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AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH RON NESSEN

AT 11:40 A.M. EST

MARCH 30, 1976

TUESDAY

MR. NESSEN: Well, we had a fair number of questions about the Bo Callaway matter so let me say that Bo did come over to see Dick Cheney last evening and, after that, and as a result of that meeting, they stopped in and saw the President. I don't have anything else to say on the Callaway matter right now but I probably will later today.

Q Why can't you say something now?

MR. NESSEN: I just don't have anything to say right now and I probably will later.

Q What was the purpose of that meeting? Why was he here?

MR. NESSEN: I don't have anything to say now and I probably will later today.

Q CBS is saying that he has resigned.

MR. NESSEN: Ralph, we can take a lot of time on this but, essentially, I am going to say the same two sentences over and over again so let's go on.

- Q All right.
- Q What time do you anticipate it?

MR. NESSEN: I would say go ahead and take your lunch and then come back.

Q Ron, how long did he meet with the President?

MR. NESSEN: Fran, I will have to check on that.

Q Can you say what time the meeting occurred?

MR. NESSEN: Early last evening. I will have to check.

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- Q In the Oval Office or in the Residence?
 MR. NESSEN: Oval Office.
- Q Did you know that in the morning when you said there were no meetings planned?

MR. NESSEN: There were no meetings planned in the morning.

Q Did you know that Callaway was here when you were --

MR. NESSEN: Bringing the transcript over? I didn't know that he was here at that time.

Q Has any report come from the Justice Department on the case?

MR. NESSEN: If it has, we would not know about it, John.

Q Did Cheney call him over or did he ask to see Cheney?

MR. NESSEN: He asked to see Dick.

Q How long did they meet?

MR. NESSEN: About an hour.

Q He saw him twice.

MR. NESSEN: Well, I am told by Helen that he came and dropped off this transcript yesterday morning.

Q Has Morton started moving over to the PFC?

MR. NESSEN: I haven't heard that he has.

Q What time should we be back this afternoon?

MR. NESSEN: I would go ahead and take lunch and we will put a lunch lid on up to a certain time.

Q So we can resign ourselves to that?

MR. NESSEN: Yes, I would resign yourself.

Q Is there a possibility that Bo will be here this afternoon?

MR. NESSEN: Well, why don't you come back after lunch and see how it all unfolds.

Q Will there be a briefing or will you just hand something out?

MR. NESSEN: Well, stick around, or come back.

Just to look ahead a little for later in the week so you can plan something, I would think that tomorrow we are probably going to have the details of the Richardson committee that will be looking into payments by multinational corporations to foreign officials and then on --

Q Do you anticipate a special briefing on that, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: We will have details, fact sheets, maybe.

Then, on Thursday I think we will probably have the swearing-in of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. If you recall, at the time of the reorganization of the intelligence community the President announced an expansion and new members to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and they will be, I think, probably coming to be sworn-in on Thursday.

- Q Is that in the morning or afternoon?
- MR. NESSEN: I don't have a time yet, Fred.
- Q All of them, Ron? Connally, too?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I have not heard of anybody not coming.

- Q In connection with that, Ron, is there any private meeting scheduled between the President and the former Governor?
 - MR. NESSEN: There is not to my knowledge.
 - Q Which former Governor?

MR. NESSEN: You are talking about the former Governor of Texas?

- Q Yes.
- Q Not to your knowledge but, has there been anything --

MR. NESSEN: I have quite an intimate knowledge of the workings of the White House.

On the Friday and Saturday trip to Wisconsin, here is the way I would look for it to go, just very roughly.

The press will be leaving Andrews some time around 7:00 or 7:30. I am going to go over the highlights and then I think we can post this. It is like a summary schedule.

Just to quickly run over it for you, then, I think the press plane will leave Andrews at 7:00 or 7:30 on Friday. The President will leave the South Lawn at about 8:10.

The first event is in Milwaukee at the Marc Plaza Hotel. It is a regional news conference sponsored by the Milwaukee Press Club and that is roughly 10 o'clock Central Time.

In the afternoon, at roughly 3:30 Central Time --

Q What time is that event?

MR. NESSEN: 3:30 Central Time.

Q The press thing?

MR. NESSEN: Ten o'clock Central Time for the press conference.

At 3:30 Friday afternoon, there will be brief remarks and then questions and answers with the Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce Association at the same hotel.

Q At the same hotel?

