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Goodell To Help Outcasts

WASHINGTON (AP) — Charles E. Goodell, who tried as a senator to hasten the end of the Vietnam war, has been summoned from political exile to help Vietnam-era outcasts return to American society.

"I'm pleased to be back in a position of some influence over matters I feel very deeply about," Goodell said Monday as he set to work as chairman of the clemency review board created under President Ford's conditional amnesty program.

As an appointed senator from New York, Goodell was a leading Republican critic of war policy during the first two years of

Ford's Falcon: Rumsfeld Takes Steps To White House Hub

Continued From Page One

ling is talking through his hat. When serving in Brussels as ambassador to NATO, he once cut off a high-ranking official in mid-conversation. "Come back when we can do it right," he snapped.

Now that he is at the White House, he says, "It isn't my purpose to resolve questions" but to ask them. Nor is it his job to force decisions on Mr. Ford. After all, "I'm not the President of the United States."

But Mr. Rumsfeld would very much like to be President of the United States someday, many associates believe. "I guess that's no secret," a senior White House official says. "I've never assumed anything else. And you can't run for President as chief of staff, I would assume he'll go back to Illinois in 1976 and run for governor." (Mr. Rumsfeld, a former investment banker, represented a suburban Chicago district in Congress from 1963 through 1968, giving up the safe seat in 1969 to head the Office of Economic Opportunity for Richard Nixon.)

Confronted with this theory, Mr. Rumsfeld looks a questioner straight in the eye and says "You've gotta be kidding!"

Ford's Falcon Don Rumsfeld Takes Self-Assured Strides To White House Hub

Chief of Staff Assumes Role As Assistant President, But a Haldeman He Isn't

Knocking Out Heavyweights

By DENNIS FARNEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON

Whatever Donald Rumsfeld lacks, it isn't chutzpah—or a healthy measure of self-esteem.

Both qualities came shining through one day recently, when some reporters had Mr. Rumsfeld cornered in the White House Roosevelt room. They were trying, without notable success, to discover just what this ambitious, sometimes-abrasive man is doing in his job as the President's chief of staff. Mr. Rumsfeld replied that he is only doing what the President wants him to do.

"But what does the President want?" a newsman persisted.

"Me," Donald Rumsfeld replied.

"Doing what?"

GERALD R

With Charity for Few

By Anthony Lewis

WASHINGTON—Joe Smith avoided the draft during the Vietnam war but does not know whether he technically broke the law or, if he did, whether the Government has any case against him. He is living a quiet life in Indiana now, but he worries that some day he could be prosecuted. If he does face that, he might rather take up President Ford's clemency program. So he decides to ask the Justice Department what his status is.

The department finds that he was never indicted or made the subject of an active investigation. But having been alerted by Joe Smith's question, it looks into his record at Selective Service. If the investigation turns up

The Presidential Clemency Board, under the chairmanship of former Senator Charles E. Goodell, deals only with men who have already been punished—as deserters or draft evaders. The board keeps all information in confidence, and no one who approaches it can end up any worse off. Its function is to recommend conditional or absolute pardons.

The Defense Department handles the cases of military personnel who went AWOL and were never caught or punished. It has a final list of 12,500 such men and will tell anyone whether he is on the list without his risking being added to it. A man can wipe out his fear of capture and punishment by coming in and, in a day, getting an undesirable discharge. Of the 12,500, some 2,200 have so far come in.

The Justice Department deals with

this approach. "I'm not terribly sympathetic to someone who escaped prosecution by accident," he said. Our feeling is that somebody ought not to get what amounts to unconditional amnesty merely because he has not been detected."

In that comment Mr. Fine inadvertently exposed the fallacy in the whole Ford clemency program. That is the notion that a fundamentally inequitable situation can be cured by ad hoc decisions for or against a few men.

There never was any equity in the way the law treated those who did not want to fight in Vietnam. By far the largest number got off legally, by luck or because they had better advice or were more articulate or were rich enough to go to college. Of those not legally exempted, many slipped quietly through the system. Only a few be-

Clemency file

For vets, a new amnesty battle

"It's like a bad dream that never ends. First there was Vietnam, then there was my bad discharge for seven years, then the day after I get my discharge upgraded I see on the news that the House of Representatives just voted to deny my benefits."

This was the response of a Boston-area Vietnam vet whose discharge was recently upgraded under President Carter's Special Discharge Review Program (SDRP), but whose veteran's benefits may be jeopardized by legislation passed last Thursday by Congress. Three legislative initiatives, all of them including some provisions punitive to veterans, went through various stages of consideration and compromise this summer. The Senate finally agreed on a bill which will be sent to President Carter this week.

In a compromise with Democrat Ray

MEREDITH WEBB

discharge-upgrading process. The old process was handled by Discharge Review boards, set up by Congress in 1944 to correct "errors and injustices," and operated under no published standards, making it highly arbitrary. If, when his case is reopened, it is determined that a veteran would not have received benefits under the old process, any benefits granted by Carter's program will be taken away.

Barry Lynn, associate for Policy Advocacy of the United Church of Christ's Washington office, who has been working on this and similar legislation for three months, expects that in fully half of the 30,000 cases benefits will be rescinded.

The second major provision of the

simply means a continuing hell for veterans of the Vietnam War. Now that President Carter has amnestied draft resisters, veterans with less-than-honorable discharges stand to be the punished or forgotten political refugees of this nation's most unpopular war. They are angry and frustrated not only at an economic climate that denies them jobs and adequate social services, but at a political climate that makes it nearly impossible for them to tell their stories or to counter the rhetoric of a Congress and a President still apparently judging the merits of the war.

The greatest fear of veterans-support groups across the country is that the public will forget them, and that that neglect will make retaliatory legislation easier to pass through the Congress. The great flurry of publicity which surrounded the Ford and Carter clemency programs is over, and many people seem to feel the amnesty problem is completely resolved. For some

Goodell Asserts Amnesty Plan Should Be Revived and Widened

By RICHARD D. LYONS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15 — Charles E. Goodell, former chairman of the Presidential Clemency Board, called today on President Ford and Congress to reopen and widen the program to aid Vietnam war resisters and draft evaders.

He noted the sharp rise in the number of applicants for the program in the last two months of its life of six and one-half months and said that if the program were reopened, many more men would apply. The application period ended last April 1.

House Judiciary Committee that would reduce further the legal liabilities of men who did not register for the draft, deserted their military units or went AWOL. The bill would give almost unconditional clemency to anyone in these groups who chose to sign a declaration the he was against the war. "This would be an open invitation to lying," Mr. Goodell said.

Asked about the possibility that a minority report would be filed by the four men on the Clemency Board who had declined to sign the 19-member

Clemency Board

LAST SEPTEMBER, President Ford's Clemency Board went out of existence. But the issue of pardons or amnesty for Vietnam draft resisters or deserters did not. Only a small fraction of those accused of draft or military offenses sought help from the board.

In January, former New York Sen. Charles Goodell, head of the clemency board, said the number of undecided cases made it essential that some kind

ment on the Concordia landings). But it has not lost interest in the clemency issue. What concerns him is the fact that the overwhelming majority of desertion cases were the result of personal problems.

"The ones that bother me the most are those who served with great distinction in Vietnam, came back and got in trouble and went AWOL," he says. Many who were wounded are no longer eligible for medical benefits. That's a mistake, he says.

But Goodell says he does not favor general amnesty, although, "I may come to that if we find no other politically acceptable solution."

Jack Anderson

The Clemency Board: 'A Bureaucratic Vietnam'



Just eight days after President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon for his Watergate crimes, the President established a clemency board to offer similar charity to the draft dodgers and deserters of the Vietnam War.

He promised at an Oval Office ceremony in September 1974 that the new board would bind up the nation's wounds and would offer the Vietnam violators an opportunity "to earn their return to the mainstream of American society."

For the next year, the board became bogged down in a jungle of red tape. The Vietnam outcasts found themselves caught in a sort of bureaucratic Vietnam, complete with the in-fighting,

Despite a sudden surge of applications, he rejected a request for another extension and closed down the board. Of 113,337 eligible for clemency, only 21,729 applied before the deadline. The program ended in failure, therefore, with 91,608 Vietnam violators still consigned to purgatory.

The President, under increasing fire from the right wing of his own party, had become uneasy over the clemency program. He wanted to wind it up, according to White House sources, with a report that would appease its conservative critics.

The staff produced draft reports, however, that contained blistering criticisms of the Selective Service system.

They produced a final report that our sources describe simply as a "white-wash." As evidence, they have shown us copies of the suppressed draft reports.

From several sources, we have also pieced together the story of how the clemency program was mishandled. Here are the highlights:

—The board unanimously recommended honorable discharges for scores of servicemen who went AWOL after heroic service in Vietnam. The board also urged upgrading the discharges of servicemen who deserted their military units after being injured. Ex-Sen. Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) personally presented these recommenda-

posed to improve the veteran's chance of eventually gaining an honorable discharge from the Pentagon. Yet our sources say the Pentagon brass look with scorn upon the clemency discharges. The practical effect has been to make it more difficult for the veterans to upgrade their discharges.

—The clemency board promised applicants that they could comment on the case summaries before they were submitted to the board. These summaries were used by the board members to help them judge the cases. We have established, however, that the board usually made decisions before giving the applicants a chance to respond. When some applicants learned about



“Why should we forgive them just because they were right about the war? Lord knows, nobody’s forgiven us for being wrong about it!”

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JAN 26 1972

THE CITY POLITIC

BY RICHARD REEVES

CABINETMAKING

"Charlie, you got me into this and now you're going to have to help me get out of it in one piece."

