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FACE THE NATION

June 6, 1976

This interview presents a major opportunity to reach voters in the last three primary states, as well as others across the Nation. CBS plans to show a small portion of it on its Saturday night news; it is also likely to be picked up on the Sunday TV news, Sunday radio spots, and the Monday newspapers.

The interviewers will be:

George Herman
Bob Schieffer
Helen Thomas

The following represent staff views on goals of the interview:

1. The ideal political lead would be your view that you are the best GOP candidate because you are the most qualified and the most electable. For a minority party to turn out an incumbent President -- especially one with your record of achievement -- would run a very strong risk of defeating not only the party's Presidential nominee, but many other GOP candidates as well.
2. While it would be improper to break the embargo on the new Harris poll showing you now have a 2-1 lead over Reagan among Republican voters, it would be helpful to foreshadow the poll so that it will receive maximum attention on Monday.

For example, you could say: "I have talked with Republican leaders and members of the Republican party across the country. Based on those conversations, I am convinced that while Mr. Reagan has pockets of strength in different regions, my support within the party is growing across the country and more and more Republicans are deciding that they prefer my candidacy over his. I think I have a very commanding lead over him among Republicans."

3. On busing, our recommendation is that you not go beyond what you have already said about your forthcoming proposals. Tricky questions are beginning to arise about the details and constitutionality, and with the legislation still in draft form, we may get tied in to arguments and details that we will want to change later.

Also, the Administration can argue much more effectively about its program once the full package is presented.

HUMPHREY-HAWKINS BILL

- Q. The Humphrey-Hawkins legislation, which is now under consideration in the Congress, would set an unemployment target of 3 percent and commit the government to meet the target by whatever means necessary. Why has your Administration opposed this bill?
- A. Because it is a cruel sham. It promises jobs it can't deliver without seriously damaging our whole economic system. Let me explain why:
- First, the bill would concentrate employment growth in the government rather than in the private sector. The result would be to create a bloated bureaucracy instead of permanent, productive employment.
- Second, although the budget costs of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill cannot be estimated precisely, they would be substantial. They would add greatly to the budget deficit at a time when we must have a reduction in the deficit, as I have proposed, if our present economic recovery is to continue.
- Third, the unemployment target of three percent is unrealistically low and efforts to achieve it through large-scale public works programs will be inflationary, will create unproductive government employment, will interfere with efforts to increase capital investment and to increase the standard of living of all Americans. In short, it will create dead end jobs -- dead end for those forced to take them, and expensive for the whole country.

My policies of pursuing recovery as rapidly as is consistent with avoiding re-igniting inflation are what is required to restore a healthy high-employment economy without inflation.

The worst part of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill -- and what its supporters must answer to -- is that it promises the unemployed something it cannot deliver. That's cruel. In the past 15 years, big government made too many promises to the American people which it could not keep. I think the American people are tired of being fooled.

BUSING

Q. Mr. President, there has been a great deal of attention in recent weeks to the issue of busing. Your Administration was talking about legislation to provide for an alternative to busing. Last Saturday you indicated that you would shortly send legislation to the Congress. What will the legislation provide for us?

A. Before I say anything about legislation, I would like to place this extremely sensitive issue into what I believe to be its proper context.

First of all, we must remember that this Nation has a fundamental commitment to achieving an integrated society where an individual's race creates no barriers. It wholeheartedly embraces that commitment. To me, it means that we must eliminate illegal discrimination and promote equal opportunity.

The Federal Government already plays a major role in seeking these objectives. We spend large sums for Civil Rights Enforcement. We also invest extensively in education and training programs designed to improve the capacities of underprivileged individuals to acquire good jobs. Much more needs to be done, but I think we should be proud of the significant progress that has been made towards eliminating discrimination.

Now, with regard to segregated school systems, and particularly with regard to busing, my objective is to create better educational opportunities in a manner consistent with the Nation's commitment to justice and to the elimination of illegal segregation.

In my view, forced school busing, while done with the best of intentions, has often disrupted the lives and impeded the education of the children affected. Therefore, I believe that ways must be found to minimize forced busing while also remaining true to the Nation's ideals and our educational goals. This is not an easy task, but it is my objective.

For a number of months we have been working within the Administration on legislation and other means of minimizing court-ordered busing. We now have draft legislation which appears to be a positive step in the course we are following. I plan to meet personally with a wide range of people outside the Administration to seek their views on what we are considering. Following those meetings, I plan to send a bill to the Congress.

Q. Aren't you playing politics, trying to win votes, by holding out the promise that you will be able to stop school busing through legislation or a court challenge?

A. Of course not. That's ridiculous. An issue as sensitive and important as this one should not be exploited for any supposed political advantage. Besides, if you know my record, you know my position on forced busing has not changed at all over the years.

Let me try to outline my position:

- I believe some courts have gone too far in ordering forced busing for the purpose of achieving racial balance in the schools. That kind of massive busing simply does not accomplish its purpose, which is to assure a quality education for all of our children. And that kind of massive busing has torn apart many communities.
- The courts should pay more attention to the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974, which I voted for as a member of Congress and signed into law as President. It lists seven steps to achieve a quality education, and to uphold the equal rights of all students, with busing to be used only as a last resort.
- I have taken a number of steps to minimize forced busing:
 1. I have directed Attorney General Levi to look for a case in which it would be proper and appropriate for my Administration to ask the Supreme Court to reconsider the use of massive forced busing as a remedy for school segregation.

2. At my direction, legislation is being drafted which would limit the use of forced busing. I also am considering ways to help communities comply with the laws before their cases reach the stage that a court orders massive forced busing. I will make my decisions on these matters and announce them, after I have weighed them carefully and considered the views of others, such as members of Congress, civil rights leaders, Constitutional experts and State and local officials.

-- Finally, I want to emphasize that I am opposed to segregation and will fulfill my Constitutional duty to uphold the law. But I am determined not to let massive, court-ordered busing for the purpose of racial balance disrupt either our communities or the lives and educations of the very children we are supposed to be helping.

Q. If you are so opposed to busing, why don't you support a Constitutional amendment forbidding busing?

A. Such a Constitutional amendment wouldn't get the required two-thirds vote in the Senate and House or be ratified by 38 State legislatures.

Anyone who tells the American people a Constitutional amendment to stop busing can pass is not being fair and square. He's kidding people. The solution I favor, through legislation and court review, is practical and can be put into effect relatively soon.

Q. Is your legislative proposal constitutional?

A. Yes.

Q. You say you can name many court cases where the court-ordered busing was beyond what was needed to remedy segregation caused by official school board actions. What are those cases?

A. While the Attorney General is seeking a case on which to challenge the extent of busing, I don't think it's proper for me to criticize specific court rulings.

Q. Haven't the courts already rejected your argument that busing should be limited to those schools segregated by official action?

A. That is an issue we are dealing with as we draft the legislation.

UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES

Q. What are you doing to win over the uncommitted delegates?

A. I will ask the uncommitted delegates to support me because of my proven record of accomplishments as President and because I am clearly the Republican with the best chance of winning in November.

(Guidance: Jim Baker is setting up a State and regional structure to communicate with the delegates.)

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

- Q. The recovery in the economy has been a good deal stronger than many critics expected. But some critics charge that the recovery is based upon large deficits and that next year will see more inflation and perhaps even another recession. Is this a pre-election recovery which will fade out next year?
- A. That's just political rhetoric! The recovery has been stronger than expected. It is based on very firm and solid foundations; every sign indicates the recovery is going to be long-lived and durable, extending through this year, 1977 and beyond.

Production, sales order and employment are all rising rapidly. Inflation has receded. Confidence of consumers and businessmen in the future health of the U. S. economy has been restored to a very substantial degree.

Although unemployment dropped in May to 7.3 percent (which means that 300,000 Americans went back to meaningful work), unemployment are still too high. But we are moving in the right direction.

What we require is a continuation of my steady, prudent policies, and that will assure continued, steady progress. The budget which I proposed calls for a significant reduction in the growth of Federal spending. Too large and sudden a reduction would tend to slow the recovery. Too small a reduction would threaten to rekindle inflation.

ANTI-WASHINGTON FEELING

- Q. You have been a politician in Washington for over 25 years. Isn't that going to hurt you in this year of a strong anti-Washington feeling among voters?
- A. (With a smile) I've often wondered this year why so many politicians who say they are anti-Washington are trying so hard to convince the voters to send them to Washington.

Seriously, I don't believe the so-called anti-Washington feeling will hurt me for several reasons:

1. I offer the voters experience: 22 months of dealing with complex domestic, economic and foreign policy problems in the White House and, before that, 25 years of dealing with those issues, and working constructively with both Democrats and Republicans in Congress. I think voters want a tested, experienced President.
2. If there is an anti-Washington feeling in the country, it is not directed, indiscriminately, against all public officials. I have faith that the American people are able to determine for themselves which public officials have served them faithfully, honestly, openly and with the best interests of the people always in mind.

3. Finally, I share some of the complaints about Washington, and I am working hard to correct what's wrong: I have proposed cutting the growth of Government spending...giving people a bigger tax cut...reducing unnecessary Government red tape and forms...eliminating needless, costly Government regulations...and, generally, getting the Government off your back.

