

# Department of Justice

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1	THE HONORABLE WILLIAM B. SAXBE		
5	ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES		
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7	WITH		
8	THE MARTIN AGRONSKY EVENING EDITION PROGRAM		
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#### PROCEEDINGS

MR. AGRONSKY: Good evening.

It will certainly take more than openness and informality and open door and accessibility to solve the problems that President Ford inherited when he took over the Oval Office just 18 days ago.

And it will take more than that, too, to restore public confidence in what the Attorney General of the United States has called a battered Department of Justice.

William Saxbe is our fourth Attorney General in five years. He bridges the two Administrations.

His own reputation for openness and informality has, for eight months now, refreshed some and infuriated others.

Mr. Saxbe's primary goal, he says, is to restore full public confidence in his Department.

Tonight, on Evening Edition, a discussion with Mr. William Saxbe, former Republican Senator from Ohio, and now Attorney General of the United States, of the pitfalls and problems that lie between him and the achievement of the refurbishing of the Department of Justice.

Mr. Attorney General, we might as well get the current events out of the way very quickly.

I am sure you are aware of the Newsweek Magazine report that you may be replaced in this Administration by Mr. William Ruckelshaus.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I don't think I'm leaving, and I don't think he wants the job. That's about as direct as I can put it.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, that's pretty direct.

How often have you seen President Ford since he took office?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, he's been there ten days. I think I've seen him four times, which is a whole lot more than I saw President Nixon in almost six months.

MR. AGRONSKY: I'd like to hear from you because you know Ford reasonably well personally. You have a feeling of the atmosphere as it existed before Mr. Ford took over from the Nixon Administration and the way it is now.

Tell me what is it like now, and then compare it to then.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, I think that President Ford is the type of a man that you want to do your best for, because you believe in what he says and you know he means what he says.

He actually wants to pick up the loose ends. He wants to fight inflation, which he rightly says is the No. 1 enemy. And he wants to operate the Government in an open and fair manner.

Now, it isn't all that easy. But when you start out from there, it's very helpful.

All of us that are in the Cabinet -- at least the ones that I have talked to -- are determined to do everything we can to help him with this, and to not burden him with the problems that we can solve, because we know what our mission is. I do in the Department of Justice. And I think the others are the same way.

MR. AGRONSKY: I don't want to intrude on personal conversations with the President, but I do think one can get a feeling of what a President is like -- you've had how many Cabinet meetings?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: We've had two -- well, we had a short meeting which had to do with the Vice President. It was just a symbolic meeting to announce that.

But we had two other meetings, one immediately after he was appointed, and then the meeting that we had today in regard to the economic affairs.

MR. AGRONSKY: What was the mood like?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: It was excellent. And the people that come into those meetings come prepared, the ones who have a part in the presentation.

He is a "no foolishness" man. He has stated he doesn't like small talk. He wants you to state your business and get on with it.

And for a man as busy as he is, I think that's good.

MR. AGRONSKY: Have you seen him personally aside

from the Cabinet meetings?

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ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes, I have had two personal meetings with him.

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Frankly, I wanted to determine my status as soon as

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possible --

That was the first time? MR. AGRONSKY:

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: That was the first time.

And to state some things about our housekeeping and day-to-day affairs that I think he should know that he couldn't read in the paper: some of the pending cases, some of the pending decisions or what we think they are going to be, the direction that we are heading on some things.

And then I had another short meeting with him last week on some more private affairs that I can't discuss.

MR. AGRONSKY: What was the give and take like in terms of dealing with him as compared --

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, in the first meeting, we had almost an hour. He's a listener. He's willing to listen to my problems.

And I told him that these are things that I have to bring to you. They aren't things that I can take care of myself, but some of them are strictly information.

And he told me what I wanted to know, when there were questions to be decided. Last week, in a meeting that we had together, he told me exactly where he stood on some

things, and some things, as I say, I can't talk about, that are coming up, that he needs my help on.

Now --

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Attorney General --

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: It's open, it's friendly, and you feel that you are getting across.

MR. AGRONSKY: Did you ever have the chance to talk to Mr. Nixon as he neared the end of his Administration?

One would have thought that he would have had to have some recourse to his Attorney General.

Did he ever come to you with a problem?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I think this was one of his weaknesses, not that I could have helped him a great deal in those days, but I might have beforehand.

But, as you know, the prosecution of the charges was with the Committee and the Special Prosecutor. The defense was with his counsel, Mr. St. Clair and his group.

And this consumed so much of his time that he didn't have time to talk about the day-to-day things that had to do with the management of the various departments.

MR. AGRONSKY: Did you ever volunteer any advice or help in the whole area of Watergate at the end?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: In the Cabinet meetings, but it wasn't particularly well received.

