?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me be very frank here. I do not think that forced busing to achieve racial balance is the proper way to get quality education.

The principal objective is to get quality education for all our young people. I think there must be a better way to do it than the way some advocate.

Now, we will carry out whatever the law is and however the courts interpret it. Don't get me wrong. But it is my personal conviction and has been for 10 or 15 years that there is a better way to get quality education for all of our young people than the way some advocate.

7704001503

QUESTION: Mr. President, Martin G. Abegg, President of Bradley University.

As President of an independent university, may I convey a concern that all of us in higher education have for a potentially serious threat to the charitable deduction, which is now being considered by Members of the U.S. Congress.

The proposals which are being considered strike at the heart of American private philanthropy and threaten serious damage to our traditional dual system of public and private higher education, which that philanthropy has helped to sustain.

I would appreciate any comments about this proposal.

THE PRESIDENT: It is very interesting. Just last week in Vail, Colorado, where I am having a working vacation, I met with seven or eight of the top people of the Aspen Institute, and in that group were two or three who are equally concerned and to some extent represent the private colleges in the country, or at least their viewpoint.

The real problem you face today comes from the 1969 Internal Revenue Act that was passed. In 1969, a limitation was put on foundations. It made it more difficult for private colleges to be the beneficiaries of generous citizens or generous groups.

At the present time, there are some additional amendments before the House Committee on Ways and Means that would, in a more harmful way, jeopardize the existence of private colleges because it would be more difficult under the proposed laws for people to give to these nonpublic institutions.

I can assure you that I don't approve of those proposed amendments. To the extent that we can keep the Congress from doing it, my Administration will do so.

QUESTION: Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT: If I might add, I happen to think that the public school systems, whether they are primary, secondary or higher education, are made better when they have got competition from nonpublic schools.

Whether it is college, higher education, elementary or secondary, we want a competitive education system in this country.

It is good for everybody.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am H. D. Altorfer, Chairman of the Central Illinois Industrial Association.

In a speech in Washington last June 17, you stated that it was your determined intention to review every single Government action in light of what it will do to free competition and individual liberty.

This review is to apply across the board to corporations that seek special monopolistic advantages, as well as to radical social theories.

This intent is to be commended, but as a relatively small businessman, it seemed to me the monopolistic advantages of the large national labor unions, and in some instances the cooperatives, should also be reviewed in light of what they are doing to free competition and individual liberty.

Will you include these in your review, also?

THE PRESIDENT: I was referring in that speech primarily to the activities of the Federal Government in regulation and control. I was not referring to the private sector, so to speak.

On the other hand, under existing anti-trust legislation -- I emphasize under existing anti-trust legislation -- the Department of Justice has a mandate, and has had for a long period of time, to proceed against monopoly as so described in those laws.

The Attorney General, who comes from this area of the country, will carry out that responsibility.

We have taken no action. I don't see the connection at this time between the kind of monopoly we were attacking, the monopoly of the Federal Government, and in the question that you raise.

There is a distinction and a difference between national labor organizations and some governmental operations. I happen to think that labor organizations can play a proper and do play a very important role. I don't condone, however, let me be sure, some of the actions of individual locals or even in some cases my friends' actions by the national AFL-CIO.

We have no plans at this time for any legislation along the lines you are suggesting.

7704001 5036

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Eldon E. Witt. I am the Executive Secretary of the Illinois Association FAA.

In Illinois we are proud of the progress that vocational education has made, and I must admit that some of us registered some disappointment with the veto of 5901.

Now, my question is this --

THE PRESIDENT: 5901 -- I don't remember the numbers of all of these, the names of all of these. What is 5901?

QUESTION: This is a bill, a vocational education funding appropriation.

I am asking now, are you aware of the language of House Bill 17304, which is a new vocational education bill getting us away from this continuing resolution, and is vocational education a high enough priority at the national level to warrant support of this bill? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Until I have read the language of the bill -- and I normally only read the language of the proposed laws that come down to me -- I cannot make any honest, in conscience, make any commitment.

I can tell you this, however, that I think the record of this Administration in supporting education, including vocational education, is a good one.

As a matter of fact, in the education recommendations in the budget for fiscal 1976, which is the year that began this July, there is a considerable amount more in funding recommended than in the previous fiscal year.

I am concerned about education, but in the multitude of requests for money that come from a tremendous number of good causes, and the availability of our country's resources and taxes, or in borrowing, somebody -- and unfortunately in my case it is me -- I have to somehow weave in the proper relationship and the proper priorities.

But I can tell you from my own personal history in the Congress and otherwise, we will do as well as we possibly can for vocational education.

QUESTION: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Won't you all sit down just a minute? They have asked me to sum up with another minute or two.

I thank you, and I think it is obvious to you I have enjoyed this stimulating and informative session. I have tried to gather that these are two-way conferences, two-fold, is one way to put it, two-way communication another.

We came to Peoria to listen as well as to speak, and judging by that standard, I believe the conference has been a success.

It is my strong and very deep conviction that to do its job well, the Government must be tuned, tuned into the people it serves. It must be open, it must be responsive as it maintains a two-way conversation with citizens from all walks of life.

Today you have heard about agriculture from Earl, about the economy from John Dunlop -- John Dunlop and Bill Seidman -- and about energy from Frank Zarb, about education from Commissioner Bell and about the environment from Russ Train.

I know they have tried to give each and every one of you an idea about what this Administration's goals are and where we are heading in our efforts -- and I say most sincerely -- in our efforts to develop some new direction while strengthening the basic free enterprise system and the values which make America great.

7704001 5033

But just as importantly, we have also heard from you, from the men and women representing nearly every facet of life in the Peoria area. And I thank all of you -- labor, business, industry, education, farming, the minority community, women's groups, the press and the legal profession -- I am grateful that you participated.

This is the seventh Presidential town hall meeting that I have had the privilege of attending. The more of them that I attend, the more I learn and the more optimistic I become about America's long-term future. In the people gathered here in this room, and millions of others like you around the country, we have one of the priceless natural resources that will never be depleted.

And so long as we can meet together and work together like this, in an atmosphere of candor, trust and mutual respect, there is no problem we cannot solve together.

And after all, that is what America is really all about -- people with different ideas, different approaches, from all walks of life, pulling together to make this great country a better place for all of us.

You know they did it in 1776 in Independence Hall. We, too, can do it 200 years later.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 5:15 P.M. CDT)

7704001 5030

Meeting With Wheat Growers

The President's Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Participants in the Meeting in Vail, Colorado. August 20, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. It is nice to see you all this morning, and I am delighted you are out here, along with myself, enjoying some of the opportunities in Vail. I think you all know how much I like the place, and I hope you do, too.

Let me just say a word or two about, I think, an extremely important problem that we have that involves, of course, the farmers, involves consumers, involves, as we all know, the action taken by the AFL-CIO. It also involves some very important implications as far as American foreign policy is concerned.

My feeling, as far as agriculture was concerned, was expressed pretty fully in my remarks to people in Iowa at the Iowa State Fair. I believe that the policy that we followed of full production for American agriculture is right.

This is a great asset that we have in America, the availability of tremendous production in wheat, corn, and feed grains, and the American farmers have responded magnificently in this regard.

We ended up, according to the August estimates, with an increase of about 9 percent of the wheat crop this year over last year, although the August estimate indicated there was approximately a 2-percent drop from the earlier forecast.

The corn crop for this year, based on the August estimate, is about 26 percent above the production of last year. On the other hand, it is about 3 percent less than what the estimate was of the previous month.

When I was in Iowa, they had a good rain the night before, for which I took credit. [*Laughter*] The net result, according to the agricultural people that I talked with, it won't have much of an impact on the production in Iowa as far as corn is concerned.

Fortunately, however, they indicated to me that the soybean crop would be the beneficiary. I am no expert, but according to them, they felt that, because of the nature of your soybeans, that this particular rain would be significantly helpful to them.

We want full production from agriculture. It is good for the farmer. It is good for the consumer. I think it is good for the country as a whole. It gives us great flexibility in providing for us, the United States, to help feed a good many mouths around the world where they need extra food, and, at the same time, it gives us some flexibility in our overall execution of foreign policy.

There has been, and I think properly so, some action taken by the Secretary of Agriculture until the next crop report, which comes out September 11. It certainly is anticipated there will be future sales abroad. But I think until we see just what that September 11 crop report shows, we have to be somewhat discreet in how we handle the problem.

We want to sell more. We will sell more. But I think in the overall context of the multitude of problems and the variety of cross interests, it is in the best interest to show some restraint until that time.

I can assure you that I am on top of the problem, working with Earl Butz and John Dunlop and the other people in the Administration. I get virtually daily reports on the situation, and I can assure you that we will use our best judgment to try and protect the interests of not only agriculture but others, not only at home but abroad.

I will be glad to answer any questions.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, we know that you realize the problem, but I would like to emphasize one thing that when the present Administration, your Administration, asked us to increase production, all of that production has to be exported, because we were *producing* more than we needed, and we would just like to emphasize that we must have access to these world markets.

7704001 5041

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure you know that we have sold so far about 9.8 million tons to the Soviet Union. They have had a serious crop failure. The extent of that crop failure is not known precisely at this time, but I think most knowledgeable people recognize that they undoubtedly will be in the market for additional sales.

How much that will be, no one knows at this time. But if we act, I think, reasonably and rationally in this situation, the extra production, the full production that the farmer was asked to undertake earlier this year and late last year in the winter wheat crop—I am sure that the price of wheat, the price of corn, will be a good price and will return a good net income to the American farmer.

I think most of you know, I am sure better than I, that in the last month there has been—maybe a month and a half—there has been an increase in the price of wheat from around $3 to around $4 a bushel. The price of corn has gone from roughly $2.50 a bushel up to about $3 a bushel. These price increases under the market conditions, I think, are fully justified. I don't think we want to have the kind of total disturbance in the market that took place in some of the years past.

It is better for the farmer, I think, to have a solid income, a good net income, and we are going to make sure that that takes place.

Q. Mr. President, as I am sure you know, producers are very much concerned about the recent action of the longshoremen. In the first 6 months of this year, the price of wheat went down about one-third to us. The price of bread did not go down, and, in fact, may have increased. My question to you now is, can you tell us any very recent development in the longshoremen's action to not load our grain?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my judgment that the best way to solve that problem is to lower our voices and to try and work out a negotiated settlement.

I expect to be in communication with the Secretary of Labor, who is in contact with the people in the labor movement. But it seems to me, rather than to accelerate the confrontation, it is better if we move or less lower our voices and try to negotiate a settlement.

I think it is obvious that if everybody talks loudly, it makes it more difficult for us to get an answer. People get frozen into positions.

I think the differences are soluble, and I am working on it today to try and bring the parties together so we can talk in a rational, reasonable way in trying to protect the interests not only of the farmer but American labor, the consumer, and the country as a whole.

If we just lower our voices a bit, I think we can solve the problem so we will ship the grain, the farmer will get his product on the world market, where it ought to be, and the consumers' interests will likewise be protected.

Q. Mr. President, it is a real pleasure to have you with us. I will thank you for making most of my speech, and you did a real good job. You sure did. He knows something about it, and that is just great.

THE PRESIDENT. You know a lot more about it than I do. I am learning, though.

Q. Well, I think you just did great. He was quoting facts and figures that we have been talking about here the last few days.

As you know, Mr. President, two out of every three bushels of wheat we produced this year must find a home overseas if our wheat farmers are to have the solid income that you speak about. And I was so glad to hear your remarks. But our farmers, our wheat farmers are really concerned that the gate is not wide open now. And we just hope that it can be opened, the export gate can be opened, wide soon because they are concerned.

We can export 1.3 billion bushels of wheat and still have more wheat than we had last year, in fact, enough for all of our domestic food uses for another year in 1975.

Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. As I indicated, production is up about 19 percent, and 60 percent of the total wheat crop of winter and spring wheat is in already. And the rest will be in the next month or so.

Wheat is one of the very important products we want to sell overseas. Corn is another one. The corn crop—it won't be as firm by September as the wheat crop will be, but at least we will have a better fix on where we are. I am convinced that when we get those facts together and get the parties down to seeing what we can do, we want the grain shipped overseas.

As I said in my speech in Des Moines the other day, last year the total American agricultural shipment overseas was about $22 billion. We shipped in other agricultural commodities, as I recall, about $10 billion. So we had a net surplus of roughly $12 billion.

If we had not had that surplus in our balance of trade from our tremendous agricultural production, this country would be in serious straits right now, particularly with the impact of the foreign oil that has risen in price very substantially. So, we need this overseas sale of American agriculture, and we are going to find a way to make it certain.

But I think if we all just cool it a bit, it will be in the best interests of everybody until we can sit down and refine the issues in the first place, the issues of the consumer, from the point of view of one part of our society.

The maritime industry feels they have been shortchanged, because instead of getting a third of the grain shipments as they were promised, they have ended up with about 21 percent or less. And we are in the process right now of negotiating with the Soviet Union to try and get a better freight rate for American bottoms. This is another aspect of the problem.

It is my recollection that on Monday of this week, the Department of Commerce people met with the Soviet

7704001S041

negotiators trying to get a better price, better freight rate—if that is the right term—so that more American bottoms can be involved in the shipment of American agriculture to the Soviet Union. So, there are many, many pieces of this very complicated problem.

And I can assure you that I and this Administration are on top of it, and we have good people working on it. But if we just cool it a little bit for the time being, then I am confident we can find some answers.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I might just say in conclusion, it is my recollection this organization was initially put together by an old and very dear friend of mine, Cliff Hope.

When I first came to the Congress, Cliff Hope was the ranking Republican on the House Committee on Agriculture. I became a very close and good friend of Cliff's. I learned a lot, not only about Congress from Cliff but a good bit about agriculture from Cliff.

So through that channel, I do have at least some connection with your organization. Cliff was a great Member of the Congress but also a totally dedicated person to American agriculture.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. at the Holiday Inn where members of the boards of directors of the following organizations were meeting: the National Association of Wheat Growers, the Western Wheat Associates, and the Great Plains Wheat Associates.

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

7704001504

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 24, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Kalispell, Montana)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
DEDICATION OF LIBBY DAM

LIBBY, MONTANA

1:58 P.M. MDT

Minister Macdonald, Governor Judge, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset, Mike, let me express to all of your wonderful friends from Montana my deep appreciation for the warm welcome here in this great part of our country. I thank each and every one of you.

Obviously, I am deeply grateful to the more than generous and very kind words by my long and dear friend, Mike Mansfield.

I had the privilege of coming to the Congress of the United States when Mike had been in Washington a number of years as a Member of the House. Our friendship began then. It has continued over the years.

One of the great things that I feel about our country is that people of different political persuasions can sit down and try to work out the kind of problems that we face in this Nation.

I can say to all of you from Montana that you are most fortunate to have a man like Mike Mansfield not only as your Senator, but as the Majority Leader in the United States Senate.

Mr. Minister, would you please express to Prime Minister Trudeau my very, very best wishes. One of the fine experiences a person has as President of the United States is to meet heads of Governments throughout the world.

I can say to those from Canada who are here today that the working relationship between Prime Minister Trudeau and myself has been constructive and will continue to be so as we seek to solve these problems between Canada and the United States.

Please give to him my very best wishes.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001 5043

Obviously, I am tremendously pleased to be here to participate in the dedication of the Libby Dam, another multi-purpose project, one of the superb projects that the Army Corpsof Engineers has constructed for the benefit of you in Canada, but for all of us in the United States, as well as the benefit of Canada.

As I look at this structure and know that some $500 million has been spent to build it, I congratulate the Corps of Engineers for spending our tax dollars wisely.

But I am also very pleased to be here because it provides me with an opportunity to visit this beautiful "Blue Sky" country, the kind of country that I have heard about, not only from my son, Steve, who spent the last year over in Rawlins, and more recently up in the grizzly country, but my knowledge of Montana goes back to my friendship with your delegation in both the House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

The problem is that we in Washington sometimes forget how refreshing and how beautiful America is, particularly this part of America, which has been the inspiration for so many poets, as well as painters.

Flying across this vast continent, to those of us who come from the Middle West, is an inspiration, and I am filled with awe by how much we have accomplished in two short centuries. We have carved a civilization out of a wilderness. Let us now make sure that we keep some wilderness carved out of our civilization.

All of you know better than I that Montana is one of our most rugged and untouched areas. It stands as a symbol of our natural resources and of our native soil. Libby Dam is also a symbol of how a commitment to the environment can be balanced with our technological needs.

It is a multi-purpose project that shows it is possible to take a natural resource and use it wisely to satisfy a wide variety of human needs.

America needs more home-grown energy. This dam will provide clean electrical power for the equivalent of some 235 (thousand) homes in the Pacific Northwest.

In addition, the Libby Dam will provide security for jobs, and for industry and for agriculture. But most important, this power will be created without using expensive and depletable fossil fuels. Here at Libby Dam, the marriage of technology and nature will be a happy and constructive one.

The second welcome purpose of Libby Dam, of course, is flood control. A television commercial tells us it is not nice to fool mother nature. On the other hand, Libby Dam will keep mother nature from fooling us.

MORE

7704001504 1

As an outdoor enthusiast, another purpose of Libby Dam, which millions of other Americans welcome, is, of course, the recreational opportunities of this magnificent lake. It will provide the activities that will firm muscles, clear minds and renew spirits.

I doubt if medical science will ever come up with a better tranquilizer than a boat, a fishing pole and a lazy afternoon.

There is one area where contentment can only lead to chaos, and that is if we fail to get cracking on a solution to the problem of our increasing dependence on insecure overseas sources of energy.

To satisfy their needs, as you heard from the Minister, our good friends to the North have had to reduce and may, in the distant future, eventually have to eliminate their exports of oil and natural gas to the United States.

These exports to the United States represent more than one million barrels of oil per day, or its equivalent, which the United States will have to make up from its own energy resources or become more and more dependent on OPEC nations primarily in the Middle East.

This is one more indication of why our energy independence is an absolute necessity to the well being of our Nation. Although Libby Dam will provide power for this reason, it is not the answer to the energy scarcity nationally.

In the final analysis, each nation must ultimately cope with its own energy needs and problems of supply. Enlightened self-interest, as the Minister said, is the key phrase. We will cooperate with all others to ease our energy dilemma in the short-range, as well as the long haul.

In my conversations with the Minister before coming here for this occasion, I assured him -- and I believe he assured me, as he indicated in his speech to you -- that the United States and Canada will work together.

We can't solve all the problems but, if we approach the difficulties with an open mind and an understanding of the problems of the others, I am confident that many of the difficulties can be resolved.

The fact that the United States, as well as Canada and 14 other nations, are working together as consuming nations in the International Energy Agency is another [illegible] of how not two, but 16 nations can work together to solve a problem that affects us on the North American Continent and those in Western Europe, our allies in NATO.

7704001504

We have resolved in this area, the 16 nations that are part of the organization, to share in research and development to find an answer to the financial problems that have arisen because the high prices charged by OPEC nations, and resolve the problems and work together in conservation of energy in the free nations, the industrial nations of the world.

And if 16 nations can do it, as we are seeking to do, I am absolutely confident that Canada and the United States can do even better.

But I must say, on the other hand, that we must -- all Americans and Congress must -- realize that this is our problem to meet and to solve. We cannot look elsewhere for the total solution despite the efforts of cooperation.

More important, we can no longer pretend the national energy problem does not exist. We must develop new sources of energy, not only oil and gas, but others such as solar, geo-thermal and nuclear. We have delayed far too long. Our vulnerability increases daily. We must act now to achieve the energy self-sufficiency vital to all.

I will continue to work with the Congress and particularly with Senator Mansfield and others on the leadership on the other side of the aisle so we can get this effort off dead center.

Together we must succeed in this effort, not for any personal glory or party gains, but for the benefit of the American people and the free world in which we live.

Before closing, let me say how deeply pleased I am that the harmony this multi-purpose project has created between technology and environment is equally reflected in the warm relationship that we in the United States have with our neighbors to the North. Relations between Canada and the United States have long been characterized by friendship and partnership.

This dam stands as a powerful reminder of the mutual benefits such close cooperation can accomplish.

The poet Tennyson once wrote,and I quote, "Nothing in nature is unbeautiful." End quote. I believe that mankind has the responsibility of preserving that beauty. Let us, therefore, take heart as well as pride in the creation of the Libby Dam. It will enhance the best we and our environment have to offer. It offers the message loud and clear, we are the defenders, not the despoilers of this great land.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 12:12 P.M. MDT)

7704001504

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 24, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Chicago, Illinois)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
CHICAGO YACHT CLUB

9:25 P.M. CDT

Mayor Daley, let me express my very deep gratitude and appreciation of the invitation to join you and your many friends in Chicago on this occasion when you, and all of us, are paying tribute to the Star Class group, not only from the United States, but internationally.

I am most appreciative of the opportunity to meet this group of outstanding sailors and all that goes with being a good sailor, and I thank you very, very much for the opportunity.

Before I begin, I would like to ask an important question. I would most respectfully like to know if there is any correlation between the fact that sailing is one sport that needs a great deal of wind and your invitation for me to speak here tonight. (Laughter)

As an old Navy man, it is a great pleasure to be rubbing shoulders with so many fine skippers and their fine crews, and I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. Mayor, and the City of Chicago for making this evening possible.

While Mayor Daley and I don't always see eye to eye on politics -- he tends to favor the port tack and I tend to favor the starboard tack -- I am delighted we have always been able to join together for wonderful evenings like this tonight.

Let me extend very forcefully my best to all of the participants and the officials of the 1975 World's Championship of the International Star Class Yacht Racing Association. In particular, I would welcome the skippers and the crews that have come from Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, the Bahamas, Canada and Brazil that are competing in the races this week.

I hope -- and I say this most sincerely -- that you will enjoy your visit to the United States and take with you many happy memories of your visit to Chicago and to the United States as a whole.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001047

Everyone I have talked to, both before and during the dinner, is already aware of the fact that I am not an expert on sailing, but I have done some of this over in Michigan's wonderful inland lakes, and a bit on Lake Michigan over on the other side of this lake.

I was a crew member, but never qualified as a skipper. Then when I got into the Navy, I served all my sea duty in World War Two on an aircraft carrier in the Pacific -- the U.S.S. Monterey -- but if you will pardon a little pride and nostalgia, of course, in the South Pacific the Monterey, according to the crew, was also a star.

Since then, the only sailing I have done has been on occasional cruises up and down the Potomac. And so it is a new world, as far as I am concerned, what you have told me tonight through Bill Parks and others about star racing, I like and admire.

For instance, I understand there will be six races in this championship, and the rules permit each skipper to throw out his worst race.

Mayor Daley, I know a lot of politicians. (Laughter) I know a lot of politicians who would like to have those same rules in the game. (Laughter)

But the aspect of star racing that I admire most is the emphasis on personal skill and instinct. What really counts, as all of you know very well, is the skipper and the crew and how they measure up against every other skipper and the crew. Equipment and design are not the determining factors. Experience, knowhow and guts really are the criteria.

Tonight, Mr. Mayor, I am extremely grateful to you and to all of you for allowing me to share some of the flavor, the stories and some of the excitement of star sailing. Bill Parks has done a wonderful job in giving me the history and the experiences he has had and all of you have had in this great competition.

In tomorrow's races and those that follow, I wish you all could win. But in just being part of this very special sport, I know that you feel it has been a great and rewarding experience.

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, and good night.

END (AT 9:32 P.M. CDT)

7704001043

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 25, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Chicago, Illinois)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
AMERICAN HARDWARE
MANUFACTURER'S ASSOCIATION

McCORMICK PLACE

9:37 A.M. CDT

Cardinal Cody, Mr. Spencer, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very special pleasure and privilege for me to be here this morning and to pay tribute to the American hardware industry and to kick off Hardware Week in the City of Chicago.

Yours is an industry that has taken American ingenuity and coupled it with some of the most effective merchandising techniques known to mortal man.

That may seem like some exaggeration, but a hardware store is the only business I know of where you can go to buy a 10 cent carriage bolt and come out with a can of paint, a new, improved screwdriver, 50 pounds of charcoal brickets, a bicycle repair kit, ten minutes of free advice, 12 picture hooks, six fuses and a lawnmower, and then have to go back because you forgot the 10 cent carriage bolt you went to buy there in the first place. (Laughter)

I have been a typical homeowner most of my life, and my wife Betty knows it. She says that sending me to a hardware store is the nearest thing she knows to playing chicken with our life savings. (Laughter)

Nevertheless, on behalf of all of us "do-it-yourselfers," let me thank all of you here for making possible the wonder of wonders -- the neighborhood hardware imporium, more affectionately known as the world's only candy store for grown-ups. (Laughter)

MORE

(OVER)

7704001504

In your business, you constantly seek out those new ideas that are so important to a great country, and so do we in this country. In fact, no nation or society in history has done more to encourage invention, innovation and initiative.

The explosion of American ideas began 200 year ago with our Declaration of Independence. A century ago a tide of industrial progress started to sweep over America, sewing machines revolutionized the clothing industry. Electricity made life brighter and more prosperous. Automobileassembly lines put us on wheels. The telegraph and telephone -- later movies, radio and television -- linked the people of this vast Nation closer and closer together.

In our generation, America has split the atom and conquered space. Americans never shirked from challenge. Courage, originality, opportunity and optimism are national traits.

This has been the spirit of America for the past two centuries -- a spirit of ideas and individuality. It was and is the spirit of private enterprise -- churning ahead in a free, competitive system fueled by private savings and investment. We need to recall these basic facts about America, about ourselves as a people and about our way of life.

No nation has invested more than we have in humanity and science. No nation has taken greater risks or experimented as much for progress. As a result, no nation has earned such rewards as the United States.

Today America is again called upon to invest, to risk, to experiment in the name of progress. But unfortunately, we have reached a watershed. A decision must be made. The question, put simply, is precisely this: how do we finance both the investment needed for economic growth and essential programs needed to solve our human problems?

Today we are faced with a problem of creating new jobs in numbers greater than ever before in America. Although unemployment is far too high, nevertheless we should not forget that 85 millions in this great country are at work and that is about 1.2 million more than just last March.

By 1980, we must create another 14 million jobs to meet the needs of our expanding population. This is our objective, and it will require substantial economic progress.

As always, economic progress depends on our ability as a Nation to foster capital investment and increase the productivity of our workers. The share of our gross national product committed to the private sector investment must increase significantly over the next few years if we are to reach our economic potential. Some, for example, estimate that total investment requirements could reach as high as $4 trillion.

7704001505

However, as our need for capital grows, the abilities of industry to generate necessary funds is declining. This is essentially because inflation has eroded corporate balance sheets and because our national tax laws fail to stimulate such investment.

In short, our financial ability to increase production is declining. This decline is curtailing needed growth in jobs and income and undermining our ability to compete internationally.

I am very confident once this becomes clear to the American people they will understand America's need for tax policies that will help to channel sufficient resources into the expansion of productive capacity.

At today's level of economic activity, no shortage of industrial facilities exist, but our Nation's economic machine is not now running at top speed. In the future, we have every reason to expect it will, but we must now not permit bottlenecks and shortages to reappear as the economy gains momentum.

We must not condemn our fellow citizens to unemployment because the modern tools needed to compete in world markets are lacking.

Capital, as all of you know, is vital to all segments of our economy to expand agricultural production, to develop domestic resources of energy and raw material, reducing our dependence on oil imports and to preserve and to improve our economy.

This Administration has proposed reforms to the Congress to stimulate through what some call capital formation through tax incentives, but I prefer to use the term "job creation" because that is what the proposals would do as a practical matter.

If adopted, they would provide the funds to expand America's industry capability to create jobs, for one thing, by reducing the double taxation on dividends.

As expected, these proposals have raised an outcry from some Members of Congress who oppose them and, as a person who was in the Congress for a number of years, I understand these voices.

The Congress, in this case, as in others, has come up with no alternatives. We have got to push them to action here, as well as elsewhere. America cannot put its faith in wishing wells. We must do something about expanding our supplies of capital to create jobs, and we must do it right now.

I ask the Congress to join with me in this commitment to our Nation's future, to increase jobs, income and full economic recovery.

Let us expand the size of our economic pie rather than simply redistributing the pieces of a much smaller piece of pie.

By itself, however, additional capital cannot revitalize the American economy and our free market system. We must also take steps to help restore the vitality of the marketplace and effective competition is the way to do it.

Too often in the past our Government has stifled that competition in the name of economic regulation to the detriment of the consumer. For that reason, my Administration -- with strong support of the Congress in this instance -- is seeking fundamental reform of economic regulation in the United States.

The problem is simply this: In many industries, transportation, energy, communication, as well as others, Federal regulatory commissions have actually thwarted competition. The bureaucratic monopolies have tackled business and conflicting policies and red tape far, far too long.

The record is clear. They have burdened the consumer with the cost of misdirected regulation.

Although I am greatly encouraged by widespread backing for regulatory reform, I also recognize we still have a long, long way to go to achieve it. With the continued support, which is very evident, with the support of you, as well as your industry, we will reverse the trend of the last few decades.

We will establish as national policy this basic fact of economic life, that Government regulation is not an effective substitute for vigorous American competition in the marketplace.

Having said this, let me add that some -- and let me qualify it by saying some -- regulations are necessary and appropriate; for instance, involving health, safety and the environment.

But the reforms that we seek would eliminate the impractical, the unnecessary and the obsolete. As part of this effort to insure that we have a strong economic system, we must maintain an anti-trust policy which validates our commitment to competitive markets.

If we reduce Government regulation of business, we must make certain and positive that our anti-trust laws are vigorously enforced.

Competition, when freed of Government regulation and supported by anti-trust laws, is the driving force of our economy. It will drive costs down to their minimum and assure prices based on these legitimate costs.

Yet, such steps cover only a part of the overall problem. It is much more difficult to deal with areas that anti-trust laws do not touch, these other regulated and legal monopolies and the Government sanctioned cartels.

For instance, various industry rate bureaus and self-regulatory agencies -- transportation rate bureaus, shipping conferences, stock exchanges and professional associations -- now seem to operate in a congenial cost-plus environment.

This is simply because Government once decided they need not, or cannot, compete.

They are allowed to fix prices and divide markets under the regulatory cloak, free from anti-trust enforcement.

An essential element of regulatory reform legislation I have already sent or will send to Congress will eliminate most of these anticompetitive practices. The remainder of these practices, now immunized from anti-trust laws, are undergoing intense review in the Executive Branch of the Government.

In short, this Administration will look at the whole range of Government sanctioned monopoly -- from the small franchises protected by Federal regulations, which rule out competition, all the way to Government-endorsed cartels involving entire industries.

We must recognize this: Over the years Government has done as much to create and perpetuate monopoly as it has done to control or eliminate it. As a result, this Nation has become accustomed to certain forms of monopoly. Some are regarded as beneficial, some not.

If an industry combines to raise prices, it violates our anti-trust laws, but no laws are violated if an industry can get the Federal Government to build trade barriers, to increase support prices for the goods or services that it produces, or to police against potential competitors or pricecutters.

7704001505

It is sad but true -- too often the Government walks with the industry along the road to monopoly.

The end result of such special treatment provides special benefits for a few, but powerful, groups in the economy at the expense of the taxpayer and the consumer.

Let me emphasize this is not -- and never will be -- and Administration of special interests. This is an Administration of public interest, and always will be just that.

Therefore, we will not permit the continuation of monopoly privilege, which is not in the public interest. It is my job and your job to open the American marketplace to all comers.

Ultimately, the vital reforms will be viewed -- as they should be -- as a pocketbook issue. Government regulation and restrictions now cost consumers billions and billions of dollars each year. We must be concerned about the cost of monopoly however it is imposed and for what reasons.

We must be sure that regulatory reform and anti-trust actions go hand in hand with incentives to spark capital investment to create new jobs and new competition. This is what I firmly believe is needed to revive the American economic dream.

Before I close, let me share one thought with you. It concerns a subject that affects the lives and the pocketbooks of every American -- the runaway growth of the Federal Government itself.

One of the goals I have set for myself as President is to cut big Government down to size -- and we can do it this way -- to make it more manageable, more responsive, more efficient and less costly. I want to put an end to the mountain of paperwork and the quicksand of regulation which big Government makes every businessman cope with.

Do you have any idea how many different Federal forms Washington sends out and asks you to fill out? Would you believe it is over 5,000 -- 5,000 Federal forms to keep Washington at work and businessmen from their work.

Believe me -- and obviously you agree -- this is not the way this great Nation was built over a 200-year span. I can vividly recall how my father started a small family [illegible] back in, of all years, 1929. In those dire economic circumstances, everybody pitched in.

My speciality -- and it didn't require much skill -- was mixing the paint and labeling cans. But, my father was always out there selling the merchandise and doing what makes sense for the business, not what makes sense for the bureaucrats.

The Ford Paint and Varnish Company survived the depression. And I have wondered if it would have if my father had had to fill out all of today's forms and applications and those thousands and thousands of questionaires, and at the same time, cope with a patchwork of rules and regulations which face today's businessmen.

My objective is to get the Federal Government as far out of your business, out of your lives, out of your pocketbooks and out of your hair as I possibly can.

To this end, within three weeks after I came into the Office of the Presidency last August, I directed the heads of all Federal Government, departments and agencies to reduce the personnel for whom they had requested funds for the remainder of the fiscal year by 40,000.

Actually, I can report to you today that their performance exceeded my directive. We ended fiscal year 1975 on June 30 of this year with a reduction or a cutback of 52,000 Federal employees under the planned levels of a year ago.

As far as those 5,000 Government forms, I can tell you this: several months ago I directed Jim Lynn, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to examine, to analyze, to evaluate and then throw out as many of these timewasters as he possibly can. And I am going to personally monitor it.

To put it very simply, I want to see the American businessman pushing merchandise, not pencils.

You don't need a lot of bureaucrats looking over your shoulder and telling you how to run your life or how to run your business. We are a people who declared our independence 200 years ago, and we are not about to lose it now to paper shufflers and computers.

Let's take the shackles off American businessmen. That is the only kind of hardware I don't approve of.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 10:02 A.M. CDT)

7704001505

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 25, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
JOHN McCULLOUGH
WTMJ-TV
RON SCOTT
WISN-TV
AND
CARL ZIMMERMAN
WITI-TV

PFISTER HOTEL

AT 3:00 P.M. CDT

QUESTION: Mr. President, you are in Milwaukee for this, the Seventh of the White House Conferences. I know the economy is on the minds of just about everybody in the country right now, and since we are a little bit in advance in your appearance this afternoon, can you give us any kind of a preview of yourmessage of hope you have given to the people?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say, Ron, that overall we have made very substantial headway in cutting inflation from last year's rate of about 14 percent down to an annual rate today between 6 and 7 percent. This is a lot of progress, and we are going to continue making progress, in my judgment, despite the last announcement which was a little disappointing, but I think that was for various reasons a unique report in the overall approach to solving the problem of inflation.

In the area of unemployment, we, of course, are very much against any unemployment rate of about 8.5, 8.6, but I think we have to be also fair to say that in the last four months the total number of people gainfully employed has gone up about 1 million 200 thousand.

So long as we keep the number of employed going up, we are going to be able to gradually reduce the number of people unemployed. Now, as we look at the overall indicators, the gross national product, industrial purchases, housing starts and other indicators, I am convinced that we have bottomed out, and we are starting an uphill approach to a better economic system, a better economic environment and some encouraging news for all people.

QUESTION: I gather from your statements in Chicago earlier this morning you are pleased with the speed of that upward swing?

MORE

(OVER)

THE PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, it is reasonably on schedule. Some disappointment but overall, I think we are moving ahead in a constructive way. It does not mean, however, that we are satisfied with the current employment rate, and we are not satisfied with the increase in the cost ofliving, but if you look at the overall, the kind of progress we have made in the last 12 months, we are doing quite a bit better. I am sure with the policies we have, the cooperation of the Congress, we are going to have a healthy economic situation on the growing basis in the months ahead.

QUESTION: We are walking sort of a tight rope in our economy right now. We can't over heat the economy, of course. There is a current tax cut on the books now which ends the end of this year.

Do you see a further tax cut next year?

THE PRESIDENT: That is a decision that I will have to make and the Congress will have to make. I think it is a little premature to make a final decision. If we need a further stimulant in the economy beginning on January 1, 1976, then I would recommend that current tax cut be extended for another year.

On the other hand, if we have to keep some additional pressure on inflation, then the judgment most likely would be otherwise.

So until we get several more months of readings from the economists and all of the technicians, I think it is premature to make any categorical commitment.

QUESTION: Mr. President, the opening remarks made at this morning's conference whereby the AFL-CIO leader of the State, and he was very critical of your Administration, particularly, for what he said there, what he indicated were a callous disregard for the unemployed,saying that there is a 35 percent unemployment rate among the skilled trades here.

What would you say if you were speaking to an unemployed worker in Milwaukee today?

7704001505?

THE PRESIDENT: I noticed the newspaper story where the gentleman was quite critical. I think he indicated the rate of inflation when a Republican Administration took over was about 4-1/2 percent, where the unemployment rate was about 5 percent, saying that when Republicans took over from the Democrats conditions were good, unemployment was down and inflation was less.

I think it is fair to say that you ought to put those figures in perspective. In 1969, when a Republican Administration took over from a Democratic Administration, we had 550,000 young men fighting in Korea, and we had a military force on active duty of over three million men.

Today, of course, we have nobody fighting in Korea or Vietnam, and we have about two million one hundred thousand on active duty in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines.

I think you have to put all of these factors in perspective. I hope, with the policies that we are following, we are going to get unemployment down, employment up and the rate of inflation under control.

I think it is an unfair criticism to say that I have a callous disregard for the unemployed. This Administration, during my 12 months, has recommended the extension of unemployment compensation from 39 weeks to now 65 weeks.

We have broadened the eligibility so more people are covered under unemployment compensation. I think this is an indication that I and the people that work with me are very concerned about the unemployed, but more importantly, the policies that we are advocating and urging Congress to enact, in my opinion, would get our economy moving again without any difficulties internationally.

QUESTION: This morning in Chicago you indicated that perhaps there should be a creation of many more jobs by 1980. Will there be some legislation coming from the Administration to do that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, all of the technicians tell me that if we are to create more jobs we have to get more money invested in business because business buys the equipment and provides the factory and provides the wherewithall for the expansion of business throughout the United States.

Secretary Simon recently appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means and indicated that we favor new legislation for the creation of funds for job formation, job creation. That legislation is before the Congress. I hope they act affirmatively.

QUESTION: Mr. President, one of the job bills or one of the bills that the construction industry here in the State of Wisconsin is vitally interested in is Senate Bill 1479, which many of the contractors feel would provide for an illegal secondary boycott.

There have been some direct appeals, I know, to your office on 1479. Have you reviewed the bill? Have you made any kind of decision as to whether you will veto that bill or let it go by?

THE PRESIDENT: About three months ago, Secretary of Labor Dunlop appeared before the House and Senate Committees on Education and Welfare and he testified that if the original so-called situs picketing bill were modified with three amendments--at least two amendments--it would be acceptable.

One of those amendments would provide that before you could have on-site picketing, it would require a ten-day cooling off period.

The second provision that would be mandatory as a part of the bill would be that no local could go on strike under those conditions without having gotten prior approval from the international.

In my opinion, those two added amendments would make that bill acceptable, plus one other factor: There is also a bill that the Secretary of Labor is working on, with both management and labor, which in effect provides that there shall be greater responsibility for both labor and management on strikes and lockouts.

If that second bill comes to the White House with the original bill, plus those two amendments, then I think we have put together, working with management and labor and the Congress, an acceptable solution to this longstanding conflict.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I have sort of a philosophical question here. We hear from a lot of people at our television station, the three of us do, and the people seem to feel that Government is getting so big and impersonal and unresponsive that there is a frustration there, even a hopelessness.

How can we come out of this? How can we bring people closer to the Government?

THE PRESIDENT: I recognize the feeling that you detect here in Milwaukee, and I find it in my travels around the country. The public feels they have to fill out so many forms, answer too many questionnaires, they are bedeviled by too many Government inspectors, et cetera, and I suspect that is true.

What I think we have to do is to reduce the number of forms that people in business and otherwise have to fill out. It is hard to believe, but there are about 5,200 forms that are sent out by various Government agencies.

I think that is too many. It takes more time than the effort is worth. I believe that some Federal employees are too officious, too demanding. I think that attitude has to change.

In addition, I personally believe there are too many Federal employees, and I am glad to report that the request I made to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget that we had to cut down on the number of employees resulted in a cutback of 52,000 from the planned level. So, we now have 52,000 less Federal employees than was planned a year ago.

In these ways, I think we can restore or rebuild confidence, at least in the Federal Government, and I honestly feel that State and local units of Government have to adopt the same attitude.

QUESTION: I think one thing that worries them, too, is they see a Democratic Congress, a Republican Administration, and on our major issues, we have stalemates now. Do you see any way out of this?

THE PRESIDENT: I wish I could give you a pat answer. Unfortunately, in some areas there is good cooperation, but in other areas we have a stalemate.

In the energy program, there is a head-to-head stalemate. I have a program to solve our energy program. It has been on the desk of the Congress for eight months now, but no action.

I said, if you don't buy my program, if you won't enact what I have recommended, come up with something else. At least have a program as an alternative.

Regrettably, they have not either approved mine and they have not come up with an alternative. Now that kind of stalemate is intolerable. I tried to phase out the control of old American oil by first a 30-month phase-out and then a 39-month phase-out in an effort to compromise, but the Congress rejected both offers.

I honestly think we have got to find some way. Otherwise, if we don't have an energy program to make us self-sufficient over the next ten years, we become more and more vulnerable every day to the whims and fancies of

QUESTION: Mr. President, Secretary Kissinger is in the Mid East and reportedly very close to working out an agreement in the Sinai between Israel and Egypt which may include the stationing of Americans between the two forces.

Do you find that there may be some sort of a backlash if that were attempted from either Congress or the American people?

THE PRESIDENT: What I say in answer to that question, I do not want to be construed as an affirmation that that is going to happen.

There have been rumors in the newspapers, and I have heard it on radio and television, so what I say does not confirm or deny that as a possibility.

There has been talk that there would be American civilians, very limited in number, who would operate technical warning stations in the U.N. zone.

As I say, that has not been decided. It has been rumored.

If it does materialize, I think it is my responsibility if I approve it, and it does take place, to submit it to the Congress for the Congress to say yes or no.

We are not going to have any more action by the President not joined by the Congress. They have to be a partner in this kind of an operation if it does materialize.

When I say "a very limited number", I am thinking maybe 100, 150, as I have read the papers, and they would all be civilians and they would be in a U.N. zone, not with the Israelis, not with the Egyptians.

So if it happens, I would ask for the concurrence of the House and the Senate because it is a very important step, and then we will decide whether it is necessary, whether America wants to make that contribution to our security.

QUESTION: But they would be American citizens there, and were there a problem of kidnapping, as the MAYAGUEZ incident, or something like that, American forces would have to go in to get them out. Is that a proper assumption?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I really do not want to get into [illegible]. You can always conjure up some very serious situation. But until we get down to the final signing, I think it is premature for me to make any assumption or conjecture concerning that situation developing.

QUESTION: Mr. President, let's talk politics for a minute. (Laughter) I know it is one of your favorite topics. While you obviously will take back some interesting grassroots feedback from a conference like this, a trip like this has to have some political advantage, too, I suppose.

Are you heartened by the Harris Poll which now is out which I think shows you with a 55 to 34 edge over Governor Reagan, or former Governor Reagan?

Do you feel good about your political position right now?

THE PRESIDENT: I do feel encouraged, and that poll this morning that came out in a number of newspapers was very good news. But that only means that what we try to do does have some appeal, and I can only say that what we do in the future is more the basic criteria.

Naturally, I do want to get nominated, and I can assure you, if nominated, then we are going to put on a very hard campaign, so that news is good, but we have what, about 14 months to go before the election and about a year before the convention.

QUESTION: By the time the primaries roll around though, I am assuming we will see you on the Wisconsin ballot?

THE PRESIDENT: The probability is that I will enter a number of primaries, which ones is difficult to forecast right at the moment.

I love a good political campaign. I like to campaign, but I think it is too early for us to make any categorical commitment as to which primaries or all the primaries.

QUESTION: Back to an international issue, Mr. President, the continuation of detente with Russia under your Administration has been criticized that Russia has the advantage in this.

How do you look at that?

THE PRESIDENT: I categorically deny that. Detente as it has proceeded, is a two-way street. It cannot answer every question that arises in the international scene, but detent has been very helpful in easing and relaxing tensions between the Soviet Union and ourselves.

In my judgment, there has been a balanced give and take by the Soviet Union and by ourselves. I can assure you that in the process of negotiating the strategic arms limitation agreement number two, there will be no unfair advantage gained by either side.

It has to be a completely fair and equitable reduction in strategic nuclear capabilities, but it is also important to understand that if we don't get a SALT II agreement, it means that the arms race continues, that we, the United States, will have to spend roughly $2 to $3 billion more a year to keep even with the Soviet Union in their planned strategic arms program.

So, it is to the advantage of both sides, the Soviet Union and ourselves, to put a cap on the nuclear arms race, as Mr. Brezhnev, and I did on a temporary basis at Vladivostok in December of last year.

I can assure you that we will be tough Yankee traders, and I expect them to do the same. The net result will be a responsible cap on the nuclear arms race. If we do that, it makes our overall economic picture, our overall budget picture, a great deal sounder and better.

QUESTION: On arms limitation, how do you look at it right now? Can we be optimistic, pessimistic? We have worked on it so long.

THE PRESIDENT: I am optimistic, but I recognize there are some yet controversial issues and some technical matters that will satisfy both sides. We have to be able to have a high degree of capability of verification as to whether or not the Soviet Union is living up to the promises made if and when a SALT II agreement is made.

We have a tremendous technical capability in this regard, through a variety of means. I am sure they feel the same way.

If the technical problems of verification, if other matters of balance are worked out -- and I think it is possible -- I think we will have a SALT II agreement.

QUESTION: Mr. President, there have been many things written and said across the country and here in Milwaukee about some recent viewpoints expressed by Mrs. Ford. You are quoted as saying that you think perhaps those remarks may have cost you some votes or something.

What kind of an effect has that had, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Those remarks to which you refer, I said, kidding her. She has a good sense of humor, and she understood my remarks were in that atmosphere.

Let me just again put this in proper perspective. Our family, my wife, our four children and myself, are very close. We have a tradition in the family of individual members of the family speaking their mind, discussing their matters with their children, with their mother or father, and we speak quite frankly to our children.

The family is closely knit. We have great affection and admiration for one another, and certainly I couldn't have had a finer marriage. My wife and I have been married almost 27 years now, I guess, and we have a minimum of differences, but we have a frank expression between ourselves.

What Betty was really trying to say was because of the closeness of our family and the understanding between children and parents, we are deeply concerned about the moral standards by which the family has been raised.

In that atmosphere, her discussions with any one of the four children are aimed at making sure -- positive -- that the moral standards that we have lived by and believe in are adhered to.

I think there, unfortunately, has been a misunderstanding. We are proud of the family. We think we have a high moral standard within the family, and we are close as a family and, at the same time, we have a give and take among the children, as well as among ourselves.

So, I am real proud of what Betty tried to say and I regret there might have been some misunderstanding of what she did say.

QUESTION: This is the first appearance you have made on local television in this kind of an interview, and one of your aides is quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying you are doing this because you are dynamite on television. Do you feel you are dynamite?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not the best judge of that. (Laughter) I just like to meet with people like yourselves and try to explain my views, our policies, and I enjoy the opportunity to have a give and take with top newsmen in a region like Milwaukee.

7704001506 1

QUESTION: We have been addressing ourselves mostly to the give here during our meeting. I wonder if you could give us an idea, Mr. President, of what you hope to take back to Washington with you from Wisconsin.

THE PRESIDENT: This White House Conference, as I understand it, has 19 co-sponsoring organizations. I hope to answer a question from each one of the 19.

If I do, I will get a flavor of what those organizations feel about our policies, or what we are trying to do.

I am sure I will get, as I have in the past, written reports from all of the other Conferences. So, I am not going to prejudge until I have participated, until I have seen the written reports from those that have participated.

MORE

QUESTION: One of the groups you are likely to hear from would be the consumers and your Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Butz, this morning assured us the farmer was doing his part to hold food prices down, but that there are almost uncontrollable costs in terms of labor and transportation and middleman costs.

Do you plan any kind of direct action, legislative action to try to control that kind of price pressure?

THE PRESIDENT: I think competition is the best way to solve that. Farmers have contributed magnificently. With their full production program, we are going to have the biggest wheat year in the history of the United States, the largest corn year, and I think soybeans will be a record crop.

So the farmers have contributed. I hope that others that take the farm product from the farm to the home will equally contribute to make good food in America, delivered as cheaply as possible.

QUESTION: Mr. President, your Michigan Wolverines are coming here to Wisconsin. They are opening our season with the Badgers.

Do you want to predict the outcome of that game? We would like to win the first game -- start it off right.

THE PRESIDENT: I know that Wisconsin, the Badgers would love to win. It brings back a game, the only game I played against Wisconsin in 1934, and they defeated us at Ann Harbor. That rivalry is great. I am a little prejudiced for those Wolverines, but I think it will be a great game, and I understand the Badgers are going to be tougher this year.

QUESTION: They smell the roses.

THE PRESIDENT: We better be a little cautious and go to work between now and then.

QUESTION: Come see the game.

THE PRESIDENT: I would love to.

QUESTION: Mr. President, a North Carolina Republican Chairman said last night that he felt there was a consensus of the Southern Republican leaders in the meeting over the weekend that Mr. Rockefeller should not be on the ticket in '76.

Does that give you any cause for concern? Will you [illegible] talk about that with the Republican leaders of the State later on this afternoon?

THE PRESIDENT: I will express, as I have before, that I think Nelson Rockefeller has done an extraordinarily good job as Vice President. He has lived up to my expectations, he works hard, he has a lot of ideas, he has a lot of energy. He has been a good teammate. And you know I just do not like to break up a good team.

QUESTION: The meeting that you have with the Republican leaders later on perhaps will bring up some conservative sentiment. There is some in Wisconsin.

Do you expect any questions about perhaps Mr. Reagan's challenge in the State?

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, I think I am a middle of the roader or conservative, and I am a practical conservative with, I think, a good orientation toward the solution of problems in the international field.

I will be glad to answer any questions the most conservative people want to ask because I am a practical conservative with a middle-of-the-road orientation. I think that is the only way a Republican can win a national election.

QUESTION: Mr. President, our time is just about up. We want to thank you for being with us this afternoon and answering our questions. Thank you very much, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Don, Ron and John. I appreciate it very much. It has been a good experience.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Mr. President.

END (AT 3:33 P.M. CDT)

7704001506

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 25, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
WITH THE
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND THE ECONOMY

PFISTER HOTEL

4:30 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much, Bill, Mr. Watson, Mr. Smith, the heads of other organizations that have cooperated so wonderfully in setting up this White House Conference, Congressman Bob Kasten, distinguished Members of my Administration and ladies and gentlemen:

I have been a part of the Federal Government now for some 26 years, and it saddens me to see the ever widening communication gap between Washington and our fellow Americans.

I believe the despair among many, many Americans is over the difficulty they have in making their wishes best known to the people that they communicate to in Washington. This difficulty, I think, can best be summed up on the envelope of a letter I recently received. It was plaintively addressed to President Gerald Ford or Vice President Nelson Rockefeller or Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger or just plain anybody who will listen. (Laughter)

Well, as you have seen during today, I,along with other key Members of the Cabinet and the staff, have come here to listen. We have kept the speeches to a minimum and hopefully our responses to a maximum.

With the reputation you in Wisconsin have for hard work and keen technical knowhow, I look forward to your questions, your concerns, your ideas about the future of our country. But first let me briefly touch on some of the basic directions I think our Nation can and should take in the months and years ahead.

Obviously, the economy is one of our principal concerns. Gradually, step by step, the American free enterprise economy has created over the years a better life for more people than any other system in the world. Yet, in the past year, we have seen it pass through some very difficult times. Recession on the one hand, inflation on the other ha[illegible] economic security of millions and millions of Americans.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001506B

Some of the causes of our economic difficulties were beyond our control. International developments prompted the skyrocketing oil prices. Others were the result of Government activity, such as inflationary spending at the Federal level.

But, on the basis of the latest figures, the darkest days of the recession are behind us. The American economy is starting a sustained recovery that we all desire.

We are not out of the woods yet. However, as far as the recession is concerned, I think a lot of progress has been made.

Unemployment is far, far too high, and must be brought down. We must get our factories producing at maximum capacity again, and while we continue fighting the recession, we must also fight just as hard against rising inflation.

The July increase in the Consumer Price Index was a clear warning that we must not relax for one moment in the battle against inflation, and we will not.

Today, you have already heard from some of the key people, some of the real experts in my Administration on energy, inflation, unemployment and new incentives for the working people and employers.

I hope we can go further into these, into other areas in the questions that I think some of you have saved up.

Thank you very much, and the first question.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Ed Watson, representing the Association of Commerce.

Businessmen are having extreme difficulty operating private business under a burgeoning Federal Bureaucracy with its overabundance of programs, regulations, laws and edicts, and the increasing markets of Governmental report forms they require.

I would like to ask, Mr. President, what progress is being made in your announced effort to turn the tide and ease the bureaucratic burden on business?

THE PRESIDENT: First, when I took office, I took a look at the total Federal civilian employment. Working with the Director of OMB, we decided that we could cut back 40,000 on the total number of Federal employees, the planned number for the next fiscal year.

I am glad to report to you that we ended up the fiscal year June 30 this year with a reduction of 52,000 less Federal employees than was planned a year earlier.

A few weeks ago, I was in the process of preparing a speech, and I asked how many questionnaires, how many forms have to be filled out by the American people when you put them all together from all agencies.

I found, to my utter amazement, there were some 5,200, as I recall. I couldn't believe it. I have told Jim Lynn -- where is Jim, he is here (Laughter) -- that he better find a way to cut it down, and I am going to monitor it and we are going to have less next year than we have at the present time.

You are all familiar with our determined and, I think constructive effort to get some -- what we call -- regulatory reform, which means the many regulatory agencies in the Federal Government have to start lifting the onerous burden that they impose upon the American society.

I can assure you, with the help of the Congress--and, in this instance, Congress and myself are working together--so, if we achieve that, I think we will have answered most of the questions that you have indicated.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes?

QUESTION: Mr. President, Donald Haldeman, President of the Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation and also a dairy farmer from Western Wisconsin.

I have a two-part question that dairy farmers and farmers in general are passing to me, as I further state, and I would like to pass these two on to you at this time.

Will the Government import subsidized dairy products in the quantity which will affect our market price? The second part is, will our Government give us access to world markets free of any form of embargoes or unusual transportation problems?

THE PRESIDENT: We had quite a struggle a few months ago when some of the Western European countries wanted to send in a number of their cheese products to the United States at more or less a subsidized price.

Through negotiations between our representatives from the United States and those in the European economic group, we were able to convince them that they should eliminate that program. I am glad to report that Earl Butz had a significant part in protecting the farmers' interests in that instance. I can assure you in the negotiatons that are underway now under former Secretary of Commerce -- now our Special Trade Representative, Fred Dent -- that in those negotiations, predicated on the new trade legislation, that we will protect the interests of

7704001507

QUESTION: For the benefit of the audience, I have cleared this question with Fran Ferguson. (Laughter)

Mr. President, I am John Schmitt, President of the State AFL-CIO. Last August there were 4.8 million unemployed and a Consumer Price Index inflation rate of 9 percent. Today there are nearly 8.2 million unemployed and an inflation went up to 12-7/10 percent.

We of the AFL-CIO continue to oppose your economic policies which brought this about, because we believe stimulating production rather than a restricting production is the best way to fight unemployment and inflation.

Do you still believe we are wrong? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have some differences with the programs of my good friend George Meany and others associated with him.

When I took office, the inflation rate was closer to 12 percent, and the unemployment was about 5, 5-1/2 percent, as I recollect.

Shortly, thereafter, however, unemployment escalated very rapidly, and the unemployment rate today is far higher than I want it to be.

We have made some slight progress in the last several months. For example, since March of this year, although unemployment has remained too high, we now have 1 million 200 thousand more people gainfully employed than we had in March of this year.

The inflation rate today, for the last six months, averages between 6 and 7 percent. So we have made in that instance substantial progress compared to a year ago. In both cases, the results are not entirely satisfactory.

Now, in the area of unemployment, we have a number of programs. We have extended the unemployment compensation period from 26 weeks to 65 weeks. We have broadened the eligibility so that people who did not qualify under individual State programs are now qualified under a Federal program.

We are seeking through, I think, responsible efforts to increase the Federal Highway program. Bill Coleman over here is expediting some of the mass transportation programs to get meaningful jobs in that area.

Other departments are taking affirmative action to increase employment in meaningful ways without busting the Federal budget.

It is my judgment that if we keep a steady firm hand on the tiller, as I think we are, with good programs that means meaningful jobs, we will not only lick the unemployment problem, lowering the unemployment rate and increasing the number of people gainfully employed, at the same time not letting inflation get out of hand, because if we do, as was done in 1973 and 1974, we could end up, Mr. Schmitt, with a very serious, far more serious economic problem a year or 18 months from now.

I welcome your suggestions. I will differ with you on occasion. But the main problem we have is to work together -- the Congress, the President and organizations such as you represent.

QUESTION: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is John Murry, and I am representing the Milwaukee Society of the Polish National Alliance, and for the benefit of Mr. Schmitt, he took my question, but I do have an alternate one regarding detente. (Laughter) And I was assured that you would be willing to discuss it for a minute or two.

In our relations with other countries, who do not agree with our philosophies, Mr. President, are we relaxing too much, are we bending too much, are we stretching ourselves out too much with the result, Mr. President, we may become a follower rather than a leader in the world?

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Murry, let me say this very emphatically, by negotiating with the Soviet Union, whether it is on strategic arms limitation, whether it is in mutual balanced force reductions of military personnel on both sides in Western and Eastern Europe, or whether it is over any other questions, this Administration is going to be firm and it is not going to be overwhelmed by any negotiating techniques or programs of the opposition.

Detente is a two-way street. If we are able to get a strategic arms limitation agreement, SALT II, it will mean that we have put a cap on the strategic arms race, which is in the best interest of both the Soviet Union and ourselves. But at the same time, we must be able to verify their adherence to it, and they must have a similar capability as to our compliance.

What I am really saying is that in SALT, we have a unique opportunity to do benefit to all mankind. But let me add a postscript. If we do not get a SALT II agreement, it means that there will be an unlimited nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

And what does that mean? One more destructive power? It also means an added $2 billion to $3 billion a year to the national defense budget for the United States.

I prefer an honest negotiation between the Soviet Union and ourselves where both countries and all mankind will be the beneficiaries.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Charles Parker representing the Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce. All day today we have been talking about the need for jobs. My question, Mr. President, is there any chance of legislation that would enable better capital formation so that industry can grow in such a way as to provide an increasing number of jobs?

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Parker, I made a speech this morning that in more detail will answer the precise question you have asked. But I said at that time that we need more investment by the American people for job creation, for greater productivity in our overall economy.

I do not like the term "capital formation". I would rather have the American people invest in American industry to provide jobs.

And about a month ago, Secretary of Treasury, Bill Simon, testified before the House Committee on Ways and Means on a proposal which we think is one way to do it.

Now there was some criticism, but it is my feeling that if the Congress does not like our proposal to provide investments for more jobs, then the Congress has an obligation to come up with its own answer. We cannot afford, if we are to take care of the 10 million more jobs that are needed by 1980, we must have more investment in America, and our tax laws have to provide some help in that regard.

We made a recommendation. If Congress does not like that proposal, let them come up with another. I just hope they do better than they have done the energy program.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am John W. Maxwell, Jr., President of the Board of Directors of the Milwaukee Urban League.

My concerns are similar to those that have been expressed earlier. Since World War II, there have been five recessions and/or depressions. Among the minorities, before there was the opportunity for recovery, there was another situation of decreased economic opportunities. Blacks, native Americans and other minorities have been biting the bullet to the point of lead poisoning.

My question: How long will this Nation, the richest Nation in the world, accept our present unemployment situation, particularly among the 18 to 25 year olds, the Vietnam veteran and the people of the central cities?

QUESTION: Let me, at the outset, say that I recommended to the Congress -- and the Congress did pass -- an appropriation for the amount of about $450 million for what we call a summer youth employment program.

I was in Chicago yesterday, and I was told by the mayor of that city that that program worked extremely well this past summer and if it worked well there, I hope it has worked well in Milwaukee and other major metropolitan areas.

We have for the last several years had a program designed primarily to help the Vietnamese (Viet Nam)veterans working through the VA and other Governmental organizations. It is tough, but through the combined efforts of a number of departments, we have made substantial progress.

I am not satisfied, but between the educational opportunities under the GI bill and the other efforts that have been made, the GI from the Vietnam war is, I think, doing as well as we possibly can, looking at the overall economic circumstances we face.

Let me assure you from the point of view of a person that grew up during the depression, went to school, worked, I have great personal understanding for those who are out of work for reasons beyond their own control.

The programs that we have tried to implement--the unemployment compensation program that I mentioned to Mr. Schmitt, where we have extended the coverage and lengthened the period, plus the programs that we have instituted to stimulate the economy; the housing program. where we have invested roughly $12 billion, as I recollect; under the tandem plan--is beginning to have an impact in the construction business, not as much as we would like.

7704001507

As you look at the spectrum of programs I have approved, working with the Congress, I am optimistic, not only for the overall improvement, but for the specific improvement of job opportunities for young people, the minorities, and if we don't go over the deep end with a lot of programs that cost a lot of money that will increase inflation, I think in the months ahead you will be pleased with the results.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Shirley Crinion. I am representing the League of Women Voters of Wisconsin.

The League believes that foreign aid giving should be primarily a response to humanitarianism rather than to further United States security goals. To what degree do you support the separation of military and developmental aid?

THE PRESIDENT: I think in many instances they, of necessity, have to go hand in hand. In some cases, military sales, military grant aid is essential without any economic assistance.

On the other occasion, I believe that humanitarian aid through the PL 480 program, the vast amounts of money that we have made available in food stuffs from the American farmer -- I think it is $25 billion, Earl, in the last ten or 15 years -- in some instances humanitarian aid with food can stand on its own.

In other cases, I think they have to be intertwined. They are mutually complimentery. So, I think you have to take each case on its individual merits -- some cases on military assistance, some cases humanitarian aid, some cases a combination.

I don't think you and I can write a prescription for the whole world, all the countries in the world that the United States helped. I think we have to look at each case on an individual basis.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Edward Bolton. I am representing the Milwaukee Business Federation.

We appreciate the problems facing minority business are similar in kind to those facing big business. However, we are acutely aware operationally that there is a significant and severe difference in degree. In management, the legacy of unequal and marginal opportunity has left us with limited skills and experiences to face a business climate and tasks that require an above average capacity.

Today's economic conditions more acutely affect minority business than it does the general business sector. Still, we are the last to experience economic upturns and the first to feel the severely critical impact of shortages.

In the regulatory areas, we have retained several specialists to complete the paperwork who also get theirs off the top and most of that time it seems the rest goes to the IRS. (Laughter)

We are somewhat aware, Mr. President, of the existence of Federal aid and support programs for minority business, but as a rule in the past have not been involved in planning, policy-making, or program decisions.

A quasi poll of our membership indicates a majority of business persons are not familiar with the major Federal programs for minority business, and of the one digit percentage that did respond positively, a majority indicated inadequate results.

My question, Mr. President, is what is your Administration planning to do to stabilize and develop minority business and to mend this communication gap between the Federal Administration and the actual minority business community?

MORE

THE PRESIDENT: The minor business effort is in the Department of Commerce, as I recollect. My impression is that it has done a good job under difficult circumstances.

Rog Morton, I will consult with him tomorrow to see why it is not doing better. (Laughter) So I can assure you that we recognize it is a tough area to take people who are not necessarily trained in business management, to give them an opportunity to undertake an enterprise on their own.

We have to help them with money, with business management techniques, sales, et cetera.

I have had some experience when I was representing the district over in Michigan, and I saw some sad examples of people who had gotten into business and not carefully guided, as they had to meet the payroll, the tax burdens, et cetera. If we are not doing a good job there, we will do our utmost to improve it.

Now, the SBA has a program which is aimed at trying to help with financial assistance. I am sure it does not satisfy everybody, but it is under the management of a good man in Tom Kleppe, and working with Secretary Morton, where there are deficiencies, I can assure you we will try to help in Milwaukee and elsewhere.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Robert Ross representing the Wisconsin Newspaper Association. Two short questions.

One, what is the President's attitude towards striking public employees, especially in the area of vital public services such as law enforcement, fire protection and sanitation?

Number two, does your Administration propose to take any action to prevent or modify strikes in the future?

THE PRESIDENT: If my recollection is accurate, when we made the Post Office Department the Postal Service, the Congress wrote into that basic legislation a procedure, if there were differences between management and labor that they could not resolve at the bargaining table, they had a procedure for negotiation with the appointment, as I recollect, two arbitrators, and they picked the third.

They are, under that law, precluded from striking. That is what the Federal Government has done, and I agree with that approach.

It is my personal view that the employees working for any unit of Government that involves public health, public safety, must have an agreement where there should not be a strike, there ought to be a method of negotiation leading to arbitration such as we have in the Postal Service legislation.

Now, there are alternative ways in which it can be done. One that I think has great appeal is that, if the police or the firemen have a dispute with the city or county officials, that both sides could make their best offer -- management its best offer, labor its best offer -- and have a group of three as arbitrators, not to narrow the differences, but to pick which of the two offers by labor or management is the one in the public interest.

That has been tried in one or more industries that I am familiar with. I think it has considerable merit and, therefore, if we move down the road in that direction, that approach seems to me to be a preferrable one.

I think in the case of the Postal Service, the negotiation has not required the utilization of the arbitration procedures. I would hope that in those areas where the Federal Government has no jursidiction, such as local units of Government, or even States, that either at the State level or at the local level, they will take a look at what the Postal Service has done or the suggestion that I have made.

I think it is the way to settle it and protect the public interest.

QUESTION: Thank you very much.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Father John Raynor, President of the Marquette University here in Milwaukee.

Recent, events have substantiated comments that you made at the 1974 commencement of the Ohio University when you said, "Our goal of quality education is on a collision course with the escalating demands for the public dollar."

Your recent veto of the educational bill was accompanied by a statement that you supported educational funding but that national economic and budget conditions precluded your acceptance of the size of the appropriations being recommended by the Congress.

My question is, in light of your directive to Federal agencies to solve the problem between educational needs and adequate funding -- this question is two-fold -- has your Administration examined new funding policies that would be possible?

Secondly, is it likely that the Federal Government once again will study broader entitlement programs such as voucher systems in an attempt to expand equality of access to education at all levels?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say, Father Raynor, that if I recall precisely the budget that I submitted for education, primary as well as secondary, and higher education, for fiscal 1976, it was a higher figure overall, in each case above the corresponding figure for the preceding year, is that correct?

I am almost certain that is correct. Now, that may not be enough in the minds of the prospective beneficiaries, but I think it does show a recognition that we know you have had higher costs, at either the higher education level or the primary and secondary level.

The Congress--I know how they operate, I was there for a few years (Laughter)--they have been under pressure to increase beyond what I proposed. It seems to me that what they have appropriated is far more than can be justified under our Federal budgetary restraint we have at the present time.

I might add, in a postscript way, our experience on vetoes in the past, this past few months, has been that the Congress sends down a piece of legislation that in dollars is either too much or in other ways does not coincide with some views we have.

By vetoing it and getting those vetoes sustained, it means that the Congress has another opportunity to look at whether they did the right thing or the wrong thing when they sent the bill down in the first place.

The veto is a constitutional authority given to a President. It is not a negative, it is an affirmative authority. In every instance where there has been a veto sustained, we have had further negotiation with the Congress, and the net result has been a reasonable compromise.

I think we can do the same thing in the field of education.

On the other question, I am a firm believer that the public educational system educates children better if they have competition from nonpublic schools, whether they are Catholic, whether they are Lutheran, whether they are Jewish, whether they are Christian Reform in the Dutch background that I had in Michigan, competition in education makes better education for all children.

Unfortunately, under the Constitution, as recently interpreted by the Supreme Court, some of the p[illegible] like the one in Minnesota or the one in Pennsylvania, were [illegible] out

I hope we can find in a Constitutional way a proper and legal way to help those nonpublic schools so that they can compete adequately and effectively with the public school system because the public school system is better off when they have somebody challenging them to see which system can best educate the American children.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Jim Jesinski, representing Wisconsin Teamsters Joint Council No. 39.

This morning Secretary Butz, in his presentation, alluded to one of the problems facing the trucking industry; namely, deregulation.

If you are successful in making changes that will increase competition, then in theory, at least, the public would benefit from reduced rates with the industry realizing reduced profits.

Considering that this is an industry of high capital investment, our concern is what steps will you take to insure that the profit structure will be sufficient to continue to encourage investment in this industry?

THE PRESIDENT: I looked over, and tentatively approved, a working paper that will provide for some changes in the ICC's control and jurisdiction over the trucking industry. When I get back to Washington, I intend to have some further meetings with people in my Administration, and prior to the submission of any proposals to the Congress, I intend to meet with representatives of the trucking industry and representatives of the Teamster's organization.

I am convinced that we can stimulate competition in the trucking industry without ruining the capability of that industry to survive and compete in the transportation area overall.

It will probably be another two or three weeks before we finalize our recommendation, but it will be done only after we have had consultation with not only management on the one side, but labor on the other.

I believe there are some areas, big areas, where competition can be improved, but I don't want to prejudge it until I have had those consultations.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Lois Quinn representing the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus. We are extremely concerned about the availability of child care for mothers, for the children of mothers who work, often because they are the single heads of the household or because two family incomes are required to meet daily expenses.

There are presently about 900,000 spaces in licensed day care centers for children to serve more than 6 million pre-school children whose mothers are in the work force. The Mondale-Brademas bill presently in Congress would provide services for these children.

Will you sign this bill when passed by the Congress and, if not, what alternatives do you propose for families needing child care for their children?

THE PRESIDENT: I presume the bill that you refer to is similar to the one that was very ardently proposed by an old friend of mine, Ogden Reid. And if that is the same bill, in all honesty, the cost is so unbelievable it just cannot be included in a budget in the atmosphere in which we are living.

Now, as you have indicated, under legislation passed about six or seven years ago, we do provide for day care centers up to around 800,000 working mothers. This is a program tailored specifically to the working mother who goes out, gets a job, provides for theincome, and her children are taken care of in these day care centers.

What I am fearful of in the Reid-Brademas-Mondale bill, if they are the same, and I suspect they are, you will find that in many, many cases -- at least under the Ogden Reid bill -- it was not just for working mothers. It provided day care help and assistance for a good many people who could afford to pay for day care center care for their own. And I do not think Uncle Sam ought to pay for or subsidize that kind of a situation.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Robert Brown, and I am here as President of the Inland Daily Press Association, which represents 500 daily newspapers located in the Midwestern part of the country.

First of all, I want to congratulate you and Mr. Baroody on this splendid conference. Anything which improves communication between your Administration and the people is bound to have beneficial results.

However, to give you one example, as recently as this month, we learned that your Administration has kept from the public an important negative study about international atomic safeguards. Today Secretary Kissinger engaged in delicate negotiations in the Middle East which will involve certain commitments on the part of the United States. These commitments and, in fact, others made elsewhere in the world can have profound implications on our citizens. My question is, Mr. President, will you, as President of the United States.

7704001503

THE PRESIDENT: Let me assure you any participation that the United States has in the negotiations between Israel on the one hand and Egypt on the other, any involvement that we have, or any prospective involvement, will be submitted to the Congress, whether it is dollars or otherwise, because the Congress in this case, under this Administration, is either going to be a partner in it or they are going to reject it.

We are not going to have any indecisiveness as to whether the Congress approves or disapproves. They are going to be a partner in it, and they will have to vote yes or no. This is the only way I think we can make sure that both the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government work together and are on the same team.

I am not going to prejudge what those terms are because they are very delicate negotiations at the present time in the Middle East. Whatever is agreed to by them, the Egyptians or the Israelis, where we have any involvement, will be sent to the Congress. They will have to vote yes or no as to whether they support it. This is the only way to do it.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Robert Foote, representing the Greater Milwaukee Committee, and we appreciate the efforts that you and your Administration are making to turn this country back to the people.

After a few of these White House Conferences across the country, how do you now judge the mood of the people? Are we ready to go to work solving our own problems, or do you think we are going to continue to ask for more help from big brother, more and bigger Government? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I think there is a greater recognition today than at any time since I have been in the political arena -- which goes back to 1948 -- that the Federal Government is not the answer to all the problems that beset individual Americans, State or local units of Government.

The conclusion has finally been reached, after the multitude of programs that were approved by the Congress in the 1960s, that all of those programs put together just have not solved our domestic, social and economic problems in this country.

I guess Jim Lynn pointed out this morning we have over 1,000 categorical grant programs. As you look at the cost, the number of employees involved, they just don't balance out in many, many cases as the answer to the problems [illegible] in Milwaukee or Grand Rapids or elsewhere.

It is my judgment that we have turned the corner, and I am going to be out as much as I can indicating that we at the Federal Government level have to help the States and the local units of Government with money and less categorical grant programs because I happen to believe that the mayors and the Governors and the State legislatures have a far better understanding of the local problem and can, with the help of the Federal Government in money, solve some of those problems better than my dictation from Washington, D.C.

MR. BARODY: Mr. President, unfortunately we have time for only one more question.

THE PRESIDENT: Can I ask you to make it three?

MR. BARODY: Yes, sir. It is your option. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: We might even go a few more.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Frank Kessler, and I represent the German-American Societies of Milwaukee.

I wish I had been question number 13 because Mr. Brown took the punch out of my question.

We all know that the United States has a considerable Armed Force spread all over Europe. Their purpose, of course, is to support our European allies in keeping the Russians from taking a foothold in Western Europe.

Newspaper reports say that Secretary of State Kissinger has made quite a few commitments to Israel, and I have two questions.

You can say yes or no (Laughter) if for reasons --

THE PRESIDENT: Can I say maybe? (Laughter)

QUESTION: -- if for reasons of security you won't answer question number one, I will accept that. (Laughter)

Question number one is, in addition to financial help, do we have to send in the Marines?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I believe, sir, that it would be inappropriate for me to comment publicly on any of the most delicate negotiations that are going on at the pre[illegible] time

7704001508

QUESTION: Okay.

Question number two is (Laughter) in case it is necessary for us to supply help to the State of Israel, in case of open Soviet support of an attack by the Arab States, can we count on the assistance of the Armed Forces of our European allies or do we have to go it alone? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Number one, (Laughter) one of the reasons why the United States, through Secretary Kissinger and myself, is working so hard to try and get Israel and Egypt to negotiate a further settlement of their differences in the Middle East is to avoid a confrontation between the Arab States and Israel.

I concede if we had a resumption of the 1973 Middle East war, it is hard to forecast or predict what might take place. As you know, in 1973, the Yom Kippur War, no European State became involved. As a matter of fact, if my memory is accurate, most of the Western European countries sided with the Arab nations and against Israel.

You will also recall at the height of that war there was a considerable amount of information to the effect that the Soviet Union was beginning an alert which could conceivably have involved the sending of Soviet troops into the Middle East.

We, of course, at that time, took some action on our part to alert our forces and warned all nations that we would not tolerate outside assistance.

I get back to my original comment. One of the reasons we are working so hard to work with Egypt and Israel is to avoid a repetition of the Yom Kippur War of 1973.

I think we are going to be successful. I am optimistic, although there are the hardest points yet for resolution between them.

It is in our interest, it is in Western Europe's interest, it is in the interest of the Soviet Union, not to have that volatile area again erupt into what would be the sixth war in the last 25 or 30 years.

That is why we are making every possible effort, reasonably, responsibly, to avoid it.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

MORE

will not get to Wisconsin, or Michigan, or the other States, and the worst aspect of it is -- and it is already happening -- those States are enticing Michigan industry -- I know for sure -- to move from Michigan to Texas where they can sell them the natural gas at any price they want to charge them.

more

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am glad that you overruled Bill Baroody, otherwise I would have gotten cut out.

My name is Glenn Anderson, and I represent the Wisconsin Federation of Cooperatives which is a voluntary organization of some 325 cooperative corporations which has 300,000 members living in each county of the State of Wisconsin.

The members of this Statewide organization are very concerned about the availability of energy and its costs. Cooperatives provide some 50 percent of the fuel and fertilizer for our State's farmers.

My question is divided really into three parts. One, if a comprehensive energy bill is not passed, what will be the cost and availability of fuel to farmers?

Also, will natural gas be available to our dairy and food processing plants, and, lastly, will crude oil be supplied to our farmer-owned cooperative refineries?

THE PRESIDENT: If the Congress does not pass my energy program, which I submitted in a comprehensive way in January, or if they do not come up with their own program, which they have not done thus far, our energy vulnerability becomes greater and greater to forces outside of our control.

I cannot understand why there should be the present stalemate. The Congress either ought to take what I proposed or come up with their own solution. But to sit there and do nothing is unforgiveable.

Now, the second question -- or the third -- as I recollect, was whether we, the Federal Government, would guarantee to farmers crude oil, or heating oil, or gasoline, or diesel oil. We will do the best we can, but the Congress does have to give us some tools.

And if we do not have the tools, or if we do not have the crude oil, there is nothing we can do about it.

Now, on the second question involving natural gas, going back better than a year, I recommended the decontrol of natural gas in the United States. Why? Because, unless we do, you are not going to have natural gas that is available in Texas and Louisiana and in Oklahoma, for example, crossing State lines to States like Wisconsin, Michigan, North Carolina, New Jersey, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, et cetera.

The people who own that commodity in those three States, or maybe a few others, are not going to sell that commodity at a price that they do not believe is fair. And the net result is that the gas in those States will remain there, will not get to Wisconsin, or Michigan, or the other States, and the worst aspect of it is -- and it is already happening -- those States are enticing Michigan industry -- I know for sure -- to move from Michigan to Texas where they can sell them the natural gas at any price they want to charge them.

7704001508

Now, I do not think that is right, and I think the Congress is negligent in not deregulating natural gas so that it can continue to come to our State, to your State and to the other States.

I just hope there is a massive lobby to get the Congress to move. I saw some statistics the other day involving North Carolina and New Jersey. If we do not get more natural gas moving through interstate pipelines from the source to those two States, the economic disaster in those States will be serious.

And again, I do not understand why Congress has not acted. You know you can say the price might go up, but which is better, to have the gas for jobs, for homes, for factories, for schools at a price that you will have to pay, or not have it?

It is just that cold and unanswerable. We will do the best we can, but if you can lobby the Congress, I will appreciate your help.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Marshal Loewi, representing United Communities Services of Greater Milwaukee's combined United Fund and Planning Council.

We would like to know if it would be possible to set up a direct working relationship between the policy-making Federal officials and the voluntary or private planning service delivery agencies of major cities at Milwaukee? The purpose being to make the most of our collective dollar and leadership resources in responding to human needs?

THE PRESIDENT: I do not know why those arrangements cannot be established. Primarily those serivces would come from HEW, I would believe. There is no reason, in my judgment, why that arrangement cannot be established, and we will make a note and get our new Secretary of HEW to try to move them.

QUESTION: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Bertram McNamara, President of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System.

College-aged students are finding it increasingly difficult to finance their education. The so-called needs criteria used in Federal aid programs cuts off eligibility at about $9,000 of family income. The recent Census Bureau study shows that almost 70 percent of all American families are thus ineligible.

[illegible], the Department of Labor's modest family budget without higher education requires about $14,000 annually. This means that the Federal aid programs discriminate against the middle income families, including both blue collar and white collar workers.

Is your Administration aware of this problem? If so, what program changes are contemplated?

THE PRESIDENT: It is my recollection -- and I stand to be corrected, if wrong -- that we recommended in the three or four programs -- the loan guarantee program, the basic opportunity grant program -- and what is the other one -- well, there is another one -- a work study program. Better than a billion dollars, as I recollect, has been made available in this current fiscal year for student assistance.

This is higher than it was last year in total. It seems to me that that is a lot of money to either grant or loan and, if there has to be any correction in the figure -- you quoted $9,000 -- it is my best recollection that there is a criteria established by law and there has to be a change in the law. Is that correct? That is my understanding.

So, if there is a change, we will have to work with the Congress.

But let me add one thing. We have had these loan programs to students in higher education for a number of years. It is awfully disappointing to see the very poor repayment schedule of a lot of the students.

I looked at the figures the other day, and you get some variation, but as I recall, it is somewhere between 25 and 10 percent -- how you judge it.

Now that is not a very good record from students who have borrowed from their country. And it better be better.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Orville Mertz. I am Chairman of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association.

The question I had dealt with the actions that you are taking selectively to deregulate business for the benefit of our total economy. You really have virtually answered that question to my satisfaction already, so let me just say our hearts are with you, Mr. President, you and your team, in the job that you are trying to do and are doing.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: That concludes the 19th, but there is a gentleman back here who has been standing, and I will be glad to answer his question.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I want to thank you. My name is William Mosby. I am President of the Longshoremen's Local 815, Milwaukee.

I asked this morning Secretary Butz a question. I asked again Secretary Coleman that question. I met him before in various places.

I would like to ask you a question. I am sort of in the same position that you are -- (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I am glad somebody shares those problems. (Laughter)

QUESTION: I have a lot of people that I am the President of their organization and a lot of them are out of work, the same as you, President of this wonderful United States of America, and a lot of us are out of work, our people.

About five or six years ago, military units came and did a survey of the Great Lakes District as far as shipping military cargo. We have not heard why they did not ship the military cargo through the Great Lakes.

Is there anything you can do about that and let us have some information on what can be done because we do know that military cargo is being shipped through other ports, and I think that not only Milwaukee, but the ports in the Great Lakes, are equipped, efficient to handle this work.

7704001 5083

THE PRESIDENT: I must confess I am not certain on this precise problem. I appreciate your calling it to my attention.

As one person who was a long fighter for the St. Lawrence Seaway, which permitted ocean shipping to come into the Great Lakes and shipping to go out, off-hand, without any more information than I have, I don't understand why military hardware can't be shipped from Great Lakes ports to wherever the destination is.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: And we will see what we can do about it.

Thank you.

END (AT 5:30 P.M. CDT)

7704101508

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 25, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
UPON DEPARTING
GENERAL MITCHELL FIELD
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

AT 7:10 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: It has been a great day with a wide variety of activities that I think have been very constructive. I leave Milwaukee with great memories and I think a good dialogue between the White House people, the Cabinet and myself with the people of Milwaukee,and the opportunity to have this dialogue, I am most appreciative of.

QUESTION: What happened at your meeting with Republican leaders of Wisconsin, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: We talked about how we hope to increase the Republican contribution in the political arena in the State of Wisconsin. I think we can. We have good leadership, we have good people and I think the Republican Party can be a stronger factor in the two-party system in the State of Wisconsin.

QUESTION: Mr. President, how influential is this type of conference in making your decisions?

THE PRESIDENT: They are very helpful. We have 19 organizations representing a wide variety of political and sociological views. It is helpful not only to my Cabinet and my top administrative people but it is important to me to get the kind of questions they ask, the suggestions they make. Too often I think Administrations in the past have listened only to the lobbyists in Washington. What we are trying to do with these various White House Conferences around the country is to get the American people from all walks of life to make constructive suggestions and recommendations. I can assure you we listen to them.

QUESTION: Of all the suggestions today, which ones particularly impressed you?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I ought to discriminate against those of one kind or praise others. They were all good and we will make an honest effort to evaluate their recommendations and hopefully come up with some answers that will satisfy people not only in Milwaukee but elsewhere throughout the country.

Thank you very much, everybody. It's nice to see you all.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Mr. President.

END (AT 7:12 P.M. CDT)

7704001 5090

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 30, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Augusta, Maine)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
AFL-CIO FIELD DAY PROGRAM

AUGUSTA CIVIC CENTER

10:10 A.M. EDT

Governor Jim Longley, Mr. Dorsky, my good friends Senator Ed Muskie and Bill Hathaway, my friend Bill Cohen and Dave Emery, Members of the House of Representatives, where I had the privilege of serving so long in Washington, D.C., Mayor Elvin, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and great pleasure for me to be in the State of Maine, and I thank you for the very warm and very friendly welcome. It is just wonderful being here. Let me express my deep appreciation and gratitude to your fine Governor. I have gotten to know him since his election last November, and he has been helpful, cooperative, friendly, and we have developed a good personal relationship. I thank you, Governor, for your kind words this morning.

I have known, of course, Ed Muskie and Bill Hathaway, a long time and worked closely with Bill Cohen. I have also gotten to know Dave Emery. There may be some differences in party labels, but I am always delighted to work with your delegation in trying to solve not only the problems of Maine but the problems that we face in this country. I thank all four of you for being here this morning.

I especially am indebted to Mr. Dorsky for inviting me to participate in this wonderful project and to be here this morning, showing the unanimity and unity that we can have when we face some of the overall civic community projects that must be done if we are to help those less fortunate than ourselves.

Let me say on behalf of the children of the Pineland Hospital and Training Center, may I thank all of you that are here today for your participation and your contributions to provide them with this much needed therapeutic swimming pool.

If there is anyone that recognizes and values the therapeutic benefits of a swimming pool, it is myself, and I salute the Maine AFL-CIO, its members, its friends, its supporters, for bringing this pool, this means of therapy, this means of a little bit of happiness as well, into the lives of those unfortunate and troubled children.

On behalf of all your fellow citizens around the country, I express their appreciation for your efforts.

MORE

7704001509

Governor Longley and I have one thing in common: In college we both won our letter in football. But frankly, I am always a little apprehensive when a former football player introduces me.

It all goes back sometime ago when I was introduced by a former teammate at the University of Michigan, where I played a good many years ago. This friend of mine got up and he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, it might interest you to know that I played football with Jerry Ford for two years, and it made a lasting impression on me. I was quarterback, Jerry Ford was the center. You might say it gave me a completely different view of the President." (Laughter)

As a Nation, we pause this weekend to pay tribute to our country's working people. Let us this year give this weekend a very special meaning by considering not only the working people, but the millions of our fellow citizens who are out of work, through no fault of their own.

Today, I will address myself to the working people -- and to those who are temporarily unemployed -- in Maine, elsewhere in New England and all over America.

Here in Maine, and throughout New England, you have a work ethic of individual enterprise, Yankee ingenuity, skilled craftsmanship and an independent spirit devoted to freedom. Your determination is as enduring as your legendary rock-ribbed coasts.

But you, like many other Americans, have endured more than your share. You are among the citizens who suffered the heaviest impact of the recession, inflation, unemployment, and the energy crisis. I am especially aware of the special burden of the energy crunch on Maine and your neighboring States in New England. I am also aware of the frustration of individuals on fixed income.

Labor Day is no holiday for those who are out of work. The level of unemployment in the United States is too high by any standard.

I have heard some references to so-called "acceptable" rates of unemployment. I do not recognize the acceptability of any level of unemployment as long as there are people who want to work and can't find jobs.

We, in Washington, are determined to help create enough new jobs on a sound economic basis to make every day a real Labor Day, and we are going to do it.

MORE

7704001509

When statistics are published on the loss of jobs, there are some losses which are not published. I refer to the loss of hope among the high school and college graduates seeking their first job, the loss of self-esteem among the heads of households who are laid off, the loss of security and living standards that people work for years to achieve and, most important of all, the loss of faith in America's future.

These are tragic losses. They are losses that the United States of America cannot and will not endure.

Today, I reaffirm to you and to millions all over this great country my pledge to do everything in my power to generate new jobs. But to achieve the stability that we want, I will continue to oppose stop gap programs that we cannot afford, programs conceived in panic and, to some extent, perhaps in partisanship that will lead to nothing but new rounds of inflation and even worse unemployment.