ANTITRUST LEGISLATION

- Q. As you know, the Senate is currently considering S.1284, an omnibus antitrust bill. What is your position on this legislation?
- A. I question whether that particular legislation is a responsible way to ensure that our antitrust laws are vigorously enforced.

One part of it expanding civil investigative powers of the Justice Department is similar to what I have already proposed. However, there is another section of the bill--the so-called *parens patriae* section--that is unwise.

I hope that the Congress will revise this legislation before it reaches my desk so that our antitrust efforts can remain effective.

BEST GOP CANDIDATE IN THE FALL

Q. Governor Reagan's people are arguing that he would be a better Republican candidate in the fall because he can win in the South and in the West against the Democrats. Why do you think you'll have a better chance in the fall than Reagan?

A. I would submit that the Governor's people are overlooking three fundamental facts:

-- In every major opinion poll, I run consistently better than the Governor against any potential Democratic nominee. Reagan is always several points behind me.

-- Secondly, unlike Reagan, I have demonstrated in the primaries that I am the only candidate with broad, national support. I have beaten him in the Northeast (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, etc.), in the South (Florida), in the border states (Kentucky, Tennessee), in the Midwest (Michigan, Illinois) and in the Far West (Oregon). The Governor has yet to demonstrate that his support extends beyond certain regions of the country.

-- Finally, I have a proven record in the office, an asset that he conspicuously lacks. And my record is a good one -- peace, prosperity and trust.

When you add it all up, the only sound conclusion is that my national candidacy is a stronger one than his and that I stand a very good prospect of winning in November.

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6/4/76
D.G.

GALLUP POLL

Q. A Gallup Poll published last Sunday showed you losing to Jimmy Carter. Doesn't that indicate you would not be the strongest Republican candidate in the general election?

A. Not at all. That same poll -- and every other poll I have seen -- shows Governor Reagan running worse against potential Democrats than I do.

As for my own chances in November, it is clear to me that as the voters begin to focus in more closely on candidates like Jimmy Carter -- as they get a better focus of where he stands and where he wants to go -- my own prospects will considerably improve. That process may be already happening to Governor Carter in the Democratic primaries.

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6/4/76
D.G.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

Q. You have said you looked forward to a race against Hubert Humphrey. How do you feel about a race against Jimmy Carter?

A. In many ways it might be better to run against Senator Humphrey because the voters would then have a clear choice on the major issues of the day:


- the size of government spending;
- the size of government deficits;
- the degree of government interference in the private economy;
- the extent to which government encourages people to rely upon Washington to solve their problems;
- etc.

It is my impression that Governor Carter shares many of Senator Humphrey's basic views on these issues, but he has been so vague that it's hard to say.

In any event, I will welcome a race against either one and I am fully confident that I will prevail.

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6/4/76
D.G.



CAMPAIGN ASSESSMENT

Q. You have lost more primaries than any sitting President in more than 50 years. How do you explain that?

A. First of all, I would dispute the suggestion that I've done badly in the election season.

-- The tabulations of this network, CBS, show that I have a lead of more than 150 delegates over my opponent.

-- Looking at the total votes cast in Republican primaries so far, I am maintaining a good lead.

-- And when you look at the States where I have won -- from New England to Florida, across the Midwest in states like Michigan and Pennsylvania, and in the Far West in Oregon -- it's evident that I'm the only candidate in either party who has demonstrated broad, national appeal. Those are the ingredients of a national victory this November.

* * *

As to the success that Governor Reagan has achieved against an incumbent President, we ought to keep a few facts in mind:

- Governor Reagan first launched his bid to become President some eight years ago. In those eight years, he has spent a good deal of time traveling around the country, making friends and building up a constituency for this kind of race. By contrast, I have never sought the Presidency before nor during the 22 months that I have been in office have I been able to preoccupy myself with building a national campaign.
- Secondly, you have to recognize that within the Republican Party, just as in the Democratic Party, there are large blocs of voters who are very committed to a certain political viewpoint. In the Republican Party, that bloc is conservative and they have for several years seen Governor Reagan as a champion of their point of view. To them, I represent the moderates in the Republican Party.
- Finally, I think we would all agree that Mr. Reagan is a very smooth, polished performer on the campaign trail.

Given all these realities, it is not surprising that he has won some of the primaries. But most people know, I think, that when it comes to matching his credentials against my record

and experience as President, and when it comes to matching his appeal to conservatives against my broader, national appeal, then it is clear that my candidacy is much stronger and really, I am the only Republican in the race who can win in November.

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6/4/76
D.G.

FIRST BALLOT VICTORY

Q. Why do you seem so confident of a first ballot victory in Kansas City?

A. Let's look just at the figures for a moment:

-- By the calculations here at CBS, I already have 805 committed delegates and thus need only 325 more to secure the nomination on the first ballot. This Tuesday there are 331 more delegates at stake in Ohio, New Jersey and California. If I win Ohio and New Jersey as expected, and if I can manage to win in California, then it would clearly be all over.

-- If, on the other hand, I lose California as some predict, then I am still likely to be far ahead of Mr. Reagan. By winning substantial victories in Ohio and New Jersey, we could pull within 180 delegates of the nomination. That's only 40% of the remaining uncommitted delegates, and I am confident that I can win the allegiances of at least that many.

Let's also recognize that the nomination involves far more than arithmetic. The delegates who come to Kansas City will be asking themselves: Who is the best leader in our party? Who has demonstrated most clearly that he can be a good President? Who has the best chance of winning in November?

Personally, I think there's only one answer to those questions, and that's why I remain confident of a first ballot victory -- and of a victory in November.

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6/4/76
D.G.

USING THE PRESIDENCY FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

- Q. Mr. President, aren't you using the incumbency for your own political purposes, staging events and making decisions in order to attract votes against Mr. Reagan?

OR

- Q. Hasn't Mr. Reagan's challenge forced you far to the right, causing you to make decisions which are more and more conservative in an effort to win primary votes?

- A. The short answer to your question is: "No."

The decisions I must make day in and day out in the Oval Office are based on the same middle-of-the-road political philosophy I have followed for all of my 26 years of public service. I have only one consideration in mind: what is best for the American people I serve.

I can assure you that what may be popular with some voters in this week's primary States is not a factor when I make my decisions.

(With a smile) I can tell you this: If I wanted to do only what was politically popular, I would not have recommended an increase in social security taxes...or vetoed a tax cut just before Christmas in 1975...or urged the Congress to show some fiscal responsibility by placing a ceiling on Government pay raises and pension increases...or vetoed a number of programs that were popular with some special interest groups but were inflationary and bad for the country as a whole.

Some of those decisions were not popular...they were not good politics. But I made those decisions because I believed they were in the best, long-range interest of all the American people.

Now, I am asking the American people to give me a mandate for four full years in the White House so that I can continue to carry out my foreign and domestic politics. I have faith that the American people recognize the long-term correctness of the course I have charted and will give me that mandate.

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REAGAN SUPPORT

Q. Ronald Reagan indicated recently that he would likely withhold "immediate" support for you if you win the Republican Presidential nomination. What concessions -- such as firing Secretary Kissinger or accepting Reagan platform planks on Panama, etc. -- would you accept to win Reagan's support?

A. I expect to win the nomination on the first ballot. And when I do, I expect all Republicans to unite in support of me. Despite some unfortunate campaign rhetoric, I believe Reagan shares my basic philosophy:

I stand for peace, through responsible relations with other nations and through a strong military defense. I stand for expanded rights for the individual. I stand for economic prosperity without inflation. I stand for making government more responsive to the needs of all Americans and less intrusive in the lives of everyone.

I'm sure Governor Reagan will enlist as a loyal supporter in my campaign to win the November election because he wants my Republican philosophy to prevail.

Q. Suppose he wins the nomination. Will you support him?

A. I don't think that will happen. I expect to win the nomination on the first ballot, and the election in November.

CAMPAIGN ISSUE

- Q. What do you see as the single most important issue in the upcoming general election?
- A. The most important question the voters must ask this November is which of the candidates is best qualified to lead the Nation.

I am putting myself forward as that candidate because I believe that my record over the past 22 months -- a record based upon the restoration of peace, rising prosperity, and public trust -- provides ample evidence that I am the best candidate to carry forward in this office.

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6/4/76
D.G.

WAYNE HAYS

Q. Do you have any comment on the Wayne Hays scandal?

A. That really is a matter for the House of Representatives and the Justice Department. I should not comment on the facts while those investigations are going on.

I might point out that in 1971, before the House voted to give the House Administration Committee so much authority over distribution of perquisites, I said that it was a bad idea and could lead to scandal. I am sorry to see that my prophecy may have come true.

I should also say that I issued guidelines for ethical conduct for members of the executive branch shortly after I took office. I have done my best to see that those guidelines have been followed.

Q. But wasn't your personal photographer, David Hume Kennerly, one of those involved with Elizabeth Ray?

A. David has spoken to the press on this matter, pointing out that he has only seen this woman once and that he is a bachelor. As long as his private life does not interfere with his public duties -- and it hasn't so far -- then I see no reason to comment further.

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6/4/76
D.G.

CALIFORNIA

Q. Your decision not to return to California to campaign looks like you have written that State off as a lost cause. Have you?