MR. AGRONSKY: What was his mood?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, I was always amazed that he was as calm and collected in the face of tremendous problems as he was.

And this continued right up until the last Cabinet meeting, which was just a couple of days before his decision.

At that meeting --

MR. AGRONSKY: When he insisted he wouldn't resign?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: He said he wasn't going
to resign, and most of the meeting was concerned with economic problems.

He was very cool about it and proceeded very business like.

MR. AGRONSKY: In these two private conversations you had with President Ford, I have to assume that you must have raised the problem of his predecessor and what will go on as far as Mr. Nixon is concerned in relation to the Government of the United States.

Is that a very proper assumption?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Only briefly.

That certainly wasn't the continuing theme of our meeting. It was just raised in passing.

MR. AGRONSKY: Raised in passing or raised in detail?

Can you give me any indication whatsoever as to the President's views on that matter? •

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: No.

The President gave me no views on the matter that he hasn't stated publicly; that the proceedings will take their course and that he is not going to be involved in them.

MR. AGRONSKY: Did you give him any of your views?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Only that which coincided with that. I think that's correct.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let me read you an exchange, a colloquy, that occurred when Mr. Ford was before the Senate. Judiciary Committee for confirmation as Vice President of the United States, where he said something that involves you very, very directly, and we can carry it on from there.

Senator Cannon asked Mr. Ford -- this is in the confirmation hearings --: "Do you believe that any President or Vice President of the United States should claim absolute immunity from prosecution while in office?"

Mr. Ford answered, "As I understand the Constitution, the President has to be impeached and convicted before he can be prosecuted. But once impeached and convicted by the Congress, he is not immune under any circumstances to criminal prosecution."

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes, I'm aware of that.

I think that's correctly stated.

That's all.

MR. AGRONSKY: What does it mean to you?

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ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: It means simply that the President now as a private citizen is subject to those actions which may be taken if there is violation of the law.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let me be even more specific.

Earlier, Senator Cannon said to Mr. Ford, and this, by the way, was eight months ago, but he asked prophetically, "If a President resigns his office before his term expires, would his successor have the power to prevent or to terminate any investigation or criminal prosecution against the former President?"

Mr. Ford: "I don't think the public would stand for it. I think -- and whether he has the technical authority or not, I cannot give you a categorical answer -- the Attorney General, in my opinion, with the help and support of the American people, would be the controlling factor."

You are the Attorney General, Mr. Saxbe.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I certainly have heard nothing from him to change his position on that.

He is correct, however, in that statement. And Senator Cannon was correct.

The President does have the power to pardon, even before an accused is brought to trial, any time after the commission of the act, he can pardon. So he does have that power.

He has shown no inclination to do so in anticipation of the fact.

25 Mr. Nixon

Now, the Special Prosecutor, Mr. Jaworski, under his charter, which I agreed to before the Senate Committee, has the authority normally vested in the Attorney General and still vested there and delegated to him to analyze, to determine and to proceed as he sees fit.

MR. AGRONSKY: Are you telling me then that you feel that that particular decision, as far as you are concerned, should remain in the hands of Mr. Jaworski; that you would subordinate your authority to his in this matter?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes.

MR. AGRONSKY: Do you intend to stand aside?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I don't intend to stand aside if he comes to me. I would certainly take a part in it. But the authority under the charter is directed to him concerning all of the matters dealing with the election of 1972 and the facts surrounding it, which most of Watergate springs from, if you recall.

Now, I have protected Mr. Jaworski when I thought he needed it, and I have left him alone when he didn't. And it is my intention to continue to do that unless he asks for a change in that relationship.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, let's quit fencing around.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: All right.

MR. AGRONSKY: What do you think we should do with Mr. Nixon and who should do it?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, that's one answer you're not going to get from me until Mr. Jaworski does it, because, frankly, I intend to support him and I intend to give him the room to determine if there is an area of indictment and proceed from there.

For me to second-guess him when he's got the investigators, has the files, and the responsibility would not be seemly.

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Attorney General --

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: What I am saying is that I intend to back Mr. Jaworski as long as he is the Special Prosecutor.

MR. AGRONSKY: I understand you, and you've made it very clear. You have never deviated from that particular position; I understand it.

I was merely trying to get from you, an expression of your own feeling about the situation as the Attorney General of the United States, with the concern that you have for justice, for equality under the law; how you feel about the situation; what should be done about it.

After all, a man in your position speaks for the Justice Department. I may go beyond that and say he speaks, in effect, for justice and for the law.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: And it would not be justice for me to come here and to make a statement like I am

going to see him in jail; I'm going to see him free; I'm going to see him not prosecuted; I'm going to see him prosecuted, when it's not going to be me that makes that decision.