Our system in America now provides 85 million jobs. This represents some 26 million more jobs than existed in America 25 years ago. It represents about one million two hundred thousand more jobs than last March, indicating a trend in the right direction.

I agree with George Meany that jobs are what Labor Day is all about. I join with all working people on this occasion when America honors its workers, organized and unorganized, in a determined resolve to put America back to work.

The door of the White House is open, as it has been since I became President, to those who champion the cause of America's working people. As long as I remain in this office, that door will always be open.

Obviously, neither I nor the Members of the Congress, on both sides of the aisle, will close our hearts to the plight of millions who are unable to find work. There have been some favorable indicators of an easing of the recession. The rate of inflation this year is much less than it was a year ago, but the creation of new jobs is going to be a tough job for all of us.

Making sure that jobs in our economy must be jobs that provide a good future, real jobs and not make-work jobs -- this is going to be very difficult, and I don't want to kid you.

We have been making some progress, as I said a [illegible] Since March, over a million more people are gainfully employed, even though the unemployment statistics are far too high. To get back to where we were just a year ago, we must produce three million two hundred thousand more jobs and each year from now, until 1980, some five years, as our labor force expands, our economy must provide work for another 1.6 million people.

7704001509

By 1980, we must have created 11 million more jobs as our population grows and our economy expands. This is a big order. It cannot be filled by Government alone or by industry alone, or by unions, or politicians acting on their own. But, the problem and will be solved if we all work together, just as you in this hall today united to help those less fortunate than ourselves.

It can be solved with the spirit of joint cooperation, demonstrated by a labor-management committee that works with me in the White House. We have developed a strong, flexible, collective bargaining system which stands, in my judgment, as a tribute to the men and women of labor and management who have devoted themselves to building a better America.

While the Government, as I said a moment ago, can't do everything, it can do some things. It can help stimulate the private sector of the economy to create jobs, the jobs that are needed to put people to work and provide work for those entering the labor force.

During the past year, American workers and businesses received a Federal tax cut to increase purchasing power and to stimulate growth in our economy. It did generate jobs, and it did generate movement toward economic recovery.

While the unemployment insurance system is no permanent solution--we all know that, no permanent solution to the joblessness that we face today--it temporarily keeps individuals and our society functioning.

Some $20 billion in benefits will be disbursed in 1975, this calendar year, providing a means of income maintenance for our unemployed workers. That money pumped into the economy serves as another built-in stabilizer by providing purchasing power to the unemployed worker.

This year, we increased the number of weeks of unemployment compensation from 39 to 65. We extended the coverage of unemployment insurance to 12 million people not previously protected. I have proposed to the Congress other necessary improvements to be made in such areas as adequacy and duration of coverage.

Using new insight and some of our more recent experience, we will work with the Congress to improve this system. I am fully aware that some workers in Maine and elsewhere have lost their job as a result of imports from abroad. Last May, for example, just a few months ago, some 300 employees of the Allen Quimby Veneer Company in Bingham, Maine became the first workers to be certified under the Trade Act of 1974 as eligible for adjustment assistance.

7704001509

For the first time in the nearly 40 year history of unemployment compensation in the State of Maine, your State applied this month for a $2,400,000 Federal loan to pay unemployment insurance benefits starting in September.

This is a role that the Federal Government can play in these unique circumstances that we face, and I am glad to say that today we are granting Maine's request.

I cannot stress to much that this Administration recognizes the equal importance to recovery of controlling inflation and of creating good jobs. These joint goals, controlling inflation and creating new jobs, are essential to our programs of restoring the strength of our economy.

All of us -- labor, management, Government -- must work together if we are to achieve long-term economic health.

MORE

I call on business, I call on industry to do everything possible to bring back our laid-off workers, to reassess the job assignments of those employed beneath their true qualifications and to give new opportunities to young people eager to join the labor force.

I appeal not only to the patriotism and the courage and determination of America's working people but to those same qualities in our business community.

I ask managers to take a new look at ways they can expand productivity to make possible the rehiring and the new hiring of workers and I ask them to be more aggressive in seeking new markets at home and abroad to create new jobs.

Economic progress depends on our ability to foster capital investment and to increase the productivity of our workers the length and breadth of this country.

The share of our gross national product committed to private investment must increase over the next few years if we are able to reach our economic potential.

Economists predict -- or I should say estimate, that the total investment requirements could be in excess of $4 trillion. And I had the privilege of riding from the airport to this community center, of talking with your Governor, indicating to him some of the thoughts I would express here today and I was pleased and delighted to learn that in Maine he is approaching the problem in a similar way, seeking to expand industry by making certain that there is adequate investment capability.

As we look at the history of recent years, however, overall, we find that our financial ability to increase production is declining. This decline is curtailing needed growth in jobs, in income, it undermines seriously our capability to compete abroad. Once this becomes clear, I am confident that there will be an understanding of the need for tax policies to channel our resources into the expansion of productive capacity.

We must not, under any circumstances, condemn our fellow citizens to unemployment because the modern tools needed to compete in world markets are lacking.

This Administration has proposed some reform to the Congress to stimulate what economists call capital formation through tax incentives. I like a better definition, or a better combination of words; I prefer the term "job creation."

7704001509

That is what my recommendations are all about. I asked the Congress to join with me in this firm commitment to our Nation's future to more jobs, to more income and full economic recovery.

To insure a strong economic system we must maintain, of course, in conjunction, an antitrust policy which validates our commitment to competitive markets.

As we reduce Government regulation of business, we must be absolutely certain that our antitrust laws are vigorously enforced, and they will be.

Competition, when freed of Government regulation and supported by antitrust laws, is the driving force of our economy. It will drive costs down and assure new jobs. This is actually the story of America's amazing growth over some 200 years.

Let me emphasize that this is not an Administration of special interests, not of business interests, not of labor interests. We are doing our very best to make this an Administration of public interests. We will not permit the continuation of monopoly privilege which is not in the public interest.

It is my job and your job, the job of the Congress, the job of everybody, to open the American marketplace. It is our job collectively to create new jobs. And as we work conscientiously and seriously to overcome the problems of individuals, let us remember our founding fathers vision of a Nation in which people worked together for the common good.

I have often stated my deep conviction that we must have a national defense second to none. Labor has stood at the forefront of the defense of liberty, in war or in peace. But defense must rest upon more than arms, upon more than armies. Defense depends upon the strength of the American individual, the unity of the American family, the food in the American kitchen and the self-esteem that goes with the American paycheck.

We must maintain the social fabric of America for the national defense to be credible. If we cannot believe in ourselves and in our future as a Nation, what will there be left to defend?

Two hundred years ago American patriots, working people, business people, and farming people, risked their lives so that this Nation might be born. To win independence they surmounted great individual differences in background, culture and outlook. They worked, they fought and they died together for a common cause none of them could have achieved alone.

Although conditions have changed greatly in two hundred years, I am fully confident that the spirit that saw us through in 1776 will guide us to an even greater future in the years ahead.

I know that the working men and women of America will be in the forefront. They have been in the past, they will in the future. We depend upon them and we honor them.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 10:25 A.M. EDT)

7704001503

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 30, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Portland, Maine)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
GOP FUND-RAISING LUNCHEON

HOLIDAY INN

2:17 P.M. EDT

Bill Cohen, Dave Emery, Mrs. Bickmore, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very, very great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this wonderful function today, not only because of the great crowds you have, but the enthusiasm that I detect.

There is a special dividend about traveling to various parts of the country that I haven't been to too frequently or too recently in that you see some old and very dear friends, people that you worked with, people that you have known, individuals with whom you have a very fine relationship, or did, over a period of time.

Let me say at this point it is nice to see Bob Hale, who was a real stalwart oldtimer when I came to the Congress in January of 1949, and who was very kind and friendly and most helpful. Bob, it is good to see you.

Then there is Stan Tupper, who was extremely helpful at a time when I decided to make a challenge for the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives against some considerable odds. Stan was extremely helpful.

Stan, I thank you for embarking me on this present course. None of us expected it, but you were a very important part in it, and I thank you very much.

I have had the opportunity over a period of time and various incidents and capacities to know two of your fine Governors -- Governor Cross and Governor Reed, and I thank them for the relationship that I had with them and I thank them for their contributions to Maine, as well as to the country.

Very few of you know that I came to Maine for some considerable period of time before some of you were born and had a very wonderful experience here in your great State. It is a pleasure to see an old friend of mine, and his lovely wife. Thank you very much for coming, Gardner and Susan.

MORE

(OVER)

Let me express very deeply and very appreciatively the overly generous remarks that Bill Cowen made. I just hope and trust that in the months and years ahead that I can fully justify the kind and very greatly appreciated remarks that he made; in the course of serving some 25 years in the House of Representatives, you get to those that come and those that will go rather rapidly and those that will stay because they have merit in the job they do on behalf of the country, but equally important, the job they will do on behalf of the people they represent.

Some people who come to the House, they are like Greyhound buses, they come and go very quickly. But Bill Cowen, I could tell the minute he walked in, was a person who had great capability and he has done everything, not only up to the expectations, but beyond the expectations that I would have anticipated and, Bill, I thank you very, very much.

And although I was not in the House of Representatives when Dave came and was sworn in, I have had the privilege and the opportunity to get to know him and based on this bank of knowledge that you acquire, if you have been in the House, particularly in the leadership, you can detect quality and it is my judgment, Dave, you have a new, young Congressman with great quality, keep him there.

The thing that I like about both of them, they are team players. They work together. I have talked to Bill and Dave about a matter that took great concern, and properly so, as far as the State of Maine is concerned. That is the so-called 200 mile limit. Now Bill was one of the initiators and Dave has carried along with Bill to protect your coast and the waters that are adjacent to it.

I believe in the concept of the 200 mile limit. In the Executive Branch we have a little different problem. We are in the process and have been for some months of negotiating on a worldwide basis a 200 mile limit with a number of other very important relationships between countries, land and water, in the Law of the Sea Conference. The United States is pushing hard, has been, is and will particularly, for a 200 mile limit.

And I just want you to know that people like Bill and Dave are leading the fight in this extremely important area in the Congress while we in the Executive Branch are pushing equally strongly in the world forum the accomplishments and the achievements of this limit as well as the other relationships that are so vital for all of us in the world in which we live. And I thank you, Bill and Dave, for the work you are doing in this regard.

7704001510

I think it is perfectly obvious that I have looked forward to coming to Maine for a long, long time. I like your people, I love the country, and I am just delighted to see what I see here today.

I am especially pleased to see so many young people in the audience. I think that ttpifies the spirit and the actuality of the Republican Party in Maine. I don't want you to cross off us oldtimers, but we need the young people in ourpolitical party because they are going to be the strength, not only in the next election, but they are going to embrace and make actual the things that we believe in, the principles that we espouse and those that we are dedicated to.

I think the best illustration of the youth in your party is the fact that you have two young Congressmen, a young State chairman, a young Executive Director, a State Senate majority, that I am told is 15 years younger on the average than their Democratic counterparts.

The point is quite clear: Here in Maine we can all say with great pride, Republicans have their eyes firmly fixed on the future instead of their feet frozen in the past.

Seventy-five years ago, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Thomas Brackett Read came to this great City of Portland and said -- and here I quote -- "Here's to the State of Maine, the land of the bluest skies, the greenest earth, the richest air, the strongest and, what is better, the sturdiest men, the fairest and, what is best of all, the truest women under the sun." (Laughter)

I come to Portland today to second that motion. (Laughter)

I don't think there is a better place than Portland and no better way than a good old-fashioned clam bake to celebrate the last weekend of summer. I obviously appreciate your invitation and thank you for the extremely warm welcome.

You know, it is easy to see that Maine Republicans are enthusiastic, along with a lot of other people in the Great State of Maine. It appears to me that this enthusiasm, which I think is vital and necessary, not only for the Republican Party, but for Maine, and the country, is contageous, and I congratulate you for it.

I have seen this kind of enthusiasm as I have been privi[illegible]l around the United States. This enthusiasm is infectious, and every place I go I like what I see as far as the Republican Party is concerned and what I see among our fellow Americans generally. If we can keep this kind of enthusiasm going for the next 14 months, I predict that 1976 will be a year of victory for the Republican Party in Maine, as well as the United States as a whole, and you can lead the rest

Because Maine has been traditionally a bellweather State as far as national politics is concerned, the Republican Party here has not only a great opportunity but, in my judgment, a great responsibility-- to field the best candidates, to raise the required funds, to develop winning issues and to convince the voters that their interests and the interests of the Republican Party are identical.

If you would achieve these objectives here in Maine, the Pinetree State, I predict that the old saying,"As Maine goes, so goes the Nation," will once again take its rightful place in the language of politics as the accurate barometer of America's election contest.

Now what makes the 1976 election so vitally important? For one thing it will provide the Republican Party with an opportunity to again demonstrate that it has the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to arouse this Nation to its greatness and the will to win elections.

With your help in this bellweather State, we can and we will do it in 1976.

Even more important, the 1976 election will enable the people of this great country to send to Washington more Republican Congressmen like Bill Cohen and Dave Emery, who I think typify the dedicated,hard-working,intelligent legislators we need in Washington. They are a part of a relatively small minority. They are outnumbered better than two to one and that is a hard job.

I like to think that despite the fact we are outnumbered quantitatively, we have the quality and we need not only the quality we have but we have to add to the quantity.

Now you can't do much to change that in Maine, except in case Bill might like to be a candidate for another office. (Laughter) But let me add a thought parenthetically, if I might. Bill and Dave don't always vote the way I would necessarily like them to. There is something I believe ingrained in people in Maine of some independence. (Laughter) And I respect it. But their primary responsibility is to represent the people that they have the honor to represent in the State of Maine. And even though I think it is of maximum importance that we have a national energy program, I understand, I respect their somewhat differing view as to how we should implement it as far as Maine and New England is concerned.

They recognize, as I do, that we have an energy problem and it is getting more and more like an energy crisis. And if we don't get a settlement in the Middle East -- hopefully we will -- we could have an energy crisis of severe magnitude as we did in 1973.

I recognize, of course, that New England does rely more heavily on imported fuel than any other region of the country and that your regional economy feels the effects of energy disruptions more rapidly and even more severely than any other.

You know as well as Bill and Dave, better than our neighbors in other areas of the country the importance, the absolute necessity of achieving energy independence for America. We cannot tolerate being vulnerable to outside national interest over which we have no influence. Energy must be developed internally, energy must be developed from our own natural resources so that America is invulnerable to foreign sources.

And you also know that energy is absolutely essential, not just for running the machines of industry, but for fueling the whole economy of this region as well as the Nation. I think all of you fully recognize that a healthy economy means more jobs for more people, one of the principal concerns of me, as well as Bill and Dave and the Congress.

You know the danger of being at the mercy of some force beyond our control. And in this case, in energy, it is the Middle East, the OPEC nations.

I think you understand first hand the inconvenience, the uncertainty, even the suffering that that kind of a situation can create, where somebody can turn a spigot off in the Middle East and we could be in dire trouble. And you also know the system -- if I might change the subject -- that the system of checks and balances which this Nation's founders wrote into the Constitution 200 years ago wasn't designed as a roadblock to progress.

When I said a year ago that I wanted a good marriage with the Congress, I meant it and I still believe it. But a good marriage requires the best efforts of both partners to make it work. It requires compromise, it requires moderation in meeting the problems and the challenges in a marriage or in the relationship between the White House and Capitol Hill.

I must say that so far I have seen little compromise and less moderation in the policies and the legislative proposals of the Democratic Congress that was sworn in in January of this year.

7704001506

What we as a Nation need -- and I say this with the deepest sincerity and the strongest conviction that I have -- what we need is more of the politics of cooperation, not the politics of confrontation. What we need is to carve out solutions so that our problems can be solved. We shouldn't confront just to get political issues for partisan purposes.

It is my judgment that the American people want action not debate, not delay. They want a responsive government committed to responsible progress. That is exactly what we in the Republican Party are prepared to offer the American people. Perhaps more than at any time in our Nation's history, our Party's principals and its objectives match the hopes and the aspirations of the American people. Our Republican commitment to fiscal responsibility in Government, to a vigorous free enterprise system, to a strong national defense, one second to none, to local control over local matters, and to personal freedom for the individual. These are commitments shared by the vast majority of the American people, and I am sure down Easterners.

Let's open, as I see it, the party's door to all Americans who happen to believe as we do the principals that I just set forth, rather than opening that door just a crack for a very limited few. Let's work together for a common victory rather than working against each other for a sure defeat.

The victory we seek as Republicans is not just a Republican victory. It is one we can share easily and properly with all the people of Maine and with all Americans. It can be a victory of action over apathy, decisiveness over delay, confidence over confusion. It can be a victory of responsive, responsible government that sees the people's needs but does not order people's lives.

This is the kind of victory that we can work for, we are working for, the kind of a victory that will make the next four years the best four years for peace, tranquility, domestic progress and a renewal of the hopes and the aspirations of all that came before us and for the betterment of all that follow.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 2:41 P.M. EDT)

7704001 5104

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 30, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Newport, Rhode Island)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

INTERNATIONAL JETPORT
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

4:07 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I spent five years here when I was a few years younger so I know New England very well. I know a good many people up here. I love the country, and I think I am a good candidate.

QUESTION: Your oil policy doesn't make you a good friend of New England.

THE PRESIDENT: We have to integrate New England's oil policy with the overall policy of the United States. It is more important to New England that we have a good energy policy than it is any other part of the United States.

What we are seeking to do is find an energy policy that will solve it for New England and solve it for the United States as a whole. We cannot be dependent on foreign oil sources, and we are working with the Congress -- and I hope they will work with me -- to try and achieve this oil policy.

QUESTION: Do you think you have found that policy yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: We are working hard at it.

QUESTION: Is there anything new on the decontrol of oil?

THE PRESIDENT: We had a very good meeting yesterday with Senator Mansfield and Speaker Carl Albert, and we have laid out a plan that if they can produce the votes, I think we will find an answer.

QUESTION: A good many of the Congressional leaders are very uneasy about the possibility of American civilians going to the Middle East and officially being the [illegible] the peace there.

What is going to be your answer to them and to their objections to another Vietnam?

MORE

(OVER)

7704001510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 30, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Newport, Rhode Island)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
ARTHUR ALBERT
EXECUTIVE NEWS DIRECTOR, WJAR-TV
SARAH WYE
CORRESPONDENT, WJAR-TV
AND
JACK CAVENAUGH
CORRESPONDENT, WJAR-TV

SHERATON-ISLANDER INN

6:00 P.M. EDT

QUESTION: We have a weekly public affairs program we at WJAR normally call a news conference.

Because of the stature of our guest, we have expanded the format and produced this special edition, which is being shared with 12 television stations throughout New England. All of you are most welcome.

Our guest is President Gerald Ford, who promised when he came into office a year ago to bring new openness and accessibility to the White House. His participation in this unusual sort of regional format indicates he is making that effort.

Mr. President, welcome.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. It is a pleasure to be on the program, Sarah.

QUESTION: Asking questions along with me tonight will be Jack Cavenaugh, on the WJAR-TV staff and Arthur Albert, News Director of WJAR radio and TV.

I think one of the subjects you will be hearing a lot about in this discussion in the next half hour is energy. Obviously, it is very heavy on the minds of the people throughout the country. Until Friday, we were braced for a massive increase in domestic crude oil because of your decision to veto the Congressional extension of price controls.

You have since changed your mind about decontrol, and you are suggesting perhaps a 60-day extension and gradual decontrol. What went into the decision to change your mind?

MORE

(OVER)

THE PRESIDENT: I think first, Sarah, you have to understand that the United States, our country, has a serious energy crisis. Actually, the energy crisis in New England is more serious than it is in any other part of the country, primarily because New England is more dependent on foreign oil than any other part of the United States.

So, unless we solve the energy problem for the United States, and unless we make ourselves more free of foreign oil imports, New England is going to be in more and more trouble.

In January, I submitted to the Congress a comprehensive energy program for a ten-year period, and we made some exceptions as far as New England was concerned, recognizing the vulnerability of New England.

I had hoped that the Congress would act on a comprehensive plan, either the one I submitted or one they might put together.

Unfortunately, Congress has not acted, so after attempting to decontrol on a phased basis on two occasions--one over a 30-month period with an increase in old oil, so to speak, at a rate of about 3 percent per month--the Congress turned that down.

I made another effort of compromise and conciliation, making it a 39-month phased decontrol program. The Congress turned that down.

Under those circumstances, I had no alternative but to say unless you act, we are going to decontrol all old oil, all domestic old oil. I think at least the leadership in the Congress -- Senator Mansfield and Speaker Albert -- recognized that was not the right answer.

We had a meeting on Friday, and I said that I would hold off the veto until they could get their troops together and come up and agree to the phased program that I submitted about a month ago.

QUESTION: What you are saying is you never were in favor of intermediate and secondary control?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I proposed two examples of phased decontrol, one a 30-month and another 39, but Congress turned both down. In order to try to avoid an abrupt end, I agreed to resubmit a 39-month phased decontrol program and, hopefully, the majority party leadership will be able to work with the Republicans in the House and get a phased program over a 39-month period.

QUESTION: Mr. President, the controls have to come off eventually but New England will have to bear the brunt of those controls because we have such problems with energy, because our economy is in such bad shape right now. What do you say to people who are unemployed here who have to bear up under this energy crisis? Or is the Federal Government going to make any kind of specific commitments to New England to help us get out of this situation?

THE PRESIDENT: Over the last three or four months I have made exceptions as far as New England is concerned. In the first imposition of the import levy, it had no effect on New England, it had an effect on the rest of the United States. When I put the second dollar on to try to prod Congress to do something, the second dollar only affected New England, I think, to 60 cents a barrel. So I tried to recognize the needs, the problems that exist in New England. As I said at the outset, New England has a greater need for a comprehensive solution to the energy problem than any other part of the United States.

So what I have tried to do is to make exceptions for New England and at the same time get the Congress moving to enact an energy program that would solve the problem not only in the short haul but the long pull. Now, in the interim while we had this unfortunate unemployment, and we do have more unemployment not only in New England but elsewhere than I certainly want, we have done a number of things. For example, we have extended the unemployment payments from 39 weeks to 65 weeks. We have broadened the coverage so that 12 million more people are covered under unemployment. I recommended, and the Congress approved, about $450 million for the Summer Youth Program so that young people this past summer would be gainfully employed.

We have done a great deal with what they call public service employment. I recommended about $2 billion for that program and I was talking to the Mayor of Providence today and he says it has been a very helpful program. We have also tried to expedite some public works projects. I made available a $2 billion allocation for highway construction which has been made available in many, many States and I presume here in Rhode Island.

7704001503

We have, for example, been trying to get some local projects going. I talked to the Mayor of Providence today coming down here about a $32 million Federal building in the City of Providence. I am going to give it some personal attention when I get back to Washington. I think that kind of project would be very helpful. So we try to push forward for an energy program, which is what we need over the long haul, we are trying to take care of individual geographical problems.

QUESTION: And yet, while we are working on it, the unemployment rate in this State here is about 16 percent, 12 percent in Massachusetts, 11 percent throughout New England. Is it possible for the Federal Government to redirect some of its major installations, relocate them, transfer them, create new ones here? After 1972 when military bases were closed in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the economies were hurt very, very hard.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course I am deeply concerned about the unemployment problem not only in Massachusetts but the 48 other States. But we have to try to rebuild the economy from an inflation-ridden economy from a year ago to one that is solidly based so that over the next few months when we get better employment -- as we are at the present time overall -- we are not going to have a reigniting of inflation like we had a year ago.

So we will do all we can through public works, through unemployment insurance, through public service employment, summer youth employment, in order to meet the unique circumstances of a particular State. But the basic way to solve our unemployment, whether it is Rhode Island or 49 other States, is to get a healthy private sector economy. And we can do that through some tax proposals that I have recommended and some of the other legislation which we will be submitting shortly.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Andrew Brimmer, who used to be a Governor of the Federal Reserve and who is a fiscal conservative, said -- I think he disagreed with you. He said that next year, thanks to the Project Independence, your energy policy, thanks to grain sales, there will be six to seven percent inflation but he says there is no chance really that excess demand will push the inflation higher. And he says now you can do it, now you can lower interest rates, now you can provide jobs by encouraging the economy without the danger of inflation. Have you considered that and talked about that with Dr. Burns?

7704001510

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, I am sure you recognize I don't control interest rates. These are basically controlled by several factors; one, the Federal Reserve Board.

I have talked to Mr. Arthur Burns, and we have what I think are appropriate as well as private conversations. He is cognizant of the needs of an adequate supply of money, and he is very cognizant of the problem of higher interest rates.

At the same time, I think you have to recognize that if the Federal deficit goes beyond my $60 billion deficit -- and unfortunately, the Congress is spending more money than I think they should -- that will contribute significantly to higher interest rates and a shorter supply of money available in the private sector.

So, we have to control the Federal deficit. $60 billion is too darned big a deficit, but the Congress is continuously pressing to make it bigger.

Now, we are going to hold the deficit as low as we can, and we are hopefully expecting cooperation, and I think we will get it from the Federal Reserve Board.

I respectfully disagree with Mr. Brimmer if he alleged that the grain sales to the Soviet Union are a significant factor in inflation. I respectfully disagree with him. Does he want us to put out that grain in storage and pay $1 million a day in storage charges, as we did in the sixties? I don't think that is a very satisfactory answer.

QUESTION: I think he did say that energy was the main component, but following up on your answer, I have been talking to people around New England in anticipation of your visit, and I keep coming up with that old folk saying: "Democrats get us into wars, Republicans into depressions." That, of course, may be oversimplified, but previous Administrations and your Administration have chosen to fight inflation first and unemployment second.

I am just wondering when will the time come to switch so that this recovery, which seems as if it is on the horizon, will recover in a hurry rather than just stumble along?

THE PRESIDENT: I would say that the recovery is doing better, and we are coming out of it more quickly now than some people anticipated. For the fifth month in a row a [illegible] indicators show that we are making headway. We are seeing higher housing starts.

7704001510

We are seeing better retail sales. We are making some headway, except for the last month, in inflation, and I think that was an unusual example, and we are optimistic in the future.

One thing I would like to point out is I think it is important to talk about some affirmative things. In the last five months, we have had one million two hundred thousand more people gainfully employed in this country. We now have over 85 million people gainfully employed.

We have too many unemployed, but more and more people are being employed and the indications are that that will be a continuing trend.

So, we have to win the battle against inflation. If we let the problems of inflation reoccur, every knowledgeable economist that I have talked to says, if you went back up to 10 or 12 percent inflation, in 12 to 18 to 24 months we would be in a far worse recession than we are at the present time.

So, it is a very narrow line that we are trying to follow: To win the battle against inflation on the one hand and at the same time provide more job opportunities, and I think we are being reasonably successful.

As Jack said over here, New England, or at least Rhode Island, has some unique problems, and we are going to work on it, as I indicated.

QUESTION: Mr. President, let's return briefly to energy. We have dealt with domestic crude oil by saying the approach now is to decontrolling domestic oil prices. The OPEC countries, the oil producing countries, will be meeting to decide soon what price increases they will ask by October 1.

It is widely rumored in the oil industry that you have let it be known that an 8 percent increase in foreign oil prices would be acceptable to you. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not familiar with that statement. A lot of statements are attributed to me. I have a pretty good memory, and I don't know where that statement came from.

QUESTION: What are you looking for from the oil producing countries?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me put it this way, Sarah, if the Congress had passed early this year the comprehensive energy program that I recommended, we would be in a lot better position to meet the challenge of any OPEC oil price increase. Unfortunately, nothing has been done legislatively so we are now more vulnerable today than we would have been otherwise.

I have said that, as far as I am concerned we will do everything we can to defeat any OPEC oil price increase. Unfortunately, without an energy program, we don't have many tools to do that with.

QUESTION: Mr. President, schools open very soon around the country and in New England. And in Boston and Springfield,Massachusetts that means forced busing for desegregation. You have had a position on busing before. Can you take a minute and clarify your position on busing? What is your position on busing?

THE PRESIDENT: Before I say anything about what my own personal views are, I want to say most emphatically that I, as President and all that serve with me in the Federal Government, will enforce the law, no question about that.

We will, to the extent necessary, make sure that any court order is enforced.

Now I add one thing that I hope is understood. We don't want any conflict developing in Boston or any of these other communities that have court orders forcing busing on local school systems. So I have sent up the the Attorney General, and the community relations experts -- they have four or five people up there that are working with the court, with the school boards and with parents and with others. At the same time the new Secretary of HEW, David Mathews, has sent up his top man to work with the school system. And that individual, Dr. Goldberg, has authority to spend extra Federal funds to try and improve the situation in Boston.

Now, having said the law is going to be enforced, that we are going to try and moderate and work with the people in Boston, I will give you my views on what we are trying to do.

The basic thing that everyone is trying to do is to provide quality education. there is a difference of opinion on how you achieve quality education. My personal view is that forced busing by courts is not the way to achieve quality education. I think there is a better way.

We have had court order forced busing in a number of communities. There are studies that indicate that it has not provided quality education to the young people, which is of personal concern.

I think there is a better way to do it. In my judgment, if the courts would follow a law that was passed, I think, two years ago, maybe two and a half years ago, it said that in those areas where you have a problem in seeking desegregation, the court should follow five or six rules. Busing was the last option.

There were five other proposals that courts could have followed and I think we would have avoided a lot of this conflict. That is one way I think we could have solved this problem. The other is the utilization of Federal funds to upgrade school buildings, provide better teacher-pupil ratios, to provide better equipment, that is the way, in my opinion, we achieve what we all want, which is quality education.

I just don't think court order, forced busing, is the way to achieve quality education. I think there is a better way.

QUESTION: Mr. President, if I may follow up on that, you have come up with an alternative but it would seem that because we were afraid of inflation, you have vetoed bills for more aid to education, you have vetoed bills for more public service jobs, so are you prepared, you know, to turn around on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Arthur, let me just clarify something. The appropriation bill concerning public service employment that you say I vetoed, let me give you the history of it so the matter is clarified. I recommended $1,900,000,000, $450 million for summer youth employment and the remainder -- which is roughly a billion and a half -- for public service employment. The Congress loaded it up with $3 billion in non-essential spending. Sure, I vetoed it. When the Congress saw that the veto was sustained they came back and virtually approved what I sent up there in the first place.

So we had $2 billion in summer youth employment money and we had public service employment money.

Now, the education bill, the education bill that I submitted in January for the budget that started July 1 had more money in it for education than any other year in recent years. W[illegible] it over previous years. Again, the Congress loaded it up with some programs that I think can't be justified if you are going to have any fiscal responsibility. I hope the Congress sustains that veto, because there is a lot of non-essential spending in it. Now, having vetoed that bill, there was nothing in there, in that proposal Congress had, to do anything more in desegregation cases than I recommended. So that is a moot issue as far as the Boston case is concerned.

QUESTION: Can I move you along to another area completely, and that is fishing, which is of some importance to the New England States. Our fishing industry is dying, and it would appear that foreign fleets, modern fleets, are perhaps wiping out fish for a long time, perhaps forever.

The Senate has passed the 200 mile limit bill, and the House probably will, too. Will you sign it?

THE PRESIDENT: If my recollection is accurate, in this session of the Congress the Senate has not acted. I think they acted last year.

QUESTION: Right.

THE PRESIDENT: The House committee has acted, and it will be on the House agenda shortly. What we are trying to do, through the Law of the Sea Conference, is to settle all of the controversies on a worldwide basis involving fishing, the 200 mile zone, et cetera.

I am for the concept of a 200 mile zone. I think it is better to settle it on a worldwide basis rather than to do it unilaterally just for the United States.

QUESTION: The problem, Mr. President, is that while we are waiting for the international treaty our fish supplies are being depleted.

THE PRESIDENT: We had the second meeting of this Law of the Sea Conference ending earlier this year.

They have a draft proposal at the present time. They are going back to negotiations early next year. It is my hope we can do it on a worldwide basis and the United States, at my direction, is going to fight for a 200 mile zone.

I think that is a better way to solve it than to do it on a unilateral basis, just the United States.

QUESTION: How long are you willing to wait?

THE PRESIDENT: We hope that the Law of the Sea Conference will be completed early next year. As I recollect, the conferees are getting together in January.

We have made a lot of progress and, if we can get it on a worldwide basis in 1976, that is far preferable to unilateral action just by the United States.

QUESTION: One quick question for New Hampshire. New Hampshire would like to know if you are planning to come up sometime before September 16 and campaign for Louie Wyman?

THE PRESIDENT: It is my expectation that I will. We are working on a date. Louie Wyman is a very good friend of mine. I served with him in the House. I think he would make a fine Senator. I certainly expect to go up sometime between now and September 16 to help him if I can.

QUESTION: Mr. President, why can't the Northeast New England States share in the profits from the leasing of off-shore oil rights off the coast?

THE PRESIDENT: Under the legislation that we are working on -- and there are about ten different alternative proposals -- I think that the coastal areas ought to get some help.

There is a bill in the Senate. It goes, I think, further than it should. Of course, there are many inland States who say, well, this is a United States resource. Why can't we share equally with the coastal States? So, we have these competing interests.

I believe, without any question of a doubt, that coastal States ought to get a high priority, the highest priority, and then we will have to work out some formula where I think we can equitably take care of any other interests that are involved.

Mr. President, two quick ones on politics. We presume you will be back in New Hampshire next winter --

THE PRESIDENT: I am looking forward to it.

QUESTION: -- and that between now and then there will be a lot of pressure on you from the Reagan forces, some people will call them the Connally forces, to dump Mr. Rockefeller.

If it is necessary to do that to get the nomination, will you do it?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't put it that way. I picked Nelson Rockefeller for Vice President because I thought he was an outstanding public servant. He has exceeded any expectations that I have had. He has done a superb job. He has been a good teammate. I don't dump good teammates.

7704001515

QUESTION: Okay.

Mr. President, in 1972 when the Soviets bought 15 million tons of grain, food prices went up. Now they would like to buy 21 million tons. Will they get it all? Will they get part of it? Will food prices go up?

THE PRESIDENT: You have more information than I have. They bought about 10 million tons. There are rumors to the effect that they want to buy additional amounts.

I have indicated that we will make no more sales until we get the September crop report. All the indications are that we will have a record crop in wheat, in corn and feed grains, including soybeans.

If we get a record crop and if we can work out some fair and equitable arrangement, I think it is in the best interest of the farmer, the consumer, our relations on a worldwide basis, and best for the country, if we do make some additional sales to the Soviet Union.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I have never seen a President end so neatly. You finished up the question, and we don't have to cut you off.

Thank you. The time went awfully fast.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, and I enjoyed it. I thank all of you very much.

QUESTION: Thank you and good night.

END (AT 6:28 P.M. EDT)

7704001515

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AUGUST 30, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Newport, Rhode Island)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
NEWPORT GALA DINNER RECEPTION

THE SLOCUM RESIDENCE

9:15 P.M. EDT

Buddy Cianci, Jim Taft, Jim Fields, Jim DiPrete, Bill Middendorf and, of course, our wonderful host and hostess, John and Eileen Slocum, and all that worked:

Let me say without any hesitation or reservation one, it has been a long day, but the culmination of a meeting like this makes it just like it was beginning all over again. Thank you very much.

As either Jim or Buddy or Jim Taft said, it has been my privilege to be in Rhode Island on a number of occasions over a period of years. I was happy and proud to come here when your fortunes were low to help in a municipal election, in a State election, or in an occasion such as this.

I detected from time to time that all of you in Rhode Island were a little down in the dumps, and you felt that the odds were much too great for any progress. But, I have a distinct feeling tonight that you are on the way up and that you are going to make Rhode Island a good Republican State in 1976.

You have good candidates. You have excellent examples of people that can run either Providence or Cranston or, I am sure, other communities in the State of Rhode Island.

You have the enthusiasm. You have the unity. You have the feeling that you are going to beat the opposition. You have 14 months to prove it -- with money, (Laughter) with candidates, with unity. I will be very disappointed if you don't make it in November of 1976.

In the months ahead, as I have tried to do in the months before, it is my feeling that we have to make a tremendous effort to go to every State to talk to the people who have fought long hard battles, people who have been disappointed for one reason or another, that we didn't do everything or we didn't succeed.

It seems to me that we have the most unique opportunity in the months ahead to decide that America is going to continue to rise to make the progress in the future that we have been blessed with in the past.

more

It is my judgment that the Republican Party is the vehicle that can achieve that. And if we are going to do it, I think we ought to take a look and see what our commitments are, at least Maine, and I believe most, as I travel around the country, would agree in these four or five basic commitments that we have, it seems to fall within the framework of what is good for our country.

Fiscal responsibility in the Federal Government, the reinvigoration of a free enterprise system in this country, a strong national defense program that makes America second to none, local control over local concerns under the leadership of people like Buddy and Jim and others in your State of Rhode Island.

And then, lastly but far from least, personal freedom for the individual.

We are about to kick off our Bicentennial in America. The other day I was looking at the progress that we have made as a Nation over the last 200 years and if I were to analyze it, I would say within the first hundred years -- and Rhode Island was a tremendous contributor to this effort -- in the United States in that first century, we developed a kind of government that gave us strength, consistency, a solid base from which we could operate. In our second century in America, what did we do? We went through what I think most historians would call an industrial revolution.

We built the mills and the plants and we developed means of transportation, communication and the like. We moved from the one yardline a long, long ways down the field to become the most effective and constructive and successful Nation in the history of mankind in an industrial competition.

So we have a government and we have the industrial capability. What do we want in our third century, which begins in just a few months. It seems to me that this third century relates to the last point I made in our commitments, personal freedom for the individual.

We have mass education, we have mass industry, we have mass government, we have mass communication. I think the American people, whether they are in Rhode Island or Michigan or California or Florida, Alaska, Hawaii, I don't care where they come from, they want their individuality preserved and expanded. They don't want to be subjected to mass of anything. They want to believe in their family and themselves, and that should be our objective in the third century of America's history.

I indicated that in the first century of our Nation's history that we developed a kind of Government that gave us strength and stability and opportunity to carry us through one crisis after another, and we have.

Now it is not written in the Constitution, but fortunately for all of us we developed in this country a two-party system, and how blessed we have been. We don't want a one-party system like they have in some countries throughout the globe. We find that that, of course, would be anathema to everything we have inherited and everything we want to pass on to others, and we don't want the kind of a Government where there is a multiplicity of political parties, either.

We have seen in the pages of history those countries that have five, ten, 20, whatever the number is, of political parties, and they are unable, under those circumstances, to meet the challenge, to govern, to run a country.

We have been blessed in this Nation with a two-party system in most States of the Union. (Laughter) If I could go back a quarter of a century, when I came to Washington in January of 1949 and took the oath of office as a young, excited Congressman, the Republicans controlled New England.

There wasn't a Democrat, as I recall, in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont -- there were a couple in Massachusetts (Laughter) -- but basically New England was a Republican domain, so to speak, and then we had ten or 11 States down in the South and they were totally, completely dominated by the Democrats.

It wasn't a very healthy situation, I didn't think. I will tell you why. I think political competition is good. It is good for the candidates, but more importantly it is good for the country.

Our whole system, whether it is in commerce or in industry or whatever is predicated on the idea that competition is a better price, a better product to the consumer.

As I travel around 25 years after that day that I was sworn in, I find that the political environment in the South is a lot healthier. Since we have a pretty fair share of Congressmen and a few Senators, the domination, the monopoly of a political party in the South has been broken.

7704001511

The net result is that the people in those ten or 11 States are getting better Government. If I might respectfully suggest, I think it would be good to have that same kind of competition right here in Rhode Island.

Obviously, I have thrown away the text that my very dedicated and very competent speechwriters have prepared for me, (Laughter) but as I look over this audience, I would like to talk straight from the shoulder of what I believe, what I feel is good for all of you, for Rhode Island and, more importantly, for the country.

We have a few problems in America and, to be frank and honest and candid, instead of trying to hide them and gloss them over, I think we ought to be very frank.

We have trouble in our economy. A year ago we were faced with 12 to 14 percent inflation, the worst in this country for a good many years. We have to lick that problem.

In the last 12 months we have cut it in half, roughly speaking. That is not good enough, but we aren't going to lick it if we let the Congress spend and spend and spend, as they are prone to do.

Let me tell you, I am on the way to a record of vetoes, (Laughter) but I think they have been good for America and they haven't been negative. Let me tell you why they are positive.

In that great Constitution that we have in this country, it says the President of the United States has the right of veto. That is a Constitutionally given authority to the President of the United States.

The Congress has the opportunity and the responsibility to pass legislation, but the Constitution also gives to a President the responsibility to veto it if he thinks, in his judgment -- representing all of the people, not a parochial interest--a provincial interest, and I have done it quite a few times.

But you know what the net result is, and this is the proof of the pudding. Let me just take two examples. To prove that the utilization of a veto is a constructive, not a negative weapon -- and I emphasize it is a Constitutionally given authority -- early this year I submitted a request, as Buddy and Jim know, for $1 billion 900 million for $450 million for a Summer Youth Program to keep the young people principally in our disadvantaged areas off the street and to keep them occupied, pl[illegible] billion to try and give public service employment during the critical period that we are facing with unemployment.

7704001520

The bill went to the House, and they added $2 billion, if I remember, and then it went to the Senate and they added another $1 billion, so it came down to me with a roughly $5 billion figure, or $3 billion more than I recommeded.

They had added, in a Christmas tree fashion, all kinds of extraneous, unnecessary programs. I vetoed it. We didn't think we could win, but the American people were wiser than a good many of the Members of the House and the Senate.

And the net result -- we sustained the veto. Then the Congress responded and came back with virtually the recommendation that I had made, saving roughly $3 billion.

MORE

What I am trying to say is that a veto is constructive, not negative. Well, we could go on with the housing bill and several others.

As a matter of fact, some of the experts in the statistical field have indicated that over the last year through vetoes that have been wisely and judiciously used, we have been able to save the American people roughly $6 billion. I think that is meaningful and we are going to keep on doing it until they get the word.

Now, let's be frank, we have the problem also of unemployment. There are about 535 members of the House and Senate, everyone of them has an idea how you can solve the problem of unemployment. They want quick fixes, they want some, you know, automatic panacea. We have gone through this before. I don't like the fact that our unemployment is at this height that it is. I have great sympathy for those who are unfortunately out of work because of circumstances beyond their control. But it doesn't do them any good to give them something that in the long run is not good for the country or even for themselves. So what we are doing, or trying to do, is to constructively rehabilitate an economy that was in bad shape about a year ago. And we are not going to do those things that have an apparent -- and I say apparent short dividend, if in the long run it is not healthy for the United States of America.

We have about 85 million Americans currently gainfully employed. We have too many unemployed but do you realize this, the last five months_despite the high unemployment percentage--we have added to the payrolls in this country, primarily in the private sector, about 1,200,000. This is encouraging, and we are going to do better and better.

We must provide jobs in America, not necessarily in the government sector, but more importantly, in the private sector.

May I say a word about energy. I was at a television show after I got down here today -- I have forgotten the channel or the station. (Laughter) But a very attractive young lady and two very able interrogators from the same station (Laughter) asked me about energy. And the inference was that somehow there had been some discrimination against New England. Well, let me just talk, if I might, for a minute, straight from the shoulder. This country has an energy problem and those of you in New England are more seriously affected perhaps than any other part of the country, and I am not going to get into why that might have happened or what might of caused it. But America today is getting,on a day by day by day by day basis,more vulnerable to decision-making by countries in the Middle East.

Our domestic production of oil is going down and we are buying more oil overseas daily from those countries that could turn off the spigot tomorrow if they decided to. And the net result is that we have to find an energy answer in America and if we do we will solve it for New England at the same time.

We can do it by stimulating domestic production of oil here, by conserving the utilization of energy in America, by developing new exotic energy sources, solar, geothermal, et cetera.

In January of this year, we tried to put together, and we were successful in putting together a comprehensive energy program that would have answered the short range as well as the long range problems that we face in America, a program that would have made us invulnerable to foreign decision-making. I submitted it to the Congress and do you realize that as of now, not one energy bill has come down to the White House for approval. Not one, not one piece of a comprehensive program.

America cannot tolerate this kind of lack of action. We went over backwards trying to work with the Congress to get a program, to get a policy enacted into law so America could move ahead to become invulnerable to decision-making by other nations, the Middle East or otherwise. We understand the problem you have in New England and we made exceptions to recognize the difficulties you face in this part of the country and will continue to do so. But I just plead with you, beg with you to get your members of the House and the Senate to join in putting together, with compromise and conciliation if necessary, a program that is good for America.

We must have it for today, tomorrow and ten years from now.

We have some tough decisions in foreign policy. Secretary Kissinger has been spending the last week or so in the Middle East. We are narrowing the differences in cooperation, of course, between the principal negotiators, Israel and Egypt. And it is encouraging that the last decisions by them, of course, are of maximum importance.

Now, let me say this as deeply as I can, it is improtant for the world as a whole that there be continued progress in the Middle East toward peace, because if it fails, if we are not successful, the potential controversy in that part of the world could be explosive for the world as a whole. So we are fortunate to have Henry Kissinger over there working with those two countries now, and, hopefully, on a broader basis in the years ahead.

7704001512

We have had some disappointment in foreign policy, and we won't get into those because I think we have to look forward. We have to realize that it is important for America to strengthen our alliance in Europe.

It is important that we continue to work with Japan in the Pacific and to strengthen our world relations in Latin America and Africa, that we work with those less developed countries, as well as the industrial countries of the world.

We must, as I see it, at least try to ease tensions and to achieve relaxations of competition between the Soviet Union and the United States. In the months ahead, we are going to be negotiating with Mr. Brezhnev on SALT.

About ten days ago, I made a speech in Minneapolis, Minnesota to the American Legion, and I said detente means a relaxation, an ability to try and talk with those with whom we don't agree in order to bring peace and to maintain it in the world.

We are seeking to put a cap on the arms race, the nuclear arms race. I hope we will be successful. It means that we will make some compromises and the Soviet Union will make some compromises.

It will be a two-way street. It will be an agreement, if we achieve it, that is good us, for them, and for the world at large.

Let me say very categorically, if we don't achieve a cap on the nuclear arms race, if the United States is to keep pace, if the United States is going to be second to none in this area, it will be my obligation as President of the United States to go to the Congress and ask for substantial increases in military appropriations to keep our nuclear capability second to none.

That extra $2 or $3 billion a year, without a SALT II agreement, is needed and necessary. I would prefer a cap. I would prefer that we could agree that we shouldn't build these extra missiles and add to our military capability, and that is why we are going to negotiate because it is in the best interest not only of ourselves and the Soviet Union, but mankind as a whole, to stop this fruitless arms race.

Let me say that despite the problems in the economy and energy, despite the difficulties we face as we work with our allies and negotiate with our adversaries, I am an optimist about America. I think the American people believe that we have a great future, just as we have had a great past.

7704001512

I know there are some in this country that think that the solution to our problems at home are more programs, more spending, et cetera, and every time I think of that solution, I can't help but repeat something that I have used as sort of a guideline or a criteria, and I apologize to those I have said it to before or those who have listened to it before:

We must be certain that we understand that a Government big enough to give us everything we want is a Government big enough to take from us everything we have.

It is my judgment, in the third century of America's greatness -- and I go back to what I said at the outset -- the American people still want their individual liberty and they are going to fight for it, they are going to demand it, they are not going to be overwhelmed by big Government, big labor, big business, big education, massive communication.

They want their individual freedom, and to the extent that I can, with your help -- this is what is important -- no man can do it alone. Every one of you in this room are a teammate. Every one of you, by being here tonight, have indicated your willingness to work with us.

I thank you, and we will be out there working for you.

Thank you.

END (AT 9:47 P.M. EDT)

7704001512

Seattle, Washington

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at Boeing Field. September 4, 1975

Governor Dan Evans, Senator Magnuson, Senator Stevens, Congressman Joel Pritchard, Mayor Uhlman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is really wonderful to be in Seattle, and I do thank you for the beautiful salmon. We are now the beneficiaries in my State of Michigan, not of salmon quite as large as

7704001512

that but salmon. We started developing a few years ago by transplanting some salmon from this area of the world, and we now have tremendous supplies in Lake Michigan of Coho salmon. And we are proud of it. They don't match that salmon in size, but they do remind us of the West Coast and the wonderful opportunities that all of you have who live here.

May I also thank you, Governor, for the beautiful fruit and the Bicentennial medal.

As I flew in from Washington, I couldn't help but be impressed with the superb port facilities that you all have here. And that reminded me of the great significance that foreign trade has, not only for you here in Seattle but the impact that it has in a beneficial way for all of the United States.

Naturally, I thought of Seattle when I flew out in Air Force One. I suspect that was made—wherever the plant is—right here. [*Laughter*] It is a great aircraft. And, of course, Seattle, with the Boeing Company, contributes very significantly not only to the aerospace industry as a whole but, very importantly, to our national security. And I compliment the company and particularly its employees for this contribution to our domestic as well as military security.

But also as we flew, as we arrived in the Seattle area, we traveled over some great, great country, the Northwest. I saw the wonderful fields, the grain growing. And it couldn't help but have an impact on me coming from my part of the country and, particularly, now from Washington, D.C., to appreciate how vast our Nation is and how diverse it is, not only in agricultural land but people, natural resources.

When you add it all up, we in America have something that few, if any, other countries in the world have. We have unbelievable assets that we have inherited from others. It is our responsibility—and I know we will assume it—to utilize these resources, whether it is land, natural resources, a harbor, a technical, scientific capability. But we will use the resources of people to make this an even better country in which to live.

I know all of us in the Congress, in the executive branch, and all Americans—some 214 million—want America to keep moving ahead for the benefit of everybody.

I thank you, Governor Evans, and all of you from the State of Washington for your very warm welcome. I know I will have a real good time here.

Thank you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:59 a.m.

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

7704015127

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

(Seattle, Washington)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
GOP FUND-RAISING LUNCHEON

THE SEATTLE CENTER

12:45 P.M. PDT

Governor Dan Evans, Senator Bob Packwood, Congressman Joel Pritchard, Chairman Ross Davis, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is wonderful to be here. I can't express sufficiently my deep appreciation to Governor Evans. I do want to congratulate all of you for being here, in participation in a wonderful political activity.

Let me say that this kind of a meeting inspires me, as I am sure it does your great Governor -- and I will add parenthetically I find a similar enthusiasm and an equal participation all over the country.

The American people are eager and anxious for what we have to develop, a party with a program, with candidates, with enthusiasm, and I thank you for being here on this occasion.

You know I had heard before arrival that you had had some rather disagreeable weather for the last three weeks. (Laughter) Of course, it is not typical of Seattle, so I had a story I was going to tell that took somewhat advantage of this unique break in the weather that you have had for the past month or so.

We brought from Washington some good weather, so I am just going to let the story go and say how nice it is to be here on a sunny day in Seattle.

Governor Evans indicated to you how long our friendship has existed, going back to the dark and dismal days in 1965 when we took a shellacking -- or a good many did -- and our party certainly did on a national basis.

Through the efforts of people like Dan Evans and many others, we started a slow rebuilding process. It was the [illegible]ion of a young Governor from the great State of Washington that was a significant input into the deliberations of what we call the Republican Coordinating Committee.

MORE

7704001513

It had Members of Congress, it had former candidates, Republican presidents, it had a number of Governors, it had State legislators, but I could tell then, as his record has proven, that you had a man in your highest State office who could do the job, could make your State grow and prosper, and I thank Dan Evans for that friendship and I thank all of you for keeping him in that office -- 11 years now, I understand.

I think it is wonderful, and I thank Dan for his help and assistance during this past year, which has been a very trying one. You are lucky, keeping him. You have a real fine person in your Governor.

I don't want anything to be misinterpreted -- we have had our eye on Dan, also. (Laughter)

Let me just add another comment about your only Republican Member of the Congress of the United States. Joel Pritchard came, and I had the privilege of knowing him for one year before I became Vice President. But in the span of some 25 years, while I was a Member of the House of Representatives, I saw a great many Members come and go.

The ones that stayed you could almost detect had a competence and a quality that would permit them to serve for an extended period of time. Others, you had the reaction almost instantaneously that he or she wouldn't make it.

In Joel Pritchard, you have the kind of a Congressman who immediately caught the eye of the people who have some capabilities of judging, people who have seen Members of the House come and go like Greyhound buses, and Joel has done a fine job and you have a good investment in him.

I hope and trust that Joel will continue his fine service representing this State.

I am not going to say anything about Bob Packwood because we are going to Oregon later this afternoon, and I don't think you have many votes up here. (Laughter) But anyhow, I was in Maine and Rhode Island this past weekend, and one thing I know was that in both cases, they had young, vigorous, active Republican State chairmen, and it is going to make a difference in those two States, and those are tough States for us.

7704001512

Let me congratulate Ross Davis, who has an equal enthusiasm and drive. I know that Ross will work wonders for your party, and I congratulate you on his leadership.

From the many times that I have been privileged to visit the State of Washington, I know that Washingtonians as a whole are some of the most independent-minded people in our great country.

I appreciate that, and I am grateful that we have this solid group of independent thinkers and workers and doers.

I also believe that the Republican Party has a lot to say and a lot to give to the independent-minded voter in America today.

I suggest that we reach out and welcome in the independent-minded voter in Washington and elsewhere. It should be a great marriage, but we ought to make the initial overture and gesture. I believe that they will respond.

It seems to me that the independent voter is deeply concerned more with the future of his country than with the fortunes of one political party or another. That independent thinker is concerned with economic progress, energy independence, national defense, the pursuit of justice, the protection of society in America.

He wants a good education, good housing, good health care and good food for his family and at prices that he can afford.

These are very basic concerns that affect all of our lives regardless of our political persuasion. These are the elements that help determine the quality of our private lives, far more determining the issues for political debate.

Improving the quality of life in America is the great challenge that we face as we enter our third century of independence just ten months from today.

In our first 100 years, our most urgent goal was to establish firmly and very securely a system of Government and an order of society that would safeguard our liberties and allow progress to flourish in our new land

Our freedoms and our form of Government were the marvels for the world and the promise of America that gave [illegible] of oppressed people all around the world.

7704001513

America's second century was a century of independence devoted to increasing our material wealth, making the most of the industrial revolution, expanding westward to Washington and to California, and Oregon. Our civilization advanced during th period at an incredible pace with a host of inventions and discoveries that made our lives more pleasurable and our work much more profitable. America's past, like its present, is a mixture of successes and setbacks,of good and bad.

The future in this sense will be no different. And yet the future must be different. We must reclaim our independence from those huge institutions of society which have come so close to snuffing out the fire of personal initiative and individual achievement. We must re-dedicate ourselves to those very great principles of freedom and equality which first gave life and purpose to this Nation. We must demonstrate that far from being in a state of decline, America and its people are prepared for adventures and achievements far excelling any we have seen in the past.

We must agree that a successful blend of personal initiative, private enterprise, and public service will come closer to solving our problems in realizing our potential than will total reliance on massive, muscle-bound bureaucracy of Government.

Too many Americans have relied too much for too long on the Government in Washington to meet their demands grant their wishes and solve their problems. I think it is time we look elsewhere, more to Washington State, for example, and less to Washington, D.C.

We should look in the offices and shops, the factories, the firms, the laboratories, the homes, the schools and the churches of America. This is where the real strength and the real promise and the potential of America resides. This is where to find the creative genius, the knack for problem-solving, the pioneering spirit and the Yankee ingenuity for which this country is so well-known on a global basis.

I am convinced that if we shoulder more of life's responsibilities ourselves and take a more personal stake in life and success of this Nation, we can truly make a fresh start in America, even as we celebrate our 200th Anniversary.

In our third century we should seek to enhance the individual freedom of each of our citizens and strive to make America's civilization the wonder of the world. And we should gauge the progress of our civilization not just by our standard[illegible] of living but by the quality of our lives.

(MORE)

7704001 5131

I know that the people in the leadership of the Republican Party like Dan Evans and Bob Packwood and Joel Pritchard and many others, that the Republican Party is prepared to help guide that kind of progress. Perhaps more than at any other time in the history of our Nation our party's principles and its objectives match the hopes and aspirations of the American people.

Our Republican commitments to fiscal responsibility, to a vigorous free enterprise system, to a strong national defense, to local control over local concerns, and a personal freedom for the individual -- these are commitments shared by the vast majority of our fellow Americans and your Washingtonian friends in this great State.

We believe, as Abraham Lincoln said, that"government should only do for the people what they cannot do as well for themselves."

We believe that the American people have grown weary of government's overblown promises and overbearing controls.

We believe the American people are ready to do great things for themselves and for their country. We are prepared to govern but not dominate the American people. That is our pledge for the coming campaign and for the years ahead. We can help to make these great years great ones for America. So much so that we and our children, and their children, may say with new meaning, and with fresh enthusiasm, the words of Daniel Webster, "Thank God I am an American."

Thank you very much.

END (AT 1:02 P.M. PDT)

7704001513

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Seattle, Washington)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
WASHINGTON GOP LUNCHEON

OLYMPIC HOTEL

2:14 P.M. PDT

Dan, and Bob Packwood, Joel Pritchard, distinguished public officials, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great delight and great privilege and pleasure to be here again in Seattle. I always enjoy coming back to Washington because your great, although somewhat moist weather, and if you are in politics, it really is great. It is the only place I know where you can be all wet and still get elected. (Laughter) Scoop, if you are listening, I am only kidding. (Laughter)

Let me say, with all the sincerity and the conviction that I have, it is meetings like this and the one I was privileged to attend an hour or so ago, and the one I attended in Maine last Saturday noon, and the great one I was privileged to participate in in Rhode Island last Saturday night, I find everywhere that the enthusiasm that exists in one State is apparently contagious in another. And the net result is that the views, the people, the attitudes of the Republican Party are expanding and I think it is good for the country and let's keep it going.

Of course you in Washington are extremely fortunate to have Dan Evans as your Governor. He sets the tone, he sets the spirit, he is substantive in the manner in which he approaches the problems, he is far more skillful than I in getting a legislature to respond. (Laughter) But I just want to thank Dan for his very kind remarks and say to you that we who operate on the national scene look upon Dan as a great Governor, and you are fortunate to have him, and we are lucky to have him in the Republican Party.

Now, we have Senator Bob Packwood here. He is from Oregon and I am not going to say anything about him now because I am going down to Oregon tonight so I will just revise and extend my remarks in the case of Bob at the moment.

MORE

But you do have in Bill Pritchard the kind of a person that I could feel -- the minute he walked into the House of Representatives and I had an opportunity to watch and observe -- that he was going to stay and represent you. After you have been in the House and, particularly, in the leadership, you can observe and after a relatively short period of time, you can get a feeling that that person wouldn't be back the next time or this one is just beginning a great, new career. It was my observation in the time that I served jointly with Joel that he is the kind that will stay.

You have a good investment in him, he will do a good job. I certainly hope you will make certain that he comes back, and a good many more times than 1976.

I think it is fair to say that no political party can really be strong and effective over a long period of time if they don't have a sound, well-led State organization. And I think from all I have heard and what I am told, particularly from the people who work for me who have been out here, in Ross Davis and the others in your State organization, Washington is in good hands and I thank you for making that possible.

It seems to me that there are three very basic issues that we, as a country, not just as a party, have to face: energy, the economy and foreign policy.

MORE

7704001513 1

I have some prepared notes here, but if you will permit me, I will extemporize rather than read the script.

Let's talk about energy. You, in the great State of Washington, of course, are the beneficiary in one respect because of your great utilization of hydro-electric energy.

On the other hand, you are showing some vision in protecting yourself with development of some of the newer sources but, equally important, you are a very vital part of making certain that the Alaskan pipeline is built on time and that great reservoir of oil that is there will come to the Lower 48 on time.

I am not going to quote the statistics--I am sure that many of you are far more knowledgeable than I--but we in the Lower 48 are dependent on the contribution that all of you are making here in the State of Washington in this regard.

The United States on the broader sense has a tremendous energy problem. On the other hand, we could have an energy crisis overnight. Every day that passes, the country as a whole is becoming more and more dependent on foreign oil sources. Our domestic production of oil, whether it is old U.S. oil or new U.S. oil, is going down.

1973 was less than 1972; 1974 was less than 1973, and 1975 is less than last year. It is going down slowly but seriously, and as we have less and less American production, we buy more from overseas.

Until we get alternative sources or until we find means of sufficiently conserving energy, our country could be extremely vulnerable tomorrow on foreign sources of oil.

So, we have tried to promote in the Congress, I think, a comprehensive energy program. It was a massive job to put it together, and it is a big proposal in words and dollars.

As a matter of fact, it is about 200 pages that we put all the bills together, and we sent it up to the Congress and said, here is a plan, we can have energy independence in the next decade if Congress will pass this.

There were many hues and cries and critics. I said, "Well, if you don't want to buy this, come up with your own plan." I am being not literal but figurative. At first, we had 535 plans in the House and Senate. (Laughter)

We have winnowed it down now, Bob, how many -- about five or six -- but not one of those has been enacted into law, not mine nor any one they are proposing.

We are trying to negotiate in a responsible and reasonable way to achieve a plan that is going to move. I met this morning with the Democratic and Republican leadership before I came West. We are getting some cooperation from some of the Democratic leaders.

I hope we can get more. I think we can get more. I think we can get significant support from our Republicans, but if we don't, this country is making a serious mistake that could affect our future because on any day there could be a turn-off of a substantial part of our energy capability.

America can't look down the road with optimism for success if our security is dependent on somebody else. So, if you have influence -- and I know you do -- try to get some action in the Congress on this important issue.

Let me turn quickly, if I might, to the situation in the economy. I start out by saying unemployment is too high, inflation is too bad, but let me be quite candid with you.

A year ago the rate of inflation was roughly 12 percent, maybe 12 to 13, the highest inflation in this country for this century, at least. Some corrective actions were taken. We tried to put the lid on fiscal policy, and there were some restrictions as far as monetary policy.

The net result is we made slow but steady progress in achieving some success in reducing the rate of inflation. We are down now somewhere between 6 and 7 percent. That is not good enough, but if we do what we have been doing, I think we can continue progress in this critical area.

I said at the outset in discussing this subject that unemployment is too high. The Governor was talking to me, and I think it is 9 to 10 percent in your State. But because of the initiative of the Governor and others in your State, you have taken it down from what it was, what, 16 percent roughly several years ago.

I commend you, and the policies that you followed during that span of time were right. It is not easy, as the Governor and others know, to tackle this problem and it is no easier on a national basis than it is on a State basis.

7704001513

But I am convinced, as we look at the statistics and look at the future -- and let me quote one or two that are important -- even though unemployment, the rate of unemployment has been between 8.5 and 9 percent for the last two or three months, since March of this year, we have had an increase in the number of people employed of one million two hundred thousand. In other words, the people are being put on the payroll in increasing numbers.

The unemployment rate is affected by the total number who are also in the labor markets and the number who are unemployed, but as long as we keep steady progress, I am convinced that we can come out of a recession, the worst we have had since World War II, not with a quick fix that will only lead us to a more serious problem in a year or two, but we can come out of it with a sound and secure position as far as inflation is concerned and a healthy growing economy that will provide jobs for people.

That is what we want, and we have to provide around one million and one half of new jobs every year for young people coming into the labor markets. I am an optimist, despite the problems we face in this area.

Let me talk for a moment, if I might, about foreign policy. For the last two weeks or thereabouts, Secretary Kissinger has been in the Middle East. He arrived back last night. I talked to him for an hour or so upon his return, and I had a meeting with the Democratic and Republican leadership at the White House at 7:45 this morning, where we had a report from him first-hand.

Let me summarize very quickly how I see the situation because this agreement is a key to building a firmer and broader program for peace in the Middle East.

I can put it this way: If we had not had this agreement, the probability of another war, the fifth in 20 years, would have been very, very high. You know what happened in the 1967 war and the 1973 war, particularly the latter, with the oil embargo and the economic dislocations that resulted.

If we had not been able to help get Israel and Egypt together -- and Secretary Kissinger played a very key role -- the prospects for war in that area would have been exceedingly high in a relatively short period of time.

But, we got the agreement, and the net result is the path of peace has been broadened and made stronger [illegible] we will work with others to keep the momentum going. We have eliminated stagnation and stalemate, and the momentum for peace on a broader basis, I think, can be kept going and can materialize.

7704001 5137

I am not going to be foolish enough to pick a date, but I am firmly of the conviction that the attitude, the atmosphere is such that this momentum will keep going. So, I am pleased to report to you that after the meeting with the leadership this morning, some 20 members of the House and Senate, both sides of the political aisle, there was near unanimity, that the concurrent resolution that will be submitted to the House and Senate will be approved.

The one issue that I am sure bothers you -- it was the one issue that was raised primarily in the meeting with the Congressional leaders this morning -- why is the United States agreeing to send up to 200 -- up to but not more than, and those are the precise words in the agreement -- civilians, technicians, to be a partner in the manning of these early warning stations.

Let me tell you the history of it. President Sadat, when I met him in Austria in early June, suggested it. Prime Minister Rabin several weeks later independently suggested it. So, we have in this case both Israel and Egypt wanting us to do it.

Secondly, they are highly skilled technicians. They are nonmilitary, and they will operate in the U.S. zone with roughly 7,000 to 8,000 U.N. military personnel.

They are, under these circumstances, a contribution to peace, and they are not vulnerable as our early technicians were, or military personnel were when we sent them to Vietnam.

There was a war going on. The North Vietnamese didn't want our military personnel in there. This is a totally different situation. Both sides in a period of peace want American civilians to be there surrounded by U.N. peace-keeping forces, and this is added insurance for the maintenance of peace in that important area of the world.

MORE

7704001513

Let me quickly turn to another subject. We have an opportunity later this year, possibly, to put a firm cap on strategic arms. It was my privilege last November and December to meet in Vladivostok with Secretary Brezhnev and we made a broad agreement to put a cap on strategic arms. They have to cut back and we have to level off. Now, we anticipat further negotiations somtime in the next several months, hopefully the possibility for an agreement.

I think the prospects are encouraging and, if we are successful, it will be possible for us to have a more economic military budget and still have American security and still be second to none.

On the other hand, if we don't get a strategic arms agreement, SALT II, there will be no choice on my part, except to ask the Congress for another $2 billion in funds for additional strategic arms because if there is no cap agreed to between the Soviet Union and the United States and they go off, as they have a capability of doing, of increasing their ballistic missiles, increasing their high performance manned aircraft, and increasing their submarine construction and their other strategic arms, if they go off as they have capability, the United States can't sit idly by.

But the choice is a better one--to put a cap on that can be monitored and where you have an opportunity to control it. The United States, I can assure you, is going to be strong domestically in energy and our economy. The United States is going to be strong internationally. We will be a leader for peace in the future as we have in the past. But to do that, we must be strong at home and capable in our national security program.

Your great State makes a contribution in so many ways, not only in the leadership of your Governor, but in the products that you produce, whether on the farm or in the factory.

I thank you for your help. Thank you very much.

END (AT 2:35 P.M. PST)

7704001513

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Seattle, Washington)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
TO THE
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON
DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

THE GRAND BALLROOM
OLYMPIC HOTEL

3:33 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Dan, members of the Cabinet, members of the Executive Branch of the Government, all of you from the State in the Northwest, it is a great privilege and a very high honor to have an opportunity of participating in this White House Conference. I thank your great Governor for his warm welcome on this and other occasions here today and I can only reiterate that it has always been a great honor for me to work with him, on governmental, political and substantive matters and I think you are very fortunate in this State to have Dan Evans as your Governor.

Obviously, I am very pleased to be in the Pacific northwest and particularly in the great City of Seattle and the State of Washington. I know you have had a full day of White House Conference so I will try to keep my remarks brief. I might say parenthetically I know you have integrated people from the Executive Branch, from the Cabinet, I hope that you have used all your venom (Laughter) -- if you had any, on them and will be kind and considerate of me.

As you know, many of you I am sure, I have been a part of the Federal Government for 26 years and I am very concerned about the ever widening communications gap between Washington on our East Coast and our fellow Americans in all other parts of the United States. Too many Americans have difficulty making their views and their wishes known to the people with whom they must communicate in Washington. This difficulty was probably best summed up in a letter, or an envelope that I received quite recently. It was plaintively addressed as follows: To President Gerald R. Ford, or Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, or Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, or just plain anybody who will listen. (Laughter)

7704001 5140

As you have seen here today, I, along with other key members of the Cabinet and staff, have come to listen and to learn. I hope we have kept the speeches to a minimum and hopefully our responses to a maximum.

I do look forward to your questions, your concerns, your ideas about the future of our country, about the direction that you believe we should take. But first, let me very briefly touch on some of the basic directions I think our Nation can and should take in the months and years ahead. Obviously, the economy is one of our principal concerns, energy is another.

Over the years the American free enterprise economy has created a better life for more people than any other system of government in the history of the world. Yet in the past year we have seen it pass through some very difficult times. Recession on the one hand, inflation on the other have strained the economic security of millions and millions of Americans. Some of the causes of our economic difficulties is beyond our control. International developments prompted the sky-rocketing oil prices, others were the result of government activity, such as inflationary spending at the Federal level. But on the basis of the latest figures, the darkest days of the recession are behind us, the American economy is starting a sustained recovery that we all desire.

Let's be frank, we have a long way to go.

Unemployment is far, far too high and must be brought down. Our factories must start producing at maximum capacity again. And while we must start to fight the recession, we must also fight just as hard against rising inflation, a problem that is still with us.

Another problem is energy dependence. No one knows better than the people of the Pacific Northwest the importance of energy in the economy.

At the same time, no part of the Nation is more interested in environmental quality. You are moving to combine the two, to balance them in the interest of both the economy and the ecology. The Alaska Pipeline will ultimately make Seattle a lifeline of energy for this part of the country, at the same time recognizing the needs for alternative sources of energy, you are building nuclear energy plants.

In short, you here in Seattle and the State of Washington are making your own decisions. You are taking action to insure your future. We must do precisely the same thing at the Federal level.

You have already heard from some of the key people, some of the real experts in the Administration on energy, inflation, unemployment, new incentives, the working people and employers. I hope we can go into the issues in greater depth and into any other areas you wish to cover, so let's start your questions.

Yes, sir.

7704001514

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Ralph Davis, President of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce.

My question relates to the problem of inflation. You mentioned just now -- and there is a consensus within the business community -- that excessive Government spending over the years has had a very serious impact on this problem of inflation.

Could you mention for us the principal points of the programs and the plans that your Administration may have to try to bring Federal spending more within the line of revenues?

THE PRESIDENT: I will be very glad to, Mr. Davis.

In the budget figures that were submitted to me in November, shortly after I was sworn in as President, I was reviewing the budget to be submitted to the Congress in January for the fiscal year that begins July 1.

When the figures first came to me, they showed a deficit substantially higher than the one I finally submitted. It was an astronomical figure, somewhere in the magnitude of $60 or $70 or higher billions.

In order to get at the basic problem that had accumulated over the years, I instructed that in the preparation of the budget, for example, we should put certain caps on spending programs that would have risen to coincide with the cost of living increases.

I suggested a 5 percent cap. This would have saved, as I recollect, $3 or $4 billion. It wouldn't have reduced any payments or benefits. It simply would have put a cap on the spending for a one-year period.

Unfortunately, the Congress rejected all of those recommendations.

We have also instituted what I call a "no new program" approach, which meant that any new program other than those affecting national security or energy would not be approved by me. I thought we should have a one-year moratorium on new spending programs. So far, as best I can recollect, we have been able to preclude any new programs being initiated by the Congress, and we, in the White House, did not propose any.

These are the kind of efforts that we have made, but despite that, and I want to be very frank with you, the deficit, when we added up all the income that could be [illegible] and the expenditures that were frozen into the statutes, we ended up with a deficit of $60 billion, originally 52, but the added costs of the recession made the difference between 52 and 60.

Now, our biggest problem is trying to convince the Congress to go along with the caps, to go along with our "no new spending" program, and to show initiative in other areas.

But if we don't for this fiscal year you will have more than a $60 billion deficit, and you will have built into the next budget figures that will probably mean as big a deficit for the following fiscal year.

That is one of our basic causes of inflation, and it has been in the past. It is now, and it will be in the future.

QUESTION: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes?

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Jim Williams.

As Executive Director of the Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center, my concern is with the position of the national Administration regarding full employment and training opportunities.

In the transmittal message accompanying your fiscal year 1976 budget recommendation, it indicated that out of the total outlay of some $349 billion there will be a deficit of some $60 billion or 52 or more.

If the economy were to be as fully employed in 1976 as it was in 1974, the deficit will be totally eliminated because there will be an additional $40 billion in tax receipts and $12.7 billion, or less, being paid out in unemployment compensation.

My specific question is, Mr. President, what exactly is the national Administration doing to reduce unemployment, at least to the levels of pre-1974?

THE PRESIDENT: In the first place, the figures you cite are accurate. If we had had a healthy economy, we would have paid out far less in unemployment compensation, public service employment and others, and we would have had higher revenues.

The net result would have been roughly a balance.

Now, unfortunately, when the economic problems started going, with inflation at 12 to 14 percent in 1974, followed by precipitous increases in unemployment, you just can't turn a spigot and stop inflation and all of a sudden [illegible] the private sector to do something about increasing employment or reducing of layoffs.

I suppose, or at least you could try in a dictatorship kind of Government, but it doesn't happen that way in our kind of free society.

What we have tried to do is to restore public confidence against inflation by cutting back inflation. I think we have made significant headway. At the same time, to ameliorate the unemployment of those who, through no cause of their own, but cutbacks in job opportunities to cover them during this span of time.

We are making headway, but it is a lower process than it might look like on paper, and I have yet to find an economist or an expert in the field of finance or otherwise who could give me a pat answer to the precise question that you ask.

It sounds good, but I don't know of anybody who said the President or the Congress could turn a wheel or turn a spigot and achieve full employment without inflation after we were in the circumstances of 12 to 14 percent inflation and unemployment of the magnitude that we have.

The recovery from those very serious recessionary problems is a slow process. In the meantime, we are trying to, in a humane way, help those that are unemployed and to prevent the sad losses of inflation of those who are working, as well as unemployed.

Yes, sir.

MORE

7704001514

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is John Henry. I am President of the Municipal League.

You are aware, I am sure, of the public opinion polls which show a steadily ebbing degree of confidence in Government and public officials. It is partly because of this that the Municipal League in this State took a major part in enacting one of the most comprehensive public disclosure laws of any State in the United States. Bearing this in mind, we are concerned about the Federal Election Law passed in 1974, which is presently being challenged in the courts and would appreciate hearing your comments on that act as to whether it should be strengthened. Should it be more encompassing than it is at the present?

THE PRESIDENT: I signed the Congressional action putting on the statute books the Campaign Election Law of 1974. I had some reservations about it. We are in the process now of trying to get the Federal Election Commission to give some interpretations under the law. The Federal Election Commission is finding some imprecise language, some ambiguities. Their decisions, I am sure, in some instances will be challenged. I am not predicting which ones because they are just getting started.

I don't think we should undertake any significant changes in it until we find out how it works in the 1976 elections, it will apply both to the Presidency and Congressional races. I suspect after we have gone through one national election, and after we find out how it works, there will be some recommendations from a wide variety of sources because any peace of legislation as complicated as that, as innovative and new as that, is bound to have some imperfections. But to pre-judge it before it has actually been used, I think, is unwise. I would wait until after November of 1976 when we have had practical experience and then take a look and see what ought to be done.

QUESTION: Virginia Foust, President of the Washington State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club.

As part of our legislative platform passed in our 1975 National Convention, we gave full support to the extension of the United States coastal limit to 200 miles wherever geographically feasible. We were taunted by the press that this was not a concern for a woman's group. But from Maine through the Gulf Coast, up the West, through Alaska, we felt as citizens it was our concern. Do you foresee that this 200-mile limit could be in the near future be given some consideration?

7704001545

THE PRESIDENT: I was asked somewhat the same question up in Maine last Saturday, so I will tell you what I said then. The answer here will be precisely the same as the one I gave there.

I believe in the 200-mile concept. The Law of the Sea Conference, which is an international group, has been working on a comprehensive international treaty or agreement aimed at solving not only the 200-mile limit but a number of other very intricate and complicated points. They adjourned some time last fall -- early this spring, I am sorry -- and are reconvening in either January or February. Our Government's position in this negotiation on a global basis is for a 200-mile limit.

Now in the meantime the Congress, in both the House and the Senate, we have had unilateral actions taken by, or proposed, so that the United States would establish a 200-mile economic zone regardless of what the Law of the Sea Conference proposes.

It is my hope that, in light of my endorsement of the 200-mile concept, that the Congress will wait and see if we can't get an international agreement obviating the need and the necessity for U.S. unilateral action.

I would hope that the Law of the Sea Conference would be concluded some time in 1976. We are going to fight for the 200-mile concept. I think we can get that concept incorporated in the Law of the Sea Conference.

So, therefore, I urge that the Congress slow down a bit until we have been successful -- and I think we will be -- in the Law of the Sea Conference.

QUESTION: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Leo Bodine. I am President of the Idaho Association of Commerce and Industry.

My question roots to a problem that is developing within our State, the State of Idaho, as indeed it is elsewhere about these United States, that of a budding energy shortage. The question also roots to an awareness of a generally conceded fact that there is an awful lot of coal abundancy available to us as an alternate fuel. So I ask, what do you see as necessary to substantially increase the use and reliance upon coal to provide energy and what can be anticipated in the way of a timetable for the accomplishment of that objective, assuming a great, increased use of coal can be conceded to be an objective?

THE PRESIDent: In a normal year to the last several years -- and I say "normal" because we had a strike last fall -- but in a normal year we have been using roughly 600 million tons of coal a year. Our energy program over the next ten years aims at increasing coal utilization from 600 million tons a year to 1,200,000,000 tons.

Now, in order to do that, we have to take some affirmative actions to get conversion from oil-burning utilities to coal-burning utilities. The reason for that is that we have about a 300-year, as I recollect, supply of coal in the United States, and we are rapidly running out of domestic crude oil production in the United States.

It is going down every year. So we want to get conversion. We want to, through research and development, develop new ways to use coal more efficiently, more economically, more environmentally acceptable, and we are spending, as I recollect, about $400 million in research and development on better utilization of coal.

I think it is in our national interest, it helps us become less vulnerable to foreign oil sources. It is a domestic product that, if we mine it here, the money stays here, but if we don't mine it here and buy more foreign oil, our money and jobs, they go overseas. We have too much of that now with the kind of prices we are paying for overseas oil and the dependence we are getting.

So I can simply assure you through conversion, through research, through a number of other efforts, we are going to become more and more dependent on foreign oil sources.

7704001547

QUESTION: Mr. President, Bob Thompson, publisher of the Post Intelligence here.

This is sort of the second half of a question asked earlier. Public opinion polls tell us that there is a disenchantment of citizens, if you will, about public institutions and public officials. I would think as President of the United States you would be disturbed by that.

I guess the question is philosophical. How can we restore the confidence of the people in their Government?

THE PRESIDENT: I have watched those polls. I am disturbed by what I see. It is not only a lack of confidence in the Federal Government, but I think it is broader than that.

If that attitude prevails, I think it erodes the capability of Government to do its job, public officials to effectively achieve what they have to do.

It is my opinion that, at the Federal level -- and I would not want to comment beyond that because I have never served in local office -- it seems to me that whether you are in the White House or in Congress, the person holding office has to come out and solicit views and listen to the views of people so that the public doesn't get the impression decisions are made in a smoke-filled room or behind the locked door.

The people want to participate, and I think by conferences such as this and other means, the public will feel they are a part of something. Once they feel they are a part of something, in my judgment, confidence will be restored.

Yes, sir?

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Harvey Mesford, and I represent the Seafarer's International Union.

In 1970, the maritime industry was given a tremendous shot in the arm through the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1970. Now, five years later, this industry is in dire need of a booster shot in some form of cargo preference, preferably in the dry bulk import and export field.

My question is, is there any hope for legislation being passed and signed in this area?

7704001543

THE PRESIDENT: I am very familiar with the issue, and I have talked with a good many people, both in labor and management, who have been involved in this legislative effort and the basic problem -- which is what we have to solve -- our Merchant Marine is being unfairly attacked on a competitive basis by highly subsidized foreign ships and to some extent other countries are using the cargo preference approach.

I believe there is a better answer than specific cargo preference legislation, although if it were properly drafted, I said I would sign such a bill.

But let me just take a specific case. In 1972, when the first shipment of grain was sent to the Soviet Union, an agreement was reached so that one-third of that purchase would go in Soviet vessels, one-third in United States' b ottoms and the other third in, I guess, any bottom.

Unfortunately, in the three years, the United States one year got up to its third, in the other two years we are between 20 and 24 percent. That is inexcusable.

One of the problems is that rates paid by the Soviet Union for the shipment have not been adequate and American shipowners have put the ships in lay-up. We are in the process now of trying to negotiate with the Soviet Union a higher freight rate per ton so that those American ships -- about 34 or 35 of them -- will be taken out of lay-up and will be used in the shipment of any grain, whatever the amount is.

This, in effect, will provide the dry cargo that you are talking about, or at least I think you are referring to.

Now, in addition, we are trying to broaden the utilization of any such ships that are in that category, so they don't come back deadheading, so to speak, but they come back with another cargo, and this is a possibility.

It seems to me that that is a better way than an arbitrary cargo preference approach.

We are working on it. We hope to get the freight rate up and, if we get it up, those 34 ships will come out and they will be a part of our active fleet.

If we can negotiate and achieve proper arrangements, we might be able to get more out without having a preference, per se. I can assure you I have talked to Paul Hall, Phil Carlip, Teddy Gleason and all of them, and I can just assure you, as I told them, we are going to get those ships in active duty, period.

QUESTION: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: He is in charge. Talk to him. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Mike Galvin. I am the President of the Washington Environmental Council.

Amongst professional economists, businessmen and just plain citizens like myself, there is a debate as to how we, as a country and economic system shall grow. Will we grow as we have in the past -- that is one question -- or can we afford to have our economic system expand at the same rate as it has in the past?

Part of this debate reflects the concern that historical growth patterns cannot, in fact, be maintained in view of diminishing net energy and raw materials and increased pollution related to the doubling of the Gross National Product every two decades.

In addition, a critical question associated with this growth debate is how to keep people employed however we choose to grow.

I would like to ask you, is it the Administration's position that our economic system must expand at past growth rates in order to maintain employment levels or can we channel some of our great resources and abilities to different sectors of the economy in order to achieve greater energy efficiency, greater employment levels and more sensible use and preservation of our national resources and environment? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Let me emphatically say that I believe this country can and must continue its growth at a high level -- and I am not going to define the level here. But if we are to provide about 1,600,000 new jobs every year for the young people entering the labor market, we have to have growth. It is mandatory.

We can't bear these children and then not provide jobs when they become of an employable age. We have to have a society that gives them an opportunity for work, and we are going to.

I can't predict with precision what that growth rate ought to be, whether it is higher or lower than what we have had, but we are going to have a sufficient growth to provide that job opportunity.

7704001510

Secondly, I happen to be sufficiently optimistic that if we manage our resources adequately, we can provide those job opportunities and still not despoil our environment, like we have for the last 20 or 50 years.

We have been trying to catch up, to make up for the deficiencies in this area that were our responsibility for the last two or three decades. We have made substantial progress.

I think we are reaching a point now where there can be a balance to recovering our environment, preserving it and saving it in the future and, at the same time, maintain an economy that has a growth factor to take care of the job requirements of the young people entering our society.

Russ Train is here. I don't know whether it came from his shop or not, but I do know a little bit about the Great Lakes. We were in a serious problem five years ago, and through a wide variety of activity forcing municipalities to improve their pollution controls, forcing industry to take creative action, I saw something over the last several days that the Great Lakes have stopped their degeneration and are now affirmatively being cleaned up.

Believe me, that is an important factor in that area where some ten or 11 States depend on that fresh water for their livelihood.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir?

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Kemper Freeman, Sr. I am President of the Bellview Chamber of Commerce and I am here representing the Puget Sound Chambers of Commerce.

The savings institutions are looked to as a primary housing source of financing with all the benefits for better living and the stimulation of the construction energy and our whole economy as an outgrowth.

The question will the Federal Government require private savings institutions to operate under Federal price ceilings on savings interest rates and at the same time permit Federal Government agencies to out-compete for savings dollars by paying higher than the legal limits for interest, and thus causing the savings to be withdrawn from the home financing?

THE PRESIDENT: I think the best evidence that this Administration doesn't believe in that is the fact that over the last eight months the in-flow, the net in-flow in savings and loans has been the biggest in the history of the United States.

So, that situation proves that this Administration is not going to set artificially high interest rates and force -- not force them -- but entice people to buy Government securities instead of utilizing the savings capabilities of the savings and loan.

As far as I know, we have no intention of moving in the direction that you are concerned about. We want the savings and loans to have lots of money so they will aggressively go out and try to sell houses with the homebuilders. You have a lot of money, get it out there and let's get some homes built.

QUESTION: Thank you,and good for you, Mr. President. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am John Hogness of the University of Washington.

What are the chances of passage of a comprehensive national health insurance bill this year or next?

THE PRESIDENT: As I said in my remarks or in answer to one of the questions, I decided for the budget year of 1976, that I would not advocate any new programs and that, of course, included a comprehensive national health insurance program.

I had, when I was in the Congress, advocated a program that was, I believe, one that would use the private sector and not a monopolistic Federal Government program that could be financed and, in effect, would improve our health care facilities and institutions.

But it would have imposed -- let me be very frank -- new budget problems on the Federal Government. In my opinion, because of the deficit that we faced and the need to control fiscal deficits, that we couldn't -- at least for fiscal 1976 -- endorse or support what I had supported when I was a member of the House of Representatives.

That is my view.

Now, what is the Congress going to do? I have noticed of late that there has been less enthusiasm, apparently, in the Congress for such a program. For example -- this was in the paper so I am not telling any secrets out of school -- Senator John Tunney, who has long been an advocate of the so-called Kennedy Health Insurance Program, publicly announced about two weeks ago that he was withdrawing his support because of the fiscal situation.

I believe that there is a feeling that the approach ought to be thought out more carefully. We have the Kennedy approach, which is pretty much a government monopoly. We have the approach that I endorse, which is one that uses the private institutions. You have the American Medical Society that uses what they call Medicredit, you have the American Hospital Association that has some program.

I think, for the time being, we have to do a little more in-depth study before we commit ourselves to any program of that kind.

QUESTION: Mr. President, it is a real pleasure having you here in Seattle with us today. My name is Ken Bostock. I am representing the Washington Committee on Consumer Interest.

Recently in a widely reported speech before the Hardware Manufacturers Association in Chicago, you promised to get Government out of their business, their lives, their pocketbooks and their hair. (Laughter)

Now this same theme has been echoed throughout today by your staff and Cabinet members. Virtually everyone agrees with that laudable goal, even consumer advocates. Unfortunately from our perception, too many times the perpetrators of unnecessarily restrictive governmental regulations is not consumers, rather it is a business, an industry or a protection that seeks to limit the ability of others to enter the marketplace and compete with them.

My question to you is: it has been reported in the news media that you intend to veto the legislation creating the Agency for Consumer Protection when it reaches your desk. First, is that true, and, secondly, if so, given the best efforts of previous Administrations to accomplish this same goal, and the continuing failure of Federal agencies to lessen these regulatory burdens, why are you rejecting this opportunity for instituting significant regulatory reform?

THE PRESIDENT: I am going to veto the bill. I so indicated that to the House and Senate. I am going to veto it for several reasons. One, it fits into the category of no new programs. Secondly, it would, under the legislation as it has been introduced, would cost over a two or three year period, just for administrative costs, $60 million. Thirdly, I think there is a better answer to the adequate protection of consumer interests as far as the Federal Government is concerned.

All the Cabinet members here as well as their associates in the Cabinet know that Virginia Knauer, who is the White House consumer head, has gone to every department and sat down with the Secretary and his staff saying, "What are you doing in your department to protect consumer interests?"