A. Not at all. I think I have been closing the gap there, and I believe I can win on Tuesday.

The reasons I didn't make another campaign trip to California are:

- 1) As President, I don't have unlimited time to be on the campaign trail. Most of my travel has been centered around weekends, and as part of that I have recently made a major trip to California. On the other hand, I have not been to New Jersey at all, and I have made only a limited swing in Ohio. So this weekend I decided that instead of going back to California, it would be better to combine a New Jersey and Ohio trip.
- 2) Secondly, I am being well represented in California by members of my family, including Betty. There are also some other spokesmen there on my behalf. And my campaign is running some advertisements explaining my policies and record.

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6/4/76
D.G.

SUMMIT CONFERENCES

- Q. Why are you calling the Puerto Rican summit at this time? Isn't this just a political ploy to enhance your electoral chances?
- A. In the past, world leaders have met frequently to deal with crises. Today's complex problems require that leaders meet in order to avoid them. This requires a continuing process of close consultation and cooperation. The United States cannot sit out of this process for 12 months simply because we have elections this year.

As you know, when we met in Rambouillet last fall, the world was experiencing severe economic difficulties. We charted a course at Rambouillet that is guiding our countries toward full economic recovery. Now we are going to Puerto Rico to ensure that the recovery is sustained -- that is brings lasting benefits.

Finally, are you seriously suggesting that the leaders of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada would come all the way to Puerto Rico to take part in a charade solely for my own political purposes? That's silly on the face of it.

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6/4/76
D.G.

VICE PRESIDENT

Q. You have mentioned the names of many people as possible Vice Presidential candidates. But what specific qualities will you look for in a running mate?

A. The first and foremost quality I will look for in a Vice Presidential running mate will be the ability to step in and take over as the President should that need arise. That always has to come first.

Secondly, I'd be less than frank if I didn't say I also will consider my running mate's assets to help win the November election.

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6/4/76
D.G.

NELSON ROCKEFELLER

Q. What role do you see for Nelson Rockefeller if you are elected in November?

A. As you know, Vice President Rockefeller sent me a letter asking that he not be considered for the Vice Presidency again. But let me make it clear that I regard the Vice President as one of the finest public servants in our history, and whether he is in or out of government, over the next 4 years, I will continue to call upon him for advice and counsel.

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6/4/76
G.D.

NIXON QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, will your election chances be hurt by the movie, "All the President's men" or the book "The Final Days"?

OR

Q. Mr. President, do you think you will be hurt in the election because you pardoned Richard Nixon?

OR

Q. Mr. President, won't the Democrats use "Watergate" and the charge that you are the hand-picked successor of Richard Nixon to defeat you in the election?

A. I don't see how that could hurt me at all. I had nothing to do with Watergate.

(That should be the full extent of the answer. Any further elaboration, or defensiveness about being "cleared" by Congress, will simply provide fresh new quotes for reporters to write new stories.)

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SYRIAN TROOPS IN LEBANON

Q. Do you think Syria is playing a constructive role in Lebanon? What about the thousands of Syrian troops in Lebanon? Do you condone that?

A. We have consistently maintained that the political role Syria has played in mediating the conflict has been constructive. At the same time, our position on the risks of foreign military intervention remains unchanged. We have stated consistently that foreign intervention carries with it the risk of widening the conflict.

It is important to understand that the restoration of security in Lebanon, which the parties themselves are discussing, is very complex. It is not appropriate for the U. S. to intrude by commenting on every development in Lebanon. In the last analysis, the restoration of peace and security depends on the political accommodation among the parties in Lebanon themselves. We, of course, remain hopeful that a peaceful accommodation can be reached in the shortest possible time.

Q. What is the proper United States role in this crisis? Shouldn't we intervene with troops, as Ike did, to stop the suffering of the Lebanese people?

A. Our efforts have been limited to political and humanitarian moves: to assist the parties toward a political settlement and to provide emergency relief assistance including the President's proposal for \$25 million in rehabilitation funds for Lebanon. I have no plans at all to involve American troops. That would only make the situation more dangerous and explosive.

Q. Did we give any kind of tacit approval to Syria to intervene? Did we "clear" any of the Syrian moves with Israel?

A. We did not give any tacit approval nor "clear" any moves with anyone else. We have urged all governments to exercise restraint.

INEPT STAFF

- Q. Your staff has been called one of the most inexperienced and inept in history. Why have you kept people who have served you so badly that you are in danger of not getting your own party's nomination for President.
- Q. Whoever says such things has not seen my staff perform. I have an excellent staff. I'm proud of them and lucky to have them. They have served me well in the face of economic troubles, foreign policy challenges and a public lack of confidence in government. My staff should share the credit for the successes I have scored in all these areas. I have no plans to change anyone on my staff.

KISSINGER

Q. Mr. President, can you clarify Dr. Kissinger's status? One week he says he would prefer to leave after the election and the next week you say you want him to stay for another four-year term. Is he in or out?

A. (with a smile) Helen, that question is asked so often, and I always give the same answer, maybe we should retire the question instead!

Seriously, as I have said previously, Secretary Kissinger has been very successful in carrying out and speaking for the foreign policy decisions I make. Just look around the world. We are at peace. Our relations with our allies have never been stronger. Our adversaries understand our determination. Our military strength for keeping the peace is unsurpassed. We are pursuing vigorous, forward-looking policies in Africa and Latin America, and in the international economic arena. We are trusted by both sides in the Middle East (no one else is) and so we are able to play the peace-makers role in that volatile region.

Now, as long as Secretary Kissinger can show that kind of success in carrying out my foreign policies, I see no need to break up a good team.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 4, 1976

Mr. President:

Here is the remainder of the guidance for your "Face the Nation" taping tomorrow. Hopefully you will be able to meet with some of us in the morning for a brief discussion of the program before going to the taping.

I also am attaching for your possible interest:

1. Wire copy of the AP interview which will be published Sunday. (I'm sorry it's hard to read.)
2. A Lake Placid, New York newspaper containing two extensive stories about Mike Ford's recent mountain climbing mishap.

Finally, some good news: Tom Vail just phoned to say that the Cleveland Plain Dealer will endorse you in an editorial Sunday, the first time the paper has ever endorsed a candidate in a primary. I told him you would thank him in person on Sunday.

Ron Nessen

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 BC-Ford Interview, Adv 06, 7 takes, 490-2,820
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 For Release Sun, June 6
 By FRANK C&

AND
 WALTER R. MEARS
 Associated Press Writers

WASHINGTON AP - President Ford says "guerrilla warfare would be almost inevitable" if the United States were to follow Ronald Reagan's Panama Canal policy.

In an interview with The Associated Press, Ford said Reagan's presidential challenge has not led the administration to slow negotiations with Panama on the future status of the canal.

Reagan has said that as President, he would not permit negotiations predicated on any yielding of U.S. sovereignty over the canal and its zone.

Nor, said Ford, has there been any campaign-inspired slowdown in strategic arms limitation talks, which also have stirred Reagan criticism.

However, the President said he could not forecast when there would be settlements with the Soviet Union on new arms limitations, or with Panama on the canal.

Ford said administration policy in dealing with the Soviet Union has not been altered by his repudiation of the word "detente." He said the effort to relax tensions is continuing and "we are making headway."

The President said he has said nothing in the campaign that would destroy the unity of the Republican party once a nominee is chosen. He said he expects to win the nomination, and therefore has not considered the possibility of campaigning for a Reagan ticket in the fall.

He also said he has not excluded any Republican, including Reagan, as a vice presidential possibility.

Here is a partial transcript of the interviews:

Q: Mr. President, last August I asked you if there was a danger that Ronald Reagan would push you to the right politically and cause you to have trouble with the Democratic nominee come the national election. Now your Vice President, Nelson Rockefeller, says he thinks you are at or near the point where you would have trouble reclaiming the middle of the road. I wonder how you feel about that.

A: Basically, I have not changed my policies. We have kept the Ford administration in the middle of the road. I have done it because I thought it was right and I believe that after Kansas City I will be able to appeal to the moderate Democrats, the independents as well as the Republicans. There has been no program change. There has been no philosophical change, and therefore, I think I am more electable on Nov. 2 than any other Republican.

Q: You don't feel you really budged at all?

A: Not at all.

Q: In things like dropping the word detente?

A: The dropping of a word has not changed the process. The process is one of trying to relax tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States by negotiation rather than confrontation. The net result has been that we are making headway.

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BC-Ford Interview, Adv 06, 1st add, 470

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For release Sun, June 6

WASHINGTON: making headway.

Q: Will the strategic arms limitation talks be going ahead with the usual momentum in spite of the election year?

A: We are persevering in the very technical issues that are unsolved. They are technical. They are important. But we are continuing to negotiate in Geneva. We are continuing to exchange views with the Soviet Union at the highest level in order to try and put a cap on the procurement and deployment of additional nuclear weapons. There has not been any slowdown in the process. It is just that the issues have become very complicated and very complex.

Q: Is there any hope that you could reach agreement before November?

A: It is a possibility, but I would not want to forecast that it would take place.

Q: What about the Panama negotiations? Are they proceeding? Have they been slowed by what is going on in the campaign?