Gerald Ford telephoned Charles Goodell on the day, ten months ago, when he was named vice-president. "Poor Charlie Goodell," he was being called behind his back in those days. He had been crushed, politically and personally, a year earlier by a Nixon White House plot directed by Charles Colson, and nothing had gone quite right since—Goodell had been in and out of a couple of law firms and had fooled around with the defense of Daniel Ellsberg; he had fumbled around the edges of New York politics, thinking of running for Congress, maybe as a Republican, maybe as a Democrat, in Manhattan, in Brooklyn, in his old home town of Jamestown; he had personal problems that were eating him up, and he seemed to have lost the self-confidence that had carried him through ten years in the House and two years as an appointed U.S. senator.

You never know. Last week Goodell was on his way to the cabinet or the White House staff—there was a chance he would be President Ford's replacement for Caspar Weinberger as secretary of health, education and welfare or even for William Saxbe as attorney general.



to Topeka when he's going to Los Angeles, just to keep in practice. He's also the kind of man who publicly proposes Nelson Rockefeller as Ford's vice-president, then leaves his many fans to figure out whether he means it or is just setting up Rocky to be picked apart by the Republican right wing. It's vintage Laird—if Rockefeller makes it, Laird gets the credit; if Rockefeller is nibbled to death, Laird gets the credit.

Laird, Goodell, and Robert Griffin were three very ambitious, very smart, and very shrewd young congressmen in 1964 and their friends were Ford's

back and, within weeks, was hiring almost all the minority staff. Ford was soon running the Republicans on television and Laird was running them, and Ford, everywhere else.

Friends say that Ford, a notoriously slow learner, did learn his lesson when Goodell and Griffin clued him in and helped cut Laird back to size. We shall see, but hints from the first week of the Ford administration were encouraging for anyone who is leery of Laird—and that should include most people from outside the Midwest who doubt that the Republican party is the chosen

13 Defend Unit's Action On Clemency

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Staff Writer

"There were never any pre-determined philosophies" that decided whether draft dodgers or deserters received clemency from President Ford. 13 of the 18 members of the Presidential Clemency Board declared yesterday.

The two-page statement was prompted by the board's minority report, released last week, which charged that the board was dominated by an "anti-war, amnesty-oriented" majority that was too easy on men who had dodged the draft or had deserted from the military.

Retired Marine Gen. Lewis W. Walt released the minority report signed by himself and members through the Veterans of Foreign Wars headquarters and three other clemency board members here. The 10-page paper also criticized board chairman Charles E. Goodell for swaying the majority to take steps in the name of amnesty that were allegedly "unethical" and bordered on being illegal.

In their meeting Saturday

6-8 The Washington Star

Goodell Has Praise From His Majority

By Orr Kelly
Washington Star Staff Writer

Charles E. Goodell and the staff of the Clemency Board have been warmly commended in a statement by the majority of the board.

The praise for Goodell, who was chairman of the board, and the staff, was in sharp contrast to a critical minority report issued last week by retired Marine Gen. Lewis Walt and three other members of the

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Clemency Program On Draft Resisters Defended on Board

WASHINGTON, Sept. 22 (UPI)—The majority of the 18-member Presidential Clemency Board today defended the board's year-long effort to reconcile Vietnam-era draft resisters and military deserters member minority.

"In the executive order of Sept 16, 1974, the President indicated his hope was to heal the wounds of a very difficult and trying time in America's history," the 13-member majority said. "As members of the board we are deeply gratified to have been participants in that mission and feel that our actions and recommendations will serve to accomplish that goal and to help rehabilitate many persons back into the mainstream of society."

Clemency Board Hit By 4 of Its Members

By DON HIRST

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The actions of the Presidential Clemency Board have drawn fire from four board members, including retired Marine Corps Gen. Lewis W. Walt.

In a 10-page report delivered to the White House September 17, Walt and three others who represented a minority viewpoint criticized the 18-member PCB on a number of points, including:

- Trying to distort the meaning of the clemency discharge;
- Recommending presidential pardons and clemency for applicants who had multiple felony convictions;
- Taking jurisdiction over applicants "whose discharges were obviously not precipitated in the main by awol/desertion type offenses;"
- Recycling cases where clemency was not recommended to gain a more favorable decision;

According to the report, much of the problem stemmed from the time the board was expanded from nine to 18 members. The original PCB represented a fair balance of liberal, middle-of-the-road and conservative views, they said, but the expanded board became more amnesty-oriented.

"The unilateral revision of the President's program from a middle-of-the-road clemency program into an amnesty-oriented program was effected primarily by expansion of the original nine-member board..." the report says. "Some of the new members did not have the maturity, experience and broad spectrum of views which characterized the original board and which we believe represents the cross-section of the general public. The more liberal 18-member board then proceeded, many times unknowingly and under the influence of the Chairman (former Sen. Charles Good

veterans 'to express their opposition to the Vietnam War' would be a gross disservice to the President," the report states.

During the days of the nine-

Ford Praises Board's Work

WASHINGTON — President Ford, in signing an executive order ending the clemency program, praised the Presidential Clemency Board for its diligence in reconciling opponents of the Vietnam War. Ford also said the program had helped "many deserving young Americans" find their place in society.

member board, applicants with offenses such as awol from combat, combat refusals, multiple and long awols and civilian felony convictions normally received votes of no clemency, the report says.

Under the expanded board, however, clemency recommendations were forwarded to the White House in these cases, the report says. A spokesman for Walt said more than 2000 applicants have felony convictions and that about 98 percent of them have been recommended for clemency.

But Walt contacted the White House about the felons issue. As a result these cases are submitted in a separate packet, Walt's spokesman said. Reportedly,

only a few applicants with felony convictions have received favorable presidential action so far.

The report also scored the practice of making drug use "a possible qualification for mitigation" while ruling it out as an aggravating factor.

"This change from the nine-member board policy again was strenuously objected to by the constantly 'out-voted' minority," the report says.

Another area that drew criticism in the minority report centered on the recycling of numerous "tough decision" (i.e. no clemency) cases decided by the original nine-member board. This was done by submitting them either to "a more amnesty-motivated panel or to the full board to gain a more favorable decision on behalf of the applicant," the report said.

Although the PCB had a peak staff of more than 600, only one secretary was assigned for all of the 18 board members, the report says. It also says that during July, "the board's busiest month," more than 160 employees could not be accounted for during an afternoon headcount by the personnel director.

In conclusion, the report said the actions of the expanded PCB "could greatly discredit" the program "in the eyes of the American public." It also expressed the hope that turning over the program to the Justice Department will insure that "only those applicants who deserve the (clemency) discharge" receive one.

Panel's Job Ends; Results Questioned

By a Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The Clemency board established by President Ford to give Vietnam-era military deserters and draft evaders an opportunity to clear their records has come to an end.

Now You See It...

ABROAD AT HOME

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, Sept. 15—The controversy over the pardon has until just now kept attention away from a related matter: the agreement made with Richard M. Nixon on the handling of the papers and tapes accumulated while he was in the White House. It is an astonishing legal document.

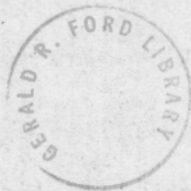
When Mr. Nixon left, President Ford and his Government had custody of the materials. Mr. Nixon had a claim of title in due course, but in the meantime officials could get at the files in the White House as needed for public business.

Now those necessary rights of official control and access have been vir-

That means that if Mr. Nixon were to die next week, the tapes would be destroyed even though some were essential to pending criminal cases. After Sept. 1, 1979, he may order any specific tapes destroyed.

By such provisions Mr. Nixon could achieve in disgrace what he could not in office—the frustration of the special prosecution force. For it needs access to the Nixon White House file not only for the forthcoming cover-up prosecution and other cases but for the final report that it must make to Congress.

Some information on the crimes and abuses of power that most deeply concern the public may be found only in those Nixon files. There are, for example, the attempts to misuse the Internal Revenue Service, the secret wiretapping and the activities of the Plumbers. The prosecutors had a



*Assume you
saw this in
The Times.*

Senator:
Worth reading
Carl



James A. Wechsler

AMNESTY LTD.

President Ford's sadly flawed program for "conditional amnesty" can ultimately serve a serious national purpose. Its inequities and inconsistencies may demonstrate, perhaps sooner than many now imagine, the case for Congressional enactment of an unconditional amnesty by a margin sufficient to insure acceptance by the White House.

The hard truth is that the very limited Ford formula probably reflects majority sentiment in the country at this moment. But that attitude may already be in the process of change as a result of resentment over the Nixon pardon.

Even some who have opposed any outstretched hand to the war resisters, draft evaders and the bearers of dishonorable discharge are visibly uneasy over the contrasting benevolence accorded Nixon for both recorded and unknown offenses by the White House.

Indeed, if Ford initially thought the special dispensations for Nixon and his grudging war amnesty terms could be sold to the country as a kind of mellow package deal, he may have produced exactly the reverse result. The apparent linkage has underlined the issue of unequal justice.

Such questions will be multiplied as it becomes clear that the clemency conditions he laid down create glaring injustices and open up many new wounds.

* * *

Some of the loopholes and contradictions have already come to light; such weaknesses were probably inherent in any attempt to devise a program of restricted amnesty in

the old-fashioned virtues that people are still interested in.

"Jerry Ford has a lot of the characteristics of Eisenhower."

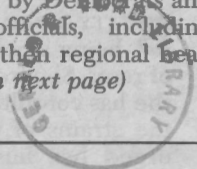
Republicans already are looking to Mr. Ford to reinvigorate their party. "He's Mr. Clean," said Representative Robert H. Michel, of Illinois. He added: "There

is no way to put a chink in his armor. He has been one of our best campaigners."