MR. NESSEN: Yes, at the same hotel in Milwaukee.

In the evening, he is going over to West Bend, Wisconsin for a public forum; that is, short remarks and Q & A from the audience at the West Bend High School Field House.

Q Where is West Bend? Is that close to Milwaukee?

MR. NESSEN: I have to check a map on that, Ralph.

Q Thank you.

MR. NESSEN: The President is going to stay overnight in West Bend with an enlarged pool. The rest of the press will overnight in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, the reason being that there are not enough rooms in West Bend for the entire press.

Saturday morning, a visit to a dairy farm and then a farm forum in Fond du Lac at the high school there, the Goodrich High School, a visit in the afternoon to the Green Bay Packers headquarters in Green Bay, a public forum on Saturday afternoon at the --

Q Excuse me. Could you slow down just a little bit?

MR. NESSEN: These are all going to be posted, Dick. It is ready to go.

Then a public forum in the afternoon at the Brown County Arena in Green Bay and the President will get back to the South Lawn at about 6:30.

Now, if there is anybody in the press who needs to get back to go to the Gridiron Dinner on Saturday night we will try to help out by squeezing some seats on Air Force One if we can, but get in touch with Larry if you have that problem and need to get back in time for the Gridiron.

Q What time are you figuring is the departure from there?

MR. NESSEN: I don't have his departure from there. I have his return to the South Grounds at 6:30.

Q Flying time -- can you answer that, please, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: I don't have his departure time from Wisconsin.

The farm forum is in Fond du Lac at about 9:30 Central Time on Saturday morning at the Goodrich High School.

Q Will Earl Butz be there?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know who is going to be traveling along, Dick. It is possible, yes.

Q What is the President's forecast on his own political chances in Wisconsin?

MR. NESSEN: He thinks he will win, but that does not forecast any margin of victory.

Q Why does he think he will win?

MR. NESSEN: Well, it is just based on the reception partly that he received there last weekend.

Q Does he make a prediction on Texas?

MR. NESSEN: No, not yet.

Q Is he trying to win Connally into his camp?

MR. NESSEN: Well, the President would like to have all Republicans in his camp but if you mean has any specific approach been made to Connally, not that I know of. I think Governor Connally, from what I have read, has made his position clear, which is, I think, he has forecast the President will win the nomination. I think he says himself that he is going to take a neutral position in the Texas primary. That is what I have read.

Well, okay. The meeting with Hussein, of course, is going on and we will have a report on that when it concludes.

Q On Governor Connally, has anybody on the President's staff or political or White House talked to the Governor about his neutrality in the Texas primary?

MR. NESSEN: I have not heard of anybody doing that, Dick.

Q Is he neutral in favor of anyone?

MR. NESSEN: You ought to ask Governor Connally these questions. I only know what I read in the paper about Governor Connally.

Q Ron, on the Middle East, does the President feel that the Middle East is at the crossroads of war and peace?

MR. NESSEN: I don't think I need to analyze King Hussein's speech, Russ, and, you know, say yes or no we agree with each and every sentence of it. I don't think that is necessary.

Q The King painted a rather dire picture of imminent war in one part of his speech and I wonder if the President shares those views?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I think the President has spoken before of the dangers in the Middle East and the need to keep momentum going toward peace in order to avoid stalemate which in the past has led to increased tension and war. I think the President has said in his own words, which I can dig out of the files for you, his estimation of the dangers in the Middle East.

Q What are they talking about specifically? Can you give us anything further?

MR. NESSEN: I think it would be better to wait until the talks are over and then let me tell you what they did talk about rather than what they --

Q Will that be later today?

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$ NESSEN: It will be shortly after the meeting is over, yes.

Q Do you plan to brief after the meeting or to post or what?

MR. NESSEN: I think we will probably be posting.

Q Ron, will there be a real press conference this week?

MR. NESSEN: The one in Milwaukee, yes.

Q Not before then -- 10:30 tomorrow night?

MR. NESSEN: No plans for that. (Laughter)

Q When is the White House press going to be able to ask the President of the United States a question or two?

MR. NESSEN: Well, every time he goes out there is somebody from the White House asking him a question or two.

- Q I have not seen that. That is not true.
- Q We have been discouraged from asking questions at the local question and answer sessions and the President has made clear that he prefers to answer questions from the local reporters.

MR. NESSEN: I think that is true. I know what you are asking and I don't at this moment have any specific plans for a press conference with the White House.