A: I don't believe they have been slowed down at all. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker is continuing to negotiate. This has been a long, slow process. They began in 1965 so that it has been an 11-year negotiation so far, and I expect them to continue.

Q: . . . is a settlement in sight?

A: There are still some very controversial issues unresolved.

Q: Do you think if Reagan's position on Panama were followed, there would be a war there?

A: As I understand his position, which is to break off negotiations, on the effect of breaking off negotiations, it could trigger some additional riots such as we had in 1964. When you have additional riots like the one in 1964, one can't forecast what might happen. I think this brings up a very fundamental point. The Ford administration has sought on every occasion to negotiate rather than to actually confront.

We have not overreacted to situations such as Panama, such as in Rhodesia. It is my understanding that my comment had made some statements that I think overreact to a speculative situation. The Ford administration has consistently taken the position that we will negotiate. We will at all times of course use force to protect American lives and to protect American interests. We would use force as a last resort, and the net result is we have been able to avoid confrontation and the consequence is the United States is at peace today and our national interests have been protected at the same time.

More

2129pED 06-03

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s w eevivzvt

BC-Ford Interview, Adv 06, 2nd add, 470

Adv 06

For Release Sun, June 6

WASHINGTON: same time.

Q: On Panama, is there some danger that if Reagan's policies were followed, as you understand them, that we might not have a war but a guerrilla situation such as in Vietnam perhaps?

A: All of the experts tell me that if we were to break off negotiations, which is the implication of my opponent's policies, that guerrilla warfare would almost be inevitable.

Q: What about Governor Reagan's latest statements on Rhodesia? He seems to be suggesting that under some circumstances he might be willing to send a token military force over there to show the flag and prevent bloodshed. Would you give consideration to sending the military in?

A: I would not because it is not necessary. The United States' policies should not be one to intervene in that kind of a situation. As I was saying a moment ago, I will always, as President, protect the lives of Americans and protect our interests by the use of force, but that is the last resort. It is not something that we should speculate about prior to any problem arising. If you use diplomacy and use it wisely and effectively, you don't have to use force, as some people have indicated, when problems arise. I see no possibility of intervention of the United States with force in Southern Africa.

Reagan said Thursday the United States and Great Britain might consider offering to serve as mediators for an orderly transition to black majority rule in Rhodesia. He had said Wednesday that he might consider sending a token force of U.S. troops to Rhodesia if the government sought help to prevent bloodshed. He said Thursday "I made a mistake in trying to answer a hypothetical question with a hypothetical answer."

Q: Reagan has said the Soviet Union is in a position to be more truculent and aggressive because U.S. military strength has declined

A: I see no evidence, other than in Angola where it could have been prevented, of the Soviet Union moving aggressively. They certainly have not done so in the Middle East. The United States, because of our strength and our diplomatic skill and the trust that we have with both the Israelis on the one hand and the Arabs on the other, has been a forceful element in bringing peace to the Middle East and moving ahead on a step-by-step basis for peace in that area of the world. The Soviet Union is really not involved. As a matter of fact, Sadat has severed his military and economic relations with the Soviet Union. So we have the constructive force, the effective force in the Middle East, probably the most volatile area of the world, and the Soviet Union is very non-aggressive in that part of the world.

More

2138pED 06-03

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BC-Ford Interview, adv 06, 3rd add, 340

\$adv 06

For release Sun, June 6

WASHINGTON: the world.

Q: Did past congressional cuts put us in anything like the position Reagan talks about? Are we still the strongest military power?

A: Every military official that I depend on believes that the United States has the military capability to carry out any assigned mission. The cuts imposed by the Congress over the last ten years, if those cuts continue, would put us in somewhat of an equivocal situation, not this year but in the future years. That is why I submitted the two highest defense budgets last year and this year, and if the Congress goes along . . . we will have military capability to carry out our missions, protect our interests, and meet any challenges.

Q: You have just announced an economic summit meeting for June . . . Isn't that a pretty fortunate moment for that to happen politically?

A: The summit meeting was initiated, as far as we were concerned, last March because the circumstances that we foresaw required that the major industrial nations get together to anticipate any crisis that might develop . . .

In other words, we don't want the recovery to develop any unhealthy aspects, and if we meet, resolve our differences, work together, I am convinced that we can keep the momentum moving ahead.

Now this is what we planned on when we were at Rambouillet, that we would meet periodically and we are meeting in June because we want to avoid any problems in the future.

Q: Reagan says our domestic economic recovery is suspect and in 1977 we are going to be facing or likely to face an increased inflation rate . . .

A: That allegation is political rhetoric. I have talked to a number of leading economists, the experts - and this included those across the political spectrum in this area - and all of them agree that our economy or economic recovery is healthy and that it is going to continue.

MORE

2144PED 06-08

a743

BC-Ford Interview, Adv 06, 4th add, 440

Adv 06

For Release Sun June 6

WASHINGTON: to continue.

Q: Mr. President, you mentioned back in New Hampshire that the administration was considering a welfare reform program that was based on the family assistance plan. Is that still a live project and when will there be a proposal?

A: We have continual studies going on in the various departments on how we can improve the welfare system. We have those that believe you can just tighten up the existing program and we have those that believe we ought to junk the present welfare program and come up with something comparable to the family assistance program. Those options will be presented to me early this fall and I will make a decision. We have to do something to eliminate the current welfare abuses. At the same time, we have to make certain and positive that those who are in need are taken care of. But one of two approaches will be recommended by me in 1977.

Q: The Reagan approach would be, he says, to shift the welfare program back to the states along with tax resources to pay for it. Is that an option that the administration will be considering?

A: The federal government can be the leader in achieving welfare reform. I think we have to be a participant. I don't think you can dump the entire welfare program back on the cities, counties and states. I have not seen any identification from his proposal as to what resources he would turn back to the states. It seems to me the federal government is in a better position to bring about national welfare reform than having 50 different welfare programs in 50 different states.

Q: Speaking of some options - closer in - the school busing legislation. I know you have made a final decision but would it be your hope that this legislation would be drafted in a way that it might pave the way for a reconsideration or revision of past court busing orders?

Q: That is an option that is being analyzed by the Department of Justice and will be submitted to me. No final decision has been made

Q: You would not care to say whether you would like to see some mechanism for that . . .

A: I would hope that the cases of the past would have resolved the reasons for the initiation of the cases in the first place. That was the intent of the court action. At this point I don't believe it is wise for me to make any commitment one way or the other in that direction.

MORE
2154pED 06-03

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BC-Ford Interview, Adv 06, 5th add, 390
Adv 06

For release Sun, June 6

WASHINGTON: that direction.

Q: With the California primary coming up, a national committeeman out there who is supporting you has been telling people that Reagan is very much alive as a vice presidential prospect and certainly will be considered. Will he be?

A: I have not excluded anybody in the Republican party as a potential vice presidential running mate. We have a number of outstanding Republican potentials. That includes former governors, it includes present members of the Congress, it includes present governors in Republican ranks. Some people, by their words, have indicated they did not want to be considered, but as far as I am concerned, I exclude nobody.

Q: Would Reagan strengthen the Ford ticket?

A: I have heard individuals argue that it would. But I don't want to make any commitment at this point as to any individual.

Q: Are you excluding the incumbent vice president.

A: I said I excluded nobody.

Q: Mr. President, the Republican party has been a pretty traditional establishment in which an incumbent usually gets his nomination for the asking. Why do you think you are having so much of a fight on your hands this year to get the nomination?

A: My opponent is very articulate, he is a good campaigner. He has been able to campaign 100 per cent of the time. I have had to devote the major share of my time, obviously, to the job of being President. So, he has had the opportunity to travel extensively, speak extensively and to campaign 100 per cent. This is a handicap as far as I think in these primaries, where we have met head to head.

Q: What would be your role in the campaign should Reagan be the nominee?

A: I have said repeatedly that I have always supported the Republican candidate, the Republican nominee, and I would do so.

Q: Would you do so actively?

A: I have not thought about it because I don't think that is going to be the development that will take place in Kansas City.

Q: Do you think Reagan can win the election?

MORE

2205pED 06-03

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BC-Ford Interview, Adv 06, 6th add, 230
\$adv 6

For release Sun, June 6

WASHINGTON: the election?

A: I would put it affirmatively. I am positive that I am the best Republican candidate to win the election in 1976. I am the best Republican candidate to elect more House and Senate members to the Congress. I am the best candidate to help build the party by electing more state legislators and local officials. I am told in my many contacts with candidates around the country, including incumbent Republicans in the Congress, that my candidacy in the November election will be very helpful in their own re-election or election prospects.

Q: Reagan . . . used to talk about the eleventh commandment, that the Republicans should not say bad things about each other . . . in the primaries. I asked him whether this had now reached a point at which it was helping the Democrats, providing them with ammunition for the fall, to which his response was it was all your fault because you started talking about him.

A: I think the record will show that I have, to a very minimum degree, commented on his record or his programs. I have overwhelmingly talked affirmatively about what this administration has done. I don't think anything I have said would destroy the unity of the Republican party after the Kansas City convention.