The beginning. Mr. Ford, a football hero at the University of Michigan in the early 1930s and a veteran of nearly four years' service in the Navy during World War II, launched his political career in 1948. While a lawyer in Grand Rapids,

he had become known as a civic leader. He challenged the incumbent Congressman—a staunch isolationist—and won a hard-fought primary. In that contest, Mr. Ford was helped by Democrats and local labor-union officials, including Leonard Woodcock, then regional head

(continued on next page)



FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES WHOSE TIES WITH THE PRESIDENT GO BACK A LONG WAY

Most of President Gerald Ford's friends and informal advisers—the people he has looked to in the past for help in intraparty squabbles, or for company during an afternoon on a golf course or an evening of conversation—have longtime ties to Congress or the business community.

Those men on or near Capitol Hill who come nearest to qualifying as cronies entered Congress about the time Mr. Ford did after World War II. He frequently relied on them for advice and aid as a Representative and as Vice President, and is expected to maintain the friendships now.

Especially helpful were the "young Turks" allied with him 10 years ago when he successfully challenged the established Republican House leadership and was elected Minority Leader. Among those Mr. Ford has kept close to—



Elford Cederberg



Melvin R. Laird



John W. Byrnes



Charles E. Goodell

Many friends and advisers of the President are men with whom he served in Congress.

One of the President's long-time political associates is rated particularly close and was brought to Washington after Mr. Ford became Vice President:

Philip A. Buchen, an attorney in Grand Rapids, Mich., the President's home town, was named executive director of the Committee on the Right of Privacy within the White House in March, 1974. Mr. Buchen calls himself "a slightly more liberal Republican" than Mr. Ford. Many in Grand Rapids describe him as the closest local associate of the new President.

Another group of Ford acquaintances generally see him in informal surroundings, notably on the golf course, where he likes to unwind. Mr. Ford usually plays on courses in suburban Washington and does not claim to be very good. Among this latter group:

William G. Whyte, U. S. Steel vice president in charge of the company's Washington operations, has been a longtime friend on and off the golf course. He notes that

Saxbe Seeks Report This Week on Legal Precedents for Amnesty

By LINDA CHARLTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20—Attorney General William B. Saxbe, after conferring with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger at the White House today, ordered a Justice Department study group to have "something in hand" by the end of the week on President Ford's plan for leniency for draft evaders and deserters.

A Justice Department spokesman said that Mr. Saxbe and Mr. Schlesinger met this morning at the Oval Office ceremonies at which President Ford announced his choice of former

Kastenmeier, Democrat of Wisconsin, today applauded President Ford's statement.

A subcommittee staff member said, however, that Mr. Ford's proposal would make no difference to the status of the legislation. Mr. Kastenmeier had said earlier that he hoped to have an amnesty plan ready to be presented early in the next session of Congress.

Henry Schwarzschild, head of the American Civil Liberties Union's project on amnesty called Mr. Ford's statement "a welcome break with the vengeful posture of his predecessor, but it is only a first step . . .

my Presidency into the scales of justice on the side of leniency."

'Work Way Back'

The President said that he continued to oppose "unconditional blanket amnesty" but added that he foresaw the time when those who refused to fight in the Vietnam war would "work their way back" to full citizenship and attain "earned re-entry into a new atmosphere of hope, hard work and mutual trust."

The V.F.W. resolution today in effect reaffirmed the organization's opposition to granting any form of amnesty

criticism of Mr. Ford, said: "We sustain total opposition to both general and selective amnesty for draft dodgers and military deserters" who "should be required to stand trial for their crimes and shall pay such penalties upon conviction as the laws prescribe."

Submitted Sunday

The resolution adopted by the 1.8-million-member veterans group concluded with an expression of "our total commitment to pursue the 'no amnesty doctrine' through our membership to the Congress and to the American people and to be firm in our stand not

of the 50 states, was introduced Sunday at a meeting of the organization's Committee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, prior to Mr. Ford's address.

Ray Gallagher of Redfield, S.D., the committee chairman, said that he reconvened the committee today in light of the President's remarks yesterday

and that the sentiment to reaffirm the organization's position was "just as strong or stronger" than it had been.

"There was no attempt to be critical of President Ford," Mr. Gallagher said. "We are expressing our position vocally to any shift on amnesty and hopefully to him."

Environmental Resources Of Nassau County Analyzed

Special to The New York Times

MINEOLA, L.I., Aug. 20—A study to determine the extent of air pollution in Nassau

The document, nearly 300 pages long, involves recommendations concerning conservation, pollution control, noise abatement, sewage disposal, energy, water supply and oil spillage and exploration.

Viet amnesty decision delayed

Chicago Daily News 9/9/74

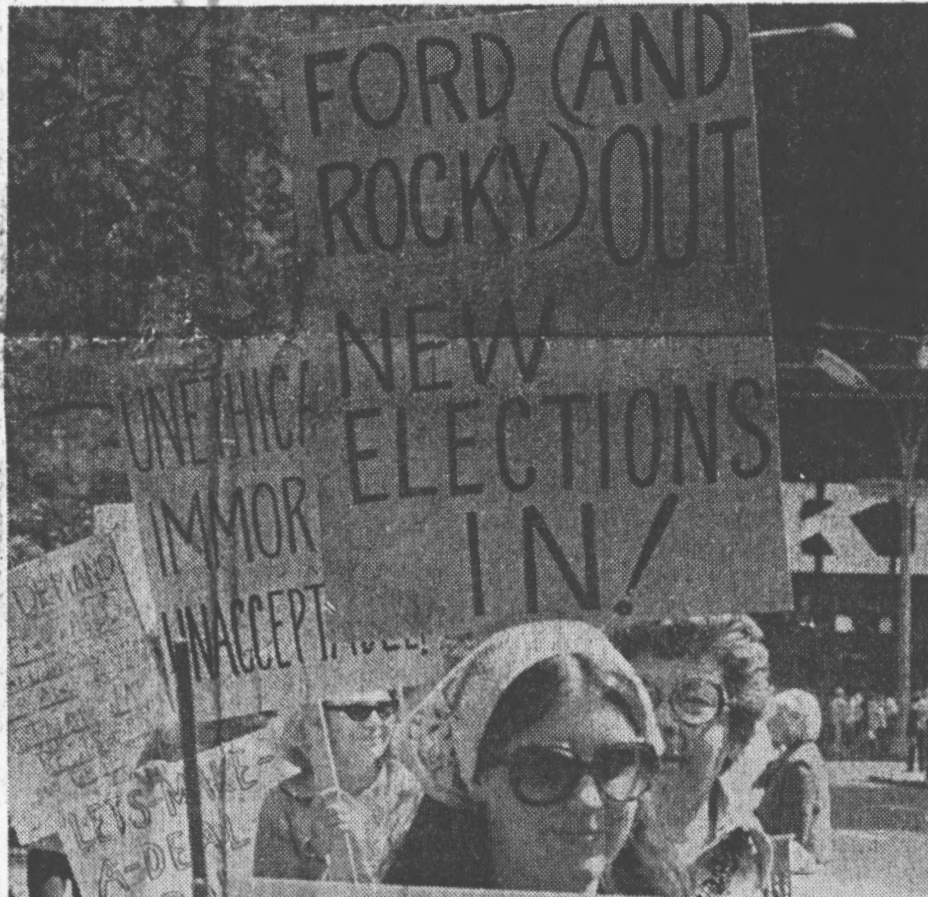
Ford still studying issue: aide

WASHINGTON (U.P.I.)— President Ford has postponed indefinitely his expected announcement of a plan to grant conditional amnesty to draft evaders and military deserters, a White House spokesman said Monday.

John W. Hushen, deputy White House press secretary, said events of the past week — leading up to — Ford's pardon of former President Nixon — has not allowed the President to focus on the question of amnesty for war resisters.

Asked if the Nixon pardon was "more urgent" than the question of amnesty, Hushen said: "That seems a conclusion you can draw."

Ford first proposed conditional amnesty in a speech be-



Democrats assail pardon

By William J. Eaton
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.) Monday that former President Richard M. Nixon should be summoned as a witness before the House Judiciary committee to tell the story of Watergate under oath.

And Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), like Waldie a member of the Judiciary Committee, said the House leadership should meet immediately to decide whether to resume impeachment process.

Waldie, an early advocate of Nixon's impeachment, said President Ford's pardon of Nixon means that the Ame-

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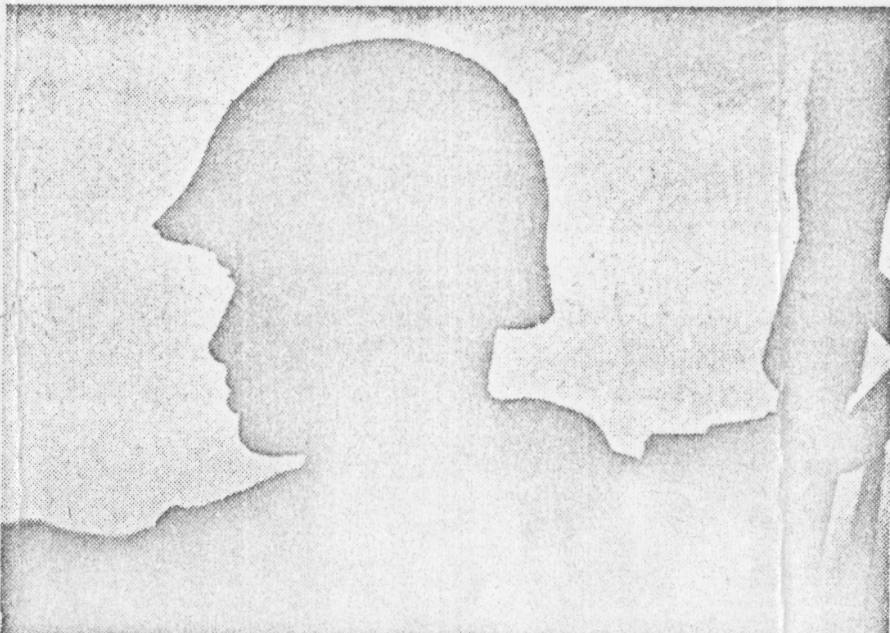
The U. S. is guilty — not the draft dodgers

By DAVID WESLEY BROWN

I am a war resister, one of those whose lives could be directly affected by amnesty or lack of amnesty. Never mind that I am one of nearly half a million resisters so far ignored by the "earned re-entry" proposals. If nothing else, "earned re-entry" is a harbinger of my own fate, and I respond to it very personally.