And in some instances we have found that Cabinet officers or their departments weren't doing enough and were doing a lousy job.

Virginia has my full support to make sure that departments perform.

I think that is the way to do it rather than to establish a separate agency that, in my judgment, is unnecessary and is costly and I prefer the approach that I outlined because I think it can work,and it is better and it will do the job without the establishment of another bureaucracy, another layer. It is not that we don't support protecting consumer interests but we think there is a better way to do it rather than a new bureaucracy.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Bob Polachek and I am here representing the Washington Bankers Association.

In his remarks, Mr. Seidman, I believe, mentioned that the Executive Branch would be taking a hard look at the effectiveness of all the regulations, particularly those that have been laid on business and industry in recent years, as to their real public benefits versus cost. We see more rather than less regulation in the immediate future.

What is actually being done at the Executive level to address this problem realistically?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't deny that the trend has been for more regulation rather than less. We have initiated efforts to work with regulatory agencies to get them to knock out some of the regulations that have been in effect that are no longer necessary, that are obsolete or obsolescent. This is going to be, unfortunately, a slow process.

One thing that is forgotten -- and I will bet that 99 percent of the regulations that are in effect are mandated by Congressional action and are included in statutory law. I just know that is true.

So, one of the problems we have is to get Congress to modify existing law or to rescind present law.

I am not saying that we can't make any improvement. I think we can. But we are hamstrung unless we get Congressional support.

Now, in order to get this action going, I had a meeting with all of the pertinent committee heads and their minority counterparts about a month or two ago. They are as interested as we are and I believe the White House, working with the Congressional committee leadership, can get some laws amended or laws rescinded and then we can really start knocking out some of these unnecessary obsolete, obsolescent regulations.

We are going to try, I will tell you that.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am John Murray. I am President of the Washington Newspaper Publishers Association.

Incidentally, I am number 13 on the program. If anybody thinks this was a put-up job, I have had to change my question three times. (Laughter)

I also serve as Chairman of the Oceanographic Commission of the State of Washington.

My question -- which I just wrote, so I know you don't know it -- does the Administration have any specific plan to aid or promote oceanographic programs such as fish farming, ocean mining and other new economic uses of oceanographic resources?

THE PRESIDENT: I know in general we do have such a program. It is under the control and jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce. Rog Morton can give you the specifics, but we have a program. It probably ought to be expanded because the potential in the seas is really unbelievable.

Many people think there is a greater potential for society on a global basis in the sea than there is in the atmosphere.

So, I suspect there will be pressure, increasing pressure to expand that particular program.

SECRETARY MORTON: There will be.

THE PRESIDENT: Roger just said because I said that he is going to recommend more. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

I would like to particularly point out that Puget Sound is a great place to start. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Bruce McPhaden. I am the Regional Vice President of Kaiser Aluminium and Chemical Corporation, located in Spokane, Washington in the beautiful, warm, sunny Eastern part of this great State of ours.

THE PRESIDENT: You couldn't do any better than you had today in Seattle. (Laughter)

7704001515

QUESTION: Come to Spokane.

My company operates three major plants in the State of Washington, with a total employment of approximately 3,500 people. Our company is one of seven major aluminium companies located in the Northwest representing approximately one-third of the domestic aluminium industry.

Today, I am representing the Association of Washington Business, of which I am a Director.

Like you, Mr. President, and your distinguished Administration, business and industry in the Northwest has been concerned about three fundamental problems; one, getting our economy moving again and people back to work, but doing so without further inflation; two, solving our serious energy problem so that we can continue to have reliable and low-cost power essential to the health of our economy and financial system; and three, making the best use of our limited capital to improve productivity to better compete and produce jobs.

We have been pleased to note that your Administration has recognized the necessity for greater flexibility in the use of our limited capital to achieve these objectives.

For example, when there is only so much money available for improving productivity, saving energy through converstion to alternate sources, instituting major conservation programs and improving our environmental control systems, you have recognized their needs to be flexible in the law and administration of the law to permit the best and most productive use of these limited capital resources.

In this connection, your Administration has indicated a need to provide some flexibility and relief in the Clean Air Act. The goal of protecting human health and improving our environment is the mutual goal of your Administration, industry and the general public.

But to move too fast is counterproductive in attaining our environmental as well as our economic goals. As your Administration has recognized, we must have some flexibility through amendments in the Clean Air Act.

Yet, on August 8, the Muskie subcommittee of the Senate Public Works Commitee published a 98-page document of subcommittee recommendations and staff proposals for the Clean Air Act amendments which moves 180 degrees in the opposite direction. It inserts several new [illegible] of regulation, it establishes new deadlines, it allows for almost all pervasive regulation by the EPA, and it increases penalties. The tone is punative, it tightens and makes more rigid rather than relaxes or makes more flexible.

Mr. President, if I may be excused, a personal reference, our company has alone spent approximately $110 million since 1973 just to meet increasingly stringent environmental control standards.

During the first half of this year, we spent as much money on environmental and OSHA programs as we made in profits in our aluminium business.

Mr. President, my question to you is this: (Laughter) What is your Administration's position on the Clean Air Act amendments, and will you continue to urge Congress to provide relaxation of schedules and standards to provide for the flexibility needed to properly address this problem in context with all the other economic and energy problems we face, and will you continue to explain to the public the economic and financial constraints we face and the need for accepting more realistic and attainable environmental goals and the programs?

THE PRESIDENT: In the energy bill I submitted to the Congress in January, going along or coinciding with my State of the Union Message, I proposed certain Clean Air Act amendments which would have accelerated conversion and had other beneficial impacts.

Now, that was about a 200-page document. I regret to say not one page of that has been enacted by the Congress from January 14 to this date. But, nevertheless, we submitted, I think, a good balance.

As a matter of fact, Russ Train and Frank Zarb, the head of the FEA -- and they have somewhat conflicting responsibilities -- both agree on the approach that was included in the package that I submitted.

If the Congress would approve that approach, then I think many of the fears you would have, many of the apprehensions that environmentalists would have, wouldn't exist.

The report that you refer to -- I am told by Russ Train -- is not a committee action but it is a staff report of a Senate subcommittee. So, it is only the promotion of a staff -- and I must admit from some experience, they promote a lot of things (Laughter), not all good, incidentally -- but nevertheless they have produced this subcommittee staff report and, if I were you or those associated in business such as yourselves, which would be scared to get, from the way you describe their recommendations. I know how you go out and fight to oppose them and support the Ford Administration's recommendations in the energy bill in January. (Laughter)

MR. [illegible]DY: We have time, unfortunately, for only one more.

THE PRESIDENT: We will have one wild card. (Laughter)

7704001 5153

QUESTION: Mr. President, Kay Fanning, Publisher of the Anchorage Daily News, Achorage, Alaska.

The Alaska delegation here today are interested in your feelings about a possible Alaska gas pipeline. Could you perhaps comment on the fact that there is a projected natural gas shortage in the lower 48 States this coming year? Do you see putting the weight of your office behind an expedition of a choice between a Canadian and an Alaska pipeline, and the second part, if it is to be a Canadian pipeline, do you believe a treaty can be negotiated with Canada that will make it a completely safe proposition?

THE PRESIDENT: First, there is a serious and growing more serious natural gas shortage. And this winter, at least ten States -- assuming the usual winter -- will have serious economic repercussions -- North Carolina, New Jersey probably being the most vulnerable, but eight others -- and I understand the State of Washington has some serious problems here also. Now, it just makes me sick that, if the Congress three years ago had de-regulated natural gas in [illegible] commerce, we wouldn't face the problem that we face now.

Unfortunately, Congress decided that we would keep low prices and end up [illegible] natural gas. That is not a very sensible solution but that is what is going to happen. Isn't it better to pay a higher price and have adequate gas, particularly if you want jobs and industry? Nevertheless, we have a real crisis coming up this winter.

Now, there are some things that are being done by the Federal Power Commission, and hopefully by the Congress, to meet a short-term emergency.

Now to get to your problem, there are two proposals, one, the Trans-Alaskan natural gas pipeline and the other, the so-called McKenzie Trans-Canada pipeline for natural gas.

The mix of El Paso -- which is the Alaskan or Trans-Alaskan pipeline -- is before the Federal Power Commission now. And I understand that some of the others are intervening to object to it. So it is before the Federal Power Commission. I do not think, under the circumstances, that I should interject myself or our Administration in that proceeding.

We want them to act, but I don't think we -- since they are an independent regulatory agency -- I [illegible] think we should be a participant in the proceeding.

Now, I did meet with a Canadian energy boss -- or whatever his title is (Laughter) -- Mr. McDonald up at the dedication of the Libby Dam in Montana, which is a joint project between Canada and the United States. I talked to him about it because the Trans-Canadian project is under the jurisdiction of his Government and he has some authority.

But they have a similar situation. As I understand it, there is a study now going on before their comparable Federal Power Commission as to whether the Trans-Canadian line is the better procedure His Government won't interfere with that proceeding.

Just what the outcome will be in light of the hearings and action, or potential action before the two independent agencies, I think we can't make any judgment.

I am familiar with the problem. There may have to be some legislative action taken such as we did in the case of the Alankan Pipeline. I am not saying for sure that is needed but we aren't going to let it languish and linger and get no answer.

I am not pre-judging which is the right answer but we are not going to let it sit there and have no action. We have to have a decision, whether it is in the Federal Power Commission or in the Congress.

I do think I have to go. Would you excuse me?

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 4:30 P.M. PDT)

7704001516D

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Portland, Oregon)

THE WHITE HOUSE

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
WITH
THE PRESIDENT

PORTLAND INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

5:30 P.M. PDT

QUESTION: Mr. President, when will you veto this bill which would extend the federal oil price controls?

THE PRESIDENT: It depends on whether or not the Democratic leadership can produce a compromise which we had agreed to. I understand that they have not been able to get a sufficient number of Democrats to agree with them on a compromise proposal, some time within the time limit I will have no alternative since I have gone more than half-way and they cannot produce under the circumstances so time within the ten-day period I will have to veto it.

QUESTION: What is your view right now about the proper position of sending American technicians to aid in maintaining peace in the Mideast?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the sending of American civilians on a volunteer basis in a zone that is covered by the United Nations is the best insurance for peace. It is the best insurance against any oil embargo. The limited number, no more than 200, is a good investment in peace as far as the United States is concerned.

QUESTION: What is your position on the agricultural shipments? Secretary Butz had some statements today.

THE PRESIDENT: I believe if the crop report of September 11 is reasonably favorable, that it is in the best interest of the United States to make additional sales of grain to overseas customers. We will have to wait and see how the grain report in wheat, corn and other feed grains shows, but if it is encouraging, I think it is in the best interest of the United States to use this great commodity for many, many beneficial purposes as far as the United States is concerned.

Thank you very much, everybody.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END (AT 5:33 P.M. PDT)

7704001516 1

THE PRESIDENT: If there are a limited number of American civilians who would go to the Middle East, they would go in the area controlled by the United Nations and they would be there in a noncombat capacity, acting as technicians.

The final decision has not yet been made, but I can assure you they will be civilians if they go. They will be technicians, not military personnel, and they will be in a U.N. zone.

QUESTION: Mr. President, do you have any message for the State with the highest unemployment rate in the country right here?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think we are making some headway. In the last six months, we have had an increase of one million two hundred thousand in employment throughout the United States. We are gradually edging down the unemployment throughout the United States. It is slow, but more importantly we are doing it the right way as we try to achieve success against inflation.

QUESTION: But it is not going down here, sir. It is going up.

THE PRESIDENT: I think you will find it will go down.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END (AT 4:12 P.M. EDT)

7704001516?

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Portland, Oregon)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
GOP FUND RAISING DINNER

SHERATON-PORTLAND MOTOR INN

7:47 P.M. PDT

Dave, Bob Packwood, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sure it is very, very obvious that it is a great privilege and pleasure for me to be here tonight in Portland for this tremendous gathering of many, many Republicans, and I add, a few that I know of -- very special friends -- and your most warm welcome is greatly appreciated, your enthusiasm and commitment is most encouraging. I added in the previous sentence some very close and very dear friends of mine who are here. I was delighted to see one of my former colleagues -- she was on the other side of the aisle. We had a few differences but we had infinitely more agreements. And Edith Green, I thank you for coming and I am most grateful for your presence.

In Edith Green's area of outstanding expertise, education, I don't think there was a member of the House or Senate, Democrat or Republican, who was more knowledgeable and more articulate than she with ideas and I think thoughts, programs that would have been so important for education, and I thank you again for being here, Edith.

I do want to make a donation, if it is proper. Last year when I was here and had a very full day, I participated in an auction for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. I donated a pair of cufflinks and I am told they went for a reasonably high price -- obviously, for a good cause. But, unfortunately, I will not be able to be here for that occasion when the meeting is held in 1975, but if I might, I would like to give to Dave Green for transmittal to Don Ellis a pair of cufflinks and I wish you well and hope you do as well in 1975. (Laughter)

I appreciated Jack Faust's comments about our golden retriever, Liberty. (Laughter) I had a confidential talk with Liberty when she returned from Oregon. I can only say we are anticipating on or about September 14 -- the 16th, a wholesome litter of golden retriever puppies.

I feel somewhat obligated to let the Republican Party of Oregon suggest a name for the one out of the litter that we keep, so it is up to you to make some determination in that regard. (Laughter)

I was pleased that Dave Green mentioned something that I wanted to speak about, which is the historic meeting of the Northwest Compact, which, as I have perceived it from Washington, has effectively coordinated the work and enhanced the influence of Republicans of Oregon, Washington and Alaska.

I think this is a concept that can be immeasurably helpful in pulling together geographical areas where you have a high identity of interests and a community of spirit. And I commend the Republicans in this State for putting together this two-year plan for the party's activities and its strategies.

One thing that I have noticed in some of the travels that I have made most recently -- last Saturday I was fortunate to attend, in the State of Maine, a Republican gathering where we saw the visible evidence of a revitalization of the Republican Party in that great State. And later in the day I participated in somewhat comparable activities in the State of Rhode Island on behalf of the Republican Party. In both cases we had new, young, vigorous chairmen. In both cases we had a unification of ideologies where we could honestly say that the party, its people, were going to be pulling together for what is in the best interest primarily of the State and the country but also in the best interests of the ideologies which we believe in. And it is my feeling, as I have had the opportunity of being in the State of Washington earlier today and here in Oregon tonight, that your party organization, your leadership is doing precisely the same thing. I compliment you and congratulate you for this effort.

This dinner tonight, I think, exemplifies what can be done as we face some very crucial issues and tremendous challenges between now and November of 1976.

The thing that I have noticed in the last 12 or 14 hours, that in the West there is still that tremendous pioneering spirit, a spirit of independence that is invigorating and tremendously refreshing. Two men certainly reflect this tradition of independence and I refer specifically to Mark Hatfield, who is not here now, but who has been with me a good share of the day, and Bob Packwood. Both are a tremendous credit to this great State which they represent so exceedingly well in the United States Senate.

Over the last few years I have had the privilege and pleasure of getting to know both of them quite well. If I have learned anything in the 25 years in the House of Representatives, it is the capability of analyzing people who have quality, dedication, integrity, forthrightness. And those characteristics which I think are invaluable in serving your State, both Bob and Mark have that to the over-flowing, and I thank Bob and I will thank Mark later for their contribution, not only to your State but to what I believe is in the best interest of our country.

Thank you very much, Bob.

I am a firm believer that party organization, party leadership is highly important, particularly in a national election year. I made a commitment about a year ago -- I spoke to the Midwest Republican Party Organization in the State of Illinois. They had all of the people from my part of the country there for one of these get-togethers over a weekend and I made a commitment then that in 1976 I thought the Presidential candidate ought to work with and not be separated from the National Republican organization and the respective State organizations.

And I felt that such a commitment was not only right on a chart, but it was right if we were going to get and have available the kind of leadership that is necessary in every State. I happen to think in Dave Green you have that kind of leadership here in your great State, and, therefore, I can assure you that I and those that work with me will work with you and the State organizations in a Republican victory in 1976.

MORE

7704001516

One of the characteristics that I have noticed about Dave is that he has a feeling that we ought to, as a party, appeal to the independent voters. It is my impression that this has paid off and will produce greater dividends in the months ahead.

As a matter of fact, in your State you have sort of a tradition of independence. If I might, I would like to make a specific appeal to that. I think it is important. The independent voters, as I look at them and listen to them, they want a sound and very prosperous national economy without recession or inflation, and so do we as Republicans.

The independent voters want jobs for those who can work and help for those who cannot. We, as Republicans, believe precisely the same way.

The independent voter wants his country to achieve energy independence and an environment of high quality. We, as Republicans, have that same thrust and that same belief.

The independent voter wants a good education, good housing, good health care and good food for his family at prices that he can afford. We, as Republicans, have an identity of view.

The independent voter -- and there are many of them, some in more States than others -- but in most States they are really the margin between victory and defeat.

The independent voter wants the scales of justice to balance the rights of the criminal defendant with the rights of a law abiding society, and so do we.

Our friends, the independent voter wants America's national defense second to none. They recognize, as we do, that this is the best way to insure peace.

If I might say parenthetically at this point, within the last 24 or 48 hours, a giant step, in my opinion, has been taken for peace with the successful negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

This negotiation, which has literally gone on for months but culminated in the last several weeks, was successful because of the patience, the direction and the leadership of the Secretary of State of the United States, Henry Kissinger.

I know some questions have been raised--and questions should be raised in a situation like this--but when you analyze what the alternative was to a settlement, the alternative was almost inevitably war in six to eight months.

By taking some risks that I think are manageable, we have gambled for peace in the most volatile, most difficult, complex, controversial area in the globe. I believe that the Congress of the United States, after they have looked at the alternatives which, in my judgment, were an invitation to conflict, and see what has been done with our leadership, the Congress will support a gamble for peace.

It is in our best interests in every way that I can see it. I believe that most Americans, Republicans, Independents, or Democrats will support our leadership, our forthright efforts to bring two Nations together that have literally been apart, fighting, disagreeing, and this is the kind of leadership that I think is important, not only in this case but in others, to lead us down a firm, constructive road of peace, not only in that area of the world, but elsewhere.

Now, the independent voter wants relief from higher and higher taxes, from more and more Federal programs and from bigger and bigger budget deficits. This has been the record of the Republican Party for all of my lifetime, and I think it will be our program and policies in the months ahead.

Every time I think of more and more Federal programs, bigger and bigger Federal budgets with the inevitable deficits that they place, I am reminded of several incidents on the floor of the House of Representatives where there were those in the House of Representatives who thought everytime we had a problem, the answer was another program with more Federal spending.

That was the inevitable conclusion that many people came to.

One day I was sitting there talking to one of my associates or colleagues in the House of Representatives, and after we had gone through this sort of inevitable schedule that seems to come up all the time when there is a problem and we have to have solutions, I thought to myself--and the person who was debating and speaking and proposing this program was a fine person; I am not disagreeing with his motives--but I thought to myself, don't those he represents understand that a Government big enough to give us everything we want is a Government big enough to take from us everything we have?

7704015167

Even more importantly, the independent voter wants America to get moving on the myriad problems facing it, moving confidently toward the future, and so do we.

There is one thing that my 26 years of public service have taught me, and it is this: A successful blend of personal initiative, private enterprise and public service will come closer to solving our problems and realizing our countries great potential than will reliance on the massive, muscle-bound bureaucracy of Government by itself.

For far, far too long, too many Americans have relied too much on the Federal Government in our great capital to meet their needs, grant their wishes and solve their problems.

We have already lost too much of the enterprise and initiative and self-reliance which made America the hardiest of people in this the greatest of nations. As Abraham Lincoln so well put it, "The role of the national Government is to help people who cannot help themselves."

I think it is time we began to look elsewhere for the solution to too many of our problems to our State capitals and our county seats and our town councils, to our offices, our shops, our factories and our farms, to our homes, to our schools and to our churches of America, and then -- I pat with emphasis -- to ourselves.

That is where the real power and the real potential of America resides. That is where to find the creative genius, the knack for problem solving, the pioneering spirit, the Yankee ingenuity for which this country is so well known.

I firmly believe that if each of us shoulder more of life's responsibilities, taking a very personal interest to match the personal stake we have in the life and success of this Nation, we can truly make it a fresh start on America's problems and develop some new solutions even as we celebrate our 200th birthday.

Thank you and good night.

END (AT 8:08 P.M. PDT)

7704001516 3

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 4, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Portland, Oregon)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
TO THE
PORTLAND YOUTH BICENTENNIAL RALLY

PORTLAND MEMORIAL COLISEUM ARENA

8:25 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Wow, what an experience. I know we have an energy shortage, but I sure don't see any sign of it tonight. Thank you.

I just finished telling a banquet audience that I came to Oregon just to visit, not to stay. After an ovation like that, it won't take much convincing to make me change my mind.

Now I know why the Portland Timbers are doing so well. (Laughter) You sure know how to make a fellow feel like a champion. Thank you very much.

Let me express my appreciation to Dirk and your fellow MC's Governor Bob Straub, Senator Mark Hatfield and all of you great, young Americans -- and I say with confidence -- the future leaders of this great country:

Obviously, I am delighted and pleased to join with so many energetic, enthusiastic young Americans in this birthday celebration. I understand that this rally is one of numerous Bicentennial activities in this area of our country, and I commend your plans to remember the past but, just as importantly, to look at the future.

That is the right note for our Bicentennial celebrations through the length and breadth of America.

The youth organizations represented here tonight have contributed so much in a constructive way to this great country. America owes very special thanks to the thousands and thousands of men and women who donate their talents and time to work with this tremendous reservoir of youth talent and capability.

The tradition of service of the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, 4-H, Salvation Army, YMCA, Y... and the Boy's Club is a very solid part of our fine American system and tradition.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001569

Tonight, I want to thank those organizations and the men and women behind them for what they have done and what they are doing for America. We are deeply indebted to each and every one of you, 214 million Americans who are very grateful.

I know firsthand from a good many years in the Boy Scouts how meaningful and important organizations of this kind are to youngsters growing up. I challenge all of you in this audience and all young people nationwide to continue this fine tradition of service and the betterment of society.

As we celebrate America's 200th year, its 200th birthday, let's remember that this Bicentennial isn't solely about patriots who made a successful revolution. It is about all Americans who took the dream of a new land, a new land of freedom, and made it a reality over the years since 1776. Millions of men and women whose names we will never know and whose heroism went unsung made that dream live.

To be sure, we honor the wise and articulate men who wrote what I consider two of the greatest documents ever devised by man -- the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.

But the Revolution and its aftermath could have been a temporary footnote in the chronicle of its day without the unsung, unnamed Americans who made it permanent and imprinted its achievements indelibly in history.

Before the Revolution, the first English settlers dreamed of a better life and more freedom. They matched that glorious dream with a willingness to cross an ocean and civilize the wilderness.

This beautiful Pacific Northwest was settled by this same brand of courageous pioneers who carried the concept of self-government and faith in individual freedom to each new settlement and each new State.

Although today we are the world's oldest Republic, we are still a very young country. Our past truly is close to us, and although we may not recognize the names of ancestors who made this Nation possible, we can see their deeds and their legacy everywhere, a firmly established free system of Government and the most productive Nation in the history of the world.

In 1876, at the Centennial exposition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America celebrated the wonders of an age just dawning, the shifts over from a rural to an industrial society.

7704001517

The first bicycle was on display at the 1876 exposition. We can wonder today which of our modern inventions will prove historical. In the years before the end of the 19th century, there was an explosion of ideas and inventions: The automobile, the electric light and the telephone.

Just as the American Revolution required followers and believers, so did our Industrial Revolution. Without the people who invested in the inventions and put them into use, we would all have arrived here tonight in a horse-drawn buggy.

The Wright brothers made history at Kitty Hawk, but the first passengers to ride in a plane made history, too. The believers, the believers who were not afraid of the new and untried, made the age of flight just as sure as did the men who built those first rickety flying machines.

You are growing up, I say to all of you, with a depth of conviction. You are growing up in an age of space travel and worldwide communications, and the world in which your children will live may be as wonderously strange as the world is to your grandparents today.

As I look over this wonderful audience, at you who will lead America in the 21st century, I urge you to look to the past for inspiration, but within yourselves individually for courage and to the future for challenge.

Many, many years ago, a Sunday school teacher taught me that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. The beauty of America is its many, many individuals, each a little different from the other.

For America's third century of independence, I commend to each of you this great objective--freedom for everyone who respects the freedom of others.

You, all of us, are inheriters of a great trust. We must honor the past by working for the future. A Nation born of a dream and carried forward by action requires from each and every one of us, all of us, a commitment of faith to advance individual liberty and to make America strong, to make America secure for this third century.

Thank you very, very much.

MORE

QUESTION: Mr. President, Ronald Reagan said that his running against you would strengthen the Republican Party and the Nation. What are your thoughts on this?

THE PRESIDENT: I have always believed that competition in the political arena is healthy. I have always had political competition whenever I ran for political office in the past.

I emphasize, however, that in my own campaigns, instead of discussing the views of others or being critical of others, my view is that a person seeking public office ought to have his own platform, his own program and sell that and concentrate on an affirmative program and an affirmative basis.

So, if and when there is competition for the nomination of my political party, I will run it in that way, affirmatively aimed at discussing the issues and not indulging into personalities. Competition is good in politics like anything else.

Yes.

QUESTION: Mr. President, the large corporations all around the Nation seem to be making the Bicentennial celebration too commercialized. Many Americans, young people included, believe the Bicentennial could be more relevant by realization of the revolutionary democratic principles our ancestors fought for.

What is the White House Commission doing to promote the revolutionary spirit for our 1976 Bicentennial?

THE PRESIDENT: It has been my privilege to participate in several Bicentennial celebrations and none of them were commercial. None of them had any aspects that would, in my opinion, undercut the thrust and the emphasis that I think is important, which is recognition of the tremendous commitment, dedication, sacrifice that was made by so many some two hundred years ago.

Let me illustrate. I am sure you have read, I am certain you know the story of Paul Revere and the Old North Church in the City of Boston. I participated in a celebration in the Old North Church, which is a historic facility that was there when Paul Revere actually saw the lantern and undertook his famous ride. Nothing commercial about that.

I had the opportunity of visiting Lexington and Concord where some heroic people made a great stand. Nothing commercial about that.

I think overall, overwhelmingly, really, the emphasis that has been given to the Bicentennial by the White House Commission has been at the proper level, really telling all of us of the historic events that took place some two hundred or more years ago.

A few will commercialize the Bicentennial. You can't prevent that but, if you follow the step-by-step activities, I am sure you will be convinced that the thrust of the White House Commission,of John Warner, the head of the Bicentennial office and everybody else is trying to establish the right atmosphere, the right direction for the Bicentennial celebration. I think it is good.

QUESTION: Where are you going to go next after this?

THE PRESIDENT: Where am I going after Portland? Well, I am leaving following this wonderful evening with all of you and going to Sacramento, California, for a 7 o'clock breakfast and then I am going to speak at a joint session of the California Legislature and then I am going to spend some time with the Governor of California, who has invited me to talk with him about some problems. Then I have several other meetings in Sacramento. Then I am going back to Washington.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I would like to know what I could do as a ten-year old girl to help my country?

THE PRESIDENT: Rhonda, simply by asking the question and indicating your interest in helping your country, you have already made a great contribution.

QUESTION: Mr. President, is it true that Mrs. Ford was once a Campfire Girl in Grand Rapids, Michigan?

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't know her then. (Laughter)

I didn't start courting her until she had outgrown her Campfire relationship or activities.

I can tell you this, however, we had three boys and a girl. She was a den mother for a good many years bringing up three boys, so I guess she learned to be a den mother by being a good Campfire Girl.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I would like to ask you what your greatest moment in scouting was.

THE PRESIDENT: My greatest moment of scouting. Well, I suspect the greatest moment I had as a Boy Scout was when I was selected by Governor Green of the State of Michigan along with 70 other Eagle Scouts to be the first group of Boy Scouts as guides on Mackinaw Island in Northern Michigan to tell the people who come to Mackinaw about the history of that fortress. I spent a whole summer there with 70 other Eagle Scouts. That was probably the greatest recognition and probably the greatest thrill that I had among my many years as a Boy Scout, a Boy Scout Leader and Assistant Scoutmaster, and I guess everything else.

QUESTION: Mr. President, don't you feel that the opponents of detente are gathering more support and eventually will jeopardize the improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say with sincerity and strong belief that if the opponents of detente are able to destroy this relationship, there must be a recognition by them that they are potentially destroying a means of communication, a means of relaxing tensions between the two super powers. Detente has not been an answer to every conflict and confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, but detente has given the opportunity for the relaxing of tensions and the easing of confrontations and detente has avoided some very potentially explosive head-to-head confrontations between the Soviet Union and the United States. So if the opponents of detente, those who want to be a cold warrior in peacetime, destroy this means of communication,this capability of avoiding confrontation, then they have to assume a serious responsibility.

I would rather use detente for peace than to destroy detente and increase the possibilities of war. So I am in favor of detente because it gives us a tool to avoid war and I will strongly not only defend it but use it so that we can achieve peace, maintain peace and at the same time avoid a holocaust, whether it is in the Middle East or elsewhere.

QUESTION: Mr. President, what are you doing, like what is the toughest thing you are doing in Washington?

THE PRESIDENT: What is the toughest thing I am doing in Washington -- well, there are a number of very difficult problems, Brian. One is to get the Congress to pass an energy program. Either my program or one of their own.

Unfortunately, they haven't done either. But there are some other very important matters. I can assure you that Secretary Kissinger and myself spent literally thousands of hours working on how to help in the negotiations between Israel and Egypt and that was a tough problem. We were very helpful, we were fortunately successful in keeping the momentum for peace going. That was a tough problem.

Of course, the decisions that had to be made at the time of the Mayaguez incident were very difficult. But there are many others. There are just a lot of them. It's kind of hard to pick out the ones that are the toughest, but it is a challenging and I think it is a great opportunity for me to have that opportunity to face up to those problems.

QUESTION: Mr. President, do you feel Congress will approve Secretary of State Kissinger's Mideast peace program and if they don't, what course of action do you plan to insure peace in the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT: I am very confident that the Congress will approve the role and support that I have recommended. we -- the U ited States--undertake in relationship to that agreement between Israel and Egypt. I am confident the Congress will do it and I will be surprised if it is not an overwhelming support. Because I believe the Congress will act affirmatively, I don't think it will be necessary for me to, as President, to face up to what I will do if they reject it. I only will add this, that if the Congress does not affirmatively approve our responsibilities in relationship to this agreement, then the Congress has to face up to the alternative, which is a very great, a far greater possibility of war in the Middle East. So I think the Congress will opt for helping to maintain peace rather than risking the dangers of a war in the Middle East.

QUESTION: Mr. President, how come you don't have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia?

THE PRESIDENT: Would you repeat that, please, I couldn't hear it.

QUESTION: How come you don't have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Tyler, as I understand the question, it is why don't we have telethons for people who have sickle cell anemia, is that right?

QUESTION: Yeah.

7704001575

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the telethons, Tyler, that are held are usually generated by individuals or organizations. Now I know a little about sickle cell anemia because in my hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, there was a great deal of research done in a hospital, a very outstanding scientist and doctor was one of the leaders in working on the problem not only in Grand Rapids but in Detroit. It is a serious disease and there is an increasing emphasis in the Federal Government and also in various parts of the country in trying to find an answer to it.

It is my opinion that as more cases are discovered and there is more publicity to the tragedy of it, you will find a broadening organization and once you get such an organization you will have a telethon develop. And I hope there will be one.

MORE

7704015175

QUESTION: Mr. Ford, were you ever a Cub Scout?

THE PRESIDENT: The question is, was I ever a Cub Scout. I was not. I joined the Boy Scouts, as I recall, the day that I was 12 years old, and that was the day that you could join in those days. I don't think there was a Cub Scout organization that far back. (Laughter)

I am told that that was supposed to be the last question, but I will take one more.

QUESTION: Mr. President, what is going to happen to all the Vietnamese in Camp Pendleton?

THE PRESIDENT: Could you repeat that again, please?

QUESTION: What is going to happen to all the Vietnamese that are stationed at Camp Pendleton right now?

THE PRESIDENT: The question is, what is going to happen to all the South Vietnamese, Cambodians, that are stationed at either Camp Pendleton, Fort Chaffee, Eglin Air Force Base, and there is one in Pennsylvania.

There are now approximately 40,000 Vietnamese, Cambodian refugees who have not been sponsored. There were 140,000 in total. So, we have, in effect, gotten sponsors for roughly 100,000. I think that is a lot of progress, and I believe that at the rate of about 650 a day and about 4,000 a week, we will be able to get all of the remaining 40,000 sponsored and living in the United States by the middle of December, or certainly by the end of this year.

May I thank you all, Governor Straub and the others, as well as the young people here, the audience, the participants, it has really been a great experience. I love this kind of an exchange between those of us who are older and those of you who are going to be the leaders in America.

I am proud of you. We all love you, and we know you will do a good job.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 9:00 P.M. PDT)

7704001517

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 12, 1975

Sacramento, California

The President's Remarks to the 49th Annual Sacramento Host Breakfast. September 5, 1975

Thank you very much, Mr. Reed, Governor Brown, Lieutenant Governor Dymally, Stuart Davis, members of the Host Committee, ladies and gentlemen:

This has been a week that I will long remember with great satisfaction, a week that found Dr. Kissinger returning to Washington with some important answers to a very critical situation in the Middle East.

I believe, and believe very, very strongly, that all Americans can take pride in his—and our Nation's—continued and now successful efforts to bring peace to an area of the world that has known so little of it in the last quarter century.

But Dr. Kissinger's ability to come up with good answers comes as no surprise to me. In July, when we were in Europe, I visited one of our military bases in Germany. And during the tour of this military installation, I picked up a copy of Stars and Stripes, the service newspaper that some of you may have read while you were in the service or touring in any of our installations on a worldwide basis.

Well, the next morning, I was looking through it as I was having breakfast and saw a column about contestants in the Miss Universe contest. On a questionnaire, they were asked, these beautiful gals, to name the greatest person in the world today, and 50 percent of the Miss Universe contestants who answered said Henry Kissinger. [*Laughter*]

Then I looked very carefully through the rest of the story and couldn't see my name mentioned at all. [*Laughter*]

So, I circled the story and asked a staff member to take it down the hall where we were staying to Secretary Kissinger and to ask Henry—one of my most astute advisers—why 50 percent of the most beautiful women in the world had voted for him and I didn't get a slight mention.

Well, the aide walked down the hall, showed the story to Henry, who was eating breakfast, and repeated my question. For a long while Henry didn't say anything. He just sort of kept looking at the story and smiling somewhat self-contented to himself. [*Laughter*]

So, my aide, who had been waiting for Dr. Kissinger's answer, cleared his throat and said, "What should I tell the President?" Henry said, "Tell him to just eat his heart out." [*Laughter*]

This morning, I have come to California to raise some questions that are facing this Nation, and I hope you will find some of the answers I will give a bit more responsive.

An organization such as your own that meets once a year has the tremendous advantage of perspective. You tend to focus on the long-range sweep, the sweep of events that are, I believe, fortunate—the long-range sweep rather than the blur of the moment. Your crystal ball, therefore, is likely to be less clouded.

For example, I recently scanned an issue of the Sacramento Union, dated September 6, 1974, and it was concerned with last year's Host Breakfast. The mood was an uncertain one. Feelings about the economy ran all the way from cautious optimism to alarmed pessimism.

It was said that California and the West seemed to be doing better than the rest of the Nation, but for how long no one was sure. Interest rates were rising. So was the rate of inflation and, even worse, the rate of unemployment. The American economy was about to take a roller coaster dip into the future.

Since that meeting, America and, to a large extent, the rest of the world, has made that economic dip. Most of the industrial nations of the world have mutually experienced an unnerving drop in gross national product and in levels of prosperity. The descent was sudden and at times almost frightening. But our vehicle, the American free enterprise system, has once again proven sound. A year later finds our economy on the straightaway and beginning to climb.

I was particularly interested in a comment made by Mr. Davis—the disappointing results of productivity in

7704015173

America. The statistics just released a day or two ago indicate that we have made for the first time in some months a rather significant improvement and increase in productivity in America, and I wholeheartedly agree with him that this is an area where we must maintain an uphill climb in the increase of productivity.

Today, 85 million Americans are at work in jobs that offer more pay, more fringe benefits, greater security, more generous pension plans, and safer working conditions than ever before.

From March through July of this year alone, more than 1,200,000 Americans have found jobs and are gainfully employed. And the figures for August, released this morning in Washington, add another 275,000 jobs to this total. So we are making progress.

This is an increase in jobs that would have strained an economist's imagination just a few decades ago. We have problems, but a true sense of perspective allows us to see our accomplishments as well.

But the problems must be met and solutions must be found. There is a phrase in the jargon of economics that has always irritated me. The phrase is, and I quote, "an acceptable rate of unemployment." I know of no acceptable rate of unemployment as long as there is any American who wants a job and cannot find one.

There is nothing theoretical about unemployment. The graphs, the charts, the percentages often tend to obscure the human tragedy of involuntary unemployment.

How can cold statistics ever adequately portray the trauma of lost jobs, lost savings, and lost pride? America's greatest national resource is her people, and I intend to see that that resource is not endangered.

One of the prime goals of my Administration is to get America out of neutral and moving ahead in a pattern of sustained growth. A working American is a buying American, an investing American, a saving American. Unemployment checks are to maintain life. Paychecks are to enrich life. No American can successfully engage in the pursuit of happiness until the needs of adequate food, clothing, shelter, education, and employment are met.

If we are to meet the employment requirements of our expanding population, by the year 1980 we must create over 11 million new jobs—11 million new jobs to build the houses, harvest the fields, manufacture the products, and earn the salaries that pay for it all; 11 million new jobs to show the rest of the world that the American dream functions best when we are wide awake. How can we do it? Well, first let me tell you how it can't be done.

In recent years a disproportionate percentage of new jobs has come from the public sector rather than the private. The result has been the creation of a bureaucracy that contributes very little to America's prosperity and productivity. It simply shares it.

Therefore, if the United States is to grow in a substantial, meaningful way, the impetus has to come from the private sector. Jobs are the symbol of a healthy free enterprise system. Jobs, particularly in the private sector, are the fuel that makes our economy run.

Obviously, to achieve the full economic potential of America and Americans, we must make it possible for our industry to maintain its competitive edge in world as well as domestic trade.

We emerged from World War II with an industrial capacity and productivity that was without challenge. Today that lead has narrowed very significantly. Friend and former foe alike have used the last three decades to rebuild their war-ravaged economies. Their industrial plants embodying the newest and most sophisticated techniques and technologies now compete with American products often produced by older, less efficient methods. We are still Number One, but throughout the world we have a lot of Number Twos who are trying much, much harder.

We have no choice but to compete, and I say with emphasis, to excel. Personally, I have no doubt that we can do it, if the private sector is given the opportunity to modernize, expand, and to secure the tools and the technologies that a first-class economic machine requires. It won't be easy. Some estimates have placed America's total investment requirement in the coming years at the astonishing figure of $4 trillion. Even the figure is imposing. It is four—followed by 12 zeroes!

I consider this a $4 trillion vote of confidence in the future of the United States industry, business, and agriculture. Economists call it "capital formation," but I prefer a much more basic term. To me this means "job creation." It is the wherewithal that creates the plants, the factories, and the machinery that in turn requires the skill and the efforts of an American labor force second to none. It is what we need, as I see it, to get all America back to work again.

The reforms this Administration has already proposed to the Congress will establish the taxing policies which will help to bring about this capital formation and job creation. They will give United States business and industry some of the incentives of our economic expansion which is required. They will give job seekers a paycheck instead of a raincheck.

The time has come. Because of the recession, our plants, our factories are underutilized. But the signs are clear for all to see that America's economy is picking up speed. The wheels are beginning to turn. The order books are beginning to open. The muscles of our Nation's industries are beginning to flex, and we must make certain that they will be able to do their job.

Now is the time to eliminate the production bottlenecks and potential shortages that will surely occur unless we plan for the future before it is here. Four trillion dol-

7704001517

lars by any standard is a lot of money. It won't be raised by the board of directors skipping lunches.

But capital formation and job creation are only two specets of the multifaceted problem. There are other important ways to improve our Nation's business climate. We can help by getting Government out of the way of business when all that the Government contributes is added cost, contradiction, and confusion.

And confusion there is. The Consumer Product Safety Commision recently bought 80,000 lapel buttons with a message promoting toy safety. But it developed that a lead paint had been used on the buttons. There was the danger of lead poisoning if they were licked by children. So, the Consumer Product Safety Commission had to ban its own buttons. [*Laughter*]

It is stories like that that are enough to make you lose your buttons. [*Laughter*]

Competition and the desire and the economic necessity to build a better mousetrap is what made our country the envy of the world. If you doubt it, the next time you travel to parts of the world where the free enterprise system does not exist, go into one of their department stores. Look at the variety of goods, the quality of the workmanship, the imagination of design and packaging. But above all, look at the price. Then, consider this price in terms of what an average worker in that country earns. Such a visit will only take a very few minutes, but it will be the best lesson in instant economics and the productive genius of the American industry that you could ever sign up for.

The free marketplace and the free enterprise system is the American consumer's best insurance that what he or she buys will work, will last, and will be at the best competitive price—with the possible exception of when big government tries to help.

The Federal Government has only been in the regulatory business about 90 years, but it has more than made up for this relatively late start. [*Laughter*]

Starting from point zero about a century ago, the Federal Government now employs over 100,000 people whose sole responsibility is writing, reviewing, and enforcing some type of regulation—100,000 people whose principal job is telling you how to do your job. It's a bureaucrat's dream of heaven, but it's a nightmare for those who have to bear the heavy burden.

Just to list all of the rules and regulations established last year required 45,000 pages of very small type in the Federal Register. I mourn for the trees that were felled in America's forests to make this exercise in Governmental nagging possible.

Federal regulation began with the loftiest motives, but the nature of regulatory bodies is to regulate even when prudence and changing circumstances would indicate that their job is over.

In many industries—transportation, energy, communication—Federal regulatory commissions have virtually ruled out competition. What was begun as a protection for consumers now guarantees that in many, many cases they will pay higher prices than a free market would call for.

Even worse, the Mulligan stew of Government rules and regulations—often one conflicting with another—has created a nightmare of red-tape, paper shuffling, and new heights of counterproductivity. I am determined that our Nation's consumers and businessmen be relieved of this gratuitous burden.

But remember, these regulations and the regulatory bodies are the creation of the Congress over a long period of time. They are mandated by law. As President, I can propose, I can urge, I can even needle a bit, but it is only the Congress in the final analysis that can act.

The regulatory reform legislation I propose will seek to eliminate the obsolete, the unnecessary, the impractical, and, yes, the impossible. Let's retain what is truly helpful and required in Federal regulations—it is a minimum amount. Let's get rid of the rest, and the sooner the better.

If I had to capsulize my views on government, it would simply be this: Bigger is not necessarily better. Indeed, bigger is often the reason it isn't better.

In my 26 years in Washington, I have seen firsthand the astonishing growth of the Federal Government's involvement in our lives in America. I have seen experimental programs started for a few million dollars that are now institutionalized and whose existence is unquestioned as their budgets climb into the billions. Yes, I have seen many, many Federal programs and agencies and departments begin. I have seen very few ended.

There is a spirit here in California that has its roots in the character of the pioneers who first settled here. It is a spirit of fierce independence and self-reliance. It is a zest for innovation and imagination. It is essentially the spirit of America—the spirit of 1776, 1876, 1976, and the years beyond.

Americans who have overcome the towering obstacles of the past need fear no problems, no problems in the future if we are free to utilize our potential. We can get the American economy off the roller coaster of boom and bust cycles and into a sustained and substantial pattern of growth.

We can create jobs for all who want them and incomes for all who need them. We can live the future of our forefathers as they dreamed it.

Help me, help your Representatives in the Congress, help your Governor, help your State Legislature, help us all to free the free American enterprise system. Give America the means and the Americans will find the way.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 a.m. at the Community Convention Center. The annual breakfast is sponsored by the Host Committee in conjunction with the California Chamber of Commerce for leaders in California government, business, finance, education, agriculture, and labor.

7704001 5180

CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATURE

The President's Remarks Before a Joint Session of the Legislature in Sacramento. September 5, 1975

Thank you very, very much, Governor Brown, Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, members of the State Legislature, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is indeed an honor to come before the California Legislature. You represent more Americans than any other legislative body except the Congress of the United States with which I have had some acquaintance over a good many years.

Almost half of California's delegation in the current Congress are alumni of this legislature. I cannot take time to salute all of them by name, but from veterans like the able majority whip, John McFall, to respected newcomers like Bob Lagomarsino, they are really an outstanding group.

In 25 years that I served in the Congress, I made many friendships with former State senators and assemblymen from Sacramento whose constituents have consistently sent them back to Washington. Although they represent a wide spectrum of political persuasions and interests, they were, almost without exception, able, hard-working legislators who quickly

7704001518

reached positions of great importance and great influence in the House of Representatives, where they could make California's voice heard. And, believe me, they did.

As a delegation that is now the largest in the Congress, Californians were often able to temporarily put partisanship aside on matters of great concern to your State as well as to our Nation. This, after all, is the way our two-party system works at its very best. I long ago came to admire California legislators from afar. And I thank you very, very sincerely for this opportunity to meet in this historic chamber.

Since California is almost a model of the whole United States, in its diversity of industry and agriculture, its urban and rural interests, its internal and international trade and commerce, its steady growth and the attendant challenges in transportation, education, employment and human needs, almost any national problem would be an appropriate one to discuss in California context. Any subject that is of major importance to Californians is also of deep concern to *all* Americans.

In the 13 months that I have served as President of all of the people, my priority goals have been set by the circumstances which confronted our Nation and still do: to work steadily and prudently toward peace and the reduction of conflicts which threaten peace globally or regionally, without weakening either our defense or our resolve; to reverse the current recession and to revive our free economic system without reigniting the inflationary forces and through such Federal stimulants and incentives as will create productivity and permanent private jobs and genuine economic growth; to develop a comprehensive short- and long-term program to end our growing dependence on foreign sources of energy and provide the abundant and sure energy supply that is essential both for jobs and to competitive production for the future; and finally, but certainly not least, to encourage among all Americans a greater spirit of conciliation, cooperation, and confidence in the future of this great country and the institutions of self-government which for 200 years have served to create a more perfect Union.

Today, I could devote my time to any one of these goals because all are of concern in Sacramento as well as in Washington.

California has a very vital stake in peace and the important breakthrough we have just made in defusing the time-bomb that has been ticking away ominously in the Middle East.

California is blessed above many, many States when it comes to energy resources. But by the same token, Californians are exceptionally aware of the importance of power to make things move, to make things grow.

I have decided, however, to discuss with you today another subject high on my agenda, one that affects every American and every Californian, one in which the role and the responsibility of State officials is even greater than that of the Federal Establishment, that is, the truly alarming increase in violent crime throughout this country.

Crime is a threat so dangerous and so stubborn that I am convinced it can be brought under control only by the best concerted efforts of all levels of government, Federal, State and local, by the closest cooperation among executive, legislative, and judicial branches and, by the abandonment of

7704001518

partisanship on a scale comparable to closing the ranks in wartime against an external enemy.

I come to California not only to plead for this kind of Federal, State, and local citizen coalition against crime but to praise the progress you have already begun in California.

California has long been a leader in both law enforcement and criminal justice. The rate of increase in violent crimes here remains less than the national average. For the first quarter of this year, serious crime rose 18 percent for the Nation as a whole. It rose only 13 percent in California. But both figures, I am sure we agree, are far, far too high. The rate for forcible rape was down, but murder was up 22 percent in California and robbery up 23 percent.

What is more distressing, my good friend, Evelle Younger, tells me that nearly 4 out of every 10 persons convicted of using firearms to kill someone or to rob someone were given probation. Approximately 2,300 persons convicted of violent crimes involving firearms are returned to the streets of California each year without serving a prison sentence.

Clearly, the billions of dollars spent at all levels of government since 1960 have not done the job of stemming the rise in crime. The reported crime rate has doubled, and unreported crimes have probably multiplied even more.

As a former lawmaker among active lawmakers, let me put before you three simple propositions about crime.

First, a primary duty of government is to protect the law-abiding citizen in his peaceful pursuits of life, liberty, and happiness. The Preamble to our Constitution at the Federal level puts the obligation to ensure domestic tranquillity in the same category as providing for the common defense against foreign foes.

The American Revolution was unique in its devotion to the rule of law. We overthrew our rulers but cherished their rules. The Founding Fathers were dedicated to John Locke's dictum that "Where there is no law, there is no freedom." One of them, James Madison, added his own corollary, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary."

While it is true that not all men—nor all women—are angels, it is also true that the vast majority of Americans are law-abiding. In one study of 10,000 males born in 1945, it was shown that only 6 percent of them perpetrated two-thirds of all crimes committed by the entire sample.

As for serious crimes, most are committed by repeaters. Another study in a major metropolitan area showed that within a single year, more than 200 burglaries, 60 rapes, and 14 murders were the work of only 10 individual criminals.

This brings me to my second proposition: If a primary duty of government is to ensure the domestic tranquillity of the law-abiding majority, should we not put as much emphasis on the rights of the innocent victims as we do on the rights of the accused violators?

I am not suggesting that due process should be ignored or the legal rights of defendants be reduced. I am not urging a vindictive attitude toward convicted offenders. I am saying that, as a matter of public policy, the time has come to give equal weight on the scale of justice to the rights of the innocent victims of crimes of terror and violence.

7704001518

Victims are my primary concern, and I am sure that is your primary concern. They should be the concern of all of us who have a role in making or executing or enforcing or interpreting the criminal law—Federal, State, or local. The vast majority of victims of violent crime in this country are the poor, the old, the very young, the disadvantaged minorities, the people who crowd our urban centers, the most defenseless of our fellow citizens.

Government should deal equally with all citizens. But if it must tilt a little to protect any element more than any other, surely it should be those who cannot afford to be robbed of a day's food money, those who lack the strength to resist, those who even fear the consequences of complaining.

My third proposition is this: If most serious crimes are committed by repeaters, most violent crimes by criminals carrying guns, if the tiny minority of habitual lawbreakers can be identified by modern datakeeping methods, then is it not mandatory that such offenders, duly tried and convicted, be removed from society for a definite period of time rather than returning to the streets to continue to prey on the innocent and the law-abiding majority?

Although only a very limited number of violent crimes fall under Federal jurisdiction, I have urged the Congress to set an example by providing for mandatory prison terms for convicted offenders in such extraordinarily serious crimes as aircraft hijacking, kidnaping, and trafficking in hard drugs. I also advocate mandatory sentences for persons found guilty of crimes involving use of dangerous weapons and for repeat offenders, with or without a weapon, whose crimes show a potential or actual cause of physical injury. There will, of course, be sensible exceptions, but they must be minimal.

I hope all 50 States will follow suit. Far too many violent and repetitive criminals never spend a day in prison after conviction. Mandatory sentences need not be severe. It is the certainty of confinement that is presently lacking. We will never deter crime nor reduce its growth if potential lawbreakers feel they have favorable odds of escaping punishment. The more experienced in crime they get, the better their odds of not suffering the consequences. That is wrong, and it must be reversed, and the quicker, the better.

The temptation to politicians—and I trust we are all politicians here and proud of it—I am—is to call for a massive crackdown on crime and to advocate throwing every convicted felon in jail and throwing the key away.

We have heard such cries for years, and crime continues to gain on us. The problem is infinitely more complex than any updated vigilante mentality can cope with. We have to confess, you and I, that we do not know all of the answers. But as with other stubborn national problems, my philosophy is that we must take one sure step at a time. It is simply intolerable to stand still or slip backwards. It is simply impossible to devise a swift cure-all or a quick fix.

In a talk to my alma mater and to yours, Mr. Governor, the Yale Law School, last April, and again in a detailed message to the Congress in June, I outlined the first steps which I believe must be taken to get a handle on the rising crime rates. I will not rehash these points today, except to thank the California Legislature for moving somewhat faster than

7704001518

Congress has on some of my recommendations, such as mandatory prison sentences for crimes involving firearms and hard drug pushing.

I told the Congress, not as a cop-out, but as a constitutional fact of life, that the Federal effort in the fight against crime really depends on the massive support from the States, which quite properly have sole jurisdiction in the exercise of most police powers.

I said the Federal Government could, however, set an example through reform of the Federal Criminal Code, which is progressing, and through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and other programs including general revenue sharing.

I want to give it to you straight about these programs. They were pushed by the minority in the Congress during the Johnson Administration. And I am somewhat proud of my association with these innovative Federal measures and the proof that if an idea is good enough, it can prevail even if the minority espouses it.

I have asked the Congress to extend general revenue sharing, which expires at the end of next year. Under it, California has received about 10 percent of the total Federal funds turned back to the States and to the subdivisions. California's share now adds up to more than $2 billion and will be closer to $3 billion by the expiration date. This is money that you in California are relatively free to use where you think California needs it most.

Frankly, the Congress isn't too happy about such liberty on your part and would rather tell you how they want it spent. I leave it to your good judgment to help us continue this program for another 5 years. I have recommended that it be extended for a 5-year period and with added money on an annual basis.

I should say, and, in fact, warn you, there are many enemies in the Congress who don't want it extended, and the consequence is there is an unfortunate delay. And I detect that there is a feeling of complacency on the part of Governors, State legislators, mayors, and county officials. I warn you, all of those who have received these funds and used them effectively—and I think you have—get moving, because the enemies are working and I don't detect the proponents are pushing. Don't get caught napping when that expiration date comes up much more quickly than you suspect it might.

As for LEAA, I must say candidly that it hasn't done as much to help curb the rising crime statistics as we had hoped. But it has encouraged experimentation and pilot projects in law enforcement and criminal justice which, if they work, can be adopted by other States. Some of the outstanding ones have been funded for California's own Department of Justice dealing with organized crime and criminal intelligence and to Sacramento and San Diego Counties for programs on juvenile delinquency, white collar crime, fraud, drugs, and career criminals.

The drug problem in America could make several speeches by itself. Here again we have a very small number of deliberate criminals who destroy the domestic tranquillity of millions and millions of decent citizens. What is particularly outrageous is the tragedy they bring to young people who should be learning to face life, not run from it.

Here in California, according to the latest figures I have seen, less than one out of every five convicted hard drug pushers ever served time in

7704001518

prison. One way to keep a convicted murderer from killing anybody else, and one way to keep a hard drug pusher from ruining any more lives, is to lock them up for a reasonable but certain term of imprisonment.

Loss of liberty is both a deterrent to crime and a prevention of repeated crime, at least while the offender is behind bars. Prisoners should be treated humanely, and we cannot expect judges, Mr. Chief Justice, and juries to convict and sentence the guilty to places of confinement that are cruel and degrading.

But I consider it essential that we reduce delay in bringing arrested persons to trial, sharply limit the prevailing practice of plea bargaining caused by congested prosecutor and court calendars, and significantly increase the proportion of those convicted of violent crimes and repeated crimes who actually serve time in prison.

I commend the State of California for its ongoing efforts in these areas as well as for your program—or programs to prevent juvenile crime and to rehabilitate youthful first-time offenders.

One of the worst aspects of the current rise in crime rates has been that almost half of all arrests are persons under 18 years of age. While imprisonment is clearly the way to put hardened criminals out of business for a period of time, it is obviously not the best way to deal with the very young. Yet, simply sending them home has not proved a very satisfactory solution, either.

We do not have all the answers, but we must spare no effort to find them quickly. The Federal Department of Justice has embarked on an urgent pilot program to divert first offenders and, in appropriate cases, prevent them acquiring the lifelong stigma of a criminal record.

Another aspect of the crime program that I have submitted—I asked the Congress to write into the revised Federal Criminal Code the stronger provisions to allow Federal action against organized crime wherever it rears its ugly head. The leaders of organized crime do not recognize State or, for that matter, national boundaries. It will take all of our law enforcement resources to fight this giant conspiracy against domestic tranquillity and prevent its spread.

Like other vexing problems facing California and the Nation, we will not conquer crime with a single roll call or a stroke of the Governor's or President's pen. But we must do what we can, and we must work together here and now for the sake of our children and our grandchildren.

It was really for this reason that I wanted to discuss crime today and the common front that we must create against it. Peace in our neighborhoods and places of business is almost as important as peace in the world.

Keeping the peace is as heroic and essential on the part of those policemen and policewomen who work the night shift as it is on the part of our military personnel and civilian technicians standing watch around the world. The courage and devotion of some, for the safety and survival of all, has brought us through 200 years as a nation, and it will carry us forward to an even brighter future.

Nowhere is the community of interest and the necessity of close collaboration between the Federal Government and the States of the Union more obvious than in the field of crime control. There is no more universal longing among our people than to be free of fear and safe in their homes and in their livelihoods.

7704001186

There is no issue—even in a spirited campaign year already beginning—in which we who seek to serve the people can work harder without partisanship or without demagoguery to bring about visible progress.

I have not brought along any patent medicine that cures all human ills to peddle here in California. I have come simply to pledge to you my unrelenting efforts to reduce crime in coopertaion and consultation with you and with all who have America at heart.

In moving against crime, with compassion for the victims and even-handed justice for the violator, California can be the pacesetter for the Nation, as you have been in so many other challenges.

The genius of California has enriched all America beyond the wildest expectation of our goal-seeking ancestors. But I am not here to sing, "I love you, California," either. I will save that for future visits, and I hope there will be many, because I love your people. For today, it is enough to ask your help on this complex but fundamental problem that confronts us all.

If we fail to ensure domestic tranquillity, any other successes we may have as public officials will be forgotten. Peace on 10th Street in Sacramento is as important to the people who walk and work there as peace in the Sinai Desert. One man or woman or child becomes just as dead from a switchblade slash as from a nuclear missile blast. We must prevent both.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:33 a.m. in the Assembly Chamber at the State Capitol.

Sacramento, California

The President's Remarks to Reporters. September 5, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. Let me say very emphatically that I think the Secret Service and the other law enforcement agencies that were on the job were doing a superb job, and I want to thank them for everything they did in this unfortunate incident.

I also wish to express to the people of California my gratitude for the very, very warm welcome that they have given me in the State of California. I would not, under any circumstances, feel that one individual in any way represented the attitude on the part of the people of California. I just thank the Californians for being so friendly and so hospitable.

Let me add, with great emphasis: This incident under no circumstances will prevent me or preclude me from contacting the American people as I travel from one State to another and from one community to another.

In my judgment, it is vitally important for a President to see the American people, and I am going to continue to have that personal contact and relationship with the American people. I think it is vital, and I intend to carry it out.

Q. Mr. President, can you give us any idea what you saw or felt [illegible] at the time?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not sure that I ought to describe what I saw beyond the fact that I saw a hand coming up behind several others in the front row, and, obviously, there was a gun in that hand. I then saw almost instantaneously very quick and very effective action by the Secret Service in taking care of the matter.

Q. Your own thoughts, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was very thankful. I was very thankful to the Secret Service for doing a superb job. But once I saw that they had done it, I thought I'd better get on with the rest of the day's schedule.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:46 p.m. at the Senator Hotel.

Return to the White House

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival on the South Lawn. September 5, 1975

It is nice to be home and especially real good to see Betty and Steve and Jack and to see all of you.

We had a great trip—just a fraction of a second or two that disturbed things, but everything else was superb, and I am most grateful that you all came out here. I don't know why all the bother. [*Laughter*]

7704001587

It was a very successful visit in Washington, Oregon, California, and Sacramento. Particularly the people were wonderful, and just a single incident I don't think we should feel was a distraction in the overall things that were done in a very affirmative way.

I want to thank, especially, the Secret Service and the other law enforcement people. I particularly was impressed with the wonderful reception we got in California and in Sacramento, especially.

I wouldn't under any circumstances let one individual's efforts undercut the warmth that we felt from the people of California.

Let me say with emphasis: We are going to be among the people in all of our States because I think it is highly important that a President has an opportunity to meet people from all parts of our country and to let them have an opportunity to express to me their views, whether I agree or disagree. This is one of the great assets, I think, in a country such as our own.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 p.m.

7704001 5183

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 11, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Amherst, New Hampshire)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT
KEENE TOWN SQUARE

KEENE, NEW HAMPSHIRE

10:09 A.M. EDT

Louis Wyman, Mayor Jim Maisello, my many, many good friends here in New Hampshire:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this wonderful turnout of young and old, the people of this great State of New Hampshire and the City of Keene. It is a great, great experience, and I thank you very, very much.

The truth is that I, over a long period of time, have known many, many people from the State of New Hampshire. I used to come up skiing here a good many years ago. I came here in the summertime, and as a result, I learned that the people of New Hampshire are strong and independent people, and I respect both strength and independence.

I also have learned that it is important in our political system if we have a strong two-party system -- whether it is in New Hampshire or any one of the other 49 States. Obviously, you do have a strong two-party system in this great State of New Hampshire, and I strongly urge that you maintain that two-party system so that all of you have an opportunity to make a choice.

I also have learned over the years that the people of New Hampshire believe in competition, whether it is in the political arena or whether it is in anything else. You had a little competition last November, and the net result is that you now have an opportunity in a few days to have the same kind of competition.

The people of New Hampshire, after fighting hard to get the opportunity to make their choice rather than have the politicians make that choice, your election comes, and I strongly urge that everybody who is eligible turn out and participate in this very important decision.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001518

It was my pleasure to be here last April to meet the Governor and to speak to the State Legislature. At that time, I urged two things; one, that the people of New Hampshire, rather than the politicians in Washington, ought to decide who should be your United States Senator.

Finally, I, after a great deal of pressure from all of you and from many others, the politicians decided that the people of New Hampshire have that right to make a choice, and with that opportunity goes the responsibility on your part to participate. So, make it a big election.

One of the important ingredients of a two-party system is that the two parties present good candidates and present a united front.

I am delighted to be in New Hampshire today and to be a part of a unity movement in my party, the Republican Party. I am delighted that Governor Reagan was here in New Hampshire last night.

I am here because I want to show a common front, a united party. I am delighted that my dear friend of many years in the Congress, Norris Cotton, Jim Cleveland, who I served with in the House of Representatives, that all other elements of the party at the national level and your Governor, Governor Thomson, are joining with us together to show that our party is unified, that we can have diversity, but we can have unity, which I think is important for the strengthening of the party and beneficial to the people who want a choice.

Now, let me indicate what I believe in and what Louie Wyman believes in, what our party stands for. We stand, first, for fiscal responsibility in the management of the public trust as far as your taxes are concerned, and will fight hard and effectively, I hope, that your money that you pay into the Treasury, whether it is in New Hampshire or in Washington, will be spent wisely and economically.

We believe, also, that the free enterprise system is the best way to have a healthy Nation. We believe that it is better to put young people, old people, working people not on the public payroll, but on the private payroll. We think it is more important that people work in a free enterprise system rather than working for the Government, as such.

We also believe that the United States must be second to none in national security. We believe that our Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines must be strong. That is the best way to achieve the peace and to preserve the peace.

We believe that the control of your local community is better when it is in the hands of locally elected officials. We think the people of Keene and the other many fine communities in New Hampshire can run their affairs better than having somebody in Washington tell them how to do it.

We believe that the freedom of the individual is important, that each of you should not be overcrowded by the Federal Government of certain rights, whether they are in education, in industry, in your community. The right of each of you as an individual is a sacred trust to us.

Let me conclude with this observation about my very close and old friend, Louie Wyman: I had the privilege of serving with Louie in the House of Representatives for better than ten years. I know he is an experienced and able and effective legislator.

He started with a great Senator from your State, Styles Bridges. He served you more ably as Attorney General. His record of public service is outstanding, and I can say from personal observation that he is a person who will do a good job for you in the United States Senate.

Louie Wyman understands some of those problems better than anybody that I know in Washington, as his record of Attorney General speaks for itself. We have too much crime in America. Louie Wyman knows, as Attorney General and as a Member of the Congress, how to effectively meet the challenge of crime in America.

Louie Wyman knows that you need jobs in New Hampshire and Louie Wyman, while he was a Member of the House of Representatives, worked hard and, I think, effectively in trying to help the job situation in the State of New Hampshire.

Louie Wyman will do across the board the kind of a job that you will be proud of, and I can assure you that my long and personal close relationship with Louie, that I will be proud to have him down there working for you, representing you, and working with us for a better America.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 10:16 A.M. EDT)

7704001519

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 11, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Amherst, New Hampshire)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
DAVE GOBLASKAS
WSCV & WSLE-FM

PETERBOROUGH, NEW HAMPSHIRE

MR. GOBLASKAS: Mr. President, with the veto of the oil price control bill and reports that that sustained veto could really increase the financial burdens on America, do you have any encouraging news on the oil situation for the people of New Hampshire and the Northeast?

THE PRESIDENT: Dave, let me say most emphatically that I proposed to the Congress a phased decontrol program that would, over a period of 39 months, alleviate any sharp increase and, as a matter of fact, in the first 12 months in my 39-month phased decontrol program oil prices would be less, not more.

Now we are trying to work with the Democratic leadership in the House, as well as the Senate, to actually enact or approve the 39-month decontrol program that I have proposed. If it is enacted into law, actually fuel prices will go down the first year and we will be able to absorb in the months ahead the increases that will come over the succeeding two years and three months.

MR. GOBLASKAS: Mr. President, there have been several proposals that America should trade its surplus wheat to certain other countries in return for their oil. How do you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: In the first place, the Congress, as well as the President, urged the farmers of America last year to go to all-out production, and they did. The net result is we are going to have a record corn crop, a record wheat crop, a record soybean crop.

We can sell that wheat abroad to Japan, to the Soviet Union and others in place of storing it as we did for a good many years, at a cost of $1 million a day in storage fees. So I think it is better to sell it rather than to store it.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001519

I know my good friend, Norris Cotton, used to fight against the storage fees of $1 million a day. Can you imagine that?

We want to sell it and we can trade it, and we have a group of negotiators in the Soviet Union right now trying to make a long-term sales agreement that will mean that they will buy from us, not in sporadic, erratic ways but consistently, this great natural resource which we can use for humanitarian as well as diplomatic purposes.

So I think it is a good deal not only to sell it but it is conceivable, it is possible, that we can use wheat in a negotiation for oil, and I would not rule out the possibility that that might materialize.

MR. GOBLASKAS: Mr. President, with the primaries approaching, do you see this campaign for Mr. Wyman as a possible test of your strength among the voters of New Hampshire?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I came, Dave, on this beautiful day in New Hampshire to do what I could to help my friend, Louie Wyman, and on the other hand, it is delightful to start in Keene and end up in Portsmouth to get reacquainted with some people I knew a good many years ago and, at the same time, to make some new friends.

I intend to be up here next March. I like the people of New Hampshire and I will probably ask you for your support then, but today I want you to help Louie Wyman, and I hope you will.

END

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE 7704001519 SEPTEMBER 11, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT
PORTSMOUTH TOWN SQUARE

8:15 P.M. EDT

Louis, Governor Thomson, distinguished guests:

At the very beginning, let me apologize for being late. We have had just unbelievable crowds beginning in Keene and running all the way across the State, West to East.

I just appreciate, beyond any words that I can express, my gratitude for your patience, your understanding and your warm and hospitable reaction to our coming in at this time.

This trip to New Hampshire has been a great lift, and it has been a lift because I am convinced that the people of New Hampshire are interested in having their election decided by them and not by the politicians in Washington, D.C.

It was my privilege to come to your State Capitol in April and to urge at that time that the right answer was by the people and the wrong answer was by the politicians in the Nation's Capitol.

You have that opportunity now. You have probably the greatest opportunity to make a decisive decision next Tuesday.

I am proud to be here on behalf of a friend of mine, Louis Wyman, but I am equally proud to be in the great State of New Hampshire because I am here representing, along with others, a unified party, a party that is working together on behalf of Louis Wyman's election. Governor Thomson, last night Governor Reagan, earlier today -- and he may be here now -- Senator Norris Cotton, Congressman Jim Cleveland was with us -- all I am trying to say is we have presented a unified front because we think it is a crucial election.

MORE

I am delighted to see Ruth Griffin here who so ably represents your area and she, like all of us, is standing steadfast on behalf of Louis Wyman.

Let me ask you or tell you, if I might, why we stand together. Why are we interested in the election of Louis Wyman? Louis Wyman believes in a strong national defense with the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the Marines first and not second best, and that is important to the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

Secondly, related to that, you have got a great naval installation here in Portsmouth -- one that is very significant from the national security point of view, one that is a very vital part of the economy of this part of New Hampshire. Let me speak very strongly that Louis Wyman in 1964 and again in 1972 almost singlehandedly kept the Portsmouth Navy Yard open so we could have that facility here defending or helping to defend the peace throughout the world.

Let me add, you elect Louis and he will have an opportunity to continue that strong support for this great Navy installation which is such an integral part or our national security forces.

I don't have to tell all of you in New Hampshire that Louis, by actions, by words, is working hard to keep control of government at the local level. He knows and I know that we cannot run the City of Portsmouth nearly as well from Washington as your elected officials can do it right here in Portsmouth.

So if you want local control with locally elected officials and the back-up given to Lou that is necessary, then you ought to elect Louis Wyman on next Tuesday.

I would like to conclude a wonderful day, and it started early and it is ending late, but it has been an inspiration to me to meet so many old friends, to make so many new acquaintances.

Fortunately, a long time ago I used to come to New Hampshire then to vacation and ski and I met some wonderful people who have been my friends over the years and the characteristics of those people I have found in my opportunity to see others in New Hampshire today are independence, dedicated, with great conviction.

You have the kind of characteristics which I think are reflected in Louis Wyman. If you want an independent guy, a man of dedication with deep convictions, I urge you to make that extra step to get to the polls on Tuesday.

One final word: All of you have close friends who you would stand up for, who you would urge to be appointed or elected. Louis Wyman is that kind of a friend of mine. I am here spending this wonderful day because I want to go the last mile supporting a person who I respected as a legislator, who I admire as a person, who I know will do the job best for the State of New Hampshire, and I know will help me the most as we face the critical, crucial problems of energy, the economy, jobs, inflation and all the other things.

Louis, I want to urge you to make the maximum effort and I want your literal thousands of friends here in New Hampshire to join in supporting me in supporting you.

Good luck.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 8:25 P.M. EDT)

7704001596

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 12, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(St. Louis, Missouri)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

LAMBERT FIELD

12:32 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: The security precautions that are taken, it seems to me that that is something that should not be disclosed.

QUESTION: Do you have any reflections a week after that incident in Sacramento? Did you think about it?

THE PRESIDENT: First, I am very grateful for the fine action taken by the Secret Service, that I was not -- I really have not had time to think about it.

QUESTION: Those House documents, how serious a matter is that?

THE PRESIDENT: Which ones are you referring to?

QUESTION: The ones that you have asked the House to obtain, the House committee.

THE PRESIDENT: What we did there was to give these documents to a House committee on the basis that they would abide by an agreement as to what would be released and what would not. Unfortunately, the committee took action that did not coincide with the agreement that we had with the committee, and as long as we feel that we had a good faith agreement and it was breached, then I think that we have proper action in requesting a return.

QUESTION: Will Governor Reagan be acceptable as a running mate?

THE PRESIDENT: We are all in the Republican Party, and that will be a decision made by the Convention.

QUESTION: One question, Mr. President. Your policy on decontrol of oil prices has caused much concern among area service station dealers and, in fact, they are afraid big oil is going to run them out of business and are going to picket today.

MORE

(OVER)

THE PRESIDENT: Not under my plan would that happen. We have requested the Congress that if there was decontrol, that the Congress pass legislation which protects the independent dealer as we have requested legislation to protect the small independent refiner.

The Congress has an obligation to pass such legislation and, in the meantime, we are working with the various majors to have them in good faith continue their working relationship that they have with small dealers, and I think they will.

THE PRESS: Thank you, sir.

END (AT 12:36 P.M. CDT)

7704001693

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 12, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(St. Louis, Missouri)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
JULIUS HUNTER
NEWS ANCHORMAN AND HOST
ROBERT HARDY
KMOX-RADIO ANNOUNCER
RICHARD DUDMAN
ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH
AND
JOHN FLACK
POLITICAL EDITOR
ST. LOUIS GLOBE DEMOCRAT

GATEWAY TOWER BUILDING

1:04 P.M. CDT

QUESTION: Welcome to Newsmakers. I am Julius Hunter.

My guest today is the most consistent and most recognized newsmaker in the world. President Gerald Ford is in St. Louis to attend a White House Conference on Domestic Affairs.

The Conference is billed as a town meeting, a chance for the President and the members of his Administration to exchange views with the citizens of St. Louis.

Joining me in the questioning of Mr. Ford today are Richard Dudman, Chief Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Post Dispatch; Jack Flack, Political Editor of the St. Louis Globe Democrat, and Bob Hardy, Director of Special Events for KMOX Radio.

Mr. President, welcome to St. Louis, and thank you for making this your first stop.

Our first question concerns a matter of major concern to the vast majority of Americans, and that is your personal safety. It is a frightening thought that a President of the United States would have to wear a bullet-proof vest, and we wonder whether this is going to become standard hardware, standard issue from the White House for future American Presidents and yourself.

We also wonder whether or not you feel that in the interest of national security, world security, you should modify your campaign style?

7704001519

THE PRESIDENT: Julius, let me say at the outset I don't think I should discuss whether I wear or don't wear--or whether I do something or don't do something--that involves the security.

The Secret Service makes recommendations. I feel an obligation to follow their recommendations. But, to identify, Julius, what I am doing or why I am doing it, involving security, I think makes security that much more difficult.

As to my desire to meet people when I come to either St. Louis or in New Hampshire, where I was yesterday, I feel it is important for the American people to have an opportunity to see firsthand, close up, their President.

In any job, you know, there is a risk of some kind. I feel that you have to balance or weigh the risks as to my own personal security against what is a very important aspect of our political life in America.

It is helpful for me to meet with the people, shake hands with them, get their questions, and it is just as important for them to have me say hello or to answer their questions.

So, as I put the alternatives or the contending arguments on the scales, it seems to me that what is good for the country overbalances anything else.

QUESTION: We can see that your vest today matches your suit, and is quite attractive.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you seem to be doing more than just meeting the American people. You are campaigning at a breakneck speed, with the election still 14 months away. You seem to be campaigning as if it is going to happen next week.

Why are you doing that? Are you afraid of Ronald Reagan as a possible rival? I would also ask you if you think this is a wise use of your time when there are so many problems of Government bearing on you?

THE PRESIDENT: I will answer the last question first.

I work a minimum of 12 hours a day, and usually it is 14, and the odd times that I take out to come to St. [illegible], to New Hampshire, do not, in any way whatsoever, interf[illegible] with the conducting of White House business by me as President.

7704001520

I have an excellent staff. They prepare the options for me to make decisions. I have ample time to read and to study, so when I come to St. Louis, or Kansas City, where I am going, or New Hampshire yesterday, it in no way whatsoever interferes with the responsibilities I have, which are the highest of being President of the United States.

Now, I don't consider coming to St. Louis a campaign effort. I didn't go to New Hampshire yesterday for myself. I went there for the purpose of trying to elect a Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Governor Reagan had been there the night before. That was not for me, but for him, or for our party's candidate. So, any personal campaigning has been minimal. The aim and objective of coming here is to appear on this program, to attend a White House Conference, to help the Republican Party in Missouri and Kansas City. I don't consider it a personal campaign effort.

QUESTION: Mr. Dudman also asked you another question, and that is regarding Mr. Reagan and your posture of his candidacy.

THE PRESIDENT: Julius, I like competition in the political arena. Governor Reagan has not announced as a candidate yet. He has indicated either personally or through one of his representatives that he may some time in November.

Governor Reagan was a fine Governor of the State of California. Until he announces his candidacy, I am assuming that I am the only Republican candidate, and I will welcome any competition. I love it.

QUESTION: Mr. President, with the seeming inability of Government to solve the Nation's critical problems -- oil, energy, the economy, the growing Federal spending -- and the seeming preoccupation about intelligence probes and pay raises and so on, what can be done to restore confidence, believability, and credibility in Government.

THE PRESIDENT: There are a number of things that I think can be helpful. There is not any one thing that will answer the perplexing problem that you have posed.

I happen to believe that a President traveling around the country, meeting people, is one way. The alternative for a President is to sit in seclusion in the Oval Office. I don't think that adds to the credibility or improves or enhances the public impression of Washington.

On the other hand, I think the Congress, which is an integral part of our Government, one of the three major branches, has an opportunity to also project itself, to improve its credibility by the work that it does, the answers that it gives and its efforts to meet firsthand the American people.

There are some substantive matters that have to be solved that would enhance the credibility of the Government as such. We are making slow progress, but I think constructive progress, out of the recession. Employment has gone up by about 1.5 million in the last five months, even though the unemployment statistic is still too high.

We are making headway in meeting the challenge of inflation. It is now half what it was a year ago. It is not good enough. We are going to have to do better, but as we move forward in meeting the challenge of our economy, that will enhance our Government's credibility with 214 million people.

Also, energy must be solved, and this is probably the most frustrating domestic problem that I face. Having submitted a plan, a comprehensive program to make the United States invulnerable against foreign oil cartels in January, I hate to admit it, but the Congress has done nothing affirmative either on their plan -- if they have one -- or on my plan, which I submitted.

I think the American people are frustrated in this area and our credibility as a Government is harmed. I still think we can do something here, but we have to achieve this improved credibility two ways -- by people in Government appearing to be human and by having the Government do things affirmatively.

Mr. Flack?

QUESTION: Mr. President, the latest poll shows that Nelson Rockefeller is not doing too well in the form of popularity. I wonder if you would give us some thoughts on the polls and how much faith you have in him and whether Rockefeller continues to go this way that he won't be your running mate in the next time around?

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, you recognize the final decision as for myself as the Republican candidate, and the Vice Presidential candidate will be made by the delegates to the Republican Convention.

I am, of course, interested in the polls, both personally as well as concerning any other individual for ... President, but I don't think that should be the sole criteria.

I believe that a candidate for President or Vice President must be either approved or disapproved on the job that is done. If a President does a good job, even though the immediate public opinion polls may not be favorable, I think the delegates ought to approve him, and the same for Vice President.

Now, in the case of Nelson Rockefeller, I picked him because he had done a fine job in your State. He has done far better as Vice President than I could possibly have expected. He is a hard worker. He is a good team player. He has got a vast amount of experience.

I think those attributes will be watched, and the delegates will respond to them at the Republican Convention.

So, based on performance and expectation, I would assume that the delegates would probably renominate him.

QUESTION: If I may interpret, as we so-called political experts do, that sounds sort of like an endorsement for the Vice President.

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly have to endorse the job he has done, no question about it.

QUESTION: Mr. President, in the speech to the National Baptist Convention, you promise that economic and social equality will become a reality for black Americans. That is a rather easy surface promise to make to a group that represents some 5.5 million potential votes. How do you plan to make that a reality, your promise?

THE PRESIDENT: In the first place, we are going to get the economy, as a whole, out of the recession, and we are on our way now to, I think, a substantially improved economic picture. In the process of that, the black American will also benefit, as all other Americans will.

If we look back on the last five years, Julius, we find that more blacks have gone to college, more blacks are entering better paying jobs. We are doing our utmost to improve living conditions for all disadvantaged people, including blacks.

We are seeking to enforce very vigorously the equal employment opportunity legislation. I appointed a friend of mine from Michigan, Lowell Perry, who you may or may not know, as the new Chairman of that very important commission, and they are going to do a good job.

So, through a combination of circumstances, the general improvement, plus specific actions, I believe that blacks as a whole, particularly those in the lower end of the spectrum economically, will be the beneficiaries.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I would like to ask you a question about the Middle East. The United States, for the first time, is becoming directly involved there, and quite deeply, with the prospect of stationing technicians.

Don't you owe it to the American people in these circumstances to make public every American commitment that is being made and every detail of it that the United States has helped bring about between Israel and Egypt?

THE PRESIDENT: We have submitted all of the official documents to the two committees in the Congress -- the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on International Relations -- and Secretary Kissinger has testified to those two committees and the two Armed Services committees.

We are working out arrangements to give the documents that I mentioned plus the content of any other communications between me and the heads of State of Egypt, on the one hand, and Israel on the other.

Now we have committed to give the content of those documents and those communications, but I do not think -- it has never been done in the past -- that a direct communication between a President and another head of State should be made public, as long as the content is there, the commitment is there. I think that is adequate assurance to the American people.

I would add the commitment that we have made at the request of Egypt on the one hand, and Israel on the other--they made them to us--authorizing up to 200 U.S. technicians, non-military, in a UN buffer zone. All of the details concerning that part of the agreement will be made public.

QUESTION: The exact words, though, won't be available? The sense of it will be filtered through selected Congressmen and Senators; is that not right?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the exact words of our commitment up to but not more than 200 American technicians will be made public, no question about that.

QUESTION: I understand that, but things [illegible] level of aid that is to be given to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I must correct the record there. There is a negotiation going on now between the United States and Israel as to the amount of the first year's aid, economic and military.

When I submit the budget request for the total foreign aid program on a worldwide basis I will submit the details of the request of economic and military aid for Israel just as I will do it in the case of Egypt but that will all come as a part of the package for the total worldwide foreign program.

QUESTION: Mr. President, it has been suggested that we use our grain for Soviet oil or for somebody's oil. You currently have someone working on that in the Soviet Union now, we are told.

THE PRESIDENT: We have a high level group of negotiators under Assistant (Under) Secretary of State Robinson in Moscow now negotiating for a long-term purchase agreement by the Soviet Union up to, say, five years for American grain and other agricultural products. We feel that a long-term agreement with minimums and maximums is in the best interests of the farmer and the country, as well as our relations with the Soviet Union.

Now there are some very preliminary discussions going on concerning grain and oil, but they have not gone beyond very preliminary discussion.

QUESTION: Have you reached some level of amounts when you talk in terms of oil? Have you set a figure or a number of barrel amount?

THE PRESIDENT: We have no specifics because these are preliminary discussions. The Soviet Union, we understand, does have a surplus of oil. We have a surplus of grain so at least we ought, in a very preliminary way, just discuss any alternatives, but we have not gone beyond that.

QUESTION: Has any kind of barter arrangement -- if the Soviet Union cannot supply the oil in exchange for grain, are you hoping that they will exert their influence over the Arabs who listen to them?

THE PRESIDENT: I think there is a better way to exercise our influence with the Arab nations and that is through the International Energy Agency, which was set up or promoted primarily by the United States about a year ago, where the basic industrial consuming nations have joined together to meet with the producing nations -- OPEC, for example.

... negotiating directly with them. I think that has more potential than relying on the Soviet Union to help us with the Arab nations.

7704001520 5

Our relations with the Arabs are good. I don't think we have to go through the Soviet Union in this case or any other case, as far as dealing with Arab nations.

QUESTION: Mr. President, if Israel is expelled from the United Nations, would the United States withdraw, and can you foresee any circumstances that might prompt the U.S. to withdraw from the UN?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't expect the United Nations to kick Israel out, and, of course, the United States would vigorously protest and vote against any such effort on the part of any nation or nations. We believe that the prospects for that happening have subsided considerably, particularly since the agreement between Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other.

If we can continue to have momentum in the Middle East -- which I think will continue -- the prospects of Arab nations and other non-aligned nations trying to kick Israel out becomes less and less.

In other words, the position of Israel in the United Nations becomes stronger as we keep momentum going for a solution, a long-term solution, to the problems in the Middle East.

To answer your last question, I foresee no circumstances where the United States would leave the United Nations. I think it would be a mistake. It is good for us to be a part of that forum.

QUESTION: You have had problems there in the past.

THE PRESIDENT: We have problems in other forums as well. I have always found the best way to win a game is to play it, not to sit on the sidelines, and the United States ought to be in the game in the United Nations to protect our interests. It is a lot better inside than sitting out doing nothing.

QUESTION: Would it be in the interests of the U.S. to try to arrive at a formula sometime so that North and South Vietnam could enter the United Nations? They were vetoed this time because of the connection with Korea. But, isn't it true that the United States continues to have a great interest in that part of the world, and isn't there a danger that relations with North and South Vietnam can get into a deep freeze the way China and Cuba did for [illegible] years, to nobody's advantage?

THE PRESIDENT: We believe in the universality of the United Nations. We feel that it is in the interest of the world as a whole to have all nations that want to become a part of the United Nations be members, but the effort of North and South Vietnam to get in was predicated on their coming in alone.

We felt if North and South Vietnam were to be a part of the United Nations, South Korea, that has had its application in to be a member for a good many years, also ought to be included. You can't be selective on who or what nation should be a part of the United Nations.

I presume, based on our overall interest in matters involving Southeast Asia, that it is conceivable under certain circumstances that our relations with North and South Vietnam will improve, but a lot has to happen.

For example, North Vietnam continues to refuse to give us information concerning the MIA's and they try to bribe us by saying "we will give you information about MIA's if you will let us in the United Nations."

Well, North Vietnam agreed in January of 1973 to give us information, to give us access to North Vietnam to find the MIA's, and they have not lived up to it, so how can we trust them? They have got a lot of things to do before we are going to be very receptive to their participation.

QUESTION: Mr. President, busing is a subject, a practice that is distasteful to a large segment of the American population, both black and white. If it is such a distasteful and wasteful process, why bus? Is there any alternative that you see?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that we have to decide, in the first place, what we are really trying to do by busing before you discuss whether it is good or bad. All of us -- white, black, every American, in my opinion -- wants quality education.

Now, the court decided in 1954 that separate but equal schools were constitutional and the courts have decided that busing is one way to try and desegregate on the one hand and perhaps improve education on the other.

Many of those decisions have raised great problems in many, many localities -- Louisville and Boston being the most prominent at the present time.

Discussing those two communities, let me very strongly emphasize the court has decided something. That is the law of the land. As far as my Administration is concerned, the law of the land will be upheld, and we are upholding it.

But then, I think I have the right to give what I think is a better answer to the achievement of quality education, which is what we all seek, and there is always more than one answer.

I think that quality education can be enhanced by better school facilities, lower pupil-teacher ratios, the improvement of the neighborhood, as such. Those are better answers, in my judgment, than busing under a court order.

Quality education can be achieved by more than one method. I was reading in the Washington Post this morning a column by one of the outstanding black columnists, Mr. Raspberry, and Mr. Raspberry has come to the conclusion that court ordered, forced busing, is not the way to achieve quality education for blacks or whites in a major metropolitan area.

That is a very significant decision by Mr. Raspberry, who I think Mr. Dudman, for example, highly respects.

QUESTION: I certainly do.

In Boston and Louisville, where the court has ordered busing, how well do you think the people of those two cities have conducted themselves in bringing about court ordered exchanges of black and white students?

THE PRESIDENT: There have been some disorders there over the last year or more.

QUESTION: I am thinking about this fall. There have been Federal agents there, of course, to try to maintain order. Are you reasonably well satisfied with the way things have happened or not?

THE PRESIDENT: So far, there has been a minimum of local disorder. I hope that that attitude can prevail in the months ahead as the police involvement and the Federal marshal involvement becomes less and less.

I am also an optimist, even though I disagree with the method by which they are trying to achieve quality education.

QUESTION: Are you counseling the people of those two cities to cooperate with the courts, or are you encouraging them to maintain their strong feelings in some cases that this is an improper solution?

THE PRESIDENT: Last year I did a televised tape urging the people of Boston to cooperate with the court and to maintain law and order. I did that then, and I have counseled everybody that I talked with in Boston to encourage their fellow Bostonians to obey the law and follow the court's action.

QUESTION: We have time for one short question and one short answer.

QUESTION: Mr. President, assuming your nomination, will you agree to broadcast debates with the nominee of the other party?

THE PRESIDENT: That gets into some problems involving the current law. I am not sure that a public debate on television is the best way for the public to analyze a candidate. I don't rule it out, but I won't make any firm commitment at this time.