- Q Are you ruling one out this week, though?

 MR. NESSEN: I don't anticipate one this week, Jim.
- Q Is he trying to avoid the White House press?

MR. NESSEN: No. Helen, you know his record on that and he is certainly not trying to --

- Q Well, Ron, his record is that we have not had a press conference with him since February --
 - Q November.

MR. NESSEN: There was one in February, I guess.

Q Ron, there was a briefing by the Angolan faction called UNITA a few days ago and the question came up as to whether Mr. Kissinger's attitude toward the Popular Front means that he regards the Popular Front as a Soviet satellite. Does this Government regard the Popular Front in Angola as a Soviet satellite at this moment?

MR. NESSEN: I don't want to answer that question without getting some more information on it.

Q Ron, in view of the President's oft-repeated statements about excessive Government spending and about the need to get the Federal Government off the backs of individuals in America, what is his position on the vote of the House to spend \$150,000 investigating Dan Schorr?

MR. NESSEN: He does not have a position on that, Phil. That is a matter in the internal business of the House of Representatives.

Q And so is other Government spending voted by the Congress which he comments on.

MR. NESSEN: As I understand it, that appropriation is for a committee of the House to -- I think it is the Ethics Committee, isn't it, to investigate the House Members and find out who it was that leaked the document, but in any case it is an internal matter for the House and the President does not have a position on it.

Q Ron, the Supreme Court has issued a ruling on the homosexual decision that affects the whole drift of the court rulings on individual rights and so on. Has the President made any comment or indicated any thoughts in his mind on the report and the matter of individual rights?

MR. NESSEN: He has not commented specifically on this decision, Dick.

Q On the whole general field he has not made any comment?

MR. NESSEN: No, not really.

Q Ron, Representative Derwinski, representing several hundred thousand ethnics in the Chieago area, is unsatisfied with the assurances that the Administration is giving on the Sonnenfeldt doctrine, if there is one, and wants a personal, flat, categorical denial from the President. Is he going to get one?

MR. NESSEN: A flat, categorical denial of what?

Q That there is a disposition on the part of the United States to favor an organic union between Eastern Europe --

MR. NESSEN: I think Dr. Kissinger, who speaks for the President's foreign policy, has said in just the words that you have asked, there is no Sonnenfeldt doctrine, period. And there isn't any.

Q I know, but Congressman Derwinski is not satisfied with Dr. Kissinger's response, he wants one from the President. Is he going to get one?

MR. NESSEN: I think Congressman Derwinski has made his views known to the White House and I think the President will be -- if he needs any additional reassuring will make sure that he receives it.

Q One other question. Yesterday your statement and the letter and I believe Kissinger's testimony amounted to a denial that the United States favors Soviet dominion Eastern Europe. Now that word was a word that Evans and Novak themselves used. The word that allegedly Sonnenfeldt used was organic union between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Does the United States repudiate any such notion of organic union using those words?

MR. NESSEN: I think Dr. Kissinger told the House International Relations Committee yesterday that the choice of the word "organic" was an unfortunate word, that it was an unfortunate choice of words -- Dr. Kissinger said that yesterday -- and that in this kind of summary of what Hal had said the summary didn't accurately reflect what Hal had meant to imply when he used the word "organic." That is the report that Dr. Kissinger gave yesterday to the House International Relations Committee.

Q Would you care to suggest a word that would better --

MR. NESSEN: You know, I don't want to revise, extend or modify anything that Hal Sonnenfeldt said. What I have tried to do yesterday and today and what the Secretary has and what the President will, if the occasion arises, do, is to tell you what American policy is toward Eastern Europe and I think that is the real issue.

Q So you can regard the clarification as sort of an organic recrimination?

MR. NESSEN: What?

Q Well, you have not repudiated the term "organic union." You have said it is an unfortunate choice of words.

MR. NESSEN: Dr. Kissinger said it was an unfortunate choice of words.

Q All right. One, did he use that word -- apparently he did -- and, two, what does that word mean and what is a better word that the Administration would apply?

MR. NESSEN: You know, I don't know what a better word is because, as I said, I don't see any need to go back and try to rewrite or clarify press reports of what Hal said. What I have tried to do is to tell you what the policy is and I think that is the important point.

Q But he did use the term "organic union," did he not?

MR. NESSEN: Obviously if Dr. Kissinger says it was an unfortunate choice of words, he must have used it, unfortunately.