End Adv for Sunday, June 6, Sent June 3
2209pED 06-03

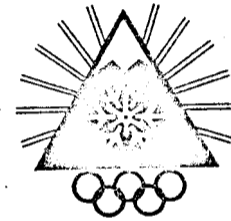
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To Run

GENE WALSH
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N.Y., N.Y. 10020

Wilmingon, Keene and Jay News

The Lake Placid News



Thursday, May 27, 1976

Established in 1905

Vol. LXXI No. 21 20¢

President's Son Finds Mountain No Easy Street

By GARY SPENCER

AT SIX O'CLOCK THURSDAY MORNING, they were informed by radio that rescue officers would try to reach them. The two groups met on

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY

Q: Mr. President, why do we need a new Panama Canal Treaty?

A: Because the Canal is of such importance to us, I have concluded, as did my four immediate predecessors, that the present agreement does not adequately protect our long-term interests there. We need a new agreement which will assure us control over the defense and operation of the Canal during a treaty's lifetime and its neutrality and freedom of access after that. The issue involves not just the United States and Panama, but Latin America and trading nations the world over, which are unanimous in support of a new treaty. As President, I must make policy decisions on the basis of all the information available to me and I must look at the broad international picture and determine the most responsible course to protect the long-term interests of the United States. My policy will do just that.

Q: Does that mean you are giving up US sovereignty over the Canal Zone?

A: We have long recognized Panamanian "titular sovereignty" in the Canal Zone, as President Eisenhower acknowledged in 1959. But this subject is complex legally because the United States was granted in perpetuity the rights that go with sovereignty by the 1903 Treaty. We have a continuing relationship with the Government of Panama regarding the Canal Zone, and we pay Panama annually for



rights we exercise there.

The sovereignty question, however, is not central to the real issue of why we need a new treaty to best protect our national interest in access to the Canal over the long term.

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LATIN AMERICAN TRIP

Q: Secretary Kissinger is leaving Sunday on a trip which includes the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico. Why is he making this trip at this time and by visiting countries such as Chile, Bolivia and the Dominican Republic isn't he demonstrating U.S. support for Latin American dictators who have no regard for human rights?

A: Secretary Kissinger is going to Latin America in order to attend the annual meeting of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. That meeting is being held in Santiago, the site which was selected by a majority of the members of the OAS. We consider the OAS and our relations with the other nations of this Hemisphere to be a matter of high priority.

Secretary Kissinger will also make use of the opportunity to stop off in the Dominican Republic and Bolivia, as well as in Mexico on his return trip. Although he has been invited to visit a number of other countries in Latin America, it obviously is not possible for him to go to all of them and he wished to visit at least some countries to which he has not been previously. ~~Clearly~~ ^{my} the trip relates to ~~our~~ desire to maintain and strengthen our relations with the countries of Central and South America and the Caribbean and in no way derogates from our basic commitment to support human rights in Latin America and elsewhere.

FYI: He will be visiting a range of countries representing a variety of forms of governments, at least two of which (the Dominican Republic and Mexico) have elected constitutional governments.

Q: Won't repeal of the Byrd Amendment cut off an important source of chrome and make the U.S. even more dependent on the Soviet Union for this vital material?

A: No, for the short term, the substantial inventory of chromite and ferrochrome held by the US Government and US manufacturers, supplemented by imports from non-Rhodesian sources, will provide for our civilian and defense needs. Repeal of the Byrd Amendment would not mean increased dependence on the USSR for our chrome needs, however, even in the longer term. For high-grade chrome ore, there are several other major suppliers. For ferrochrome, our most significant chrome import from Rhodesia, we have 14 other suppliers, not including the Soviet Union.

Further it should be noted that Rhodesia is not exactly a reliable source of chromium. Mozambique closed its border to Rhodesia in March, thus restricting its access to the sea. Rhodesia's remaining export transportation routes to South Africa are also insecure. If the Rhodesian chrome mines should be shut down or abandoned, it could require years to bring them back to service. By making every effort to

encourage the Smith regime to negotiate a settlement with the country's majority, we are, in fact, safeguarding our long-term access to Rhodesian chrome.

One further factor should be noted. By our failure to repeal the Byrd Amendment, we may risk our relationships with African states to the north of Rhodesia, with which we have substantial trade and investment ties. These countries are important sources of supply for us not only for petroleum, but also for such strategic materials as uranium, manganese, cobalt, tin, tungsten, and diamonds -- as well as for foodstuffs such as coffee and cocoa.

US Imports of Chromium, 1975
(Bureau of Mines, Interior Dept.)

	<u>Total Chrome Ore</u>	<u>High Grade Chrome Ore</u>	<u>Ferrochrome</u>
South Africa	24%	11%	29%
USSR	31%	52%	-
Turkey	14%	14%	1%
Philippines	13%	2%	-
Rhodesia	12% (7% in 1974)	17% (13% in 1974)	28% (21% in 1974)
India	1%	2%	1%
Iran	1%	2%	-
Finland	1%	-	2%
Brazil	-	-	5%
Other	3%	-	3-4%

U.S. AFRICAN POLICY (Majority Rule in Southern Africa)

June 2, 1976

Q: Mr. President, following up on the Secretary of State's trip to Africa and his speech in Lusaka, some of your opponents have claimed that this trip, and particularly the expressed support of majority rule in southern Africa, is inciting Africa to violence, and it does not take into account minority rights. Would you care to comment?

A: It is the American tradition as a part of our life and our history to support self-determination. Support for majority rule in southern Africa has been the consistent policy of Republican and Democratic administration alike. This policy has had strong bipartisan support and, rather than inciting to violence, support for majority rule is the one means to encourage peaceful transition. Our support of majority rule carries with it insistence on full protection of minority rights, and we will not endorse any development in southern Africa that does not provide for such rights.

Q: Mr. President, does your Administration intend to press for majority rights for all of southern Africa, including South Africa?

A: Well, first of all, you must make a basic distinction between the illegal regime in Rhodesia, South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, and South Africa's recognized status as an African state. These are quite different situations. Nevertheless,

apartheid in South Africa remains an issue of great concern to those committed to racial justice and human dignity, and the United States will exercise all of its efforts to encourage an evolution toward equality of opportunity and basic human rights for all South Africans.

KOREA

Q: Why do we maintain troops in Korea while the Pak government muzzles its domestic opponents?

A: Since the Korean War, our policy has been to prevent the renewal of hostilities on the Korean Peninsula. Through our security ties and our presence in South Korea, we have succeeded in doing just that over the past 23 years. Within the framework of our Mutual Defense Treaty, we have been the ultimate guarantor of the security of the Republic of Korea and of peace and stability in Northeast Asia. Peace in this area is of concern not only to the United States but also to Japan, China, and the USSR. Any U. S. failure to live up to its treaty commitment in Korea would have enormous consequences.

We have unequivocally made known our views on human rights to the South Korean Government. Secretary Richardson, on his recent trip to Seoul, discussed this issue at length with President Pak. We will continue to promote the cause of human rights in both Koreas. We meanwhile intend to do nothing to destabilize the Korean situation or to mislead North Korea about the strength of our commitment. At the same time, we seek to encourage a peaceful and political resolution of the Korean issue.

U. S. POLICY ON NORMALIZING RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM

Q: You have been quoted as saying that under no circumstances will the U. S. recognize Vietnam. On the other hand, in December you said the United States is prepared to look to the future, implying that you would consider normalizing relations. Just what is your policy?

A: My policy has not changed. As I stated in my Pacific Doctrine speech, I am prepared to look to the future and not the past in dealing with Vietnam. But I also added that our policy will be largely dictated by Vietnam's actions toward us and toward its neighbors. Despite its clear and unequivocal obligation to do so, Hanoi has refused to provide an accounting for our men who never returned from Indochina. In fact, it has demanded that we provide reconstruction aid before it will provide information about these men or search for them. ~~As long as I am President, we will not defile the honor of these men by acceding to such an outrageous demand.~~ In 1974 the United Nations passed a resolution calling on all parties to armed conflicts to account for the missing and repatriate the remains of the dead. Until Hanoi lives up to this resolution and accounts for our men, there can be no real improvement in our relations.

01

POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY

Q: Mr. President, national elections are scheduled to be held in Italy on June 20. Some observers give the Communists a better than even chance of doing well enough at the polls to be invited to join the Italian cabinet. If this occurs, what will be the reaction of the U. S. Government, given your strong statements in the past opposing Communist participation in the Italian government?

A: The forthcoming election in Italy is, of course, an internal Italian matter. Decisions on domestic political affairs must ultimately be made by the Italian electorate. I would say, however, as I have said in the past, that a Communist government or coalition government including Communists in any NATO member state would raise serious questions about that country's role in the Atlantic Alliance. Communist participation in NATO governments would change the character of the Alliance. Past actions and statements by European Communists demonstrate that their influence in Allied Governments would seriously hamper Western defense efforts essential to Europe's freedom and to international stability. Communists in Western Europe have long advocated programs and values detrimental to NATO and to our mutual defense. It is the inevitable impact of such developments on the North Atlantic Alliance which is of concern to us.

Additionally, the commitment of the American people to defend European freedom would be deprived of the moral basis on which it has stood for 30 years.

LAW OF THE SEA -- DEEP SEABED RESOURCES

Q: Mr. President, why is it that when the United States is virtually the only country in the world capable of mining the mineral resources of the deep seabed we are giving away our preeminent position in this area -- our rights to these riches -- through the negotiations in the UN Law of the Sea Conference?