President Ford's initial proposal was nothing out of the ordinary. His plan, to eschew legal action against draft resisters and military absentees who assent to some term of civilian service, had been advanced by others.

If President Ford enacts this proposal it would be unacceptable because of its "service" requirement — really alternative punishment — and because it ignores the bulk of resisters. But it did have the virtue of familiarity, which meant that the anger it aroused in me was somewhat



ingness. I will sign, only if every member of Congress, every Pentagon official, every State Department official connected with Southeast Asia, the President, the entire White House staff and all Presidential advisers, and every U. S. judge and justice, will also sign an oath, similar to the following:

"I hereby reaffirm my allegiance to United States and international law describing and prohibiting war crimes and other crimes against humanity, and to the Nuremburg principles enunciating the responsibility of all officials to observe those laws regardless of orders to the contrary. Accordingly, I hereby undertake, pledging the utmost effort to the limits of my courage and endurance, to

"I) Refuse to participate in any war crimes or other crimes against humanity;

"II) Resist any attempt by the government of the United States or any of

Why Nixon got pardon is a lingering question

9-15-74

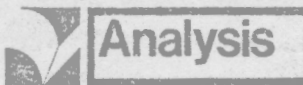


By Finlay Lewis
Staff Correspondent

Washington, D.C.

Philip Buchen, President Ford's top White House lawyer, probably said it best.

"There has always been a separate category of mercy," Buchen said, "that we know has never been equally dispensed and we know that it is an act of



So far as is known, Mr. Ford consulted the barest handful of political associates whose judgment he trusts. And, according to one long-time friend, he went against their advice.

"All the Ford people were against it," said the friend.

Those within the White House who argued against the immediate pardon were Buchen and Robert Hartmann, presidential counselor, he said.

This informant also argued that Mr. Ford was the victim of a "cold and calculated scheme to take

Pardon

Continued on page 10A

Thousands Already Granted 'Amnesty' in Court

By Robert Joffe

Special to The Washington Post

SAN FRANCISCO — Although President Ford has vowed that he will not grant unconditional amnesty, thousands of draft evaders and some deserters have already received the equivalent of such treatment because of

tion and military service even after indictment by a federal grand jury. Another 4,400 men convicted of draft evasion found relative lenience from judges who sentenced them to probation rather than prison.

Several hundred desert-

lawyers familiar with draft litigation.

The President this week is expected to announce details of an "earned re-entry" policy that reportedly would require war resisters to spend six to 24 months doing alternative service.

On Aug. 29, Attorney Gen-

short prison sentence or none at all. He puts them on probation," Saxbe said. "We can't make it any tougher than that."

However, the Attorney General did not discuss prosecutions that have been dropped. Justice Department

processing or record keeping.

Some deserters — the Pentagon says it does not know how many but estimates run into the hundreds — also escaped prosecution because Selective Service errors or military record

Thousands of War Resisters Have Gained Form of Amnesty

AMNESTY, From A1

before turning themselves in.

According to the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, 21,500 draft evasion cases have been concluded in the last 10 years, with 8,400—

fendants who did face induction were subsequently disqualified for service on "physical, psychological, or moral grounds." Still, their indictments were dropped, he said.

The fact that 20 to 30 per cent of the cases were dis-

Jeremy H. Mott, a Chicago-based draft counselor for the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO), estimates that there are now "thousands" of other draft evaders still at large, "whom the Justice Department has declined to prosecute but who

000 to 10,000, but some Canadian observers place it at 40,000 or higher. The Justice Department says 3,000 of the exiles are draft evaders under indictment in the United States, and the Pentagon maintains that an additional 1,600 exiles are deserters.

sistant U.S. Attorney, here in the late 1960s, recalled that he personally prosecuted "several hundred" draft evasion cases.

At that time, he said, it was possible for a man from anywhere in the country to transfer his draft orders to the Oakland induction center and

sentences involving only probation and the promise of alternative civilian service.

"It depended entirely on what judge you got," Sloan said, "and it was grossly unfair."

The disposition of deserters' cases also depended on the

More often, however, the commander of the military post to which a deserter returns does have jurisdiction; and some commanders are far more lenient than others. One civilian attorney (who asked

who've been gone for three years or more get out of the service in less than two weeks. Chapter 10 discharges are administrative discharges which can be granted at a commanding officer's discretion "for

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

10/15/74

TO: CHARLIE
FROM: BRIAN

FYI

*Burr - might
C.G. like this? Jean*

Binghanton Press

Tues., Sept. 17, 1974 PRES

Ford Sticks to Loyalty Route in Picking Goodell

*John
Send to OEB*

By PETER BEHR
Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — President Ford and Charles E. Goodell, who will head Ford's new Clemency Review Board, are one of the true odd couples of American politics.

Goodell, it will be remembered, had left his seat as an influential Republican congressman from conservative upstate New York to replace Robert F. Kennedy in the Senate. Goodell abruptly shifted po-

the liberal and moderate vote with his Democratic opponent, permitting the third candidate in the race. Conservative James L. Buckley, to win. Since his 1970 defeat, Goodell has practiced law, written a book that sympathetically

with him by telephone and seek his advice. When Goodell opened a Washington, D.C., law firm this year, Ford — then vice president — was the principal ornament at Goodell's office reception. Their friendship

plotter, was the mavericks' choice to lead their movement because he had so few enemies. But while Ford moved to cement his ties with all House Republicans, Goodell was con-

Rockefeller to the Senate after Robert Kennedy's assassination. By choosing Goodell, Ford demonstrates again the importance he places on personal loyalty.

J. CERRA
WAREHOUSE SALES

Los Angeles Times 9/17/74

Ford's Program for Amnesty Unveiled, Quickly Attacked

BY RUDY ABRAMSON

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—President Ford announced Monday a controversial plan for Vietnam deserters and draft evaders to earn official forgiveness by working for up to two years at low-paying jobs in behalf of national health, safety and interest.

W. Post 9/17

Amnesty Terms Detailed

Clemency Offered

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford yesterday offered clemency to Vietnam war-era violators in exchange for up to 24 months of alternate service and a pledge of allegiance.

At a ceremony in his office, the President unveiled a program that he said would permit draft evaders and deserters to "earn their return to the mainstream of American society."

The President's ruling, which he said had proved to be "an immensely hard and complicated matter," marks the first offer of limited amnesty since the Korean War and the first major grant since World War II.



TRANSMITTAL MEMO

FROM

ROBERT C. LILIENTHAL

To Charlie DATE 9-17-74

For your information

Please reply and copy me

Your comments, please

Review and reply to _____

Review and call me

Review and forward to _____

Review and file

Attach previous correspondence and return to me

Review and return to me

COMMENTS/REPLY

The evening paper —

with your article!

Will keep you

posted! Regards Bob

in state history.

Wilson is one of the most interesting candidates in the nation this fall

Miracle Bean

In fields and laboratories around the globe, research continues into everything from miracle rice and such hybrid cereals as triticale to ways of extracting nourishment from fish meal and grass to help offset the malnutrition and starvation afflicting a third of the world's population.

Canadian farmers are cultivating fababeans, formerly scorned as horsebeans. A recently-developed variety of fababean contains up to 33 per cent protein—more than is

Goodell Believes in Military Obligation

By RON MASELKA

News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The career of former New York Sen. Charles E. Goodell was touched by poignant, unmistakable irony this week.

The Vietnam War, the same controversial issue that helped squelch his senatorial career in 1970, has helped propel him back into the national spotlight.

The Jamestown Republican, whose electoral defeat four years ago was largely attributed to his dove-like opposition to the Nixon Administration's war policies, was named chairman of the nine-member Clemency Board President Ford



Pentagon, Selective Service and White House officials and he expects the board itself will hold its first meeting within a week to formulate guidelines and name a staff.

He predicted there will be some "interesting interaction" among the board members, who include former U. S. Civil Rights Commission Chairman Rev. Theodore Hesburgh and retired Marine Gen. Lewis Walt.

The task ahead is a delicate one. Goodell feels that if the panel is united it could be "a potent force."

If deep divisions arise, he acknowledged, "we will have problems."

Gov. Rockefeller to serve the remainder of the Senate term of the late Robert F. Kennedy, stressed that he has always felt that an individual had an obligation of military service to his country.

"Those who because of conscience felt they could not serve," he added, "now have an opportunity to discharge that obligation in a way completely in harmony with their conscience."

THE CLEMENCY BOARD is expected to give priority consideration to imprisoned draft evaders (released on furloughs this week).

"I had hoped," Goodell said,



President Gerald R. Ford

Rep. Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill

A brief respite from presidential affairs and some relaxation with golf

Accepting Pardon Hints Guilt: Ford

© The Washington Post

WASHINGTON—President Gerald R. Ford, vigorously defending his pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon as in the best interests of the nation, nevertheless said Monday night that Nixon's acceptance of a pardon could be construed as an admission of guilt.