Q Ron, on that point, is the President aware that Sarah Sulzberger wrote last week that he had talked with some of the -- he said it in the plural -- some of the persons present at that meeting in London and they told him that Sonnenfeldt said exactly what Evans and Novak said he said. Is the President aware of that report?

MR. NESSEN: He is, or he has read the report, anyhow.

Well, Hal was speaking -- well, there is no Sonnenfeldt doctrine. There is the President's policy towards Eastern Europe which I have stated and --

Q Ron, what you are saying is that Sonnenfeldt was talking for himself on that.

MR. NESSEN: I think, as I said yesterday, even if you look at the entire summary of what he said, which itself is a summary of a longer conversation he had, and read the entire summary rather than a sentence or two, the summary of what he said does reflect -- or he understands and stated the Administration policy in Eastern Europe which is what I told you it was yesterday.

Q Could you give us that summary, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: That summary, as I understand it, is a classified document at the State Department and requests for it should be addressed over there.

Q Was it prepared by Sonnenfeldt after his conversation?

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q And was it prepared by Sonnenfeldt after the newspaper publications of the interpretation of his conversation?

MR. NESSEN: No. In fact the newspaper interpretations were written from his summary.

Q Are you positive that he prepared that summary?

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

Q Well, why did Kissinger then tell a group of conservative Congressmen that that memo was a garbled version of what Sonnenfeldt had said, that it first went through one junior State Department officer who placed his interpretation on it and then it was transcribed by someone else who applied their interpretation to it and that it was a distorted account of what Sonnenfeldt said. Now that is what Derwinski claims Kissinger said when that group of conservative Congressmen met with him.

MR. NESSEN: Well, I will check that point for you, Mort. My understanding is that the summary that I have referred to yesterday and today was written by Hal. Now whether it was based on notes taken by somebody else or somebody else prepared it based on --

Q Was it for the President?

MR. NESSEN: No, it was not written for the President.

Q Was it written immediately after the meeting or some time later?

MR. NESSEN: I really don't know that great a depth of detail, Howard, but I do want you to know that there is -- I mean, the central point that I would like to make is that there is no Sonnenfeldt doctrine, that there is a President Ford policy toward Eastern Europe which I have stated.

Q Can you tell us anything about the status of the Gulf Oil Company holdings in Angola? Are they pumping oil, selling oil, and who owns it?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know. It is a private company dealing with foreign interests and I don't have any way of knowing what the situation is there.

Q Ron, does the President ever say anything about the Postal Service -- I don't mean to be facetious -- before it disappears? (Laughter)

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$ NESSEN: You must try harder to restrain your facetiousness.

Q Well, you see, before President Ford came into office his predecessor created, as we know, what is called the Postal Service, and not only have they escalated the price, which, of course, is not reflected in our cost of living, but now the man in charge has said that and already has thought of cutting back not only to one-day service, but he says he is going to cut back to less than six days and that is why I phrased it --

MR. NESSEN: Let me give you a few thoughts about that. I think you have heard the President talk about the Postal Service and how he believes that the essential decision to switch over from a government department to at least a semi-private corporation was a wise decision because it got the Postal Service out of politics and out of patronage and so forth.

Now, the Office of Management and Budget, obviously, has been aware of some of the difficulties the Postal Service has been having and in fact about ten people on the OMB staff have been meeting almost daily, as a matter of fact, with people on the Postal Service staff -- not only OMB staff people but other staff people from throughout the Administration have been meeting on almost a daily basis, and Postmaster General Bailer is meeting this morning with Jim Lynn, who is the Director of the OMB, and Jim Lynn reported this morning at the senior staff meeting that he would be providing some recommendations to the President soon.

Jim also said that he does not, on the basis of what he knows, agree with the suggestions that the Postal Service will be going broke in about two months. He does know that they have a deficit, but the fact is that since their latest rate increase, they are breaking even. In other words, in the last two months the cash flow has been equal to expenses so it has been a break-even operation for two months. They do, obviously, have a deficit that they have run up in the past.

Now, as you know, as part of the switch-over from the Post Office to the Postal Service the Federal Government agreed to pay a subsidy over a period of time, a kind of phased out subsidy, of which the last installment is \$1.5 billion and that is for the FY 1977 fiscal year, and the President believes that that subsidy of \$1.5 billion should be paid as a part of the transition over to the private Postal Service.