A: In the negotiations at the UN Law of the Sea Conference, the United States is safeguarding and advancing the wide range of important interests that we have in the oceans. These include:

-- the ability of our naval and merchant ships and our aircraft to navigate freely on and over the high seas and through straits used for international navigation;

-- the protection and conservation of our valuable fisheries resources for our fishermen;

-- the protection of the ocean environment from pollution; and

-- specifically with regard to the issue you raise, the right of U.S. companies to mine the deep seabed.

This is no giveaway. The negotiations involve equitable arrangements for the exploration and exploitation of the mineral resources of the deep seabed -- arrangements that serve U.S. interests. US interests in the deep seabed, as well as on all Law of the Sea issues, are being carefully attended to in these international negotiations. Successful conclusion of the Law of the Sea negotiations, in turn, offers the best prospect for advancing and protecting all US oceans interests, including our national security and our resource interests.

~~May 19, 1976~~

COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS

Q: Why does the United States oppose the participation of Communists in NATO Governments?

A: A Communist government or coalition government including Communists would raise serious questions about that country's role in NATO. Communist participation in NATO governments would change the character of the Alliance. Past actions and statements by European communists demonstrate that their influence in Allied Governments would seriously hamper Western defense efforts essential to Europe's freedom and to international stability. Additionally, the commitment of the American people to defend European freedom would be deprived of the moral basis on which it has stood for 30 years.

Q: Does this policy represent intervention in the domestic political affairs of our allies?

A: Decisions on domestic political affairs must be made by the voters of the countries concerned. The members of the Alliance, however, cannot close their eyes to the impact on NATO and the fact that Communists in Western Europe have long advocated programs and values detrimental to NATO and to our mutual defense. It is the inevitable impact of such developments on the North Atlantic Alliance which is of concern to us.

June 2, 1976

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SPAIN

Q: Mr. President, the Spanish Prime Minister recently announced a plan and timetable for political reform in Spain, including free parliamentary elections and a referendum on the future of the monarchy. In your opinion, does this program go far enough and fast enough to liberalize and democratize Spain in the post-Franco era?

A: Our hope is that the Spanish nation and people will enjoy peace and prosperity under the conditions of freedom and justice that bind together the Western community of nations. In this regard, I view the program announced by the Spanish Prime Minister as a positive step toward that goal. We have seen a further positive step with the Spanish Government's announcement of May 7 of a proposal for the establishment of an elected two-house Parliament. The extent and pace of change, however, are matters for the Spanish people and nation to decide and cannot be dictated from outside. In this evolutionary period, Spain will continue to have the understanding of the United States and the American people.

US-Spanish ties of friendship and cooperation are strong and longstanding. This is reflected in the recently concluded "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" between our two countries and has been further underscored by King Juan Carlos' State Visit to the United States this past week.



June 2, 1976

CYPRUS

Q: Mr. President, have you seen any movement toward a Cyprus settlement in recent months?

A: In my third report to the Congress on April 8 on Cyprus, I reviewed the most recent developments in the efforts by Greece, Turkey and the two Cypriot communities to work toward a Cyprus settlement.

In the talks on Cyprus, the gap between the parties' positions has narrowed in recent months. Central issues are now being discussed in a single framework. The mid-February talks between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities have been constructive and have resulted in procedural understandings which should permit a continuing dialogue and further work toward an agreement in principle. In my meeting on March 24 with the Turkish Foreign Minister and on April 15 with the Greek Foreign Minister, I stressed the need for early, visible progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem and, in this context, urged flexibility and accommodation by all the parties to the dispute.

At my request, the Secretary of State met individually with the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers at the NATO Ministerial meeting in Oslo May 20-21 to discuss the Cyprus issue. On ^{Monday} June 5, I will be sending my fourth periodic report to the Congress on Cyprus.

~~June 2, 1976~~

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

Q: Mr. President, in the election campaign there has been considerable debate on such issues as the Panama Canal and US-Soviet relations, but not much has been said about the overall goals of our foreign policy. How would you characterize your foreign policy goals and accomplishments?

A: Since taking office, I have repeatedly underlined America's important responsibilities in the world and the policies I have set to meet those responsibilities.

As President, I have designed and implemented a foreign policy program to strengthen freedom and to keep the peace -- we are at peace and together with the other nations of the Free World we are safeguarding our freedom and looking to a most promising future.

My foreign policy program -- built on five essential points -- has been successful, and I intend to keep the United States on this steady course.

-- First, we will continue the steady progress of our national economy;

-- Second, we will commit the necessary resources to our national defense;

-- Third, we will maintain and further strengthen our alliances with the great industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan;

- Fourth, we will conduct our relations with our Communist competitors so as to advance U.S. interests, reduce international tensions and resolve dangerous conflicts; and
- Fifth, we will continue to build positive, mutually beneficial relationships with the developing nations of the world.

Let there be no doubt, America today is the world's leader. Americans are justly proud of their country. They want their country to be strong, and they want this strength to serve peace. The five pillars of my foreign policy serve these most important objectives.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ron—

here is a partial list of Q's + A's. More will be coming. As Brent told you this morning, these Q's + A's come to you unreviewed by me and unedited by him so that we may have changed versions as well as additions to give you later.

Margi

P.S. Mr. DeLoach dropped by also.
Margi

NELSON ROCKEFELLER

Q. What role do you see for Nelson Rockefeller, if you are elected in November?

A. Vice President Rockefeller, as you know, has taken himself out of consideration for the Vice Presidency, and there is are legal prohibitions against any candidate offering anyone a job before he is elected.

Vice President Rockefeller, however, has rendered long and distinguished service to the United States, and I am sure that he will continue - even if as a private citizen - to serve his country.

JBS/6-1-76



TURN TO RIGHT

- Q. Vice President Rockefeller recently said he felt you had turned dangerously far to the right because of the threat to your nomination posed by Ronald Reagan. Do you feel that you have moved to the right, and are you concerned that the right wing posture you have taken will hurt you if you are nominated?
- A. I have not moved to the right at all. I've always considered myself a conservative, but more toward the center than Gov. Reagan. The policies I have followed have been the ones I feel are best for the nation. I am confident they will help me win the election in November.

CONCORDE - DALLAS

Question

Dallas officials are trying to get the Concorde to fly here. Will Federal government interfere, help?

Answer

The operations specifications only permit commercial Concorde flights into Dulles and New York under controlled conditions of Secretary Coleman's detailed study. This would not permit commercial flights of the Concorde into Dallas until after the trial has been made.

The British and the French would have to file an amendment which would then require another Environmental Impact Statement. This change would be very unlikely until after the demonstration time has been allowed and the results considered.

4/6/76
JRH

MILITARY BASE CLOSING

- Q. Why have you allowed the Defense Department to shut down important military base operations in Texas?
- A. First, let me say that the Defense Department has not announced any final decision to close military installations in the U.S. Rather, what they recently announced was the initiation of studies to determine the feasibility of closure or realignment in line with our overall objection of spending federal tax money wisely and still retaining a strong military. These studies will actively solicit comments by all impacted communities and personnel. Only after all factors have been considered will a final decision be made on which installations will be closed.

Background

In Texas, closure studies will be conducted for Webb Air Force Base and the San Antonio Defense Mapping Office. Major realignment studies will be conducted for the Naval Air Station Corpus Christi, the Army Aircraft Maintenance Depot at Corpus Christi, and Sheppard Air Force Base. (Minor actions include medical realignment into Brooks AFB, some personnel reductions at Ford Hood related to Project MASSTER, dis-establish Army Recruiting headquarters at Amarillo, and closure with no job reductions of Naval Reserve facilities at Paris and Sherman, Texas.)

Affected Positions (not necessarily job eliminations)

<u>Installations</u>	<u>Civilian</u>	<u>Military</u>
Webb	-700	-1,850
Sheppard	-5	-109
NAS Corpus Christi	-877	-1,599
Army - Corpus Christi	+800	-1,5 0
San Antonio Def. Map	-50	0
Brooks AFB	+54	+80
Kelly AFB	-26	-28
Fort Hood	-49	-103
Amarillo Recruiting	-9	-12
Naval Reserve		
Paris	0	0
Sherman	0	0
	-862	-3,621

Military Base Closing

Page Two

Justification

Webb AFB - During the Vietnam Conflict peak, the Air Force was training nearly 4700 new pilots per year at 11 installations or 426 per installation. Presently, we have 8 installations to train 1800 new pilots in FY 1977, or 227 per installation. These figures indicate excess training capacity. Because of the declining training rate, the Air Force is considering closing two pilot training installations - Webb and Craig (Alabama) which would have an annual training rate of 302 per installation. Nomination of Webb is based upon its having only two runways while the other training facilities have three; upon a high percentage of substandard facilities; and upon experiencing increased urban encroachment which creates operational restrictions.

Sheppard AFB - The Air Force is developing a new concept for SAC satellite basing. The concept would have all alert aircraft stationed at their home base but the satellite facilities would retain mobilization mission capability. Selected satellite facilities (Sheppard is one of eight) would be placed in standby but would periodically be used for combat readiness exercises.