The fact that members of the House Judiciary Committee, unanimously agreed Nixon was guilty of an impeachable offense "is very persuasive evidence," Ford said in a televised news conference.

His statements constituted a reversal of the position Ford

old wounds when he pardoned Nixon.

He conceded that the pardon "created more antagonism than I anticipated," but he said that his "top priority" was the health of the nation.

Looking down the road, he said, the spectacle of a former president in the spotlight and

"I had no secret reason" for issuing the pardon, Ford declared in answer to the news conference's first question.

In a brief opening statement noting the beginning of the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah, and its emphasis on examining the deeds of the past year, Ford seemed to be explaining his position on the pardon. He said that "the record of the past year does not have to be endlessly relived but can be transformed by commitment, new insights and new actions in the year to come."

Ford said he had no inside information on the former presi-

Courier Express

Vol. CXL No 59

Buffalo, NY

Tuesday, September 17, 1974

(front page)



Courier Express
(front page)
September 17, 1974

he was thinking of the
nation's health and how to heal
pected to have
eligibility in 1981.

Ford Grants Conditional Amnesty

Courier-Express Wire Services

WASHINGTON—President Gerald P. Ford set in motion Monday government machinery to grant conditional amnesty to Vietnam era draft evaders and deserters if they reaffirm their allegiance to the United States and work for up to 24 months in public service jobs.

Hours later, at a nationally broadcast news conference, Ford said the move was an effort to bind up wounds left by the unpopular war, and was unrelated to the pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon except that the pardon, too, was intended to bind up the nation's wounds.

in before next Jan. 31, reaffirm their allegiance and agree to spend up to 24 months in approved public service jobs, such as being a hospital orderly.

The President set no minimum period of alternate service, but said the 24-month requirement can be reduced "for mitigating circumstances."



then, covered the Southern Tier of New York State.

During his tenure in the Senate, Goodell was a frequent and vocal critic of the Nixon Administration. His strong stand against the administration brought about his defeat in 1970 when he ran for a full six-year term. The Senate seat was captured by James L. Buckley who ran on the Conservative ticket with Nixon backing.

Goodell has moved his law office from Jamestown to New York City and more recently to Washington, D.C.

Reaction to Ford's announcement was mixed.

Among the Democrats, House Speaker Carl Albert said he accepted the President's leadership but added, "I don't know what he is, going to do, to t

Conditional amnesty proposals coolly received by American draft evaders and deserters in Canada Page

Phone numbers for evaders and deserters provided by the White House for those seeking information Page

Former Senator Carl Goodell says his goal as Clergy Board chairman is 'maximum justice' Page

VFW head raps offer of amnesty Page

Courier Express
 Vol. CXL, No. 59
 Buffalo, NY
 Tuesday, September 17, 1974
 (page four)



THORNSBY

FICHO MCLYDEN



"Well, gee, after all, it's a 20-center!"

Waldheim Reports

Ford Thanks Scout Troop

OMAHA, Neb. (AP)—President Gerald R. Ford expressed appreciation Monday to Boy Scout Troop 388 for cleaning up the vacant lot where his birthplace home once stood.

Ford's telegram noted the President was a scout and was "grateful for the experience." He sent "warm greetings."

Eight members of the scout troop went to 32nd and Woolworth on Aug. 19, spending some time cleaning up the lot. The three-story house there had burned in 1971.

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Metro Bus, your publicly-owned, regional bus system is now operating the former D&F Transit routes between Buffalo, Angola and Lotus Bay.

Fares and routings for our new customers will remain the same. However, don't be surprised

Goodell Says His Goal Is 'Maximum Justice'

WASHINGTON (AP)—As a U.S. senator, Charles E. Goodell sought to end the Vietnam war. Now, as head of President Gerald R. Ford's new clemency board, he hopes to find "the maximum justice available to us" for the men whose opposition brought them prison or dishonor.

"We had great divisions over the war in Vietnam; there were people of conscience on both sides," Goodell said in an interview Monday.

"People of conscience on both sides became rather intolerant of each other. The country suffered some very deep wounds, leaving aside the vicious wounds of men we lost and who were disabled.

Healing Need Seen

"It's time we healed those wounds as best we can," Goodell said. I tried to contribute to the ending of the war in a way that was respectful of those who believed in the war. Now I have great convictions about the need for us to pull together and

do the maximum justice available to us."

Goodell's opposition to the war, as a Republican senator from New York, earned the administration's enmity. He became former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's favorite "radiclib" target in 1970 and lost the election to Conservative Party candidate James L. Buckley.

"I'm pleased to be back in position of some influence over matters I feel very deeply about," said Goodell, now a member of a New York-Washington law firm.

No Rancor Felt

"I certainly feel no vindictive-

ness," he said. "I feel no pleasure over the agony of others or what has transpired in the last several years. I'm very proud to be given what I consider a very difficult assignment by the President."

As chairman of the nine-member board, he said "we probably will not seek out people of extremes on the issue either way. The President has taken a middle approach."

There will be Goodell said, "the inevitable differences that will appear to be unfair, but no process is perfect. We are just going to have to do the best we can."

Goodell said he had not been part of the process of structuring the amnesty program, but had made comments and suggestions to the people who were.

He said he was called by the President last Saturday, asking him to be chairman of the board. Goodell said he then was briefed on the program, adding:

"I found that it was basically in harmony with my own thinking and I said yes."

Yanks in Canada Cool to Amnesty

© New York Times News Service

MONTREAL—President Gerald R. Ford's offer of conditional amnesty was coolly received Monday by American draft evaders and deserters in Canada, the country that has attracted the largest number of them over the years.

Some of the young exiles said that they would consider Ford's offer of "earned re-entry." But others, in interviews across Canada, reiterated their opposition to any kind of involuntary service carrying the implication that they had done something

said Harvey Sachs, a 22-year-old draft evader who now conducts a symphony in Ontario. "But I've been here seven years. I've become a Canadian, and it's absurd to suggest that I take two years off for a period of penal servitude in the States!"

Line Tossed To Amnesty Seekers

WASHINGTON (AP)—The White House provided the following directory of phone numbers and addresses Monday for draft evaders and military deserters seeking information about participating in the clemency program proclaimed by President Ford:

Courier Express

(page four)

September 17, 1974

VFW Head Raps Offer of Amnesty

KANSAS CITY, Mo. (UPI)—The national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars said Monday President Gerald R. Ford's offer of amnesty to Vietnam war draft resisters was an injustice to those who served.

"The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has learned with extreme regret of the President's Executive Order offering amnesty to those

"The VFW firmly believes that the President's action does a gross injustice to those who served honorably, those who died and received wounds, those who were for long imprisoned and underwent torture.

Ask for Justice

Will



*Courier Express
(page four)
September 17, 1974*

widen

zill, which similarly has eyed eagerness for Japanese, recently has begun to complain about a concentration of these investment in the Sao Paulo - and in the real estate business. Complaints have risen despite the fact that 181 of the 300 Japanese firms have invested \$872.4 million in and are engaged in manufacturing. Canada, which wants to start exploiting its natural resources before they are sold in semi-finished or finished form, has been complaining that Japan is only interested in buying raw materials.

Goodell to lead clemency board

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Ford on Monday designated former Republican Sen. Charles E. Goodell of New York, a critic of the Vietnam War, to be chairman of the nine-member Presidential Clemency Board that will consider the cases of draft evaders and deserters already convicted by military or civilian courts.

Goodell, 48, now is in private law practice. He is an old friend of the President.

The other board members are:

Dr. Ralph Adams, 59, president of Troy State University, Troy, Alabama; James P. Dougovita, 28, a decorated Vietnam veteran who is a full-time teaching aide of minority students in the Department of Applied Technology, Michigan Tech University; Los Angeles lawyer Robert H. Finch, 51, former secretary of health, education and welfare and White House counselor in the Nixon administration; The Rev. Theodor Hesburgh, 57, president of the

Clemency chief

Former Republican Senator Charles E. Goodell of New York, an outspoken dove on the Vietnam War, was named yesterday by his close friend, President Ford, to serve as chairman of the nine-member clemency board that will review draft evasion and desertion cases. (UPI)

Goodell summoned from political exile

WASHINGTON (AP) — Charles E. Goodell, who tried as a senator to hasten the end of the Vietnam war, has been summoned from political exile to help Vietnam-era outcasts return to American society.

"I'm pleased to be back in a position of some influence over matters I feel very deeply about," Goodell said Monday as he set to work as chairman of the clemency review board created under President Ford's conditional amnesty program.

As an appointed senator from New

In 1970, Nixon endorsed Conservative party candidate James L. Buckley, who won. A Democrat took away liberal votes. Goodell came in third.

Goodell said he took no pleasure in the undoing of his old political foes.

"I felt no vindictiveness toward Spiro Agnew or Mr. Nixon," he said in an interview. "I obviously disagreed with many of the things they did... But I also agreed with many of the things President Nixon did, opening to the Soviet Union, China, the revised ap-

Courier Express 9-12-74

Ford Grants Conditional Amnesty

Courier-Express Wire Services

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Hours later, at a nationally broadcast news conference, Ford said the move was an effort to bind up wounds left by the unpopular war, and was unrelated to the pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon except that the pardon, too, was intended to bind up the nation's

in before next Jan. 31, reaffirm their allegiance and agree to spend up to 24 months in approved public service jobs, such as being a hospital orderly.

The President set no minimum period of alternate service, but said the 24-month requirement



then, covered the Southern Tier of New York State.

During his tenure in the Senate, Goodell was a frequent and vocal critic of the Nixon Administration. His strong stand against the administration brought about his defeat in 1970 when he ran for a full six-year term. The Senate seat was captured by James L. Buckley who ran on the Conservative ticket with Nixon backing.