QUESTION: What about a public debate on the radio?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it is a possibility, but I would not want to make a firm commitment at this time.

QUESTION: Mr. President, a cartoon in the newspaper recently mentioned that your wife's comments on the CBS program, Face the Nation, would only hurt your campaign if she ran against you. (Laughter)

7704001520

THE PRESIDENT: I am very proud of her, and we had a wonderful marriage. We have in our family the right of Betty, as well as the children, to speak their minds. I think she was misunderstood to some extent, and I repeat, I am proud of her and we have had a very happy marriage.

QUESTION: Thank you very much, Mr. President, for being with us today in St. Louis.

Welcome, again.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

END (AT 1:33 P.M. CDT)

7704001510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 12, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(St. Louis, Missouri)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION

HENRY W. KIEL AUDITORIUM

1:55 P.M. CDT

Dr. Jackson, Dr. Burson and distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset, let me congratulate Dr. Jackson on his birthday yesterday, and the fact that he was re-elected president for the 22nd time.

I have got a long way to go, Doctor. (Laughter)

It is a very great privilege and pleasure for me to be here today before one of the strongest and most important institutions in our society -- the Church.

As you know, it was freedom -- religious freedom -- that inspired many of our early settlers to come to these faraway shores to found our Nation. All of us can be very proud, despite the imperfections of our country, that we have never reversed the goals of our Founding Fathers. Dr. Martin Luther King was able to stand before this Nation and the world -- despite our country's travail -- and still say, "I have a dream."

The dream of blacks in America actually began long before our Declaration of Independence. History tells us that blacks were American pilgrims as well as pioneers. As many as 20 blacks came ashore at Jamestown in 1619, just 12 years after the first settlers arrived.

In Boston today the Crispus Attucks' monument stands proudly as a tribute to a black man who died leading a protest against the British six years before our Declaration of Independence.

As early as 1770 your Baptist faith began to take a foothold in America. At that time, blacks were [illegible] Baptist State conventions in our various colonies.

Through the years religion has always been a very important force in American life. It has been one of the pillars of black communities, as witness to your faith in God and all that is right.

-more-

7704001521 1

As we look back on some of the shortcomings of America, slavery leaves a sad and sorry chapter in our history. But a powerful belief in God enabled many blacks to endure those dark and dreary and sad days and years.

As we begin to celebrate the Bicentennial of our Nation, we have another historic triumph to celebrate -- our victory over that tragic injustice -- where all of God's people walk free in the light of a new day.

Equality, in the true spirit of our Founding Fathers, is not yet a full reality for all Americans. I am sorry to say that. Minorities and women still do not participate equally in employment. They do not share many economic, social and other resources of our Nation. Yet the struggle goes on. And it must continue until the vision of our Founding Fathers and the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Jackson and others have become a reality.

Who will ever forget Dr. George Washington Carver and his experiments with the peanut and the sweet potato, which were the basis for more than 400 different products? Or Lewis Latimer, the son of a runaway slave, who invented the first incandescent electric light bulb with a carbon filament, and who also helped Alexander Graham Bell develop the telephone? Or Dr. Charles Drew, who developed the apparatus for preserving blood plasma?

In the field of politics, progress has been slow but today there are more than 3,500 black elected officials in the United States, including 135 mayors, and those numbers are increasing every year. There will be more and more and more. And, of course, they will be solid, splendid national leaders like Senator Ed Brooke and others in the Congress, providing the dedicated leadership that our country needs now and in the future.

History has not recorded accurately the countless contributions made by blacks to America. Yet times are changing as we begin our Bicentennial celebration.

As President, I wish to help bring about this change by recalling some vitally important black contributions to our history.

MORE

7704001521

The right to vote is the cornerstone of our democracy. I was proud to have been in the forefront of the battles that passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and to extend and broaden that landmark legislation by signing the new measure only last month.

It represents my faith in the desire of blacks and other minority citizens to strengthen our political system for the good of all Americans.

The contributions of blacks cross all walks of American life, including the tragedy of war. In our historic battles around the world, the blood of the black soldier, sailor, airman or Marine has run just as freely as that of other Americans defending our beloved country.

It would be difficult to imagine American music, art, culture, science and medicine -- almost anything that is considered American -- without acknowledging the great contributions of blacks in our society.

Many of us remember these names, but it is still well to pay them formal tribute here as we speak of our Nation's history and the American Bicentennial: Phyllis Wheatley, one of America's first great black writers; Lemuel Haynes, a minister who served at Lexington; Peter Salem and Salem Poor, who were singled out for gallantry at the Battle of Bunker Hill; Booker T. Washington, the distinguished scholar; Frederick Douglass, the magnetic orator; Harriet Tubman, the underground railroad conductor; Daniel Hale Williams for his pioneering work in open heart surgery; A. Phillip Randolph, and his efforts for the worker; Walter White and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP; Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League; poet Paul Laurence Dunbar; the Reverend Leon Sullivan in job training; Chappie James in the United States Air Force; in music, contralto Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, Louie Armstrong, and many, many others; in sports, Jesse Owens, Joe Louis, Muhammed Ali, Jackie Robinson and Henry Aaron and, of course, the incredible Lou Brock and Bob Gibson; and I should add a personal friend of mine, Sammy Davis, Jr.

These men and women gave, and still give, pride and dignity to our people and honor to our Nation. Many of their names have virtually become institutions in our country. It is evident that the church has been a major influence in black accomplishments.

When we think of freedom, including freedom of religion, the National Baptist Convention stands as a monument and a testament to the strength of spiritual conviction and commitment. With more than six million members, the National Baptist Convention gives testimony to the individual integrity and dignity of the black American.

I would be negligent if I did not pay tribute in the very highest sense to the untiring, unselfish work of Dr. Jackson, your spiritual leader for more than two decades.

7704001521

Many of the traditional black colleges were founded by the church. The first black Senator, Hiram Revels, was a minister. Prince Hall Masons, one of the oldest black fraternal groups, traces its origin back to 1787. As many of you know, Prince Hall Masons was a minister.

In our own times, Dr. Martin Luther King, Dr. Jackson and other clergymen led the civil rights movement inspired by the teachings of the Prince of Peace. The black church saw the need to concentrate early on education.

Let me add that the issue in 1837, when Cheyney State College was founded in Pennsylvania as the first black institution of higher learning, was quality education. The need today is still quality education. I assure you here today that I stand for quality education for every American -- not one single child in this country is excluded. With reason, with calm, with sincerity and some prayers, from all of us, we will master these trials and tribulations and become a greater Nation because of them.

The need for strong church leadership is just as great today as it was 200 years ago or a century ago. As a matter of fact, I firmly believe there should be more church leadership in this country. We see enough of material power.

What the American people need to do and feel more often is the spiritual power of the church, school and our family in our lives. As I look out at all of you at this great convention I see a giant family. All of us are brothers and sisters. This is a magnificent concept because the family is the world's basic social, economic and political unit. I believe we determine the course of our lives, for the most part, in the family home. It is the home which teaches basic principles -- the imperishable qualities of truth, integrity, unselfishness and, most importantly, love.

Society has undergone vast changes in the past generation and new ideas are constantly influencing our lives. New materialism, the pressures of modern life, new attitudes, social values, crime in our inner cities -- all of these greatly affect the everyday life of the family. All of us have the responsibility to stand and support the standards we believe in. As religious people, stand up for your faith. I stand with you. We believe in the same God.

Wherever I go people are kind and say to me: "We are praying for you. You are in our prayers." This has been a tremendous source of inner strength and peace for me. It inspires me to pray harder when I get on my own knees for God's guidance and it reminds me that I do not act alone but for and with you and all our fellow citizens.

7704001521 1

For life to be constructive -- to build a greater, finer Nation -- we must appeal to higher motives than fear, higher beliefs than a passing fancy or fad, higher aspirations than the law. We must appeal to the highest motive and aspiration of all, the concept of our spiritual destiny. The world's and this Nation's greatest problems can be solved only by sincere changes of the will and human heart.

The future of America is not so much based on how much energy and steel we can produce -- although these are, of course, vital to our existence -- but the future of America is based on the rights and responsibilities that we as individual citizens are willing to commit to others and accept ourselves.

We speak of the common man and woman in America. This is a great and noble thought for it conveys the dignity of the individual citizen. I offer you here today a greater and nobler goal for which to strive -- the communion of Americans, the coming together to face a common destiny as one people, one Nation dedicated not only to the preservation but to the extension of that unity.

The American experience has been that competition in all walks of life -- of our national life -- strengthens our country. As a people, we believe in competition. Today, as never before, blacks are competing in our society and America is better for it. This is the American dream fulfilled.

Many of our problems of modern living cannot be dealt with through legislation, through Government money. They can only be solved from within the home, within the community and within the private enterprise system where competition is so important. That is where each of you comes in, for you represent the vast majority of blacks in this country who support your family, educate your children, pay your taxes, cast your votes and support your church.

Those of you here are teaching all of us in America a very great lesson. That is, the problems of human rights are not so much burdens to carry as they are avenues to achievement. The end of the journey is not so important as the fact that we are on the right road. Every citizen has a right to the means necessary for the development of his material and spiritual life. That same citizen -- every citizen -- has the responsibility to promote the good of society as a member of it. All Americans -- I repeat, all Americans -- must be free, and those who enjoy freedom must give freedom to others.

7704001521

No declaration of human rights has ever surpassed the Golden Rule. It is our job, yours and mine, to live the Golden Rule and thus fortify the declaration of human rights.

The world has many roads to accomplishment -- most of them are neither high nor low, they are middle roads. I believe the middle road, avoiding the extremes, is America's surest path to continue to achieve.

Let us, therefore, go forward together to build a new and better America. Let us not look back because we cannot change the old. Instead, let us look to the future and change the new for the better. It is in our hearts to forgive wrong. It is in our hands to reshape those wrongs into right. Let us together accept the spiritual, moral, social and economic challenges of America's third century.

Together we will fulfill the heritage of those who came before us. Together we will open up new horizons for millions of Americans not yet born. Together we will serve one another -- our country and our fellow men and women. Together we will fulfill our common national future.

God bless you and thank you very, very much.

END (AT 2:20 P.M. CDT)

7704001521

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 12, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(St. Louis, Missouri)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
AT THE
ST. LOUIS WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND THE ECONOMY

STOUFFER'S RIVERFRONT TOWERS

4:05 P.M. CDT

Governor Bond, Congressman Taylor, members of the Cabonet, the Administration, ladies and gentlemen:

It is really a great privilege and pleasure to be here in St. Louis, the Crossroads of America, and this very attractive Riverfront Towers.

I have been in St. Louis a good many times in the past and it really is a shame. I can recall rather vividly when big events in St. Louis were held at the Spanish Pavillion. (Laughter)

I do want to thank Secretary Mathews and his alma mater. And I expected to come to Missouri and have to give some odds to Kip on the forthcoming game between Michigan and Missouri. I think the situation is reversed. (Laughter) And we will have some negotiating to do later on, but my bargaining position is infinitely better.

Let me thank you all for being here. I had some prepared remarks which I have thrown away. I just want to get to the questions and the answers.

These White House conferences which have been held in a number of major communities throughout the United States are aimed at the fine people that are leaders in the Administration talking to you, but more importantly listening and learning from you. We think this is the best way to establish communication between people throughout the United States and the people who have some decision-making responsibilities in the Federal Government.

I have been President now about 18 months and we have had our share of problems. We have made headway in most of them; we admittedly have not solved all.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001521 7

Some of the most difficult problems involve the economy and energy. In the area of the economy it is my judgment that we have moved out of the bottom and are starting upward with some very encouraging signs. In the last four or five months about 1,500,000 more people are gainfully employed even though the unemployment rate is far too high.

In the area of retail sales, industrial production and other significant signs in the area of the economy there is encouragement, but we are not going to rest in this area until everybody who wants a job and seeks a job gets a job. That is our definition of how we should handle the unemployment problem.

Number two, in the area of energy, we will not be satisfied until the Congress enacts either my program, which I think is the best solution, or their program, which I have not seen yet, (Laughter) and until some program is enacted that gets the United States free of the vulnerability of actions against our interests by foreign oil cartel.

So with those basic observations and comments, I will be glad to turn to the questioning and, as I understand it, the first is Mr. Barksdale.

MORE

7704001213

QUESTION: Yes, Mr. President.

I am Clarence Barksdale, and I am President of the St. Louis Regional Commerce and Growth Association.

St. Louis, as you know, is the heart of the bread basket of the world and, consequently, we are concerned with the international commerce as far as agricultural products are concerned.

Accordingly, is there any consideration being given by your Administration about using our agricultural production and pricing as a leverage in the international marketplace, such as has to be done by us, by the OPEC cartels?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me emphasize that I consider the sale of our agricultural products overseas vitally important. Last year we sold $23 billion worth, as I recollect. We bought about $10 billion worth of foreign agricultural products so that the net gain to the United States in foreign trade was roughly $12 to $13 billion. That was significantly vital in our trade relationships around the world.

I believe that we can use food in a variety of ways: One, for humanitarian purposes for those less well off than ourselves but, in addition, for a wide variety of other reasons, including foreign policy objectives.

At the present time, we have a top negotiating team in Moscow, for example, negotiating for a long-term sales contract with the Soviet Union so that if and when they buy, they buy under the terms of an agreement, not on sudden stopping and starting, as they have in the past, with 1972 buying a lot and several other years buying very little.

We think it is in the best interest of agriculture for us to have long-term contracts or agreements with the Soviet Union, as we do with Japan, as we do with other countries. We think this great resource produced by less than 6 percent of the American people, those that live on the farm, can be used and in a wide variety of ways, and we are going to do it for the benefit of all the 214 million Americans.

Thank you.

Mr. Douthit?

7704016210

QUESTION: Yes, Mr. President. I am Bill Douthit, the Executive Director of the Urban League of St. Louis.

Mr. President, your posture in the public press has appeared to be that of being opposed to busing. Now some well-intentioned whites are opposed to busing, as well as some blacks, but, Mr. President, my question is, how do we achieve quality education without isolating large segments of our population from each other?

THE PRESIDENT: I am glad that you put the emphasis where I think it belongs; namely, quality education.

Quality education under the method utilized by the courts is aimed at forced school busing. That, of course, came out of the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

I firmly say without any hesitation or qualification that if the court says something has to be done, it will be done, as far as this Administration is concerned, no question about that. On the other hand, it is my judgment that there is a better way of achieving quality education for all school children than by the court method.

It is most interesting. A very able black newspaper columnist by the name of William Raspberry, in the Washington Post this morning, said that court order forced busing was not achieving quality education. I wholeheartedly agree with him.

Now what can be a better way to do it? I believe that you can improve the facilities in many of the disadvantaged areas. Too often school boards have neglected some of the plant and equipment in those areas. We should increase the pupil-teacher ratio. I think that would be helpful in upgrading the educational opportunities of young people so they can achieve a quality education.

I believe that the Emergency School Aid Program which Congress approved roughly five or six years ago, it is about a billion and a half a year -- no, it is not quite that much but it is a sizeable amount -- can be focused in on places like Boston, as Secretary Mathews has done, or in Louisville where we are having our current problems; to try and get better faculty, better facilities, better equipment. In my honest opinion, that is a preferable way to achieve the objective of quality education without tearing apart some of the social fabric in some of these communities.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

QUESTION: Frank Gamelin, of the Higher Education Council in St. Louis.

Mr. President, those of us who profited from the GI bill after World War II and are grateful to America for what it made possible for us have long hoped, I think, that it would be possible for every man and woman to obtain from their fellow citizens, through Government, the support necessary to supplement family health to the extent that they could attend the post-secondary school of their choice in the program for which they are eligible.

Do you see any possibility of further implementation of this principle in planning for future spending in higher education?

THE PRESIDENT: We have a number of higher education programs. The GI bill that was originated after World War II is in full operation now and is continuing even though those who are in the military today are not in combat, and that was the general basis upon which the GI bill was initially passed at the time of World War II and at the time of Korea. We spend roughly $1 billion to $1.5 billion a year on that program at the present time.

In addition, we have a number of educational programs that are aimed at helping young people who want to go to college and who do not have the financial means to do so. We have a loan guarantee program with any loaning institution. We have basic educational opportunities with BEOG, or whatever the combination is, and there is another one -- I can't recall the name -- but the total amount available in these several programs is about $1 billion a year, So there is really no reason today why no young person who wants to go to college can't get Federal financial assistance of a substantial amount. It won't cover the whole thing but it will cover a very substantial amount.

If I could add a PS to that, I believe in those programs -- and we recommended a very sizeable budget figure for all of them, roughly $1 billion -- I am very disturbed at the default rate in those programs where young people borrow from their government and then fail to repay when they get through and get a job. That is an obligation to their government, and it is about a 20 percent default rate at the present time, and it amounts to $200 million a year, as I recall. I don't think that is playing fair with the people who loaned them the money in the first instance.

I am for the program but young people have as much an obligation to repay their government as they do to repay anyone, and I just think we have got to instill that spirit in them. We are going to loan -- if the Government is going to loan, then they ought to under-

7704001522

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Ann Slaughter and this is Del McClellan. We are Co-Chairmen of the Women's Crusade Against Crime, which for five years has been marshaling citizens to seek improvements in the criminal justice system.

Unhappily, our country has witnessed an increase, rather than a decrease, in crime. Citizens are increasingly frightened by the horrendous acts of criminals. The time has come to return principal consideration to the victims of crime.

This means swifter justice in the courts through outline of unjust delays. This means effective correctional facilities for those convicted. However, impoverished citizens do not have adequate funds for maintenance of deteriorating neighborhoods which breed crime. We need more Federal funds to be made available for our cities.

My Co-Chairman, Del McClellan, will ask our question.

QUESTION: Mr. President, improvements in the system are very important, but they will be useless without good men and women. Paramount is the need for a return to individual honesty, to respect for personal and property rights.

In this, our Bicentennial year, we ask that you follow the directive of Benjamin Franklin, who in 1980 asked that a moral science be developed to carry personal morality forward with the amazing scientific and engineering feats he so accurately predicted.

Fighting crime without the full commitment of the American people to a return to the moral values which made our Nation great is an expensive and completely hopeless enterprise.

As Mr. Seidman told us at lunch -- and I think I quote him properly -- he is looking for new directions to go back to old truths.

I am asking if you could not convene a working task force to develop guidelines toward a revival of spiritual values as inscribed on our coins, In God We Trust, appoint men and women of wisdom from churches and schools, and homes, and then could you please use your good offices to spread these principles of right conduct through the printed word, news media and television, which would again lift the spirit of our people and encourage the return of heroes to our land?

7704001522

THE PRESIDENT: I made a speech this morning, or this afternoon, where I made some comments that I think would fit in very neatly with the observations made by both of you.

I think that we have got to seek the strengthening of the family, in the first place, and the strengthening of our individual ties to the church in the second.

I believe that all of the money we have spent -- and we have spent a great deal of money at the Federal level, about $800 million a year in the last three or four years -- for what we call Law Enforcement Assistance Act programs, Federal money to States and local units of Government, and unfortunately despite that vast expenditure of money, the crime rate continues to go up.

So, money itself will not meet the problem. The basic one is how we can strengthen the family, the church, our moral and spiritual values.

I will take under consideration the establishment of a national commission or committee, but I think it is more basic than that. I think the leadership has to come from the clergy, from civic leaders, from others in the local area.

I will certainly consider it, but I think we ought to take a look at other alternatives aside from money, and money at the Federal level really has not solved the problem.

Thank you very much.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Sugarman. I represent the Ozark Chapter of the Sierra Club.

We have a great many problems in the St. Louis region, stemming from the Corp of Engineers relentless promotional activities on the Mississippi River and on our agricultural flood plains and on our scenic Ozark streams.

The Council on Environmental Quality has recently conducted a special review of the Merrimack Basin Dam project in Eastern Missouri, but has been blocked by the General Council from publishing their findings. Meanwhile, citizens would like very much to debate the issues knowing the facts that CEQ has developed.

Mr. President, will you ask the CEQ to make their findings known to the public on this and other similar projects?

7704001523

THE PRESIDENT: I am generally familiar with that project. I will find out the details from Governor Peterson and his associates at CEQ. I would certainly consult with him as to whether or not those findings by him should be made public.

I don't think it is appropriate for me to make a commitment at this time. Their procedures, I would assume, would call for such documentation being made public, but I think it is the better judgment for me to consult with him and his associates before making any categorical commitment.

I can assure you that whether they are made public or not, they will be made available to the proper authorities within the Government and they will be considered by all of those who have a responsibility in making the final decision.

I think we have to incorporate in any decision-making process whatever EPA or CEQ or the Corp of Engineers, the Department of Interior, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Forest Service and others ought to have an input but at some point somebody has to make a decision.

As long as the flow of information is free and those who have that responsibility analyze at all, there has to be a cut-off point, and once that process has been concluded, and I think in this case it will--then we either proceed or don't proceed, depending upon what a responsible official decides.

QUESTION: Thank you.

MORE

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Roger Guyot, President of the World Trade Club of St. Louis.

We are concerned regarding the trend towards reduction and elimination of assistance to Midwest business firms engaged in international trade. Specifically, we believe the case for the Domestic International Sales Corporation, otherwise known as DISC, that this as an incentive is as important now as it was in 1971. U.S. companies need a tax stimulus to compete on equal terms with the foreign governments who subsidize their producers and their industries. Would you comment, please?

THE PRESIDENT: I was in the Congress in 1971 and voted for the legislation that incorporated DISC. I believe DISC is just as important today as it was then. It helped to expand our trade at that time. I think it can be beneficial in expanding trade at the present time, giving incentives for the expansion of our trade.

I would hope the Congress in its deliberations would not rescind the legislation. This Administration will not recommend the abolition of the DISC program.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Randy Parent, President of Vocational Industrial Clubs of America.

Just how much monetary support is being given to the vocational education in the future, and what is being done to promote the growth of the vocational education?

THE PRESIDENT: It is my best recollection that in the traditional vocational education program there has been a gradual increase -- if my memory is accurate, it is about $300 million a year. Is that roughly right?

Well, I can tell you that it has been on an increasing scale, and I think that figure is roughly right.

Now in addition to the traditional vocational education programs we have what is called CETA -- Comprehensive Educational Training Act, CETA -- and (Laughter) it has been funded this year at a figure of $3 billion 200 million.

Included in that program was $450 million for the summer job training program for young people, which [illegible] -- it had some aspects of vocational education.

7704001523

The remainder of the CETA program is aimed at vocational training primarily for those people who are out of work of one occupation and seeking employment in another occupation. So roughly $2.5 billion is available in that aspect of the program plus the traditional high school and vocational education program.

Now that is a lot of money -- I think it has generally done a good job. But what has bothered me about some of the vocational educational programs and some of the CETA training programs is that we have a training program that does not necessarily relate to an occupational area where there are job opportunities.

I know from my old experience in the Congress that we used to establish -- not we but the Department -- job training programs, and then all of a sudden when the program ended there were no job opportunities in that particular employment field. I think there has to be a better coordination in finding out where the job opportunities are, the shortages exist, and then train people for those shortages rather than just train them for an occupation where there are no job opportunities. I think we can do a better job spending that much money in this aspect of vocational education.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Geraldine Berry, Board Member for the St. Louis OIC. My question was just asked but I have another.

Many of the social and training programs which have aided the poor, the minorities and the disadvantaged were begun under other Administrations. Your Administration has continued some of these programs either through transfering them to other departments and then to the creation of the Legal Services Corporation.

Mr. President, my question is: Are there any other social programs that you might have in the planning stage that might alleviate some of the many ills of our community? If not, what can the poor and the disadvantaged expect from your Administration, particularly in terms of full employment and hope for the future?

THE PRESIDENT: I think the best opportunity for those that are disadvantaged is to have a healthy economy, and let me tell you the burden of not having one.

7704001522

This past year we have spent between $18 billion and $20 billion in unemployment compensation by the Federal Government itself. In addition, we have had a tax loss so the net result of not having a healthful economy has been very substantial.

What we have to do is stimulate the economy so we have less unemployed and a bigger tax base or a tax base with a greater depth. Now if we can get the economy going, we won't have to have as many of these so-called aid programs as we have at the present time. We could cut back and should cut back in a responsible way in the food stamp program, the welfare program, if people are working.

Now the Vice President is undertaking, beginning in about 10 days or two weeks, a series of meetings with the Domestic Council in 9 or 10 cities throughout the United States where there will be opportunities for individuals or groups to testify in the area of welfare, food stamps, training programs, the whole range in this area, and it will be a wide open opportunity for groups and individuals to testify whether they want more of them or they want less of them. It won't be a stacked house, I can assure you.

So we will get some ideas from the people in this operation under the Domestic Council headed by the Vice President. At the moment, it is my honest opinion we have got enough programs; we just have to make them work better. We have some that are top-heavy with Administration. We have some where the benefits are paid through error, and that is unforgiveable in this kind of a society. We have some where the instances of illegality are far too high.

It is a very strong belief on my part that we can make the programs we have run better and then we won't have to worry about new programs because we have got them to the extent of about 1,000 categorical grant programs in the Federal Government, and if that isn't enough, then I am really mystified. A thousand categorical grant programs ought to be sufficient to handle the problems we have at the present time. We just ought to make them work better, and I think we can.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Bill Vorbeck, President of the St. Louis Police Officers Association.

It is our opinion, the St. Louis Police Officers Association, that one of the most productive ways for federally-funded agencies and commissions to operate at the local level, such agencies as LEAA, are to have input from the grass roots.

more

7704001527

Therefore, my question is: Does the Government have any plans that would permit local police associations to nominate one or two of their members to federally-funded local boards so that the police officer on the street can have some input into the agencies' programs?

THE PRESIDENT: Under the LEAA, Law Enforcement Assistance Act, that was passed about 1967 or 1968, the money goes to the State and then is filtered down to the local communities. The basic law provides that there shall be a commission at the State level -- and I think each State has a different title, but it is a board or a commission that operates at the State level for the distribution or the recommendation for the distribution of the money that goes to the State for funneling to the local units of government.

I think it would be helpful in each State to have that kind of representation. On the other hand, not knowing how each State sets up its boards -- some States may have 20, some may have 5 on that board -- I am just not familiar with that detail -- but there ought to be some representation, let me put it in that context. How much, I am not qualified to say. There should be a point of view on that board from people who are on the firing line, so to speak.

QUESTION: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope I didn't get the Governor in trouble. (Laughter) I didn't get in trouble with the Governors, let me put it that way. (Laughter)

7704001523

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Joe Snyder of Gallatin, Missouri, the Missouri Press Association which represents the small city and small town newspapers of our State.

Many people are becoming quite concerned about the strikes that are directly affecting various levels of Government. We have seen law enforcement officers, firemen, teachers, garbage collectors and postal workers -- and I didn't mean to tie those two together (Laughter) -- strike or threatened strikes against the Government, and I am told that the Armed Forces are themselves not immune to overtures from those who would like to organize them.

Now, my question is, how far can these movements go without jeopardizing the historic role of public service jobs, and when does this type of pressure and coersion by those working for Government and paid from tax money begin to approach the degree of rebellion or insurrection?

THE PRESIDENT: At the Federal level, there is no authority for Federal employees to strike. In fact, if I am correct, I think it is prohibited. It is particularly so in the Postal Service. There is, in Postal Service legislation that was enacted in 1969 or 1970, a procedure by which if the new management of the Postal Service and the labor unions can't agree, there is an arbitration procedure set up whereby any irreconcilable differences can be mediated and decided by this arbitration board, and it is binding.

That is the only instance that I am familiar with in the Federal Government where this procedure is used. It has never gone that far. There has been negotiations on two or three occasions that were difficult, but there was never any need to utilize that procedure.

I feel that in the area of non-Federal Government employees -- and I am now getting into an area where I have no authority or jurisdiction, so I am only expressing an opinion -- that in the area of health and safety and security, there ought to be in that area -- like we have in the Postal Service, which involves for the Federal Government a great responsibility -- there ought to be some arbitration that ends in a decision if the two parties can't negotiate it.

It seems to me that the population as a whole, or citizens as a whole, need some protection, as we have in the Federal Government, for the Postal Service in State and local levels of Government, and in some States that has been the case.

7704015229

There is a procedure that I think has merit that has been tried in some areas of labor-management differences where you have an arbitration board and if they can't agree, then each party -- labor on the one hand, management on the other -- submits its best offer for settlement and then the arbitration board has to pick one or the other. They can't divide them in two.

What does this do? It gets both management on the one hand and labor on the other hand to make the best possible offer in the hopes that their view will be accepted and it does not give to the arbitrator the right to cut it down the middle, which I don't think in most cases is very good, and in this case where it has been used, it has been very successful. I would urge that as an alternative to the usual arbitration procedure.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Florence McGiffin, President of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs.

Some of our members have just returned from their spring buying of wearing apparel. Most of the merchandise is higher by 20 to 25 percent. What can be done about the rising prices?

THE PRESIDENT: The best way to battle inflation, or one of the best ways, in my humble opinion, is to get the Congress to stop spending a lot of the money that they are trying to throw away.

Let me be specific, instead of being perhaps facetious.

Last November and December I spent a good share of my time trying to put together the budget that by law the President has to submit to the Congress in January for action by them prior to July 1 of that year.

When we sat down and literally spent hours, low and behold, we found that despite our efforts to turn the squeeze to cut back employment, roughly 40,000, everything we could do, we ended up with a deficit of $52 billion. $52 billion.

I was dumbfounded. Then we submitted that to the Congress and under the new Budget Act that Congress passed a year ago, they now have a responsibility to analyze the budget, set their spending limits and come up with their deficit.

After I submitted the budget in January or February of this year, there were screams and hollers that I was a spendthrift. But, you know what happened when they [illegible] and do the same job? They came up with a budget deficit figure of $68 billion and now, despite that cut-off point that they set, they have now gone above it about $4.5 billion, so it is $70 billion or more.

Somewhere along the line, we have to start controlling some of the programs that have gotten out of hand. I think we can, but if we don't, these deficits, which will range between $60 and $75 billion this fiscal year and probably one of $30 to $50 billion next year, inflation will be very difficult to control, to get a handle on.

Now, there are other things that can be done, but this is the one where the President and the Congress have a responsibility, and I can promise you to the extent and the authority I have, that we are going to keep vetoing spending bills that go beyond the budget I submitted, and that was high enough, as far as the deficit was concerned.

Take the education bill that I vetoed this last week. The Congress overrode it 300 and something to 30 or 40 in the House, and in the Senate it was 70 something to 12.

That single education bill will add $300 million to spending in this year and $800 million next year over and above what I recommended, and I recommended more for this year than was made available last year.

So, we didn't cut anything back. But, as long as they keep sending appropriation and spending bills above a reasonable figure, I am going to veto them. I hope the Congress will finally awaken and find that they are the principle contributors to inflation in this country.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Bob Kelly, the President of the Advertising Club of Greater St. Louis.

We applaud and support in principle the Government guidelines which set forth certain things to be followed concerning faith and truth and accuracy in advertising. However, before the Congress today there is a bill which would prohibit the utilities of the Nation from continuing to advertise their services to the public.

We feel this is a very clear and serious infringement on their right of free speech to communicate with their customers and potential customers. If a bill of this sort did reach your desk, what would your position be?

7704001523

THE PRESIDENT: I am often asked that question by Members of Congress as they go down the line in the legislative process. I don't think I should treat you any differently from them. (Laughter)

My answer to them is, I will give you an answer to that legislation when it is placed on my desk because there is a long, hard row between the introduction of a bill and its consideration by a committee, its consideration on the floor of the House and Senate, et cetera.

Often times, about all that is left in a bill is its original number. (Laughter) So, I learned a long time ago never to endorse or say you will vote against or veto a bill just by number. I got caught in that the first year or two I was in Congress.

What I am saying is, basically, I don't think there should be any prohibition against people or organizations exercising their right of free speech, and that is a very fundamental issue in this country, and it ought to be true of individuals or cooperatives or partnerships or any other organiztion, but I don't think I ought to say to you I am going to veto that bill, not having read it and including the fine print, which is often most important.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Bill just reminded me, one, I am taking too long to answer the questions and, therefore, we ought to cut it off, but as far as I am concerned, we will finish, so go ahead.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Arthur Stoup. I am the President of the Missouri Bar.

The Bar is noted with growing distress the incursion of the Federal bureaucracy and, at times the Congress, in the matters of property rights and individual freedoms which by Constitutional intent or by custom the States have in the past determined for their citizens.

Mr. President, could not this Administration use its considerable influence in directing Federal agencies and requesting the Congress to recede from a policy of expanding the Federal role in these matters and permit the States and local communities to decide what is best and what is needed for their citizens?

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly think we should, and we are trying to do that. One of the pieces of legislation which was enacted three and a half years ago fits into that precise philosophy you are talking about very properly. It is called general revenue sharing, where roughly $6 billion a year goes from the Federal Treasury, a third to the States and two-thirds to cities and counties, et cetera, without any strings, and that program carries out precisely what you are talking about.

7704001523

The money goes from the Federal Treasury, having been taken in the first instance from the taxpayers of this country, but going back to States and local units of Government without any strings attached for the exercise of local control in the expenditure of that money.

We are trying to incorporate in many of the programs what we call block grants. Jim Lynn a year ago, when he was Secretary of HUD, got the Congress to consolidate six or seven, eight categorical grant programs into one and giving to the local community much more authority without Federal bureaucracy analyzing every individual project.

So, we are aiming in that direction. We are trying to do it, and I think we are making some headway, but with a thousand categorical grant programs, that is a tough job, and every one of them has their own little constituency. They want everybody else's program changed, but theirs is different, so it is a hard process, but we are working at it.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

MORE

7704001523

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Robert Cohn and I am Chairman of the Regional Forum of the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council. I have used up my time with just the title.

We are charged with the responsibility, as a group of private citizens -- 21 of us -- to go over in some detail these 1,000 categorical grant programs that operate in the St. Louis area, and we are just a group of private citizens. We find that in more cases than not we serve as a mere rubber stamp for some bureaucratic requirement or deadline.

Now in addition to this very welcome White House conference to provide meaningful citizen input, are there any other plans or programs as part of your program of cutting red tape and opening up these activities to the people, to reduce this, and to provide for meaningful and realistic citizen input on federally-funded programs?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't give you any added ones beyond this kind of approach plus what the Vice President is undertaking with his meetings in the 9 or 10 communities around the country, but it has been my observation with all of this talent from the Cabinet and top places in the Executive Branch, and most of them have been to -- three-quarters of them -- that they get the message.

The problem is to have them give the message down below and then have it carried out, but we are trying to do it and let me give you an illustration.

I made a speech, oh, several months ago, and I said there were 5,200 forms that people in toto in the United States had to fill out -- 5,200. And it sounded terrible and I said we were going to get rid of them or some of them, and Jim Lynn is in charge of that responsibility.

A year from that speech I am going to ask him how many forms we now have and it darn well better be under 5,000. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Jim Cope, from the Missouri State Medical Association.

The children born during World War II baby boom will go on Social Security in about 2030 to 2075. Children from our present near zero population growth will hit the labor force at about the same time. It has been estimated that there will be three or four people going on to the Social Security roles for each one entering the labor force.

7704001523 1

Please, sir, could we have your comments, and what are the long-term plans for meeting this situation?

THE PRESIDENT: There have been several recent studies on the adequacy of the trust fund, the payment schedule to meet the obligations under Social Security. The picture is not encouraging, to be frank with you. There are a number of suggested ways to make certain, to make positive that the beneficiaries down the road are guaranteed enough or are guaranteed what they were led to believe they would get.

Some alternatives are just to take any deficiency out of the general fund. Others recommend that the present withholding of both the employer and the employee be increased. What is it now? About 11 percent for both employer and employee.

One proposal is to increase both contributions. Others say don't worry about it, it is not as bad as the actuaries or the experts tell you, and don't do it for political reasons one way or another.

I think maybe we can get by a year or two, but in a relatively short period of time more is going out than coming in of the trust fund and we have roughly a year's funding available. Unfortunately, they are all in Government bonds so the Government will have to cash in those bonds to pay these people and then go out and borrow more money to finance the Federal Government.

But it is a problem and we have got to face up to it. The best estimate I have seen is that by the year 2000 if we don't do something we will be in a serious deficit with no reserve, and not enough to pay the beneficiaries. So we have either got to get it out of the general fund, increase the wage limit, or we have got to increase the taxes or we have got to put a cap on the benefits. The benefits today are escalated on a cost-of-living basis and they are putting the sanctity of that trust fund in some jeopardy down the road not too far away.

As long as we are talking about caps, I recommended that we put a cap this year of five percent on Federal Government pay, on Federal retirement, Social Security, the whole range of things in order to get away from the budget deficit I described a few minutes ago. The present law says that every September I am supposed to recommend a cost-of-living increase for [illegible] pay. Well, the cost-of-living increase by this commission was 6.6 percent and by a new law passed just a month ago, Congress and judges and people in the Executive Branch were included.

7704001523

I had the temerity to recommend that that 8.66 percent be five percent rather than the higher figure. I am led to believe that my efforts to keep that difference which amounts to $1 billion 600 million -- just $1 billion 600 million -- will be overridden by either the House or the Senate. I hope you write your Congressmen and your Senators and tell them to stand firm and tough. This is just indicative of the kind of problems we are in -- in a financial bind, at the present time.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes?

QUESTION: Mr. President, Earl Dille, President of Associated Industries of Missouri, and I would like your position on the issue of the legalization of common situs picketing at construction projects.

THE PRESIDENT: I believe that the legislation originally introduced should be vetoed. I believe that there are amendments that have been added, that will be added, if they are added to force local union responsibility, then the legislation ought to be approved.

I know the arguments that the building trades have gotten wage hikes of too high or too great an amount, and the people say, "Don't change the law."

My answer to that is they have gotten them under the present law. If they are inflationary, they came under the present circumstances. What we are trying to do with the amendments that we have advocated is to get some responsibility at the local level and if they don't achieve local responsibility the international unions have the right to veto it. I think that is a better way to achieve wage stability in the construction field and if those amendments are approved, I will support it; if they are not approved, I will veto it.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Bill Parrish, Chairman of the Missouri American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

One of the hopes of the Bicentennial is to revivify the positive aspects of American life so that the celebration becomes a catalyst to a rededication of the American people to work together to build a better future. We are finding a great enthusiasm for this throughout Missouri.

7704001 5236

You talked just briefly about this in relation to the crime situation, but I wonder if you could give us a little more elaboration on how you think we can better focus in on this problem through the Bicentennial to get a better grip on moving forward with America.

THE PRESIDENT: I believe our theme for the Bicentennial should be the rights of the individual operating within the law. I think the individual in the third century of our country should be free of mass education, mass industry, mass government. I think the right of the individual operating within the law without the heavy hand of government or any of the other massive organizations running it, if we can achieve that, I think it will accomplish what you are seeking to accomplish.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

MORE

7704001523?

QUESTION: Mr. President I am Homer Elisha Sayad of the Arts and Educational Council of St. Louis.

St. Louis has one of the most successful arts council in the country. In 13 years it has raised over $14 million in private funds for the benefit of our cultural organizations. The National Endowment for the Arts, under its very able Chairman Nancy Hanks, has done much to stimulate the support toward the arts from the private sector.

The arts are not a luxury, as some may think. They are a softening and humanizing factor and a very essential quality to our life.

Is your Administration committed to the continued growth and development of Federal support of the arts to the National Endowment, and will you oppose tax measures which would tend to discourage and inhibit private contributions for the arts?

THE PRESIDENT: It is my recollection that in the budget I submitted in January the arts and humanities program was one of the very few that got an increase. The particular one you refer to, the arts, I recommended approximately $85 billion, about a 10 percent increase over the previous fiscal year.

The arts for the public, it is my recollection our deductions are appropriate under our Internal Revenue Code at the present time. I think that is accurate. So, I am not going to recommend it be deleted.

Then let me say there has been some criticism tha we didn't have in the White House now an input in the arts and humanities. Well, I have got a pretty good one in our family, and she is a lot more influential on me in this area than any appointed person. I am married to her, and she does pretty well by it. (Laughter)

Thank you very much.

END (AT 5:07 P.M. CDT)

7704001 5233

Kansas City, Missouri

The President's Remarks to Reporters Upon Arrival at Kansas City Municipal Airport. September 12, 1975

THE PRESIDENT. It is delightful to be in this part of the country. We love it, and we are coming back next August, and we are looking forward to a very successful convention. We are just delighted to have the opportunity to be here in the Middle West.

Q. Mr. President, can I ask you why you dropped the reference about holding America hostage in the last part of your speech in St. Louis?

7704001523

THE PRESIDENT. I don't recall any—you mean in the comments to the White House Conference? I decided that I had followed the script sufficiently in various speeches, and I thought I would incorporate some shortened version, give the people more opportunity to ask questions. And so I just condensed it.

Q. Do you still feel that way, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I feel that what I said was the thing I wanted to say, and I felt it was better that more people had an opportunity to ask questions than for me to make a speech.

It is really nice to see you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:22 p.m.

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

Overland Park, Kansas

The President's Remarks to Members of the Capitol Club. September 12, 1975

Thank you very much, Jack, Governor Bob Bennett and Mrs. Bennett, Jim Pearson, Larry Winn, Garner Shriver—I think I have covered all the Congressional delegation. If I haven't I will hear about it, although the others, Keith and Joe and Bob Dole—they are very close and dear friends of mine:

I do appreciate very much all of you being here.

First, let me congratulate the Republican Parties of Kansas and Missouri for your success in working together to bring the Republican Convention to Kansas City next August. I never let my feelings be involved in that, but I will say to you I couldn't have been happier. Betty and I and, I think, most of our family will be here, and we look forward very greatly to the convention in 1976.

Since Governor Bennett and I have worked very closely together in the past on a number of matters, tonight I am going to make him an offer which I honestly don't think Bob can resist. Bob, I will give you a bedspread for the Governor's mansion if you get me a room for the convention in 1976. [*Laughter*]

As I said, the opportunity for us as a party to come out to Kansas in 1976 is wonderful for our party. And it is, I hope, going to be a shot in the arm for the Middle West and Kansas, particularly.

I was told that yesterday on the floor of the House, the Democratic majority leader of the House, Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts, got up and said in one of his tirades about how unwise it was for the Republicans to go to Kansas City, because the last time that they had a convention here Herbert Hoover was nominated. [*Laughter*]

Well, John Rhodes, who is a good Kansan, the Republican minority leader of the House of Representatives, then got up and said he thought it was much wiser for us

7704001 5240

to go to Kansas City than for the Democrats to go to "Debt City"—New York City. [*Laughter*]

I happen to agree that we have made a good choice, and I am looking forward to it, as well as Betty.

You in Kansas have a great heritage and a tradition of fine people, a wonderful economy. And you also have the tradition of superior people, such as Ike Eisenhower and William Allen White, men who have made history not only for your State but for our country.

I might add that none has stood taller than my good friend Alf Landon. I understand that next week Alf will be celebrating his 88th birthday, and I am sure all of us wish him the very, very best, not only on the 88th but for many, many more to come.

Now, let me just say a word or two about what I think of the Kansas delegation. You have, in the delegation that represents you in Washington in the Senate, two outstanding Senators—Jim Pearson and Bob Dole. I have worked with both of them over the years. And I think from my own experience of 25 years in the House of Representatives, I can tell quality of either Senators or Members of the House, and I do wish to compliment you from Kansas for having two outstanding Members of the United States Senate.

I never had the privilege of serving in the Senate, except for an interim period as Vice President, and then they don't let you say anything. [*Laughter*]

But anyhow, I did have a great honor of serving almost 26 years in the House of Representatives, and during that time I got to know Larry Winn, Keith Sebelius, Garner Shriver, and Joe Skubitz.

The Kansas delegation had a very unique—I don't know whether it was an honor or not, but they had a responsibility. In 1965, in January, when I ran for minority leader of the House of Representatives, I was contesting the establishment. And the Kansas delegation unanimously, in the House of Representatives, supported me and, therefore, contributed significantly to the landslide victory that I had of 73 to 67. [*Laughter*] And it was your delegation in Kansas that really tipped the balance.

But as I look at the responsibilities that your House Members have representing the Republican Party in Kansas, you cover a broad spectrum with their assignments in committee and elsewhere. So, I can assure you, on the basis of quality and talent and experience, you in Kansas are well represented. And I hope you send every one of them back next year and you add one. [*Laughter*] That would be very helpful.

We have some problems in this country. In the 13 months that I have been President, we have had our ups and downs. We had some problems when I was sworn in. We have some today. But with the help of people like yourselves, with the help of people in Congress, mainly Republicans but a few Democrats, we have made a significant rate of progress in many areas. We failed in some others.

I happen to feel that in the area of foreign policy we have made significant headway. We have made a giant step forward for peace in the Middle East. We have strengthened our alliance in Europe. We are seeking to make a good two-way street negotiated settlement for a strategic arms limitation.

At home we went through a terrible recession, but we are on the way out of it. We still have inflation that is far too high, but if we can keep the irresponsibles in Congress from spending too much money, we can win that battle against inflation.

Let me mention a matter. Some of the columnists have been critical of me for vetoing a sizable number of bills—I think it's 37 as of the last count. Some so-called experts have alleged that a veto is a negative action. That is a total misconception of the veto power.

The Constitution gives to a President the constitutional authority to veto. And what it amounts to is, by constitutional authority, a President can veto in order to give the Congress more time to think about whether they made the right decision or not.

Let me give you two illustrations where a veto in one instance saved almost $2 billion. Isn't that right, Garner? I recommended $1,900 million. The Congress added $2 billion more. I vetoed it. The House sustained it. And the net result was that we ended up with about a $2 billion savings. Isn't that constructive? Well, I could go through some others and do the same.

I don't like to veto legislation, but I have a responsibility. And, fortunately, with the help of good, strong Members of the House and the Senate, we have been able to sustain enough so that about $6 billion in unnecessary expenditures have been saved.

A number of you have mentioned to me, as I have met you, the problem of energy. In January of this year, I submitted a comprehensive 200-page energy program that would have conserved energy, produced new sources of energy in the United States, and taken us on a step toward freeing us from the vulnerability of foreign oil cartels.

Most people don't realize that every day that goes by, the United States becomes more and more vulnerable to foreign oil decisions—not our decisions, their decisions. And we have been trying to stimulate production at home and conserve within our own country, but so far we haven't been able to move the Congress off dead center.

I hope we will get some headway now in this last effort, but I have gone the last mile—more than halfway. And if we don't get a solution on this occasion, I think we have no choice but to take a very strong stand and say, "If you won't compromise, we can't either," because we have gone more than halfway. I think Garner and Larry and the others would agree.

It is so simple, in my opinion. Do you know how much we have paid out in foreign oil? In 1972 or '73 we were

7704001524

paying $3 billion a year. This year we are paying $25 billion a year. That is $25 billion a year that goes to foreign oil producers, takes jobs away from Americans. That money, if we had adequate production in America, would stay home. Wouldn't that be constructive?

Well, I appreciate the help that Jim Pearson and Bob Dole and the House delegation have given. This ought not to be a partisan issue, but, unfortunately, there are some aspects of it that appear to be that.

Let me add a special comment. Betty's and my daughter, Susan, was out here last summer. She had a terrific time, and all of you from Kansas were so nice to her. And I thank each and every one of you. The Governor and Mrs. Bennett were especially thoughtful and helpful, and for that, Bob, we are very grateful.

But let me add, concerning Bob, I have had a fair amount of experience with Governors, and I can say without any hesitation or qualification that all of you in Kansas are very fortunate to have Bob as your Governor.

Now, let me conclude with this final comment. Seventy-six is a big year, and a major part of that competition is going to be kicked off right here in your great State. I think we will have candidates. I think we have the workers. And, obviously by your attendance here, we have people who will help to support it in a financial way.

It is a combination of good candidates, good workers, good financial help, plus sound principles. And as I look at our policies, our principles, I think they are the ones that appeal to most Americans.

We believe in fiscal responsibility, both at the State as well as the national level.

We believe that we should have a national defense program second to none in order to ensure peace.

Thirdly, we believe that local government, either at the local level or at the State level, is the best way to run our country. I don't think we need the bureaucrats in Washington telling Bob Bennett or the local mayors how to run their respective responsibilities. Local control—the people that you know are infinitely better prepared to do the job than somebody on the banks of the Potomac.

And then I think it is important that we make a special effort to make certain and to make positive that individuals have a growth of freedom rather than the heavy hand of government.

The third century of our country ought to emphasize the freedom of the individual. We are all different. We shouldn't have mass education. We shouldn't have mass government. We shouldn't have mass labor unions. We shouldn't have ourselves computerized according to what some machine says.

The strength of America has been its diversity. The beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. That is the strength of America.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. at the Ramada Inn Southwest.

Kansas City, Missouri

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. September 12, 1975

Thank you, Dutton, Governor Kit Bond, Lieutenant Governor Bill Phelps, Jack Danforth, Gene Taylor, Lowell McCuskey, ladies and gentlemen:

It is really great to be here, and I appreciate no end the more than generous observations and conclusions. We have got along way to go between now and November of 1976, but I can't help but reminisce a bit that it was the Middle West that kind of got me started back in 1965 on my interest in, and success in, the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, and I guess I am a little nostalgic about what the Middle West can do in 1976, based on a little history.

So, I thank the kind words from Dutton and I am most grateful for the very warm reception, and I thank all of you for being here.

Let me say that I have a prepared text here, and as my friends from the press know, on occasion I don't use it. [*Laughter*] So, I am not going to use it tonight. They have written all their stories, and it will be in the papers, but I will just talk to you as friends.

First, let me congratulate all of you in the great State of Missouri for the outstanding Governor that you have in Kit Bond. Over a long period of time, I have seen Governors come and go, and you get a feeling—those that are going to stay and make a real record, yes, in their respective State, but potentially on a broader basis. And I say in Kit Bond you have got a real fine Governor who has a great future.

Somebody told me when I came to Missouri earlier today that Bill Phelps had a special name, something like "Full-time Phelps." Well, I like to see the number two man work at the job a hundred percent, and that is exactly what Bill is doing, and congratulations, Bill.

But you have an opportunity in the State of Missouri in 1976 to send a first-class, outstanding, young, attractive, articulate United States Senator, and I certainly hope you do precisely that with Jack Danforth.

Gene Taylor is a man of quality. He has done a fine job. But we need a little quantity from the State of Missouri in the House of Representatives, and I think Gene would like it, and, believe me, it would be a great addition to the House of Representatives if you could add from our side of the aisle some new and equally attractive, articulate, able people. It would help us in 1977, 1978, in trying to do some of the affirmative things that must be done if we are to change some of the directions, if we are to move ahead.

And so, in those areas where there may be some vacancies for one reason or another, this is a unique opportunity to get some good candidates and to support them in the

7704001524

field, in the precincts, with adequate and proper financial support. So, I urge that Missouri again have more than just one [Republican] Member of the House of Representatives.

I couldn't be happier that we are having our convention here in the Middle West, Kansas City, Kansas, or Kansas City, Missouri. Aren't you all one family? You worked hard to get the convention.

I must tell a story. The good Governor more or less alluded to it, but I am told—I am not repeating what I said but I am told—that yesterday on the floor of the House of Representatives that the Democratic majority leader from the State of Massachusetts got up and started to ridicule the Republican decision to come to Kansas City and he alleged that it was a mistake because the last Republican Convention held in Kansas City nominated Herbert Hoover. [*Laughter*]

But then my successor in the House of Representatives as the minority leader, a good Kansan Middle Westerner who now lives in and represents Arizona, got up, and he said he understood why the Democrats were going to New York City. New York City was in serious financial problems, better known as "Debt City," and that was identical with the philosophy of the Democratic Party.

So, we are pleased and honored to be invited, and I am especially pleased to know that we will be out here in August, and we look forward to seeing you then, if not before.

Now let me, if I might, talk for just a few minutes about some of the problems we have, some of the areas where we have made some headway and where we have been very frustrated and have made little or no success.

Thirteen months ago when I became President we had a serious inflation problem—12 to 14 percent on an annual basis. We were on the brink of a serious recession. We have gone through a very traumatic economic situation in the last 12 or 13 months. But because we had a steady, forthright approach of trying to do something constructive and responsible in the area of fiscal policy and because we have not panicked and gone for a quick fix when a permanent effort was the better way to go, we have made considerable, substantial headway in the area of inflation.

We are down now half of what it was a year ago. That is not good enough, and it won't be satisfactory. We are going to continue to try and control, regardless of the Congress, in the area of fiscal affairs. We are going to try and maintain the kind of steadiness and forthrightness and determination that is essential if we are going to keep our Federal budget under some degree of responsible control.

Now I have heard some criticism from some of my good Democratic friends. They say a $60-billion deficit is too much. I agree. But we are trying to do something about it, and they have established a deficit for the current fiscal year not at $60 billion or not at less than $60 billion but $69 billion, and they have already exceeded it by their own actions.

So, we can say in all honesty and sincerity, based on the record, that we are truly seeking a policy of fiscal responsibility and doing something about it. All we need are more troops, people that will stand up and say that we can't do this, we have to be responsible and serious about how we handle the taxpayer's money.

Yes, we have had unemployment much too high, and we are trying to do something about that, but there are those who say if you just turn a spigot all of a sudden you can end unemployment. Most responsible people say there is no quick fix. Most responsible people say that you have to seek to get the increase in employment out of the private sector rather than out of the public sector.

And I am glad to report despite the fact that unemployment is still at 8.4 percent that in the last 4 or 5 months, since March, we have added 1,500,000 more people gainfully employed in the private sector, and we are going to have more progress in that regard. And I am convinced that if we don't panic, if we don't get irresponsible, we can look forward to a slow but constructive decline in the unemployment figure as we give individuals in the private sector the kind of employment that is good for them and good for the country.

Let me speak for a moment, if I could, about energy. As you all know, in 1973 there was a blowup in the Middle East. The net result was that we had an oil embargo imposed by the OPEC nations. It triggered substantial increases in oil prices.

We were first strained to get any oil, and then after the settlement in the Middle East the prices zoomed. Whereas in 1972 we were spending for foreign oil about $3 billion a year, after the price increase following the embargo, today we are spending $25 billion a year, paying it to OPEC, which means, if you translate it into the figures of an individual family, it means that every individual family is paying today about $350 more a year for fuel, and it is all going overseas to OPEC.

Wouldn't it be better to have those extra prices paid to American oil producers rather than paying them overseas?

Now, how are we going to solve our energy problem?

First we have to recognize that we are extremely vulnerable to foreign oil cartels. If they wanted to turn the spigot tomorrow our whole economic progress in the last 6 or 8 months would go down the drain, and they could because today we buy roughly 40 percent of our oil overseas. So, what we in America have to do is become invulnerable to foreign oil dictates.

Now, how do you do that? You conserve on the one hand—and it must be admitted that the United States, because energy was very cheap for many, many years, we have wasted it, we have squandered it, we haven't been

7704001524

careful how we used it, so we have to conserve. And there are many things each of us individually and businesses can do and governments can do, but in addition to that, we have to produce more at home.

You can't produce more if you aren't going to let people get a return on their investment. Oh, I know it is very easy for the demagogs to get up and make the speeches which Gene Taylor has heard in the House of Representatives and I have heard innumerable times, but it is pure demagoguery. You don't increase production by controlling prices. All you do is spread a scarcity, that is what you really do.

So, we have to find an answer on the short haul to increase production domestically. In January of this year, I submitted to the Congress a 200-page bill that was a comprehensive energy program that would have conserved, produced more, and it would have given us the wherewithal to increase our research and development in some of the exotic areas—geothermal, solar, and the rest.

Isn't it hard to believe that since January of this year there hasn't been one meaningful energy bill passed by the Congress? Not one. Isn't that right, Gene? Not one. It is unforgiveable. And if the Congress doesn't do something, they are going to be responsible for the increasing vulnerability of this country to foreign oil cartels.

Now, I would rather have an answer than a political issue, and we have gone the last mile, we have gone better than 50 percent trying to get an answer, and in all honesty, so far there hasn't been any progress on their part.

Well, we have got another 60 days, or we are about to get 60 days. I can recall vividly in, I think it was, February, they pleaded with me to give them 60 days, they would pass an energy program. That 60 days passes. Then they wanted another time limit. Then they wanted another time limit. And the net result is zero.

Well, all I am saying is the American people are smarter than the politicians. They know we have an energy problem. They know we have to do something about it. They won't tolerate being vulnerable to foreign sources, and we are going to get it somehow, someway, because America needs it, and America deserves strength at home in the energy field.

Now, let me, if I might, talk about something that some of our columnist friends have written about. They have said I have vetoed 37 bills passed by the Congress, and they make it an evil thing.

I am glad I did because I think we have achieved some higher degree of fiscal responsibility in vetoing. Some people allege that a veto is a negative act. I am sure you have been accused of that, haven't you, Kit, that you are against progress, that it is negative and, therefore, something awfully evil about it.

First, let me say that in the Constitution of the United States there is the authority given to the President to veto, so it is a constitutional right of the President. And our forefathers were so wise to give that veto authority constitutionally because every once in a while a Congress acts very irresponsibly, and a veto is a power given by the Constitution to tell the Congress maybe you made a mistake, maybe you ought to take a little time and think about it, maybe you ought to correct the error that you made, and oftentimes it works out that way.

Let me give you one concrete example. Sometime early in the spring I recommended $1,900 million for a summer youth program and a public service employment program. The Congress took $1.9 billion recommendation by me and added $2 billion, with a whole batch of totally irrelevant logrolling, pork barrel projects. So, I vetoed it. It was sustained in the House of Representatives, and they came back with virtually the bill that I recommended.

Now, we have done this on a number of occasions, and the net result, according to the statisticians, is we have saved $6 billion in taxpayer's money. I think that was worth the effort.

What I am saying is that domestically it has been a hard fight. It hasn't been pleasant, but we have made headway by being candid, forthright, determined, and I think the public is on our side—I think not only Republicans but Independents.

And as a result I believe we have created the climate that gives our party and our candidates an opportunity to run on a record of responsibility fiscally, a party that has a record of trying to do what was right and not necessarily what was political.

Now, we are going to continue in the domestic area of trying to be straightforward, firm, openminded. In the field of foreign policy, we are going to continue our efforts of trying to negotiate rather than confront, and the best evidence of that is what was achieved in the last few weeks in getting two nations together that couldn't in the past agree—Egypt and Israel—to settle the problem in the Middle East.

And I give full credit to the genius of Henry Kissinger, who did a superb job in taking two longstanding nations of vast differences, and the net result is we have made progress toward peace in that very volatile, difficult area, but wherever we go around the world, we are going to keep the pressure on, the pressure on for peace with strength, fairness, and I believe the record will be one on the plus side.

But what makes it possible for us to have that capability is very simple. It is a military program second to none, not to wage war, but to ensure the peace.

I know from my negotiations and discussions with world leaders they respect us because we are strong. They will work with us because we are able. And, therefore, it is extremely important that America maintain an Army, a Navy, an Air Force, and Marines that is second to none, not for war, but for peace. And that is what we have.

7704001 5241

One final observation, if I might. I have made quite a campaign about trying to get the Government off your back, whether it is through the executive branch or through the regulatory agencies. I am not advocating all regulation—certainly not that that involves health and safety—stripped, but there are some obsolete regulations, there are some obsolete laws, there are some bureaucrats that hang on to power like they had to have it to live.

We are going to get rid some of these things. We are going to get rid of them because during a period of time when the last 25 years, to my own personal knowledge, there was this effort made to expand controls and to increase regulation.

I used to sit in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and I would listen to these arguments about they had to do this for the people and they had to do that for the people and so forth.

I was reminded one time of a saying that was given to me a good many years ago of a man who said, "Don't ever forget that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have."

I thank you all for being here and supporting and making the party fiscally solvent in the great State of Missouri.

I thank you all for the friendship you have given and the hospitality that you have expressed. I love Kit Bond and Jack Danforth, and I love Gene Taylor. I just hope that you will send them back for the good of Missouri, but for the good of the country.

I can't say that I am going to wish you well on October 4, however, in Ann Arbor, Michigan. I know you will play very well, and you will be treated extremely well. I have played a few ball games in that stadium. But let me say I love Missourians, and I thank you for the wonderful day and the fine evening.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:09 p.m. at the Alameda Plaza Hotel.

National Federation of Republican Women

The President's Remarks to the Federation's 18th Biennial Convention in Dallas, Texas. September 13, 1975

Thank you very, very much, Connie, Mary Louise, Senator John Tower, distinguished Members of the Congress, Bill Archer, Alan Steelman, Jim Collins, Frank Gaston, Jack Kemp, Governor Bond:

Thanks very much, Kit, for the wonderful day that we had in the State of Missouri yesterday. It was just a terrific day, and I thank you and your wife Carolyn for your kindness and hospitality.

Anne Armstrong, it is wonderful to see you. We thank you for the super job that you did for so long. It is nice to be in your State.

Let me thank all of you for the especially warm and friendly welcome. I have heard nothing but wonderful comments about the convention—the enthusiasm, the dedication, and the conviction.

You know, there is a slogan that says, "Never underestimate the power of a woman." I can assure you the National Federation is an organization of Republican women whose power, prestige, perception, and purpose will never be underestimated by anyone. I know it. You know it. And next year a lot of Democratic candidates are going to know it, too.

First, let me thank President Connie Armitage for her introduction, and let me also thank Connie on behalf of all Republicans for her quarter century of outstanding contribution to our party. Connie, you have made excellence look all too easy.

But the Federation has always been very rich in exceptional leadership, and I know that Pat Utar will continue this great tradition of outstanding executive achievement. As one chief executive to another, I pledge, Pat, my fullest cooperation in putting our party's principles to work throughout the length and the breadth of this United States.

The Republican Party, its men and women, will be facing an historical challenge next year. Nineteen seventy-six will determine whether we can regain our numbers, our stature, our effectiveness on the national political scene, or whether America is truly on the road to one-party rule. To meet this challenge, we need the spirit, the determination, and, above all, the talent of all Republicans. We need your help, as I have gotten that wonderful help over the years from the Michigan delegation here at this time.

Frankly, I have had it with the negative attitude that would write a self-fulfilling prophesy of doom for America. I have heard much too much from people who say everything is falling apart, how the quality of life in America is sliding downhill, how the dollar is worthless, how muggers and murderers have driven everyone behind locked doors, and how even the President of the United States should stop visiting public places and seeing the American people.

I have had it with that attitude. I did not take the sacred oath of office to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of America. I most emphatically reject the scenario of pessimism. In contrast, I look to the future and to building upon the proud past of America.

In America's first century, a young nation forged political institutions responsive to the people. Unity grew from diversity.

7704001524

Our second century transformed America into the most productive nation that ever existed. America vibrated with pioneer courage, the achievements of industry, agriculture, and free trade unions, the incentives of the free enterprise system, and the sharing of gains at both home and abroad.

Our third century begins in less than a year. Let this new era be one of fulfillment for the individual. I see a century devoted to the quality of personal and family and community life. I see people solving problems rather than wallowing in despair. I see our people making their own decisions rather than abdicating their future to the massive big brother governmental structures or turning their lives to the 1984 nightmare script of what our third century could be.

It is my fervent conviction that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

I ask you to share my vision of a third American century in which the individual, not the government, makes personal choices. I am confident that the American spirit that brought us to our 200th birthday has produced men and women who are determined to prevail over the agencies and bureaus of government that would reduce human beings to computerized abstractions.

I see American individualism as the sentinel of 1976 standing watch over the future. Never forget that in America our sovereign is the citizen. The government exists to serve the people. Government must never become an unresponsive monstrosity that masters everyone and is responsive to no one.

My vision of America's third century is a *time* of achievement, rather than apathy, fostering human growth and spiritual and moral greatness.

Two centuries of struggle won for America a great measure of political and economic independence, and I am proud to be President of a free government that checks and balances its own excesses. I am proud of a free economic system which corrects its own errors, controlled by the marketplace of free and enlightened consumers.

I am especially proud to be a member of a political party that cherishes the individual and believes in government that does for the individual only that which he or she cannot achieve alone. What is what freedom is all about.

Let me add at this point, if I might, a matter of deep concern to me, a matter that I am positive is of deep concern to all those here and 214 million Americans: We have tried hard, we have written laws, we have appropriated money to accomplish quality education for the young in America. In 1954 the courts of this country decided that one way, in their estimation, to achieve that was court-ordered forced busing. Now, regardless of how we individually may feel, the law of the land must be upheld.

But if I could give you a view that I have expressed, not just recently but for 10 or more years, there is a better way to achieve quality education in America than by forced busing. We can and we will find a better way.

We can increase pupil-teacher ratios. We can improve facilities, have more and better equipment, rely more heavily on the neighborhood school concept. There is a way, and we must find it.

Our forebearers who founded this great Nation were driven by a passion to be individuals. They created a system of government that gave form and substance to that revolutionary goal. But then the politicians and the theorists began to intrude upon this individuality with theories that big government and Federal spending could cure every social evil.

They began to preach that our free enterprise system needed oppressive government rules and regulations to protect the individual. They started a trend that now threatens to engulf us as individuals as well as the entire Nation. A trickle of Federal spending for human needs has become a tidal wave under Democratic Congressional action.

Some laws needed to promote competition have become a maze of regulations that are strangling our economic system. Every new dollar appropriated, every new law that fetters free enterprise erodes personal freedom. We are losing that freedom that made it possible to build this, a truly great Nation.

The flood of Federal spending covers a wide range of income redistribution programs—programs enacted by the Congress under which a qualified system is automatically entitled to specific benefits. Some of these programs are necessary and commendable, but in this fiscal year those laws enacted by the Congress will total in a 12-month period more than $168 billion. They will eat up more than 45 percent of total Federal expenditures.

Ever-increasing government spending for all social programs literally threatens our whole economy. If that spending grows at the rate of the last 20 years, by the year 2000 half of the people in this Nation will be living off the other half. That will significantly change our form of government. This trend must be reversed, and it will be reversed.

Everybody here knows my record in the Congress, where I was fortunate to win five Watchdog of the Treasury Awards every year they were issued while I was a Member of the Congress.

In the White House I have continued to fight the big spenders, but it takes a little time to undo the damage caused by 25 years of reckless Democratic spending. And if not stopped, this Democratic Congress will balloon this year's budget deficit to $70 billion, $80 billion, or even possibly $100 billion. Are you going to let that happen?

The only weapon available to outnumbered Congres-

7704001245

sional Republicans is the veto. I have used it, and if necessary I will use it again and again and again.

These vetoes are positive. The framers of our Constitution intended that they should be. The experts tell me that my vetoes in this year alone will save taxpayers some $6 billion by 1977. I think that is positive action by any standard.

In addition, these vetoes have resulted often in far better legislation. When I vetoed irresponsible bills and enough Congressmen agreed to sustain the veto, the Congress was forced to come up with better bills, more or less along the original lines that I proposed.

Senator Tower knows that in the housing bill. Others on the Committee on Appropriations know that when Congress—on a bill that I felt had to provide for summer youth employment—a reasonable, necessary budget request for $1,900 million—the Congress loaded it up and larded it up with another $2 billion in unnecessary pork barrel spending. I had a veto, and the Congress sustained it, and we came back with a reasonable figure.

What I am trying to say is that a veto can be used for affirmative action as the drafters of the Constitution provided in that document.

Now, I have heard that some of the wild-spending, more liberal Democrats in the Congress want to switch billions, billions of dollars from national defense—money for the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines—into more social programs. That would be dead wrong. If they don't already know it, I am going to fight them every step of the way.

As we approach the campaign year of 1976, the air will soon be filled with the voices of candidates, the rumbles of bandwagons, and questions of pollsters. Pollsters aren't the only ones who will be asking some questions. Here this morning, I have some questions of my own to ask.

Do you want your President to accept, without a fight, budget-busting appropriation bills? Let's put it another way. Do you want to be deep in the heart of Texas or deep in the heart of taxes? [*Laughter*]

Another question. Do you want your President to open the United States Treasury to every city that hasn't or won't responsibly manage its fiscal affairs?

Do you want your President to roll over and play dead while Congress passes more and more legislation to strangle free enterprise?

Do you want your President to go along with those who abdicate State and local responsibility to a massive Federal bureaucracy?

Do you want your President to accept legislation that will continue America's dependence on unreliable foreign oil?

Do you want your President to accept, without a fight, slashes in our defense program that would make America number two in a world where only number one counts?

As Americans concerned about the future of this great Nation, your Republican answer to every one of those questions has been a resounding no, and I thank you for it.

I agree with you, and I intend to fight with everything at my command to make sure that we have fiscal responsibility in government, a vigorous free enterprise system, a strong national defense, local control over local affairs, and preservation of personal freedom for the individual.

Today, the Republican Party and the American people are in tune and in step, and they are an unbeatable combination. With your talent and with your enthusiasm and with your help, we can make 1976 a year all Republicans and Independents will remember and Democrats may never forget.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at the Dallas Convention Center.

Southern Methodist University

The President's Remarks at a Special Convocation in Dallas, Texas, Commemorating the Nation's Bicentennial and the University's 60th Anniversary. September 13, 1975

Chancellor Tate, President Zumberge, Senator Tower, Congressman Steelman, Secretary Clements, members of the faculty, student body, alumni, and guests:

It is really a very great honor and a very high privilege for me to be here this afternoon, and I thank you, Chancellor Tate, and those in authority for giving me this honorary degree.

I couldn't help but think, as you suggested, that I might try out for and hopefully help the SMU football team. [*Laughter*] You are extending an invitation that is not justified. I played football at the University of Michigan so far back it was back when the ball was round. [*Laughter*] That wouldn't help you very much against Florida tonight.

Just before I left Washington yesterday morning, I did receive a bit of very good news. Bill Clements, our Deputy Secretary of Defense as well as the former chairman of SMU's board of governors, informed me that I had been named the first and only honorary member of your sensational Mustang Band. All I can say is, I have always been proud to be a Ford. In the future, I will be even more proud to be a Ford Mustang. [*Laughter*]

I am honored to address this opening autumn convocation beginning the historic year of SMU's 60th anniversary as well as your participation in the national Bicentennial.

I am extremely pleased to congratulate your new President, Dr. Jim Zumberge. As he indicated, I have known

7704001247

Jim from his very first days as first president of Grand Valley State College in Michigan in the district that I had the honor of representing for some 25 years. He started that school literally from a cornfield, and now through capabilities and experience and talent, it is great to see him here as the new president of this great university.

I knew Jim not only as a distinguished educator and scientist but as an American who believes in the possibilities of the human individual. I am confident that under his presidency SMU will instill into the Bicentennial year a vision of the future—a vision that typifies the great State of Texas and this distinguished university which has done so much to demonstrate what is right with America. And I have no doubt whatsoever that Texas will instill in your distinguished new president an even greater appreciation of what is right with Texas.

I have always felt very much at home in Texas because I admire so much of the Texas spirit and Texas accomplishments. There is a touch of Texas in all Americans, and I am not immune to the stardust cast by the Lone Star State.

In Texas everything is possible. And there is just enough Texas optimism in me to believe in America—to believe that in America not only is everything possible but our fate as a nation is in our own hands.

The prophets of gloom and doom have predicted that the quality of life in America will worsen, that democracy as we know it is finished, that we face economic collapse, that we are either being poisoned by the food or will starve to death, that criminals are capturing our cities, that the President of the United States is no longer safe in greeting citizens in the Nation's communities, that if the earthquake doesn't get us an ice age will. I strongly reject such pessimistic scenarios.

I would like to share with you today something of my own vision for the future. I would build upon our proud past.

In America's first century we developed political institutions responsive to the people. A great nation was painfully consolidated with unity growing from diversity.

Our second century transformed an underdeveloped country into the most productive nation that ever existed. America reflected the pioneer spirit, the achievements of industry, agriculture, the incentives of free enterprise, the contributions of free trade unions, and the widespread sharing of economic gains both at home and abroad.

As we approach our third century, I see this era as one of the fulfillment of the individual citizen. I see a century devoted to education, which equips young men and women, like the students of SMU, to make their own decisions rather than permit their future to be programed by massive government structures that an imaginative writer foresaw for 1984—a nightmarish fantasy of what our third century could be.

It is my deepest conviction that a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Let us usher in a third century in which the individual rather than the government makes personal choices and decides how individual income is to be spent. Men and women must prevail over the endless agencies and bureaus that would reduce human beings to computerized abstractions and program people into numbers and statistics.

I place a high premium on creativity, originality, and your right to differentiate yourself from the mass. Today's mounting danger is from mass government, mass education and mass technology, and we must not let them prevail.

I am determined to do everything in my power to prevent conformist pressures from smothering individual expression or stifling individual opportunity. Individualism must stand as the sentinel of 1976 against the monolithic threat of sameness in our society.

Never forget that in America our sovereign is the citizen. The governments and institutions exist to serve people. The state is a servant of the individual. It must never become an anonymous monstrosity that masters everyone and is responsive to no one. These propositions are the foundations of our Bicentennial.

My vision of America's third century is one of an era of achievements rather than apathy, of fostering the ennobling and transcendental qualities of the individual spirit rather than building huge new bureaucracies.

Two centuries of sacrifices and struggle, of conflict and compromise, have won an unprecedented measure of political and economic independence for each of us. I am proud to be the President of a free government that checks and balances its own excesses.

I am proud of our free economic system which corrects its own errors, controlled by the marketplace of free and enlightened consumers.

I am especially proud of the role of free education in preserving individuality. Education is vital to my vision of our third century. Only education can equip individuals to take responsibility for their own lives in the face of pressures of mass systems of society. Education must provide the perception upon which rests the quality of individuality.

I challenge educators and students to regain the excitement that made America great. Each generation brings a new spirit of competition, new reservoirs of enthusiasm, new responses to the humanitarian needs of others, and regenerated pride in personal independence.

This generation bears a very special task—the preservation of individualism. You are the bulwark of individualism. So is your family. So is your local community and, especially, schools like Southern Methodist University, which join the public educational institutions in cross-germination of ideas.

7704001 5243

My own background included two experiences in higher education. One, the University of Michigan; the other Yale University—one public; the other private. I value both. I buy an open market for ideas.

Education is the key to diversity which will determine the kind of people we will be. It must not become a mass product. All the armies, weapons systems of our defense will mean absolutely nothing without self-reliant individuals who retain the cherished qualities of Americanism. That is one great purpose of education.

Educated men and women not only provide answers to problems but keep open the options in a society that make life worth living. Our real first line of defense is the quality of individual life—in moral and spiritual values, compassion, courage, love of community and country, creativity, innovation, enterprise, originality and healthy sportsmanship and fair, but tough, competition. None of these attributes of individuality can be mass produced. They must be encouraged. They will grow within each man and woman.

But that growth can be nourished. On the portico of Angell Hall on my old campus at Ann Arbor, there is an inscription from an act of Congress, adopted in 1787—the Northwest Ordinance Act—which states: "Religion, morality, [and] knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The American tradition can inspire the highest virtues. But the government cannot achieve personal fulfillment for each of you. Your future depends upon your own determination to develop your highest potential.

Let us apply the theories of education in the laboratory of life. I urge students and graduates and faculties to direct their genius, their energy, to the solution of the problems facing America. I challenge you to help make not only America but American life beautiful, inspiring. You can do it.

Let us take a new look at ourselves as Americans. By seeking a real partnership between the university and the rest of society, you can give greater meaning to your own life and help all Americans enhance the quality of their lives.

I look at Southern Methodist University and other privately supported institutions of higher learning—both in harmony and in competition with public institutions—to help regenerate the values that make American life so very special.

Students who prefer different philosophies of learning should be able to choose among the widest possible variety of options. This ensures that diversity so essential to educate the whole person—the physical person, the intellectual person, and the spiritual person.

In private education there is a direct citizen participation in the educational process. SMU is not dependent on government funding that establishes a rigid requirement or rigid guidelines. To maintain its very unique qualities, Southern Methodist University takes responsibility for its own support. And I commend its supporters, and you should all be most thankful for them.

I am concerned about the very heavy burden falling upon the working, middle-class citizens who are struggling to pay tuitions and costs at both public and private colleges. I am also concerned that private higher education is now in financial difficulty.

Private institutions provide a leavening and stimulating influence for the public universities and the public colleges. Their continuing strength and vitality are essential to higher education. We must help to keep this competition going between the private as well as the public colleges and universities. Educators must innovate and respond to the world in which students of all ages and all backgrounds find themselves.

Private institutions can best serve by emphasizing their uniqueness, not by succumbing to any temptation to imitate the public university. But neither students nor government will support a private college just because of its antiquity or its history.

They must offer something truly different, truly important. Private education, free of government constraints, enjoys boundless freedom to experiment in vital areas that may fall outside general public support.

Let us encourage human growth, which can transcend from despair to dynamism, from confusion to clarity, from hopelessness to hope unlimited.

America is going through an unprecedented period of technological and economic change and dislocation. We have been jolted by shock after shock, but this Nation is not disintegrating. It is going through a period of transition. It may not be easy. It is experiencing the growing pains of a mighty nation of over 214 million with the world's greatest record of achievement in the short span of two centuries. We will transcend this period of trial. I believe in America, as I am sure all of you do.

I am convinced, as I am certain each of you are, that all we have in America is far more right than wrong, and we should be proud of the progress we have made despite the difficulties over a period of time.

I am proud to have been in this office some 13 months and to have helped to create a new climate of peace abroad while striving for solutions to some of our most complex problems here at home. In the finest American tradition, we have served as peacemaker in the Middle East. I am confident that the Congress will take quick action to ratify agreements involving Egypt and Israel. All Americans can take the unifying pride in our initiative in making peace, not war.

7704001524

I have the deepest confidence in America's future and our educational resources. The schools of this Nation—private as well as public—can help to inspire the lives of Americans with new meaning and with new quality. Both private and public educators must combine their genius in preparing men and women for our challenges of the third century.

I urge you in the words of Thomas Jefferson to "enlighten the public generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day."

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. in Moody Coliseum at Southern Methodist University, after receiving an honorary doctor of laws degree from University Chancellor Willis Tate.

7704001 5250

Midland, Texas

The President's Remarks Upon Arrival at Midland-Odessa Regional Airport. September 13, 1975

It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to come and see so many of Congressman Mahon's supporters of so many, many years. You are lucky, and I am grateful for the fact that you supported him, my good friend, for so long.

May I add also it is a great privilege to be here with Senator John Tower and with Congressman Dick White and Congressman Harold Runnels. And to be in the Midland-Odessa area is a great privilege despite this little sprinkle that we are having. I know you want it, and I am delighted to be here *despite* it.

Now, I ought to thank also the mayors of Odessa and Midland, Mayor Hemphill and Mayor Angelo, for being here. And I do want to express my deep appreciation to the Odessa High School Broncos for being present and the Lee High School Rebels. It seems to me there might be a little competition between the two. [*Laughter*]

But most of all, I wish to express to the many, many of you who are here for coming out on this occasion to give me and those with me a very, very warm welcome. I just can't believe that in this temporary adverse weather that so many of you would make the effort and be so generous in your warmth and friendship. It makes a long 3 days a very rewarding experience to end it with this kind of a welcome from so many wonderful people.

I love you, and I thank you, and I wish you the very, very best as I would good friends from my own hometown.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:45 p.m.

Permian Basin Petroleum Museum

The President's Remarks at the Dedication of the Museum in Midland, Texas. September 13, 1975

Senator John Tower, my former colleagues in the House, Harold Runnels and Dick White, my former colleague in the House of Representatives and now Mr. Ambassador, George Bush, our two mayors, Mayor Angelo and Mayor Hemphill, Mr. Ramsland, and others:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor for me to have the opportunity of being here and participating in this wonderful ceremony today.

This is a great, great crowd, and I appreciate your warmth and your cordiality. But I couldn't have been more thrilled and more grateful for the tremendous turnout of wonderful west Texans that were at the airport in untypical Texas weather. [*Laughter*] It was a thrill, and I

7704001525

tried to express to them my gratitude. It was a great opportunity to come to a wonderful part of this country.

George, you mentioned in passing that under certain very limited and prescribed circumstances, you might have voted for me for Speaker. Well, I appreciate that willingness, and under those circumstances—but you even went further than that—you voted for me for Vice President. [*Laughter*]

I am delighted to be here in west Texas, an area that is so obviously rich in natural resources—oil, natural gas, cattle, good land—but, more important than anything else, good people.

I am particularly pleased to take part in the dedication of this very fascinating petroleum museum. I just wish that the ceremony could have been held outdoors, because I was honestly looking for that shower of rose petals from the top of the rig. [*Laughter*] Believe me, in the last year, when it comes to oil from the Congress, I have had very little roses coming up. [*Laughter*]

But I think it is very significant that that drilling rig outside is named Santa Rita, the patron saint of the impossible. When it comes to the good of the country, Americans have always joined together and worked together to achieve the seemingly impossible.

I am certain that in the weeks ahead, the Congress and I will be able to do so—to give our Nation an energy program that will cut us from the dependence on interruptible foreign sources of oil. America's energy independence must be decided by us. It cannot be entrusted to the policies or to the passions of others in far-off lands.

I want to thank very deeply the man who invited me, not once but many times to come out here—my longtime and very close, personal friend, George Mahon.

George indicated during the 12 years I was privileged to serve on the House Committee on Appropriations, I worked up from the real bottom and, finally, got to the top. But in the process of that 12 years' experience, we spent literally 4 to 5 hours a day, 5 days a week, 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 months a year trying to help develop a strong national defense program, trying to help implement a strong foreign policy. And in the process of those many hours, we became close, intimate friends, despite the fact that there was a partisan dividing line—theoretically, at least—between us.

I honestly count George Mahon one of my closest friends in my period of time in the Congress of the United States, and I appreciate that friendship, George. And believe me, if I lived in this district it would be awfully easy for me to be out in the spotlight, in the headlines for George Mahon. Of course, the principal reason I would be doing that is because of Helen, not George. [*Laughter*]

But it is nice to be here also with John Tower, who I know comes from a great part of Texas and who has been such a wonderful Senator on behalf of all of you. John, of course, has been a close friend of mine in working together on energy matters and other important defense and foreign policy problems. John, I thank you for your help and assistance, both in the Congress as well as since I have been President of the United States.

I might say something about George, but since he is now a striped pants diplomat—[*laughter*]—I don't dare say anything political or nonpolitical about him. But it is good to see him as well as Harold Runnels and Dick White.

You know historians say we closed the American frontier back in 1890, but Midland in 1975 still has the adventurous frontier and is obviously still thriving. The enterprise and the spirit of hard-working people in west Texas shows to me the great productivity of this region—the land, the people, the mind, the physical effort. This area furnishes the Nation cattle and cotton, oil, natural gas, but, also, the genius of the people both in effort and in mind.

You have also demonstrated how much Americans can accomplish with the right incentives. Incentives are the fuel of the free market system, and the energy west Texas helps to supply is the fuel of our Nation's economy. The Permian Basin produces 25 percent of the Nation's domestic oil and 20 percent of the United States natural gas production. How fortunate the rest of us are that this great region is a part of our country.

To keep this oil and to keep this natural gas flowing from this region, the Nation must make it economically feasible to search for new production and to develop methods. This is one of the major reasons that I believe decontrol of domestic oil prices is so essential to our national security.

The vote in the United States Senate this week sustaining my veto of an extension of the oil price controls has paved the way for decontrol. I hope—I must concede I have been disappointed in the last 8 or 9 months on several occasions—but I hope we are finally on the road to energy independence in America.

We have got a long way to go, but between January of this year, and even this past week, we had made virtually no progress, whatsoever. But we got 39 staunch and strong people in the United States Senate to stand up and say something had to be done. If we had lost that vote, I doubt if we could have gotten off dead center for the next year and a half.

So, the 39 who stood up and were strong and wise probably did a great, great service to this country and our energy independence. I think we have maybe turned the corner, but we have got a long way to go.

Since 1971 America's bill for imported oil has been—well, it has climbed from just over $3 billion annually to $25 billion in the last calendar year—a 769 percent increase in American money going overseas to buy a product that we should be producing in greater and greater quantities right here in the United States.

But the ill-advised policies go back some time and have kept us from freeing our energy, our natural resources, our

7704001525

ingenuity. And the net result is we have imported a lot more oil than we should, and it is getting worse and worse every day. And we are paying more and more overseas, and we are sending that money over for overseas jobs instead of having that money for jobs right here in the United States.

For example, that $25 billion could provide more than one million jobs right in America. That would cut our unemployment, for example, from roughly 8 million down to 7 million. That would be a good investment if we had the right oil and natural gas policies.

Although the 4.5 percent unemployment rate in the Midland area in August is below the national average, I understand it is higher than usual. Unemployment is a problem that is worrying many, many Americans. And I travel, and I hear. It is a problem that must be solved by a healthy, thriving economy.

With foreign producers supplying 40 percent of our oil needs today and growing every day, American jobs and dollars are being held hostage by other countries because we are vulnerable to this foreign oil influence. We are unable to control the price or the supply of imported oil. And that makes us, of course, extremely vulnerable to economic disruptions here at home—disruptions which we can ill afford if we are to continue to expand our great economic potential in America.

If we don't give America's oil industry the incentives to search for new sources and new production techniques through decontrol, and if we present the wrong policies, we will, within 10 years, import more than half of the oil that we need for our economy.

Energy keeps this country going. Energy is the heartbeat of our economic system. Unless we make some tough decisions about energy now, the Nation is in danger of suffering a serious energy emergency which could come at any time, because they have the capability overseas of turning that spigot off. And in a relatively short period of time, many of you know far better than I, our capability of keeping our economic machine moving would be slowed down and ended.

It just seems to me that decontrolling oil prices at home will move us toward the absolute, essential policy of energy independence. Energy independence will require that we find new energy sources and develop new methods, but those solutions will not come overnight. And you are far more knowledgeable in those areas than myself.

Action must be taken now to spur the search for new sources. Research and development are critical elements in any proposed national energy program. We are spending, as George Mahon knows, in a variety of ways and in the so-called exotic fuel areas—better than $2 billion a year—solar, geothermal, et cetera. But in the next few years, we will have to rely on our most readily obtainable domestic energy sources—and what are they? Oil, natural gas, and coal. These are going to meet our energy needs.

Natural gas is one of the most environmentally acceptable forms of energy. But despite the many pluses of natural gas—and they are wonderful by any standard—the history of the Federal Government's policy toward this valuable asset has been a very sorry one.

Over the past 20 years, the Federal Power Commission, as required by Congressional legislation, has kept interstate prices at an artificially low level, and that has seriously hampered exploration and development.

I think—and I say this quietly, but with firmness and determination—we must stop Federal regulation of prices on new gas for interstate use.

There are approximately 16 States in the Union that are potentially going to have a serious economic disruption this winter. You can take New Jersey, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, et cetera.

Because of the shortsighted policies of the Congress over the last 20 years, we could have not only a shortage in natural gas in those areas, but the economic consequences in jobs will be extremely serious. And the negligence of the Congress over this last few years in not recognizing that problem is inexcusable.

I hope we can move on some emergency legislation, but we cannot ignore the need and necessity for a permanent solution. Natural gas deregulation, it is obvious, is a high priority goal of myself and the Administration.

I think solving the energy problem goes back to some of our basic American principles. We must put back into our economic system some of our old-fashioned incentives that took us from 13 poor struggling colonies to a Nation of 50 States with unbelievable economic power and progress.

The profit incentive—the search for a better life—populated this Continent. It brought thousands of pioneers to west Texas—men and women willing to risk all to find a livelihood on the land or in the land.

We should ask ourselves: What has made America unique? The explanations are as varied as the Nation itself, but I am convinced that one key to America's uniqueness is that we wrote into our first great document the inalienable right of the pursuit of happiness.

In that pursuit, Americans have dreamed big dreams, taken great risks—sometimes failed miserably and sometimes succeeded magnificently. But always, whether successful or otherwise, they took it with courage and determination.