However, over his years in Congress and now, the President has always believed that, by and large, the Postal Service ought to be paid for by the people who use it. He does see that there is obviously a public service element in the Postal Service and perhaps that would justify a very modest Federal contribution, but, by and large, he thinks that the Postal Service ought to be self-sustaining and paid for by the people who use it --

Q Does that include the Congressmen who use the frank through the mails?

MR. NESSEN: No, I didn't ask that.

Q Would the President defend the use of franking privileges by the Federal Government?

MR. NESSEN: I didn't ask him that specific question, Saul.

- Q I would appreciate it if you would.
- Q Have they decided where the trouble lies, whether it is in too many people carrying the mail, inefficient operation, bad machinery?

MR. NESSEN: As I say, there is a kind of a task force actually of OMB people and other Federal Government people meeting at the staff level with the Postal Service people to try to find out what the financing problem is and where a solution might lie, and Jim Lynn met with Bailer today and will be having some recommendations ready for the President and I think basically that is where it stands at the moment.

Q Ron, do you know, since Bailer is not a Postal man, do you know whether the White House, whether it is Lynn or anybody else, would be meeting with the Postal Workers Union since they are Postal people?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I don't have a breakdown on who is represented at this series of staff meetings. I don't know.

Q Ron, when you say the President believes that because there is a public service element here it might justify some kind of modest subsidy, are you suggesting a subsidy beyond FY 1977, the \$1.5 billion, is that one of the things the President is looking at?

MR. NESSEN: Well, at the moment the position is that that would fulfill the transition period and that that would be the end of the Federal subsidy.

Q But the public service that the Postal Service performs would continue beyond that point. Now, does the President believe --

MR. NESSEN: It is one idea that the President would consider -- the possibility of a very modest public service contribution.

Q Does he consider \$1.5 billion modest?

MR. NESSEN: This is written into law. It was originally somewhat over \$9 billion for the transition phase and the last installment is \$1.5 billion.

Q The President does think it can be a self-supporting operation?

MR. NESSEN: He has held that position all through the years.

Q Does he have any suggestions of where stamps would go under that kind of premise, the price?

MR. NESSEN: You know, that is something for the Postal Service to work with.

Q Ron, did the President cancel plans for a news conference this week because Reagan got on TV tomorrow night?

MR. NESSEN: No, he didn't. I told some people yesterday that we have casually thought of having one last week and again this week but it never got to the stage of a definite night and never really got to the stage of definitely committing to go with it.

Let me bring you up to date on a couple of other things. Jim Lynn did meet with Bailer for an hour and a half this morning and they will meet again next week.

I was incorrect on the author of the summary of the Sonnenfeldt meeting. It was written, I am told, by a note-taker who attended the meeting and not by Sonnenfeldt himself and it did not pretend to be and, in fact, was not a verbatim account of what Sonnenfeldt said, so I was incorrect when I told you that Sonnenfeldt had written it. I am told now that Sonnenfeldt did not write it.

Q Why don't you read us the right version of it and see what he really said?

MR. NESSEN: As I say, in my view the important issue is what is the Administration policy toward Eastern Europe.

Q You are saying nonetheless that it is a true representation of what he said?

MR. NESSEN: Well, what Dr. Kissinger told the House International Relations Committee was that this summary of the talks did not reflect accurately what Sonnenfeldt meant to imply in his use of the term "organic."

Q Ron, back to the Postal Service a second, when the President takes a position that the Postal Service should be paid for by those who use it, do you know if he means that each category of mail should be self-supporting? I am thinking of the so-called junk mail.

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MR. NESSEN: I know. I don't have that much detail on his views other than that he believes it ought to be self-supporting by the users, and I don't know whether he means each category ought to support itself or not.

Q Ron, in the time since Helsinki, what has been the President's view of developments along the lines of individual freedom in Eastern Europe?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I have not taken the time to collect a detailed analysis of the developments in Eastern Europe. There have been some signs, I believe, of more relaxed travel restrictions and visa restrictions and travel of journalists and reunification of families. I know that following the Helsinki Document the Soviets held a military exercise in which they notified the people that they were required to notify under the Helsinki Document, and so there have been signs that portions of it are being carried out.

The President, in his own speech at Helsinki, I think, said that it would take time to see whether the promises were kept.