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Among the Democrats, House Speaker Carl Albert said he is accepting the President's leadership but added, "I don't know what he is going to do, to tell

Conditional amnesty proposal coolly received by American draft evaders and deserters in Canada Page 4

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Conditional Amnesty Is Given OK by Ford

★ From Page 1

left a congressional hearing, Saxbe said Ford's plan "goes right down the line with recommendations submitted by the Justice and Defense Dept.'s"

No congressional action is required for the program, which was enacted under the presidential powers of the Constitution.

Ford used those same provisions eight days ago to grant an unconditional pardon to former

appreciation of our individual rights and responsibilities and our common purpose as a nation, whose future is always more important than its past."

Clemency Board Members

Some members of the board are:

—The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, 57, president of Notre Dame University and former chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

—Robert H. Finch, 51, who

Goodell Says His Goal Is 'Maximum Justice'

Courier Express
9-17-77

WASHINGTON (AP)—As a U.S. senator, Charles E. Goodell sought to end the Vietnam war. Now, as head of President Gerald R. Ford's new clemency board, he hopes to find "the maximum justice available to us" for the men whose opposition brought them prison or dishonor.

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As chairman of the nine-member board, he said "we probably will not seek out people of extremes on the issue either way. The President has taken a middle approach."

There will be Goodell said, "the inevitable differences that will appear to be unfair, but no process is perfect. We are just going to have to do the best we can."

Goodell said he had not been

Where to Call or Write For Data on Clemency

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16

The White House announced today that telephone inquiries about terms of the new clemency program for draft evaders or military deserters should be directed to the following:

DRAFT EVADERS — Department of Justice (202) 739-4281.

MILITARY ABSENTEES—
Navy (202) 694-2007 or (202) 694-1936; Marine Corps (703) 694-8526; Army (317) 542-3417; Air Force (512) 652-4104; Coast Guard (202) 426-

Steps for Reconciliation

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16—Following are the procedures to be followed by convicted and unconvicted draft evaders and military absentees under the reconciliation program proclaimed today by President Ford:

Unconvicted Draft Evader

1. Report to United States Attorney where offense was committed.
2. Acknowledge allegiance to the United States by agreeing with the United States Attorney to perform 24 months alternate service or less based on mitigating circumstances.
3. Perform alternate service under the auspices of the director of Selective Service.
4. Director of Selective Service issues certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service.
5. Receipt by United States Attorney of certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service.
6. Dismissal of indictment or dropping of charges.

Unconvicted Military Absentee (including Coast Guard)

1. Report as prescribed by the military department concerned or for members of the Coast Guard report to the Secretary of Transportation.
2. Oath of allegiance to United States.
3. Agree with the concerned military department to perform 24 months alternate service or less based upon mitigating circumstances.
4. Upon request, military department forgoes prosecution and issues undesirable discharge.
5. Perform alternate service under the auspices of the director of Selective Service.
6. Director of Selective Service issues certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service.
7. Receipt of a certificate of satisfactory completion of alternate service by the concerned military department.
8. Clemency discharge substituted for undesirable discharge.

Convicted Draft Evader

TRANSMITTAL MEMO

FROM

ROBERT C. LILIENTHAL

To Charlie DATE 9/17/74

For your information

Please reply and copy me

Your comments, please

Review and reply to _____

Review and call me

Review and forward to _____

Review and file

Attach previous correspondence and return to me

Review and return to me

COMMENTS/REPLY

Keeping you posted - on the local front!

Respectfully

Bob

Ford Grants Conditional Amnesty

Courier-Express Wire Services

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Hours later, at a nationally broadcast news conference, Ford said the move was an effort to bind up wounds left by the unpopular war, and was unrelated to the pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon except that the pardon, too, was intended to bind up the nation's wounds.

In disclosing his conditional amnesty plan, Ford declared it is time to bind up the wounds of the past "so that we may all get going on the pressing problem of the present."

The amnesty program was

in before next Jan. 31, reaffirm their allegiance and agree to spend up to 24 months in approved public service jobs, such as being a hospital orderly.

The President set no minimum period of alternate service, but said the 24-month requirement could be reduced "for mitigating circumstances."

Clemency Board Set Up

For men already convicted or punished for desertion or draft evasion, Ford established a nine-member clemency board to review their cases "as equitably and as impartially as possible."



Charles E. Goodell
... board chairman

E. Goodell of New York to be chairman of the clemency board. Goodell, a native of James-

then, covered the Southern Tier of New York State.

During his tenure in the Senate, Goodell was a frequent and vocal critic of the Nixon Administration. His strong stand against the administration brought about his defeat in 1970 when he ran for a full six-year term. The Senate seat was captured by James L. Buckley who ran on the Conservative ticket with Nixon backing.

Goodell has moved his law office from Jamestown to New York City and more recently to Washington, D.C.

Reaction to Ford's announcement was mixed.

Senate Republican whip Robert Griffin of Michigan hailed it as a courageous, compassionate move and House Republican leader John Rhodes of Arizona said it should have broad support in Congress.

Among the Democrats, House Speaker Carl Albert said he is accepting the President's leadership but added, "I don't know what he is going to do, to tell

Conditional amnesty proposal coolly received by American draft evaders and deserters in Canada Page 4

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VFW head raps offer of amnesty Page 4

the truth." Sen. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said he would give full support to the program. Sen. James B. Allen, D-Ala., said the action was unfair to those who served in Vietnam.

Conditional Amnesty Is Given OK by Ford

★ From Page 1

left a congressional hearing, Saxbe said Ford's plan "goes right down the line with recommendations submitted by the Justice and Defense Dept.'s"

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Ford described the main purpose of the program as "the

appreciation of our individual rights and responsibilities and our common purpose as a nation, whose future is always more important than its past."

Clemency Board Members

Some members of the board are:

—The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, 57, president of Notre Dame University and former chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

—Robert H. Finch, 51, who served as counselor to former President Nixon after being secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and who is now a



Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON BUREAU

9/17/74

Dear Senator Goodell:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed.

Thanks very much for your help. And good luck on your amnesty assignment.

Regards,

Bob
Bob Shogan



EMOTIONAL STATE CITED

Nixon Health Key Factor in Pardon

SEP 14 1974

BY ROBERT SHOGAN

Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—President Ford made his solitary and abrupt decision to pardon Richard M. Nixon largely because of his concern about the former President's health, particularly his emotional condition.

That conclusion emerges from interviews by Times reporters with many of the principal figures concerned.

But important questions about the pardon remain unanswered, as the President himself conceded Friday. He told a group of Republican gubernatorial candidates that he had not disclosed all of the reasons for his decision.

White House aides said the answers, which only the President can supply, might be given at a press

Mr. Nixon, said: "It's obvious that what happened is that someone spoke to Ford and described Nixon's emotional condition as very grave, very serious."

Who this someone, or these someones, might be was the subject of intense speculation. Among the obvious possibilities were members of Mr. Nixon's family. One name prominently mentioned was that of Edward F. Cox, the former President's son-in-law. Cox, a New York lawyer, refused to accept a telephone call from The Times.

However, further support for the health theory came from Melvin R. Laird, perhaps the most influential of Mr. Ford's intimates, who played golf with him Saturday and Sunday.

FORD OFFERS AMNESTY PROGRAM REQUIRING 2 YEARS PUBLIC WORK; DEFENDS HIS PARDON OF NIXON

9/17/74
"AN ACT OF MERCY"

Goodell Is Named Head
of Clemency Unit—
Hesburgh Included

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16—

President Ford offered conditional amnesty today to thou-

Goodell to Head Clemency Board

Star News 9/16/74

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Goodell, 48, now is in private law practice. He is an old friend of the President, and was one of the group of

Dr. Ralph Adams, 59, president of Troy State University in Alabama and a longtime aide to Alabama Gov. George Wallace; James P. Dougovita, 28, a decorated Vietnam veteran now employed as a teaching aide working with minority students at Michigan Tech University; former Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert H. Finch, 51, now a lawyer in Los Angeles.

The Rev. Theodore Hes-



Charles Goodell, Aida Casanas O'Connor, Vernon E. Jordan

Goodell Heads Nine On Clemency Board

Washington, Sept. 16 (News Bureau)—Former New York Republican Sen. Charles E. Goodell, a close friend of President Ford and a strong opponent of the Vietnam war, will head a nine-member Clemency Review Board Ford appointed today to consider special cases under his conditional amnesty program.

The board, whose members have a wide spectrum of viewpoints on Vietnam and the amnesty question, includes two other New Yorkers: Vernon Jordan, 39, executive director of the National Urban League, and Aida Casanas O'Connor, 52, a lawyer serving as assistant

He is a brigadier general in the Alabama Air National Guard.

Other board members are the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, 57, president of Notre Dame University and a strong supporter of unconditional amnesty; Robert Finch, 51, a Los Angeles lawyer

Leon:
 Washington, S. Bureau)—The Watergate prosecutor's office asks Judge John J. Sirica to dismiss a subpoena from Nixon adviser John D. Ehrlichman for House notes and other

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...d. He will consider running
only if a presidential "vacu-
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Party.

Buffalo Evening News
**Ford Praises
Clemency Board** 9/17/75

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17
(UPI) — The outgoing Clemency Board was praised by President Ford Tuesday for its diligence in seeking to reconcile opponents of the war in Vietnam.

Mr. Ford, in a statement released by the White House one day after he signed an executive order terminating the limited clemency program, said: "Many deserving young Americans will have been helped" to find their place in American society.