But I have to back it up whichever way it goes.

MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Attorney General, I'm afraid you are going to find me difficult, but let me quote you an observation that you made on June 24th.

You said it's hardly reassuring -- you were speaking now of sentences that were handed out in the Watergate affair -- you said it's hardly reassuring when one man goes to prison for years for theft, while another, involved in a conspiracy to steal our freedoms, is in and out of jail in the wink of an eye.

You said criminal violations cannot be tolerated on the part of anyone, no matter what position of public trust they may have held, no matter how glib their attempts at justification may be.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I not only said that, but

I went further and I said that there must not only be fairness

but there must be the appearance of fairness. And this is

what many of the American people want to see.

And I haven't changed on that. I think as the events work out that the American people will be satisfied with the outcome.

But as to my coming here and saying what the course

of action is going to be, I'm not about to. MR. AGRONSKY: Mr. Attorney General, let me compare 2 it a different way --3 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: An end run? 4 MR. AGRONSKY: An end run, if you like. 5 Your predecessor, the Attorney General, Mr. 6 Richardson, in the case of the Vice President, the then Vice 7 President of the United States, Spiro Agnew, permitted him, to 8 use the criminal term, to cop a plea -- to use more elegant 9 language, to plead nolo contendere. 10 Mr. Agnew left behind him a 42-page document in which 11 the Justice Department set forth any number of unresolved 12 counts which could have been brought to bear against Mr. 13 Agnew. 14 The Attorney General, in explaining why he took 15 that action, said that it would have been intolerable for a 16 Vice President of the United States, in that position, to 17 have been going through the courts at a time when the position 18 of the President himself was in jeopardy and perhaps on a 19 criminal count. And, therefore, he excused that position. 20 So, Mr. Agnew, in effect, having copped a plea on 21 the most minor of a series of infractions and allegations of 22 criminal action, walked away, walked away clean and free. 23 Had you been the Attorney General at that point, 24 would you have agreed with that reason? 25

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: I don't know because you can't put yourself in a position in the time and place. You can only guess.

I don't want to second-guess Mr. Richardson, because

I know what he did was, in his thinking, in the best interest

of the country.

He was worried that we were going to wind up with a Vice President who was indicted and being tried as a criminal. And if the President died, or otherwise made the spot vacant, that we could have a convicted felon as President of the United States.

And he thought the price was cheap in getting him to cop this plea.

Now, whether I would have done the same thing, I don't know, because there's no way I can put myself in those circumstances.

But I do know this, that the American people, if I have any feel for it, were so glad to get rid of Mr. Agnew that they generally accepted this.

Now, one of the interesting developments on this is that we are constantly arguing this fact about prison: do we need prisons? There is this large group of people who want to convert everybody: "Prisons don't rehabilitate so we are going to burn down the prison."

Therefore, if you have a prisoner who is not a

threat to the community, then you are only wasting the tax-1 payers' money by putting him in jail. 2 These same people come in and say, well, Agnew should 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 plane. 10 all that. one to four years.

be under the jail. No one alleges he is a threat to the community but, at the same time, they argue one way for the common criminal, the mugger and the burglar, and they argue another way when it comes to Mr. Agnew. All I ask for is consistency. MR. AGRONSKY: Let me move it to a more elevated We are not talking about Mr. Agnew. That was a first stop en route to another question. We are talking, really, again about Mr. Nixon, again not in a vindictive sense at all, not necessarily in terms of whether his punishment so far fitted the crime and Let's look at it in another way. Of thirty-eight, I believe, defendants in the various aspects of the Watergate trial that have come to trial, many have been sent to jail. John Dean, if you remember, who as much as anyone else enabled all of this information to come to light, got Now, the question that is obviously raised in the minds of everyone, and the question that must trouble you,

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as the Attorney General, is: what would the American people think about a system of justice if all of these men who are involved, in effect, as accomplices of the President of the United States in the commission of these crimes were to be punished and the man who was at the center of the entire conspiracy were not to be punished?

Does it bother you in terms --

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes.

And I get thousands of letters stating one side or the other.

I think this is a general concern in the country at the present time. And the question that comes up more often than not is, well, should we be trying a President: what's the effect on our foreign affairs; what's the effect upon the guy on the street who is arrested for a simple crime; what's going to be the overall effect?

And I am sure all of these are before Mr. Jaworski, as he makes his decision. And if Mr. Jaworski asks me to take it over, I'll take it over. He has not, and I am not going to second-guess him as he goes through this agony.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, you're telling me --

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: And I am sure he is.

MR. AGRONSKY: You are not ducking it. You are just saying it's in Mr. Jaworski's jurisdiction.

It will remain there unless he gives it up?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: It's in Mr. Jaworski's jurisdiction.