The men and women to whom this museum is dedicated lived and enjoyed that freedom to the fullest. The spirit of enterprise and daring this museum records in the petroleum industry must be kept alive all across the United States.

So, in memory of those who dared to follow their dreams, I respectfully dedicate this great museum.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m.

7704001525

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, September 26, 1975

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The President's Remarks at the Oklahoma State Fair. September 19, 1975

Governor Boren, Senator Bartlett, Congressman Tom Steed, John Jarman, Ted Risenhoover, Ed Gaylord, ladies and gentlemen:

I am highly honored and overjoyed to be here with you, and I express, on behalf of Betty and myself, our deep, deep gratitude for the wonderful welcome and reception we have received. Thank you very, very much.

As a former college football player, I can't tell you how pleased I am to be here in Oklahoma again—the home of the number one team. Michigan is number two, and we are going to try and get ahead. [*Laughter*]

I like to come to Oklahoma because adventure still lives here, and it was so beautifully expressed by your fine Governor, Dave Boren. The pioneering spirit of the founders of Oklahoma's independence and self-reliance exists as your mightly plains, cities, and towns. It represents, as Will Rogers used to say about Oklahomans, the work of the "big, honest majority." I salute you for your achievements and commend you for your visions of an even brighter and brighter future.

Today, the ranchers and farmers of Oklahoma and of other parts of the country have become the most productive in the world. Last year alone, the United States exported nearly $22 billion in various agricultural products.

Without these exports, our country would have had a huge balance of payments deficit, our dollar would have been weakened in foreign markets, and we would have had to pay higher and higher prices for the items we import from abroad.

In short, the American farmer not only raises crops but raises the overall standard of living of every American—210 million Americans—and I compliment you for it.

As many of you know, I advocated a policy of full agricultural production last year. It is not in the long-term interest of the American farmer or consumer to limit the production of wheat, feed grains, or any other agricultural product. Our country has now achieved a record wheat crop, and a record corn crop is expected by the end of the year. It is a record that every American farmer can be proud of, and we are proud of you.

Far too often the American farmer has been made the scapegoat of many of our economic problems. The price of beef goes up—blame the farmer. The price of milk goes up—blame the farmer. The price of bread goes up—blame the farmer.

Well, I know and you know the farmer is not to blame for the inflation we have today. I recently read in a news magazine that when it comes to bread, the food product that seems to get the most attention, the farmer only receives 17 percent of the total retail price of that loaf of bread. The middlemen get the rest. The American farmer is not the beneficiary of inflation. Along with every other American, he is the victim.

Fortunately, we have some good news today regarding inflation, and I would like to share it with you. The latest figures released this morning—and I have them here—indicate that in August the cost of living rose only two-tenths of one percent. This is the smallest monthly increase in more than 2 years, and, contrary to all the finger-pointing at farmers, food prices held steady. The small rise was accounted for by other commodities and other services.

Now, I have been around long enough to know that the good news of one month does not mean that the battle is won. But I do believe it means we are winning the battle against inflation if we just keep the pressure on. But let me assure you, this victory will not be achieved at the expense of the Nation's farmers, and I pledge you that.

The American farmer wants, and with very good reason, to sell all of his production either at home or abroad. And I am here today to tell him and to tell you that we are working night and day to make certain that farmers will be able to sell what they produce in a free market at fair prices.

7704001525 1

We have built regular profitable grain trading relations with traditional buyers in Europe, Japan, and elsewhere. Therefore, we can generally count in advance on a certain level of sales to these long-time foreign customers. Farmers can plan for them, and our marketing can accommodate them without disruption. The Soviet Union represents a relatively new factor in United States agriculture trading. Farmers have not been able to predict Soviet Government purchases, and our market has been disrupted when Soviet purchases are unusually large on the one hand or unusually small on the other.

I am now giving priority attention to reaching an agreement that will enable us to trade with the Soviets on a more predictable basis. It would permit us to make, for example, additional sales this year and guarantee sales in the years to come.

So there will be no misunderstanding about what is happening in these grain negotiations with the Soviet Union, let's look at our last five crop seasons. Soviet grain purchases from the United States have fluctuated wildly in the last 5 years—peaks and valleys.

In 1971–72, the United States sold 2.8 million metric tons of grain to the Soviet Union. In 1972–73, the figure soared to 13.8 million metric tons. In 1973–74, it dropped to 6.8 million metric tons and then plummeted to 2.2 million metric tons in 1974 and 1975.

In this crop year we have already sold 10.2 million metric tons, and the Soviets want to buy still more. These wide fluctuations, these peaks and valleys, have brought about serious repercussions in price and in marketing both here at home and around the world. They have caused serious international shipping complications. The United States wants a solid agreement from the Soviet Union on the future grain purchases. The American farmer would benefit tremendously from such an agreement.

It would enable him to plan ahead and produce for a much more reliable market. It would strengthen this Nation's reputation as a dependable supplier and increase our long-term sales. At the same time, full production would assure American consumers of plentiful supplies at reasonable prices.

Also, we must be in a position to deliver the grain that we sell. That too determines whether we are dependable suppliers. Once grain starts moving from the wheat fields of Oklahoma to the Russian docks, or to any other nation, it must continue to move or the total sale is jeopardized. This would cause unfavorable repercussions on markets and jobs here at home.

The purpose and the result of my discussions with labor representatives was to keep the grain moving that had already been sold while we negotiated for a long-term contractual agreement with the Soviet Union.

I am glad to report that encouraging progress is being made on an agreement which will enable us to make additional sales this year and substantial sales on a regular basis over the next 5 years.

Neither our Government, nor the Soviet Union, its Government, would set the price. The Soviets would pay the full amount, the full market price throughout the life of this agreement.

I am optimistic that the United States and the Soviet Union will reach this agreement—which will benefit American farmers and the American consumers—an agreement that will benefit both our countries so that the temporary halt in grain sales can be lifted.

There is still another very urgent challenge facing the United States and the people of this great State—to make certain that we produce enough energy for our growing needs and produce it here at home.

Many people in the United States apparently do not believe there is an energy problem, including too many Members of the Congress. I am glad to say it is not the Oklahoma delegation. But they know who I am talking about.

I say to you in all seriousness, the United States is headed for very deep trouble unless we act while we have time. We will soon have time only to react and that will be too late.

We are engulfed in Washington in apathy on the part of some, distrust on the part of others, and indecision among still others. Let me repeat with emphasis, the energy threat is very real. It will not go away. It will grow steadily worse until the United States makes some hard, tough choices about its energy future.

Since 1971, the amount of money we have been spending overseas for foreign oil has skyrocketed by 700 percent. Our annual bill for foreign oil was just over $3 billion 4 years ago, and today it has ballooned to $25 billion.

That $25 billion could have provided more than one million jobs for unemployed Americans here at home. As American dollars pour out of our country, so does our economic stability and our national security.

Eight months ago I proposed to the Congress this Nation's first comprehensive national energy program. Let me just tell you how many times since then I have tried to work out an energy solution with the Congress.

You won't believe this—since January 1 of this year and as of a week ago, I held 48 energy or energy-related meetings with Members of the Congress. I have met at least once with 51 out of the 100 United States Senators and at least once with 304 out of the 435 Members of the House of Representatives. I listened to their pleas and promises, asking for more time to act. I offered compromise, I sought cooperation, all without avail.

We are no closer now to a positive energy producing program from the Congress than we were 8 months ago. May I, at this point, reiterate what I indicated a few moments ago—and Henry Bellmon, Dewey Bartlett, Tom Steed, John Jarman, and Ted Risenhoover and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the other Members of our delegation—if I had that kind of full support from the delegations of every State, we would

7704001525 5

have had an energy program on the statute book 6 months ago.

I have met the Congress more than halfway. It is time for the Congress to cooperate, for the Congress to act to protect the future security and prosperity of the United States.

The problem is perfectly obvious—if we don't get a program on the statute books this year, you can bet it won't happen in a national election year. All efforts to achieve energy independence will be set back even further.

Don't believe those who tell you they are fighting to hold down your energy costs. We have a growing scarcity of domestic energy. Government controls to allocate this scarcity can't work because our energy shortfall is constantly increasing.

Those who procrastinate are not fighting to hold down your energy costs; they are fighting to put off the critical decisions we have to make as a nation. The truth is the American consumer can no longer enjoy cheap energy, at least not in the lifetime of most of us.

Prices have increased, and they will continue to increase because foreign oil producers from far-away shores who sell us 40 percent of our needs have combined to raise their prices. They will increase even more as we become increasingly dependent on foreign oil.

That dependence continues to grow every single day as our domestic production continues to decline. That is why I insist on a new declaration of independence—energy independence. I want and I need your help.

Under the plan that I submitted to the Congress in January, we will pay American dollars to American companies to produce American energy for American jobs and American profits and American taxes. That is a pretty good program. Don't you think so?

The real danger to our economy is not the actions I propose but the inaction that stifles more production here at home and increases our dependence on oil from abroad. That is the great danger—the loss of economic freedom by the United States of America, the reckless risk of placing our national livelihood and our national security in the hands of others.

That doesn't represent American independence, self-reliance, or the pioneering spirit. It is just plain chicken, and I don't think Americans admire it, want it or will stand for it.

I am counting on you—the "big, honest majority," as Will Rogers called you—and millions of others like you across America who will decide our Nation's fate and who, in the final analysis, will be the producers and the protectors of America's greatness in the future.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:59 p.m.

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

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The President's Remarks at a Republican Reception. September 19, 1975

Dewey, Henry, John Jarman, Bill McLean, ladies and gentlemen:

If I should stop right now and walk off this platform to speak to a very cute, attractive little girl, I hope you will understand. We have been having a little affair going down here. [*Laughter*]

Let me say, at the outset, how deeply grateful I am for the warm welcome and the kind words of Henry Bellmon, Dewey Bartlett, and let me add with emphasis how great it is to have John Jarman not only vote with us but be with us.

Obviously, both Betty and I are totally delighted to be here in Oklahoma, and let me also thank you for the very fine welcome you gave to Vice President Rockefeller here last week. Nelson tells me that when he went to the football game last Saturday, he was met with nothing but unremitting kindness, hospitality, and friendship with just one exception—the guy who gave him Oregon and three points. [*Laughter*] If we should play Oklahoma, I will have to get more than that. [*Laughter*]

What a better time to be in Oklahoma than State Fair Week and the beginning of the football season. It is obviously a great experience of Betty and mine to be with you, to meet so many enthusiastic and ardent Republicans planning and working for next year's election.

May I especially thank Bill McLean for his participation and those that he has brought here on this occasion. Bill, I am very grateful, and I can get those strokes on the golf course, I can't wait to play with you. [*Laughter*] But, thank you very, very much.

As you have heard me say on many occasions when I was here last fall and elsewhere, the Oklahoma Republican Party has in Dewey Bartlett and Henry Bellmon two of the most outstanding, finest members of the United States Senate that I know. I am not going to embellish what you know better than I, but it certainly is encouraging for me, whether it's on fiscal matters or defense matters or anything else that is relevant to the national progress of this Nation, I can always count on Dewey and on Henry, and I thank you for that help.

I would be negligent if I didn't add a word about John Jarman. He and I have been friends in the House of Representatives for many, many years. His lovely wife, Marilyn, and my wife, Betty, have been close and personal friends. We are so pleased to see them on our side, and I thank John on this occasion for his many votes when he was minority leader and now, when I am in the present office, for his strong support. John, we darn well better get somebody really good to succeed you.

7704001 3256

Let me say with complete and total emphasis that, as I travel around the States, whether it is in Maine, Rhode Island, or New York, or the State of Washington or Oregon, I find there is a great sense of renewal and anticipation, State after State, on behalf of the philosophy that we espouse and that we believe in, that we are willing to work for.

And the revival of this optimism is based, in my judgment, on very, very sound political realities. Whether it is on the east coast, the west coast, the northern border, or the Gulf of Mexico, I find that the American people will want economic stability and that stability which is the very foundation of our democracy can only come from Federal fiscal responsibility.

As Republicans, we believe in sound management of the taxpayer's money, yours and mine and that which was contributed by some 200 million other Americans.

Today this Nation is seeing the unhappy, the sad results of an obsolete, outdated political philosophy which holds that if you just spend enough Federal money, you can solve every problem in our society.

The fact of the matter is precisely this: The American people know that Federal dollars are their dollars. They want some old-fashioned thrift in the way in which their money is spent, like they manage their home or their business or their church. And one of these days—listen very, very carefully—one of these days the big spenders in the Congress are going to find this out.

And I respectfully suggest that it be November 2, 1976. The way to reduce Federal overspending and its dangerous offspring, inflation, is to elect a Congress with a little commonsense, a little commonsense about dollars and cents. And until that happens the only way Republicans, outnumbered better than two to one in the Congress, can head off massive spending and effect a balance in how we spend our money is with the veto. I have used it before, 37 times to be exact. And I will use it again and again and again.

And may I say with complete sincerity, that a veto is not negative, as Dewey and Henry and John will tell you. A veto is a constitutionally given authority in our great document upon which our Nation was founded. It was constitutionally given to a President in order that he could veto something and thereby give the Congress a little more time to reconsider bad legislation. [*Laughter*] I agree. [*Laughter*]

But the veto is not negative; it's an affirmative way to get better legislation. And that is why we are going to use it more and more.

But in all honesty, there is a better and more certain way, a surer way to restore fiscal sanity to the Congress. And I say, with emphasis, elect more Republicans.

If my soundings around the country—and I have traveled in a good many States and I speak up with pride about it—most Americans want what we in the Republican Party want. And let me enumerate them, five in number: a free enterprise system unfettered by obsolete regulations, unfettered by obsolete regulations stifling private initiative rather than stimulating it; number two, fiscal restraint and fiscal responsibility in the way their tax money is spent, yours and everybody else's; number three, a strong national defense which is the best assurance of peace; number four, local control by local people over local problems; and last, but not least, more freedom for individuals and greater say in their own personal affairs.

These are the guideposts which have pointed the way for this Nation for 200 years and directed the efforts of our party for over 100 years. These are the principles Republicans believe in and most Americans support.

As you here in Oklahoma are well aware, on the eve of a major political campaign to elect a President, a Congress, Governors, mayors, and State and local officials all across our 50 States, the air will soon be filled with speeches of candidates, the rumble of bandwagons, and the questions of pollsters, but the pollsters are not the only ones who will be asking questions.

As we prepare for this campaign, I have a couple of questions I would like to ask you my own self, and I would like your response.

Do you want your President to accept without a fight budget-busting bills from the Congress which could touch off a new round of inflation?

Do you want your President to open the United States Treasury to every city that hasn't or won't responsibly manage its fiscal affairs?

Do you want your President to roll over and play dead while the Congress passes more and more legislation to strangle free enterprise and the Federal bureaucracy passes out more and more forms to fill out? [*Laughter*]

Do you want your President to go along with those who would transfer local and State responsibility to the massive Federal bureaucracy?

Do you want your President to accept legislation that will continue America's dependence on unreliable foreign oil? Not in Oklahoma, I am sure. [*Laughter*]

Do you want your President to accept deep slashes in a defense program? I say this with very sincere and deep conviction myself. It would make America number two in a world where only number one really counts.

Do you want your President to permit America's defense intelligence system to be crippled and leave this Nation naked to the mercy of potential enemies?

I think your answers are obvious, and I think those are the answers that the American people, by and large—Republicans, Independents, discerning Democrats, the Republican Party—are in tune with—your needs, your hopes and your aspirations.

We believe, as you do, in the principles which made this Nation great, and believe me, I think I see in this great audience a heck of a lot of people that are going to

7704001525 7

go out and fight hard, give time, efforts, talents, and everything else, especially enthusiasm, to carry this message to the American people.

If we do, I am optimistic as to the results in the Presidency, the Congress, the governorships, the State legislatures, and the local offices on November 2, and America will be better off for it.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:05 p.m. at the Lincoln Plaza Inn. As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.

7704001525?

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 3:00 P.M. PDT (6:00 P.M. EDT)

SEPTEMBER 20, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Los Angeles, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
BY
BOB ABERNETHY
JESS MARLOW
WARREN OLNEY
KNBC-TV

CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL

8:57 A.M. PDT

QUESTION: Good evening and welcome. I am Bob Abernethy, KNBC News. To question the President are KNBC news reporters Jess Marlow and Warren Olney.

Mr. President, welcome.

A prominent California Republican said the other day that he thinks it would be healthy for the Republican Party if Ronald Reagan were to try to get the GOP nomination for the Presidency. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see any serious problems in that regard. I have always thought that competition in the political arena was healthy for the candidates and for the Party. I certainly feel that former Governor Reagan and myself are close enough personal friends that we can have any competition without having a devisive impact on the Party. So competition being good for candidates and the Party, I think, under our system, I see no serious harm in that regard.

QUESTION: More and more people are saying they think it is inevitable that Governor Reagan will run. Do you share that view?

THE PRESIDENT. I really should not pass judgment on what he will or won't do, so since that is a judgment on his part, I think we ought to wait and see.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you suggest the competition would be healthy. Indeed are we not seeing some of that competition right now with your concentrated schedule in California?

THE PRESIDENT: My efforts here, as part of the responsibility as President that I have to talk to groups in the education field, the labor field and other areas and I also feel it is a part of my responsibility on this trip to help the party per se, to help get the party strengthened in the responsibility it has for organization as well as fund raising. There is nothing in this trip that relates to my candidacy as such.

QUESTION: Mr. President, is there any question in your mind that if you went head-to-head in the primary in New Hampshire, Florida and other places, that you could beat him?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't like to forecast what I will do in the political race, I am confident the policies we have for the country, the policies that we are trying to implement domestically and foreign policy-wise put us in a pretty good position against any competition within and without the party.

QUESTION: In the event Governor Reagan should defeat you in New Hampshire and Florida, how serious a blow would that be to your efforts to get the nomination?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't speculate about defeat, I look at it affirmatively that we will do well in any of the primaries, whether New Hampshire, Florida or otherwise, just as I feel the policies we are trying to implement for the country will be favorable and, therefore, we don't analyze what will happen if we don't do well.

QUESTION: How do you see the result of the Senatorial race in New Hampshire? A lot of people will say it was a rebuke to your policies.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't feel it was necessarily. The opposition was extremely well-organized up there. They got out roughly 30,000 more votes for Durkin than they got in 1974 in November. Strangely enough, Louis Wyman got about three or four thousand more votes than he got in November, so it was really an organizational effort rather than the ideology of the Administration being repudiated.

QUESTION: Both you and Governor Reagan campaigned there, though. That is about as heavy an artillery as your party could have brought in.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and I got a very favorable response from the people of New Hampshire, for which I am very grateful. I don't think that response, or the result really entered into that election as such and the technical [illegible] to the Democratic Party, Dick Scanlon, discounted any impact on a national level from that particular election.

7704001526D

QUESTION: Mr. President, one more Reagan question. Your friend, indeed your host for part of this weekend, the U.N. Ambassador to Belgium, has said he doesn't think Ronald Reagan is qualified to be President. What do you think? Is he qualified?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I ought to pass judgment on that. He was a very good Governor for the State of California, and I don't think I should enter into those discussions.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you expressed confidence that your policies would get you past any primary competition, indeed in the general election, too, and you particularly noted foreign policy.

I would like to ask you a couple of questions about foreign policy, particularly about the recent Middle East agreements.

First of all, is there an agreement to supply Pershing missiles to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT: The documents carefully spell out that we will study with Israel their request for Pershing missiles. It is carefully phrased, and it goes only to the commitment to study the need and necessity for Pershing missiles for Israel.

QUESTION: Senator Howard Baker said here yesterday he believes -- and he emphasized it is only his belief -- that Israel has nuclear weapons now. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I do not know categorically whether they do or do not. Therefore, I don't think I should speculate.

QUESTION: Another missile question. The Hawk missile for Jordan, did you insist that we be assured that those could only be used defensively?

THE PRESIDENT: Certainly, the intent is that those Hawk missiles should be used for defense purposes. It is important for Jordan to have that defensive capability and the intent -- and I think the agreement itself -- is aimed at that direction.

QUESTION: Did Jordan regard it as an insult that we suggested it only be defensive? Is that the only business that was made public?

7704001526

THE PRESIDENT: It is a very technical dispute, and it is my opinion that those differences have been resolved -- and I think constructively so -- for the Middle East as a whole.

QUESTION: Mr. President, another concern regarding the Middle East is those 200 American civilians who may go into the Sinai, concern that they may become targets or hostages and that may cause us to make a larger movement of men.

Can you promise that if 200 civilians are sent to the Sinai now more Americans will not have to go in the future?

THE PRESIDENT: There is certainly no intention that that technical contribution be enlarged. I see no reason why it should. As a matter of fact, it is fully understood by the parties that it will not be enlarged.

To compare that to the situation in Vietnam is not an accurate comparison. In Vietnam, there were two parties at war, and the American initial contribution back in 1961 was at the request of one party and in opposition to the other party.

In this case, both Israel and Egypt requested our contribution, so it is a totally different situation and there is no intent on our part to enlarge it. There is no request by either party to enlarge it. So, I see no possibility of that happening.

QUESTION: Supposing there was some kind of an attack on those people by the Palestinian Liberation Organization? What would this country's response be?

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, our effort would be to bring those American technicians out of the area in case of any forecast of trouble arising in the area. They are there, will be there, in the U.N. buffer zone along with the 7,000 or 8,000 U.N. forces, and I think they are thoroughly protected.

I think it is an area, in my opinion, at least, that it is safe for those Americans. I think it is well to point out that we have now, I think it is, 15 or 20 Americans there with the U.N. forces at the present time.

So, this is a very technical contribution in a protected area, the U.N. buffer zone. So, I don't think that problem is going to arise.

7704001526

QUESTION: Mr. President, the Congressional Budget Office reported this week if the Federal Government would increase the deficit by another $25 billion, would put a million people back to work who wouldn't otherwise be put back to work, by the end of 1977, with a very tiny increase in inflation. If that is true, why don't you do it?

THE PRESIDENT: An extra $25 billion to a $61 billion deficit would have serious ramifications.

QUESTION: Is that study wrong, that Congressional Budget Office study wrong?

THE PRESIDENT: I respectfully disagree. I think there is a better way of approaching the problem. Of course, their recommendations came out prior to the announcement on Friday that we have made very significant progress in the battle against inflation, and I think it is important to point out that in the last eight months the cost of living has gone up 4.8 percent on an annual basis compared to a figure for the previous comparable period of an inflation rate of 8.3 or 8.4, so the Congressional Budget recommendation for a $25 billion increase in the deficit, taking it up to $85 or $86 billion is the wrong approach, predicated on the facts that were revealed by the Department of Labor on Friday.

QUESTION: The Governor of California, among others, thinks that the growing costs of energy and raw materials, demands from the poor nations for more of what we have, all this means that our days of significant economic growth are over.

Do you agree?

THE PRESIDENT: I am an optimist, and I respectfully disagree with the Governor that we should predicate our future on a less well-off society than we have had in the past. We will have certain periods of time where we will pay more for energy or there will be some energy scarcity, but it doesn't mean that the United States should expect a period of dismal progress.

I think the United States, if we adopt the right policy, can expect continued growth in a substantial and constructive way. If we approach it from the pessimistic point of view, I think we are adopting the wrong attitude.

MORE

QUESTION: You say if we adopt the right policies. Does that suggest that we have not yet adopted it?

THE PRESIDENT: Let's take the energy problem. If the Congress doesn't act for a constructive approach to the energy problem, yes, we will have difficulty. We have been prodding the Congress, pushing the Congress, cooperating with the Congress, and yet they have done literally nothing.

Fortunately, we may be coming out of it on the right side, even if the Congress doesn't do something, but I would rather do it on a phased decontrol basis rather than an abrupt end of controls.

QUESTION: Congressman Roybal said yesterday that he did not think you had cooperated sufficiently or compromised, I think is the way he put it.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just cite some figures that I did yesterday in Oklahoma. Since January, when I submitted a program, an energy program, I have personally consulted with 51 out of 100 United States Senators. I personally consulted with 305 or 310 of the 435 Members of the House of Representatives.

I have recommended two phased decontrol programs. They have rejected both of them. I have gone more than halfway, and I regret -- and I think it is unfortunate -- that the Congress has not responded.

I still think that there is a chance they could at least do something, but if they don't do something, then I think we also are in a position where we will come out of it in good shape.

QUESTION: Mr. President, in times past and in times of national problems, other Presidents have called on the American people to serve the country in various ways. It seems to me a lot of people are willing, even eager, to do the same thing now but they aren't sure exactly how. What would you like to ask the American people to do?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not pessimistic at all that the American people will not respond. As a matter of fact, as I travel around the country I find the American people are eager to cooperate. They can do it in a number of ways. The first is to impress upon their representatives in the Congress, Senators and Congressmen, that we have to move ahead, whether it is in energy, or the economy, or national security. I note a slight change in the attitude of the Congress because I think the American people are having an impact.

QUESTION: Indeed that is what you are trying to do.

THE PRESIDENT. That is exactly what we are trying to do and I note some slight improvements in the attitude of the Congress in trying to cooperate with me and I certainly am going to bend over backwards, and I think I have in that area.

QUESTION: During the past week we have heard that the intelligence apparatus in this country deliberately defied the press, the people and the Congress about the size of the enemy during the TET offensive in the Vietnam War. What do you think about those remarks that were made and how do you feel as a former member of Congress about having been intentionally defied?

THE PRESIDENT: If it is a fact, and I think the committee ought to get others to testify who might have a different view.

QUESTION: Are you making an independent effort to find out if it is right?

THE PRESIDENT: That is one person's testimony, a former employee. To get a balanced appraisal, I honestly think the committee ought to call other witnesses. And that brings up a basic decision that I have made. Under no circumstances will we in the Executive Branch hold back any more that might involve a criminal activity or a mistake that was made. As a matter of fact, I have ordered the people who have the immediate jurisdiction to make any and all information available. I think it is important that the record be laid out with this exception, we should not in the process of making this information available reveal sources of intelligence information either by individuals or by mechanical means.

Yes, if people made mistakes, the public ought to know about it. Yes, if there is any criminal activity involved, that ought to be made available and action ought to be taken. But I do not think we should just throw open our intelligence sources. That is a serious problem.

QUESTION: Mr. President, public confidence is established in people and in institutions, we are told public confidence was established in you by your firm handling of the Mayaguez affair. I think we can suggest in recent days public confidence has been re-established in the FBI by the capture of Patty Hearst. What is it going to take to re-establish public confidence in the Central Intelligence Agency, or are they such a secret agency they can never boast about their victories?

THE PRESIDENT: I think your last comment is one of the problems. The committee investigations in the House and Senate, if conducted properly, can, I believe, illustrate that mistakes were made but overall some great accomplishments were achieved. I have the benefit of the Rockefeller Commission recommendations and the Murphy Commission recommendations and in a relatively short period of time I will make some administrative decisions that will improve the working operations of the intelligence community, including the CIA, and I will propose to the Congress some legislative recommendations which will likewise, in my opinion, improve our intelligence gathering communities. But you are never going to have the ingelligence community where it will have the opportunity to brag about its accomplishments because it is so important that we not involve sources and, therefore, they have a tough PR problem.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you have said that State courts in their effort to integrate the schools have ignored less drastic alternatives than busing. What specifically do you mean -- which less drastic alternatives?

THE PRESIDENT: The Congress in 1974 approved what was labeled the Esch Amendment, laid out six or seven specific guidelines for the courts to follow. The last of the recommendation to achieve what the courts should do was busing -- court ordered forced busing to achieve racial integration. Those steps, and I was in the Congress part of that time and I signed the bill that became law, those steps include a magnet school, utilization of the neighborhood school concept, the improvements of facilities, et cetera. I hope that in the future, as some course in the past, recent past, will utilize those guidelines rather than plunging into court ordered forced busing as the only option for the settlement of the segregation problem in the school.

QUESTION: The whole option to busing tends to get confused with racism and there are a lot of racial epithets and what not being thrown about on the protest line. Do you have anything to say about that? You are opposed to busing but how do you make the distinction?

7704001526 5

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think opposition to busing really has any relationship to racism on the part of most people. I think the best illustration, one of the rising young columnists in the country, Bill Raspberry, a black, has been most forceful and most constructive, I think, in opposing the court approach in many cases.

I have been opposed to busing as a means of achieving quality education from its inception. My record in the Congress in voting for civil rights legislation is a good one, so I believe that the real issue is quality education. It can be achieved better for disadvantaged people, minorities, by other means.

I have sought, through the support of the Esch amendment, through adequate funding, to help Boston and other communities where this problem exists, to upgrade their school system rather than to have this very controversial approach of forced busing.

QUESTION: Do you think it will be an issue in next year's campaign?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope it won't.

QUESTION: Mr. President, during your visit here, have you made any plans to telephone or visit former President Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't made any specific plan, no.

QUESTION: Do you intend to?

THE PRESIDENT: I may.

QUESTION: Do you see any role for him in national life in the future?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that is a judgment he has to make, and I really can't tell you whether he will or he won't, but that is a personal judgment on his part.

QUESTION: You say you may contact him. What is it that you want to say to him?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, he is an old friend, and I have known him and worked with him in the past. What has happened in the past, or recent past, I don't think should destroy a personal friendship.

7704001 5267

QUESTION: Mr. President, there has been a minority report from your amnesty panel being very critical of Charles Goodell saying that he misinterpreted and he violated the spirit of the amnesty program in granting amnesty or seeking amnesty for felons. Would you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: That was a very controversial area, as I am sure you recognize.

QUESTION: Mr. President, our time is almost up.

THE PRESIDENT: I felt I had to do something, and I can understand, with the strong people on that board, that there might be controversy.

QUESTION: Mr. President, gentlemen, I am sorry, our time is now up.

Our warm thanks to the President of the United States for joining us here in Los Angeles. NewsConference will be back next Saturday at the same time when our guest will be Senator Howard Baker, Republican of Tennessee.

I am Bob Abernethy, KNBC News, with Jess Marlow and Warren Olney.

END (AT 9:28 A.M. PDT)

7704001 5263

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 20, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Malibu, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION
OF THE BROCK HOUSE

PEPPERDINE UNIVERSITY

11:07 A.M. PDT

Bill, Margaret and all of you who have so generously come with your time and your enthusiasm and your dedication to this wonderful day here at Pepperdine, I thank you, as well as Betty.

I have known Margaret a good many years. I have known her many, many efforts in a broad spectrum. Of course, those of us who are Republicans knew that she has been a loyal, generous, dedicated Republican and she is sort of known by those of us outside of California as Mrs. Republican, and we thank you very, very much for that, Margaret.

But, as Bill has said and all of you, I am sure, know, her interests are far broader than that in civic and community affairs. Her generousity is extremely well-known. As she indicated, she has a very deep commitment not only to Pepperdine as an institution but to the students here at Pepperdine and that covers, again, many, many things that she does that are not too well-known. She has a little special fund that helps deserving and needy and fine students.

I am told that Margaret, on many occasions, to a civic function, to a community activity, wherever people come in from the outside, she will support it and make sure that the younger people participate. The emphasis on youth, I think, has helped to keep Margaret just as youthful and attractive as she is today.

This beautiful house is a great tribute to her real deep interest in Pepperdine and I can't imagine a nicer couple and family than Bill and Gay and their four fine sons being the first occupants and establishing a great precedence as a family.

MORE

(OVER)

And may I just close because I am going to talk a little later and I don't want to preempt here what I might say down there.

But I have, of course, had an opportunity to look into what Pepperdine stands for. It stands for excellence in education and anything that is related to excellence, whether it is in the arts or in athletics, in business, professions, I wholeheartedly support, and Pepperdine, in the field of education, does represent that high standard.

And the 8,000-some students who attend here, some at this campus and some at the other campuses, are likewise getting the benefit of not only excellence but great leadership.

I thank you all very, very much for coming and it is a pleasure to participate, Margaret, in these dedication ceremonies and both Betty and I are delighted to see you again and we thank you for your help to this great school.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 11:11 A.M. PDT)

7704001527

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 20, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Malibu, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
DEDICATION CEREMONY FOR
FIRESTONE FIELDHOUSE

PEPPERDINE UNIVERSITY

12:03 P.M. PDT

Dr. Bill Banowsky, Ambassador and Mrs. Firestone, distinguished academic delegates, special guests and ladies and gentlemen:

Today, you conferred upon me the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and granted me the status of an honorary alumnus of Pepperdine University. Obviously, these honors are very deeply appreciated, and I am equally grateful for the especially warm welcome here in Southern California.

Actually, I have been looking forward to visiting the campus here at Malibu. Some of you may know, I like skiing and swimming, and here in Malibu one of the big things is surfing, which combines a little of both. (Laughter) Skiing when you do it right and swimming when you do it wrong. (Laughter)

But, I never realized how popular surfing really is until just before the program when I asked President Bill Banowsky how many minutes he wanted me to speak, and Bill just said, "Mr. President, hang 10." (Laughter)

Last May, when my wife Betty returned from her trip to this beautiful State, she gave me a very enthusiastic report on her visit to Pepperdine's innercity Los Angeles campus and Pepperdine's rapid growth from a small college in Southwest Los Angeles to a multipurpose university has been a success story in the best Hollywood tradition.

I am impressed with your distinguished faculty, with your fine academic student body, and with your balanced budget of $35 million. (Laughter) Then again, coming from Washington, I am impressed with a balanced budget of any size. (Laughter)

I would also add a very special word of praise for your President, Dr. Bill Banowsky. Bill's great, great capacity for leadership has been a guiding force in Pepperdine's phenomenal progress in the pursuit of excellence. He is the man most responsible for this Malibu miracle campus which represents a testament to his skills and diligence and I congratulate you personally, Bill.

7704001527

Today we gather to dedicate this most impressive structure, the Firestone Fieldhouse, made possible by the generosity and commitment of two of my very good friends, Leonard and Nicki Firestone. I join with all of you in saluting these two outstanding Americans in admiring this proud building, their fine gift to Pepperdine University.

As Dr. Bill Banowsky was reeling off all of the athletic accomplishments of Pepperdine's times on the competitive field of athletics, I thought to myself there wasn't one single sport where I could qualify for the first time, even fifty years ago. (Laughter)

So I thank you for the opportunity to participate in this ceremony because of my personal interest in competitive athletics, but also because Firestone Fieldhouse stands as a splendid centerpiece for this superb campus. It symbolizes the vitality, the exhuberance, and the strength of Pepperdine students, indeed the students throughout this country.

Pepperdine University is a symbol itself. It is an outstanding example of those voluntarily supported institutions which have contributed to much to America's greatness and to our country's progress. Such great universities as Paris, Oxford and Padua dating back to the iddle ages have a rich heritage as institutions of independent education. American proudly celebrates its 200th birthday next year and we would have to reach back still another century to mark the founding of Harvard College, Massachusetts Bay Colony or William and Mary in Virginia, or St. John's College in Maryland.

Twelve other great American universities were founded before the American revolution and all share in the distinguished traditions of private higher education.

MORE

7704001527

Independent schools in the United States exemplify the commitment of their benefactors to the American free enterprise system and, in a sense, to freedom itself.

You know, and I know, that it is the vitality and the competition of free enterprise that made America great. It is the wealth of the free enterprise that has done so much to help underdeveloped nations throughout the world, and it is free enterprise that in the long run will do the most for the underdeveloped nations of the world and the disadvantaged people throughout this great world.

It is the strength of the free enterprise that has given the greatest challenge to Communism and Statism and every other dogma which would crush individual freedom.

The independent colleges and universities have played a very major role in America's history. They represent a sound investment in America's future. Thanks to the vision and dedication and commitment of private citizens and organizations, there are now more than 1,500 independent colleges and universities in America, with a combined enrollment of more than two million fortunate students.

Today, as in the past, these institutions serve as a great reservoir of national leadership in the arts, in the science, in law, medicine, religion, and in business, as well as in the Government.

Twenty-four Presidents of the United States were educated in private colleges and universities in our country, as were 287 Members of the Congress, Senators, Representatives serving in the present Congress today.

More than 40 percent of the board chairmen and presidents of the Nation's 100 largest corporations today were educated at independent institutions. The number of outstanding writers, musicians, judges, teachers, physicians, scientists, ministers and scholars produded by these institutions is almost beyond counting.

My own background, as Dr. Banowsky indicated, included two experiences in higher education; one at the University of Michigan, the other at Yale University Law School; one public, the other private.

I value what I learned from both, and I am all for an open marketplace for ideas and learning experiences. Private institutions both compliment on the one hand and compete on the other with public education in America. Millions of Americans have enjoyed the diversity of benefits this dual system has produced.

7704016274

I believe that every American who has a desire to learn should be given the chance to learn. Today, California's independent four-year colleges and universities have an outstanding record of providing such great opportunities.

They have enrolled, for example, a higher percentage of black students than any public sector of higher education in this State. Further, independent four-year colleges rank very high in the percentage of Mexican-Americans enrolled, and they provide more students with more scholarships than any public segment of California education.

They have proven this point, which we should emphasize: They have proven by their own example that the road to quality higher education need not be a narrow one traveled only by a select few.

As Aristotle said centuries ago, "All who have mediated on the art of Government and the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of political communities depends upon the education of youth."

MORE

7704001527

But today one segment of America's educational capacity is in serious trouble. The institutions of private education in the United States are being battered and buffeted in ways that may ultimately jeopardize their survival.

We should remember and never forget that the term private education is misleading because those institutions, through privately endowed, serve important public functions and at a great savings to the American taxpayer.

We should remember that this is something that is too often forgotten. California, for example, now counts about 100 independent colleges and universities within its great borders. It is estimated that these institutions carry 30 percent of the State's post secondary education workload. Each year they provide, with almost no cost to the taxpayer, more than one billion dollars in educational research and related services in California alone.

In return, these institutions and their students received less than three percent of the total State funds spent for higher education in California. It is through the support of alumni and friends such as Leonard Firestone, Margaret Martin Brock, Frank Seaver and so many others who have helped Pepperdine build this magnificent campus that independent education survives and grows in California and throughout the United States. And we thank them all for it.

California's independent schools have amassed two and a half billion dollars in capital assets and in dollars. Each year they attract an additional $400 million from private non-governmental sources. If these institutions should suddenly close, shifting the burden from private donors to public taxpayers, the tax load would be heavy indeed. American taxpayers and America as a whole would suffer the consequences. We must not allow this to happen.

In recent years the Congress has considered a number of proposals which would discourage private charitable contributions to these institutions. Fortunately, most have been rejected thus far. But there is a certain persistence in these proposals which must be constantly monitored and rebuffed. Today, let me repeat what I have said to many educators who have visited me in Washington, I approve, support and encourage the principle of volunteer giving to help finance higher education.

And I will oppose any legislative proposals which [illegible] support, including those which would limit charitable tax deductions, disallow the full value of appreciated assets, or exclude the State tax deductions.

Firestone Fieldhouse, and literally thousands of other facilities which grace independent college campuses across America, testify vividly and in concrete ways to the wisdom of those existing tax policies. These facilities will be built either with private capital or with taxpayer's money, but they must and they will be built and I will do all that I can on a personal basis to encourage the use of private funds for the public good.

Today we have all been a part of a proud and fulfilling moment in Pepperdine's history. Students, faculty, friends and community have all joined together in this celebration of this achievement. It is a good feeling and one that should be experienced as often as possible.

Bill, is that a good suggestion? (Laughter)

In some circumstances also it is considered very in to be cynical and somewhat disdainful of the basic motivations that have inspired and sustained mankind throughout the centuries. A love of family a love of country, a love of labor, a love of learning, a love of God. These values are not outdated and from the spirit that I feel is here today, I am sure that all of you agree most wholeheartedly.

I know from my many conversations with Bill Banowsky and others that this is the spirit of Pepperdine University, its founder, its faculty and its students. It is a wonderful worthy spirit. A spirit to which Daniel Webster gave expression when he wrote "If we work upon marble, it will perish. If we work upon brass, time will efface it. If we rear temples, they will crumble into dust. But if we work upon men's immortal minds, if we imbue them with my principles, with the just fear of God and love of their fellow men, we engrave on those tablets, something which no time can efface and which will brighten to all eternity."

Thank you for letting me share this thought with you.

END (AT 12:22 P.M. PDT)

7704001527

Stanford University School of Law

The President's Remarks at the Dedication of the School of Law at Stanford, California. September 21, 1975

President Lyman, Dean Ehrlich, Waller Taylor, distinguished members of the board of trustees, and faculty, students, alumni, and friends of Stanford University:

I am indeed honored to be here and to thank my good friend, Waller Taylor, for his excellent arrangements as chairman of the Law School's board of visitors. I know that I am not the first visitor to this beautiful campus who happened to be President or past President or a future President.

Former President Benjamin Harrison was one of your first professors of law. Future President Herbert Hoover, to whom this university owes so very much, was one of your very first students.

One of my first acts as President this year was to sign into law a bill authorizing Federal matching funds for the expansion of the Hoover Institution in honor of the 100th anniversary of the birth of this great American and great humanitarian.

I understand that former President William Howard Taft and future President John F. Kennedy also enjoyed brief associations with The Farm.

I hope I haven't overlooked anybody, but if so, I will blame the dedicated Stanford men and women who serve

7704001527

in my Cabinet and as my counsellors in the White House.

The contributions of the Stanford alumni in all branches of our Government in Washington are tremendous. I hope we have many, many more in the future, and I say that as a Yalie and a Michigander.

It is a tremendous pleasure to be here at the Law School today, to be a part of this very special dedication. The students and faculty of Stanford have always demonstrated an outstanding devotion to the concepts of truth, justice, and equality under the law. And yesterday you did it once again. When it comes to equality, you can't be any more equal than that game with Michigan—19 to 19! Well, what better place than a law school to celebrate a hung jury. [*Laughter*]

Today's dedication of this impressive new home for the Law School is certainly no tie; it is one more victory in Stanford's unbroken record of educational excellence. The dream of Senator and Mrs. Stanford that children of California should be their children, with the help of many who followed their generous example, has broadened to the benefit of its young men and young women of all America and the world.

Back in 1968 when plans for this Law School complex were completed, there was a serious question in many sober minds whether the rule of law in this country was breaking down. Assassins gunned down a candidate for the Presidential nomination and one of our most eloquent civil rights leaders. In one week, riots, arson, and looting swept 125 cities in our country, including the Capital of our Nation. Violent disorders, demonstrations, and defiance engulfed many, many of our communities.

In the midst of this environment, I was to make the 275th commencement address at the College of William and Mary, which produced such giants of constitutional history as Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall.

As a result, I got an early start on my Bicentennial rereading of our Nation's beginnings. And I asked myself what were the most precious possessions the first settlers of American wilderness brought with them across the Atlantic? What was nurtured here in the New World to be carried across the mountains, across the plains, across the deserts, and over the High Sierra to the Golden Gate of California? What made us the unique Nation and people that we are today?

For the most part, the first American immigrants were poor, they were outcasts, they were persecuted, they were disadvantaged, they were dissenters, and they were rebels against the Old World Establishment. They brought little beyond what was on their backs and in their heads except a few seeds and a few tools and a few books. But what they brought was very precious to them.

They brought, even as they protested its capricious abuse, an abiding respect for the rule of law. They built orderly systems of self-government even before they erected dry houses. Generations later, when our Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia to declare their independence, they formally stated their reasons in terms of both moral and legal rights which the distant King and Parliament had denied them as colonists. Our American Revolution was unique in that we rejected our rulers but we revered their rules.

There were more colleges and universities in the Thirteen Colonies before the American Revolution than in all of England, Scotland, and Ireland put together. As Americans moved westward, they set aside lands for the higher training of teachers, engineers, agriculturalists, scientists, doctors, lawyers, and other professions. They encouraged the support of both private and public institutions of learning in State and Federal tax policies. No nation, at any time, has put a higher priority on education for all its citizens.

Finally, the long march of the Americans halfway around the world, from Jamestown and Plymouth Rock to the westernmost tip of Alaska and the far Pacific Islands, carried with it a common commitment to the future. The material progress of the United States of America has been premised on the half-humanist, half-theological idea of the perfectibility of society, the enlargement of human freedom, and the innate worth of the individual.

Stanford University, where the winds of freedom still circulate through the pleasant quadrangles of old and new, was built and still stands on the solid triad of law, learning, and liberty. The fears of seven summers ago were unfounded. The rule of law in America has survived. Our constitutional instincts have proven sound. The commitment of Americans to law, learning, and liberty continues in this very court this afternoon.

But the contradictions and dilemmas remain in our society in abundance. They will always exist in a democratic nation where the delicate balances between freedom and order, between private right and public interest, between the safety of the state and the security of the individual all require constant review and resolution.

This is the role of government at all levels and the mission both of those who make the law and who practice and respect it. There is an old saying that those who love the law and those who are fond of sausage should never examine too closely how either is actually made. [*Laughter*] I certainly don't intend to pick any quarrel with the sausage-makers. But as a former lawmaker and as a lawyer, I believe we need to examine much more closely how our Nation's laws are made in order to prevent perfectly laudable legislative intentions from having perfectly horrible consequences.

Literally hundreds of examples can be cited. Let me take one area that affects almost everybody, with which you as lawyers will surely have to deal. That is the area of the individual's right of privacy—the right to keep one's individual identity inviolate or, in plain talk, the right to do your own thing.

7704001273

I can speak with some authority on this because as Vice President one of my chores was Chairman of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. I took that duty very seriously. Among the very first things we learned was that one of the worst offenders is the Federal Government itself. I don't mean improper or illegal invasion of people's privacy or constitutional rights by Federal agencies or individual officials, which nobody condones and which I will not tolerate as long as I am President of the United States.

Rather, I mean threats to privacy which have resulted from laws duly enacted by past Congresses for very laudable purposes having wide public support and appeal. Many of these laws, with today's technology, cumulatively threaten to strip the individual of his privacy or her privacy and reduce him to a faceless set of digits in a monstrous network of computers. He has not only no control over this process but often has absolutely no knowledge of its existence.

For example, in a simpler and earlier era, the government's principal interest in watching its citizens was to see that they obeyed the law, paid their relatively uncomplicated taxes, and, from time to time, came to their country's aid in an emergency.

But when the government expanded enormously and undertook vast social programs that established a direct link between the citizen and the bureaucracy, government logically became interested not only in monitoring criminal behavior but also a lot of other things about its citizens' lives, its citizens' habits.

To determine the eligibility of millions of individuals for receiving government benefits, for welfare or unemployment or social security or service pensions or other special assistance, government has to gather, record, and constantly update information.

Government acquired a legitimate reason to inquire also into the private lives of students seeking scholarships, professors seeking research grants, businessmen wanting government loans or requiring government licenses, professional persons doing business with the government or participating in subsidy programs. The list is literally endless.

Over the years, therefore, agencies of the government—State and local as well as Federal—gradually have amassed great amounts of information about almost every one of us. As technology advanced, it made administrative sense to combine and codify such information, especially when it was voluntarily given in expectation of benefits and beyond the special legal safeguards provided for Federal census and Internal Revenue data.

Here we face another dilemma of a democratic society in this new technological era where information is not only *power*, as it has always been, but also instantly retrievable by anyone trained to push the right button.

Certainly, we cannot scuttle worthwhile programs which provide essential help for the helpless and assist the deserving citizen. Yet we must protect every individual from excessive and unnecessary intrusions by a big brother bureaucracy.

Many of the recommendations of the Committee on Privacy, which I chaired as Vice President, were incorporated in the Privacy Act of 1974, which a cooperative Congress passed and I was pleased to sign as President. That law goes into effect next Saturday.

Briefly, the Privacy Act generally prohibits collection of information concerning exercise of an individual's first amendment rights. It requires that files on individuals be accurate, relevant, timely, and complete. It requires the Federal Government to reveal the existence and the whereabouts of all data systems containing identifiable personal information. It gives everyone the right to read his own file and to make corrections or to make amendments. It commands the Government to use the information only for the purpose for which it was collected. And it sets up an independent Privacy Commission with a 2-year mandate to monitor the operation of the law and investigate additional privacy rules.

It is, to be sure, extremely experimental. But it makes a long-overdue start in trying to restore to every individual some of his rights which have been eroded in the process of gaining other advantages.

I have said in Bicentennial speeches around the country—and I will continue to say—that the great achievement of the first century of American independence was to perfect political institutions strong enough to endure stress and responsible to the times and to the needs of all of our people.

The second century of our independence, now ending, saw the development of the world's strongest economic system in a free climate our political freedom fostered. Two hundred years of American independence have gained for all of us an unprecedented measure of political and economic stability and success.

But we should ask ourselves, what should be the goal of our third century as a nation? I prefer to look at our Bicentennial celebration through a telescope, not a rearview mirror. The great challenge of our next 100 years is the advancement of individual independence—of specific safeguards, that can be made available as to the identity of each and every American, from the pressures of conformity.

These pressures close in upon us from many, many quarters—massive government, massive management, massive labor, massive education, massive communication, and massive acquisition of information.

To meet this challenge, we still need a positive and passionate commitment to law, to learning, and to liberty.

7704001527

Without law, there is no liberty. Without liberty, there is no learning. Without learning, there is no law.

Here at Stanford you have all three—law, learning, and liberty. Make the most of them. Make them part of your lives. Make them your richest legacy as well as your most precious inheritance.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:12 p.m. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Richard Lyman, president of Stanford University, Thomas Ehrlich, dean of the School of Law, and Walter Taylor II, chairman of the board of visitors to the School of Law.

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

Stanford, California

The President's Remarks in a Question-and-Answer Session with Students From the Stanford University School of Law. September 21, 1975

The Supreme Court

Q. Quite likely you will have an opportunity to select someone under the Constitution for the Supreme Court. Of course, we have little guidance to go under on what type person you would select. We know and assume it would be someone highly competent. The only guidance we have is that in 1970 you suggested that Justice Douglas was advocating rebellion in the United States, as James Reston reported today.

My question is to describe the type criteria you would employ in selecting someone for the Supreme Court, but hopefully be more specific than just saying someone that was a strict constructionist.

Also, a follow-up question is, all of the things being equal, would you perhaps lean toward selecting a woman, considering that we haven't had a women justice on the Court?

THE PRESIDENT. I think, of course, it is premature to make any decision or imply that I was actively seeking one, because all nine members of the Court, of course, are still serving. And from everything I understand, the intention is to continue.

But my feeling is that first you have to have a person who is very qualified in the law, as such. On the other hand, I don't think you can exclude certain classes of individuals because they don't happen to be a practicing lawyer.

We have some very knowledgeable people in the law who might have other current occupations. So, they have to have competence, a very high competence in the law, but that doesn't mean they have to be restricted within a certain framework in a very limited sense.

They have to be a person of great integrity. I would hope it could be someone in a relatively middle-age group, because I think continuity on the Court, in certain matters, is important.

I wouldn't want to make any commitment as to ideology. I don't think that is necessarily something that you can tell precisely, and I wouldn't want to preempt anything in this area by any comment I make at this time.

Equal Rights Amendment

Q. Mr. President, do you think you can match your wife's ardent support of the equal rights amendment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I voted for it in the House of Representatives. I can't do any more than that.

Q. Would you do one more thing? Would you take this back to Betty Ford? A woman's place is in the world. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. She has been doing quite well lately—[*laughter*]—for which I am very proud of her.

Chile

Q. Under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, the United States attempted to help achieve the violent overthrow of the Governments of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Chile. We would like to know under what circumstances your Administration will participate in the violent overthrow of Latin American countries, and I would like to know why you have not spoken out against heinous abuses of human rights in Chile and sought to bring pressure to bear on those who do?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't want to indicate that our Government is going to interfere with the internal operations of any government anyplace in the world. I think it is a matter that has to be carefully considered in the context of how it relates to our own national security. And to even imply that this country is going to get involved overtly or covertly, I think, is a mistake for the President of the United States.

I made a comment the other day—to show how sensitive the subject is. I was asked a question about the situation in India, and I said it was sad and added a qualifying phrase. It created, apparently, some great stir in India. So, it is a very sensitive subject, and I just don't think I should discuss it.

Q. Do you rule out the United States ever again participating in the overthrow of another country?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not want to rule it out or decide otherwise. It has been done apparently in some cases in the past but I don't think a President should—in this very sensitive area—make any commitment one way or another.

Charter On Economic Rights and Duties of States

Q. Mr. President, I was just wondering what your reaction was to the introduction of the economic charter by President Echeverria in the United Nations?

7704001 5281

THE PRESIDENT. As I recall, Senator Chuck Percy, who is our representative at the United Nations, led a very determined fight against it—and I have great respect for Senator Percy—and Senator Percy, I know from personal conversations with him, was extremely well prepared in meeting the proposal that President Echeverria made, or was made on behalf of him at the United Nations. And as a result of Senator Percy's strong feelings and well-documented arguments, the United States was one of a limited number of nations that voted against it. He was acting for the United States. I was President, so I support him.

MIDDLE EAST

Q. Mr. President, my question relates to a commitment to Israel to, I guess, discuss the possibility of providing them with the Pershing missile. In this morning's paper, I guess, you are quoted as commenting from Los Angeles yesterday, I believe, that you don't presently know whether or not the Israelis possess the nuclear warheads that could be carried on these missiles. My question is that before we would make a commitment to give them these missiles, is this something that we would undertake to find out? And if it turns out they do presently have these warheads, would we still give them the missiles?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the basic shopping list that was submitted by Israel is a very extensive one. They want substantial arms aid, including some very sophisticated weapons systems, and the Pershing missile and the F–16 are among those listed. In the case of the Pershing missile, the language, the precise language in the agreement simply says we will study whether or not Israel has a justification for the acquisition of that particular weapons system. I am certain that we will, in the process of studying this, cover the whole range of its deployment, its warheads, and everything else.

Q. Is there any justification now *for* giving the Israelis a nuclear capability?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no present intention of us giving to any Middle East nation any——

Q. Any means to develop?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no present intention of giving any Middle East nation a nuclear capability, and that would include, of course, any expertise for the development.

VIOLENCE IN AMERICA

Q. Mr. President, in your address you mentioned a very brief and violent period of American history not too long past now. The news media has recently focused our attention again on a very violent extreme political group. Why do you suppose it is a society such as ours fosters groups committed to violence in a political form?

THE PRESIDENT. I am bothered about that. I honestly don't have the answer. I would welcome any observations or recommendations from all of you as to why, in a society I think by any other standard I have ever observed—and I have traveled in a good many countries—we should have violence, and in some of those far more oppressive societies don't seem to have any. If you have any solution to the problem, I would welcome such observations.

Q. Mr. President, on that subject, perhaps when people are less inclined to trust the legal system, they may think of looking elsewhere in making their own law, which perhaps is where the violence comes from.

OPPORTUNITIES IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION

On the subject of giving all the people of this country some kind of legal ability to get legal help, it seems that there is very little chance now, that people coming out of law schools who want to do public interest law, want to give legal aid and public defense, can find a way to do that. It is very difficult to get a job in the law now anyway, but especially in those fields, and I was wondering what your Administration proposes to do to expand those kind of——

THE PRESIDENT. I signed the basic legislation which set up the new legislation, and I have appointed, or nominated—have they been confirmed yet, the nominees—the organization that will, I think, give greater opportunities for young lawyers or other lawyers to participate. As a matter of fact, I recommended for the first year's budget about $81 million, which is, as I recollect, a slight increase over the existing amount, or the previous amount that had been made available for the effort under the old setup.

I hesitate to refer to my own experience, but there was a great challenge when I got through Yale Law School. I had an opportunity to practice in several eastern cities but it was a greater challenge to me to go back and open up a law office with another young law school student—and we didn't have a client. We worked about 14 hours a day, and we actually made our expenses the first year. That was one of the great experiences of my lifetime. I think that is a great challenge. You ought to try it. [*Laughter*]

PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

Q. My question concerns what has been termed the crisis of our large cities, and one of the manifestations of this crisis are the recent problems we are having in Boston and other cities with busing for quality education. It seems to me one of the problems behind quality education in our big cities is that the big cities lack the finances or resources to provide that quality education.

Now, education is only one facet of this crisis. It also goes into the other social systems—transportation, communications, recreation, within the cities. I don't recall hearing any programs recently by this Administration, the past Administration, about reversing this—what I

7704001 5281

would term a spiral downward of our big cities—to correct that problem. Because if we don't correct the problem in the near future, killing the cities will thereby lead to a worsening of life in the United States, if you want to use a broader term.

But with the exodus of people in cities going out to the suburbs, what you have is that the people in the cities just get worse, and the financial structure will deteriorate, the job structure will deteriorate. So do you have any present plans or any future plans to maybe reverse this trend?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I think I ought to set forth a record you may not be familiar with. In 1971 or 1972 the Congress passed—on the basis of the then Administration's recommendations—what we call general revenue sharing where $5-plus billion a year goes directly to cities—two-thirds to cities and local units of government and one-third to the States—free without any strings or limitations.

That is a very substantial commitment and about 2 months ago I recommended its extension, with $150 million a year added, so that in the first year of the second program—the second 5-year program—the annual amount will be about $6,250 million a year that just goes to those cities, and to those local units of government, and to those States free of any limitations.

So, they did get a real shot in the arm for financial resources from the Federal Government to meet some of these local problems. Plus the field of transportation—last November, December, I signed an $11.5 billion transportation act. And without getting into the details, I had a significant impact in getting the House and Senate to reconcile differences and to make that available. And this is primarily a mass transit act aimed at major metropolitan areas. There are other programs that I think have sought to help and assist major metropolitan areas, New York City included. And just in passing, New York City last year in all its Federal programs, all of them, got $4,300 million from the Federal Government. We have not neglected New York City.

Q. Mr. President, I realize there are the various programs that you have just mentioned. But it seems in my view that the amount of resources that have been devoted to the cities require a much more substantial amount than the programs you have just outlined, because the cities are large, the problems are massive, and should be tackled, and must be tackled in a systematic, organized, manner. I gather from what you are saying is that you think that the programs that you have outlined—and maybe some others you haven't right now—are sufficient to tackle the problem at this current stage?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so. It has been my general feeling that just the massive piling on of more money to cities doesn't necessarily solve the problems. The programs have to be well worked out, coordinated, and I think there is a fair assumption, a basic assumption I make, that the Federal Government ought not to try and determine how those cities meet their local problems. We do make substantial contributions financially, but the actual stimulation of new ideas to meet their problems ought to come from those communities.

With citizen participation in the Housing Act last year—where we went from an old housing program of about seven or eight categorical grant programs where we had urban renewal, model cities, a whole bunch of them—what we did was to eliminate the categorical grant programs, give them the same money. We had a hold harmless provision in that law so they got at least no less than they got before. And we said now you get this money, you have community hearings—and every city is required by law to have community hearings—so that the people make recommendations to their local authorities for the expenditure of this money.

Now, in the communities that I am personally familiar with, I think the expenditure of that money is far better today under that kind of a system than under the old categorical grant program, because each city is different, each city has problems that are unique to it, and the people give the recommendations to the locally elected officials—they spend the money. All we do is audit that it is honest. And we ought to have enough genius in each local city or local unit of government to come up with good programs. And I think we can, but it has only been in operation a year.

Q. Mr. President, it is time to head outside.

THE PRESIDENT. Can I take one more here?

Q. We would like to make sure you have this before you go, sir. It is a petition signed by over 200 students here.

THE PRESIDENT. Fine. I will read it, and let me take one more question.

SCHOOL BUSING

Q. You have expressed publicly your feeling that busing to achieve equal education is not the preferred way to achieve that goal. What suggestions do you have for attaining the goal of equal education for all children?

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of Federal educational programs that are aimed at helping local communities in a very broad sense. But the one that is aimed specifically at meeting the problem of those communities that are under court order or under HEW administrative requirement for the current fiscal year—if my recollection is accurate—it is about $250 million.

In the case of Boston precisely, in the last year, out of this fund, the Boston school system has been given something over $4 million, to be aimed directly at trying to assist in upgrading the school system in Boston—meeting the challenge. And in addition, we have had the top person in the Federal Government—HEW—Dr. Goldberg, who has gone up to Boston to try and work with the

7704001528

local officials in Boston to meet their unusual and difficult problems.

I really believe that this is the approach that ought to be taken. You just don't throw the money up there. You try to take the money and utilize it in an effective way as to student opportunities, student facilities, organization, et cetera.

I think a lot of things can be done, including the list of things that are set forth in the Education Act of 1974, called the Esch amendment, that are a better approach than the ones that have been used in a number of cases by the courts themselves.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. in the Irvine Gallery at Stanford University.

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

National Association of Life Underwriters

The President's Remarks at the Association's Annual Convention in Anaheim, California.
September 21, 1975

President Levine, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me thank President Norman Levine for that extremely generous and very kind introduction, and may I also, at this point, offer my personal congratulations to Mr. Lester Rosen, who obviously, by his fine record in your industry, by his total dedication to the betterment of society, not only in his hometown but throughout the country—my personal congratulations.

President Levine is a very rare and a very unique gentleman, and there is a story behind that compliment. A few years ago, I shared a head table at a dinner in New York City with Norman Levine. A few people were good enough to ask me to sign their programs, and in so doing, my pen ran out of ink. So, I borrowed Norm's. Well, a few years went by, and the next time I saw Norm was in March of this year, when he came to the Oval Office to ask if I would attend this dinner.

After the meeting was over, I asked Norm to accept a pair of cufflinks as a souvenir of his visit to the Oval Office. Norm was very gracious about it. He thanked me, he declined the offer, and said, if you don't mind, he would just like his pen back. [*Laughter*] So, I gave Norm a pen and that is why I say he is a very rare and unique gentleman. How often do you meet anyone who ever got something back from Washington? [*Laughter*]

It is really great to be here in Anaheim, with so many old friends. Carney Smith, your executive vice president, was my neighbor in Alexandria, Virginia, until I moved into public housing on Pennsylvania Avenue. [*Laughter*]

I am also delighted to see Jack McDonald here, a friend and former colleague in the House of Representatives.

In short, some of my very best friends are in the insurance business, and that is one reason why I am here today and to enjoy your hospitality and the friendship of your wonderful organization. Another is that I want to pay tribute to you who sell life insurance.

Altogether, I am advised that policies sold total more than $2 trillion. That is an impressive figure—2 followed by 12 zeros. You typify the free enterprise system, the men and women who go out on your own, with your initiative, your energy, and talent working for you.

Obviously, from those I know and from the record of Lester Rosen, you are leaders of your communities. I commend your efforts as participants in public service, including the political arena.

You and your policyholders have a big stake in responsible government, and I urge you to continue and to expand this effort. And I can assure you from my personal experiences with him on a number of occasions, you should be honored by the fine job that Governor Jim Longley of Maine has been doing, and I am sure will continue to do. That should be a stimulant to all of you to broaden your effort for the public service in your community, in your State as well as in your Nation.

What you do obviously is very important to this country. When you talk insurance to people, you are getting them to think and to plan for their futures. And when they take out insurance, they are not only providing for their families, for their family's security, but for the country's future as well, because most of the premium money is reinvested by your companies in America.

Altogether, I am advised that these investments total more than $278 billion, including $88 billion in mortgages on homes and commercial buildings. I look upon this as an impressive vote of confidence by the insurance industry in the future of America, and that is what it is.

Some economists call it capital formation, but I prefer a much more basic term—job creation. This money helps to start new businesses. It modernizes and expands our industries. It finances homebuilding. It adds up to one big plus for America in the form of jobs. Savings, investment, jobs—those are the basic ingredients that make our economy strong and healthy. In turn, they lead to more savings, more investment, and more jobs.

There is a phrase in the jargon of economics which has always bothered me. The phrase is "an acceptable rate of unemployment." As far as I am concerned, there is no acceptable rate of unemployment. So long as there is one American who wants a job and cannot find one, the unemployment rate is too high.

The human tragedy of involuntary unemployment cannot be measured by the graphs, the charts, or the percentages which show up in government reports. How can

7704001 5283

cold statistics ever adequately portray the trauma of lost jobs, lost savings, and, more importantly, lost pride? America's greatest natural resource is its people, and I intend to see that this resource is not endangered.

One of the prime goals of this Administration is to sustain the economic recovery now underway and to put out-of-work Americans back on the job. A working American is a buying American, an investing American, a saving American.

Unemployment checks are designed simply to maintain life. Paychecks are to enrich life, to provide not only its necessities but some of its luxuries. No American can successfully engage in the pursuit of happiness until the basic needs—food, clothing, shelter, education, and employment—are first met.

By the year 1980—not too far away—to meet the employment requirement of an expanding population, we must create over 11 million new jobs—11 million new jobs to build the houses, produce the products, harvest the fields, and earn the salaries that pay for it all—11 million new jobs to show the rest of the world that the American dream functions best when we are wide awake.

This Administration has already proposed to the Congress reforms which will establish taxing policies necessary to the development of new capital in the creation of new jobs. These reforms will give the United States business and industry some of the necessary incentives our economic expansion requires. More importantly, they will give job seekers a paycheck instead of a raincheck.

The time to act is right now. Because of the recession slowdown, our plants and factories are under-utilized. But the signs are clear for all to see that America's economy is picking up speed. Today there are 1,500,000 more people working than there were in March of 1975. The unemployment rate has dropped, not far enough, but the trend is downward.

Industrial production in the last 2 months has increased at an 11.3 percent annual rate; retail sales from March through August rose at a 20 percent annual rate; real disposable income rose in the second quarter at a 21 percent annual rate.

Now just 2 days ago I think we got some of the best information and news, and this is very significant. The Department of Labor reported that the cost of living rate in August rose only by ⅔ of 1 percent, the smallest rate increase in 3 years.

More importantly, this figure represents an annual inflation rate of only 2 percent instead of the 12 to 14 percent we were confronted with about a year ago. That is good news. But we must not allow the good news to obscure the fact that there is still a lot to do if we are to maintain a strong and healthy economy unfettered by runaway inflation. To make sure inflation doesn't get out of hand, we must hold the line on a number of new Federal spending programs, programs which could well push up the deficit next year and reignite the fires of inflation.

Frankly, that is why I have been using the Presidential veto. Some have mistakenly called this negative action, but it is not. It is positive action, the constructive way to achieve better legislation. And let me take a moment to explain.

From my 25 years in the House of Representatives and the time that I have spent in the White House, I am convinced that the Founding Fathers put the veto power in the Constitution as a very vital part of our system of checks and balances in this great framework of government.

Recent history bears this out. President Truman exercised the veto 250 times and was overridden only 12. President Eisenhower used it 181 times; he was overridden only twice. But again and again the result of the initial veto was to bring the President and the Congress together to arrive at a reasonable middle ground, usually a sounder, more responsible measure than the original proposal that came from Capitol Hill to the Oval Office.

To put it very simply, a veto often compels first the reconsideration by the Congress of the previous action and then, undoubtedly, in most cases, a responsible compromise.

I can promise you if it is necessary to assure continued progress for this Nation on a sound, economic base, I will continue to use the authority granted in the Constitution to veto legislation I consider unsound as it comes from the Congress.

If we are to continue the momentum in the battle against inflation, your President cannot join forces with those who would spend, those who would squander the investments in the future of millions of America's small savers, including your policyholders.

The dynamic burst of productivity we call free enterprise has financed enormous social and economic gain. No one would argue that the human agenda of America is complete. We still have much to do, but let no one contend that our free enterprise system has failed us. It has succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of those who came before us.

Our task today is to get the mighty engine of free enterprise running at full throttle again. The quick solution, and the wrong one, would be to load a lot of new spending measures onto the taxpayer and unleash a flood of deficit dollars into the Nation's economic mainstream. That might make the economy leap up and shout hallelujah today, but the recovery would be very shortlived. Soon the patient would be flat on his back, worse off than ever.

I will not be a party to such irresponsible action. From hallelujah to heartbreak in one quick surge is not the responsible way to make our economy healthy in the future. Our task—yours and mine and that of millions of our fellow citizens—must be to smooth out the peaks and the

7704001523

valleys in our economic performance. That takes wisdon restraint, and considerable discipline. It takes an unde standing of what will work and what will not work for th long pull. Most of all, it takes an appreciation of the fac that government has a limited capacity to help our ecor omy but an almost unlimited capacity to harm it.

I have great, tremendous faith in the ability of th American people to perceive what is in their long-rang best interest and to act on that perception. That is th gamble and promise of democracy. It places faith on th increasing understanding of people. And if I might inser something I have said a number of times—but I think it is appropriate to this group—never forget that a govern- ment big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Democracy does not ask that people agree; it does ask that they think. It is here, not on Capitol Hill, not in the White House, that the essential process of democracy takes place. The real source of power under our system of gov- ernment is you. As President, I am but the instrument of that power.

When we meet like this, a chemistry takes place. I give to you my sense of where we stand and where we must go. You give me the power of your reason and the strength of your understanding. Ours is a government by consent, not command. We would have it no other way. That is why I need you, your wisdom, your strength, your support. Without that, I can do nothing. Together we can move mountains.

President Theodore Roosevelt made this observation with eloquence and with brevity. He said, "The Govern- ment is us. We are the Government, you and I." I am ready, are you?

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. at the Association's John Newton Russell Memorial Award Dinner at the Disneyland Hotel Convention Center.

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

7704001328

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 22, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(San Francisco, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
AFL-CIO BUILDING AND TRADES DEPARTMENT

HYATT HOTEL

10:50 A.M. PDT

President Georgine, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Bob, let me thank you for your very generous invitation to be a part of this very great convention. It is always a pleasure to see so many old friends and some new friends again and, in particular, to visit with my very good friend, Bob Georgine.

Bob is well-known as a man of outstanding accomplishments, a demonstrated leader, an exceptional administrator, concerned citizen and a celebrated gin rummy player. (Laughter)

I say a celebrated gin rummy player but perhaps I'd better explain that term. Bob doesn't celebrate, his opponents do. (Laughter)

As a friend I won't say how good a gin rummy player Bob Georgine is, but two more games and you could have a brand new name -- the AFL-CIO-IOU. (Laughter)

Last January I went to a testimonial dinner in Washington honoring Bob Georgine. I asked Bob and the Skilled Construction Trades to help America to achieve energy independence, and Bob has helped. I have just seen a copy of the September issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist in which Bob Georgine again speaks out on the energy crisis.

Bob, nothing could make me happier than your report that unions are still vigorously pressing for energy growth. I know that construction workers are among those suffering the heaviest impact of recession and the energy crisis. When you suffer, America suffers.

The mission of the Skilled Construction Trades represented here [illegible] build a better America. That is also my goal as your President. Two centuries of construction enabled America to achieve its special status among the nations of the world, and I salute you, as representatives of the millions of men and women who have been a part of this great building process in our wonderful country.

7704011328

As America completes 200 years of history, we face some very serious problems but we, you and I together, will solve those problems.

If any nation or group of nations in this world in which we live, including those favored by nature with great oil resources, think America is finished, and we no longer control our destiny and our finances, then they have another think coming.

The four million skilled construction workers you represent and multitudes of other Americans will show the world that Uncle Sam is not about to say uncle.

You and I know we can produce our own energy. You and I know we can protect ourselves against arbitrary increases in price by foreign nations. You and I know we can provide more jobs and you and I know we can bring an end to the intolerable situation in which America exports more than $25 billion annually to pay for imported oil while plenty of energy is potentially available right here at home. The money we will pay out this year for foreign oil would pay the wages for one million more American workers.

When I talk about energy, I am talking about jobs, American jobs. Last year about three-fourths of all planned nuclear plants and overall one-fourth of all coal plants scheduled to be built in the next ten years were postponed or cancelled. Domestic oil production right here in the good, old USA has fallen by one percent since early 1973. Natural gas production has declined so seriously that thousands of jobs are threatened this very winter.

Last year the average American home paid about $360 for foreign oil compared with only $45 in 1970. Oil producing nations know that we are more dependent and more vulnerable than ever. There is now a possibility that the OPEC nations foreign cartel will once again raise prices, in fact they are meeting this week for that purpose. We don't have to take this lying down and we won't.

MORE

7704001528

For starters, let's spend here at home for American jobs some of the billions we have been spending abroad for foreign oil and foreign payrolls. We can create construction jobs for workers, capital for industrial expansion and new energy for all Americans. That is what independence is all about.

In response to those nations which would control our energy supply and prices, and hence our future, I say to industry, to construction workers and to all Americans, let's go into business for ourselves, let's produce American energy in America with American workers and do it as soon as possible.

Last January, I asked the Congrrss to act. The comprehensive program I then outlined was based upon my deep personal conviction in America. By 1985, I envisioned 200 major nuclear power plants, 250 new coal mines, 150 major coal-fired power plants, 30 major new oil refineries, 20 major new synthetic fuel plants, the drilling of many thousands of new oil wells, the insulation of 18 million homes and the manufacture and sale of millions of new automobiles, trucks and buses that use much less fuel. I happen to believe we can do it.

In another crisis, the one in 1942, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, our then President, said this country would build 50,000 war planes in a year. Our enemies scoffed. But, by 1943, our production had reached 125,000 aircraft annually.

We did it then. We can do it again right now.

Frankly, we cannot wait any longer for the Congress to act on my comprehensive energy program. Long-range security, jobs and energy are inseparable. The time has come for action on energy independence. Accordingly, I will ask very shortly the Congress to erase all doubt about the capacity of America to respond. I will propose an entirely new $100 billion Government corporation to work with private enterprise and labor to gain energy independence for the United States in ten years or less.

This new Energy Independence Authority will have the power to take any appropriate financial action to borrow, or to lend in order to get energy action. It will serve as a catalyst and a stimulant working through, not in place of, American industry.

It can stimulate economic growth. It can create new jobs. It can give us control over our own destiny and [illegible] runaway energy prices imposed by foreign nations.

7704001528

It can give foreign nations a new look at what Americans can do with our great resources when we stop talking and start acting. That is my answer to those who tell us Americans can no longer do what they set out to do.

I speak today to the great majority who believe in American capacities rather than in American incapacity. I speak to all Americans who know that this is the same nation that made up its mind during World War II to develop synthetic rubber and who know that this is still the same Nation that decided to harness the atom by the Manhattan Project and accomplished that objective, who know that this is the same Nation that said it would put the first man on the moon and did so.

Perhaps people said all these projects were impossible, but Americans have done the impossible. The proposed Energy Independence Authority would have a ten-year life and be self-liquidating. It is designed to achieve what many regard as impossible energy independence by 1985.

It is a program to secure our jobs, our standard of living and the national interest of the United States.

This new Government corporation would be an independent Federal authority reporting directly to the President. This concept is bigger than partisanship. I am determined to appoint, as directors, Americans of stature without regard to politics.

The new Energy Independence Authority will seek new technologies to support or directly produce or transport American energy, technologies to support American nuclear development and electrical power from American coal, nuclear and geothermal sources.

The Energy Independence Authority will undertake only those projects which private business cannot undertake alone. It will not replace the private enterprise system. It will supplement it.

My vision is a dramatic action to produce oil and gas from coal, safe and clean nuclear and coal-generated electrical power, harness the energy of the sun and the natural heat within the earth and build numerous other energy facilities throughout our great country.

The Energy Independence Authority would act to finance those projects vitally needed for America's energy independence that will not be financed even by America's great private capital resources.

7704001528

We will need over $600 billion of energy investments over the next decade to finance American energy independence. As always, most of that investment will come from private sources. But, I am convinced that we cannot wait for our emerging technologies to become conventional technologies.

We must act now to speed their development. We must also insure that conventional projects with very large capital needs will have adequate access to investment resources.

The central defect of America's energy system is that it relies most on our least plentiful domestic energy resources -- oil and natural gas -- and relies least on our most abundant energy resources -- coal and nuclear power.

My vision is a crash development in harmony with environmental protection of these abundant resources we have throughout our land.

America's oil shale resources are more vast than all the oil reserves of the Middle East. America's coal resources are ten times greater than our oil shale resources. America's ability to harness the atom is legendary with the known potential of producing unlimited amounts of clean and safe energy.

Without this Energy Independence Authority, these vast treasures of America might never be developed or developed too late to keep America's leadership in the world.

With an Energy Independence Authority, we will have the financial means to tap all of this energy during the crucial next ten years.

The Energy Independence Authority will be an important new element, but only one element in our total national energy independence effort.

We need dramatic action to produce synthetic fuels, at least a million barrels a day, floating nuclear power plants mounted on barges, new pipelines for oil and gas and vast energy parks throughout America.

My vision of America is one of going back to work as a chain reaction of economic activity spreads throughout all 50 States. To build energy is to create [illegible] and jobs in all sectors of our life in this country.

7704001529

It has been estimated that for each job created directly in energy, the ripple effect throughout the economy creates at least another unrelated job. The total number of jobs generated will more than double the energy related jobs.

Let me cite an example, if I may. Four hundred thousand man years of labor are required to construct plants and manufacturing equipment for 50 nuclear plants. This represents 850,000 man years of labor in the time frame required.

I want to see millions of new jobs in the next ten years with healthy widening ripples of growth throughout the economy. We can do it.

I am directing my energy and economic advisers to take all steps required in the shortest possible time to make this vision a reality. I am also counting on you, the construction workers who will do the job. We need your help, along with the help of literally millions of others throughout our Nation.

You have the skills, you have the courage, you have the dedication which has enabled America to defend itself in times of war and develop in times of peace.

I am confident of your ability and that of all Americans--labor and management, Democrats, Republicans and Independents, employed and unemployed, rich, poor and struggling, old and young--to unite behind this bold new program that I have outlined.

As America's population grows and our economy expands, we must create 11 million more jobs by 1980. This is a big order. It cannot be filled by Government alone or by industry alone or by unions or by politicians acting on their own.

But, the problem can and will be solved if we all work together, just as you in this hall today are united in building America.

As Bob Georgine said, the door to the White House will remain open, as it has been since I have been President, to those who champion the cause of America's working people. Nor will I ever close my heart to the millions of Americans who are now unable to find work.

I will not rest as long as any American who wants to work can find work. Too many people remain without jobs [illegible] references to so-called acceptable rates of unemployment. I do not recognize the acceptability of any level of unemployment as long as people cannot find a job.

7704001529

I am determined to help create new jobs on a sound economic basis, good jobs, real jobs and not make-work $2 an hour jobs. When statistics are issued on the losses of jobs, there are some losses which are not published.

I refer to the loss of hope among young people seeking their first real job, the loss of self-esteem among heads of households who are laid off, the loss of security and standard of living that people work for years to achieve and, most important, the loss of faith in America's future.

These are tragic losses. They are losses that the United States of America cannot and will not permit. Need for skilled construction workers to build new energy installations and new operators to run them will be enormous.

By planning and working now, we can insure the development is orderly and that progress is continuous. As we enter our third century, Americans can look back with great pride upon our achievements in providing safe, healthful, stable and productive jobs.

But, obviously, we have much to do. Let's get going and let's go to work together.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 11:12 A.M. PDT)

7704001529

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 22, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(San Francisco, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
AT THE
WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL LUNCHEON

ST. FRANCIS HOTEL

1:28 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Mersman, Mrs. Feinstein, distinguished guests, particularly our guests from the People's Republic, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of joining you on this occasion, and I thank all of you for the honorary membership in your organization, and I am deeply grateful also for being a transmittal belt for my long, overdue membership card in the Grand Rapids World Affairs Council.

This morning I had an opportunity to announce a very important proposal for a $100 billion Government corporation to work through the private enterprise system to develop energy independence for the United States by 1985.

It is spelled out in a detailed bill which I will send to the Congress next week. It is my very deep conviction that the United States must not surrender its destiny to those foreign nations on which we now depend for oil. We must move very decisively to give foreign nations a new look at what Americans can do with their great resources when we set out to do it.

The program I envision would enhance America's future at both home and abroad. It would serve the national interest of the United States and would safeguard American jobs and the American economy. I envision a dramatic crash program to develop coal, nuclear and other sources of energy, such as geothermal power, which I saw last spring on my visit here to this part of California, and including oil shale resources which alone are more vast in their potential than all the oil resources of the Middle East. Without such energy independence authority, which would [illegible] Government corporation, our vast natural energy resources may be developed too late to bolster America's leadership in the world for the rest of the 20th century.

As America completes its first 200 years as a nation, we must resolve to solve our energy problem. It is the key to our future.

7704001529

At home and in our relations with the rest of the world, it is my conviction that energy independence is vital to protect ourselves against any arbitrary price increases or future embargoes by foreign nations. It is the way to end an intolerable situation in which America's export last year totaled more than $25 billion to pay for imported oil while plentiful energy is potentially available to us here at home.

The money we now pay out to foreign oil in one year would put over one million more Americans back to work. We must have the earliest possible action to spend these rapidly growing sums at home and to strengthen America domestically as well as internationally.

With those observations, I will be glad to respond to questions.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is William Sumner and I am not sure what Mr.Mersman meant by my associations but for your sake I am a registered Republican.

THE PRESIDENT: I appreciate that. We need more in California. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Well, I have worked on getting a tough question for you. Over the years, Mr. President, foreign aid programs have proved themselves quite long lasting and very costly, some have met with success, probably many others have met with obvious failure. Very clearly, the American electorate is disillusioned with foreign aid and both parties have promised to cut it back as best they can.

However, every Administration has favored foreign aid at some time or another, frequently to buy itself out of a jam overseas. The recent Sinai Accord can be said in part to follow this example and I deliberately use the Sinai example to make the question as tough as possible. We all hope it works, but, Mr. President, in balancing the near term practical usefulness against the huge cost and the growing unpopularity of foreign aid, do you think it is realistic for the American electorate to expect perhaps some cut in the foreign aid bill during the remainder of your five-year Administration? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Let me assure you that at the time that Secretary Kissinger and I had to make some very hard decisions on what we could do to help facilitate the negotiations between Israel and Egypt,we took into consideration the request by both countries for us to make available not more than 200 technicians in the UN buffer zone plus the prospects of substantial economic and military aid to the State of Israel and to some extent, the same to the State of Egypt.

7704015291

Let me say that, as we analyze the alternatives -- and the alternatives were simply two -- if we did not play a meaningful role in what we have recommended to the Congress, it would be my judgment that the stalemate in the Middle East would continue with all of the potential volatility, increasing tensions and the high likelihood of another military conflict and each one seems to get bloodier and more costly. That was one alternative.

The other choice was to do what we have recommended to the Congress. I believe it is a good investment in momentum and a long range possibility of an equitable and secure peace in the Middle East. I believe that it is a way in which we can participate in a fair and proper way to achieve the momentum and to hopefully avoid a conflict. And in balancing the difficult choices, the decision by myself, and with Secretary Kissinger, was that this is a better course of action.

And may I say that it is going to be costly, but the general figures used are somewhere between $2 billion to $2.3 billion for economic and military assistance for the State of Israel.

I only point out that earlier this year at the time that I was conducting the reassessment of our Mideast policy, I received a letter signed by 76 Senators asking me to make certain that I recommended $2,600,000,000 for Israel without any participation by Israel in the negotiations with Egypt.

So, going by what 76 Senators felt was a proposal of some magnitude in money, I believe the decision to work with Israel and Egypt to achieve peace -- and I think it is a good, solid program -- it is a better investment than more money being spent, as 76 Senators requested us to do, without any program for momentum of peace in the Middle East. I think it is a good gamble for peace.

The other would be a very difficult potential problem of a high likelihood of war. I think it is the right action and I hope the Congress promptly and overwhelmingly approves, number one, the 200 technicians to serve in the UN buffer zone, and also the necessary amount which, of course, the Congress can decide. But I think it is a good gamble for peace and I hope the Congress responds.

7704001529

QUESTION: My name is Robert Gomperts, and I am a member of the Trustees of the World Affairs Council of Northern California.

In a few months time you are scheduled to travel to Peking, and at the moment there is one overriding issue and I would say at least two major issues outstanding between ourselves and the PRC.

The overriding issue is the question of recognition. The major issues are the frozen assets and an end to discriminatory tariffs on goods coming from the PRC.

Do you feel that these issues will be solved during your trip to Peking and, if not, do you feel that your trip to Peking is in the national interest, sir? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't go if I didn't think it was in the national interest. (Laughter) The precise agenda for the visit by myself to the People's Republic has not been laid out. Preliminary work has been done, and it will probably be finalized in a prospective earlier trip by Secretary Kissinger to Peking.

There has been no final determination as to the items that will be on the agenda. Of course, all that has taken place since the re-establishment of a relationship has followed the Shanghai announcement, and I believe that we are proceeding--the two countries--within the confines of the Shanghai communique.

I would expect that the progress we have made will continue within those constraints, but I am not in a position at this time to give you the details of what the agenda will be except I expect -- and I am sure that the People's Republic expects -- headway and progress and the furtherance of better relations.

Yes, sir?

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Alexander Dallin. I teach at Stanford University.

Mr. President, you have been quoted as saying there may be circumstances under which it may be proper to intervene in the affairs of other countries.

THE PRESIDENT: Excuse me, I didn't hear that. Involve ourselves in what?

7704001529

QUESTION: In the affairs of other countries. Since the statement -- if in fact you are quoted correctly -- may provoke some controversy, I wonder whether you might care to specify some circumstances or principles involved that you have in mind?

THE PRESIDENT: It has been traditional in this country, certainly since prior to World War II, during World War II and subsequent to World War II, for the United States to, in one way or another, involve itself directly or indirectly in the affairs of other countries.

In each case, regardless of the individual who was President, it was determined by responsible people that such action involved our national interest. I know there has been controversy about what has been done in one or more countries, but it is my judgment that if properly handled, and with a correct and a very certain relationship to our national security, we should not rule out responsible action in this area.

But, for me to write a prescription here with the great variety of circumstances that prevail, that have prevailed and undoubtedly would prevail, I think it would be unwise.

This is a critical and crucial area where on some occasions what we have done we have been very successful, and it has been to the benefit of the United States and unfortunately in some instances we have had some disappointments.

But, to categorically rule it out or even to prescribe a specific limitation here I think would not be proper for the President of the United States. I am not ruling it out. I am not saying what we are going to do, except there have been some benefits and, if there are, related to our national security, I think we ought to do it.

QUESTION: President Ford, my name is Neil Joeck I have no formal affiliation.

I would like to ask a question following up what you just said, I think. Do you plan to take positive steps to discourage those American allies that use torture as a means of political oppression?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't help but ask myself this question. What precise authority do I have as President or we as a Nation to interfere directly with the internal and domestic actions of other nations? We have been criticized on many occasions for being too involved with the internal or domestic operations of one nation or another. I deplore it, I condemn it, but I hesitate to say that the United States should take an affirmative action every time torture, as we understand it, is inflicted upon a citizen or group of citizens of 140 other nations.

We don't like it. We hope it doesn't continue, but for us to be that precise a policeman in every one of 140 some nations of the world, I think would not be approved by a majority of the American people.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Donald Davis. I am President of the Santa Clara Valley World Trade Club.

You, in your opening remarks, have alluded to the problems concerning energy independence. Perhaps related to this issue of energy independence are the Sinai Accords and a much broader picture for the coming years is to attract the leadership role which the United States intends to assume, vis-a-vis the third world countries in connection with their aspirations for redistribution of the world's wealth.

I know that you have spoken at the United Nations and other places on this subject but I would appreciate your personal comments, assuming that you were to continue in office, that what you believe our leadership role would be in attempting to meet the needs for redistribution of the world's wealth, assuming that there is some need, and to meet the aspirations of these countries?

7704001529

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe that we should, as a Nation, participate in the redistribution of world resources. I don't think that ought to be our objective. Our attitude as a Nation was submitted to the United Nations in their special get together about ten days ago by Secretary Kissinger. This was a practical answer to the third world request for economic understanding, political understanding.

There appeared, prior to Secretary Kissinger's presentation, the distinct possibility that there would be a head-to-head confrontation between the United States and the other industrial nations of the world in the third world, because the underdeveloped or third world nations were complaining very bitterly about the fact that their natural resources, whether it is bauxite, tin or coffee, or a multitude of other natural resources were getting a fair shake in the world, at least from the industrial nations. What they wanted, really, was the establishment of a new world economic order. I don't believe the United States should commit itself to a new world economic order.