The clemency program, announced by Mr. Ford Sept. 16, 1974, officially ended at midnight Monday. Mr. Ford also arranged a courtesy meeting Tuesday with the board to personally thank members.

LIGHT
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24"

Goodell Sees Viet Clemency Post As Chance to Heal Nation's Wounds

From News Wire Service

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — Charles E. Goodell, 48, who served as a New York State senator to hasten the end of the Vietnam war, has been summoned from political exile to help Vietnam-era outcasts return to American society.

"I'm pleased to be back in a position of some influence over matters I feel very deeply about," Mr. Goodell said Monday as he set to work as chairman of the Clemency Review Board created under President Ford's conditional amnesty program.

Mr. Goodell said he had no part in designing Mr. Ford's amnesty program.



tary and the courts have become more lenient and "I have faith that the process will be worked out on an individual basis fairly.

...

"I'M SURE there are going to be the inevitable differences that will appear to be unfair," he added. "But no process is perfect. We're just going to have to do the best we can."

Other members of the Clemency Review Board are:

— The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, 57, president of Notre Dame University and former chairman of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

— Robert H. Finch, 51, who



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CLEMENCY, NOT AMNESTY

President Gerald R. Ford set forth the conditions yesterday by which young Americans who evaded the draft or deserted from the armed forces during the Vietnam War can earn their way back into the nation's good graces.

Violators who went underground or fled the country to avoid prosecution under civil or military law must turn themselves in to proper authorities by next Jan. 31.

They will then be required to perform up to two years of nonmilitary public service. That period may be shortened if government authorities find extenuating circumstances in individual cases.

Mr. Ford also established a nine-member Presidential Clemency Board, which will examine the cases of men who have been convicted of draft-dodging or desertion.

To head the panel, the President chose an old House crony, Charles Goodell of New York. Goodell changed his political coloration overnight, from mild hawk to arch dove, after being appointed to succeed the late Robert F. Kennedy as a Senator in 1968.

The selection of Goodell very likely will raise the hackles of those—veterans organizations, families of GIs killed or maimed in Vietnam, and so on—who bitterly oppose any concessions to “war resisters.” However—

THE SHRILLEST INITIAL PROTESTS



Charles Goodell

The Inquiring Photographer

By JOHN STAPLETON

The News will pay \$10 for each question accepted for this column. Today's award goes to R. Rosenthal, 43-70 Kissena Blvd., Flushing, Queens.

THE QUESTION

Do you think President Ford's honeymoon with the American public is over as a result of his pardon of Richard Nixon?

WHERE ASKED

Various spots

THE ANSWERS

Norman W. Harris, Carmel,



N. Y., projects manager: “It certainly is. I think it is incumbent on President Ford to explain fully to the American people why he took this sudden and unexpected action.

Until he does, the public will be skeptical about his motives.”

Lisa Powers, actress: “Yes and things seem to be going from bad to worse. I read that this pardon gives Richard Nixon immunity against further investigation. Even though President Ford is well liked, the pardon has turned many against him.”



Louis P. Scandale, Troy Ave.,



Brooklyn, credit analyst: “No I think the majority of Americans think Nixon has suffered



Please give me

PARDON

Svosses:

9/18/74

War resisters' first reactions negative

Canadian group calls for boycott of Ford amnesty plan

By Don Sellar
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa

U.S. war resisters now carving out new lives in Canada have given a distinctly negative reaction so far to President Ford's amnesty offer.

Amex-Canada, a Toronto group representing draft resisters and military deserters living in exile, already has called for a boycott of the plan.

In the wake of President Ford's announcement, a spokesman for Amex predicted only a few resisters living in Canada will accept the amnesty's "punitive terms."

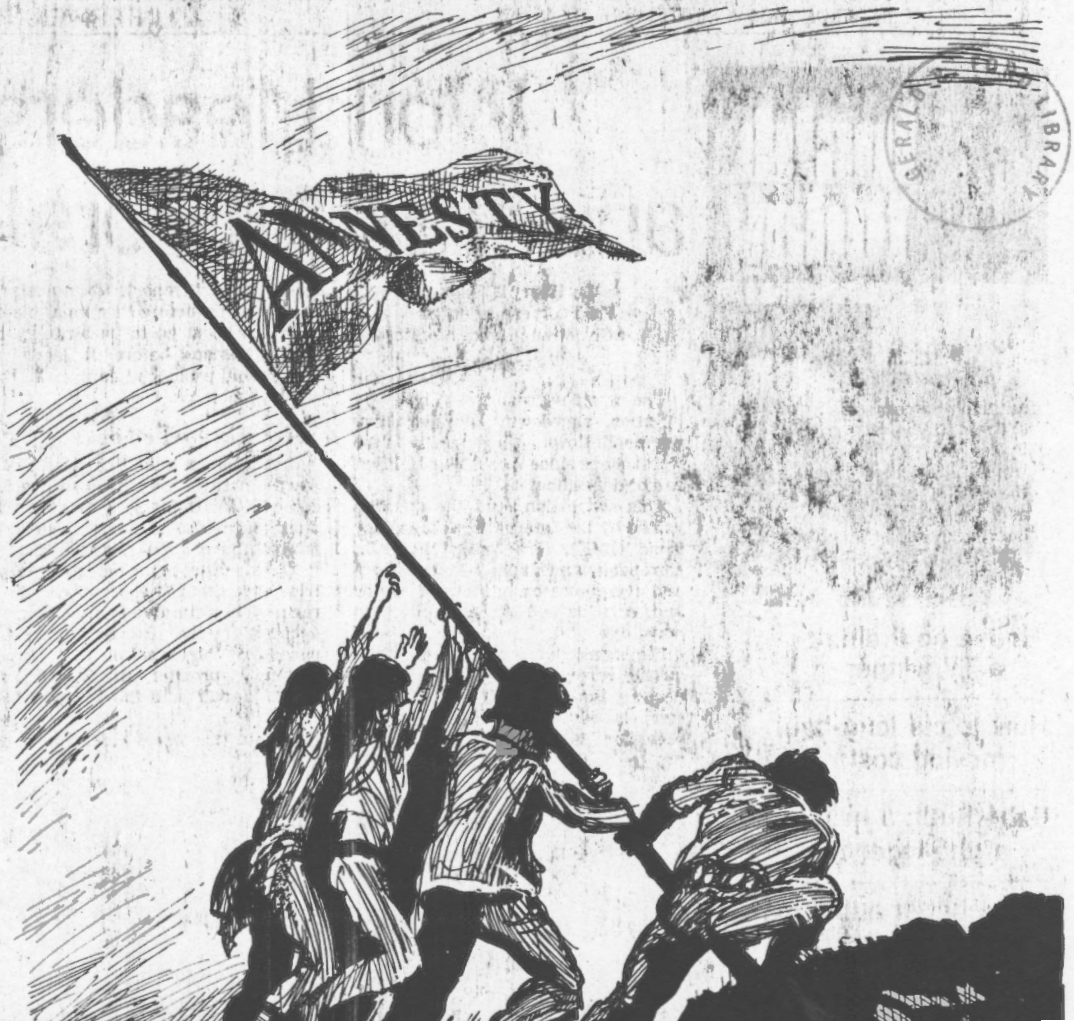
And U.S. Embassy officials reported here today no increase in the "small but steady stream" of resisters calling for advice about a return to America.

In fact, only one draft dodger, now an Ottawa University student, called the United States Information Service here Monday for details of Monday's announcement regarding the program.

Estimates differ widely

Estimates of the number of the war resisters in Canada vary considerably from the 4,500 figure given out by the U.S. Embassy staff to the 20,000 used by Amex.

Amex spokesman Gerry Condon says he expects a special conference of anti-draft groups from Europe and Canada this weekend in Toronto will



NY Post

9/18/74



Harriet Van Horne

PARDON & AMNESTY

One grows weary of Richard Nixon. Weary of his swollen leg, his self-pity and his smug certainty that the pinched and anxious taxpayers are going to pick up the bill for his maids, gardeners and valet.

I say let Ron Ziegler be his valet. He has the requisite servility. Nixon can be paid in old golf balls, which is how he should have been paid for his years of lies, insults and evasions in the White House.

However we try to banish the ex-President, he just won't go away. He's the incubus in the Oval Office; the ghost at the feast, the phoenix with phlebitis, if you'll forgive the phrase.

As old-time Nixon watchers know, this crafty man will squirm off every hook, slip through every noose and ultimately cheat both the courts and the history books of the full Watergate story. It is said that no scandal is hushed up forever, that the truth, like the sun after a storm, must emerge. In the Watergate case, one wonders.

So long as Richard Nixon has tentacles that can reach and old tape recordings that can incriminate—or embarrass—I suspect he will continue his mischief. As that handsome Republican, Rep. John Anderson of Illinois, remarked, "Why were we ever stupid enough to think this awful man would fade away like one of MacArthur's old soldiers?"

* * *

He'll not fade away while his daughter Julie has tongue to speak. Her expressions of filial devotion — so charming to see on the screen — are more artful and calculated than they seem.

There was beautiful timing in young Mrs. Eisenhower's decision to appear on NBC for a week, moderating a discussion program for housewives. It's also in order that she decided to be hostess for a week on the Mike Douglas Show. Both offers, I am advised, were made some time ago. By accepting them now, the President's ablest defender will command press conference time on TV and news coverage in the press.

If Public Television should decide to mount a production of "King Lear" within the next few months, Miss Julie would be well up in the part of Cordelia. And no one will fault her sincerity. ("So young, my lord, and true.")

With so much public outrage being directed at the Nixon pardon and the man who gave it, we are prevented from setting down to the nation's urgent business.