Q Let me get it straight. Is Kissinger now repudiating what Sonnenfeldt said or is he simply saying that Sonnenfeldt said something he didn't mean to say?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I think Henry is saying a number of things. We are all saying the same thing, which is that there is no Sonnenfeldt doctrine on Eastern Europe. There is the President's policy towards Eastern Europe which we have all tried to state. Basically, that policy does not accept Soviet domination in Eastern Europe and stands for the support of the expansion of freedom in Eastern Europe.

Now, the Secretary says that the use of the term "organic" was unfortunate, and he also has said that the summary of the meeting that I have talked about, that others have talked about, did not reflect accurately what Sonnenfeldt meant to imply when he used the term "organic."

Q Well, is the President satisfied that Sonnenfeldt gave a briefing that reflected the U.S. policy, or do you think there has been some sort of gap in the translation here?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I think the President's belief is that he knows what his policy toward Eastern Europe is and I do and Dr. Kissinger does, and I hope you do and --

Q Does Sonnenfeldt know?

MR. NESSEN: And Sonnenfeldt knows, yes.

Q Ron, the only way to clear this up is to let us see just what Sonnenfeldt said according to those notes.

MR. NESSEN: Well, it is immaterial what the summary reports Sonnenfeldt to have said. The important issue is what is American policy in Eastern Europe.

Q Sonnenfeldt is a very controversial character in our times. He has been before the Senate committees and had several bad times, and he was appointed to a position where he didn't have to go before, I think, another Senate committee, and he is coming to the White House very frequently when he is here in town and he is filling a very important job under Kissinger, and I think we all ought to know just what Sonnenfeldt understands this policy to be.

MR. NESSEN: He clearly and fully understands what the President's policy in Eastern Europe is.

Q Ron, I don't think we have a yes or no on the organic union question. Does the United States favor an organic union in Eastern Europe with the Soviet Union?

MR. NESSEN: I, myself, don't know what the expression "organic union" means. I know the United States does not accept Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Q What did Sonnenfeldt mean to imply when he used that word?

MR. NESSEN: You need to ask Hal Sonnenfeldt whether he meant to imply anything other than what American policy in Eastern Europe is, which is that it does not accept Soviet domination.

Q Ron, Solzhenitsyn made a great, big broadcast on BBC on all this East-West matter and bigger matters. It was then repeated last Sunday, I believe, and was commented on on the television. Now, has the Administration got any response to this because it was pretty grim stuff?

MR. NESSEN: I am afraid that I am not familiar with what Solzhenitsyn said in those broadcasts.

Q Do you want to know?

MR. NESSEN: I would be happy to hear it but --

Q Well, he said just a few words. He said that the issue was not inflation or any of these minor things but that it was a question of freedom from slavery in the world, and that is pretty much the way he put it, and I think the Administration would have some response.

MR. NESSEN: Well, you know, repeatedly on questions of Eastern Europe the Administration has always stood for freedom in Eastern Europe and does not recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe; in fact, does not accept the domination of any country by any other country anywhere in the world but, specifically, in Eastern Europe.

Q Isn't it dominated already? Which countries do you mean?

MR. NESSEN: We don't accept the domination of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union.

Q What about the Helsinki formula?

MR. NESSEN: You know, at the time before we went to Helsinki, in Helsinki, and after Helsinki, it was made very clear that that document in no way changed the legal status of Eastern Europe or our view.

Q Not accepting the domination -- why don't you translate it for us?

MR. NESSEN: I think the words are fairly clear, Naomi.

Q No, they are not.

Q So that the Nation's diplomats in Europe won't be misled, wasn't Sonnenfeldt sent to brief them and did they get a proper briefing? This is the question now.

MR. NESSEN: I am not clear on what the purpose of the Sonnenfeldt visit was during which that meeting took place.

Let me just mention one other point which perhaps goes to Naomi's question, and that is the President has visited Eastern Europe and a number of Eastern European countries and has had Eastern European leaders here and those visits there and their visits here are all indications and symbols of our support for freedom and independence in Eastern Europe.

Q Ron, can we return just one moment to the Callaway matter without getting into business of the campaign? Has the President asked for any investigation of the response by officials of the Agriculture Department, of the Forest Service, to Callaway's request, and whether or not those responses were proper and, as has been suggested, available to any other businessman?

MR. NESSEN: My understanding is that matters involving Agriculture, Forest Service, CAB, and Defense Department are all being investigated.

Q So he has not asked for any independent investigation?

MR. NESSEN: The White House has not involved itself in the investigations for obvious reasons.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Ron.