We believe, as it was expressed in Secretary Kissinger's prepared text, that we should take the individual resources such as bauxite, or tin, or copper, et cetera, on a practical case by case example, try to find through negotiations a proper way for those nations to participate in the growing world opportunity for a better life for all their people. And the net result of the Secretary's presentation was that instead of a head-to-head irreconciliable confrontation, the attitude and the atmosphere at the United Nations was totally different, and it is my opinion that that good feeling and better understanding will be productive in the subsequent meetings of the United Nations and that we ought to carry on as we said we would, working with those nations in some way to make sure they don't have the peaks and valleys of high prices and over-abundance and that they can have a relatively stable return, not under the umbrella of a new world economic order, but under some practical negotiated agreements that will take care of the real problems in each instance.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Barney Pocce, Jr. I am a member of the World Affairs Council, the Commonwealth Club and a past President of the World Trade Association of The Greater San Francisco Bay area.

My question relates to the business in which I am personally engaged, which is foreign trade and agricultural commodities. There has been much discussion recently about [illegible]de embargo on agricultural commodities.

7704001529

My question is, why should not our agricultural producers have free access to the world markets for their production, the same as other producers of non-stragetic materials?

A second part to the question is how do you construe the Congressional attitude on this issue?

THE PRESIDENT: I made a fairly complete speech out in Oklahoma -- I guess it was Friday (Laughter) -- on this precise subject, and let me summarize it for you. I believe that we should sell our agricultural abundance, not only domestically but internationally, in the free marketplace at fair prices for the farmer. The best way to insure the utilization of full production for our farmers is to find assured markets.

We have a three-year agreement which was just renewed with Japan for an agricultural purchase program by Japan. We have other such relationships with other foreign countries. The big problem is that of the Soviet Union.

If you go back to 1972-1973, you will find that the Soviet Union bought corn, wheat, et cetera, at a relatively low level. And then they went up to the 1972-1973 figure of roughly 13 billion metric tons and then they went down in 1973-1974 to a figure -- if I recall accurately -- of around 3 million metric tons. Then the next year they went up to another figure. This year they have already bought 2.3 million metric tons of grain from the United States and they want to buy some more.

These wide fluctuations are not healthy for the American agriculture. They are not healthy for the farmer because he ought to have some assurance, practical assurance, that what he produces is going to be purchased. So we are in the process now with a "temporary suspension of sales to the Soviet Union"--temporary assuming we reach an agreement--to be based on the signing of a long-term agreement -- five years perhaps -- with an assured guaranteed mandatory purchase by them with potentially an option to buy more. If we work this agreement out, I think you will find a far healthier relationship between our farmers in their markets, a far better relationship between our country and the Soviet Union and an overall advancement of a better world.

This, I think, is the kind of utilization of our great abundance that we can say with pride is part of an affirmative, constructive relationship with not only one country but many others, to the benefit of the farmer and [illegible] relationship the farmer has with the rest of us Americans.

So I hope within the next week, perhaps, or more, hopefully the sooner the better, we will sign an agreement. It looks optimistic, it looks encouraging and, if we do, I think both the producer and the consumer at home and abroad will be better off.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Fudah Hayati. I am a member of the Northern California Worlds Affairs Council, and I have a two-part question.

This country was instrumental in bringing about detente in the Middle East with the Sinai Accord between Egypt and Israel. Can you see this country playing a similar role in Southern Africa, specifically between Rhodesia and the liberation movement?

The second part of the question is in light of the reports of U.S. Marine maneuvers in the Mojave Desert carrying out desert warfare, is there a possibility that U.S. troops would become involved in the Middle East if detente did not hold?

THE PRESIDENT: I see no prospects of the United States military forces participating in the Middle East. I see no reason for that to take place. We are on a course of action which if successful -- and I believe it will be -- that will preclude that.

The United States has been trying to work, not only in the United Nations, but elsewhere, in the settlement of some of the very serious problems in Africa between Rhodesia and South Africa and the nations that are emerging in Africa.

Unfortunately, there are some very serious problems, but I can assure you that our best efforts will be utilized in that area as they have been in the Middle East.

QUESTION: I am Paul Zinner, and I teach at the University of California at Davis. I am also a member of the World Affairs Council.

Mr. President, I wonder if you would give us some insight into the policy considerations that led you to agree to a Helsinki summit in the middle of the summer pretty much on Mr. Brezhnev's timetable, and I wonder if you could also give us a brief reading on the state of detente since Helsinki?

THE PRESIDENT: The timing of Helsinki was not important. The substance of Helsinki, both in the language and the spirit, those are the important things.

The meeting in Helsinki between 35 nations came about because of two or three years of very detailed negotiations between East and West and the various amendments, the various compromises in my opinion, have led or have the potential of leading to a better relationship between East and West, whether it is the confidence building provisions, whether it is the relationship of one nation to another and the freedom of information, the greater freedom of access between nations, and a multitude of things that were involved.

The language is all right and, as I said in Helsinki, the language we approve of, what has to be certain is that the spirit coincides with the words and there is to be a meeting in two years where there will be a review of all of the participants to see whether the language which was signed in Helsinki is carried out in the 24 months.

And the test is performance. I am optimistic and I believe that if we keep pressure on that we can say that Helsinki was a big plus. If the spirit doesn't exist the words mean very little. But I am optimistic that world pressure will force all nations that participated to have the spirit coincide with the language.

Now the status of detente, detente was not initiated as a solution to every problem in the world or every problem bilaterally between the United States and the Soviet Union, but it has been extremely helpful in a number of instances as a line of communication, as a means of relaxing tensions and as a vehicle for the solution of problems between the Soviet Union and the United States.

I believe that SALT I was a significant step forward, I believe very strongly that the agreement at Vladivostok where Mr. Brezhnev and myself agreed for a cap of 2400 on launchers in strategic vehicles and a 1320 limitation on MIRVing. SALT II is now moving along at the technical stage and there will have to be some very important decisions made between now and when the final agreement is achieved, if it is achieved, and I hope it will.

I think detente has been successful. It hasn't solved every problem but we are a lot better off, in my honest judgment, than to go back to the old days of the Cold War where we talked harshly to each other, we condemned each other, we threatened one another. I don't think the United States and the Soviet Union ought to go back to the Cold War circumstances that prevailed. But I reiterate, we can't expect every problem that comes up to be solved by it.

All we can do is work at it and I can pledge to you and to others we will do our utmost to make sure that detente is mutually beneficial to each country at no sacrifice of national security in either case and of tremendous, immense benefit to the world as a whole. We will do the very best we can.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Bill Wainwright. I am a member of the World Affairs Council and also a registered Republican in the John Baldwin mode from Martinez, California.

I have a question about the House select committee's investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency and their review having publicly demonstrated certain mistaken intelligence assessments on the likelihood of a break-out of war between the Arabs and Israel in 1967.

I am wondering if you intend to facilitate this committee's further investigation along these lines.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me make several comments, and then I will try to answer the precise question.

In the first instance, you must understand that all of the intelligence agencies -- the CIA and the others -- have responded to the Pike committee's request for classified information.

There has been no reluctance on our part to give to that committee all of the requested intelligence information, and I think they recognize that.

I can assure you of a second point -- that under no circumstances will there be any action by me or people working with me to use the classification process to prevent the exposure of alleged or actual criminal action by any Federal authority.

Secondly, there will be no action by myself or my associates to classify so that we protect errors, mistakes that were made over the last 28 years since the CIA was established by law.

The real problem is not their having this classified information. The problem is how they have to use it for the legislative purpose for which the committee was established.

Since they have all of the information, it is not automatically necessary that they make it public. They can examine it in committee, and they can determine from such an examination all of the information that is needed for the legislative purpose for which the committee was established.

I have no reluctance at all, if we could just [illegible] circle around the United States, and give 214 million Americans all of the material as to sources of intelligence, techniques of intelligence, procedures of intelligence. I would have no reluctance whatsoever, if we could confine it to 214 million Americans. But I just don't think that is very practical. (Laughter)

7704001530

Some of this information is so sensitive that a few years ago the Congress passed a law saying that any communications intelligence -- that is a very technical term, but it is very significant -- if divulged by any individual except to Congress -- and it should, and I am not alleging they are violating the law but that kind of intelligence -- its source, its techniques, its procedures was made a serious criminal offense by Congress itself, and it is the judgment of a number of the technically qualified people in the intelligence area that there was an error made in the release of some information out of the stacks of classified information we gave them because it probably had the impact of making available some communications intelligence information.

What we have to do is to sit down, not with one committee of the Congress, not one subcommittee, because there are 300 subcommittees and full committees of the Congress. If every one of them established different rules on how we were going to handle with them this highly classified information, I think you would probably have 300 different rules of declassification.

So, what we have to do -- and I can assure you, as others -- we have to find a way of getting a uniformity in the handling of classified information by the Congress and the 300 committees and subcommittees and the Executive Branch so that what is essential can be made public and what is so sensitive that it should not, if we can't do that, after 200 years of cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative Branch, something is wrong.

I am an optimist, but it is a very serious matter. I am not going to be a participant in destroying the effectiveness of a good United States intelligence agency because that involves our national security, period.

One more, I guess.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Clark Maser. I am a member of the World Affairs Council and an elderly skier. (Laughter)

What steps should the United States take if the State of Israel is expelled from the United Nations, which has been threatened by the so-called tyranny of the majority? Should we withdraw in that case all financial support to the United Nations or should we withdraw from the United Nations?

7704001530

THE PRESIDENT: I, as well as Secretary Kissinger, have strongly spoken out against the threats that primarily came from the nonaligned nations. The attitude that we expressed toward the nonaligned underdeveloped nations has, to a substantial degree, softened some of the prospective actions that were anticipated in the United Nations.

You don't find that pushing quite as hard today as it was six months ago or a year ago.

Now, we believe in the universality of the United Nations, and I don't believe nations should be kicked out because the majority have a grudge or an adverse point of view. You can't make the United Nations do its job, perform its function, if a simple majority in the General Assembly can just arbitrarily decide that that nation ought to be kicked out.

I totally disapprove of that procedure, and this country, as long as I am President, will strongly, vigorously fight against any such action against any nation, and we have said this particularly in reference to Israel.

I believe our firm stand, the efforts of Secretary Kissinger at the second session has pretty well diluted the prospective action concerning Israel in 1975. If there is any reaffirmation of what appeared to be an action, we will vigorously fight any action by the General Assembly, and we will take a strong stand, the strongest possible stand in the Security Council.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 2:10 P.M. PDT)

7704001530

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 22, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(San Francisco, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
SID DAVIS
WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING WASHINGTON
BUREAU CHIEF
STAN BORMAN
BELVA DAVIS
JENNY CRIMM
AND
LYNN JOINER
KPIX-TV

THE ST. FRANCIS HOTEL

2:56 P.M. PDT

QUESTION: Mr. President, just recently this city went through a traumatic and somewhat extraordinary set of circumstances when the fire department and the police department all went out on strike at the same time.

I am sure you were aware of that. This is somewhat of an indication of what possibly might happen in major cities across the country.

How do you, as the Chief Executive, feel about this, sir? Do you think that, number one, policemen should be allowed to go out on strike and, number two, if you feel they shouldn't, do you think there should be a Federal law prohibiting strikes by all municipal workers?

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, the problem that you raise is 100 percent a local problem in that the Federal Government has no jurisdiction to enact legislation or to take Executive action to force a procedure or a method for resolving disputes between local employees and the responsible city officials.

The situation in San Francisco ought to be settled by the people of this community. It ought to be settled perhaps as some States have, by enacting State legislation. That is within the jurisdiction of the State, as well as the local community.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001630

The only area where the Federal Government has any authority is that involving Federal employees, and when a few years ago, I think it was 1970, the Congress established a postal service system in contrast to the old Postal Department, the Congress approved a procedure for arbitration in case the Government and the employees couldn't get together.

That does, in effect, provide, number one, for a procedure for a firm determination, and it also includes a provision that prohibits a strike by postal service employees. I voted for that legislation.

QUESTION: Mr. Ford, on another topic, there are reports that a man was arrested and booked today here in San Francisco on suspicion of threatening you and, also, following your own close brush with death in Sacramento a couple of weeks, I wonder if this has convinced you at all that we need tough gun control legislation in this country or are public officials going to have to travel across the country with a bullet-proof vest and a prayer?

THE PRESIDENT: I did recommend to the Congress earlier this year a rather comprehensive approach to crime control, a new proposal that would make it much more difficult for individuals to get what we call Saturday night specials, which are the cheap handguns that are used extensively for illegal purposes.

In addition, I proposed to the Congress that we have much more severe penalties for a person using a gun in the commission of some other crime and for mandatory sentences in order to get people who use guns in the process of committing a crime or alleged crime.

It seems to me that that approach is far, far better than the approach of some people who recommend that gun owners should be registered and that handguns and long guns ought to be registered.

I prefer to go after the person who uses the gun for illegal or criminal purpose. That, to me, is a far better approach than the one where you require registration of the individual or the gun.

QUESTION: Mr. President, yesterday Secretary of Defense Schlesinger said that any new weapons we introduce into the Middle East, or Israel, should not, to use his words, overawe Israel's neighbors.

In the interim agreement we have signed with Israel, we are promising new weapons and there is the prospect of the Pershing missile, which has the range that could touch just about all of Israel's neighbors.

Aren't we creating the prospects of the seeds for a monstrous new arms race in the Middle East?

7704001630?

THE PRESIDENT: Not if it is properly handled, Sid.

The shopping list that the Government of Israel submitted to the United States Government included a very substantial number of weapons, most of which are defensive in nature.

The Pershing missile request, we -- the United States -- only promised to study. We made no commitment that we would make that weapon available and in the process of study, we will have some time to see how the peace efforts, the Sinai peace agreement proceeds along with potential other agreements in that area.

But, there is no commitment by us except to study for the delivery of a Pershing missile to the Middle East.

MORE

QUESTION: Mr. President, today in a speech you said that you envision some 200 nuclear power plants by the year 1985. Here in California enough citizens are concerned about the safety and disposal problems of these plants to have put it in issue on the ballot in June to ban the construction of them. How do you feel about the safety problem and about the disposal problem?

THE PRESIDENT: The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which was established by the Congress last year and which is now in operation, and the Energy Research and Development Organization, which was likewise established by the Congress, both are in the process of studying safety, nuclear power development, et cetera.

So far, I believe that the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence indicates, number one, that we have a safe nuclear power capability and furthermore that, if there are any serious questions, that the further research and development will result in even a higher degree of safety, better safeguards.

I think in light of our serious, almost critical energy shortage, that it is unwise for any State to ban the development and the utilization of nuclear power in the future.

We expect to build 250 nuclear power plants, as I recall, in the next ten years. If 49 other States do it, I can imagine there could be a serious, adverse economic impact on the State of California.

It would potentially -- I don't say certainly, but potentially -- interfere with the economic development of the great State of California. It would mean the loss of potential jobs as we need more jobs for the young people, for others.

I think there is a better approach than an arbitrary ban because the safety record so far and the prognostications of responsible people indicate to me, at least, that the danger is not a serious one and, if there are any problems, they can be resolved.

QUESTION: Mr. President, we are very glad to see you back in California again, and I understand you will be returning against next month.

The question is why three trips in less than a month and a half and, if this California blitz -- if you will pardon the expression -- is really just to try to sidetrack Ronald Reagan's shadow campaign for the nomination in 1976?

7704001530

THE PRESIDENT: Our plans to come to California two weeks ago and the plans for this current weekend were made a good many months ago. They were made because we have visited, or I have attended, a number of meetings of a variety of organizations.

I spoke at Pepperdine University on Saturday, at Stanford University on Sunday. I spoke at the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Workers Convention this morning, or on Monday. I spoke to the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.

It is a whole list of very diverse organizations that give me an opportunity to get acquainted with their interests and to indicate my policies.

California is a big -- it is an important State. We want Californians to understand their President, and I want to get to know Californians. It has really no relevance as far as the political campaign is concerned.

I am coming back in October for a purely Republican Party function. That is a different type of activity, and I think it is important for me, as the head of the party, to participate.

QUESTION: There is one other Californian you did speak to. You spoke to Richard Nixon yesterday. Why did the White House wait until today to report that, and will you accept Richard Nixon's help in your campaign in 1976?

THE PRESIDENT: My relationship with the former President is a personal one, a personal friendship that has existed for 26 years. I don't think it is necessary for us to volunteer when I call him or he should happen to call me.

It is my understanding that if Ron Nessen was asked, he would say yes, I called the President, I am in the State where he lives, within a relatively short distance of his home.

I think it is a perfectly natural thing for longstanding friends to talk on the telephone.

His participation in 1976 is a matter for him to decide, and we will wait and see what he does decide.

QUESTION: If he decides, would you want his help?

7704001 5310

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think you accept anything in the political arena. A person has to make a choice himself as to what he wants to do. We have no plans to ask him, but if a person decides, it is a free country. He can participate in any way that he wishes, but that is a personal choice for him.

MORE

7704001311

QUESTION: So by that answer, Mr. President, without trying to put words in your mouth, you would not reject his help or whatever support he would give you?

THE PRESIDENT: That is a matter of semantics. What he does is his decision. We are going to run my campaign, as I said several months ago, on my record and on our program for the future. If people want to help, I can't preclude it. It is up to them to decide.

QUESTION: I have a couple of questions, sir, about the Central Intelligence Agency which has been in the news, as we all know, for the past year or so with mounting rapidity.

First off, are you frightened by the latest revelations of the CIA, namely, the Cobra venom stockpile, the shellfish toxin stockpile, the poison dart guns supposedly they have and the latest story that broke over the weekend that alleges that E. Howard Hunt supposedly was supposed to kill columnist Jack Anderson. Do these allegations frighten you, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you have to go back to the charter that President Truman recommended to the Congress and the Congress in 1947 wrote into law in the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency. As I recall -- I wasn't in the Congress at that time -- that it was virtually unanimous that President Truman's proposed Central Intelligence Agency should be established by law, it was given a charter and given certain responsibilities. And the Central Intelligence Agency over this period of 27 or 28 years has carried out its responsibilities under the law.

Now, there may have been certain indiscretions or actions or programs that border on being outside of that charter and that is what the Congress is in the process of examining. And I think it is a very proper responsibility for the Congress, in an oversight capacity, to examine such as they have in both the Church Committee and the Pike Committee, the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you mentioned former President Harry Truman and it was published in the Washington Post on December 22, 1963, a column that was written by the former President. In that he said, "The role of the CIA should be limited to intelligence, there is something about the way the CIA has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic position in this country and I feel that we need to correct it."

That was 12 years ago. Do you feel there should be some limitations on the power of the CIA and, if so, what limitations?

7704001531

THE PRESIDENT: The basic limitations come from the law. The operation under the charter comes from the people who have the responsibility.

It is, I think, very proper for Congress to conduct an oversight operation, as they are, and it is very probable that there ought to be a greater control exercised through the Executive Branch over the operations of the CIA.

We have an organization, have had for a good many years, an intelligence advisory committee that has a relationship in a broad sense to the CIA and the intelligence community. There have been suggestions that this advisory group ought to be given more authority to actually supervise the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and the others. There has been no decision by me as yet on whether that group or some other group, or in some other way, we might have a closer control over the operations on a day-to-day basis of the Central Intelligence Agency and the intelligence community. Those are possibilities.

Within the very near future, I expect to make administrative recommendations, I expect to make legislative proposals as far as the intelligence agencies are concerned.

I did not answer, Stan, one previous question you indicated concerning columnist Jack Anderson.

MORE

QUESTION: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: As I read the newspapers -- I haven't gotten any further information on that -- that was not connected with the Central Intelligence Agency. That was an alleged arrangement or program between certain people in the White House in the 1970-1971 period. It did not involve the CIA.

Therefore, I don't think the CIA should be connected or condemned with that allegation. They have enough troubles on their own.

QUESTION: Mr. Ford, to get on the topic of energy for a second, it is obvious that Russia needs our wheat and we need oil. You have been quoted as saying that it is conceivable and quite possible that America would negotiate with the Soviets for oil in exchange for wheat.

Getting out of the possible, the conceivable realm, is it going to become a reality?

THE PRESIDENT: We have made very substantial, encouraging, optimistic progress in negotiation with the Soviet Union for the Soviet Union on a five-year agreement to buy substantial amounts of American grain, a set amount as a minimum and potentially more on an option basis.

This would help to equalize the purchases over a period of time instead of the wide fluctuations where one year they buy very little, the next year they buy a tremendous amount.

We think that a firm, long-term wheat or grain agreement with the Soviet Union is good for the American agriculture, for the farmers, for the consumers.

It also will increase the, I think, effectiveness of detente between the Soviet Union and the United States.

7704001531

We hope to have an answer on this problem within the very near future and I might add that, if it is signed, we will also get an additional benefit and this important here in the Bay area, the West Coast, in that we will get a better freight rate for American ships in the delivery or the shipment of American grain to Soviet ports, which would mean that about 35 American ships would come out of lay-up and go into the trade and provide more jobs for American seamen.

So it is a complicated but very intriguing and, I think, important negotiation. I am optimistic that it will work out.

QUESTION: Yes, but are you going to push for the oil since we need that so desperately? Are you going to push for that?

THE PRESIDENT: That is another aspect and there are discussions and there are potential negotiations going on between the United States and the Soviet Union, linking to some extent but not directly, grain and oil.

This is a much more complicated subject. We have plenty of oil today and an agreement with the Soviet Union for oil would be sort of a good insurance policy in case there was an oil embargo from the Middle East.

If Russia has oil that it wants to sell, and we need some, which I think would be good insurance, I think it makes sense to try and get both a grain deal and an oil deal.

QUESTION: Sir, on the subject of energy and oil, you fought long and hard for decontrol of domestic oil, indicating that the rise in price would some how help us to conserve somewhat.

How high are you willing to see the price of a gallon of gasoline go before reversing that procedure?

THE PRESIDENT: It is higher than I would like right now. (Laughter)

On the other hand, it has to some extent helped us to conserve, it has helped us to prevent the squandering of some of our energy sources.

I believe, however, that the price rise has gone sufficiently high and, if we can get an energy program on line, it is my opinion that any further price rise will be minimal.

As a matter of fact, if the Congress had approved my phased decontrol program over a 39-month period, in the first 12 months of that phased decontrol program, energy prices related to oil would have gone down.

Unfortunately, the Congress wasn't wise enough to understand it or to take action to approve it. So now that they have rejected a phased decontrol program, we are pretty much faced with total decontrol, which is not the best alternative, but even with total decontrol, I don't think you are going to have any significant increases in fuel costs.

QUESTION: Wouldn't that, though, if it did happen, really hit at the poor, the working class more than anybody else because they would be the ones who could not afford to pay the prices?

THE PRESIDENT: It would affect everybody but I urge you to go back to what I said in January when I offered a comprehensive energy program. I said, "If there are any energy cost increases, we would rebate to the American people $12 billion for added energy costs by a reduction in income tax payments. We would give $80.00 a person to the poor who had no income to compensate them for the added energy costs.

Again Congress has not acted on the rebate program that I recommended. I wish they had. We wouldn't be faced with a problem of, to some extent, adding energy burdens to the American people.

QUESTION: Mr. President, in your travels around the country, you have persistently launched an attack against the Federal Government and big government and the Federal Bureaucracy and at one point promised to get the government off people's back and out of their pockets. Yet today here in San Francisco you are proposing a $100 billion government corporation to be established subject to the approval of Congress to help find ways to develop our energy resources. This would include massive amounts of Federal money.

How do you square that with your comments about less government? Are we admitting that we cannot solve our energy problems in the private sector?

THE PRESIDENT: Most of our energy problems can and will be solved in the private sector, but there are some programs where we are in the process of exotic research and development -- solar energy for example -- where once the scientists and technicians have developed the capability for expansion of that energy source, we do have to take the first step from research and development to an operational plant to prove that it will work.

That first plant, so to speak, has to be perhaps financed, this joint government private sector program. And that is what the energy resource corporation will be aimed at, not in a long range financing of energy sources, but aimed at primarily, not exclusively but primarily taking the position from completion of research and development to the first use where there is a hesitancy on the part of investors, because of the uncertainty to invest

7704011515

This is where I think we have to act. We did in the case of the synthetic rubber plant in World War II. We did it in the Manhattan Project with the atomic bomb. We did it in our efforts to get to the moon. We have done it with COMSAT.

It is a procedure that has been used in the past, and I think it can be adequately used in the future.

QUESTION: In doing so, you are leaving yourself open to a charge by probably your critics that you are going to have billions of dollars in Federal funding going to big oil and big business, and this leads me to the question.

The public's perception of your Administration is one that is friendly to big business. I think in your relationship with labor leaders you would find that, and recently in a Gallup Poll, Mr. Gallup said that of the adults who were questioned--and he addressed this nation-wide--only 21 percent would own up to being Republicans and then you have the results of New Hampshire.

Would this indicate to you that you are in serious trouble in 1976 as a party, and you as President?

THE PRESIDENT: I think any of the polls that have pitted me against a Democrat, with the exception of Ted Kennedy -- and even there one month he is ahead and the next month I am ahead -- but pitting my own candidacy against any other Democrat, every poll that I have seen for the last six months shows that I would win.

We have 14 months to go before the election, and my Democratic friends have to pick a candidate first, and they are going to have a little trouble there, but I welcome whoever they pick. But, I think it is categorically inaccurate and unfair, and I don't think it is said by people who have thought it out, that this Administration is predominantly interested in big business. That is totally inaccurate.

We have increased our funding, for example, in a wide spectrum -- education, unemployment compensation, the whole area of human assistance. We have recommended in the budget for the current fiscal year more money than any Administration in the history of the United States for social programs.

QUESTION: Mr. Ford, I am sorry to cut off because I understand you probably want to go further. We only have about thirty seconds left, and I wondered if you could in that time possibly sum up how you would talk to some of the young people of this country about their mounting fear of losing control of their country, what with the murder of a President, the murder of a candidate running for President, paralyzing of another, et cetera. It goes on and on, still even happening today with a threat against your life. What do you tell the young people of

7704001631?

THE PRESIDENT: I tell them that, number one, we have a great country, they have a great stake in it. They can decide what course of action, what aims, what visions we should have in this country, and I find a great and good response from the young people across the board.

I am optimistic about what they will do with America. I think they will make it a better place for them and those that follow.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

END (AT 3:22 P.M. PDT)

7704015313

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE SEPTEMBER 22, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
UPON HIS ARRIVAL
AT THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION ROOM

11:55 P.M. EDT

QUESTION: Mr. Ford, could you speak to us for just a moment please and tell us how you feel?

THE PRESIDENT: Can I have just a minute to look at all of you?

QUESTION: Mr. President -- what --

THE PRESIDENT: May I take just a minute. Obviously, Betty and I are delighted to be back here very safely, and we are most grateful that Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Rockefeller have met us. We have talked to our four children and I guess they are kind of happy that we are back here all right. But, let me say most emphatically, I thank the Secret Service for doing a super job again. They really were tremendous in the things that they did that were necessary and essential. But equally, let me express my appreciation for the fine job that the San Francisco police force did. They were tremendous, and those that were associated with them, because they had the help of others. But the most important thing is that I don't think any person as President or any person in any other major political office ought to cower in the face of a limited number of people, out of 214 million Americans, who want to take the law into their own hands. The American people expect, and I approve of it, in fact, I think it is right, want a dialogue between them and their President and their other public officals. And if we can't have that opportunity of talking with one another, seeing one another, shaking hands with one another, something has gone wrong in our society.

(MORE)

(OVER)

I don't think these individuals who want to destroy our society and tear up our fabric of relationships represent America. The American people are good people; Democrats, Independents, Republicans, and others. Under no circumstances will I, and I hope no others, capitulate to those that want to undercut what's all good in America. The American people are strong, they're good and they will reflect the leadership that comes from the people in public office. And the leadership must likewise be strong and good. And I am confident, whether that leadership is Democratic or Republican, it will be good and it will be strong. That's the way America can give the leadership to the world that is essential in these crucial times.

It's wonderful to be home. It's good to see our family. It's good to see the Vice President and Mrs. Rockefeller, and it's, I think, important that we as a people don't capitulate to the wrong element, a limited number, an infinitesimal number of people who want to destroy everything that's best about America. I won't. I'm sure the Vice President won't. I am sure Democratic leaders won't. We're going to stand tall and strong in this confrontation with a limited number of people who don't represent all of us.

END (AT 11:59 p.m. EDT)

7704005320

Chicago, Illinois

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. September 30, 1975

My former colleagues in the Congress, Chuck Percy, John Michel, John Anderson, Robert McClory, George O'Brien; Bill Scott, your fine State official; Don Adams, Jerry Millbank, from the National Finance Committee; Harold Smith, my good friends, Les Arends and Marguerite Church, and, of course, my good friend and great helpmate, Dick Ogilvy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This has turned out to be a rather unusual evening for me tonight. One of your newspapers suggested very strongly that I not come to Chicago, and Mayor Daley suggested very strongly that I do come to Chicago. I hope you good Republicans don't mind if on this occasion I come down on the side of Mayor Daley. [*Laughter*]

In the short time that I have been here this evening, I can assure you from the very bottom of my heart that I am especially pleased to be in Illinois when the outlook for the Republican Party in Illinois is so very bright.

I have had the opportunity of meeting and talking with many, many of those who are becoming or hope to become a part of your State ticket, and obviously it is going to be a very strong State ticket in 1976. You have excellent candidates for local and State offices, and I certainly get the impression that we will have some good, strong, new candidates for the Congress.

But what pleases me the most is the fact that I find a tremendous enthusiasm among your State leaders, and so I come to this great State with a new sense that in the heartland of the Middle West—literally the heartland of our country—in Illinois we have good reason to be enthusiastic, and I urge you to multiply your efforts between now and November 2, 1976.

Let us remember just this: As Republicans we have one powerful resource which our Democratic friends lack.

can be avoided. This Agreement is in the overall national interest of the United States.

There would have been no Agreement without provision for American participation in the Early Warning System. That System is designed to reduce the danger of surprise attack, and the parties to the Agreement were able to agree to entrust the System only to the United States. The special American role was the only one in which both sides had adequate confidence.

I want to be certain that the leaders of the Congress fully understand the consequences of further delay in acting on this important matter.

The first step in the implementation of the basic Agreement under the timetable negotiated and agreed to by Egypt and Israel in Geneva on September 22 is scheduled to be taken October 5. This process will not begin, however, until the Congress has acted on the proposed United States role in the Early Warning System. Delay in Congressional action will, therefore, delay implementation of the basic Agreement. It will risk causing the lengthy and difficult negotiations on the entire five-month implementing timetable to be reopened. It will prevent a lessening of the risks of war. If for any reason the agreement should fail, the responsibility would be heavy indeed.

The issue before the Congress now is whether the Congress will approve acceptance by the United States of the role that has been proposed for it. There are other issues which the Congress must eventually consider in connection with our continuing relations, policies, and programs in the Middle East—particularly our programs of military and economic assistance there. The Congress will want to consider those carefully at the appropriate time, but they are not integral to the implementation of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel. Voting in favor of the U.S. role in the Early Warning System will not commit anyone to take a position one way or another on these issues.

In summary, I met with the leadership three weeks ago to describe what was involved in the new Agreement between Egypt and Israel and to request urgent approval of U.S. participation in its implementation. This question has been under intensive discussion in the Congress for nearly three weeks. All relevant papers and all U.S. commitments related to the Agreement have been submitted to the appropriate committees of the Congress. If action is not completed in the coming week, the United States will be in the position of holding up implementation of an Agreement which two key Middle Eastern countries have signed as a significant step towards peace. The Middle East is an area where American policy has long had broad bipartisan support. The issue presently before the Congress offers an opportunity to reaffirm that tradition and to demonstrate how the Executive and Legislative branches can work together on a foreign policy matter of high importance to the national interest and for the benefit of world peace. I, therefore, urge strongly that action be completed as early as possible and no later than Friday, October 3.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

[The Honorable, The Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

NOTE: Identical letters were also sent to Representatives William S. Broomfield, Thomas E. Morgan, and John J. Rhodes and to Senators Clifford P. Case, Mike Mansfield, Hugh Scott, and John J. Sparkman.

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.

Chicago, Illinois

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. September 30, 1975

My former colleagues in the Congress, Chuck Percy, John Michel, John Anderson, Robert McClory, George O'Brien; Bill Scott, your fine State official; Don Adams, Jerry Millbank, from the National Finance Committee; Harold Smith, my good friends, Les Arends and Marguerite Church, and, of course, my good friend and great helpmate, Dick Ogilvy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This has turned out to be a rather unusual evening for me tonight. One of your newspapers suggested very strongly that I not come to Chicago, and Mayor Daley suggested very strongly that I do come to Chicago. I hope you good Republicans don't mind if on this occasion I come down on the side of Mayor Daley. *[Laughter]*

In the short time that I have been here this evening, I can assure you from the very bottom of my heart that I am especially pleased to be in Illinois when the outlook for the Republican Party in Illinois is so very bright.

I have had the opportunity of meeting and talking with many, many of those who are becoming or hope to become a part of your State ticket, and obviously it is going to be a very strong State ticket in 1976. You have excellent candidates for local and State offices, and I certainly get the impression that we will have some good, strong, new candidates for the Congress.

But what pleases me the most is the fact that I find a tremendous enthusiasm among your State leaders, and so I come to this great State with a new sense that in the heartland of the Middle West—literally the heartland of our country—in Illinois we have good reason to be enthusiastic, and I urge you to multiply your efforts between now and November 2, 1976.

Let us remember just this: As Republicans we have one powerful resource which our Democratic friends lack.

The majority of Americans—Republicans, Independents and discerning Democrats—believe in the same basic principles that we do, and, therefore, I think we can go on a tremendous sales campaign between now and 13 months from now.

And the net result will be success for these kinds of principles. These individuals who cut across the political spectrum want fiscal sanity restored to our National Government. They want the free enterprise system freed from the shackles of over-regulation. We all know it is over-regulated.

This tremendous part of the political spectrum want a strong national defense which they know is the best assurance of peace in the months and years ahead. And then they want local people to handle local problems because those people know the solutions as well as the problems the best.

But almost more important than anything—strong national defense, the free enterprise system, local control—literally millions and millions of Americans want to preserve and want to expand the dignity and the freedom of the individual that is basic to the progress and the liberty that we so cherish in America.

You know the French have been saying—or they have a saying that the more things change the more they are the same. The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention in 1860, held right here in Chicago, attacked in these words, and I quote, "The reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government."

It commended at this great convention the private enterprise system, advocated local control over local affairs, and stressed individual freedom as basic to the preservation of our republican institutions.

And I stand here tonight proud to advocate these principles on which Abraham Lincoln campaigned in 1860. And I invite everybody in 1975 and 1976 who believes in them to join us in the Republican Party and to fight for them in the months ahead.

This is one of the most important off-year political eras in the history of the Republican Party. This is the year we must organize to elect Republicans at every level—Federal, State, and local—next year. And I, having gone through 13 political campaigns in my State, know that party organizations will play a very vital role in Illinois, in Michigan, and 48 other States.

Through such projects as Task Force 1975–1976, which was headed by Bill Duvall, inspired by Chuck Percy, you are laying the foundation for the victories of 1976, victories which will mean so much to so many after that historic election. Successful registration drives this fall in every section of this State and across the country are absolutely essential.

I know it is hard work. I know it is drudgery. I know it seems not very exciting. But we must find party workers from new elements in our society. We must identify our strengths, our weaknesses, and be frank where we must improve. We must fine tune our party's organizations for the campaign ahead. We must demonstrate that our party is determined to select and elect the best possible candidates at the local, the State, and the national level.

And we must be cognizant that no candidate who can be a part of the implementation of the philosophy in which we believe can be successful over the years and even in this next election if we don't have a responsible, effective party organization.

Not many people realize that in 1976 we are going to be operating under a new Federal campaign law which just by the language and its interpretation we will require a stronger working relationship between party organization and candidates. The ability of Republicans to win elections at every level will depend on the success of our registration drive and our determination to literally go from door to door asking people who may not have voted before, who may have voted differently, who may be disgruntled, who may be unhappy, to join us in what I honestly think could be a great crusade for the next 13 months.

We have to find a party organization—and you obviously have it in Illinois—and we must depend upon good financing. And this dinner tonight is the best example of that kind of participation. Whether it is in the organization or in the funding, our results will depend upon what you can do and have done and will do.

Since taking office as President some 13 months ago, I have gone to 38 States to let people know what this Administration is trying to do in Washington; more importantly, to learn what our fellow Americans want us to do. This includes the broadest possible spectrum. Before the end of the year, I hope and expect to visit the remainder of our States.

Now, obviously I can't discuss in the time allotted all of the issues and all of the problems that I hear from people as I travel. I can't try to analyze and give you what we think are the right answers to the problems, both at home and abroad.

So, if I might, let me concentrate on several that are very pertinent, are very important to us right now. It has some significance here in the great State of Illinois.

I speak at this point concerning agriculture, farm prices. We recognize that agriculture is a great industry. It participates very significantly in making our economy strong or weak. Of course, we feel a great debt of gratitude in this country to the 6 percent of our people who produce so much food and so much fiber for all of us and literally millions around the world.

Last year, just about this time, the American farmers responded to my call for full production, literally from one fence to another, and every plot of ground that they could find—full production.

7704001532

This year, they have harvested a record wheat crop, and they expect a record corn crop by the end of the harvest year.

Obviously, American farmers want—and they have every good reason to expect—to sell all they produce, either at home or abroad. And I intend to see to it that they do—in a free market and at fair prices.

Profitable and steady grain trading relations have been built with buyers in Europe, Japan, and elsewhere, and we can count in advance on regular and significant purchases by those foreign customers.

There is a new element. With the Soviet Union a relatively new customer, we do not yet—and I underline yet—have that assurance—soviet grain purchases have fluctuated greatly in the last 5 years. And let me illustrate the peaks and valleys that we have had in this relationship.

In 1971–1972, the Russians bought 182 million bushels of grain from the United States. In 1972 and 1973, the figure soared to 524 million bushels. In 1973–74, it dropped to 252 million bushels, and then fell sharply, precipitously to 74 million bushels in 1974 and 1975. During this crop year, the Russians have already bought 399 million bushels and are anxious to buy much more.

Now, these wide fluctuations disrupt our markets and make it much more difficult for our farmers to plan properly. Furthermore, these peaks and valleys, these wide fluctuations, have an undesirable impact on our overall economy.

To achieve a better result for the farmer, the consumer, yes, our economy as a whole, I am giving, personally, priority attention to an agreement with the Soviet Union that will put agricultural trade on a far more certain and a far more predictable basis—an agreement along the lines of the one which we are now concluding with Poland to assure grain sales over the next 5 years at levels considerably higher than in the past and with far less deviations and fluctuations.

I am confident that in a relatively short period of time we will reach an agreement with the Soviet Union to facilitate the sale of this year's bumper crop with firm assurances of similar sales of considerable magnitude in future years.

This, in my judgment, will meet all of our needs at home and keep food prices at a fair and reasonable level, but more importantly, it will give to us as a nation the opportunity to use our great resource—agriculture—for humanitarian purposes, for other national interests.

It is something that can be used effectively and beneficially for all of us, and for that we should thank every farmer who has produced and produced and produced.

Let me speak for a moment, if I might, about the status of our economy. Tonight, I can tell you this with firm conviction, without any hesitancy or reservation: The recession that we have gone through—and it has been tough—unemployment much too high, inflation much too great—this trend that started in the late fall of 1974 and was accentuated by serious problems in the early spring of 1975, this trend has been reversed. Virtually every indicator that is valid and reliable, significant, gives us the encouraging news. We are getting some good news also from the supermarkets and even our retail stores throughout the country.

Let me take you back, if I might, just a moment, to a year ago, September 1974. The cost of living at that time was rising at an annual rate—almost unbelievable—of 15 percent. For all of last year, 1974, the rate rose by more than 12 percent, yet the figures just in for August, just a week or so ago, show the cost of living just two-tenths of one percent by any standard and, particularly compared to 1974, that is encouraging news.

But let me assure you this bit of information doesn't mean that the battle against inflation has been won—far, far from it. We must continue to apply restraint, particularly on inflationary spending by the Democratic controlled Congress. With the Republicans outnumbered in the Congress better than two to one, my Presidential veto is often the only weapon available to defend fiscal responsibility against the assaults of the big spenders. And if I might interject a personal note of appreciation, I had the privilege of serving in the Congress with the Members of the House and Senate who are here. It was a great experience. I loved every minute of it, primarily because I enjoyed the association with the people who are here representing you from Illinois.

You in this great State have one of the most outstanding delegations of any State in the Union. They were strong in their support for me when I was privileged to be the minority leader, and, believe me, they have been staunch and steadfast and discerning and articulate since I have been President.

And I can't thank them enough on your behalf, on behalf of our fellow Americans. But I want to express to them my deep gratitude for their great cooperation and the wonderful job they are doing. I thank you all very, very much.

I would be remiss if I didn't express the same feelings, even though they are not there, for Marguerite Church and Les Arends. I indicated just a moment ago that these were the kinds of people who were the bulwark against the inflationary policies of big spending in the House as well as in the Senate, controlled, as I indicated, by better than two to one by the opposition. Under these circumstances, the veto must be used, will be used, and ought to be used to maintain America's Federal fiscal integrity.

Let me emphasize this, if I might. The exercise of a Presidential veto is a positive action, as the framers of our Constitution intended it to be. For one thing, the legislation I vetoed so far will save the taxpayers between now and the end of calendar 1976 more than $6 billion. I happen to think that is a fairly positive result.

Furthermore, when these vetoes were sustained—and most of them were—the Democratic majority was forced

7704021321

to come back with reasonable legislation which Republicans in good conscience could support in the House as well as in the Senate.

And that is positive action, because you start with a bill that calls for too much spending and it is vetoed and the veto is sustained, and then, after the Congress has had a little time to reconsider, it decides that a more reasonable figure makes far more sense.

For whether it is in some other legislative area, our forefathers, when they drafted the Constitution, decided that a President ought to have the power under the Constitution to make the Congress take a little more time to think. And the net result this year has been constructive and positive.

Now, let me say this: The utilization of the veto is not a long-term answer. The long-term answer is for Republicans in Illinois and in every State to elect more Republicans to the House as well as to the Senate. I would rather be in the position of advocating affirmative legislation to help us deregulate business and individuals, to get the Federal Government off your back. And the only way you are going to get that is a Republican Congress.

I don't have to repeat the admonition and the urging that I gave you earlier, that we need more locally elected, sound, responsible Republican officials, or statewide, or federally. You can do it by hard work, by organization, by concentrating our resources in defeating those Democrats whose philosophical views are totally contrary.

I think we should emphasize our differences with the opposition rather than discrediting other Republicans. Let's start winning elections rather than winning arguments.

You know I have read a lot of columns and articles lately about the future of the Republican Party, and many of them, you might say, gleefully pessimistic. They cite the dwindling percentages of voters registered by both major parties and the increasing number of Americans who prefer to call themselves Independents. They conclude that the two-party system is just about dead. And I don't believe that. I think it has worked so well in America. We darn well better preserve it for the good of the country.

For my part, I believe our Republican Party will bounce back dramatically in 1976 as we did in 1966. And some of the Members here, or former Members, know how tough it was January of 1965, how, by hard work, organization, good financing, we came back and made tremendous gains in the House as well as the Senate 2 years later. I say this not because we possess any monopoly of political wisdom and virtue, but because we are moving to meet the deeply held desires of the American people.

For fiscal responsibility in government, for firm but restrained leadership in foreign policy, for domestic tranquillity at home, for freedom in personal decisionmaking, for practical common sense solutions to long-range problems facing us across the spectrum, the American people are not only good people, the American people are very smart people.

Neither the Republican Party nor any other party can repeatedly sell them a bad bill of goods. They won't buy it. They may be fooled once, but they will learn. If they get the simple truth and the plain facts, they will make the right decisions.

I think we can say that regardless of where we go in the city of Chicago, or in the suburbs, or in downstate Illinois, or in my State of Michigan and Detroit or the Upper Peninsula, or elsewhere, the American people won't buy political doubletalk forever.

Now, I have been traveling around this great country trying to talk straight to the American people. I have also done a great deal of listening. If I were an orator, perhaps I could say more eloquently what I foresee for America. If I were a poet, perhaps I could sum up more movingly what I hear. Being what I am, I can only say that two-way communication with my friends and fellow Americans is, for me, an essential part of doing my job properly.

I intend to keep my communications open, now in any foolhardy spirit, but by every prudent and practical means. I have complete faith in the good will and good sense of America and in the ability of our competitive political system to produce responsive and responsible leadership for our country's future.

That future will be far brighter than our past if we all pitch in and if we all work at it. I know that Illinois, with your leadership, will set the pace.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:20 p.m. at the Conrad Hilton Hotel.

7704001525

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OCTOBER 1, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Omaha, Nebraska)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
UPON HIS ARRIVAL
AT
OFFUTT AIR FORCE BASE

1:32 P.M. CDT

General Dougherty and all of the wonderful military and civilian personnel here at Offutt:

First, let me thank you all for coming out and giving me such a warm and wonderful welcome. For that, I thank you very, very much.

It has been my good fortune to come to Offutt on a number of occasions in the past and I am, of course, delighted to be here in this occasion today.

But the more important thing, as far as I am concerned, is that I and 214 million other Americans appreciate and recognize the important function, the great responsibility that all of you have as a part of our Strategic Air Command. We are deeply grateful for the alert professionalism that SAC performs and, of course, your headquarters here is the heart of this great organization.

I commend you and compliment you for this superb work that you do to ensure the peace and maintain our national security.

Of course, it is good to be in Nebraska. This is where I was born so I have a special affinity and a very personal relationship with Nebraska. Nebraska is the heartland of our country, just as SAC is the heart of our strategic defense.

So it is nice to be with all of you. I wish I could shake hands with each and every one of you and give to you individually my best wishes for a good day and a very happy life.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 1:35 P.M. CDT)

7704001 5325

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OCTOBER 1, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Omaha, Nebraska)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY
TERRY FORSBERG
KMTV
STEVE MURPHY
WOW-TV
JOEL FOWLER
NEBRASKA PBS
MARY JANE O'DELL
IOWA PBS
SAM STEWART
KETV
AND
HOWARD SILBER
OMAHA WORLD HERALD

THE OMAHA HILTON HOTEL

2:00 P.M. CDT

QUESTION: Mr. President, I have been talking with some grain farmers who are very upset because your Administration has urged full production, your Secretary of Agriculture talks about a free market, and yet, when push comes to shove, they feel that they are being blocked by the grain embargo.

THE PRESIDENT: We have to look at that problem in the long-range and still be very cognizant of the short-term difficulties. What we want are stable, substantial markets abroad. We have one with Japan. We are in the process of negotiating one with Poland. We have others that are in being with European countries.

But, the big potential market on a long-range basis for substantial annual sales is with the Soviet Union, and we are very close. I believe that we will end up with at least a five-year program that will mean firm, sizeable sales -- five million tons or more per year -- with a possibility of more sales and all at free market prices in the marketplace in the United States.

The problem in the past has been in the last five years. One year we sold to the Soviet Union 74 million bushels of grain. Another year we sold 550 million bushels. This year, so far, we have sold 320 million bushels.

MORE

7704001327

These wide fluctuations, peaks and valleys, they aren't good for the farmer. They aren't good for the country, so we are trying to stabilize a huge market on a firm basis over a period of time, and if my good farmer friends will just be a little patient, I think we will do something they will be very happy with.

QUESTION: Mr. President, John Dunlop says he now favors extending the tax cut. What will you recommend, and are you prepared to at this time?

THE PRESIDENT: We are in the process right now of finalizing my recommendation in that area. I cannot on this program tell you what the decision is, but we are trying to coordinate a potential tax reduction program with a rigid restriction on expenditures.

I think this combination, if we can come up with the right formula, will give our taxpayers a greater opportunity to spend their own money and will cut down Federal expenditures so that we will have a better fiscal situation for the Federal Government.

Now, that is one possibility, and hopefully within the next week or so I will be in a position to submit a specific recommendation to the Congress.

QUESTION: To follow up, how does Alan Greenspan feel about that at this time?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I ought to reveal his recommendation to me. Until we finalize this whole package and the timing of it, I don't think I should indicate how any one of my advisers do feel.

John Dunlop, of course, as Secretary of Labor, was in a position to publicly state his view because he is Chairman of our Labor Management Advisory Committee, and that committee, under his leadership, did recommend that these tax reductions that were put into law earlier this year should be extended, so that is why he was in a position to indicate his personal view.

QUESTION: Mr. President, on the grain deal, you indicate that if the farmers will be patient, that they will be happy. They have, to a great degree, been patient with Secretary of Agriculture Butz, and they have been calling for him being taken out as Secretary and many times saying he might be, and there has even been talk of former Nebraskan, Clayton Yeutter, being put into that office.

Can you give us any indication of whether there is any outing in the future of replacing the Secretary, and could you also tell us the value of the Secretary in that position?

7704001523

THE PRESIDENT: First, let me indicate that I selected Clayton Yeutter, who I think is an outstanding individual, to be one of our top people in our foreign trade negotiations.

I think that is an indication of my great feeling for Clayton Yeutter. I happen to believe that Earl Butz has done an excellent job of defending the interests of agriculture across the board. He has been a great exponent of the free marketplace. He has fought Government restrictions so that farmers can run their farms as they see fit.

I think Earl Butz has done a fine job, and I have asked him to stay and he has agreed to stay until the end of this term. I think most farmers support him. I fully back him.

MORE

7704001532

QUESTION: Mr. President, recent disclosures about the Central Intelligence Agency seemed to have weakened our entire intelligence gathering and interpreting apparatus. As a result, it weakened our defense posture.

If this is true, what is being done to shore up our intelligence and our defense?

THE PRESIDENT: I am disturbed about the actions that are being taken by some to expose some of the past operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, and our intelligence gathering capability generally.

On the other hand, I think the Congress has a responsibility in a proper way to investigate the intelligence communities of the Federal Government. I have been disappointed in some respects.

On the other hand, you may have heard that this morning I came to an agreement with Chairman Pike on a method by which we can handle declassified material. The vote was 10 to 3 in that committee, which shows we are working together to handle these delicate matters together, in a proper way.

In the meantime, or prior to that, I appointed the Rockefeller Commission that investigated the allegations of improper domestic spying by the Central Intelligence Agency. They made some recommendations to me. The Murphy Commission did the same.

The net result is some time in the very near future I will make specific recommendations to improve the internal workings of the Central Intelligence Agency and the other intelligence groups, and they will not only be administrative but legislative proposals.

In that way, I think we can restore confidence in the public for the DIA and at the same time lift the morale of the CIA, which unfortunately has suffered in the last few months.

Under no circumstances -- and I want to be very clear on this -- will I permit the dismantling or the destruction of an intelligence agency or community because that does involve our national security.

QUESTION: Mr. President, do you believe that the United States should ever consider a position of using food as a weapon, or at least as a bargaining agent against the oil cartel countries in order to lessen this Nation's dependence on those countries?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't put it that way. I think the great agricultural productivity of this country can be used affirmatively, one, for humanitarian purposes -- and if my recollection is accurate, we, over the past 10 years, provided some $20 billion of P.L. 480 to help many nations in a humane way.

7704001533

In addition, we can use discreetly and properly our surpluses for other reasons--and I don't want to expand for other reasons -- but it is better to put it that way than to come out and say, yes, we are going to do it as a hard line bargaining principle.

We can use it effectively, and we have, and will.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you voiced your support for Secretary Butz and pointed to his support among the farm community. There has been some concern in connection with that that the Secretary has not been sufficiently involved in these grain negotiations as compared to State Department people. What input does Secretary Butz have?

THE PRESIDENT: We have a Grain Subcommittee of the Economic Policy Board, and on at least three occasions where I have attended those meetings Secretary Butz has been present and I have had several meetings with him personally.

I can assure you that Secretary Butz is an affirmative spokesman for agriculture in these areas. On the other hand, he does recognize that we have to look at it in the long-range and I am sure that when the results of these negotiations are published, Secretary Butz' part in it will be a big plus for agriculture as well as for the department.

QUESTION: As a follow-up on that, if I may, a large grain exporter in the upper Midwest contended that a mid-October lifting of the moratorium on the grain shipments will come too late; that the Russians will have gone elsewhere. Is this being taken into consideration in your planning?

THE PRESIDENT: It certainly is. We keep a daily check on world grain supplies and from our point of view, fortunately we are about the only grain supplier left in the world and if anybody really wants to buy sizeable amounts of grain in the future in 1975 they will have to come to the United States.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am told 100 years ago today President Grant visited Omaha. I don't have a question related to that but I thought you might like to know that.

THE PRESIDENT: That is interesting and, as you all know, I was born in Omaha, not quite 100 years ago. (Laughter)

QUESTION: My question is this: You have adopted Vice President Rockefeller's plan for an energy independent authority which involves about $100 billion over a 10-year period. This is a mammoth Federal intervention in the capital marketplace, which is the exact opposite, really, of what you have always said -- as a Government policy you wanted hands off. Does this mean you have given up on the idea the oil companies can come up with alternate sources if we [illegible] oil price?

7704001533

THE PRESIDENT: That authority is primarily for the purpose of undertaking the financing of the synthetic fuel programs which are new, where there could be some failures, where there is a certain degree of uncertainty as to whether they will be productive, whether they will be financially responsible, you have to have, in my opinion, this kind of authority to get those synthetic fuel programs underway.

And there are some other areas in addition to synthetic fuels, but it is basically an instrument like the RFC back in the 1930s and 1940s; for example, the synthetic rubber program which was financed by RFC. This is not an attempt to take over the private financing of ordinary and regular programs and projects, but it does aim at helping us exploit breakthroughs in the scientific world so that synthetic fuels can be more readily made available to the public.

QUESTION: I don't think anybody would disagree with that goal but my question was more to the point of, won't this really create another huge bureaucracy whereas your whole thrust has been to shrink the bureaucracy?

THE PRESIDENT: This is an exception but if you recall my State of the Union message, I said I would advocate no new programs except those related to energy. This falls within that exception.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you have been urging the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to report out on the Sinai agreements by Friday. What is the rush? Is Sadat beginning to waiver?

THE PRESIDENT: The problem there is that the two parties -- Israel and Egypt -- had agreed by, I think, early next week to sign the necessary documents and start the implementation of the withdrawal and the change of lines and so forth. Israel has said that it won't start the implementation until the Congress approves the utilization of up to 200 American technicians.

So we want it through by the time of the signing so that Israel and Egypt will both sign. Egypt has already signed but Israel has this reservation, so time is of the essence, so we can get both of those parties to move toward the actual implementation.

QUESTION: You have said you would like to see the orderly developments of nuclear power and this would certainly be a help in gaining our independence as far as energy is concerned. Right now, going toward nuclear power looks anything but orderly. What do you see in the future so we can look at it as a hopeful sign?

THE PRESIDENT: We have had too many cancellations of plants of nuclear power in the past few months -- very few for safety reasons, most of them for financing reasons. We expect there will be a resurgence of these projects in the months ahead. In the meantime, of course, we are spending vast amounts of money in the Federal Government to make even more certain the safety of nuclear power plants.

It is interesting to point out, however, of all of the nuclear power plants in operation today in the United States there has never been one fatality, not one. But that doesn't mean we shouldn't continue to find safer and better ways for the developments of nuclear power, and I am optimistic as we try to make ourselves less vulnerable to foreign oil cartels that nuclear power plants will come on the line in greater numbers.

QUESTION: They are starting to question what the amount of uranium is at this point. While we are talking about millions and millions going into these plants, there is no question there is a shortage already.

THE PRESIDENT: I have recommended to the Congress what we call a Uranium Enrichment Program that will take care of that contingency. That problem will not arise for four or five years -- through either diffusion process -- so we can take care of that difficulty when it arises in five years or thereabouts.

QUESTION: Mr. President, your airplane landed today-just a short distance from the Strategic Air Command. Fifteen years ago, this country's strategic superiority stood unchallenged in the world. Today, instead of superiority we talk of equivalency.

There has been a slide on our side at the same time the USSR has become more and more powerful and is continuing to do so. Do you expect to see the trend stopped and perhaps reversed?

THE PRESIDENT: Either through the Vladivostok agreement, where we sat the 2,400 limit on launchers and 1,320 limit on MIRVING, either through that process, setting a cap which will provide equivalency, or through us maintaining our program to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union, we will maintain, I can assure you, as far as I am concerned, an adequate equivalency in stragetic capability.

I would prefer to do it through a SALT II agreement if we can get one. That is fair to both sides and [illegible] But if we can't, I can assure you that I will recommend whatever the budget requirements are -- adequate fundings for SAC operations and for all other related strategic programs.

7704001533

QUESTION: Do you believe that the B-1 will continue at full speed in spite of the problems in Congress with the budget?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't guarantee what Congress is going to do. I can only doubly guarantee you what I will do.

We are going to keep the B-1 program going to the maximum capability productionwise, trainingwise, deploymentwise. I get very upset when the Congress slows it down for one reason or another. I think it is wrong. But, we are going to keep after them because it is vitally important.

QUESTION: Mr. President, is your Administration proposing any new means to lessen the welfare red tape and expenditures in this country?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we are, on an almost daily basis, trying to do it in HEW. I have my domestic Council now working on a way to try and remedy some of the defects in the food stamp program -- and there are many of them, not only cost, but bad management.

In the meantime, we hope to -- well, we are, we are not hoping. Vice President Rockefeller is going to have a series of meetings around the country where all people, those who want more or those who want less in the field of welfare, can come in and testify and make specific recommendations so we will have the benefit of people at the local level.

But, in the meantime, we are working -- I mean literally working -- to try and improve, cut down the mistakes and the cost of welfare so that we can get more deserved welfare to the people who ought to have it and cut out those that shouldn't qualify.

QUESTION: It is my understanding, Mr. President, you will be meeting with Mrs. Caroline Stenderwick, a local representative of the MIA organization, before your departure from Omaha.

The families of these missing men tell us they are seeking a more aggressive attitude from your Administration, especially from Secretary Kissinger, in determing the fate of their husbands and fathers.

Is there anything especially hopeful you will be able to tell Mrs. Stenderwick when you meet with her today?

7704001 5331

THE PRESIDENT: I have met at least once as President and once as Vice President with the representatives of the MIA. In addition, on several occasions, in other communities -- Dallas, for example -- I have met with either parents or widows of MIA's.

I can assure you that the Defense Department, the State Department and myself have made every possible effort that we can to get the North Vietnamese to permit us to move in and check on the sites or the locations where we understand there is some possibility a crash might have occurred, or a person might have escaped.

But, the North Vietnamese have totally violated the January 1973 accords by failing to permit us to carry out these investigations.

The House of Representatives has just approved and appointed a committee to investigate the whole subject. We will give that committee, under Congressman Montgomery of Mississippi, our full cooperation, lay out in detail what we have done and what the problem is which, in this case, is North Vietnam.

I can assure her, as I am saying here, that we have made and will continue to make a maximum effort in this regard.

QUESTION: I was going to ask a very light question, Mr. President, but now I am afraid to after that heavy answer.

Some people feel that there is a lack of leadership, or perhaps I should say a lack of inspirational leadership, from the top in the energy crisis situation, and I will tell you what I mean by that.

All of the accent seems to be put on -- how can we become independent of foreign sources--and obviously we have to do that--but shouldn't more emphasis be put on conserving because this is probably only the forerunner of a number of world shortages, and we don't have any feeling of crisis about it.

Do you really think, for instance, this country should continue to use 30 to 35 percent of the world's energy?

THE PRESIDENT: We have always said the answer to the energy problem for the United States is, one, stimulation of new sources and conservation of the energy we have. Every document I have ever sent to the Congress, every statement I have ever made, emphasizes both new sources of energy and conservation of those that we have.

7704011533

In my energy program that I submitted in January of this year, we put a considerable amount of emphasis on conservation. The United States has squandered energy, we squander energy today, and we have to convince people they should drive less, they should use less energy in their homes, not quite as cool in the summer or hot in the winter.

We have urged the automotive industry to build automobiles that have a higher degree of efficiency, and I am glad to report -- you may have seen the new models -- I think increase the energy use, or they will cut back on gasoline to an average of 13 percent. This is a response which is good.

I couldn't agree with you more, but you know it takes a crisis sometimes to get people to do what they should.

QUESTION: But we are really in a crisis, are we not?

THE PRESIDENT: We certainly are.

QUESTION: Then what I was trying to find out is, don't you really think a direct appeal to the people -- I think people would sacrifice, I really do.

THE PRESIDENT: We have tried it. We have made some headway, obviously, because the use of energy is down, whether it is gasoline, whether it is heating oil, whether it is any of the other sources of energy.

But, it is not enough, and I continue to urge it and, of course, the increase of price by the OPEC nations ought to make people more conscious of our vulnerability and make Congress more responsive to passing a better -- or any -- legislation.

7704001533

QUESTION: Mr. President, in the wake of the recent attacks on your life--in some cases maybe an alleged attack on your life--has it caused you to take second thoughts, or your family ask you to take second thoughts about running for re-election, and are there any conditions under which you would not seek re-election next year?

THE PRESIDENT: I can foresee no circumstances that would preclude me from seeking election in 1976. My family fully supports my candidacy. They are enthusiastic about it. My wife thinks I ought to be a little more careful and cautious as I travel around the country, and she isn't the only one, obviously.

But we are using, I think, greater discretion and prudence and, on the other hand, for me to sit in Washington and just go through papers making decisions when I can do that and at the same time come to Omaha or to Chicago or to other places, I think it is important.

The American people ought to have an opportunity to see first hand or to listen more directly with their President, and we aren't going to let unusual circumstances deter us from a responsible effort to travel in this country.

QUESTION: Many Presidents lately have made declarations concerning crime and the problems of crime and that something has to be done about it. Certainly, this is an area you must have given a lot of thought to lately.

If you could point out the biggest need you think needs to change today to help stop the pattern that crime has taken in the Nation, what would it be?

THE PRESIDENT: I set that forth in a crime message to the Congress where I said, "Our concern to date ought to be for the victims of crime." The crime message that I sent to the Congress calls for mandatory sentences for those that participate in a crime of violence using a gun, and we have urged the courts to increase their confinement of convicted criminals.

Too many criminals today, after they have been convicted, are put off on probation. There ought to be a penalty for the committing of a crime and that means confinement. Whether it is six months or some other term, I believe mandatory sentences are required in certain crimes.

I believe the courts have to be firmer and I think [illegible]y -- you know, it is unbelievable, but a very, very high percentage of crime today is done by a very limited number of people, professional criminals, and they ought to be behind the bars.

7704001 5337

QUESTION: Mr. President, there has been -- from time to time there have been reports of controversy between Dr. Schlesinger and Dr. Kissinger, the latest being the question of the Pershing missile for Israel. Is there indeed disharmony in your Cabinet in that regard and, if so, what are you doing about it?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there is any disharmony. On some occasions two very able people have some disagreements but there is nothing that has seriously jeopardized the execution of our foreign policy or the carrying out of our national security program.

In the case of the Pershing missile, the shopping list that was given to us by Israel was known to the Pentagon. There is no question about that. Whether Secretary Schlesinger saw it or not I can't guarantee, but the Pentagon had that shopping list, no question about it.

But that was only a minor incident, really. I have two fine Secretaries and, if there are any differences, I make the choice and sometimes it is healthy to have a different viewpoint as long as somebody can make a decision.

QUESTION: On that note, we say thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: It was a pleasure and I appreciate it.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

END (AT 2:28 P.M. CDT)

7704001533

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OCTOBER 1, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Omaha, Nebraska)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
AT THE
NEBRASKA/IOWA WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND THE ECONOMY

THE OMAHA HILTON HOTEL

4:35 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Governor Exon, Senator Curtis, Senator Hruska, Mr. Kenefick, my old friend, President Woody Varner, members of the Cabinet, your good mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor and a particular thrill to come back to the town where you were born and meet with such friendly and warm receptions from all of you.

I do have to admit I couldn't help but notice that ad in this morning's World Herald, the one that offered to trade eight tickets to this White House Conference (Laughter) for standing room at the Miami-Nebraska game tomorrow. (Laughter) If I had the time, I think I would make the switch myself. (Laughter)

I am here today to listen and to learn. As a native of Omaha, it is good to be back. Although I left when I was extremely young, I don't really remember much about it.

It is a privilege to be in Omaha, and I like what I see in 1975. I am particularly pleased to be in the heartland of the United States, and in this heartland of the United States, the American farmer has produced a miracle of abundance which is the envy of the rest of the world.

Think of it. Less than 5 percent of our country's population feeds the remaining 95 percent, with enough left over to significantly suppliment the food needs of much of the rest of the world, the free world and that behind the Iron Curtin.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001539

Last year alone, the United States exported, as many of you know, nearly $22 billion worth of various agricultural commodities. Without these exports, our country would have had a huge balance of payments deficit. Our dollar would have been weakened abroad, and we would be paying far higher prices for all the imports that we get from many, many countries.

The American farmer not only raises crops, but the facts are he raises the overall standard of living of all Americans, 214 million of us.

Yet, the American farmer has too often been made the scapegoat of many of our economic problems. If the price of meat goes up, blame the farmer. If the price of milk goes up, blame the farmer. Well, you and I know the farmer is not to blame for the high prices we have today.

Fortunately, we are making some substantial progress against the battle against inflation. The latest figure shows that the cost of living rose only two-tenths of 1 percent, the smallest monthly increase in more than three years.

Contrary to the finger pointing at our farmers, food prices held relatively stable. The small rise was accounted for by other commodities and other services.

But, let me emphasize this, if I might: The good news of one month does not mean that the battle against inflation has been won. It does mean we can and, more importantly, we will win this fight against inflation if we keep the pressure on.

Let me assure you the victory will not be achieved at the expense of America's farmers. Nor will farmers suffer on the international grain markets from actions of my Administration.

I know there has been some criticism by some for a temporary halt to grain sales to the Soviet Union. If I might, I would like to bring you up to date.

Last year, in a visit to Lincoln, Nebraska, I urged farmers of this State, as well as farmers throughout the country, to plant full crops.

I advocated a policy of agricultural production across the board, full production for the entire Nation.

I am here to tell you that your crops will be sold and at fair market prices. But, just as important, we must get the farmer off that roller coaster of up and down purchases which has been the Russian pattern for the last five years.

The United States enjoys fruitful and relatively predictable grain trading relations with Japan and many European countries. Farmers under those arrangements know approximately how much will be sold and can plan for it. Stable trade helps the farmer as well as the consumer. That is precisely why we are in the process of negotiating a long-term agreement involving agriculture with the Soviet Union, and agreements along the lines we are now concluding with Poland. We must and we will bring stability, predictability to the planning process of the American farmer.

Let me illustrate: Soviet grain purchases from the United States have fluctuated considerably in the last five years, from a low of about 74 million bushels in one crop season to a high of 524 million bushels in another.

So far this season the Soviet Union has purchased 399 million bushels and I can say to you that Russian sales will be increased beyond that figure, and I think it will be a good figure.

Under the agreements that we seek, fixed minimum grain purchases each season by the Soviets will be established for a five-year period at the going market price. More importantly, these agreements will be in the long-term best interest of the farmer as well as the consumer. Having said that, let me turn to another subject.

I am determined that our energy crisis in America will be solved in the long-term best interests of the farmer and of all Americans. The damaging effects of continued delay in achieving energy independence were dramatically headlined just the other day when OPEC oil producing cartel nations raised oil prices by 10 percent. The arbitrary and excessive OPEC price increases of 1973 and 1974 seriously depressed economic productivity and accelerated inflation, not only here in the United States but throughout the world, in industrial nations as well as underdeveloped nations.

The latest prices, the price increases announced over the last several days will worsen inflation and hinder economic recovery on a worldwide basis. There is absolutely no economic justification for this latest price increase.

It proves beyond any doubt whatsoever that we as a Nation must move quickly and we must chart our own energy program, and there has been too much delay already. Time after time, starting last January 14, I warned Members of Congress that the United States was becoming more and more and more vulnerable to the price increases imposed by other nations.

I have appealed to the Congress to approve my program, or come up with its own program, to free America from dependence on foreign oil suppliers. I offered to compromise again and again and again.

7704001341

Two days ago I agreed once more to such a compromise, to the decontrol of domestic oil prices, by signing a bill extending for another 47 days, to November 15, the control of domestic oil prices. And in that period of time Congress can either arrive at either a sound and mutually acceptable plan for phased decontrol or, as an alternative, pass emergency legislation that I have recommended to cushion the immediate impact of decontrol on certain of our domestic aspects of the economy.

If they won't pass a phased decontrol program that is acceptable, then I propose that they move with speed as follows: I propose to assure adequate propane gas for millions of farmers and others living in rural areas, and in mobile homes; I propose to protect heating oil and independent retail gasoline dealers from arbitrary curtailments and cutoff from suppliers; I propose to assure independent refiners of adequate crude oil supplies at reasonable prices; and I propose to protect the purchasing power of consumers through a consumer refund provision in a windfall profits tax on oil companies.

The claim by some procrastinating Members of Congress that they are trying to hold down consumer prices, in my judgment, is just plain nonsense. Obviously, the Congress cannot hold oil prices established by OPEC down. That is beyond their control. Those prices are going up and they produce or sell to us approximately 40 percent of our oil consumed in the United States.

As I see it, the Congress is merely postponing very hard and unpleasant choices that must be made and is attempting to blame high fuel prices on everybody but themselves. This is almost unbelievable. Since controls on domestic oil went into effect in 1971, our bill for imported oil has increased more than 700 percent. Yet a majority in the Congress does nothing to reverse our growing oil dependency and increasing vulnerability to the whims of foreign oil producers.

American people should recognize, if the Congress will not, that the real issue over price controls on oil is not between cheap energy and expensive energy. There is no cheap energy any more.

The real issue is twofold: first, whether we will achieve energy independence to provide us in the long run as a Nation with the lowest possible competitive priced energy; and second, whether we will keep America's wealth in America or send it overseas in ever increasing amounts.

In 1971, the United States paid out roughly $3 billion to foreign oil producers. In 1974, just three years later, this figure jumped to $25 billion, about $360 for every single American family.

This could top $32 billion within the next two years if the Congress does not act. And it is estimated that the 10 percent increase that was announced a few days ago will add approximately $2 billion to the present outflow of American dollars to foreign oil producers.

Now if this money was spent at home in the United States, this $25 billion would employ roughly one million American workers. It would obviously speed our economic growth. These are American jobs and American salaries that I am talking about.

But that is what American energy independence will achieve for this country. Letting the OPEC oil cartel dictate America's economic growth is absurd. When the price of gasoline goes up at the pump, I want the American people to know exactly where the blame lies. Until Congress acts there is nothing this country can do about arbitrary OPEC oil price increases and there may still be another increase in six months or thereabouts.

So far I have met with literally thousands of Americans at the various Presidential town meetings, meetings which have been characterized as functions to listen and to learn. They have been invaluable to me and to my associates. During today's meetings you have covered a lot of issues in the good spirit of give and take and you have heard from a number of members of my Administration.

It is now my privilege to listen to you and seek to respond to your inquiries. And I understand the first question is to be asked by Mr. Kenefick.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am John Kenefick, representing the Omaha Chamber of Commerce. On a number of occasions you have indicated a desire to reduce the degree of Government involvement in the affairs of business, particularly small business.

In light of the tendency of Government bureaucracy to perpetuate and enlarge itself, what concrete steps can be taken to accomplish this regimen?

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Kenefick, a number of things can be done. Every department and agency of the Federal Government can survey its requirements that are imposed on business, on individuals, and seek to eliminate the multitude of forms that require everybody in one form or another to fill out, and this goes to the people who have to fill out forms when they apply for welfare, to somebody who has to fill out a form for a direct Government loan.

7704001534

The head of the Office of Management and Budget estimated there are roughly 5,200 such applications or forms now required by various agencies. I told Jim Lynn that he has got to cut that down, and 12 months from now I want a report showing at least 300 to 400 less of those.

Now, there are some other requirements. Various independent agencies--the FCC, the CAB, the ICC, the Federal Trade Commission--they are also on the backs of individuals and businesses.

We have sought to work with them in conjunction with the Congress to get them to eliminate some of their outmoded, outdated regulatory requirements. I must admit, it is harder to achieve than what it appears to be.

Let me give you an illustration of how ridiculous Government regulations can become. I understand there is an individual who owns one of these large retail marketing places. He was told by one Federal agency that he had to smooth out the surface that people walked on.

The next agency came along -- in this case, an occupational safety and health organization -- and said he had to make the surfaces rougher so people wouldn't slip. Now, it is just ridiculous to have two agencies of the Federal Government telling the same person, the same organization, to do things differently.

We are trying to straighten it out. The Congress has promised to help. I can assure you, we are going to keep the pressure on them.

Woody Varner, a part-time Michigander. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am a full-time Nebraskan now, I can assure you. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: A has-been Michigander. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Mr. President, as you know, I am President of the University of Nebraska.

Let me first, on behalf of the educational community, tell you how pleased we are with your choice of David Mathews as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

As President of the University of Alabama, he had a distinguished career, and we are satisfied he will bring those great skills to your Administration in the service of this country.

7704001534

Let me add on a personal note this has been a very satisfying day for me because this is the first time since the Nebraska-Alabama football game in the Sugar Bowl that Dave Mathews has spoken to me. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: He had a bad Tuesday after that first Monday. (Laughter)

QUESTION: I understand the timing of his resignation at the University had something to do with that Missouri football game. (Laughter)

Mr. President, I think all of us are impressed with your response to John Kenefick's question about helping in the regulatory end of the business community. We have similar problems in the educational community.

We did a survey at our institution a few days ago and were shocked to discover that by what we think is a conservative estimate, we are spending between $200,000 and $250,000 a year in manpower in filling out Federal forms and reports.

While they recognize there must be some surveillance from the Federal partner in education, we wonder if it might not be in the interest of efficiency and the educational community and good Government to give some consideration to, not in the spirit of proliferation, but in the spirit of consolidation, consider the creation of a separate department of education to deal with our problems?

THE PRESIDENT: I know there have been a number of recommendations in that regard, and since the formation of HEW, back about 1954 or 1955, if I recall correctly, the amount of money and the responsibility of HEW has just exploded.

As a matter of fact, David Mathews' department spends more money than the Department of Defense, and it is probably over the years going to have increased financial, as well as administrative, responsibilities.

I am not yet convinced that we should split it up, but if the problems get greater, if the responsibilities increase, I think we ought to take a look at it.

At this point, I am not convinced there ought to be a split up, taking education out from health and welfare, but as time goes on, I don't think we should just hold on to something because it was good when it was started 20 years ago.

But, for the moment, I wouldn't go any further than to say we will take a look at it, and we will reserve the judgment until the survey comes in.

7704001534;

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, William Brennan, the President of the Nebraska AFL-CIO.

I am glad you got to wheat before I did. I am afraid we might get Mr. Butz back in the act. Have you and Mr. Burns about given up on the idea that tight money will slow down inflation?

THE PRESIDENT: As you know, sir, the Federal Reserve Board is an autonomous, independent agency of the Federal Government. They do control the supply of money, and they have an impact, a significant impact, on interest rates by way of the decisions they make.

Our responsibility in the Federal Government and the Executive Branch in conjunction with the Congress is to attack the problem of inflation by responsible fiscal policy.

Now, I think both monetary policy, under Mr. Burns and his associates, and fiscal policy, under the Executive and Congressional branches, must go hand in hand. If we are going to have an irresponsible fiscal policy, I think Mr. Burns, or Dr. Burns, has to try to moderate it with decisions that the Federal Reserve Board makes.

At the present time, they have a policy of monetary expansion of roughly 5 to 7-1/2 percent, and I was talking to knowledgeable authorities the other day, and in the last few days there has been some tapering off of short-term interest rates, which has to indicate that the Federal Reserve Board is trying to judge the circumstances on almost a day-to-day or week-by-week basis.

I do believe the Federal Reserve Board has to have a role. We want them to expand money. We want them to be cognizant of the interest rate problem, but we can't just push them aside and tell them not to do anything affirmatively or negatively because the history of economic conditions does so that they can play a constructive role.

I honestly believe that they are in tune with the problems that we face in the economy in America, and I think you will see a policy that will provide for an adequate expansion of the supply of money and a responsibility as to interest rates themselves.

May I, if I can now, gratituously answer a question that you alluded to.

At the time that we were initiating negotiations with the Soviet Union for the substantial sale this year and the substantial sales of grain for the next five years, it was important to get the delivery of the 10.3 million tons of grain already sold transported and shipped, and my negotiations with Mr. Meany and others resulted in an understanding that these shipments would be made.

As you know, and others know, Teddy Gleason's group is loading the ships, the grain is going out and this assurance is helpful in the sales that will be made this year because there will be a dependability of delivery. That is important, as well as price, as well as the sales overall.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: I am Ricky Salisbury, Nebraska Women's Political Caucus.

First of all, I would like to ask that you relay a message to your wife when you return to Washington. This message comes not only from the National Women's Political Caucus, but the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

Please express our appreciation to her for her efforts in behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment.

THE PRESIDENT: She must be doing something right. There was a poll taken in Pennsylvania a few weeks ago, and it showed her with a 77 percent performance job approval and mine was about 51 percent. (Laughter)

QUESTION: My question is this: During the deliberation and selection process for your Vice Presidential choice, it was reported by the media that several women were considered for this high office. Is this true, and would you identify these women? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I can tell you that among those that were considered for the Vice Presidential nomination by me there were several women, but I don't think that I should identify them.

I would like to add, however, we have a very able, as well as attractive, member of the Cabinet, Mrs. Carla Hills. She is really doing a fine job in the Department of HUD, but I really would take Executive privilege if I could -- (Laughter) -- in not naming the women that were on the list and were considered.

7704001547

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Fred Rose, representing the Nebraska Press Association.

I think as members of the Press Association, we would be remiss if we did not commend you and your staff for these Conferences, which certainly indicates an openness in Government.

Our Governor, Jim Exon, Nebraska's number one sage -- and second nationally only to the Secretary of Agriculture (Laughter) -- this morning asked Mr. Butz when the embargo on new grain sale exports would be lifted.

Do you have a timetable on this subject, which you discussed earlier?

THE PRESIDENT: I have our top negotiator and staff in Moscow now. They went back on Monday. We have made considerable progress. I am optimistic, but I have learned a long time ago that until we get something in hand, it is always premature to make any specific announcements.

We are pushing hard. It looks very favorable for something that is good for, as I said, farmer as well as consumer, but I would hesitate to tell you a precise date.

I have learned also in negotiating with the Soviet Union it is better to remain flexible than to pick a deadline. You have a better chance of getting a better deal if you just negotiate from strength rather than binding yourself to a date certain, so I can't give you a date. I hope it is very soon.

QUESTION: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: I wish I could announce it today, but I, unfortunately, can't.

QUESTION: Mr. President, John Nelson, President of the Council Bluffs Chamber of Commerce.

In light of the need for high productivity among our industrial workers and the fact that relative to many foreign basic industries that we compete with, the productivity per worker is considerably below, making it difficult for us to compete.

What specific policies can be brought to bear in order to encourage investment versus consumption and Governmental spending in the private sector to modernize our industry?

7704001540

THE PRESIDENT: I have been encouraged in the last two months -- I think the Department of Commerce, or the Department of Labor, I don't recall which, indicated that we are now beginning to show clear signs of increased productivity of the American worker, and that is very encouraging.

That is one of the best ways to beat inflation, but in addition, I firmly believe that the investment tax credit, which was approved or expanded -- not approved, as we had it at 7 percent, it is now up to 12, it is really 11, but there is another added 1 percent -- investment tax credit, if properly used, can permit us to modernize our industrial capacity so that we will have better equipment, better plants to challenge the modern European industrial capacity, and particularly the Japanese industrial capacity.

So, we depend upon new machinery, new plants, plus increased productivity of the individual worker. That, in my judgment, is the best way for us to compete abroad with the products of other countries, plus one other thing.

I am sure you noticed for the last five or six months we have had an excellent favorable balance of trade. In other words, we have shipped far more than we have imported.

One of the reasons is the fact that we have managed our problem of inflation better than almost any other country. Our products today are selling better because of our improved handling of the problem of inflation.

A year ago, prices were at the annual rate of 14 percent, the inflation rate. Today, for the last five months, it is about 4-1/2 percent. If we can make that kind of progress, we will compete, we will increase our exports and have a much better economic situation in the United States.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Jim Evans, Executive Director of the Urban League of Nebraska.

In Nebraska, over 20 percent of the minorities -- blacks, Indians, Chicanos -- are unemployed, and among the minority youth, the figure is closer to 50 percent. Local business, industry, Government have not been able to provide an adequate number of jobs and opportunities for minorities.

As a result, we have a disproportionate number of young minorities in our prisons and a disproportionate number of young minority mothers on welfare. What plans does your Administration have to try to bring the level of minority unemployment down to that 6 percent level we talk about for the Nation?

THE PRESIDENT: Number one, it is vitally important to improve the total economic circumstances, lowering unemployment to a figure between four and six percent. We are not there yet by any means, but I think we have made some headway and we will make some more in the months ahead. And that will come about as we improve the general economic situation in America.

In the meantime, we do have programs such as the summer youth program where I recommended and Congress approved roughly $450 million for this past summer to give jobs to the youth of America who were unemployed.

We have a number of manpower training programs that seek to train an individual for a specific job in industry or in the service area. We have a number of programs that help particularly the less well off continue in the field of higher education. I am sure you would agree with me that the better educated minorities are, the better prospects they have for better jobs.

So we have to get more of them into the main stream of higher education and we are making headway there. Those are the kind of programs that I think, maybe not tomorrow, but in the relatively long circumstances, will provide better jobs and more meaningful jobs than the circumstances are today.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President, but for our minority youth, you know it has been a long time already.

THE PRESIDENT: I agree but the quicker we get out economy back on its feet -- and are making headway -- that is the best way to get most of them in those circumstances taken care of.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Tom McFarland, Teamsters Local Union Number 544.

We would like to ask, what are the tentative plans of this Administration to erase or modify the conflict of agency rule between the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Opportunity Commission as it relates to organized labor application of the seniority provisions of their contracts? (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say this: The NLRB is an independent commission or board and the last thing I think you would want me to do is to tell them, if I could, what they should do, because the interference in those independent boards and commissions by a President should not be tolerated. In fact, any such direct interference should be condemned.

7704001350

I must say that, if there is a conflict it ought to be resolved by a common sense approach by the NLRB on the one hand, and the other agency on the other. We will look into it.

I frankly confess I am not an expert on this but we will look into it and see what we can do to straighten it out without interfering with the independent status of the NLRB.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes?

QUESTION: Mr. President, my name is Steve Kampfe and I am representing the Nebraska Future Farmers of America.

Mr. President, with the demand and need for well qualified personnel in agriculture and agribusiness occupations, and the decreased number of farm-reared youth, what role is the Federal Government going to play in dealing with this issue in a financial way through vocational education?

THE PRESIDENT: It is my understanding or reaction that in the vocational education program overall, in recent weeks or months there has been an order issued that permits the Future Farmers of America and five other comparable organizations as active participants in organizations that will get financial assistance in the handling of vocational education.

This will be implemented. I think it is a right step and I am sure that the Future Farmers of America as well as the other five organizations will carry out a very constructive and appropriate role in teaching young people who are interested to be good farmers so we can produce a better crop and a larger supply. But that is my understanding of what we are doing with the six organizations such as the Future Farmers.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Dr. Holthaus, Dean of the School of Medicine at Creighton University.

I am sure you know, Mr. President, that in the State of Nebraska we have two schools of medicine and two schools of dentistry. Together we produce 255 M.D.'s every year and 142 dentists. This represents 176 physicians per million population and 97 dentists per million population. This is by far and away in excess of the rate of production of any other [illegible] in the Union.

7704001535

We have done this in response to the Federal mandate and in response to the demands of the American public for more physicians and dentists.

In order to continue to do this at this rate, it is absolutely essential that we continue to receive Federal support either directly to the institution or in the form of Federal dollars available for student loans.

Recently the Federal support of medical and dental education has tended to trail off. My question to you, Mr. President, is: What position will you take in regard to current Federal legislation which is being designed to support medical and dental education?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't recall the precise figures but we have had a substantial program that, number one, added to or built new facilities for medical schools. We have had programs that permit student loans to medical students. We have had programs in the Department of Defense where a person can get rather substantial financial aid if he is going to medical school, providing he agrees to take two or four or five years, whatever the number is, and stay in the Army, Navy, Air Force or Marines.

I can't quote you the precise figure, but it has been substantial both in buildings and financial support to the universities, or the medical schools, and as to students.

I don't want to kid you that we are going to recommend a substantial increase in this area. I think I have to be very honest and very frank with you. We have had a good program. We will continue a responsible program, but I don't think it is fair to you or to any other medical school or dental school to say that we are going to substantially increase the ratio of Federal support. We will continue but I think States have to be active participants, as they have in many cases, but we have a serious financial crisis in the Federal Government with a deficit this fiscal year of better than $60 billion, and the probability, if Congress has its way, of it being over $70 billion.

So the likelihood of any expansion of any Federal programs is not encouraging. We will do our best, as I think the Federal Government has in the past, but I can't stand up here and promise there will be an expansion when I see the overall fiscal problems facing the Federal Government.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

[illegible] Mr. President, I am Morris Miller, representing Ak-Sar-Ben, the Midwest's largest civic organization. We specialize in support of all types of agribusiness activity.

My question is this: Do you contemplate negotiations with nations other than the USSR for long-term contracts covering our sale to them of agricultural products?

THE PRESIDENT: As I indicated, we are also in the process of negotiating with Poland. The Secretary of Agriculture had their comparable agricultural leader in the government here last week, or this week, and we are making very substantial headway with them.

Of course, they have not been as large a buyer and don't potentially have as large a purchase program as the Soviet Union, but we believe that the more agreements we make with countries such as Japan, the Soviet Union, Poland, and others, the better it is for agriculture over the long haul. It is easier to do it with States such as Poland and the Soviet Union because they buy as a government and, if you make such an agreement, I think it is a good investment and we will do it with any government that will give us a long-term purchasing agreement so that they take our agricultural products at fair market prices in the marketplace, and we have some great prospects in the relatively near future.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Carl Spelts, President of the Nebraska Association of Commerce and Industry.

There is no doubt that the big concern of the business and industrial community in Nebraska is inflation, excessive inflation, and it is the consensus of opinion that the cause of this inflation is excessive spending at the Federal level.

The question is: What can you and your Administration do to convince Congress that continued Federal spending will be the ruination of our economy and, also, what can we, as an association, do to help?

THE PRESIDENT: I feel very strongly that the excessive spending at the Federal level is a basic cause of inflation. A $60 billion deficit of the Federal Government this year, this 12-month period, is bad. It will be that much worse if Congress forces us to spend another $10 billion, which will make it $70 billion, or another $20 billion, which will make it $80 billion.

Now we are making some headway. I vetoed 38 bills since I took office about a year ago. (Laughter) All but several have been sustained, sustained by one-third or better. Those that have been sustained have saved roughly $6 billion.

7704001535

And I am going to veto some more if they keep sending them down with excessive spending. It just has to be done if we are going to preserve any fiscal integrity.

I have found recently in the Congress a greater realization of this problem. First, in 1974 they passed a new budget act which sets a spending ceiling by April 15 every year on expenditures, and I think both Senator Curtis and Senator Hruska would agree with me that that requirement has made the Congress considerably more responsible at least in the recognition, if not in the action, on how to handle spending.

But how we educate the American people, I think this has to be done in our schools, in our various civic organizations, through the news media. A $60 billion to $70 billion deficit this year and another one of $30 billion, $40 billion or $50 billion next year -- that is not healthy as we try to combat the problems of inflation.

So I just hope everybody understands it is not that we want to be penurious, because virtually every program this year got as much or vitally more than they got last year as required by law. And we just can't go on without taking some firm, tough action.