San Antonio - The Defense Mapping Agency has four topographic center field offices of which San Antonio is one. Consideration is being given to closing one or more of these offices.

Corpus Christi - The Army is giving consideration to consolidating aircraft maintenance. This action could increase civilian employment at Corpus Christi by an amount almost equal to the potential loss at the Naval Air Station. Similar to the Air Force, the Navy is experiencing reductions in pilot training rates. To avoid costly excess capacity, consideration is being given to training consolidation.

- Q. How much will the government save by closing those bases?
- A. Nationally, the recent announcements have the potential to save nearly \$250 million annually. Because no final decisions have been made on the gains and losses to Texas, the annual dollar savings have not been identified.
- Q. What will happen to Government employees?
- A. Defense will make every effort to assist displaced employees in obtaining other acceptable employment. Priority will be given to them for other Defense positions. Over the last ten years, the percentage of displaced personnel who found placement was 62%, who retired, 15%, who resigned, 8%, and who were separated, 15%. Benefits available to these personnel include early retirement, severance pay, and insurance (life, health, and home) support.
- Q. You mentioned several realignments which are to be studied but you did not mention that Kelly Air Force Base is losing 1000 civilians. Why didn't you mention this and what is the justification for the Kelly cutback?
- A. The other announcements were major functional realignment or closures which do require local community impact studies. The reductions at Kelly are internal Air Force actions impacting only one installation. The loss of personnel at Kelly is a reduction in force (RIF) generated by declining workload and modernized techniques. Efficiency improvements of this nature are essential if we are to maintain a modern, effective Defense establishment. However, we are well aware that there is a human cost associated with these improvements. The Air Force has provided the full-range of counselling and assistance services provided for under current law to all the individuals who will be affected by this action.

DALLAS BUSING FOR DESEGREGATION

On July 23, 1975, a three-judge panel of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the 1971 plan of District Judge William Taylor was inadequate for the purposes of desegregating the Dallas Independent School District. The case was remanded to Judge Taylor. He then had the responsibility to devise a plan, to be implemented in January, 1976, to dismantle the segregation deemed to exist.

The ensuing months were filled with countless hearings, motions, briefs, plans, etc. brought by plaintiffs, defendants, and a wide variety of intervenors. Attempts were made to include some of the suburban school districts in the plan but they were unsuccessful. Judge Taylor postponed the implementation of the plan until the beginning of the 1976-77 school year.

In early March, Judge Taylor finally issued his desegregation order. The highlights of that order are:

- The district will be divided into five subdistricts, each of these to approximate the racial makeup of the district as a whole.
- Middle schools for the fourth through the eighth grades will be established in the center of each subdistrict.
- Kindergarten through third grade students and ninth through twelfth grade students will attend neighborhood schools, fourth through eighth grade will be reassigned.
- Magnet schools will be established and bilingual education programs will be expanded.
- By 1979, high level school administrators are to be 44% black and 12% Mexican-American.

Taylor's order will require the busing of between 14,000 and 20,000 students. It is also expected that some kind of property tax increase will be necessary to finance the purchasing of buses and other costs of the desegregation program to finance the purchasing of buses and other costs of the desegregation program.

Mexican-Americans were most pleased with the desegregation plan; blacks and Anglos reacted with mixed feelings. Basically, the plan does not go far enough for some and goes too far for others. Under the circumstances, many observers feel it is probably the best plan Taylor could have come up with. It is not expected that either side will appeal.

DALLAS MAYORIAL ELECTION

- Q. Mr. President: Are you aware that Dallas is in the midst of a heated Mayorial run-off election?
- A. Yes I am, but I feel that the election is a local matter and that it would be inappropriate for me to comment on it.

Background

The City of Dallas is currently in the midst of a heated Mayorial run-off election. Last Saturday, none of the five candidates that were running for Mayor received adequate votes to be elected. As a result, a run-off election has been scheduled for April 24th. Opposing each other will be Bob Folson, who received 48% of the vote and who has received strong endorsement from the business leadership and the established members of the community, and Gary Weber, a seven-year Councilman who received 44.9% of the vote. Apparently, the election has focused largely on the question of busing. On Wednesday of this week, there was a court order issued requiring busing for approximately 17,000 of Dallas school children. The local business community had apparently worked long and hard to encourage a moderate busing plan and the current Mayor is publicly endorsing the court order on the basis of it being as reasonable a plan as could be expected in carrying out the Federal law. However, Bob Folson has come out strongly opposed to it despite the support of the business leadership. In summary, the busing issue has polarized the Dallas community.

SGM
4/8/76

HOUSING

- Q. Mr. President. Are you aware of the fact that the City of Dallas has embarked upon a program of "urban homesteading" and if so, what do you think of this idea?
- A. I am aware that the City of Dallas, in conjunction with the major banking institutions of the area, has embarked upon a pilot program of "urban homesteading" by using \$66,000 of community development money as a partial guarantee. I understand that the banks have agreed to private rehabilitation financing and that the City will proceed to sell 35 houses to interested citizens. I think this program is an example of how a partnership among Federal and local governments and the private sector can help solve many of our urban problems. I will be interested in the result of this project.

SGM
4/8/76

CUSTOMS/I&NS DISPUTE

- Q. What are you doing to resolve the dispute between the Customs and Immigration Services over the Mexican border?
- A. The Customs Service and the I&NS both have jurisdiction at the border. Customs has jurisdiction regarding the flow of goods across the border, while I&NS has jurisdiction regarding the flow of people. Ofttimes, this distinction becomes blurred and interagency conflict ensues. However, Customs and I&NS recently executed a Memorandum of Agreement which addresses and resolves most of the problems. Therefore, the issue has been largely eliminated.

The real sore points with border towns regarding these two agencies are (1) they impede the flow of traffic into the United States (Mexican nationals coming to the United States to shop); and (2) they (particularly I&NS) have on occasion offended Mexican-Americans by subjecting them to harrassment at border crossing points. The President should be made aware of this, if he is not already, and should be advised that we have raised these matters with the Commissioners of both services for their personal and immediate attention.

DP/JBS/4-8-76

SOLAR ENERGY RESEARCH INSTITUTE (SERI)

- Q. We would like to have the new Solar Energy Research Institute located in Texas. What are our chances?
- A. ERDA, the Federal agency responsible for the bulk of our solar energy research and development program, recently completed its studies and decided on the type of solar energy research institute that is needed.

On March 15th, ERDA issued a request for proposals for a manager-operator and an initial facility for the proposed institute. Any responsible organization is qualified to respond to the request.

Proposals are due to ERDA by July 15, 1976. I understand ERDA expects to get a large number of proposals -- all of which will be evaluated by ERDA and a selection made sometime in December.

I would urge you to get your proposals in to ERDA so that you can be in the competition.

GRS

4/3/76

HOUSING INDUSTRY

Q: What is the Administration doing to help the housing industry recover from its recent slump?

A: I have asked for funds in my FY 77 budget to supply additional housing for 500,000 families. These programs will expand housing opportunities, spur construction and help to house moderate and low-income families.

Although 1975 was a disappointing year in the housing industry, current trends indicate that housing construction is beginning to pick up like the rest of the economy. My Administration will work to provide the proper financial and regulatory climate to assist this upturn.

Background

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 was signed on August 22, 1974. This Act increased the availability of mortgage credit by:

- extending all of the unsubsidized FHA insurance programs until June 30, 1977;
- increasing the size of mortgages that can be insured by the FHA -- from \$33,000 to \$45,000 for single family homes;
- increasing the size of mortgage loans by savings and loan associations from \$45,000 to \$55,000 for single family homes;
- increasing the size of mortgage loans that can be purchased by the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation -- from \$35,000 to \$55,000 for single family homes;
- increasing the size of mortgage loans that could be purchased by GNMA -- from \$33,000 to \$38,000 for single family homes;
- lowering the down payments required on FHA insured mortgages.

The Emergency Home Purchase Assistance Act of 1974 was signed on October 18, 1974. This bill authorizes the Government National Mortgage Association within the Department of Housing and Urban Development to make commitments up to \$7.75 billion at predetermined interest rates to purchase mortgages on both new and existing homes, which are not insured by the Federal Housing Administration or guaranteed by the Veterans Administration -- the so-called "conventional mortgages" which comprise about 80% of all mortgages. The advantage of the plan is that with the GNMA commitment, the homebuyer, the builder and lender have an insured source of financing at a known, favorable interest rate. The cost to the government is limited to the loss which GNMA realizes if its selling price for the mortgage is less than the original purchase price.

FIRST DRAFT ANSWERS



GENERAL

"FACE THE NATION"

TOPIC HEADINGS

Position Paper and Guidance [Gergen/Shuman]

General
Politics
Economics
Foreign Policy

ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH PRC

Q: Can you confirm the allegations made before the Lester Wolff Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee that the Administration intends to establish full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and sever ties with the Republic of China on Taiwan after the fall elections?

A: There is no timetable nor even an understanding regarding the modality by which the United States will establish normal relations with the People's Republic of China.