The problem of amnesty hasn't received the attention it merits. We probably worsen a bad situation by raging at the unconditional pardon for Nixon as if it were the quid

9/18/74 N.Y. Times

A Safe Return

By Marvin M. Karpatkin

President Ford's endorsement of amnesty in August, which culminated Monday in the proclamation of a conditional amnesty program, touched off an important national debate, long overdue, on what the conditions for amnesty should be, or whether there should be any conditions at all.

It is not sufficiently known, however, that large numbers of young men who left the United States rather than accept induction into the armed services have no need for any amnesty, absolute or conditional.

They do not require any act of Presidential or legislative grace because the United States Supreme Court and Federal appellate courts have established legal principles under which their induction orders are plainly unlawful.

One of the most unfortunate aspects of the entire amnesty discussion is that many of these young men abroad have never been authoritatively informed that their continuing voluntary exile may be completely unnecessary.

Some examples:

● In 1970, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Welsh v. United States* that conscientious objector status need not be based on religious beliefs: Sincerely held moral and ethical beliefs in opposition to participation in war in any form would suffice. Consequently

● One of the great national disgraces of the draft era was the inadequacy of preinduction physical examinations. The Army was compelled to discharge tens of thousands who never should have been found acceptable in the first place.

Federal courts finally began to insist that local boards perform their legal duty of reviewing every claim for deferment, including claims based on physical defects. The boards had previously, in violation of law, simply referred these claims to Army examiners, or in a shockingly large number of cases a clerk would merely file the claim away, and not refer it to anyone.

Under the Ford doctrine, established by the Court of Appeals in Boston in *United States v. Ford—Kevin Thomas Ford* was a draftee—and concurred in by virtually every Court of Appeals in the country, this kind of filing and forgetting makes an induction order illegal.

● Until their action had been outlawed by the courts, local boards had assumed the power, never granted by Congress, to "declare" a draftee "delinquent" because of some asserted failure to comply with regulations, and to impose three types of sanctions: punitive reclassification from a deferred classification to I-A, or "available for military service"; acceleration

WSJ 9/18/74

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Amnesty and Amity

Given the present mood of the capital, which Mr. Royster so effectively describes elsewhere on this page today, it probably is too much to expect a very positive reaction to Mr. Ford's offer of clemency to Vietnam war draft evaders and deserters.

Indeed there are some problems with the clemency plan. There is no perfect way to reconcile generosity to the prodigal son with fairness for those who did serve and suffer. But by and large, the President's program seems to us to effectively reconcile conflicting positions on this bitter issue. It has as much hope as any plan we could think of for furthering the President's purpose of trying to heal the nation's wounds.

There are, of course, those who immediately responded to the President's announcement by saying that the amnesty should have been un-

one who again wants to become a part of the nation should object to reaffirming his loyalty to it.

The plan also requires up to two years alternate service in some job that serves the public interest. To some objectors that sounds like a jail sentence but in fact it is not. The amount of supervision or denial of freedom is to be relatively small, considerably less, most likely, than the amount involved when one serves two years in a military branch. The whole point—and it seems to us a valid point—is to try to restore some equity between those youths who abided by the law and took their chances in the military services and those who did not. Without some such provision, veterans and veteran groups would have a legitimate complaint.

In this connection it would seem that the administrative flexibility of

9/18/74

Clemency for Some

President Ford prefaced his clemency program for draft resisters and deserters with all the right words and sentiments. He invoked a "national commitment to justice and mercy" and the need to "heal the scars of divisiveness."

Regrettably, those high-sounding words are not matched by the plan's implications and key administrative details. Its provisions make inadequate distinction between deserters and war-resisters, subjecting them both to a maximum of 24 months of alternate service and excluding the option of complete pardon. Yet, some courts have, in the past, availed themselves of the right to grant such pardons.

The alternate time to be served, moreover, will apparently be determined without assurance that the network of clemency-dispensing authorities actually apply comparable standards of judgment. There are no explicit provisions for either representation by counsel or the right to appeal.

Those specific flaws result to some degree from the fact that the authority to be exercised by the Clemency Review Board seems too narrowly limited to dealing only with the cases of those already convicted. Given a broader mandate, that body might approach the amnesty issue with the compassion to be expected from its chairman, former Senator Charles Goodell, himself an early critic of the war, and its members who include the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh.

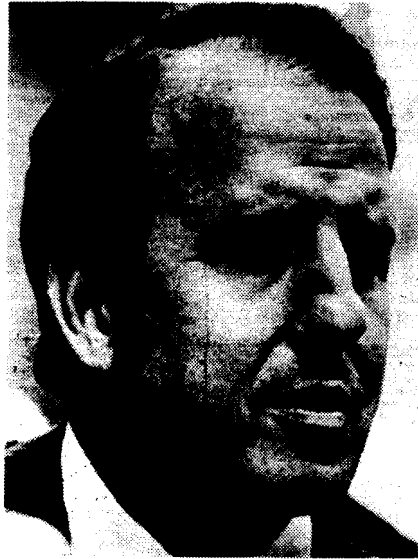
REVIEW PRESS-REPORTER

A Member of The Gannett Group

72nd YEAR SERVING THE COMMUNITY

BRONXVILLE, TOWN OF EASTCHESTER, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1974

PRICE TWENTY CENTS



CHARLES GOODELL

Allen Morgan

Few men leave their country behind as completely as Allen Morgan did. President Gerald Ford's offer of earned reentry is not even being considered by the former president of

Tuesday night. "I never really thought I was going home anyway."

Morgan's departure was calm enough, but it demanded

Amnesty: Three views

Charles Goodell

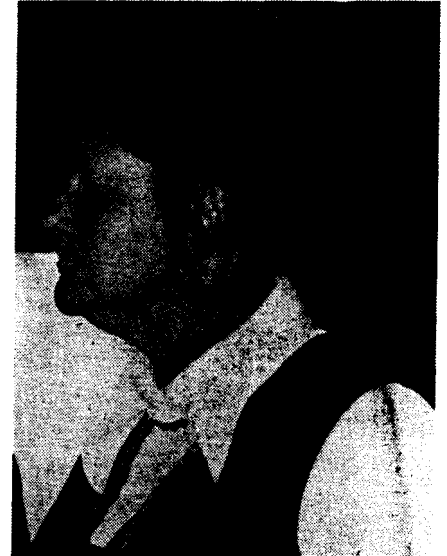
By MARK MOONEY
Staff Writer

"The right to protest is a right that I believe in very deeply but I also believe that every American has a duty to serve his country in time of war," ex-senator Charles Goodell said Tuesday, his first day as head of the federal clemency board.

"I respect those who did not want to discharge that obligation by fighting," he continued. "but my view is

"THE president asked me if I would accept the job," Goodell said, explaining why he took the post. "I'm a friend of his and I respect him so I agreed to do it."

The job, however, will be harder than accepting it, and his decisions whatever they will be, are sure to leave him between the anger of the war resisters and those who fought the war.



LOUISE RANSOM

Louise Ransom

For the last two years Louise Ransom has been director of Americans For Amnesty: President Ford's plan of conditional amnesty for draft evaders and war resist-

Gladwin Place, said Tuesday. A blunt woman, her energies were thrown into the antiwar movement after her son, Robert C. "Mike" Ransom Jr., was killed in Vietnam.

Amnesty plan review board criticized

By Sam Martino

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Stevens Point, Wis.

One of the people who helped shape President Ford's recently announced compromise amnesty plan feels Mr. Ford will lose credibility by seeking a review of every draft evader case.

Former Army Secretary Robert Froehlike says he agrees in principle with the Ford plan, which includes a clemency review board. But, he says, he would have preferred a blanket conditional amnesty, including a term of alternative service but without a

period of time to discuss the proposal of conditional amnesty with their parents, lawyers, and others.

By now, he said, after three, four, and five years of being draft dodgers, the evaders have rationalized their flight from military service.

Mr. Froehlike, a good friend of former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, earlier this year endorsed the adoption of a conditional amnesty program that would look with "mercy and compassion" on war resisters.

Mr. Froehlike said the President's proposal, in theory, is good but the practical aspects are not sound.

"I think we must assume that all draft evaders ran from conscience. I don't see how we can prove otherwise. Therefore, for draft evaders, I'd say no need for a board, if they come home and perform the alternative service. They are vindicated."

With deserters, he said, there should be military records bearing on alleged criminal conduct.

"I see no reason for amnesty to pertain to them," Mr. Froehlike said.

Mr. Froehlike, now president of Sentry Insurance Company, had been contacted by both the Justice Department and the White House for his views on the subject of amnesty prior

"I don't think this country is ready to have unconditional amnesty," he said. "Therefore, I think we should push for conditional amnesty as the best kind of amnesty . . . rather than wait a period of years for the country to be ready for unconditional amnesty."

He also suggested that draft evaders in Canada who wish to remain there be given visas to visit relatives in the United States.

"I would be liberal in allowing visas to draft dodgers who want to see friends and relatives and not be subject to arrest," Mr. Froehlike said. Many draft dodgers have started new

Pat called to note this

Loophole for Deserters²⁴⁷

9/20/73

The unsatisfactory nature of the clemency/amnesty patchwork pieced together by the Ford Administration has now been underscored by the discovery that the program affords preferred treatment to military deserters.

As a result of a loophole that appears to have been intentionally created by the Pentagon, deserters would escape all penalties other than an "undesirable" discharge. In contrast, war-resisters who followed the call of their conscience would be required to earn "clemency" discharges with as much as two years of alternative service. Although the military may quite understandably want to wash its hands of deserters, it is nevertheless unfair to give these men so obvious an advantage over those who opposed the war on principle.

Bureaucratic defenders of this discrepancy argue that the difference between the "undesirable" and the "clem-