QUESTION: Thank you, sir.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Jim Wengert, Secretary-Treasurer of the Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

I think you have touched on my question by one of the other gentlemen that asked it, so I will kind of rephrase my question.

Because we just got over the State AFL-CIO convention here in Iowa a couple of weeks ago, and I think the State of Iowa, at least from our membership standpoint at that convention, was that we don't want handouts in this country. We want jobs.

Along that kind of a theme, could you support a program in this country that the Government of this country would become the employer of last resort so our people can get jobs?

THE PRESIDENT: I might say Dr. Arthur Burns just recommended that. So let me put it this way: It all depends on how you define it. Dr. Burns -- and I talked to him about it the other day -- his thought of the Government being an employer of last resort -- and he spelled this out in a speech down in Atlanta -- is that you hire people at less than the minimum wage but you give them a job on the theory that, if they are working at less than the minimum wage it is an incentive for them to go out and find a better job. I don't think that is what you are thinking of.

QUESTION: No, I am not. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: So that is why I think you have to define what you are talking about as the Government being an employer of last resort.

I was about to say earlier I was glad to see the Iowa AFL-CIO and Arthur Burns agreeing.

QUESTION: No, that isn't true.

THE PRESIDENT: But obviously in this case you don't.

I think that the present program of unemployment insurance with the extended material we have, which is enough incentive to get people to look for jobs, is better than a massive program.

Now I am not saying we don't have massive programs to some extent. We have public service employment jobs now that cost us about $4 billion to $5 billion a year. Now that employs roughly 350,000 people who are not otherwise employed, and that is done primarily through your city and State agencies.

For us to undertake a job to hire everybody, I think is not the right approach. We want jobs emphasized in the private sector and, if we handle our affairs properly, we won't have to resort either to extended unemployment compensation or employment with the Government as that agency of last resort.

That is an easy phrase but I just think there are enough problems in it that we ought to find other answers primarily in the private sector.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Wendell Gangwish, one of the farmers that you referred to a number of times earlier, speaking on behalf of the members of the Nebraska Farmer Bureau Federation.

First of all, I want to commend you and your Cabinet for bringing the conference to Omaha, and Secretary Butz did more than a commendable job in setting the tone for the conference.

Now in Nebraska we have a little bit more than above average football team. We think --

THE PRESIDENT: We thought we had one at Michigan, too, but they had a little trouble, but they are going to do all right. (Laughter)

7704001335

QUESTION: When our boys come on the field to play, the referees officiate the game and call the plays by the same rules for both teams. You have taken a strong stance in the decontrol of oil which, to me and to us, is saying that the marketplace is the place to establish price.

Now some two to three years ago we were witnessing price controls. We saw these controls lifted with one exception---beef. Now we are currently witnessing some restriction in feed grains.

My question is, Mr. President, we would like to be one of the teams and have the game called by the same rules. We kind of look at this as somewhat of a bending of the rules. We would like to see the marketplace the determining place for the price of agricultural products.

THE PRESIDENT: Before answering your very appropriate question, wouldn't all of you like to have Michigan beat Missouri on Saturday? (Laughter)

QUESTION: No, no, no. (Laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I have said, and I will repeat it here, I do not think that wage and price controls are the right remedy for a healthy economy in the United States, period.

I am not familiar with any controls we have on the price of agricultural commodities, including feed grains. We have a temporary suspension of world sales to the Soviet Union, but for a purpose of making the market for agricultural products -- corn, wheat, feed grains -- better, and I think of four to six weeks delay at the most is the best way to get that assured market.

In the meantime, as I recall grain prices--what is it, wheat is about $4.20; corn is about $3.05. I have forgotten what soybeans are -- $5-something, is it? We are going to see that the farmer gets a good price, fair price in the marketplace, but we are also interested in having him an assured market over a long period of time from a buyer that will buy a lot of corn and wheat, et cetera.

If we can just be a little patient for this interim where we haven't had any precipitous drop in wheat and corn prices in the last month -- have we, Earl?

SECRETARY BUTZ: They have increased.

THE PRESIDENT: As I say, I think they are in pretty good shape, but we want a big market and that in the long-term is in the best interest. And a little time, if you are a little more patient, we will get a good deal for you.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I am Paul Amen, representing the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce.

Here in the Midwest we sense that pressure is building in Washington to have the Federal Government rescue financially New York City. What is the Administration's position at this time?

THE PRESIDENT: How many here would urge that the Federal Government bail out New York City? (Laughter) Here is one gentleman.

New York is in terrible shape. Even after the indications that they were going to straighten out their problems under a three-year program, they are going to have a deficit between income and outgo this year of $1 billion.

That is unbelievable. They won't get to a balanced budget even under this program of austerity until three years from now. They are in a fiscal bind caused by bad management for the last ten or 12 years.

Mayor Beame is not totally responsible for it. His predecessors were contributors. They have a tough job. There is, at the present time -- and I see no prospect of any change -- any Federal bailout.

We, I think, have to be cognizant of what might happen in financial markets. Not only the banks in New York City, but banks all over the country, hold bonds and paper from the City of New York.

But, I think there are remedies within existing law that can ameliorate many of those problems. I don't think that the Federal Government ought to step in and, in effect, begin to manage the City of New York. I didn't recommend that the State of New York move in, but they did, and now they may have compounded the problem.

Nevertheless, I find little sentiment in the Congress -- and obviously I found very little here (Laughter) -- for the Federal Government to come in and bail out bad fiscal management over a period of time in the City of New York.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

QUESTION: Mr. President, Beverly Evertt, representing the American Association of University Women.

7704001 5357

I would like to shift gears, if I may, and get us a little bit into international economics. I would like to ask that of the demands, six or seven of them, made by the Third World countries in regard to the new economic order, which do you see as being of benefit both to the United States and to those nations?

I am speaking of the release of debt. I am speaking of the sovereignty over natural resources, and that list of six or seven that has been brought out in the United Nations of late.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, at the seventh special session that took place a month ago, Secretary Kissinger made a very broad speech in response to the demands of the underdeveloped nations. They, of course, talk about a new world order. We don't think their problems, the sale of their natural resources, necessarily argue for a new world economic order.

We would rather talk in terms of taking each one of the commodities and handling them on a case-by-case basis -- zinc, tin, bauxite, coffee, et cetera.

So, we are not going to be a part of any scheme to establish a new world order, a new world economic order. I want that crystal clear. But, we will work with those nations, as Secretary Kissinger said, on a case-by-case basis of trying to assure them of adequate income from their natural resources.

The approach that we took with Secretary Kissinger's speech has created a totally new and a very beneficial attitude by these countries vis-a-vis the United States. Instead of just slamming down our foot and saying we won't talk with you or we won't try to solve the problems -- and that hard-line attitude was exacerbating our relations in the United Nations -- we now are really in an exceptionally good position to work with, deal with and get support from these underdeveloped nations.

I think the best example was our agreement that we would sign and become a part of the tin agreement. That gesture on our part, which won't have any adverse impact on the United States, has helped in a very constructive way our relations with these underdeveloped countries.

So, rather than talk about some theoretical new world economic order, we are going to talk about how you solve your problem, and that is, produce some good results for us in the United Nations.

QUESTION: Thank you, Mr. President.

7704001353

THE PRESIDENT: Bill just tried to cut you off, but I will be the good guy. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Being number 17, and last, it was a question of whether we would make it or not.

Mr. President, I am Charles Wilson of Red Oak, Iowa. I am the Chairman of the Iowa Manufacturer's Association.

We are concerned with the apparent lack of public understanding of the fiscal economies and of the very great importance of fiscal responsibility. This is leading us to, we believe, or is the cause of, many detrimenal effects; for instance, very massive welfare programs, which are very expensive and which lead inevitably to lower productivity.

Another example would be the expensive over-regulation of industry and of the country in general, the cost of which must be passed on to the consumer.

Our question: We would like to know what steps are or can be taken, or what we can do, to improve the public understanding of the fiscal responsibility of our Government?

THE PRESIDENT: To some extent, I may have answered that question earlier. I think it is an educational process, and the sooner we start, the better, with the youth of America. They really have a bigger stake in the future of this country than some of us older folks.

If they can be taught that the United States, by any standard of comparison, has produced more freedom, more material goods and more benefits than any other country throughout the world, present or past, then I think they will get an enthusiasm for it.

It has to start in the school system. It has to start in the home. It has to start in various organizations, through the Future Farmers of America, et cetera.

I think we are making some headway, and we can't quit just because it is slow progress. When I travel -- I don't care where in the world -- I come back and say how lucky I was that I was born in the United States and I am a citizen of this country.

That doesn't mean that we solved all our problems. Far from it. It doesn't mean that we can't do better. It doesn't mean that we should be complacent and satisfied. But, when you take a look, wherever you go, we have more opportunity, more freedom, more material benefits, and we should just thank our good Lord that we are Americans.

7704001535

We should continue to work at improving the situation, and we can through the educational process. I don't have a pat formula, but I sure have faith that it will happen.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 5:39 P.M. CDT)

7704001360

Administration of Gerald R. Ford

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, October 17, 1975

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF OCTOBER 10, 1975

Held in Detroit, Michigan

THE PRESIDENT. *Thank you very much, Mr. Barnes, members of the Detroit Press Club, and guests:*

A very short announcement at the outset:

GRAIN SALES TO POLAND AND THE SOVIET UNION

As most of you know, the United States had requested last month that the Government of Poland refrain from additional purchases of U.S. grain until the October crop report. Because today's crop report contains, as we expected, an excellent crop forecast, I have today authorized that Poland be notified that it may now resume purchases. We anticipate that their purchases will be spread out over a period of time. With respect to future grain sales to the Soviet Union, both for this year's crop and for the long-term contract, negotiations are continuing, and we hope to conclude an agreement in the very near future.

Secretary Butz will be holding a briefing in Washington at 4:30 p.m., going over the crop report and the Polish grain sale.

With that announcement, the first question from Mr. Clark Hallas [Detroit News].

QUESTIONS

GOV. WILLIAM MILLIKEN

Q. Mr. President, have you urged Governor Milliken to run for the Senate seat to be vacated by Senator Hart?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not urged Governor Milliken to run for the Senate seat. Governor Milliken, I think, has to make that judgment or that decision himself.

There are already some announced, or tentatively announced, candidates, and it seems to me that that is a decision for the Governor to make. He knows the situation better than I.

Q. Would you welcome his entry into the race?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Governor Milliken has been an outstanding Governor. I think the State of Michigan has been most fortunate to have him as our Governor. But I think this is a decision that Bill ought to make himself, and I ought not to get involved.

Q. May I ask you one more question?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO DETROIT

Q. Has your Administration, or does your Administration plan to take any action soon on the "Move Detroit Forward" plan?

THE PRESIDENT. We have directed every Federal agency that would have any relationship to the "Move Detroit Forward" program to cooperate to the maximum, and there are a number of Federal agencies that do have money under their various categorical and block grant programs.

At the moment, I don't think it is feasible to go beyond what they can do within appropriations, and if they do that, there will be a substantial amount of money made available. And we are doing it as expeditiously as possible. But, at this time, I don't think we should make any commitments beyond what is authorized in the various appropriation acts.

MEETING WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV

Q. Mr. President, with each passing week it would appear that the prospects for a Washington summit this year with Chairman Brezhnev become dimmer and dimmer, and I wondered if you could offer us any evidence to the contrary?

THE PRESIDENT. We have been in contact, of course, with the Soviet Union. In fact, our technical negotiators are trying to work out some of the answers to the various

7704001536

technical problems that have really been resolved and we are in agreement on.

There are some differences. We are continuing to explore ways to reconcile those differences. But at this moment, we are not in a position to make any announcement as to a set time when such a meeting between Mr. Brezhnev and myself will be held.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL ON FEDERAL TAXES AND SPENDING

Q. Jim Harrington, WXYZ-TV. Mr. President, the Democrats in the Congress and the leaders have challenged you to be specific about what cuts you would make to match that tax cut. Could you enumerate some programs that you think could stand some trimming, and would, of necessity, aid to cities like Detroit be included?

THE PRESIDENT. I had the Office of Management and Budget put together for me over a period of several months areas in the Federal budget where we might make some reductions, and they submitted to me a book about that thick. And there are many more options than the $28 billion that I think ought to be cut out of the growth of Federal spending—and I emphasize growth because even with a $28 billion reduction, it means that there will be an increase over the anticipated expenditures for this fiscal year of roughly $23 to $25 billion.

So, it is not a cutback in actuality, it is a cutback in growth. And we have a number of target areas, and I am going to analyze those and find a sufficient number to come within the $28 billion reduction so we can have a comparable tax cut. But let me give you several just as examples.

I believe that the food stamp program can be substantially reduced. There are many, many illustrations of abuse—many, many illustrations where people have been paid where they didn't really qualify. The error rate is very high. I am going to submit as soon as Congress comes back from their fourth or fifth recess. *[Laughter]*—reductions at least that will save a billion dollars in this area.

Now, in addition, we think that there are some areas in the medical field again where there have been many, many abuses. Costs have escalated unbelievably in the medical field where the Federal Government makes payments. We think that there can be a tightening up in this area. These are two, I think, very good illustrations where I think there can be a cutback in the growth of Federal spending.

Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], how are you today?

CONTROL OF HANDGUNS

Q. I think we can both remember a time when this city was not known for its homicide rate. And recently the head of the Secret Service and several police chiefs of metropolitan areas have testified that if there was a total ban on the manufacture, sale, and use of handguns across the board that crime would be really seriously reduced. At what point do you think you could ever come to this kind of thinking?

THE PRESIDENT. Helen, as soon as I am convinced that the gun itself is the culprit. In actuality, it is the person who uses the gun that causes the trouble. What we have to do is to make certain that the people who use the gun are punished. And if you will recall from the crime message that I submitted to the Congress several months ago, we provided for stricter legislation so that a person using a gun in an attempt or in the actual committing of a crime, that person had a mandatory sentence and went to jail. This is the way, in my opinion, to prevent the illegal use of guns and not penalize the people who are collectors or individuals who properly use guns.

I have not yet been convinced that the gun is the culprit. It is the person who uses the gun that ought to be punished for illegal purposes.

Q. And you don't think that there is an undue proliferation of guns in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. I did recommend that we ought to make it much more difficult to obtain what we call "Saturday Night Specials." There is under existing law a prohibition against the importation of Saturday Night Specials. Under the legislation that I recommended, it prohibits within the United States the assembly or manufacture of Saturday Night Specials—these are the cheap handguns. If we do that, that will significantly help in the problem that we are talking about.

DISAPPEARANCE OF JIMMY HOFFA

Q. Mr. President, more than 3 months ago Jimmy Hoffa disappeared without much more than a trace by tracking dogs. Are you satisfied with the investigation by Federal agencies into that case, or would you prefer a special select Congressional committee to look into that, into Teamster pension funds, and mob connections with unions?

THE PRESIDENT. The Attorney General, who is an outstanding member of the Cabinet, the Department of Justice, and the FBI are doing a maximum job in investigating any Federal relationship as far as the disappearance of Mr. Hoffa is concerned. I have full faith in the Attorney General, Department of Justice, and in the FBI, and where there is any Federal connection I can assure you they will continue tracking every possible lead maximizing their effort.

This is a very strange case. I don't see how any Congressional committee can undertake any criminal investigation. That is not the function or the responsibility of a Congressional committee, and I think we ought to leave that responsibility with the appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Government where the At-

torney General and others have taken their oath of office to handle matters of this sort.

I can think of one recent case where, after a period of some 19 months, they finally found the individual that they were seeking to find and, apparently, in this case the problem is very difficult. But I have full faith in the ability of those who have that responsibility.

INVESTIGATIONS OF UNION ACTIVITIES

Q. A followup question, and elaborate on it.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. Would you like to see something similar to the McClellan Committee back in the fifties look into reports of mob connections specifically with the Teamsters or other unions?

THE PRESIDENT. That, of course, is a responsibility of the Congress itself, the Senate, in the case as it was back in the fifties. They could do it now if they wanted to.

If you are referring to allegations that I have heard about or read about concerning the Teamster pension fund and any relation to that and how it has been handled, the Congress passed last year, I believe I signed into law a Pension Reform Act. And under that legislation, the executive branch of the Government has the full right to make any investigations.

Under that legislation, those who handle the pension funds have to make very specific reports on a very short-term or periodic time, and it seems to me that in that area it is the responsibility of the Department of Labor to investigate that aspect of this particular case.

Q. Is that being done, sir, or do you know?

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure it is.

MICHIGAN-MICHIGAN STATE FOOTBALL GAME

Q. What is your prediction on the game in Lansing tomorrow? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they are both my friends, and I like my friends. [*Laughter*]

FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

Q. Mr. President, I notice that former President Nixon is back in circulation with his old friends. I am wondering, given that, if you have talked to him, plan to talk to him, one; plan to see him; or if, given his interest, his expressed interest in foreign affairs, there might be a place in your Administration for him?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I am delighted to see that former President Nixon is apparently much better, feeling well. I talked to him when I was in California several weeks ago on the telephone. He sounded better on the phone at that time, and I am very happy that his health is apparently much, much better.

I have had no request from him to participate in any way in the handling of foreign affairs. I have had no request from him to participate in the campaign. As I have said on several occasions, I run my own campaign on my own record, and I expect to do that in 1976. And as President, I expect to conduct or handle foreign affairs as a President should, in conjunction with the recommendations of the Secretary of State.

Q. If he should request to serve you in some way, would you entertain that notion?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I should speculate on something of that kind. He hasn't done it, and I have seen no indication that he might.

Q. Thank you, sir.

HOUSING PROGRAM IN DETROIT

Q. Terry Murphy, WJBK-TV, Detroit, Mr. President, has more HUD homes than any other city in the country, yet thousands of them are abandoned and rotting away. Other than Carla Hills' promised tour of this city, what else are you going to do to put people into these homes and clean up the mess?

THE PRESIDENT. It is my understanding that the Secretary of HUD has worked out an arrangement with the city officials and with the State officials, under Governor Milliken, to have a joint effort with the Federal Government committing $5 million to purchase and rehabilitate a thousand of these homes out of roughly 14,900, as I recollect.

This is a good example of what the Federal Government, in partnership with State and local units of government, can do with these homes, where the homes have been foreclosed and the Federal Government has jurisdiction.

If we find that this program, which I understand is to be implemented in the northwest part of Detroit, works, then I would hope we can expand it in the months ahead.

Q. The program still run, though, by the Federal Government, rather than State and local officials, because I know——

THE PRESIDENT. As I understand it, it is a partnership arrangement. I can't tell you who actually has the specific jurisdiction, but it is a partnership where the Federal Government not only has the legal title under foreclosure of the homes but the Federal Government is putting up $3 million this year and $7 million next year for the rehabilitation of a thousand homes. And I understand they are in the process of actually implementing the program for about 250 right at the present time.

U.S.-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS ON GRAIN AND OIL

Q. Mr. President, I am wondering why you removed the embargo on the Poles and not the Russians? You said the crop report, after all, was excellent, but you said you have got to go ahead now with the Russian grain deal,

you have got to have negotiations on that. The farmers would like to go ahead and get this money now and worry about a long-term, 5-year grain deal later. Why don't you just go ahead and remove the embargo now?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very important to negotiate, and you can negotiate from strength, I think, if we make certain, make positive, that we get a long-term agreement which is in our best interest in return for additional sales to the Soviet Union on the crops that they want to buy in 1975.

It is a very simple explanation. We have the grain, we want a 5-year or longer term, and we want good arrangements. I think we are coming very close, we are working very hard at it. And I think we are probably going to have some results.

But it is just a matter of good, old Yankee trader actions—and the Yankee traders did pretty well for a long time in this country. I just think we ought to handle it that way rather than to be too soft or not a tough negotiator.

Q. Well, in all this tough trading, are you going to make your mid-October deadline, and also, are you horsetrading for oil? Are you holding out for that?

THE PRESIDENT. We are discussing a potential oil deal that will have some favorable aspects, if it is negotiated. As far as we are concerned, that is a little more difficult. In that case, they have the commodity and we want it. So, they have somewhat better bargaining position in that case than we.

So, as I said a moment ago, we are trying to be good, hard-nosed Yankee traders. And when we end up with an arrangement or a negotiated agreement, I can assure you that the United States will do as well in the areas where we want help, and I think we have to expect that they will do well in those areas where they have an interest.

Q. And that October 15 deadline?

THE PRESIDENT. The October 15 deadline—it is within the realm of possibility.

ENERGY INDEPENDENCE AUTHORITY

Q. Mr. President, Bill Willoughby, Royal Oak Tribune. How does the proposed energy research corporation fit into the $395-billion spending ceiling you proposed?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first, you have to understand that the Energy Independence Authority is a 10-year project, and it requires a utilization of the Federal Treasury at a very, very slow pace. In fact, in fiscal year 1977, which is the fiscal year where I think they ought to set a $395-billion ceiling, the amount of money that would be withdrawn from the Federal Treasury is minimal.

So, it really has a very insignificant impact on fiscal year 1977, which is where I recommend that the Congress establish a $395-billion spending limit.

Now in the years after that, there will be a drawdown on the Federal Treasury, but I hasten to point out that we expect the EIA to end up being a money-making proposition from the point of view of the Federal Treasury.

It is a drawdown in one year, and over the 10-year period, we expect Uncle Sam to get all, or virtually all, of his money back, and, in addition, the EIA will help us significantly in the development of what we call synthetic fuels or exotic fuels, where at the present time private enterprise isn't willing to take the gamble or make the risk. But nevertheless I am convinced in some of these areas—solar energy, synthetic fuels, and other areas—this is the only way we can do it.

And, therefore, I think it is a good program, and I repeat, it will have a minimal, insignificant effect in fiscal 1977 when the $395-billion ceiling is established.

Q. Why is private enterprise not willing to take the risk?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think you can use one or two other comparisons. Back in World War II, when we were cut off from our rubber supplies, the natural rubber supplies, the Federal Government had to go in and develop a synthetic rubber producing capability.

At that time, private enterprise thought the research had not gone far enough, and the need was so great that private capital was not in a position to undertake such a mammoth operation. So, the Federal Government did. And after the war, as you may recall, after the process had been developed and was a going concern, the Federal Government sold those synthetic rubber plants to private enterprise and made a profit out of them. This is the same concept we are talking about with EIA.

TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Q. Mr. President, in view of the apparent success of the negotiations with the Soviet Union involving their oil and our grain, are you contemplating or planning similar discussions with the People's Republic of China on their oil reserves and our grain either here or when you go to Peking?

THE PRESIDENT. The agenda for the prospective trip to the People's Republic has not yet been established. Secretary Kissinger is leaving for the People's Republic within the next week or 10 days, as I recall. Until he comes back with the agenda, I don't think I am in a position to say what it might be.

I caution you—you need one word, Saul [Saul Kohler, Newhouse News Service], that—I think it is going to work, but you were a little overly optimistic in relationship to grain and oil. All I can say is I am optimistic. But we are dealing with some tough traders, and I don't want to create the impression that it is all signed on the dotted line, because we have got some things we want to get and they, in return, want some things that they want. And until the ink is dry on it, we're not going to make any announcement.

AID TO CITIES

Q. You said last night that the Federal Government cannot afford to bail out the big cities, mainly New York City. Treasury Secretary Simon and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Burns have suggested that maybe New York State might impose some taxes for 1-, 2-, or 3-year periods to help out New York City. Can States really afford to help out these floundering big cities, or can they afford not to?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I hesitate to pass judgment on the fiscal capability of any State. I don't pretend to be an expert on State financing. But I have watched with considerable interest what has been happening in New York City and its relationship to the State of New York.

A month or two ago the State of New York took some action, not raising any additional taxes to help New York State [City] out, but to rearrange some borrowing. And one of the requirements was that the city of New York had to present a valid plan showing that they had straightened out their financial mess, that they had a plan that would lead them out of this terrible fiscal situation they are in. I was naturally disappointed to find that this State group or board that they established turned back Mayor Beame's tentative proposal—said it was insufficient, they hadn't done enough.

I think that is a good role for the State, and a State ought to put responsibility, and if, after the State has made an honest effort to balance their fiscal situation, to take whatever hard choices they have to make, I think the next step is for a State to assist, if they have to, in whatever legitimate way there is. I have still the same reservations I had before that the Federal Government should police the fiscal management of all of the cities in this country. I don't believe that we should decide at Washington whether a city has run its fiscal affairs properly. That is a role for the State governments, not a role for the Federal Government.

Q. You get some pretty big cities, though, that control an awful lot of money and corporations having their headquarters in these cities. If they die, there is going to be some problems.

THE PRESIDENT. There is no reason why they should die. Let's take the city of New York. Their annual budget is roughly $12.2 billion. The Federal Government today contributes $3,400 million to New York City's total revenue, roughly 25 percent. It would seem to me that a city with good management could find a way to supply the rest of the revenue. And we do almost the same thing to most cities. But in the case of New York, I know precisely what the facts are. And the city has some responsibility. And if we start managing—what is it, 10,000 cities throughout the country—I think that is the wrong role and responsibility for the Federal Government. The people who vote in New York City ought to elect the kind of people to public office who will handle their local taxes and the money that comes from the Federal Government properly. And if they don't elect those people, I don't see why that burden should fall on the other 200 and some million people all over the United States.

Q. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Barnes [Fred Barnes, Washington Star].

THE RECORD OF THE CONGRESS

Q. Mr. President, you have said several times that you don't intend to make Congress the main target in your campaign for election in 1976, but today your Press Secretary, Ron Nessen, said you are now referring to Congress as the "Can't Do Congress," and that sounds very much like a campaign slogan to me. And I wonder if you have changed your plans and now plan to make Congress the whipping boy in your campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am just being objective about their record. [*Laughter*] And I casually said at our meeting this morning with Mr. Nessen—we were ticking off the things that Congress hasn't done—and I casually said, "That sounds like a 'Can't Do Congress.' "

What haven't they done? They haven't passed an energy program, and I recommended it to them in January of 1975—9 months. They first said give us 60 days and we will pass it, and then they said a few more months and we will pass something, another few months. It has been 9 months, and they haven't passed an energy bill. Apparently, they can't do it. After I announced the $28-billion tax reduction and a $23-billion cutback in the growth of Federal spending, all I heard from Congress was, "We can't do it. The rules of the Congress won't permit us to do it."

And then they had a lot of other alibis. Well, their plaintive plea was, "We can't do it." Now I cited, as you know, Mr. Barnes [Fred Barnes, Washington Star], last night two instances—one in 1967, one in 1968—where those Congresses did do it. And all they have to do is go back and look at the history books, the Congressional Record, and they will find it can be done. And I hasten to add, and very seriously, this Congress is called, or was called, a reform Congress. They reformed a lot of other rules.

Now it would seem to me to satisfy the legitimate desires of the American people that they get a $28-billion tax reduction and get a reduction in the growth of Federal spending, that this Congress of 535 elected people ought to find a way in the parliamentary situation to respond to the desires of the American people. It takes a little imagination. It takes a little effort. Instead of whining and whimpering, as Ron Nessen said, they ought to get out there and do the job.

Q. Is that a slogan you are going to be using, though, about a "Can't Do Congress"? [*Laughter*]

7704001 5363

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as soon as they pass a tax reduction of $28 billion and a reduction in spending growth of $28 billion, we will stop using the term.

SCHOOL BUSING

Q. Mr. President, the name is Mitch Kehetian of the Macomb Daily. In our county and in counties across this State and Nation, again we have local elections coming up next month. And again the local candidates are talking about forced busing. Others say it is rhetoric. But just several weeks ago you yourself reaffirmed your position opposed to forced busing.

We hear it in Congress, we hear it on Capitol Hill, we hear it in Lansing, we hear it in Macomb County, Oakland County, yet the buses keep rolling and the judges keep ordering more buses. Could you tell me what I can go back and tell our readers in Macomb County as to what the truth is on the question of busing? Is it rhetoric, or are they coming?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have a Constitution, and the courts have the obligation to interpret the Constitution. And the Court, back in 1954, made the basic decision, which in effect has precipitated the numerous court decisions that result in court-ordered, forced busing to achieve racial balance in public school systems.

They allege that this is the way that the courts ought to achieve quality education. I strongly, vehemently disagree with the Court's decision, based on the Constitution, as the best way to achieve quality education. I have had that view for 10 years or more.

Now until the courts decide that there is a better way to achieve quality education under their interpretation of the Constitution, there is nothing that a President can do, there is nothing that the Congress can do, except what the Congress did a year ago under the leadership of Congressman Marv Esch, who introduced an amendment in the House of Representatives, which was passed and approved in both the House and the Senate, which listed seven or eight steps to achieve the constitutional handling of how to achieve quality education, and the last of that criteria was busing.

Unfortunately, few courts, few Federal courts, have followed the guidelines of the Esch amendment. I wish they would. But until the court either uses that criteria or changes their way in which they want to constitutionally achieve quality education, there is nothing a President can do, and not much more that a Member of the House or Senate can do.

I think it is deplorable, I think it is the wrong answer, and I just hope that the judges will use in their wisdom a way to find a better answer to what is going on at the present time.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Don [Don Irwin, Los Angeles Times], how are you?

FEDERAL SPENDING CEILING

Q. Mr. President, when you spoke, sir, of Congress using its imagination in developing a way to respond to your tax cut proposal, did you have in mind the possibility of a nonbinding resolution that would set them on a course as an interim step?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Irwin, I have no intention of recommending a nonbinding resolution establishing a spending ceiling of $395 billion, which is $25 billion above what the ending figure is for the present fiscal year. I want the Congress to put a little meat on the bone. I want the Congress to do something in a meaningful way.

And Congressman Del Latta of Ohio, a very senior Member of the House of Representatives, introduced day before yesterday a resolution which is a binding resolution. And I hope and trust that when the Congress returns, they will approve the Latta amendment or the Latta resolution, which does put a firm ceiling of $395 billion, which is roughly $25 billion more than we will spend in this fiscal year, but $28 billion less than the projected spending for the next fiscal year. I want something meaningful, not a lot of verbiage.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Q. Terri Jones, WJPR TV. Mr. President, families in Detroit and around Michigan are still suffering from massive layoffs. There is a bill that is currently under consideration, bill H.R. 7887, that would give food stamp applicants food stamps immediately upon application without waiting for the qualifying period and then, if found ineligible, they would be cut off. What is your reaction to that bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that there should be a determination as to a person's qualification. There is too much room for abuse. That program has had more abuses per capita than any other welfare or any other program that I am familiar with in the Federal Government.

Under the proposal that I am going to submit when Congress returns, it will add benefits to the people who need food stamps, but it will take a substantial amount away from, or eliminate a lot of, people who don't need food stamps. And the net result will be a minimum reduction in the overall cost of about a billion-plus dollars.

Speaking of the food stamp program, 5 or 6 years ago, when it got started, it was about $30 million a year. The present cost on an annual basis of the food stamp program today is almost $7 billion. It has had the greatest growth in dollars of any program in the Federal Government in the last few years, because they have had too many abuses, and the program you speak of, in my opinion, opens the door to more abuse.

People who should qualify can qualify and can get the benefits, I think, expeditiously, and even under that

present setup, the abuses are horrendous. So, I think we ought to tie it down, give more to the needy and less to those that shouldn't qualify.

RONALD REAGAN

Q. Mr. President, I have a two-part question involving Governor Reagan. There are some reports in the past few weeks that are confusing. One report one time will say that you have managed to blunt Governor Reagan's conservative attempt, and then a few days later we have a report that your campaign organization is in disarray and that your people are really worried about Governor Reagan. I would like to know if you are really worried about Governor Reagan challenging you for the Presidential nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Phil [Phil Jones, CBS News], I am not worried about any Democrat or any Republican competitor. I expect to be nominated, and I think the prospects are excellent to be elected President in 1976. And I don't sit around worrying about any competitor, whether it is Republican or Democrat.

We are going to run our own campaign. I think we will have a good record to run on, in foreign policy and domestic policy, and I will take my chances on that record. And I am not going to worry about what some other candidate does, whether it is a Republican candidate or any one of 20 Democrats.

Q. Senator Goldwater has been quoted as saying that he might support Governor Reagan for the nomination rather than you. What is your reaction to this, or do you think it will have any effect on your nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Goldwater is a very close, personal friend of mine. I admire his record in the Senate. I saw the report. It is a newspaper story. I have heard nothing——

Q. What do you mean by that? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it speaks for itself—[*laughter*]—and until I hear that there is a change from what I think the attitude is of Barry Goldwater, I am not going to comment about it.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE UNEMPLOYED

Q. Mr. President, Dennis Pajot of the Oakland Press. Back here, we hear a lot of concern about unemployment and a lot of talk about your record of unemployment as the election year comes up. And we understand that one proposal by Congress to address unemployment would be to increase Federal funding for public works. I was wondering if you would veto such a program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you are talking about the $5-billion program, which I understand is somewhere in the House of Representatives, based on what we know about those kinds of programs in past years of economic disability or difficulty, I believe that it is uneconomical, it won't solve the unemployment problem, and the probability is I would veto it.

We find—and this has been done historically—that if you have unemployment in one year and you take the kind of program you are talking about and approve it, you are out of the recession or you are over your economic difficulties before you put any number of people back to work.

It just takes a long time. If we are going to do anything, I think, in this area, I think we ought to expedite our highway construction program, our water and sewer pollution programs, which are going programs that are in the mill. But to take the program I think you are referring to, I think the help would come much too late and it wouldn't provide for the kind of meaningful things that we could get from EPA.

Q. Is that just that program or any Federal funding for public works?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you will recall, back early this (last) fall I met with 10 or 12 Governors, and at their request, I did approve an extra allowance of $2 billion for highway projects that could be initiated by June 30.

That program was in a going program where they had projects that were ready for contracts to be let. I did that. We have been trying to expedite the Environmental Protection Agency programs for water and sewer projects.

Those are the kind of projects that have specific meaning and can be gotten underway quickly, rather than pulling projects out of a grab-bag, which I understand is what that legislation involves that I believe you mentioned.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSED TAX PLAN

Q. Mr. President, you said last night that the tax program had as one of its central purposes, if I understood you correctly, building more equity into the tax system as it applies to individuals. If that is the case, would you explain why it is equitable to give a tax cut of slightly more than $200 to people with incomes of $50,000, and to take away the tax credit of $300 for those whose incomes are $5,000 or less?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what you are talking about, Mr. Naughton [James Naughton, The New York Times], is that in the 1975 Tax Act, Senator Russell Long got the Senate to approve what is called an earned income credit, and this is, in effect—that was not a tax reduction. It was paying people who didn't pay taxes so that it was not a tax reduction—they weren't paying taxes anyhow.

What my proposal does is to treat that group of taxpayers just like all other taxpayers. They don't pay any more taxes, and the amount that is going to a well-off person is roughly the same in my proposal as it was in the 1975 Tax Act.

But where we would provide equity, we give a larger tax reduction to those people who have an income—a

family income between $8,000 and $25,000. This is the group that got short shrift in the 1975 act, and this is the group that are hard-working, industrious people who deserve a better break instead of getting cut short on every tax reduction.

And so, I have complete faith in the way in which this tax reduction bill that I am proposing is handled. The poor pay no more taxes than they were required under the 1975 act. The very wealthy get no more tax reduction. But the middle-income people are the ones who will be the biggest beneficiary and get a larger tax reduction, as they should, under my tax proposal.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Bill Black, WJR News. Mr. President, despite recent improvements in the economy, one of four in the Detroit area are still out of work, some for more than 2 years. One, what would you say to those who have been out of work for more than 2 years, and, two, how much impact will unemployment and the economy have on the next election?

THE PRESIDENT. We are making headway in a good many areas in trying to eliminate unemployment. Even though the unemployment statistic has not gone down—except it went from 9.1 down to 8.3—the encouraging thing is that in the last 6 months we have had 1,600,000 more people added to the employment rolls, and the trend is going up. There are longer hours being worked. The economy is out of the recession and starting toward a better time, and this is going to have an impact in Detroit in the automobile industry.

The automobile industry has responded very well to the needs in the energy program. And let me tell you how it is going to help employment. The automobile industry in the last 2 years has increased gasoline efficiency by 27 percent—14 percent this year over last year. I think the automobile industry, by responding to the need of people, is going to have an excellent year, and that will have a very good impact here in Detroit and in other automotive centers like Flint and Lansing, et cetera.

Now we believe that there will be a continuing downtrend in unemployment rate between now and the end of calendar year 1976. It won't be as low as we want it, but it will be going down, and furthermore we will be making continuous improvement in the rate of inflation. I believe, with those trends—a lesser rate of inflation, a downward trend in the unemployment statistic—it will be a good environment politically for the right candidates.

1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Q. Would you consider yourself a cinch next year?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I sure don't. I never enter a ballgame thinking I am going to win, but I sure work at it as though I am going to lose. And I think we do, with the programs we have, our prospects aren't bad.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I will take one more. I am being prompted to——

REDUCTION IN FEDERAL SPENDING

Q. Mr. President, would you expand on your answer about where you think Congress should make the $28 billion in cuts besides food stamps—for example, in revenue sharing and what cuts should be made in defense spending?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said in my speech the other night, I think it was Monday night, I said that there had to be a sharing of reduced spending, and I included in my remarks the Defense Department. I think they can manage the Defense Department better than they have been managing it. I think we can be harder bargainers with weapons suppliers. I think we can cut out some of the frills in the military—frills that I don't like, that have been there just because they are there by tradition. I think we ought to cut them all out. I think the Defense Department can run a tighter ship, and they will have to.

Thank you very much.

LEONARD BARNES. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Ford's twentieth news conference was held at 4:15 p.m. on Friday, October 10, 1975, in Room 2001-B at Cobo Hall. The President was introduced by Leonard R. Barnes, president of the Detroit Press Club.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE 7704001636 OCTOBER 10, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Detroit, Michigan)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN DINNER

COBO HALL

9:05 P.M. EDT

Max Fisher, Bill Milliken, Bob Griffin, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Al Cederberg, Eddie Hutchinson, Guy VanderJagt, Marv Esch, Garry Brown and, of course, Bill McLaughlin, Bob Evans and my old and very dear friend, George Romney, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me say at the outset that I share Bill Milliken's views entirely in toto concerning Max Fisher, the wonderful job that Max has done, not only for this occasion, but for many others. It seems to me that it is most appropriate, under the circumstances, that we give Max a hearty round applause on this occasion.

Of course, Max would be the very first to admit that as much as he has given to making this dinner a success, it could not have been accomplished without the tremendous help that he has gotten from so many, and I would hesitate to start enumerating the individuals who have done the job under Max's leadership, but if we can do it for all of them, I think it is very appropriate, and I think we should.

Both Betty and I feel it is really great to be back home with all you good Michiganders. I only wish that both of us could stay over tomorrow and see that great football game between Michigan and Michigan State. But, we decided against it because of security reasons -- political security reasons. (Laughter) No matter which team I rooted for, there goes half the State. (Laughter)

When I look around the tremendous crowd here tonight, I see so many responsible for making the Michigan Republican Party one of the very best in the Nation, and let me tick off State Chairman, Bill McLaughlin, our National Committeeman, Ranny Riecker, Peter Fletcher, just to mention a few, and I could again start at the top of the list and inevitably, and unfortunately, forget so many, but I have long felt -- and still believe -- that despite the candidates, it is what is done at the grass roots by all of you in the precinct, in the county, in helping and assisting us to raise the money that really makes the difference.

MORE

(OVER)

7704011536

So, I thank those of you who don't hold office for the contribution you make that is so important to the success of the philosophy that we believe in. You are the real strength of the party.

Now, no State can boast of a finer, finer group of elected Republican officials than we have here in our great State of Michigan:

Governor Bill Milliken, an outstanding Governor -- and I have been to many gubernatorial conventions all over the United States, and Bill Milliken is a shining light against any and all, and we are darn proud of him.

MORE

I don't mean to be repetitive but I feel very strongly and very deeply. We in this State are extremely fortunate to have in Bob Griffin our top United States Senator. He does a fabulous job on a day-to-day basis. I have seen him work in the House of Representatives and even more skillfully in the United States Senate, and, again, I and all of you should be extremely proud of what Bob is doing for us in Michigan, but, just as importantly, for the whole country.

And I would be very remiss if I didn't thank on a personal basis those that I served with in the House of Representatives who stood tall and strong then as well as now. Al Cederberg, Bill Broomfield, Eddie Hutchinson, Guy VanderJagt, Garry Brown, Marv Esch and Phil Ruppe -- they're the tops in quality in the House of Representatives. They come from the length and the breadth of our great State. The only problem is to go with their quality we need a little more quantity, so that is your obligation -- to help them with more after this next election.

But a broad base political party needs a fine Lieutenant Governor like John Damman, your State Treasurer, Allison Green, and so many fine members of the State Legislature, including your Senate Republican Leader, Bob Davis, your House Republican Leader, Denny Carthorne. I am just real pleased to see them all here tonight because it means that our Republican family in the State of Michigan is working shoulder-to-shoulder with one objective, and that is to make our philosophy the right philosophy for the State and for the Nation. And they who represent you so ably will continue the fight and your presence here gives them the inspiration that they need, and I applaud them for their success under the most difficult odds.

With the people of this caliber representing those of us who come from Michigan, here at home as well as in Washington, it is obvious that if you really make an effort you can recruit and you can elect top quality candidates and dedicated public officials. We are proud of what we have, but we need far more. The 1976 campaign here in Michigan is in good hands but we have got to go out and find those that will join with us, seek public office, work to get elected and depend upon your help. I concede that your winning spirit is vitally important, it is the same Republican spirit that I see as I travel around the country and I have gone from Maine to Rhode Island, to the far West, to the North, to the South.

This spirit is beginning to catch on, not only here but elsewhere. I see dynamic candidates and all of you right here in our own State have the know-how to help them, and I salute you for your efforts here tonight and go on record with this prediction, if I might: The Republican Party will not only win the White House next year, but we will make substantial gains in the Congress and we will elect a substantial number of more Republican Governors.

7704001537

I believe we will make these gains in 1976 because the Republican Party is in tune with the mood of America, and it is in tune with the philosophy of the people throughout our country. Across this Nation, whether it is Republicans, Independents and discerning Democrsts, they realize that America cannot move forward if we stifle individual initiative or if we continue the growth of Government, which is already far too big.

As we look back over the pages of history, we know that in this great country we have accomplished much in two centuries. In the first century, we established the kind of Government that gave stability and strength and continuity.

In our second century, in this new land, we developed the greatest industrial capacity of any nation in the history of the globe, but now we are at a critical crossroads in this country's history.

We must make a hard decision. We must decide whether we will continue down the dangerous, treacherous trend of recent years toward bigger Government, higher taxes and higher inflation or, in the alternative, whether we will move in a far more responsible way.

Earlier this week, I advocated a forward looking, two-pronged program to put our Federal fiscal house in order. The two must be taken together, not separately, or they won't work.

First, I proposed a permanent tax reduction of $28 billion at the Federal level, and secondly, I proposed that we halt the alarming growth of Government by limiting spending in the coming fiscal year to $395 billion -- and to relate it, this means a cut of $28 billion below projected spending for fiscal year 1977.

Let me quickly outline what it means in the way of a tax reduction. What we want is permanency and equity. I believe that it is right to increase the personal exemption from $750 per person to $1,000. I believe it is right that we should increase the standard deduction for single persons to a maximum of $1,800, and for a family of $2,500, and that we should make some responsible, equitable revisions in the tax rates.

Three-quarters of the $28 billion in tax reduction goes to individuals, with a break, for the first time in a long, long time, for those hard working, industrious people in the middle-income brackets who have been unfairly treated for too long a period of time.

Yes, the other 25 percent of the $28 billion goes to business, not just for business, but primarily to provide the kind of incentive that is needed if we are going to give to business the opportunity of job creation.

Yes, we need investment for investment's purpose, but the main purpose for the Government, for the country, for people is to give more job opportunities for those who want to work.

Yes, we are going to extend the investment tax credit on a permanent basis so we can keep competitive with other societies in other parts of the world.

Let me say, repeat, if I might, a $28 billion tax reduction, a $28 billion ceiling or cutback in projected spending growth, they go hand in hand, dollar for dollar, and I will not hesitate to veto any new bills which violate this combination.

But, the most important thing in the long run is the fact that if we adopt this kind of a plan, a new tax proposal with equity and permanence, to stimulate our economy and to give a break to the people who have long been suffering, and if we put a ceiling on the growth of Federal expenditures, this is the first crucial step toward balancing the Federal budget, despite the difficulties and problems we have had for the last 18 months.

We will do it, if the Congress will become a "can do" Congress in three years.

Oh, I know there has been some criticism that we have not proposed a tax proposal that does everything everybody wants, but as I look at the past history, I know that this middle-income group, which is the hard core of strength in America, good people the length and breadth of America, they have had a tough break and have borne far too much the burdens of taxation.

I think they are deserving because they have been subjected with growing families, house payments and everything else, paying rising taxes and ever-rising inflation. They are the ones who have known over a period of time from their personal experience the economic problems that have faced 214 million Americans.

They know precisely what it means to pay more and more of their income merely to feed and clothe their family and to maintain a decent home. They know the sinking feeling when a member of their family or a friend is laid off from work. They know the desperation that comes when these forces unfortunately seem beyond their control.

None of us want these experiences to be repeated in the months ahead. All of us want steady prices, steady jobs, a chance once again to get ahead on our own initiative, and we want to make sure with the kind of programs we are putting together that everybody feels that their own destiny is in their own hands. This is the strength and the history of America.

When I spoke here in this hall exactly one year ago tonight, our Nation faced some very serious economic problems. Inflation was running at the annual rate of 12 to 14 percent. Unemployment was increasing. We were on our way to the most serious recession in the post-World War II period, but the encouraging thing was that America didn't throw up its hands and quit.

We fought back, and we reversed the recessionary trend. We cut the rate of increase in the cost of living very sharply, but still, we have a long way to go in winning the battle against inflation.

In this period of time of adversity in the last six months, we added 1.6 million workers to our employment rolls. We still have far too many unemployed. The economic indicators are good; industrial production is climbing at a strong rate. Retail sales are up, and so are new orders for durable goods.

In short, the recovery that began this spring is gathering the kind of momentum that is constructive and permanent. If we act wisely, it will continue on an upward path, providing America with more jobs, more stable prices and more opportunity than ever before in the history of our country, but we must not delude ourselves.

Just beneath the surface there is still, or there are still, some deep-seated problems in our economy, problems which have been building up over the years, and I think we have to concede they won't go away overnight. The underlying causes of this economic problem or these economic difficulties must be attacked responsibly.

We must come up with solutions that not only serve this year, but the next generation and the next generation. That is our obligation. We don't want any short-term superficial answers that will lead us down a path of disaster a year or two from now. Our cause is far greater.

To see the cause of underlying problems, we have only to look to Washington, where one big spending program piled upon another and upon another and upon another has created a Federal monstrocity.

The result: Government now takes a far larger share of your personal income, creates record budget deficits, prints more money and inevitably escalates inflation. This trend must be stopped, and this trend will be stopped.

Congressional critics of my proposals to cut taxes and to cut spending call this proposal political, but politics is Government, Government with the consent, of the governed for the good of all Americans. I ask my friends who were the critics of this combination of a $28 billion tax reduction and a $28 billion lid on the growth of spending--I could not help but read in the morning paper here in Detroit that when the question was asked, 70 percent of the answers said that is a good program and 30 percent disagreed.

I think the public understands that this is sound, it is right, and the Congress better do something about it.

MORE

Quite frankly, that is what representative government is all about. I believe in the right of the American people to spend their own money rather than letting Congress spend it for them. What could be more political, and I ask this in all seriousness, than proposals of the big spenders... the big spenders in the House and the Senate -- to reduce taxes on the one hand, and to increase spending on the other to help their special interest groups. That is the most obvious and the most cynical politics. Politics concerned only with the next election.

America's greatness was not achieved by taxing people to their limits, it was achieved by free people, freely exercising their own ingenuity and their own energies to the fullest. We must, once again, if we are to move ahead as we have in the past, release the full flow of energies of the American people by getting the Government off their backs on the one hand and out of their pockets and their pocketbooks on the other.

And let me use an illustration of how much better it is for a free enterprise system to operate rather than having a Government controlling everything. Everybody in this room knows of the tremendous impact that the automobile industry has on our economy. When automobile sales are down, so in most cases is our economy. When that tragedy happens, the car makers don't take it lying down, they fight back and the country benefits and we are proud of the initiative and the leadership in the American automobile industry.

But let me use a very pertinent illustration, if I might. Take gasoline mileage and what has been done in less than two years to increase it? The increase of automobile gasoline efficiency. The 1976 American cars will average nearly 13 percent better in fuel economy than last year's models. That is on top of an improvement of almost 14 percent from 1974 to 1975. The American automobile manufacturers have gone more than halfway toward achieving the goal that I laid down earlier this year, which was a 40 percent improvement in fuel economy by 1980. Listen carefully. Do you know what this increased gasoline mileage means? What the enterprise of the American automobile industry already means in the terms of an energy crisis? It means if every car in America operated with the fuel efficiency of the average 1976 model, America would save more than 17 and a half billion gallons of gasoline each year. That's not bad, but even more significant, $11 billion in the cost of their gasoline each year.

7704001537

That is a real contribution by American auto management and American auto manufacturers and workers toward our goal of energy independence, not to mention a mighty good incentive, if I could be a bit parochial, a good incentive for everybody to buy a 1976 American-made car.

I congratulate the automobile industry and its workers for this great achievement. Their remarkable strides were made,and I emphasize this,without Federal funds and despite some of the restrictions and limitations laid down by Government regulations, with dedication, with action like this, America has no reason to be fearful of being overwhelmed by problems. The American people are dedicated to problem solving and progress, using the individual initiative of our citizens rather than the dictation of a Government.

Wherever I have gone as President, I found a deep, abiding faith in the future of this country. We have been through some very, very traumatic times in the last few years, but in our 200 year history, we have overcome far tougher problems and come through some much darker days.

Oh, despite the doom sayers, America has always transcended the moment and achieved a better life for its citizens and I have faith we will do it again and I believe we are on our way.

Last night at a news conference in Washington and today in Detroit, many, many questions were asked of me by the press. Tonight I would like to ask you some questions; questions which concern major issues, issues that I face; questions that the Congress faces and questions that face each and everyone of you along with 214 million other Americans and I would like your response.

Are you with me when I insist that the Congress cut spending enough to give all Americans a meaningful permanent tax reduction?

Are you with me in getting Government bureaucracy out of your business, out of your pocket and, incidentally, out of your hair?

I know that each and everyone of you know that a Government big enough to give you everything you want is a Government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Are you with me when I demand from the Congress after pleading, begging, compromising,an energy policy that will make America forever free of foreign whims and wishes and dictatorial actions? I think you are.

Are you with me in keeping the heavy hand of Washington out of your State and local units of Government? And, finally, but just as importantly, if not more so in many respects than any other, are you with me in keeping our national defense second to none?

I think all of you here tonight reflect what most Americans believe and those are the policies that we are going to espouse in the months ahead. Our Republican commitments to fiscal responsibility to vigorous free enterprise, to a strong national defense, to local control over local concerns and a personal freedom for the individual. These are the commitments shared by the vast majority of our fellow Americans.

We should make our third century the century of individual freedom -- freedom from mass Government, freedom from mass education, freedom from mass industry, freedom from mass unions, freedom for each and everyone of us. We don't want to be a computer, we want to be individuals as we grow and mature and express our views and act by ourselves and that ought to be the objective of our third century -- individual freedom.

I think we can go back to Abraham Lincoln for some of the thoughts that he gives us. Lincoln said that Government should only do for the people what they cannot do as well for themselves.

I believe that America's people have grown weary of Government's over-blown promises and overbearing controls. We believe the American people are ready to do great things again for themselves and for their country. Republican Government we know is common sense Government and the net result is it is effective Government.

On the evidence of the 1976 campaign, let me emphasize, as I close, as a Republican Party we must open the doors wide of this great party of ours to all Americans rather than opening it just a crack for a few. We must work together for a common victory rather than separately for certain defeat. If we do, 1976 and the years beyond will be great ones for all Republicans but, more importantly, vastly more important for all Americans so that we and our children and their children will be able to say with new meaning and conviction, with fresh enthusiasm, the words of Daniel Webster, "Thank God I am an American."

Thank you and good night.

END (AT 9:40 P.M. EDT)

7704001537

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OCTOBER 29, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Los Angeles, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT A
GOP DINNER

THE CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL

9:55 P.M. PST

Chuck, I can't express deeply enough -- and as deeply appreciative that I am -- of those more than generous words. Let me add, if I might, my great gratitude for the tremendous turnout here tonight that expresses a faith, a conviction, a dedication to the principles and the things that all of us believe in as Republicans in effectuating what we seek and desire at the local, the State and the Federal level.

But, let me say first I am delighted that Andy Hinshaw and Don Clausen are here, Ev Younger, of course Paul Haerle, and your incomparable leaders in the State, Margaret Brock and Bill Banowsky.

I have had the opportunity in several meetings this afternoon and this evening to renew acquaintanceships with some of the members of the legislature that I have met and, of course, those local officials that are so essential and vitally important, and I had the privilege again of renewing acquaintances with individuals I served with in both the House, as well as the Senate.

It is just nice to be here, and I can't express adequately my appreciation for the warm welcome.

You know, it is always a great enjoyment coming back to California, particularly when it is so close to October 31; (Laughter) a very special time when we observe the mysterious and supernational; when people tell strange tales about big houses where rooms lay ghostly silent, where lights are never seen, where mortals never tread.

In most places, it is called Halloween; in California, it is called the Governor's Mansion. (Laughter)

MORE

(OVER)

7704001537

I deeply appreciate your kindness in tendering this Salute to the President's Dinner, but I would prefer to designate -- and I say this most sincerely -- this evening as a salute to all the men and women of the Republican Party of California and throughout the Nation who are working to prove that the elephant has not forgotten how to win elections or provide good Government.

Ladies and gentlemen, our Republican elephant will neither be stampeded nor exterminated. We are full of energy. We are full of faith. We will prove the rumors of our political extinction have been greatly exaggerated and certainly have no foundation in this great State of California.

California and the Republican Party started going together with Free Soil, Free Speech, John C. Fremont in your great State of California. Unfortunately, in 1856, California had only four electoral votes, and Fremont didn't get them.

But, let me say this with emphasis, and reiteration, if I might: I can assure you, as Republicans, we are going to get a lot better deal in California and the rest of the Nation in 1976 than we did in 1856. But, even more significantly and far more importantly, we will do much, much better than we did in 1974, here as well as elsewhere in this great Republic.

The reason I am confident -- and I can say this from traveling the length and breadth of this country -- is the hard spade-work that you are doing right here in California that is being repeated throughout the country. You are rescuing votes we would otherwise lose -- the votes of over one million registered Republicans who did not go to the polls last November.

You can be proud -- and I say this as a former precinct worker myself -- of the dynamic job being done by Walt Smith and Alice Ogle. They, and many other California stalwarts, have reregistered nearly 400,000 voters in this State alone.

Your voter registration drive is giving new life to the precincts and, as I said a moment ago, that is where I started, and I am proud of that heritage and that experience.

Your 1975 fund-raising, including the great work of the Golden Circle Club, is having its best year yet. You are building the Republican Party on the local level, where it [illegible] and every elected official in this hall this evening knows that to be true. There is no substitute for it.

7704001538

We approach a year of decision, as I see it, for all Americans. It is the year to save the two-party system or abandon America to a one-party rule. It is a year to stop the annual growth of Federal budgets that already have amounted to more than we spent to win World War II. It is a year Republicans must stress our differences with Democrats rather than with other Republicans.

It is a year to win elections instead of arguments. It is,above all, the year to build a platform big enough to hold all who care about America and believe in the principles of the Republican Party.

Two hundred years ago our forebears set out to build a new kind of a nation which would govern itself through the political mechanisms of self-correcting balance. The governmental balance of powers which they envisioned and which we have perfected over the years is not limited to the constitutional separation of legislative, judicial and executive branches of the Federal Government, nor are the balanced scales of justice the property of the judiciary alone.

Justice, as Hamilton and Jefferson for once agreed, is the goal of all Government.

Balance is essential among the Congress and the President and the Federal courts, but so is balance among the States and the cities and the Federal establishment. So is balance among the conflicting claims of pressure groups and special interests within our complex society--and it is so complex--and if freedom is to endure, so is balance between our two great political parties.

And so is balance in our bookkeeping. If you don't believe it, just look what is happening to New York City. The only thing wrong with New York City -- and I had a few words to say about that today -- (Laughter) -- is that too many things have gotten out of balance, including far, far too many budgets. The only thing wrong with this country is that too many things have gotten out of balance, including too many budgets.

The balance has shifted against business and industry to the degree that both the freedom and the enterprise are being taxed and regulated right out of the free enterprise system. The balance on taxes has shifted to penalize hard-working, law-abiding Americans and especially taxpayers in the middle income groups and to reward able bodied adults who want benefits without work.

The balance has shifted against the disadvantaged, the poor and the pensioners who live on fixed incomes as the Congress fires up inflation by voting benefits for many, many who don't need them at the expense of those who do. The balance has shifted against the States, counties and cities that practice sound fiscal management and in favor of those communities which spend beyond their means and look to Washington for a bail out.

The balance on crime has shifted so heavily on concern for the rights of the criminals that the rights of their victims are almost forgotten. I say this with emphasis, this must stop.

The balance on national defense has shifted against our Armed Forces to the point where many members of the Congress would rather spend your money for controversial social experiments than for the essential insurance of a defense second to none. You and I know that America's strength is the only solid basis for peace in the world and that weakness is the surest way, the surest path to war.

The balance of world power must not be shifted against us and the free world because without freedom, nothing else is of value. Freedom must always come first.

Fortunately, there is a way to correct all these imbalances. We have weights with which to right every balance. We do not call them weights, we call them ballots. For too long many Americans have been putting their weights, their votes, under the wrong side of the scales. Balance can be restored to this country's affairs and I stand here to ask for your help in this critical and crucial moment. With all our weights put together, yes, our ballots, we will do the job.

The job starts with the Congress. A Congress that refuse to cut taxes and spending is drastically out of balance and drastically out of touch with you and others who will go to the polls in November of 1976.

America's vitality and prosperity is being zapped by the irresponsibility of the Congress, the irresponsibility of their spending; a Congress dominated two to one by Democrats; a Congress controlled by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years, and I might add for 33 of those 38 years there have been substantial Federal deficits.

What have those deficits brought, or what have they brought to us. You are painfully aware of how a massive bureaucracy is running more and more of your individual daily [illegible]. You know how Democratic-controlled Congresses have discouraged your enterprise and your initiative, encouraged and endorsed the unfair redistribution of your efforts and your incomes to others.

7704001538

For the last 20 years, Congress after Congress, all controlled by Democrats, has spent and spent and elected and elected. In 1962, let me illustrate, if I might, very quickly, the Federal budget for the first time in American history exceeded $100 billion. I can recall that vividly, it was a headline. It startled us, it shocked us.

I had been in Congress roughly 13 years and I couldn't believe it. Democratic Congresses then doubled the budget to $200 billion in only eight more years. Unless we bring sanity to the spending madness of the present Congress, the Federal budget in the coming fiscal year will more than double again to an estimated $423 billion.

Where did these massive increases come from? That is a good, legitimate, honest question that ought to be asked by all people, Democrat, Republican or otherwise. Because of the mountains of Federal debt incurred through soaring Congressional spending, annual interest -- annual interest on the public debt almost tripled in the last ten years, from $11 billion in a period of one year. Interest has grown to $32 billion in 12 months.

MORE

7704001538

Another example. Between 1965 and 1975, Democratic-controlled Congresses increased spending for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare by nearly 400 percent -- 400 percent. Ladies and gentlemen, how can this Democratic Congress now tell the American people -- and listen, because this is the crux of the issue we are to be faced with in the months ahead -- how can the Democratic Congress now tell the American people that it cannot hold down anticipated spending for fiscal 1977 by a mere 7 percent? They have no answer.

Just over three weeks ago, I made the Congress a perfectly reasonable proposition. The Congress wanted to cut income taxes again next year, but go right on spending to the tune of another $60 billion deficit.

I said, okay, let's have a tax cut, an even bigger, more equitable and permanent tax cut than you are considering, a tax cut of $28 billion. Americans do need more of their own paychecks to spend. But, along with a tax cut, let's have a comparable $28 billion cut in the growth of Federal spending. They go hand in hand, partners, in trying to save America's fiscal situation now and in the future.

Let's set a spending ceiling of $395 billion instead of the projected $423 billion, and start right now to cut back our annual deficit so we can have a balanced budget, an honest one, a certain one within three years.

Did Members of the Congress say okay, we will try? You know the answer. They didn't. They howled, they cried, they said I was being political. Tell me -- and this is a thoughtful distinction -- tell me why is it political to want to cut spending along with taxes, but it is not political to cut taxes and go right on spending for politically popular programs?

Do you realize that under the laws Democratic Congresses have already written--they are in the statute books right now and have been for the last several years--without a single new appropriation or program, and despite everything I can do as President by vetoing further increases, our Federal expenditures will automatically increase next year by $50 billion? No new programs, no changes in any laws, just the automatic increase because more people are eligible or their escalation clauses, or a wide variety of other reasons, an increase automatically of $50 billion.

Fifty billion dollars in spending growth -- think of it for a minute. That is nearly five times the total annual [illegible] of the great State of California.

The majority in Congress -- as Chuck Reed said -- don't like my vetoes. If I could reiterate, those vetoes have already saved the taxpayers some $6-1/2 billion, and I will go on vetoing unwise, unnecessary spending bills again and again and again.

The sole criteria will be, will it save you money and save our country's future? Now, the Congress obviously doesn't like my combination of a tax cut and a spending cut proposal. Having served 25 years in the Congress, I understand it. I know why. Without being seriously unkind to my former colleagues and some of their new Members, you know, some call this a spendthrift Congress.

I will say this: It is sure a lot more spend than thrift. But, to be more emphatic and more deliberate and more specific, I call it a "can't do Congress." They can't pass an energy bill, they can't face up to one issue after another, but most of all, on the issue I am discussing, they say "We can't cut the budget. They complain. They tell us we are to cut it. They ask, where do we start?

Very well. Let me tell them. For a starter, Congress can begin by slashing the food stamp program. Every Congressman, Democratic as well as Republican, knows the abuses of the food stamp program are notorious.

Congress has no excuse whatsoever not to begin the $28 billion reduction right here in this program. Congress can save taxpayers more than $1 billion in 12 months by passing my proposed food stamp reform program.

This Democratic Congress knows as well as I do that approximately one--unbelievably--one out of every five Americans has now become eligible for food stamps. Congress knows that 57 percent of those eligible for food stamps are above the nationally defined poverty level -- 57 percent.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Bill Simon, who was here just a few days ago, he and his department have calculated that 43,000 American families with annual incomes above $18,000 per year received food stamps last year. Forty-three thousand families. Why? You tell me why.

Why does a family earning $18,000 a year need food stamps? Better still, tell your Congressmen and your Senators.

MORE

7704001538

Since 1965, the cost of this experiment has increased from $34 million annually to nearly $6 billion for every 12 months. Twenty-one million people, 41 times more than recipients in 1965, are now getting food stamps. It is unbelievable.

My policy in food stamps is simple, fair. The Federal Government should, within the limits of its resources, help Americans in need who cannot help themselves.

We should not give Federal assistance -- and I emphasize we should not give Federal assitance -- to able-bodied adults without dependents who do not choose to work.

I simply don't understand the logic of this Democratic-controlled Congress. If every housewife can revise her budget and every businessman can cut the frills out of his office, or industrial activity on spending, why can't the free spending Congressional Democrats do the same.

I say, in all sincerity, I will work with the Congress to insure that those who deserve the help of our Nation will continue to get it. The elderly, the poor, the men and women who have borne our Nation's arms, the Federal Government must and will meet these legitimate obligations, but we must not pay one more cent of tribute to interest groups with frills who can afford to work and we cannot afford to support.

MORE

7704010535

I will also keep faith with those who innovate and invest, those who work, those who pay their taxes, those who obey the law and those who save for their children's future. I speak to you in these very frank and categorical terms tonight to underscore my deep conviction and greatest concern, that a Government big enough to give us everything we want is a Government big enough to take from us everything we have.

While serving in the Congress, I won five watchdog of the Treasury in the White House now and in the future.

You know some of my friends told me I shouldn't come to California again -- (Laughter) -- they say there is nothing a President can learn by leaving Washington and meeting Americans face-to-face. Apparently only Congressmen, columnists and pollsters should talk to people. Well, I kind of prefer to get my information first-hand and speak to all of you face-to-face.

As President, I can advance programs, I can prod the Congress, but I need your voices, loud, clear, telling me where you stand and where you want to go individually and collectively.

Tonight, as I conclude, I will tell you where I stand. Your President will not cave in to the big spenders and the budget busters in the Congress.

Your President will not fling open the U.S. Treasury to every city with a hole in its pocket.

Your President will not let a massive bureaucracy dominate your State, your cities, your business, and, more importantly, your lives.

Your President will not play dead while the foreign oil cartel drains off $25 billion plus a year from our economy.

And your President will never stand idly by while the Congress down-grades America's defenses and dismantles America's intelligence-gathering capability.

I believe America wants a President who is a fighter, not a patsy. And as President, I will join with you in the fight for the enduring principles of the Republican Party, those principles for which we have always stood: fiscal responsibility in Government, local control over local affairs, the freeing of the free enterprise system, a national defense second to none, and the realization of individual freedom for each and every one of us in 214 million other Americans.

7704001537

With your talent, with your enthusiasm, with your help, and, yes, appreciatively with your dollars, we can make 1976 a year for all Republicans and independents a year that they will remember fondly, constructively and wholesomely and a year the Democrats may never forget.

Thank you and good night.

END (AT 10:29 P.M. PST)

7704001538

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:00 A.M. PST

OCTOBER 30, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Los Angeles, California)

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
BY
LARRY MOORE, KMBC-TV
GABE PRESSMAN, WNEW-TV
ALAN SMITH, WTTG-TV
GILBERT AMUNDSON, WTCN-TV
KENNETH JONES, KTTV-TV
AND
HERB KLEIN, METROMEDIA

CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL

7:44 A.M. PST

QUESTION: America's largest city, New York, the big apple, is on the verge of bankruptcy. Other cities also fight for survival. Traffic chokes the arteries, spewing fumes into the once clear skies, streets and sidewalks are turned into garbage dumps, crime is rampant, frustrated by spiraling costs. Public servants go on strike and march in picket lines. A desperate plea for help goes out to the President and Congress. Searching for answers is Metromedia News Reporters from across the country have gathered in Los Angeles for an exclusive interview with President Gerald Ford about the crisis in the cities and other issues.

Metromedia Vice President Herb Klein is the moderator.

MR. KLEIN: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. President, it is a pleasure to welcome you to this unique Metromedia news team presentation of an interview based on the problems of the cities and many other current issues facing the country at this time. It is a pleasure. Welcome, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Herb. I am delighted to have an opportunity of seeing some old friends and making some new acquaintances, and I look forward to a very active discussion of some of the problems that I know are on the minds of these gentlemen as well as others.

MR. KLEIN: Thank you. Our first question will be from a man you know from New York, Mr. Gabe Pressman, from WNEW Channel 5, New York City.

MORE

(OVER)

QUESTION: Mr. President, the New York Daily News today carried the following headline bannered on its front page, "Ford to the City: Drop Dead." Is that what you were saying yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT: Gabe, not at all. I was saying to the City of New York that the best way is for we in the Federal Government to put pressure on the responsible officials in the State and in the City to do some things that had to be done that have been neglected, have not been done over a period of time and indicate to the City that if responsible officials at the State and local level don't act, then there was a way in which the Federal Government, after default, could come in and participate in providing what we call essential services.

But the people in New York have been the victims of mismanagement by public officials and the only way to get that situation straightened out is to put the pressure on those people to do what they should have done over the years.

I have great sympathy for the people of New York, 8 million people who have been misled, who have not been given the leadership they need.

QUESTION: Mr. President, you made two speeches yesterday, one in Washington in which you said our leaders in New York have to take the responsibility for past follies, what you have just said. You also made one here in Los Angeles to a Republican fund raising dinner in which you expressed great sympathy for the middle Americans, the middle class Americans, and the pensioners and the people who are really footing the bill and taking the punishments in this country. Isn't it a fact that default in New York City is going to affect tens of thousands of these people, both civil servants who will be laid off and people who work for private vendors that aren't going to be paid by the City of New York, so is there an inconsistency between your attitude on default and your sympathy expressed for the little guy?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at all, Gabe. The principal investors in the securities, the long-term bonds and the short-term notes, are the banks in New York City and throughout the country. They have made an investment in the free market. They took a gamble on a tax free investment, they expected to get a return. If the City officials of New York don't do something properly to correct the situation, these investors, yes, will have to defer the receipt of their interest and the repayments on principal. But they made an investment in a free market. They should have known that the circumstances weren't as good as they might have been told they were.

7704001390

On the other hand, we have said to the firemen, to the policemen, to the the nurse in the emergency ward, we will help and work with the court if default comes, and there is no need for it to come in the first place, but if it does, we will help that group of people to provide those essential services to the 8 million people in the City of New York. I don't think there is any inconsistency at all.

MORE

7704101539

QUESTION: Granted what you just said, and I will just make a very short question, Mr. President.

There are thousands of people, it is a fact, who are not big banks, who have New York City bonds, including widows and orphans and little people who thought this was a good way to spend much of their life savings in buying these bonds.

What about them? Should they be punished for the sins of our politicians?

THE PRESIDENT: It is a relatively small proportion of the total amount owed by the City of New York. I think the city owes in the magnitude of about $12 billion, short-term, long-term obligations. Those obligations can and will be paid.

There may be a temporary deferral in order to give the city an opportunity to straighten out its situation so that current bills can be paid. But, if the city is properly led, those small investors will get their money, but there may be some delay.

MR. KLEIN: Mr. Alan Smith, with the good Channel 5, Washington.

QUESTION: Mr. President, we have seen for some time now the long stalemate over an energy policy, an energy program. Now we have New York City, and we supposedly have a time element there of November 30.

Now, you asked Congress to pass bankruptcy legislation. If Congress refuses to do that, and you follow through on vetoing any legislation that they may come up with for Federal loan guarantees, what happens to New York City after November 30?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I made it extremely clear, Alan, that the eight or more proposals that have been floating around in the House and Senate were totally inadequate. There wouldn't have been any answer, or won't be any answer to the problem because they just delay, delay, they carry on, perpetuate the mismanagement we have had in New York City.

I am not sure, to be honest with you, that any legislation can pass the Congress. I think the only legislation that will pass the Congress is the proposal that I made. So, it is not a choice of what others have recommended, eight or more bills and mine. That is not a choice.

7704001539

I don't think there is a majority in the Congress to pass any one of those eight other bills. I know there are not enough to override a veto, so the real alternative -- unless the city and the State do something affirmatively to avoid the problem in the first place -- I think the only choice is my proposal.

MR. KLEIN: Mr. President, our next question will be from Larry Moore, KMBC, Kansas City.

QUESTION: Mr. President, what can you tell the taxpayer in Kansas City or elsewhere in the country who is concerned about the situation in New York because he fears if his public school district or his city wants to build a new building, in order to get bonds, the district or the city would have to pay a higher interest rate, he would have to pay higher taxes to finance the bond issue.

What can you tell him with the New York crisis?

THE PRESIDENT: Larry, there is a very good answer to that. As Alan knows, in the last week or so in the metropolitan area, the City of Washington, or the District of Columbia, two or three well-run local units of Government sold bonds at a better price than they had ever gotten in recent years.

Those communities, those local units of Government that are well-managed, people want to buy them. Investors want to invest because they are good securities. So, the message is really to local officials, "You run your city, your school board or any other local unit of Government well, and you will have plenty of investors and you will not have to pay a high interest rate."

QUESTION: If that situation would change, if there would become extreme fear even with well-managed units of Government because of the situation in New York, and New York defaults, would you consider altering in any way your position of yesterday that you would veto any measure Congress would pass to bail out New York City?

THE PRESIDENT: I think you are approaching it in the question from the wrong end. We have to assume that locally elected officials will do a good job, and 99-9/10 of them do a good job, so there is no need to worry.

I don't think we should be scared. I don't think the American people should be frightened by the very small percentage of local officials who don't measure up and handle their affairs in a proper way.

7704001393

The history of this country is that we have had good local Government and we shouldn't be terrified by the mistakes of a limited few. I think Kansas City, Minneapolis, many other cities throughout the country are well-managed, and we should make sure that they have an open market where they can sell their securities at a fair price. If they are well-managed, those markets will be available.

MR. KLEIN: Our next question will be from our Metromedia newsman from WTCN, Channel 11, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Gil Amundson.

QUESTION: Mr. President, critics of your stand on New York have said it is insensitive, punitive and in reality it will cost the Nation more to default in New York rather than to prevent it.

How do you respond to that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't see how it possibly can cost more. The City of New York and the State of New York have ample resources. They can raise taxes, and they can cut down expenditures. They can modify spending programs.

If they do those corrective actions, which they failed to do for the last few years, there is no loss at all.

I think it is a warning to the public and every city in the whole United States -- make doggone sure you have mayors and aldermen and councilmen who are going to manage your city properly.

Fortunately, that has been the case. If it continues, there won't be any cost at all. In fact, it will be better. In the meantime, New York City has an opportunity to do something correctively, and it won't have any problems either.

MR. KLEIN: Mr. President, Ken Jones, KTTV-TV, Channel 11, Los Angeles.

QUESTION: Mr. President, who specifically is to blame for New York's problems? Is it the former administration of Mayor John Lindsay, and did it carry to the State House and Nelson Rockefeller -- now the Vice President -- or is it the current administration of Abraham Beame?

7704011391

THE PRESIDENT: I don't like to point a finger, Ken, at any one individual. I think the record is very clear that the City of New York in the last ten or 12 years has had an escalating budget. Their expenditures have risen at the rate of about 14 percent per annum; their income at the rate of about 4 to 5 percent per annum.

The net result is they have had an escalating obligation, a debt they have to carry, about $12 billion. The record shows who was in charge of the city, and as Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record," and we will see what the public reaction is.

QUESTION: Is your investigating going to carry to the State House under Governor Rockefeller?

THE PRESIDENT: In this particular case, the City of New York itself, there is no history of the State being involved. In the recent months, of course, the State has gotten involved by what they call the big MAC.

But, the primary responsibility rests with the locally elected officials over a period of ten or 12 years in the City of New York.

MORE

7704001539

QUESTION: One other question. Governor Carey said yesterday that you said you did not want to make the State or the City wards of the Federal Government and he said your proposal does in fact do that. It puts the Federal keeper in and makes it a ward of the Federal Government.

THE PRESIDENT: There is a difference. Under the plan that I propose, the City of New York, for a temporary period of time, would come under the jurisdiction of the Federal courts; not a politician, a judge. It can get out of that situation as quickly as it gets its finances in order. I think it is a much more responsible place for this problem to be resolved than to make the President of the United States Mayor,on a temporary basis,for the City of New York.

A Federal judge who is under no political pressure can handle properly the readjustment of investments, the carrying on of essential services. That is something that can be done by a Federal judge in New York City, not by some elected or non-elected official in the City of Washington, D.C.

QUESTION: Following up on Ken's first question, Mr. President, you noted yesterday that in addition to the high salaries and the other burdens, there were fat pensions that were negotiated in New York. No pension improvement could be made without the approval of the Legislature and the Governor and it is a historic fact that Lindsay started the pension improvement but it was Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the Legislature that put those fat pensions through and many civic leaders agree with you, part of the cause of the financial mess we are in. You say you blame those who misled the people. Do you blame your own Vice President?

THE PRESIDENT: I was not cognizant that the State Legislature and the Governor had to approve the particular pension program. If it is, it is unique in New York City and New York State. Those are usually negotiated between the Mayor and/or his authorities and the representatives of the labor organizations. In no other State I am familiar with does the Governor and the State Legislature have to have anything to do with the details of pensions --

QUESTION: Well, I wouldn't try to educate the President of the United States, but it is a fact that all messages involving basic changes in law, including pension bills, have to be approved by the State Legislature and the Governor, and as a reporter over the last 15 years I observed both Lindsay and Rockefeller negotiating with the union leaders for these pension benefits that became staggering.

7704015396

THE PRESIDENT: Well, those pension programs by any other standards, let's be frank and honest, are far more generous than in any other community. As I noted in my remarks yesterday, those pension programs are non-contributory. If the information given me is accurate, that is the only case in any major pension programs throughout the United States for municipal employees. That is a very, very generous program. And I think it has contributed significantly and those who participated have to be responsible.

QUESTION: Including Mr. Rockefeller?

MR. KLEIN: Alan Smith?

QUESTION: Mr. President, in response to Larry Moore's question a few moments ago, you said that New York must practice budget balancing, budget austerity,by raising taxes, cutting expenses, perhaps halting capital construction projects. You said that before.

However, there are those New Yorkers, one,for example, Teachers' Union President Albert Shanker, who says that cuts imposed already by the State Control Board would eliminate another 50,000 city jobs in New York. That over a two-year period several billions of dollars would be taken out of the New York spending economy which could be used to help New York right itself.

In addition, he speaks of further cuts you suggest and he says this would be counter-productive. Mr. Shanker contends it would be a vicious circle, that it would not bring New York out of its solvency, that New York does need Federal aid. What is your response to that?

THE PRESIDENT: In the first place, let me say the Federal Government does contribute significantly right now on an annual basis to New York. New York City's budget on an annual basis is roughly $12.2 billion a year. The Federal Government contributes approximately 25 percent of it so the Federal Government has been very generous with New York City. We have paid 25 percent of the costs of running New York City today.

Now that is pretty high. I happen to think that that generosity has been,in many cases, misapplied by the responsible public o-ficials in the City of New York. A further bail out is not essential providing the local people do the things that are necessary.

7704001397

Now, under the theory that was set forth by one or more of the gentlemen you mentioned, under that theory, the more you spend over the long run, that is the quickest way to get out of a problem. I have never known anybody in private business or any family, or any church or any Government, that followed that theory that survived very well.

It sounds good but in practicality each and every one of us know it never works. And the only way for New York City to straighten out its problems is to tighten its belts. And if they haven't done it enough, and if they do it right, New York City can get straightened out.

MORE

7704001539

QUESTION: Mr. President, school busing is a problem affecting Kansas City and many other cities in the country. You have not exactly endorsed school busing to achieve integration in the schools, but at the same time, you haven't exactly outlined an alternative.

What hopes can you hold out for cities like Kansas City that run the risk of losing millions of dollars in Federal aid in the not too distant future if they don't use school busing?

THE PRESIDENT: Really, I have spoken out consistently and for some time on this problem. I was one of the original Members of the House or the Senate that said that court-ordered forced busing to achieve racial balance was not the way to accomplish quality education.

That has been a consistent statement, view, policy of mine for a number of years. I believe it even more fervently today than I did before. So, we have to start out with the assumption that education, quality education, is what we are all seeking to accomplish.

Now, some people say we ought to spend more money, and I think there are programs where you can spend more money at the local level to upgrade schools in disadvantaged areas. There are others who say the long-range and, even to a substantial degree, short-range, is better distribution of housing, so we achieve integration in a different way and you can still rely on the neighborhood school system.

Dr. Coleman, who testified before the Senate Committee on Judiciary just a few days ago, had some thoughts on it. It is interesting that Dr. Coleman, who was an initial proponent of busing to achieve quality education, has now -- after studying the problem in a number of cities -- come to the conclusion that it is not the answer.

I don't think there is any patent medicine that can give us the answers, but I think we ought to spend whatever money is necessary for what we call magnet schools, to upgrade teachers to provide better facilities, to give greater freedom of choice. These are the things we ought to push hard.

QUESTION: There are those who say, including Congressman Jerry Litton from Kansas City, that a separate Department of Education should be established, taking it [illegible] from HEW.

Would you be in favor of establishing a separate Department of Education to handle the complex problems of busing?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think that, in and of itself, is a solution. That sounds good. Maybe it ought to be justified on other grounds, but I don't think it is necessarily the answer to this problem.

QUESTION: Gentlemen, our time is limited.

QUESTION: Mr. President, my cities -- Minneapolis and St. Paul -- much of that region faces some serious economic questions because of the impending cut-off of oil and natural gas from Canada.

It means we will have to bring it in from more expensive sources. The shortage of natural gas could even lead to higher unemployment.

Has the Administration given this any attention?

THE PRESIDENT: We certainly have. Our Secretary of Interior has been working with the proper officials in the Government of Canada. I have talked to former Natural Resources Minister Mr. Macdonald. We have groups working together.

As I understand it, Canada has agreed not -- for the next 12 months -- to have any significant change in the supplies, either crude oil or natural gas.

In the meantime, Congress has to pass an energy program so we can solve those problems in the upper tier, the Northern tier, including Minnesota, Michigan, North Dakota, et cetera.

If we can get a bill through Congress to provide more domestic sources of energy, making us less dependent on foreign oil cartels, the problems of Minnesota, Michigan and others will be resolved.

MR. KLEIN: Ken Jones.

QUESTION: There was a story in the Los Angeles Times this morning that your campaign committee has, or is about to, ask the Federal Election Committee to investigave our Governor, Ronald Reagan, that he is an acting candidate, that he is a candidate now.

Do you believe he is a candidate?

7704001 5400

THE PRESIDENT: As I understand it, Ken, technically he is not, no more so than Governor Wallace is. There are really two steps as the law has been written, and as it has been implemented. Technically, I don't believe that Governor Reagan is a candidate, and I certainly will give him or any others in similar circumstances the benefit of the doubt.

I don't think I ought to argue the details of that. That is something for the Federal Elections Commission to decide, and I am sure they will.

MR. KLEIN: Gabe Pressman.

QUESTION: Mr. President, yesterday you noted that tens of millions of Americans have entered the golden door in search of liberty through New York. Since World War II there has been a tremendous migration within this country of Puerto Ricans and of black Americans up to New York from the South.

New York has a tremendous welfare, and while we get some help from the Federal Government, we foot an awful lot of that bill ourselves.

Do you think it is time the Federal Government did more to help us in that regard?

THE PRESIDENT: Gabe, the Federal Government pays at least 50 percent of the welfare bill in the City of New York. We are very substantial contributors. The extra benefit over and above the Federal payment is a decision made itself by the City of New York, or the State of New York.

We are in the process, quite frankly, Gabe, of reviewing the whole welfare program. There are so many pieces and parts of it, and it is so uncoordinated, we either have to judge it all and come up with a new one or we have to find ways as an alternative to tighten up to give more to the people who deserve it and less or nothing to the people who don't. This is the problem we are facing, and we hope to do something about it.

QUESTION: Do you think the taxpayers of New York should be punished for their compassion to fellow Americans?

THE PRESIDENT: We all have to live within our income, Gabe, and if they have been overly generous over and above what the Federal Government contributes, I think they have to be faulted.

QUESTION: Mr. President, we don't have much time and this program has been devoted primarily to the city, such as its bills. However, I would be remiss if I didn't mention another November 30 deadline, the end of the UN mandate in the Golan Heights. Inasmuch as President Sadat of Egypt is in this country now, might we expect some announcement from you or from Secretary Kissinger in the not-too-distant future about any potential for movement toward an accord between Syria and Israel?

THE PRESIDENT: I have said that the United States will not tolerate stagnation or stalemate in the Middle East. I meant it. We are hoping that the parties involved in that area of the world will participate in preliminary negotiation discussion because we do have to go from the Sinai step to another step, or to an overall, and they all understand it. We are anxious that it take place but we are not in a position to tell them precisely where or when. We are going to keep the pressure on.

QUESTION: Will you have that November 30 Golan Heights statement?

THE PRESIDENT: That is a decision under UNDOF for Syria to make its decision. We hope, of course, that Syria will be responsive to an extension of it. We certainly will do our best to give assurances that there will be the right kind of movement in the diplomatic field to convince them that they ought to do it.

QUESTION: Mr. President, crime is a problem in our cities, of course, and the news media reports in St. Louis are saying the top White House people do not like the job that Clarence Kelley is doing as head of the FBI. What is your assessment of Clarence Kelley as Director of the FBI?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he is a first-class Director of the FBI. I read some of these rumor stories and I sought to hit them hard and to reassure him that he has done and is doing a first-class job. Well, I am perfectly satisfied with the way he is running the FBI and I so told him.

MR. KLEIN: Time has gone rapidly, Mr.President. There are other topics we would like to have covered. We would like on behalf of Metromedia and our news audience to thank you very much for joining us tonight.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Herb. Thank all of you.

END (AT 8:15 A.M. PST)

San Francisco, California

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Luncheon. October 30, 1975

Ben, Archbishop McGucken, my former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Don Clausen and Andy Hinshaw, my very good friends Ev Younger, Paul Haerle, Margaret Brock, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this really unbelievable luncheon.

I think most of you know that I have always enjoyed coming back to California, particularly when it is so close to October 31—*[laughter]*—a very special time when we observe the mysterious and supernatural, when people tell strange tales about big empty houses where rooms lay ghostly silent, where lights are never seen and where mortals never tread. In most places it is called Halloween. In California it is called the Governor's Mansion. *[Laughter]*

May I say most seriously that I can't thank Ben Biaggini sufficiently for his chairmanship of this superlative luncheon. Ben, I am most grateful, and I say it on behalf of all of us who are on the firing line trying to achieve and accomplish what you and all of these fine people represent.

But may I express to all of you who are here, who contributed, who are not only here in your presence but with your contributions, we can do the job better with this kind of support, and I thank you very, very much.

I think it would be appropriate to make one observation. We have a lady in this audience this afternoon who has really reached a milestone in 1975—her 100th birthday anniversary, Mrs. Alma Walker, Table 25. We *should* give her a great big hand.

A visit to San Francisco never fails to bolster my optimism, and what I see here today verifies it without any question. When I returned from the Pacific in 1945 and saw the Golden Gate, I realized that I, too, had left my heart in San Francisco.

Next year marks the 79th anniversary of the San Francisco fire. San Francisco passed the ultimate test of the recuperative power of an American city. Local courage and local determination prevailed. The reconstruction of San Francisco was not a Federal bail-out; it was a local undertaking. *[Laughter]* It was the work of dedicated San Franciscans.

American cities which are now quaking from financial fears arising from faults in their own fiscal policies can today profit from the example set by San Francisco. California actually has shown the world what Americans can do. It has demonstrated the unique California spirit of "can do" and the unique Republican spirit of "can do." I have a full, full confidence in the capability of the American economic system to come back, just as San Francisco demonstrated that a city can come back. We have had a tough 14 months in this country, economic problems that would have discouraged many and caused expedient answers to problems that needed to be solved by sound solutions.

Last January, in my first State of the Union Message to the Congress, I reported, as Don and Andy know, that the state of our economy was not good. Today I can say that our economy is moving up, not down—forward and not back! And that is because of good policies and dedication and strength of the American people. And I thank 214 million Americans for standing steady in their great adversity.

7704001540

Let me cite a few examples, if I might. Our gross national product for the third quarter increased in real terms—to an annually adjusted rate of 11.2 percent. This was the greatest quarterly increase since 1955.

The industrial production index rose at an annual rate of 20 percent between June and September, and some recently released figures indicated that productivity in our society has really surged forward under the stimulant of a free enterprise system and the competition that we face from abroad, as well as with ourselves.

The total number of people employed went up between March and September of this year by 1,769,000. This is real progress. It means a paycheck and dignity to 1,769,000 individuals, to their families, and real strength to the entire American economy.

Unemployment dropped from 9.2 percent in May to 8.3 percent in September. Let me say categorically, emphatically, there is no rate of unemployment that I consider acceptable as long as any American wants to work and can't find a job. But unemployment is going down, and it will continue to go down with the kind of rate, solid policies, that we are pursuing in the Nation's Capital.