I have stated publicly on numerous occasions -- as in my speech at Honolulu on December 7 -- that I believe it is important to the future well being of this country that we establish a normal relationship with the People's Republic of China. The future security of Asia, and the evolution of a stable balance among the world powers in a nuclear age, require that we not slip back into the sterile confrontation we had in the past with a nation embodying nearly a quarter of mankind. Nor should we give up lightly the greater flexibility in our foreign policy which has come with our new dialogue with Peking.

Normalization will affect the interests of a number of our close friends and allies in the international community. These interests and concerns must be given the utmost respect as we proceed in our dealings with Peking. We cannot and will not compromise the security of others.

US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

Q: Is US support for Israel waning as some have charged?

A: My support for Israel's security and survival is unchanged and unflinching. My public and private statements here and abroad, my Administration's positions at the United Nations, and my request for \$4 billion for Israel for fiscal years 76 and 77 are evidence of the extent of our commitment.

Q: Do you blame Israel for lack of progress on a Middle East settlement because of domestic pressures in the US during an election year?

A: The achievement of a just and durable peace in the Middle East is a long and difficult process. All the parties share a responsibility in it; all recognize what is at stake. Our policies in that troubled region are not dictated by short term political considerations; at the same time our policy has never been to impose a settlement or to seek one-sided concessions. We are presently continuing our consultations with the interested parties on practical ways of furthering progress toward peace.

SYRIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN LEBANON

Q: What is your estimate of the numbers of Syrian troops in Lebanon and do you believe this presence constitutes a threat to Israel and possibly the pretext for a new war?

A: Given the fluidity in the situation, it is difficult to be precise on a moment-to-moment basis but we have had reports of a total of 5-6,000. We are regularly assessing the situation but it is not for us to define what Israel might consider a threat. Our chief interests are that there be an end to the fighting in Lebanon and a political settlement which preserves Lebanon's independence, territorial integrity and national unity, and that the situation in Lebanon not broaden into a bigger conflict.

IMPORTANCE OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT

Q: What is your strategy in the Middle East?

A: We remain determined to pursue efforts to help achieve a final peace settlement based on Resolutions 242 and 338. This is in our own interests and in the interests of all the governments in the area.

For us, this is a matter not only of choice but also of necessity. We have a commitment to Israel's security and survival and important interests in sound relations with our friends in the Arab world. We have seen how the most recent war and the oil embargo in 1973 brought about untold human suffering, disrupted the world economic situation and threatened great power confrontation in the area. The repetition of the events of 1973 would pose the gravest of threats not only to the Middle East but to the world in general. Since the October War, the US has been able to assist Israel, Egypt and Syria in negotiations -- courageously undertaken and concluded by all sides -- which produced agreements that reduced the danger of another war and improved prospects of a final and durable peace. We have enhanced our close relations with Israel and developed good political and economic ties with a number of Arab states.

The trust that both sides have placed in us was a key factor in our ability to help conclude a new Sinai agreement last fall. That accord vividly demonstrated the new potential for peace and in subsequent talks with leaders in the area, we have continued to explore possible avenues for progress. I intend to continue our efforts to help bring about an overall settlement in the Middle East for the benefit of the nations in the area and for the stability of the nations of the world.

SYRIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN LEBANON

Q: The US remains opposed to outside military intervention yet we appear to be helpless in preventing increasing numbers of Syrian troops from entering Lebanon. Do we therefore regard their presence as helpful as Dean Brown has suggested since ending his special assignment? At what point will the Syrian troop presence swell beyond Israel's level of tolerability?

A: We have consistently maintained that the political role Syria has played in mediating the conflict has been constructive. At the same time, our position on the risks of foreign military intervention remains unchanged. We have stated consistently that foreign intervention carries with it the risk of widening the conflict.

It is important to understand that the restoration of security in Lebanon which the parties themselves are discussing is very complex. In the last analysis the restoration of peace and security depends on the political accommodation among the parties in Lebanon themselves. We, of course, remain hopeful that a peaceful accommodation can be reached in the shortest possible time.

A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY

Q: Mr. President, why do we need a new Panama Canal Treaty?

A: Because the Canal is of such importance to us, I have concluded, as did my four immediate predecessors, that the present agreement does not adequately protect our long-term interests there. We need a new agreement which will assure us control over the defense and operation of the Canal during the treaty's lifetime and secure access after that. The issue involves not just the United States and Panama, but all of Latin America and trading nations the world over, which support a new treaty. As President, I must make policy decisions on the basis of all the information available to me and I must look at the broad international picture and determine the most responsible course to protect the long-term interests of the United States. My policy will do just that.

Q: Why do you consider that the present agreement does not adequately assure U.S. interests in the Canal?

A: The Canal crosses Panamanian territory. Seventy-five percent of its work force is comprised of Panamanians. Efficient operation and effective defense of the Canal necessarily depend upon willing cooperation from Panama, which of course has a vital interest in maintaining a secure and well run Canal.

I believe that through negotiation we can achieve a framework within which our long-term interests in the Canal will best be assured. Such an agreement would provide for U.S. control of the defense and operation of the Canal during the lifetime of a new treaty and for its neutrality and the freedom of access for all nations of the world after that.

Q: Does that mean you are giving up U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone?

A: We have long recognized Panamanian "titular sovereignty" in the Canal Zone, as President Eisenhower specifically stated in 1959.

The sovereignty question, however, is not the real issue. We have essentially three options: we can just give up our interests in the Canal or turn the issue over to the UN; we can resist all change and fight to retain the current situation; or we can discuss with the Panamanians whether there is a cooperative way in which the interests of both can be accommodated. I think the only responsible course for a President to take is the third course, and that is what I and my predecessors have done. We may not be successful, but it would be irresponsible not to make the effort.

U.S. AFRICAN POLICY (Majority Rule in Southern Africa)

Q: Mr. President, following up on the Secretary of State's trip to Africa and his speech in Lusaka, some of your opponents have claimed that this trip, and particularly the expressed support of majority rule in southern Africa, is inciting Africa to violence, and it does not take into account minority rights. Would you care to comment?

A: It is the American tradition as a part of our life and our history to support self-determination. Support for majority rule has been the consistent policy of Republican and Democratic administrations alike. This policy has had strong bipartisan support and rather than inciting to violence, support for majority rule is the one means to encourage peaceful transition. Our support of majority rule carries with it insistence on full protection of minority rights, and we will not endorse any development in southern Africa that does not provide for such rights.

Q: Mr. President, does your Administration intend to press for majority rights for all of southern Africa, including South Africa?

A: Well, first of all, you must make a basic distinction between the illegal regime in Rhodesia, South Africa's occupation of Namibia, and South Africa's recognized status as an African state. These are quite different situations. Nevertheless, apartheid in South Africa remains an issue of great concern to those committed to racial justice and human dignity, and the United States will exercise all

of its efforts to encourage an evolution toward equality of opportunity
and basic human rights for all South Africans.

FACE THE NATION

Some points to keep in mind:

Historical Position:

After the turmoil of the 1960's, after Vietnam, after Watergate, after inflation and recession, most of the American people want a steady and safe President. Although the Carter, Brown, Reagan types may attract attention and primary votes, when it comes down to the lever in the voting booth, people most likely will vote for the man they feel most comfortable with. This does not necessarily mean a do-nothing President. People also want a man who can redress some of the balance of power that has shifted so frighteningly -- to many -- toward Washington. But they do not want too radical a President who will sell off TVA, or shut off Social Security, or let conditions in cities, in foreign policy, in energy, or in a myriad of other fields deteriorate.

Posture:

In view of this feeling, you should subtly emphasize the personal qualities you so strongly represent, which fit into this national mood: steadfastness, trustworthiness, belief in traditional values (with an important appreciation of the positive new values, such as women's rights), your strength (not bowing to Congressional foolishness but willing to work with a sensible Congress, and so forth), and your expertise in government -- BUT -- and here you can play on the anti-Washington feeling by noting that it is a unique expertise, because you have been the outsider in the growth of government, the sensible, moderate Republican conservative who saw for years that most of the liberal programs now in such disrepute would not work, and who tried to block or modify those that were least sensible.

At the same time, you should also display compassion for the unemployed and the less fortunate and show that your

Humor

compassion is combined with a realistic sense of how to help people, that the very real limits of government do not mean that problems cannot be solved. Those limits mean only that we must find new ways of solving problems; in fact we must now seek new ways of understanding problems so that we can devise workable solutions.

In attacking Big Government, you ought not to attack, in a way that seems to damn the personal motivations or character of "the bureaucrats."

Even the most slothful federal employee probably likes to think of himself as dedicated, hard-working and underpaid. A better approach than attacking the "bureaucrats" would be to attack the Congress which has asked them to administer programs which are ineffective, intrusive, and expensive, and which often force -- by their sheer complexity and arbitrariness -- decent people to act in a reprehensible manner.

Issues:

The main issue we want to emphasize, it seems to me, is your theme of "Peace, Prosperity, and Trust."

But this is a broad area. You may be asked about specific programmatic plans. In reply, you can answer that much of what you stand for has been shown by the programs you have supported -- and list the major ones -- and that if elected you will continue that type of sensible administration, while at the same time seeking to develop new solutions to the major problems confronting us. (In other words, be specific enough to indicate you are a man who has had to deal with and is comfortable with facing the issues, but not so specific about new programs that your opponents can use them against you.)

FIRST DRAFT ANSWERS