And if he wants to turn it over to me, that's his privilege. But I am not going to violate my promise to

Congress that I would not interfere. And I did promise them categorically that I would not interfere with his proceedings

I am not going to fire him and I am not going to let anybody molest him. And he is going to have the privilege of going ahead as he sees fit.

I am not going to second-guess him.

MR. AGRONSKY: Okay.

The President was given very high marks, as you know, for opening up this whole question of amnesty for Vietnam deserters and evaders so very early in his Administration before an audience of VFW, Veterans of Foreign Wars, that was, you know, admittedly hostile.

Now, he has asked you to work up a study on amnesty.

Is it to be conditional amnesty?

Has the President indicated it is to be amnesty to be decided case by case? Mr. Ford used a phrase that everyone has been puzzling about; he said the young men in question might, as he put it, work their way back.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Earn.

MR. AGRONSKY: Work their way back into society.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Right.

1 And another place he said they must earn it. 2 MR. AGRONSKY: Or earn their way back. 3 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Right. 4 MR. AGRONSKY: Now, you've started on this study? 5 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes, we've spent a lot of time --6 7 MR. AGRONSKY: Can you give me any idea on some of your thinking on this? 8 9. ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, first, we have two questions. 10 We have the deserter. That's a man that stood up 11 there, raised his hand, took the oath and has become a 12 member of the Armed Forces. 13 MR. AGRONSKY: And went over the hill. 14 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: And went over the hill. 15 And many of them went over the hill for many other 16 reasons than the Vietnam War. 17 They shot the cook. They fragged the Lieutenant. 18 They married a native against regulations. They went on 19 leave and never came back. 20 MR. AGRONSKY: Right. 21 ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, maybe one in ten is 22 genuine. 23 Now, the no show --24 MR. AGRONSKY: There were others who --25

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: We've got about a thousand or maybe a thousand here.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Many of these are hard cases. They are not going to make any act of contrition. They want to come back as heroes or not at all.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: They want the country to declare that it was wrong. And, of course, we are not about to do this at this time.

Now, these people are, therefore, limiting themselves by this to at least half, so we are talking about maybe 2,000 no shows at most.

MR. AGRONSKY: You are insisting on --

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: An act of contrition.

MR. AGRONSKY: -- an act of contrition, meaning the admission, "I was wrong. I'm sorry."

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Yes.

MR. AGRONSKY: Go ahead.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: Well, it follows from what the President said. We haven't discussed it further. We're going to give him some options.

But whatever, they have to come in to either the Draft Board, the U. S. Attorney, the State Selective Service Headquarters, or a special commission, and they say. "I'm

sorry. I want to take my medicine."

MR. AGRONSKY: The medicine being?

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: The medicine being -- it

can run from the extreme of two years of substantial assistance to some hospital, some public works, some good works of

various kinds. This is what we ask of the CO's.

The CO's came in and said we don't believe in war, we don't believe in Vietnam, so they would send them out to a state hospital to be an orderly. And many of them did this, particularly the religious sects: the Mennonites, the Amish, the Jehovah Witnesses, others, whose feeling was so strong that they were CO's.

Now, that's the most that we can expect. Nobody wants to put them in the Army or in the ACTION package of VISTA or Peace Corps, anything like that. Nobody wants to do that.

Now, the minimum would be that they come in and present themselves, and in a quasi-judicial type of operation, they say we will suspend any prosecution if you behave yourself for two years or six months.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: And that's the minimum.

MR. AGRONSKY: You keep talking now about those who

make the case that they did not go into the service on

principle.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: They are going to make

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exceptions if they have no bad time, if they weren't bad actors. They can come back and they could get the same treatment that we are talking about in the no show.

MR. AGRONSKY: Oh, they can?

I didn't realize that because you indicated you are making a line there.

Those who were deserters were still subject to military justice.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: But this is only procedural.

MR. AGRONSKY: I see.

ATTORNEY GENERAL SAXBE: The no shows will come to us or our representative.

The deserters will come to the military, because we have no jurisdiction over them.

We can't say that if you don't do thus and so, we are going to prosecute you, because we don't have the power to prosecute.

But, what we are talking about here is we are going to give these people a chance if they want it.

And it is not going to involve prison.

Now, if they are staying away because they are afraid of going to prison -- and this is what the President said -- we are going to say, you come back and you are not going to prison. And we think this will take a good chunk of them that want to come back but don't want to go to prison.

Now, there's unanswered questions.

The guy that went over the hill was prosecuted and served his time. We are going to have to pardon him.

How about the guy in Canada who wants to come and visit his folks? We've got a problem there.

MR. AGRONSKY: I wish we could go on, Mr. Attorney General.

Thank you very much.