Inflation has been reduced from an annual rate of 12.2 percent in 1974 to 6.8 percent so far in 1975. We have reduced the rate of inflation by almost half. That is not good enough, but we are doing better than the experts predicted or forecast. And I will stick my neck out and say we will continue to do better and better and better. Every economic indicator suggests we have already been on the road to recovery for approximately 6 months.

But we must not allow a resurgence of the double-digit inflation which did so much damage to our economy in recent years.

Two consecutive Federal deficits of $60 billion or more are bound to rekindle inflation in this great country. That is why I have insisted that the Congress reduce Federal spending by $28 billion while at the same time reducing taxes by an equal amount—$28 billion. Now if the Congress would cooperate by combining a tax cut and a reduction in the growth of Federal spending, we could sharply cut the Federal deficit for the fiscal year 1977 while providing equitable and permanent tax reduction and relief in the right way.

I call upon the Congress to meet this challenge. It is fair, it is right, it is good for America. When I hear the howls and screams and attitudes that we can't do it, the rules of the House or the Senate won't permit it, or this excuse or that excuse, that is not acceptable when we have a good program that is good for the country.

I know that Don and Andy and our delegation in California understand, as I do, that it is "doable," it can be accomplished. I just hope that you communicate with those who say, "It can't be done." It can and must be done for the benefit of the country.

Now to keep the economy moving in the right direction, this tax cut is essential, especially for those in the broad middle-income area, those who have suffered the most with the inequitable tax policies we have had in this country for too long a time.

To make sure that a tax cut will not add to inflationary pressures, we must have this budget reduction. The combination is the key to it all.

Do you realize that if we don't change the law and if no other action is taken, in a period of 12 months there will be a $50-billion increase in Federal spending, period.

I think we checked the figures, and that is five times the total expenditures for the great State of California on an annual basis. That is just the growth in Federal spending.

So, what we are trying to do is to combine equity in a tax reduction and a lid on the spending trends in the Federal Government.

Fortunately, aside from that, we have begun to see more and more good economic news. Coming from the State that I come from—but I understand you make more automobiles in California than we do in Michigan—*[laughter]*—I am delighted at the great upsurge in automobile buying and the popularity of new American cars that use less gas. The 1976 models average nearly 13 percent better in fuel economy than last year's cars. This is on top of an improvement of almost 14 percent from 1974 through 1975.

It is an interesting statistic, but I think it shows the ingenuity of the American businessman to meet a challenge. This increase in efficiency means that if every car in America operated with fuel efficiency of the average of the 1976 model, America would save 17 billion gallons of gasoline each year. Even more significant, American motorists would save nearly $11 billion in the cost of gasoline each year.

We have also had a turnaround from the danger of large foreign trade deficits. We are now achieving $1 billion a month U.S. trade surplus, and we have accomplished this change from a year ago for the last 8 consecutive months, an average of $1-billion trade surplus for America.

We should be proud that we are competitive in the world, and this is the best indicator of America's products, America's ingenuity, and America's labor. But we are not only progressing at home but also advancing into a stronger position internationally.

Thirty years ago this month, the Charter of the United Nations, drafted here in San Francisco, went into effect. This charter pledged that the peoples of the United Nations were determined to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and the worth of human persons, in the equal rights of men and women and the nations large and small.

7704001 5401

The American people will firmly believe in these principles, and we have had great hopes for the United Nations in the generation since then. The United States has always acted in the U.N. to defend these principles.

At the beginning of September of 1975, the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly took place on the subject of economic development and global cooperation. The United States assumed a firm leadership role at this session. We made clear that economic pressures and attempts at economic blackmail would never succeed. Instead, if any nations, rich or poor, were going to achieve their objectives of progress and well-being, the only possible approach was realism and a cooperative attitude.

In this spirit, the United States offered a series of constructive and realistic proposals, in whose implementation the other nations would share a responsibility. Our proposals formed the basis of recommendations that were finally adopted at the end of that session by the world community. This was an extraordinary example of reasoned deliberation, consensus, and practical action.

There have been other encouraging developments. The U.N. Security Council recently renewed the mandate of the U.N. emergency force in the Sinai, with a minimum of debate and acrimony. This force is vital to the maintenance of peace and of our efforts for further diplomatic progress in that turbulent area of the world.

The original peacekeeping role of the U.N. is more important now than perhaps at any time in the history of the United Nations. That is why we are disturbed by signs of contrary trends and actions in that world body.

We have seen bloc voting and one-sided resolutions and violations of fair procedures and principles of the United Nations Charter. We have seen attempts to interfere, for example, in the affairs of Puerto Rico, flouting the clearly expressed will of the Puerto Rican people. And we have seen a committee of the United Nations vote to characterize Zionism as a form of racism.

The United States, through Secretary Kissinger and Ambassador Moynihan, has made it clear that this resolution undermines the United Nations' necessary and valuable campaign against racial discrimination and threatens the U.N.'s crucial role as a mediator in the Middle East. I take grave exception to any action that weakens the United Nations as an effective forum for peaceful settlement of disputes. The United States deplores this resolution in the strongest possible terms and will work for its defeat if it comes before the General Assembly.

The U.N. Charter sets a standard in the basic truth that diversity of principles and beliefs must be respected. We believe in this truth and will defend our values and our principles in the U.N. without any apology whatsoever. We will participate constructively in U.N. deliberations and actions, and we expect to be met in the very same spirit by others. That is my position, and I believe it represents the views and the attitudes of 214 million Americans.

In my Administration, America will hold its head high in the world. We are proud of the contribution this country has made for peace. And I promise you our efforts and our determination in this area will never, never falter.

Earlier this week I had several very important meetings with President Sadat of Egypt. His visit—the first time a President of Egypt has ever come to the United States—is one of the most significant new developments in international affairs.

American concern for the Middle East is not a matter of choice; it is a matter of vital necessity. It is a strategic part of the world and the source of a significant and growing portion of our energy resources and those of Western Europe and Japan. We want to maintain and encourage our friendly relations with the 150 million people of the Arab world. And we have a basic moral commitment to the survival and security—and I say this with emphasis—of the State of Israel.

In October of 1973 an oil embargo taught us that conflicts in the Middle East can quickly spread and cause international repercussions. Therefore, our success in beginning the process of negotiations toward peace serves the vital interest of this country while contributing to the well-being of the people of the Middle East and peace of the world as a whole.

The recent Sinai agreement between Egypt on the one hand and Israel on the other will maintain the momentum of this peacemaking process. There is a long, long, hard road ahead, with many pitfalls, but I intend to continue what may prove to be one of the most important achievements of American foreign policy in a generation. We Americans—and I mean all inclusively—are writing a page of world history that we can all be proud of.

And as I look around the world, I see our alliances with the Atlantic Community and Japan in better shape than at any time in the last decade. And I thank all of you in this great Bay Area for the hospitality and thoughtfulness you showed to our distinguished guests, the Emperor and the Empress of Japan. Our cooperation on defense matters in these areas—the Atlantic Community and Japan—our cooperation is sound, effective, and constantly being improved.

But Allied cooperation goes far beyond national security and defense. It reaches out to include new areas of energy cooperation and now intensive consultation to expedite our economic recovery.

In 2 weeks I will meet in Paris with the leaders of the large industrial nations of the free world in an economic summit. If we all coordinate our strategies for economic recovery, it is obvious that our joint efforts will reinforce one another and benefit the peoples of all free nations.

The strength and solidarity of the free world, in my view, is the only basis for seeking a reduction of tensions with our Communist adversaries. It is not we who want

7704001540

confrontations. And I have made it clear that my Administration will maintain a national defense second to none, and I will defend the defense budget against all dangerous and ill-considered attacks or cutbacks. May I say parenthetically, I will resist just as strongly those who want to dismantle our intelligence-gathering community which is a bulwark of America's strength. And in dealing with any or all nations, I have made it clear that when we, the United States, are challenged, we will respond with resolution.

We have a stable relationship of mutual respect with the People's Republic of China. My visit there this year in a few weeks will be an undeniable demonstration of the continuity of our new relationship, on the basis of the principles of the Shanghai communique.

With the Soviet Union, we will pursue practical agreements where it serves our mutual interests as a two-way street. In SALT, the strategic arms limitation area, we will negotiate a balanced and reliable agreement limiting strategic arms on both sides. It will follow the principles of equality. I want a good agreement. If it takes a little more time to negotiate a good agreement, I will spend that time. I will not be rushed by any artificial deadlines.

Earlier this month the United States and the Soviet Union signed a 5-year agreement for grain purchases. We had gone through previous years, 5 or 6 years, where we had had peaks and valleys. One year they would buy little, the next year they would buy much. It was not good for the farmer, it was not good for the consumer, it was not healthy for the Nation as a whole. But through some hard negotiations, we have achieved a 5-year agreement. This agreement now ensures that grain purchases by the Soviet Union will add roughly a billion dollars each year to the American economy over the next 5 years and without disrupting American markets or adding inflation to our country here at home. It will mean jobs for rail employees, longshoremen, port workers, and many, many others in our society. Twenty-five privately owned American ships that were laid up in port because of the recession are now taking on crews because of this grain agreement. Hundreds of seamen are going back to work as a result. American farmers, workers, consumers—all of us—are going to benefit.

In short, we have injected the American spirit of "can do" in our policies at home as well as abroad. A strong surge of confidence, I detect as I travel around the country, is moving across the United States. It is a surge of self-confidence well-known to you here in the Bay Area. It is the spirit that rebuilt San Francisco 70 years ago. It is the spirit that will continue to build America in '75 and the years ahead.

Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the St. Francis Hotel.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The President's Remarks at a Republican Fundraising Dinner. October 30, 1975

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

What a wonderful group of people, what a wonderful occasion, and I thank Fran and all who have put it together. Obviously, I thank each and every one of you who have been here, contributed, participated. I am most grateful not only for what you contributed but your warm welcome.

You know, it is kind of good to be back in Wisconsin again. I have a bit of nostalgia. In late 1965, after having been elected minority leader of the House of Representatives, I came here in this same facility to a tremendous Republican fundraising affair. And it was an occasion, as Ody Fish and George Parker were telling me as we came in from the airport. It was unbelievable, and those memories have been expanded and solidified by what I have heard and what I see here tonight.

But, you know, I have been around Wisconsin quite a bit for a Michigander. If I miss a community, I apologize, but there have been so many. I have been to Madison, to Milwaukee, Oshkosh, to Janesville, to Green Bay, to Wausau, Lacrosse, and I love every community and I love every good Badger. [*Laughter*]

You know, it is great to be here with Bill Messinger, your outstanding State finance chairman. I am told as a result of your efforts, your contributions, everything you have done, the Republican Party of Wisconsin for the first time—as Fran told me, in 40 years or thereabouts—the Republican Party in Wisconsin is going to be virtually debt-free, and that is progress.

I think we better get Bill and a few more Badgers to come down to Washington and help us out. [*Laughter*] When it comes to digging in, and taking hold, under the most difficult circumstances, I don't know of anyone who deserves more credit, more praise, than Bill Messinger. So, Bill, will you stand up and let us give you a great hand.

I am most regretful that I couldn't be here to attend your dinner. I was in a great State, California, last night—Los Angeles—and they had a fabulous fundraising dinner. And then we had a superb luncheon in San Francisco. And we left as quickly as we could to come to this great affair here tonight.

Your good cheer, your enthusiasm, I think is best exemplified by the person who is the chairman of this occasion, and I am deeply grateful for his overly kind and most generous introduction. But without Fran Ferguson, it wouldn't be done either, so Fran, won't you stand up.

Over the years, probably my closest friends in the Congress were those that I served with from the State of Wisconsin. I won't list their names. You know most of them. I wish my old buddy and golfing partner Mel Laird was

here. [*Laughter*] I will let you in on a little secret. The last time I played golf, Johnny Byrnes and Mel were the opponents of a good friend of mine and myself. We have a score to settle with them. [*Laughter*] We are going to catch up. We are way behind.

But anyhow, I am delighted to see that Mel is kept so darned busy at the Reader's Digest because the Reader's Digest and the Republicans have a great deal in common. The Reader's Digest takes things and cuts them down to size, and that is just what we are going to do with some Democrats in 1976. [*Laughter*]

I just wanted to stop and say hello and thank you all and share a few observations and comments. I am looking forward to getting together with you later for a few minutes, where I can have a word or two at some greater length when you and others move to the other hall.

Again, to Bill, to Fran, to all of you, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:44 p.m. in the Bradley Pavilion at the Performing Arts Center.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The President's Remarks at a Republican Rally. October 30, 1975

Bill, former Governor Warren Knowles, Congressman Bill Steiger, Congressman Bob Kasten, Chairman George Parker, Senator Krueger, Representative Shabaz, National Committeeman Ody Fish, Finance Chairman Bill Messinger, Dinner Chairman Frank Ferguson, former Lieutenant Governor Jack Olson, First Vice Chairman Alice Read, Second Vice Chairman Curtis McKay, Dorothy McDonald, Reed Coleman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

That concludes my speech. Thank you very much. [*Laughter*]

Let me thank George Parker, most affectionately known as the State's pen. [*Laughter*] I enjoyed the fact that George met me at the airport along with Ody Fish, but most importantly it is great to be back in Milwaukee again, particularly on the day before a favorite American event, Halloween. In fact, on the way in from the airport I asked Ody Fish if there was any special way people in Milwaukee and particularly Wisconsin celebrated trick or treat. Ody said, "Well, for the treat we pretty much give out the traditional items like candy, apples, popcorn, things like that." I said here in Wisconsin do you have any special treats—or tricks I should say. He said, "Mr. President, only when the Democrats in the legislature work on the State budget." [*Laughter*]

Ody said this is one year Wisconsin Republicans could have used Houdini. He was an expert on getting through locked doors. [*Laughter*]

I commend everyone in the Republican Party, particularly the Republican State legislators, for the battle you have fought this year with the Democrats against secrecy and for openness in government. Congratulations.

Since this is our Bicentennial year, let's remember that the history of the United States and the Republican Party are closely linked. No history of America can be written without that of our Republican Party. We have over 100 years of sound principle and good people, and we should be darn proud of it.

You here in Wisconsin know better than anyone for much of the groundwork of the Republican Party was laid right here in Ripon in 1854. Of course, I better mention Jackson, Michigan, for some very obvious reasons. [*Laughter*] But tonight I want to talk with you not only of our common heritage but our common journey into the future, not only of the proud principles of our Nation's past but of those upon which we must build in the future.

There is an increasing expression in America today that its beliefs and values of our past are no longer relevant to our present nor to our future. Some suggest that America has seen its best days, that our decline has started, that the quality of life in America is sliding downhill, that our economy is on the skids, that the values most of us hold high are out and the new counter-culture is in.

To that I say, nonsense—with emphasis. And to those who would write a self-fulfilling prophesy of doom for this country, I say you are out of step with the vast majority of Americans, Americans who believe in this country and in themselves, and they are proud of our country and they are proud of themselves and their families.

Let me make certain there is no misunderstanding. I did not take the sacred oath of President to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of America. I totally reject the scenarios of pessimism. I have no sympathy with those who have a self-destruct attitude for this great country.

Instead, I look to the future of America, a future which will be built upon a proud past. I look to a nation that was not only able to conquer the challenges but provides its citizens with unmatched personal fulfillment by the year 2000.

Only a short 25 years from now, I see America, whose citizens reside in a community of peace with other nations, share the still highest standard of living in the world, live longer because killer diseases have been conquered and the quality of life enhanced, and enjoy opportunities and housing and education and jobs limited only by their personal initiatives and long-range objectives; experience individual liberties and freedoms which have not only been secured but expanded, whose citizens share a national will and spirit which is still climbing as this Nation moves well into its third century.

To make this vision come true, we must return government to sound, responsible Republican principles. And we will. We must elect to your State and local offices and to

7704001540

the Congress responsible and responsive Republican candidates who believe as we do and who share our collective objectives.

The battle lines for 1976 are being drawn between these opposing forces:

—Between those who believe in fiscal responsibility and those who believe every problem will go away if we just threw enough tax money at it;

—Between those who believe in a strong national defense is the best insurance of peace, and those who would spend your tax money instead for controversial social experiments;

—Between those who believe in local control over local problems and those who believe Uncle Sam should help solve all problems individually and collectively;

—Between those who believe that American business should be unshackled from Government over-regulation so it can expand the economy and create jobs and those who believe Federal paper shufflers know what is best for America and for its business community;

—Between those who believe in the expansion of individual freedom and liberty and those who believe in big Government and that it should direct people's lives. That is a fundamental issue.

Let me emphasize 1976 is more than an election year. It is also a year of decision for all Republicans. It is the Republican Party's golden opportunity to prove to all that it has the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse the Nation's greatness, and the will to win elections. We can do it, and we will do it.

But to make this proof secure, we Republicans must make some practical changes in our political ways; not in principles, but in approaches.

We must discard the attitude of exclusiveness that has kept the Republican Party's door closed while we make speeches about keeping it open. We must invite into our ranks all who care about the great country in which we live and all who share our goals enough to work through the Republican Party to achieve them.

We must build, step by step, a party that works year round and not just at election time. Most important, we must emphasize our differences with Democrats rather than with each other. We must concentrate on winning elections instead of arguments.

As we look toward 1976—and what a year to have before us—the apathy and the cynicism which have overtaken some Americans must be overcome by offering candidates of outstanding ability and rock-hard integrity.

We must develop programs that are forward looking and problem solving, and we must elect a Congress that will carry them out, and we will.

Jim Biehl Steiger and Bob Kasten both have quality, but we need a lot more quantity from Wisconsin. Isn't that right?

I proposed to the 94th Congress—that is the one in session now, or I guess it is in session—[*laughter*]—some people say it has been more out of session than in, but I wouldn't allege that—but I proposed to the 94th Congress a permanent annual cut in your Federal tax bill of $28 billion and a corresponding cut in the growth of Federal spending of the same amount.

All I get so far from this Democrat dominated, "Can't Do Congress" is it can't be done. I say it can, it will, and it must be done this year. If this Congress isn't capable of doing the job, let's elect a Republican Congress that can and will.

America's vitality, its prosperity have been sapped by the irresponsible spending of this Congress, which is controlled two to one by the Democrats, and a previous Congress, which has been controlled by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years.

I might add, parenthetically, for 33 out of those 38 years, there have been deficits which have run up the cost of living and run down the value of the dollars that you earn by the sweat of your brow.

Under the Democratic spenders, the Federal budget for the first time in our history topped $100 billion in 1962. It doubled to $200 billion 8 years later and will more than double again to $423 billion in this coming fiscal year unless we get some action.

Let me emphasize, the $28-billion reduction in taxes which I proposed must be accompanied by equally substantial cuts in the growth of Federal spending. This means the spending ceiling must be $395 billion. That is adequate to meet our needs both at home and abroad, and we must get that ceiling, period. We will keep a scorecard on those that don't vote for it.

You know that under the laws, Democratic Congresses have already written and piled high in statute books without a single new appropriation or program, and despite everything I can do as President by vetoing further increases, our Federal expenditures will increase next year by $50 billion. That is just growth.

I was in California the other day, and the growth in the Federal budget in 12 months is five times the annual budget of the State of California. Something is wrong. The Democrats in Congress don't like my vetoes, but these vetoes have already saved taxpayers some $9½ billion. I will go on vetoing unwise, unnecessary spending bills again and again and again *and* again.

I will do it as long as it saves your money, but, more importantly, it saves our Nation's future, and that is the crux of the battle we are facing at the present time.

What concerns me most is what I see as government without consent, the increasing encroachment of government in our lives and in our future, the irresponsible government action on the local as well as the national level.

Let's make sure we understand each other. It is neither responsible nor compassionate to spend a city or a nation into bankruptcy.

7704001 5403

I am going to say this quietly. [*Laughter*] I can assure you this President will never allow the doors of the United States Treasury to be flung open to every city with a hole in its pocket.

I suspect some of you know I spoke to this problem yesterday. I said that if the Federal Government goes on spending more than it has, providing more benefits and services than it can pay for, then a day of reckoning will ultimately come to Washington and to our entire country just as it has to New York City. And tonight let me ask each of you and all of you collectively the same ominous question I asked in Washington a little over 24 hours ago. When that day of reckoning comes, who will bail out the United States?

Believe me, it is neither responsible nor compassionate to erode the value of people's hard-earned money through inflation by piling Government spending on spending, program on program without the revenues to pay for them. This is not compassion; this is pure and simple irresponsibility.

I know it, you know it, and 214 million Americans know it through the length and the breadth of this great country. And by this time next year we should make darn sure every responsible voter knows who did it and who didn't do it.

The message of the Republican Party and what it stands for must be carried to all of the American people. We must let people know that this is the party of openness, the Republican Party, an open party that insists on open government. And that is precisely what you are doing here in Wisconsin, and I congratulate your legislative leaders. For the young and old, rich and poor, black and white, independent and discerning, and, yes, deserted Democrats—for all of these Americans and more we have something in this great party to offer them.

We are the party of principles, not pessimism, the party of answers and solutions, not the disseminators of doubts and despair. The party of reason, responsibility, and restraint, not the party that purveys promises which can't be kept or programs which can't be achieved. Responsibility—that is the key word, one we acquaint with Republicanism, and we have a record on this point that Republicans can stand on with pride. But we are not only a party of principles, we are a party of people, and this magnificent demonstration here tonight proves it without any question. You can be missionaries in every one of the 71 counties in the great State of Wisconsin. You can say with conviction that principles can be converted into action only when they are supported by a majority of the people.

We must bring people and principles together across our land in Wisconsin and 49 other States. That is the answer to the pessimists, the doom pushers of today. We believe in people, and we believe in principles.

The Republican Party's goal is to unite the American people in the principles that made our Nation great over a period of almost 200 years.

In the first hundred years of our Nation's history, we developed a form of government that provided more liberty, more opportunities for more people than any nation in the history of mankind.

In the second hundred years of our Nation's history, we developed an industrial and agricultural capacity unmatched in the history of this great globe.

In our third century, we must dedicate ourselves to expanding the opportunity for freedom and liberty, individuality, yes, and the Republican Party can be the mechanism for that.

In 1976, together we can celebrate a great victory with those principles and those people, a joint victory—not merely for the party, believe me, but for the people of the United States.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:22 p.m. in Uihlein Hall at the Performing Arts Center.

7704001540

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 7, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Chicopee, Massachusetts)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AND
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
AT
WESTOVER AIR FORCE BASE

12:35 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: How are you all. It is nice to see you.

I have a couple of minutes here if you want to ask a question or two.

QUESTION: Mr. President, we have a great deal of concern about jobs and unemployment. Do you see any possibility of the Government as an employer of last resort, especially in the Northeast, which has been pretty hard hit?

THE PRESIDENT: We have a number of programs, the CETA program for public service employment. We have a number of other training programs and, as the economy moves up -- and it is moving up, it is getting stronger and healthier -- I think we will find a downward trend in unemployment in Rhode Island, in Massachusetts -- in my own State of Michigan, we are making real headway. In the meantime I think we will have the kind of programs that are healthy in many, many instances.

QUESTION: Mr. President, would you see the money running out, though, by June?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, no. The appropriation for the CETA program, if the Congress appropriates what I have recommended, will fully fund the program through June 30 of next year.

QUESTION: Mr. President, would you consider a woman for Vice President?

THE PRESIDENT: Of course I would.

MORE

(OVER)

QUESTION: Mr. President, you have given the impression, you know, with the changes in your Cabinet, that Dr. Kissinger is being moved out of the national security area and restricted only to the foreign policy area.

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't hear the last part.

QUESTION: Dr. Kissinger is being moved out of the national security and substantially restricted to the foreign policy area.

THE PRESIDENT: Dr. Kissinger will continue to have great influence in the overall strategy that we have on a worldwide basis. As Secretary of State, as an active member of the National Security Council, he will have tremendous influence but we will also have an input from other sources -- the Secretary of Defense, head of CIA. It is a combination of high ranking people, each with specific responsibilities, and the recommendations will come to me and I will make the final decisions.

QUESTION: Doesn't that represent some diminution of Dr. Kissinger's influence?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't think so. He will have a very great influence, he has and he will. But there is also other voices that have to contribute to the recommendations that come to me and those voices will be heard as well.

QUESTION: Mr. President, who do you see as a possible running mate in '76?

THE PRESIDENT: We have a wide variety of fine potential candidates and I couldn't take all the time to name them, they are all so good and there are so many of them.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END (AT 12:38 P.M. EST)

7704001541

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 7, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Boston, Massachusetts)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
51st NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL CONFERENCE

SHERATON-BOSTON HOTEL

2:57 P.M. EST

Thank you very much, Ed King, Mr. Stotz, distinguished Governors, my former colleagues in the Congress, Congressman Silvio Conte and Margaret Heckler, members of the New England Council, my old and very dear friend, the former Speaker of the House, John McCormack, ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored to be with you at the 50th anniversary meeting of the New England Council, marking a half a century of regional progress. Your Council has generated many instances of mutual cooperation that typify the Yankee spirit of practical problem-solving. New England has had its ups and downs since this organization was founded but hopefully we have started on another up, not only for New England but for the entire country.

The presence here today of six distinguished Governors, my good friends: Governor Dukakis of Massachusetts; Governor Grasso of Connecticut; Governor Longley of Maine; Governor Noel of Rhode Island; Governor Salmon of Vermont; and Governor Thomson of New Hampshire, is an added pleasure. I have met with your Governors in Washington and individually on my various visits to your beautiful States for Bicentennial -- and other purposes. I have tried to educate myself about their problems and can assure you that each and every one of them has been a very vigorous instructor.

While the problems of each State are different, even in New England, which has preserved its very unique identify since colonial times, the existence of this Council is proof of how many problems that you have in common. You demonstrate the advantages of dealing with them with common resources and old-fashioned common sense. You provide a showcase of cooperation that other parts of our country can envy.

Of the many topics that I might discuss with you that are of particular importance to New England, I am strongly tempted to speak of taxation in the immediate vicinity of Boston Harbor where American patriots first demonstrated what to do about excessive and unfair taxes with deeds and not words.

MORE

Federal taxes are too high and, as you know, I have proposed a $28 billion tax reduction for the next year providing Congress will couple with it a $28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending.

Congress seems a little cool to my proposal, some preferring a cut in taxes without reducing a $50 billion growth in spending. But I would make this non-partisan observation to the descendants of the participants in the Boston Tea Party: If they won't do anything about your taxation, maybe you ought to do something about your representation.

I could also talk about energy and the economy because they are inseparable and both are acute problems in this particular area. It has been my continuous effort to keep the unique situation of New England in mind as we endeavor to reduce our national dependence on unreliable foreign oil.

New England has a unique energy problem in your dependence on oil for heat and for power. It is my hope that you can take a new look at the bill I recently submitted for a Federal Energy Independence Authority. It will help New England, especially by supplementing and encouraging private capital investment to meet your growing energy needs.

New England's proposal for an Energy Research and Development Institute is being closely studied and I am impressed with your plans to tap such alternative energy sources as solar, wind, ocean thermal gradients, waves and tides.

I believe New England should support natural gas deregulation. While New England does not consume much natural gas, it has much to lose by keeping prices artificially low in interstate commerce. Your traditional New England industries such as paper, leather goods, textiles, electronics and plastics are highly energy-intensive. But the high cost of oil and electricity is steadily driving these industries out of your region. Industry is moving where gas is abundant and relatively cheaper, although uncontrolled.

Although most economic indicators suggest we have already been on the road to recovery for six months, I recognize that such statistics are small comfort to Americans who are still without work in areas of high unemployment such as New England and my own State of Michigan. We must now allow a resurgence of inflation which robs both the employed and the jobless. I am determined to keep inflation under control by every means possible, including my veto power over inflationary Federal spending.

MORE

But I have decided to talk about another topic, one of supreme importance to all Americans and indeed to the world-- that is the national security posture and policy of the United States as I see it.

It is entirely appropriate to discuss defense in New England, in Massachusetts, in Boston, because it was here that Americans first took up arms in defense of their personal liberties and their national independence.

My last visit here was on the 200th Anniversary of the signal from the Old North Church from Paul Revere and his companions who carried the warning to embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord. I said then and I say now, from a Nation virtually alone, America is now allied with many free nations in common defense. World leadership was thrust upon America and we have assumed it.

In accepting that role, the United States has assumed responsibility from which it cannot and will not retreat. Free nations need the United States and we need free nations.

A national security policy of this country, long a solid non-partisan policy and a policy which I have supported all of my life, some 25 years in the Congress, is that weakness invites war, that strength is the only sure foundation for peace and that America,in concert with our allies,must maintain a defense capability second to none. That policy has not changed and will not change.

I reiterate this policy because there has been some criticism and speculation, following my announcement on Monday of several new appointments among my top national security advisers, that such personnel changes signal a policy change in the United States in this extremely important and significant area. I want to be absolutely sure that these domestic political potshots are not heard around the world. Our allies and our adversaries must not be confused and mislead. There will be no change in any life-long devotion to America's strength and vigilance as we seek a safer and saner world.

There is not now, there never has been and there will not be,so long as I am President, any softness or weakness in the Administration on the subject of national defense of the United States and its vital security interests, both at home and abroad. Among the new members of the Administration team are Don Rumsfeld, whose dedication to a strong defense policy was amply demonstrated in the Congress and as our representative in NATO.

7704001541

And George Bush, who was born in Connecticut and now h lds an extremely sensitive post as head of our mission in Peking. Our own former Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, who has served as Secretary of Defense himself, will become Secretary of Commerce. Most significantly, when the United States Senate confirmed Ambassador Rumsfeld, Bush and Richardson for key policy posts in the area of foreign policy at NATO, the United Nations and the United Kingdom, it was without a dissent.

I look for their early confirmation to their latest post of duty and of service to their country. They will be strong, they will be tough and they will be true to the highest interests of all the people of the United States.

The policy which this Administration has followed and will follow inthe future is consistent, clear and unchanged.

Let me discuss the elements of this policy with you. History teaches one unavoidable lesson -- and I have listened to my dear friend John McCormack speak like this for a good many years -- no nation can preserve its national interests unless it can defend them. In an era of ballistic missiles and nuclear warheads, when weapons bridge continents in minutes America's defense requires the utmost of our industrial skills and technological genius.

The time when America could spend one or two years gearing up for war is gone forever. Today our security, our prosperity, indeed the very survival of the ideas for which this country stands, depends upon our ability to counter any potential aggressor on little more than a minute's notice.

In my years of Government service, I have been second to none in my firm and consistent support for a powerful national defense. As Congressman, Vice President and as President, I have resisted the powerful economic and political pressures to cripple our defense budget. You can be certain I have just begun to fight.

America's armed forces today are second to none and I will take whatever steps are necessary to see that they remain second to none.

I am worried, and you should be worried, about the defense situation in the Congress today. Last January I submitted a defense budget calling for $107.8 billion in fiscal year 1976. The House of Pepresentetives cut this by $7.5 billion. The Senate Appropriations Committee has voted to restore only $564 million cut of this cut. Under the most optimistic circumstances, there could be a reduction in our defense budget of more than $7 billion.

In my judgment, that big a reduction is far too much. If the United States is going to remain strong, it will require the cooperation of the Congress. I deplore what the Congress has done to the defense budget to date and I urge that the Senate restore the essential funds that the Defense Department has deemed vital to our national security.

It is not just this year's cuts that worry me. Let's look at the trend.

Ten years ago expenditures for defense represented 41 percent of the total Federal budget. Five years later, it was 36 percent. For the fiscal year 1976 budget, this current fiscal year, defense represents approximately 27 percent. As defense expenditures go down, as a percentage of total Federal expenditures, domestic spending programs have gone up -- a bigger percentage of Federal outlays.

Defense is the only part of the Federal budget the Congress cuts with a vengeance. If this trend continues to the year 2000, according to mathematical projections, the United States' defense will be reduced to one soldier with one rifle, just like the statue at Concord and at Lexington. America's security rests not only in our strength and our preparedness, but in that of our allies as well and on the solidity of our ties with them. Our alliances reinforce global stability and make the world a more secure place, they reinforce our own strength.

MORE

7704151541

In dealing with our allies, my object has been to build on the unity we have achieved together over the past 30 years -- and to expand our cooperation even further. I believe that our efforts have been well received in recent months, whether in Western Europe or in the Pacific.

Last May I attended a summit meeting of the 15 member Nations of NATO where we repledged ourselves to the common defense. Next week I will meet with the leaders of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan --nations which, along with our own, represent about half of the total world trading volume.

These meetings at the highest level reflect a new intensity of allied cooperation. The industrialized democracies of the world share common values, a common political and economic system and a common interest in an open and cooperative world order. Today, perhaps as never before, these nations perceive the need to revitalize the bonds between us, not only militarily but economically.

The policies of five American Presidents before me for a strong national defense, for a reduction of East-West tensions and the threat of thermo-nuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies have had the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people. I will continue to seek that support, the kind exemplified for so many years by our former Speaker John McCormack.

Without a clear consensus among the 214 million Americans, the United States could not continue as the champion of freedom and peace in the world. The ability of a President to carry out his Constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, the Administration will give them no such temptation.

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States must and will remain alert and strong.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States. It is very easy to be a cold warrior -- especially in peacetime. But it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontations when consultations would advance the cause of peace. As I said at Helsinki, peace is crucial but freedom must always come first. Today, I reiterate that priority.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreements on a two-way street with credible strength of our own and in concert with our allies. Nor will we be hurried into a bad agreement. Any agreements we reach must be verifiable.

An essential element to any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks and exposes of our intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. I did not take the sacred oath of office to stand by passively while the intelligence security of the United States is unilaterally dismantled.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of Constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or by any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of comprehensive studies by the Rockefeller Commission and by the Murphy Commission, on the conduct of foreign policy and related matters, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

But intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our nation's security -- even our survival.

It may be even more important in peace than in war. Reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations could be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, skill and very substantial resources.

I know -- and you know -- that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Let me say one time more -- loud and clear:

There is no struggle between the concepts of defense and detente. We have been pursuing both. But to make detente succeed, we must have a strong defense. We make the world safer by both policies.

And I will continue, as I know all of you will, to stand for strength, security, and a safer world.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 3:19 P.M. EST)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE 7 7 1 4 0 0 1 5 4 NOVEMBER 7, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Boston, Massachusetts)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
CENTURY CLUB RECEPTION

MUSEUM OF SCIENCE

7:15 P.M. EST

Let me first thank John Sears and I do want to speak up very affirmatively about the wonderful efforts of Senator Ed Brooke, and,of course, I would be very negligent if I didn't say nice things about my former colleagues in the House of Representatives Sil Conte and Margaret Heckler. And I do appreciate Maria Ryerson's efforts as Chairman of this event. I am sure that she and those associated with her did a wonderful job in seeing to it that all of you came to help a cause that I believe in, I trust you believe in, we just have to get more people to believe in, and I think we can. (Laughter)

Before getting into a few other comments, I would like to set the record straight in two respects. Despite the election results in 1972 in the State of Massachusetts, your President is not going to abandon Massachusetts to the other side.

And let me cite some concrete evidence of how I can say that. Number one, within the last several months I have been to Massachusetts twice and I will comment later on what I expect to do in the future as far as Massachusetts is concerned.

Let me add that as solid evidence that the State of Massachusetts is making a great contribution to this Administration. We have four members of the Cabinet from Massachusetts. We have Henry Kissinger, John Dunlop, Pat Moynihan, and, of course, we are getting,very shortly, Elliot Richardson. That is four out of twelve. I am not sure I should remind people in other parts of the country of the near monopoly that Massachusetts has on the Cabinet of the Ford Administration. (Laughter)

MORE

(over)

7704001541

But let me make one other observation: the Republicans in 1976 can and will win in Massachusetts and national.

And let me give you some good evidence why I think you can in Massachusetts. You are going to -- or you do have -- there is some more evidence of the impact of Massachusetts. But in John Sears and Nancy Sennott you have darn good extra-fine people taking the Republican Party and giving it the kind of leadership it ought to have.

Now, having said that the Republicans are going to win in Massachusetts and in the country in 1976, let me say with quiet emphasis, your President is going to enter the primary in Massachusetts, he is going to campaign in that primary and I think he is going to win in Massachusetts.

And may I add, I am going to be in New Hampshire, in Florida, and we are going to go right down to the wire in the convention in Kansas City and win there, too. I never got in a ball game we didn't play until the last minute of the last quarter.

Now, let's talk, if we might, about some of the reasons, in all honesty, I think we can prevail. I believe that the Republican Party has a unique opportunity. And let me illustrate by just taking some statistics in your State, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As I understand the figures, and I hope I am quite right, you have, out of 240 members of your Lower House, you have 188 Democrats, and out of 40 members of the State Senate you have 33 Democrats. Do you think you are doing a good job?

Whatever happens, it is their fault and we welcome them to have the blame. (Laughter)

MORE

7704001420

But we can't just rest on the faults and mistakes and errors they make. We have to look beyond that. We have to have some affirmative programs, whether at home or abroad, and I think we will.

We have had a tough 12 months, really tough, both at home and abroad, but we had a steady course to take, we haven't panicked, we have kept moving forward, and the net result is -- although the results are not totally satisfactory, and I don't want to kid anybody -- we are on the way up. The economy is getting better and it is going to get progressively better. We are going to do for New England everything we possibly can, and in Ed and Margaret and Silvio you have got some people down there fighting for New England and Massachusetts on a daily basis. But the main thing is we should be optimistic about the future of this country both at home as well as abroad.

I happen to believe that this country is still the leader of the free world and what it does makes a difference as far as peace and security on a worldwide basis. We have had a setback or two but if you look at the balance on the scales, we have had a lot more success overseas than we have had disappointments. And I happen to believe that in the months ahead, whether it is NATO, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Latin America or otherwise, we are going to be moving ahead and insuring the prospects for a longer and more secure peace than at any time in this generation.

What really bothers me is that a lot of people are writing off America and I don't believe in that attitude. This country has gone through the peaks and valleys, the disappointments and the optimism in the years before us, even recently. But the people who fought at Concord and Lexington, they didn't quit, they stood up and fought. Every generation that followed them had the hope, the aspiration, the feeling that there was something different about America and that is why we have such a cosmopolitan population in this great country. Somebody told me one time that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors and the strength of America comes from the diversity of our backgrounds.

But the point that we have to make is that the Republican Party is not a rich man's party, it is not a party of one nationality or one religion or one geography -- it is a broad national party.

We almost won a governorship in the State of Mississippi just last Tuesday. We came within less than one percentage point, as I recall. We are going to make [illegible] State a two-party State. Competition in the political arena is [illegible]. It is good in Massachusetts, it is good in Mississippi, and I don't like those odds that you have in the State legislature (Laughter) and I don't like them in the Congress, and I happen to think that -- you have Margaret and Silvio here, they are high on quality but they need a little more quantity.

more

7704001542

So it is my feeling that we have the programs both at home and abroad. We have to recruit the candidates. We have to go out with the time and the talents and the money.

This is a turning point in political history in 1976. We want a Republican candidate that can win. We want a Republican candidate who knows how to work with the Congress. We want a Republican candidate who knows that it is essential to win in the State Houses and in the State legislatures.

We can get that kind of a program and that kind of a candidate, and I hope and trust that when I come up here in the spring of 1976 I will see all of you.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 7:26 P.M. EST)

7704001542

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 7, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Boston, Massachusetts)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS GOP RECEPTION

LOGAN INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

8:15 P.M. EST

Thank you very, very much, Ed. I am most grateful for all that you have done for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the United States Senate. I am deeply grateful for all you have done for the United States in the United States Senate. You should be doggone proud you have a Senator like Ed Brooke, and I am.

Let me say I feel better that John Volpe is our Ambassador to Italy. Representing us in a tough situation, John, we thank you for the fine work you are doing on behalf of our country.

And I had the great privilege of serving in the House of Representatives with this young fellow and this very young lady and I can tell you that they are quality, real top-notch fighting quality for what they represent in your State. The only problem is we need a little more quantity. (Laughter) So why don't you multiply the representation that Silvio and Margaret give by giving us a couple, or more, representatives in the House of Representatives from the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I am honored and pleased to speak up on behalf of an outstanding State Chairman and an outstanding young lady who has done a superb job, Nancy Sinnott and John Sears. I know a little bit about those people and the job they do and they are first class and I hope you let them stay in there and fight for us in 1976.

And then we have had some great Chairmen, Mrs. Cutler and Mrs. Logan. I am grateful for what they have done and I appreciate all of you being here. This is great to come to Massachusetts and find this kind of a warm welcome and a sizeable crowd and we should thank Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Cutler for [illegible] too. Thank you very, very much.

MORE

OVER

7704001543

Now can I say a word or two to get the record straight. A great Democratic Governor of New York once said, "Let's look at the record."

I am not going to abandon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1976 and I want that very clearly understood. And let me give you some evidence of that. And I want you way in the back to listen. The best evidence of the fact that I want Massachusetts in and not out is the fact that in the Cabinet of twelve we have four from Massachusetts. We have Henry Kissinger, John Dunlop, Pat Moynihan and Elliot Richardson -- very soon. That is not bad representation.

And, number two, I have been in the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts twice in about the last four or five months. I love it. I like the people and I am going to come back in the spring of 1976 to win the primary.

Now, let me speak a little bit, if I might, about 1976. I know a fellow that is going to enter New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida and every other primary and I know he is going to win. He is going to stick it out and he is going to win, if he has any competition, right up to the end of August of 1976. And don't forget it.

And then, I know a fellow that is going to win in 1976 -- in November. (Laughter) And I happen to think with the kind of leadership you have in Ed, Silvio and Margaret and John and Nancy and all of you out there, and millions like you all throughout the Commorwealth, we are going to win in Massachusetts in 1976.

You know,I am delighted, I am really delighted to be in Massachusetts again tonight, the home of the world champion Boston Red Sox.

MORE

7704001 5421

That is right, the world champion Boston Red Sox. Like any good Republican and Boston Red Sox fan, we are thinking of 1976. (Laughter)

You know, coming to Massachusetts -- now let's be quiet back there (Laughter) -- it is great to come to Massachusetts again. I feel sorry for the Democrats in the Commonwealth. They have 188 seats out of 240 in your lower House; they have 33 out of 40 in your upper House; they have every Constitutional office and look where they have left you. (Laughter)

They have nobody to blame but themselves and if we don't win in 1976, we have nobody to blame but ourselves.

Now let's talk a little practicality. The Republican Party has the right philosophy but in order to win you have to come in first. Coming in second doesn't do any good. So I say to you we should open the doors to everybody that believes fundamentally in our philosophy.

We are not a rich man's party. We are not a farmer's party. We are not a laborer's party. We are not a big city party. We are not a small city party. We are a party of people, and let me assure you when I come, or this friend of mine comes back up here to campaign in 1976, he is going to prove to you that between now and then he had a great concern and compassion for the people in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

We don't like high unemployment. We don't like the difficulties that you face economically. I don't like them any better in Massachusetts than I do in my State of Michigan. But we are on the upgrade. We have turned the situation around economically. We are going to have more employment. We are going to have less unemployment. We are going to have far less in the rate of inflation. We are on the way in this country to a solid, cheaper, healthier economy.

But more importantly, because it involves all that we stand for, we are on the road to real progress overseas. We strengthened, as Ambassador Volpe knows, our relationships both militarily and economically in Western Europe. We made headway despite a setback in Vietnam in strengthening our ties in Japan and elsewhere out in the Pacific. We are making tremendous strides in the steps towards a just and permanent peace in the Middle East. We are moving forward in trying to find an answer to the problems between those behind the Iron Curtain and those on this side. We are going to push under proper circumstances for a way to lower our arms burden without interfering with our national security.

7704001542

We are on the road to making real progress at home and abroad and this is what the American people want, an affirmative forward moving program, and that is what the Republican Party stands for, and that is why we should open our door to people from small towns, big cities, the people from the working class, to the other people in our society who may be bankers or professional people -- we should open our doors to people in all stratas of our society. We love people and we want them in the Republican Party.

Really, it is just great to be in this great Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I was up here in April and had the opportunity and the pleasure to speak at the Old North Church ceremony, to speak at Concord and Lexington and to feel in that environment and that atmosphere and those historic places a part of the great history of America. Those people fought early and they fought well and they left us a great heritage and a great tradition, something that we should stand for. They stood for something. They stood for freedom. They stood for what it is all about.

So our mission in 1976 and in the years ahead is to look forward, not backwards, to feel strongly about what is good at home and abroad, economically, within the realm of our possibility of achieving for the betterment of the young, the old and all others. And one of the things that impresses me about the strength of America and what we need to make our party great -- when I was very young I had a Sunday school teacher who said something to me one time that I will never forget, she said, "The beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors" -- the strengths of the United States of America is its diversity.

We have the heritage of many peoples and many religions and many nationalities in our blood, but that is what made America great. And we in the Republican Party welcome each and every one of them, young and old and all other. That is what made our country great and that is what will make our party great, and I look forward to the opportunity of representing you and every one of the 50 States in 1976.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 8:27 P.M. EST)

7704001426

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 14, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Durham, North Carolina)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT
NORTH CAROLINA CENTRAL UNIVERSITY

McDOUGALD GYMNASIUM

10:44 A.M. EST

My old and very dear friend, Jim Holshouser, Dr. Whiting, Dr. Friday, Dr. Cousin, students, faculty and guests:

I am most appreciative and deeply touched with the honor that you have granted me today and let me thank all of you most sincerely for making me a part of the distinguished family of North Carolina Central University. I am most appreciative, deeply indebted and very grateful.

I thank you for your warmth, your spirit and your enthusiasm. This is one Eagle who is really flying high today. (Laughter)

May I congratulate the touring and concert choirs, Mr. Gilchrist, the narrator, Mr. Simmons, the rendition of that piece dedicated to Martin Luther King -- "Precious Lord Take My Hand" -- it was beautifully done. Thank you very, very much.

But I just wonder if with your generosity you realize what a busy, busy day you have made for me on Saturday, November 22. Normally, I would spend that whole afternoon rooting for the Michigan Wolverines to try and beat Ohio State, but this year, as an N.C.C.U. alumnus you can bet I will also be rooting for the Eagles to beat A&T. (Laughter)

It is a great pleasure and a distinct honor for me to be with you as you observe the 50th anniversary year of the founding of North Carolina Central University as a State-supported liberal arts institution. Your University became the first State-supported liberal arts school for blacks in the Nation.

Since then, graduates of North Carolina Central [illegible] made a mark in almost every walk of American life. I am sure that those of you who now are students will ultimately do the same. The pursuit of excellence, whether in a classroom or on the football field or in politics is no stranger to your alumni and to your students.

MORE

(over)

7704001542?

Names like Maynard Jackson, Mayor of Atlanta; Ronald Barbee, first black Republican Superior Court Judge in the State; Aaron Spaulding, a member of my staff at the White House; high hurdler Lee Calhoun, the two-time Olympic medal winner who is presently head track coach at Yale University, Charles Foster, World Premier hurdler; Ronnie Ray, who won two goal medals at the 1975 American games in Mexico City and who currently holds the 400-meter world record; and certainly not last in any competition, your very popular track coach, Dr. Leroy T. Walker, who will coach our 1976 Olympic track and field team.

Congratulations, Dr. Walker.

At this time, our Nation is also celebrating an anniversary -- the American Bicentennial. As we reflect over these 200 years it is difficult to imagine almost any American endeavor without acknowledging the great contributions of blacks to our society -- music, art, culture, science, medicine, sports -- N.C.C.U. alumni are all there and I congratulate you.

Despite these burdens, despite the added difficulties, blacks have entered all types of American competition and have come out national champions, indeed national heroes.

There is a lesson for all of us in the history of American blacks and that lesson is precisely this: to develop our maximum will, the desire to compete, to excell. That is what life is all about -- to achieve, to reach a worthy goal. And blacks, in increasing numbers, have attained many, many, many worthy goals in our American society.

The whole thrust of humanity is one of progress. It has taken thousands of years but today we have gained unparalleled mastery over the material world. At the same time, the nations and the societies of the world are becoming more and more interdependent.

Let me add another word for interdependence -- neighborliness.

MORE

7704001 5423

We are living in a time when many of the countries of history are coming together. The world is recognizing slowly, but surely, the necessity to harmonize our civilization. I am an optimist. I believe we may yet attain man's greatest goals and noblest aspiration.

You may live to see the day when we are not merely masters of the material world, but all living together in what we all want -- harmony with it.

We know that competition is the energy of progress. It is a force which propels the human machine to new heights and to greater distances, and it brings us together in the same field, whether it is in the stadium or the classroom of NCC or in business or in our daily lives.

I believe that competition breeds harmony, not division. It is the lack of competition which breeds division because people then feel they do not have a chance, that society or the world is denying them an opportunity.

Inequality, injustice, lack of competition are gradually being removed from the American scene. I support the Equal Rights Amendment, just as I supported a new and broader extension of the Voting Rights Act. But I say emphatically, much more needs to be done.

I hope and work for the day when competition, opportunity for all Americans, will be equal and totally fair without race, or religion, or sex ever being a factor. I hope and work for the day when the human mind and the human spirit are no longer shackled by ignorance and prejudice, when all the children of God are brothers and sisters.

You have the opportunity here at NCCU to break more shackles and join in America's competitive life through a good education. Seize the opportunity and use that wonderful opportunity and the experiences here. It may never pass your way again.

I know that your own Dr. Helen Edmonds, who I was delighted to see a few minutes before the ceremony began, distinguished professor of history and a former alternate delegate to the United Nations, and other faculty members are helping to prepare you for life's competition.

Dr. Edmonds met with me shortly after I assumed the Presidency and eloquently told me some of the concerns and aspirations of blacks and of women.

7704001542

As President of all the people, these concerns are my concerns. These aspirations are my aspirations. I will do all that I possibly can to help you and millions like you achieve them.

But, my real message today aims at an even greater and nobler goal for which we strive -- the union of Americans, our coming together to face a common destiny as one people and one Nation.

This goal is truly worthy of all Americans.

Thank you very, very much.

END (AT 10:55 A.M. EST)

7704001430

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 14, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Raleigh, North Carolina)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
GOP FUND RAISING RECEPTION

ROYAL VILLA HOTEL

1:22 P.M. EST

My good friend Governor Holshouser; Jesse Helms, your fine Senator; Congressman Martin; Tom Bennett; Bob Shaw, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I have one thing to add to the story that Jim Broyhill tells. I did spend almost a year down at Chapel Hill Pre-Flight School so that is another 10 months to my service in the great State of North Carolina. (Laughter)

Obviously, I am terribly delighted to look out and see so many great, dedicated and enthusiastic Republicans standing here today. Yes, today we are standing, but I can assure you that after next year's election a lot more Republicans are going to be sitting in Raleigh and in Washington. (Laughter)

Let me finish -- in seats that are now held by Democrats. (Laughter)

You know, it is long overdue, particularly here in the great State of North Carolina. Frankly, I don't understand it. I don't understand how North Carolina can have three of the greatest basketball teams in the country -- U.N.C., State and Duke -- teams that move like greased lightning, and also have a Democratic controlled legislature that can't even get out of its own way. (Laughter) If any of the Democrats in the Congress are listening, that problem isn't limited to Raleigh. (Laughter)

Quite frankly, I am here to say that our Republican Party has a philosophy and a force whose time has come. We are reasonable, reliable and a ready home for all concerned Americans, a home for responsible Republicans, the home of involved independents and, yes, even the home of just plain disgusted Democrats. We welcome them all.

MORE

(OVER)

7704001543

I am extremely happy to be here as you prepare for your State Republican Convention. I know from first-hand experience the Republican Party of North Carolina helped lead the way toward a two-party political set-up in the South and the people of this great State have seen at first hand that Republican Government is good Government. I can say that with tremendous enthusiasm and strong feeling because you have such an opportunity of great pride in your Republican office-holders, your outstanding Governor, Jim Holshouser.

You know he has done a tremendous job in being your Governor, but I have traveled all over the State with Jim at various political gatherings for the benefit of the party in your State and our country, and I am just darned glad to have him as a very, very good friend.

I am equally proud of my friendship with and the record of your hard-working Members of the Congress, your fine Senator Jesse Helms and, of course, my good friends and former colleagues in the House of Representatives, Jim Broyhill and Jim Martin.

May I express my strong support for your State legislators and other public officials who I think contribute significantly to the building of a party and the record of a party. I think all of these people deserve one more great hand, and I will join them.

I would be very negligent if I didn't express my appreciation for the contributions that two dear, old friends of mine, Earl Ruth and Vinegar Bend Mizell -- the contributions that they made when they were in the House of Representatives and the fine job they are doing in our Administration at the present time.

One of my dearest friends in the Congress for 20 years was Charlie Jonas. He and I served on the Committee on Appropriations together. We have literally voted day after day after day the same way and I haven't had a chance to see Charlie here today but, if any of you do, give him my best. He is a great, great American.

Now the Republican Party in North Carolina has grown; it has prospered in a very dynamic and dramatic way. Although you are still a minority in voter registration, as we are as a party nationally, you have won victory after victory with good candidates, good issues and good, strong, active party organization, and these are the keys to success in North Carolina as they are everywhere. I think with your record, we are going to send some folks in to learn how you do it and I congratulate

7704001543

Because we are a minority in this State in registration at the national level, I don't think we can afford dissention within our own party. When we sacrifice party unity we all too often sacrifice victory as well. From now on, let's concentrate on winning elections instead of arguments.

In 1976 I am absolutely convinced that a strong, united Republican Party will win more than its share of victories in North Carolina and throughout America, and what you do here in North Carolina can be tremendously significant. We will go, in trying to achieve these successes, to the American people with a record of strength at home and strength abroad.

Our national defense has never been stronger. The American dollar is once again one of the strongest currencies on the international money market. Our trade surplus is once more the envy of the world. Let me thank with emphasis the farmers of North Carolina, the working people of North Carolina and the businessmen of North Carolina for helping to make this significant progress a reality.

Over the past few months our economic progress at home has been very encouraging. From time to time I concede there have been some temporary interruptions but, on balance, we are moving toward a strong economic recovery and long-lasting economic stability.

The signs of this progress are clear for all to see. Our gross national product for the third quarter of 1975 increased by more than 11 percent -- the biggest quarterly increase in 20 years. That is progress, by any standards.

Our industrial production, which is a fundamental in our society, rose at an annual rate of 20 percent nationally, between June and September, and just as importantly, productivity of our people that work in the factories and on the field, the productivity of American workers has been steadily improving for months and that is progress, and that is probably the best way to beat inflation in this country.

MORE

The number of Americans with jobs went up by nearly one million six hundred thousand between March and October alone, and that is progress. For the last eight months, we have averaged $1 billion-a-month balance of trade surplus in the United States and boy, that is really progress.

Inflation has been cut by more than half between 1974 and 1975, down from 12 percent double-digit inflation to the range of 6 percent. Obviously, that is not good enough, but it is still progress, and we are going to make more and more, particularly if we can get this spendthrift Congress to hold the line.

These are all signs of progress of growing economic strength, stability and vitality. Now, to maintain this momentum, the American people must demand that their elected officials hold the line on Government spending and look past the next election to the next generation and to long time economic growth and strength.

This is the responsibility of people in public office today. The painful lessons of the past prove beyond any doubt that we cannot spend our way into prosperity, but we can certainly spend our way into the poor house, and we don't want that.

Any family in North Carolina knows it, I know it, and I hope we can convince the Congress of it before they bring the whole country to the brink of economic default.

We simply cannot go on spending more money like we have been spending in recent years. We couldn't afford it then, and we can't afford it now.

I have sent to the Congress a very simple plan to slow down the alarming rate of growth in the Federal budget and to give the American people a much deserved tax cut at the same time. I proposed a tax cut of $28 billion to be matched by a $28 billion reduction in the growth of Federal spending.

It is very simple, but very sound. As you might have expected, the Democrats in the Congress like the idea of the tax cut, but they are singing that old "can't do" chorus on the spending cut.

They have decided that with an election year coming up, it wouldn't be wise to upset the various special interest groups which have lobbied so hard to keep on spending Federal money like there was no tomorrow.

MORE

7704001434

You know, they never think about tomorrow. They are always thinking about today, and I think the day of concentration on short-term benefits and long-range disaster has ended.

Let me remind my friends in the Congress that there is a tomorrow, a day of reckoning when the bill or bills will come due. We can't afford a tax cut without a spending cut. It is just as simple as that. If we do, you can look forward to more double-digit inflation eating away at your paycheck, your grocery bill, your savings, your pension and everything else that involves your money.

As they spend and spend and spend, they don't seem to realize that a Government big enough to give you everything you want is a Government big enough to take from you everything you have.

Quite honestly, I think the Democrats in the Congress are misjudging and underestimating the American people. If they won't do anything responsible about your taxation, maybe it is time you did something about your representation. (Laughter)

The "can't do" Congressional chorus has called that tune long enough. If we had a Republican Congress again to work with a Republican President in maintaining that momentum and preserving the progress we have already made, yes, I know the Republican Party of North Carolina is ready to help in this tremendous effort, and I thank you for your help.

But now, as I close, since the pollsters are claiming all over the country, combing America from one end to the other for validation of various judgments and opinions, I would like to conduct my own poll right here this afternoon. (Laughter)

I would like your views on what you think your President should be doing.

As a starter, do you want your President to accept budget-busting appropriation bills without a fight? Do you? (Audience Response: NO-O-O)

Do you want your President to roll over and play dead -- (Audience Response: NO-O-O) -- while the Congress passes more and more legislation to strangle the free enterprise of this great country? Do you? (Audience: Response: NO-O-O) (Laughter)

7704001543

Do you want your President to go along with those who would sacrifice local control over local affairs on that altar of big brother Federal Government? (Audience Response: NO-O-O)

Do you want your President to let the Congress cut -- and I mean really cut -- and slash the muscle from America's defense budget? (Audience Response: NO-O-O)

Do you want your President to let some publicity-seeking individuals undercut, undermine, destroy the effectiveness of our intelligence-gathering community that is so important to the future and the care and security of the United States? (Audience Response: NO-O-O)

If your answer is no -- and I think I have heard it right (Laughter) -- then you want a Republican President and you need a Republican Congress to work with him. (Audience Response: YES-S-S)

So, it comes right down to this: Strength at home, strength abroad, a record of progress and peace, these are what the people will want and what we Republicans are prepared to offer. We want an America that is strong, just and free, an America that stands for hope and promise and peace throughout the world.

Next year is one of major decision. The people of North Carolina and your neighbors throughout America must decide what direction this country will take as we enter our third century.

Let's make sure that the decision is for an America at peace, for a Nation renewed, for a people with pride, for a future that summons us to new challenges and new glory. Let's make 1976 a great, great year for America by making it a great year for the Republican Party, and let us celebrate that great victory together next November.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 1:40 P.M. EST)

7704001543

THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF NOVEMBER 14, 1975

Held at Atlanta, Georgia

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. Will you all please sit down. This is a new format, the first press conference just for the local press, and I am looking forward to it.

Mr. Merriner, will you ask the first question?

THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE

Q. Jim Merriner, Atlanta Constitution. Will Rogers Morton take an active role in your campaign, and will Bo Callaway's role be downgraded in substance, if not in his actual title?

THE PRESIDENT. First, Bo Callaway is doing a fine job. He will continue as he has been. Rogers Morton is Secretary of Commerce. As long as he holds that post, he will have no official responsibilities with the President Ford Committee.

When he leaves the post on or about February 1, he has said he would like to help in any capacity where he can be helpful, but under no circumstances that I foresee would he do anything more than a part-time aide in that area.

PIKE COMMITTEE'S CONTEMPT CITATION OF SECRETARY KISSINGER

Q. Mr. President, the Secretary of State, saying he was acting on your orders today, was cited by the House intelligence committee for refusing to divulge certain documents. What is your reaction?

THE PRESIDENT. The Pike Committee in the House of Representatives several days ago made a demand for a very substantial number of documents. They wanted, for example, in this area documents from 1962 to 1972, documents which included recommendations from previous Secretaries of State to then Presidents.

It requested, for example, recommendations from a number of departments through the 40 Committee, which is our intelligence covert activity group that recommends to Presidents actions that a President would approve or disapprove.

On the advice of the Attorney General, after thoroughly analyzing the documents requested, the Attorney General has advised me to exercise Executive privilege, which I have.

Q. Do you expect him to be cited by the full Congress and be indeed fined or sent to prison?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't speculate on what the House of Representatives might do, but we have taken this action with reluctance. But it is important to preserve Executive privilege where recommendations are made by top officials to a President, and I regret very, very much that the committee has taken this action.

I think it is shocking. I think it has very broad and serious ramifications. Over a period of 5 months, I have tried to cooperate with that committee, giving them tremendous amounts of material, a very substantial number of documents in order to cooperate. But in this case it doesn't involve my Administration. It involves the period from 1962 to 1972.

I think it is wrong, and, therefore, to protect the confidentiality of recommendations from previous Secretaries of State to previous Presidents, I have exercised Executive privilege.

Q. Thank you, and to identify myself, I am Gloria Lane with WSB Television.

THE PRESIDENT. Nice to see you.

NEW YORK CITY'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

Q. Craig Lesser, WBHF, Cartersville. Sir, considering Governor Carey's latest proposals as well as the serious possibility of a defeat in the New York primary, to what extent do you support Secretary Simon's latest proposal of aid to New York?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me clear up one thing. I don't believe there is a primary as such in New York City. I expect to get very substantial support in New York State when they make the decision at the convention.

The situation in reference to New York is precisely this: Based on the factual situation, I have not changed my decision and have not agreed for any bail-out of New York City. For the first time we have in writing things that the State of New York, the City of New York, the investors, and labor organizations have agreed to do. But as of this moment, nothing factually has been done.

One of the matters that they must do, of course, is to reenact a piece of legislation that permits cities and municipalities to extend maturity dates and to reduce interest rates on certain obligations.

That legislation, I am told, has not yet been enacted. It is, in effect, a procedure under State law that is somewhat comparable to a Federal bankruptcy procedure. But on the basis of the facts now, there is no change in my position.

We are analyzing the documents received from Governor Carey. We will consult with others. I am encouraged. But until we have analyzed, until they have acted, there is absolutely no change in my position.

Q. Consider if the legislation is passed that Governor Carey did suggest yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT. There are a number of other things that have to be done. They have to agree to raise their taxes—city and State. They have to agree to reduce expenditures quite substantially. Investors have to agree to extend maturities and to reduce interest rates. Labor

7704001437

organizations have to renegotiate the pension plans that have been in effect.

This is a series of steps that must be taken. If and when they are done, of course, we will take another look at it. It is perfectly conceivable, with all of those constructive steps, they might be able to handle their seasonal financing without any Federal intervention.

But there is a long way to go. We have it on paper, they have promised, but we don't have any action at the present time.

Supreme Court Vacancy

Q. Mr. President, I am Bill Cotterell with United Press International. Sir, what qualities are you looking for in a Supreme Court Justice? How much have you narrowed down the list, and does it include any Democrats, women, Southerners, or, sir, members of your Cabinet? *[Laughter]*

The President. I am looking for the best person—the best person qualified. We have a preliminary list that the Attorney General has put together. I have asked a number of people to suggest names, and a number of people have made such suggestions. They are being communicated to the Attorney General. He will consult with the bar. Their observations will certainly be considered by me.

The list could be quite comprehensive, but until it is submitted to me as a firm list by the Attorney General after this consultation process, I can't make any determination who will be on it and who won't be on it. But we are trying to expedite it because it is vitally important that the vacancy on the Court be filled as quickly as possible.

Q. How quickly do you think you can do it?

The President. I hesitate to put a deadline, but I can assure you we are trying to maximize the speed because the Court does need a full nine-member membership. They have some very serious cases coming before it. And I would hope that within 3 weeks at the most we would have some name submitted to the United States Senate.

Senator Edward Brooke

Q. Katherine Johnston, Associated Press. Mr. President, you said today in North Carolina that you would consider the possibility of Senator Edward Brooke running as your Vice-Presidential mate in 1976. Do you consider Brooke a serious contender, and would a black enhance your chances of winning the election?

The President. I was asked a question by one of the students at North Carolina Central University, was there anyone in a minority group who I would consider. And I readily said Senator Edward Brooke, a man of experience, integrity, and certainly an outstanding Member of the United States Senate.

I don't rule out anyone. The field is wide open since the Vice President withdrew. At the proper time, I will make a specific recommendation. I am simply saying that Senator Brooke is certainly a person, among many others, who ought to be considered.

Motor Carrier Reform Legislation

Q. Mr. President, Mike Christenson of the Atlanta Journal. How can you possibly benefit politically from deregulation of the trucking industry as you proposed?

The President. Well, if the trucking industry has been over-regulated as far as the consumer is concerned and they have a competitive advantage over other forms of transportation, I think some deregulation is called for.

The recommendations made to me, which I submitted to the Congress yesterday, are carefully thought out. We have not only analyzed what has been done under the ICC over a period of time, we have consulted with the trucking industry, we have consulted with the labor organizations related to trucking.

We think that this is a bona fide, legitimate area for some deregulation, and I think it will benefit the consumer. I think it will improve and strengthen the trucking industry. Therefore, I strongly favor what we have submitted.

Q. Do you think this will help you politically?

The President. I think it will because there are elements in the trucking industry, there are consumers who deal with the trucking industry who are very supportive of this. So, I think on balance, first it is right, and if something is right I think it is politically beneficial.

The Supreme Court

Q. Mr. President, Nick Taylor with WXIA-TV in Atlanta. Returning to the Supreme Court for a moment, what sort of philosophical makeup would you like to see in the Supreme Court when you fill the seat vacated by Justice Douglas?

The President. I don't think it is appropriate to start discussing such characteristics as philosophical views or other criteria that might be used. I want the best person to fill that vacancy that I can possibly get, and I think it is premature and unwise to draw a prescription because everybody then will take a person and relate it to that prescription. I would rather have the names submitted. I will analyze them, and I will submit one name. But I think it is unwise to draw up a prescription at this time.

Q. Would you expect the Court, once your appointment is made, to continue the moves away from the sort of libertarian attitudes espoused by the Warren Court?

The President. I have felt that the Court has moved somewhat in a direction that I approve in the last several years, yes.

Funding of Revenue Sharing and Employment Programs

Q. Mr. President, Don Hicks, with WBIE Radio in Atlanta. My question is, what is your Administration's

7704001543 3

position in regard to continued funding of revenue sharing and also CETA programs?

THE PRESIDENT. I strongly favor general revenue sharing. About 4 months ago I requested that the Congress renew the present law for a 5-year period. Unfortunately, the Congress hasn't moved in this area as rapidly as I think they should. I hope that mayors and Governors and other local officials will join with me in urging the Congress to extend the present general revenue sharing legislation.

I also favor the CETA legislation, the Comprehensive Education (Employment) and Training Act. I think it is good legislation. I recommended that it be fully funded. I think it was very helpful in the recession that we were in, and I hope that we can continue it in the future.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Q. Mr. President, Shelby McCash, with the Macon Telegraph and News. One of the candidates for President on the Democratic ticket, Jimmy Carter, by name, is proposing a massive reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy, trimming down Government, I think, by several hundred agencies and bureaus, he claims. If this is a feasible and worthwhile goal, why isn't your Administration taking the initiative to do this?

THE PRESIDENT. He has never submitted such a plan to me—*[laughter]*—so I am not familiar with the details of it.

We, of course, have been undertaking for the last 6 months a very broad program to deregulate the American business, the American people. We think this is a big step in the right direction.

I think the biggest danger we fear is not the elimination of agencies—although I think some can be done away with. I think the biggest danger with this Congress, they want to foist more agencies on the President, and I might say to my good friend, the former Governor, that this Democratic Congress is the one that is trying to add to the agencies, not subtract from them.

Q. But there are a few you believe that could be eliminated? Nothing like 300, however?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is a slight exaggeration.

ARMY TRAINING STATIONS

Q. Mr. President, I am Beryl Sellers, from the Columbus Ledger-Inquirer. Recently, the Department of the Army has come out in favor of a one-station training program for soldiers, but this program has run into some serious trouble in Congress. I want to ask you, do you favor this program, and, if so, what can you do to salvage it?

THE PRESIDENT. That particular recommendation has not come to me from the Department of Defense. In theory, I think it makes sense. You do run into, however, various Members of the House and Senate in those States where a base might be closed or a station eliminated. And so that is the problem. But until the actual recommendation has come to me—I have not, of course, made a decision.

Q. You have received no recommendation from the Department of the Army or the Department of Defense?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct, sir.

BEN BLACKBURN

Q. Mr. President, Bob Ketchersid, WSB Radio, Atlanta. What is your reaction, sir, to the Senate Banking Committee's action just a couple of days ago refusing to confirm Ben Blackburn to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Ben Blackburn would have been a good Chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board. I regret the decision by the Senate Committee. I think he could have and would have performed his responsibilities in a most able way, and I think it is unfortunate that the decision was against him 8 to 5.

Q. Do you have any plans to renominate him or perhaps to name him to another Government post?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not had that matter before me since the action by the Senate Committee.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE ON ZIONISM

Q. Diane Tannen, WGAC Radio in Augusta. Some 32 nations abstained on the United Nations Zionist resolution vote. Are you now reassessing American foreign policy toward these ambivalent countries, and, if so, what specific changes can be expected?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are, of course, very disappointed with the vote taken in the United Nations. Ambassador Moynihan made a very, very strong speech setting forth the policy of this Government, strongly urging that the United Nations defeat the resolution. I think the United Nations by that resolution has seriously handicapped, at least to some extent, its usefulness. I hope and trust, however, that it will realize and understand the ramifications and will not proceed any further in that direction or anything comparable to it.

I do not, however, think that the United States should withdraw from the United Nations just because of the unwise action on this resolution. You can always do better trying to correct something from within than from without. We have no particular plans for any recriminatory action against any of those 32 nations. We just think they were very wrong.

Q. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. There was some 70 nations—excuse me—that voted that way.

ENERGY LEGISLATION

Q. Mr. President, Ron Wilson, Georgia Network in Atlanta. What direction are you leaning in now on the

energy compromise bill, and are you in favor of extending oil price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. The energy conference report was orally agreed to by the conferees, night before last. I had a 2-hour meeting with a number of the conferees last evening. A number of the conferees are uncertain as to some of the specifics.

I am reserving judgment on that legislation until the conferees put the agreements in writing in legislative form. And I am told they won't have that done for about a week.

I would hope we could have an energy bill that I could sign, but it would be very unwise for me to make a decision without having looked at and read and analyzed the specific once the committee puts it in writing. But we hope to do that some time next week.

OIL PRICE CONTROLS

Q. On oil price controls, are you in favor of extending those past this Saturday?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the 30-day extension to give all of us more time—which the Senate has passed and which the House of Representatives probably will pass today—I think that is desirable just to give us 30 more days to analyze the Congressional action once they put it in writing. I will sign a 30-day extension.

GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE

Q. Mr. President, Walt Smith, United Press International. How does the entry of Governor George Wallace into the Democratic race, his formal entry this week—how do you think that affects the Democratic race, and, specifically, do you think that Governor Wallace will get a spot on the Democratic ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. I am really not an authority on what might or might not happen in the Democratic Party. I know, of course, that in 1972 he ran very well in my State. I think he will probably run very well in my State again in 1976. He will be a factor—that is perfectly obvious. Whether he will be on the ticket or not, I just don't think I am qualified to give you an answer.

Q. As a follow-up question, if he decided to go the third party route, do you think that that would have a definite effect upon the election? Could it throw it into the House of Representatives?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very possible. It almost did in 1968 when I think three or four States, if they had gone one way or another differently, might have thrown it into the United States House of Representatives.

I think the impact of Governor Wallace running as a third party candidate depends somewhat upon the Democratic nominee, and we don't know that, of course. So, I don't think I should speculate until we get more information, one, as to whether Governor Wallace is going to be on the Democratic ticket, two, whether he will be a third party candidate; and who the Democratic nominee will be. Those are uncertainties at the present time.

REVENUE FROM GASOLINE TAXES

Q. I am Sally Lofton with Southeastern Newspapers. Governor George Busbee is attempting to convince Congress that the Federal Government should allow States to preempt a portion of Federal taxes on motor fuel. I just wanted to know what your position is on this.

THE PRESIDENT. I recommended to the Congress several months ago a proposed new highway act, and one of my recommendations was that the Congress should take off one of the cents that is now charged by the Federal Government in the gas tax and turn it over to the States. I think that would help the States to finance their share of highway construction. The Congress thus far has not acted on my recommendation. It appears that Governor Busbee and myself agree in this regard.

TVA BOARD OF DIRECTORS NOMINEE

Q. Mr. President, I am Alma Bowen from the Times in Gainesville, Georgia. I wanted to ask you about the Tennessee Valley Authority. You have appointed a man on the Board of Directors who is from Mississippi, and I understand he is having problems, or there has been a delay in confirmation of this appointment in the Senate. And my question is, if this man is not confirmed, would you consider a man from Georgia since some TVA lakes are located here and a lot of citizens up there want a representative from Georgia on the Board of Directors?

THE PRESIDENT. If Mr. Hooper is not confirmed for the TVA Board membership, I will certainly consider qualified individuals from any of the States that are affected by TVA, including Georgia.

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION

Q. John Patrick, TV 5 News Scene, WAGA-TV. Mr. President, Time magazine this week was highly critical of your dismissals of Messrs. Schlesinger and Colby, labeling it bad management and subverting morale in many Government departments. Do you consider having your own team more important than the effect of another high-level change in your Administration?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the changes that I made, or have recommended, are constructive. I was pleased yesterday that the Senate Committee on Armed Services voted 16 to nothing to approve Don Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense.

I think that is a good indication that he is a highly qualified man and will do a good job. I think George Bush will do the same in the CIA. I believe that Elliot Richardson later, when he replaces Rogers Morton, will be a highly qualified and a good appointee. I think these are all constructive, and I respectfully disagree with the conclusions as you state them.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan any other changes in your Administration very soon?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have any Cabinet changes in mind. I think it is fairly well set.

But I would like to clarify one thing. Again, up in Raleigh, I was asked a question by one of the students relating to the Cabinet, and I said it was set and then somebody raised a question, well, does this preclude Carla Hills, Bill Coleman, Ed Levi, and others from maybe being considered for a United States Supreme Court appointment.

I want to clarify it by saying that if I nominated any one of those three, I would think it was a promotion. So, it is in a different category than asking someone to resign from the Cabinet. That would be a promotion, and I would not say that I am precluding them from being considered for a Supreme Court appointment.

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

Q. Mr. President, Charles Hayslett, with the Journal. Your remarks of a few moments ago suggested a healthy respect for Governor Wallace's political strength. Assuming you win your party's nomination, who would you rather face in the South—Governor Wallace or Governor Carter? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a very speculative, hypothetical question, as far as the Democratic nominee is concerned. So, I really don't think at this time I am qualified to give you an answer.

Q. Would you take a shot at it? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is so speculative and so hypothetical that I don't really think I should answer it.

THE SOUTH AND THE 1976 ELECTION

Q. Mr. President, I am Tim Dobbs with WMAZ Radio and Television in Macon, Georgia. Continuing in the same vein of thought with my newspaper colleague there, there seems to be a great deal more emphasis being placed on the South in the early days of these campaign times, more Presidential candidates than we have seen in some time, more often—yourself, for instance, have been in Georgia three times this year. Do you feel that the South would possibly be a trigger or could be the region of the country which could be a deciding factor in the election?

THE PRESIDENT. First, I like Georgians and I like to come to Georgia. Furthermore, the South is a growing, burgeoning part of our country. It is, population-wise, a bigger percentage today than it has been, say, 20 or 30 years ago. It is more significant politically. Therefore, I think that is very understandable that more Presidential candidates are coming to Georgia and to other Southern States.

Q. A follow-up question: One of the Presidential candidates who has not yet said he is a Presidential candidate, Mr. Reagan, was asked about Southern strategy, and he said there is no such thing in his view as Southern strategy per se as far as the Presidential election is concerned. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no Southern strategy as such. I have been to, I think, 20-some, almost 30 States. I have traveled here as well as elsewhere in the South. I think it is important to visit as many of the States of the Union as possible. But as far as having a geographical thrust of my campaign, the answer is no. I want to prevail in all 50 States.

MR. MERRINER. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you, Mr. Merriner. It is nice to see you all.

NOTE: President Ford's twenty-second news conference was held at 5:01 p.m. on Friday, November 14, 1975, at the Marriott Motor Hotel.

7704001544

FOR IMMEDIATE-RELEASE NOVEMBER 14, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Atlanta, Georgia)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT A
GEORGIA GOP FUND-RAISER

MARRIOTT MOTOR HOTEL

8:38 P.M. EST

Thank you very, very much, Mack, and may I say at the very outset how grateful I am for your hospitality and the superb job that you do as a State Chairman of this great State. All of us who represent the Republican Party in office are deeply grateful for the great job that you have done and the superb organization that you have, and the fine support is obvious here. Thank you very, very much.

Nora Allen, Nolan Murrah, Bo Callaway, Ben Blackburn, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me express my deepest appreciation for the warm welcome and the great day that we have in Atlanta. I can't thank you deeply enough for this tremendous dinner and wonderful people that I have seen and the kind of organization that I know you have. Thank you very, very much.

May I very strongly acknowledge an outstanding Republican sitting out there in the audience. He is an old and very, very dear friend, one of your number one citizens from the great State of Georgia.

While he is no longer Secretary of the Army, there is no doubt that Bo Callaway still knows how to fight.

Bo, I thank you for your unselfish dedication, and I congratulate you for your long and magnificent record, your tremendous dedication to public service. Your service and our country is better off for the things you have done for all of us, and we thank you.

It really is a pleasure to be in your great State again, particularly at this time of the year. I hear rumors that some of you may be going to the Georgia-Auburn game in Athens tomorrow. (Laughter) Somebody even suggested that as a football fan myself, I might make a prediction or two as to who the winner might be. (Laughter)

MORE

(OVER)

All I can say to that is, "No way." (Laughter) I might make my own breakfast in the morning, but I am not about to cook my own goose tonight. (Laughter)

Frankly, I have come to Atlanta tonight with a heartfelt conviction. The Republicans of Georgia may be outnumbered, but you are big and strong in spirit and that counts an awful lot.

Your spirit is going to make some history in 1976. The Bicentennial year, I predict, will be a Republican year. A great comeback in Georgia can be the great comeback for all America. Georgia needs Republicans and Republicans need Georgia.

The tenacity of the Peace State is America's tenacity. Your comeback is America's comeback, and your pride is America's pride. Georgia is not only the Peach State, it is a "can do" State. There are some of this population we have in America who follow the defeatist philosophies of can't do or won't do. They say America has had its best days, that there will be no more quality for life, that our moral values are out of date, that our economy is bogged down in the swamps and that we will never again see the sun shine.

To those who voice such self-fulfilling prophecy of gloom and doom for this country, I say that you had better come down to Georgia and taste the sweetness of peaches and learn about real folks and real life.

Actually, this State, and the rest of the South, are justifiably proud of great breakthroughs. Your excellent educational institutions, your thriving industries, your productive agricultural activities demonstrate what Americans can do. The South has moved from a basic agricultural economy to a modern industrial society which manufactures much of America's total output. More and more people are moving, for good reason, to the South. You are growing far more rapidly than any other region of our country.

I want to see the Republican Party grow with you. Just as the South came back, Republicans can come back everywhere, and especially in Georgia. You can become missionaries of a great Republican revival in every one of the 159 countries in the great State of Georgia.

Let there be no misunderstanding where I stand. I did not take the sacred oath of office for the Presidency to preside over the decline and fall of the United States of [illegible]lly and categorically reject the scenarios of pessimism, and I am certain all of you totally agreed with my views.

7704001 5443

Instead, I look to a future built on a proud past. I see an America whose citizens have the highest standard of living in the world and who live in peace at home and with all nations.

I see an America where we live longer because killer diseases have been conquered, where the quality of life is enhanced, where we develop stronger and stronger moral and spiritual qualities, and where we enjoy the widest opportunities, limited only by individual initiative and capability.

To make this vision come true, which I think we all have, or must have, we must return Government to sound, responsible Republican principles.

MORE

7704001544

With your help and the help of millions like you in 49 other States, we will. We must elect to your State and local offices and to the Congress responsible and responsive Republican candidates who believe as we do.

The battle lines for 1976 are being drawn between opposing forces, between those who believe in fiscal responsibility and those who believe every problem will go away if we just throw enough tax money at it, between those who believe in a strong national defense as the best insurance for peace and those who would spend your tax money instead for every controversial social experiment, between those who believe in local control over local problems and those who believe Uncle Sam should solve each and every problem, between those who believe that American business should be unshackled from Government over-regulation so it can expand and create jobs and those who believe that Federal paper shufflers know what is best for America and American business. I know which side Georgians will take.

1976 is more than an election year -- it is a year, a vital year, of decision for all America. It is the Republican Party's golden opportunity to prove that with the help of our many friends that we have the strength to survive setbacks, the resolution to rouse the Nation's greatness and the will to win elections. We can do it and we will do it.

We must build a party that works year-round, not just at election time. We must concentrate on winning elections, not just arguments. We must attract good candidates welcoming all who are uncomfortable in other political pastures.

I recently proposed to the Congress a reduction of $28 billion in your Federal income taxes and a corresponding cut of $28 billion in the growth of Federal spending, but the Democratic-dominated Congress tells me that it can't be done. I say it can, it must, and it is up to them to do it this year.

The American Revolution started with the Boston Tea Party that protested taxation without representation. I say to the taxpayers of Georgia today, if your Democratic Congressmen won't do anything about your taxation, maybe you had better do something about your representation. If this Congress won't do the job, let's elect a Republican Congress that will.

This month, just a few days ago, we almost won a Governorship of the great State of Mississippi. We came close enough to show that Mississippi has a two-party system. Let's make every State a two-party State, even Massachusetts. (Laughter)

7704001545

You and I know that America's vitality and prosperity has been zapped by the irresponsible spending of recent Congresses. This Congress is controlled two-to-one by Democrats. In fact, Congress has been dominated by Democrats for 38 out of the last 42 years. That's long enough.

For 33 out of the last 38 years there have been deficits which have run up the cost of living and run down the value of your dollars. Under the Democratic spenders, Congress did achieve some historic firsts.

For the first time in history, the Federal budget topped $100 billion, that was 1962. It doubled to $200 billion eight years later. It will more than double again to $423 billion this coming fiscal year unless we put a stop to it.

Let me emphasize that the $28 billion reduction in taxes, which I proposed, must be accompanied by equally substantial cuts in the growth of Federal spending. This means our spending ceiling must be $395 billion. This is fully adequate to meet both our needs at home as well as abroad.

The big spenders in the Congress don't like my vetoes. But these vetoes have already saved our taxpayers some six and a half billion dollars. And I will continue to veto unwise and unnecessary spending bills again and again and again and again -- so long as it saves your money and America's future. If the State of George can control its budget, there is no darn reason why the United States can't do the same thing.

What concerns me most is the growth of Government without concept, the increasing encroachment of Government into our lives and into our pockets. Let me emphasize one special point, a Government big enough to give us everything we want is a Government big enough to take from us everything we have.

The time has come for a new Rebel yell -- a whole nation of Rebels yelling -- a whole nation of Rebels yelling no -- no to big Government. But it is not enough to just be against the big Government, we must be for, we must favor good Government. And I am concerned about the rate of unemployment in Georgia. We need new capital investments, that is, what the economists call capital investment, but I would rather call it job creation.

We need to restore confidence, we need to simulate business and industry. My Administration is devoted to the full revival of America's great economic strength at home and in the ranks of the world.

7704001544

While our economy is reviving, I want to bolster our efforts through cooperation with other industrialized democracies. And I want to join with these nations in working towards sustained international prosperity.

Tomorrow I will begin a three-day meeting with the leaders of Britain, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany to seek those ends. These countries look to America for leadership. The United States is reducing its rate of inflation and moving vigorously out of the recession. But we must work with others to prevent future problems.

In charting the course for future international economic progress, our leadership is just as important as it is in building mutual military security. This Nation, fortunately, was instrumental in conceiving and developing alliances to safeguard peace. We will also lead the way toward a sound common economic future

There are new challenges: recession, inflation, higher oil prices, under-utilized human material resources. America can meet these challenges most effectively in close collaboration with our friends. The industrialized democracies share problems but we also share great opportunity. The cohesion and the vitality of the industrial democracies can improve the well-being of our peoples in the world economy.

Our goals for recovery include economic growth among all the major industrialized countries with strong expansion accompanied by high levels of employment, a reduction in inflation, and the increase of trade throughout the world.

In trade, the assembled nations that I have mentioned along with many others must provide needed impetus to multilateral negotiations now underway in Geneva. We will also work energetically to improve the international monetary system. An objective of great, great importance is improved energy conservation and the development of alternative sources. This would enable us to reduce dependence on other nations and lessen our vulnerability to arbitrarily set prices or the disruption of our oil sources.

The societies of the industrialized democracies have an underlying strength deeply rooted in our cultures and the character of our peoples. We must now reinvigorate that unity to achieve a better future for all of our peoples.

7704001544

The summit in Paris demonstrates America's determination to work with other industrialized democracies. This meeting will permit participants to better understand mutual problems and the policies used to deal with them. It will enable us to agree on goals and objectives reflecting our common interests. Our joint efforts will reinforce one another and benefit the United States. And it will be a great opportunity for all of us to help all of our people, and I am looking forward to the opportunity.

Just as world stability is based upon economic strength, it also depends upon our military strength and you in Georgia have a great stake in this.

During a quarter of a century in Congress and in my service as Vice President and President, I have fought to preserve America's defense as a cornerstone of freedom. It has long been my conviction that politics should stop at the water's edge, and matters of foreign policy and national defense. America retained its status in this great world in which we live largely because of wide bipartisan support to this view.

We know from experience and history that weakness invites war -- military strength is the only certain foundation for peace. America must preserve its vital alliances and first rate defense capabilities.

As long as I am President, there will never be any weakness in the Administration's commitment to military power, a power second to none. I can assure you that policy has not changed and it will not change.

I am deeply concerned by the tendency of the Congress to spend for less essential items at the expense of defense. I refer specifically to a cut of over $7 billion in the new defense budget which I sent to the Congress in January of this year. This could weaken our hand at a time when we want no potential adversary to misjudge our resolve.

It is the duty of the Senate to restore those funds that the Defense Department regards as essential and vital to our national security.

Our defenses, however, are only as good as our intelligence services. History tells how the City of Savannah, how it fell during the American Revolution because of the superiority of British intelligence. Courage alone could not save Savannah when the brave Georgians were taken by surprise.

MORE

7704001 5443

Intelligence operations today are much more sophisticated. We must protect the rights of American citizens to cherish liberty, but we must also guard against foreign espionage. I will cooperate with the Congress, as I have, as it responsibly investigates the intelligence agencies to develop any legislation that may be necessary to preclude future abuses. But I will do everything in my power to assure that vital information does not fall into the hands of potentially hostile forces.

I will not stand idly by while our essential intelligence services are unilaterally dismantled in a world where the agencies of other nations work totally in secrecy and with unlimited resources.

Next November the American people will provide some resounding answers to the questions raised tonight. You and many others will say no to defense cuts, no to run-away spending, no to stifling controls, no to over-regulation and no to the discredited idea that every question must be answered by expensive Government programs.

But you and many, many others like you will say yes to the responsible Republican proposals, the responsible Republican solutions, and say yes to the Republican ticket.

Like all of you and like millions like us throughout the country, we believe in America and the wealth of our natural resources, in the goodness, the ingenuity, the honesty and self-reliance of our people. In 1783, our first President, George Washington, wrote to America's Governors saying, and I quote, "There is an option still left to the United States of America that it is in their choice and dependence upon their conduct whether they will be respectable and prosperous or contemptible and miserable as a Nation."

We made that choice nearly 200 years ago. We will make it again in 1976.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 9:05 P.M. EDT)

7704001440