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[April 1975]

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Bayh Criticizes President on Vietnam Aid Criticism

Sen. Birch Bayh (D., Ind.), a possible contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination, criticized President Ford for criticizing Congress for rejecting additional aid to South Vietnam, CBS reported.

"It would be foolish for us to consider giving them more military aid -- it just doesn't make any sense at all," Bayh said (on film). "I think the facts certainly bear out my contention that they are losing, not because they don't have adequate military assistance. It's because they don't have the leadership and they don't have the will," Bayh said.

\* \* \* \*

World Airways to Fly 1500 Vietnamese Orphans to U.S. and Australia

World Airways President, Edward Daly, who made the last refugee airlift out of Da Nang, announced Tuesday he will fly 1,500 orphaned Vietnamese infants to the United States and Australia, even though those countries and South Vietnam have not given him permission, CBS reported.

"What are they going to do with those planes, shoot them down?" Daley asked.

\* \* \* \*

Reporters Question President's Golf

At Tuesday's press briefing, reporters posed a number of questions about the President's golfing at a time of crisis in South Vietnam, CBS reported.

White House Press Secretary, Ron Nessen "claimed Mr. Ford is spending time on this problem each day," said Phil Jones (CBS).

"But finally, after persistent questioning, Nessen asked rhetorically, 'Would it prevent anything from happening in South Vietnam if the President did not play golf?'," Jones reported.



# Wallace Asks Advice On '76 Race

By J. M. McFadden

Special to The Washington Post

**MONTGOMERY, Ala.,**  
March 31—A mail solicitation of nearly 1 million potential contributors to any presidential campaign of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace asks them whether he should run again and requests a \$10 contribution.

"I personally feel that one



# ***Clemency Applications Put at 25,000***

United Press International

Officials of the three phases of President Ford's "earned re-entry" program yesterday **estimated** applications for **conditional** clemency might reach the 25,000 mark.

But they said precise fig-

# U. S. Envoy Is Top Defender of Thieu

By Jack Anderson  
and Les Whitten

It's difficult to determine whether Graham Martin, the American ambassador to South Vietnam, is working for the United States or for Nguyen Van Thieu's government.

The aserbic Martin, whose undiplomatic outbursts have become legendary, has been in constant hot water with Gen-

nesty International demanding release of alleged political prisoners. In many cases, the correspondents name the prisoner in question. The embassy has checked many of these names with the Ministry of Interior. We have yet to find a documented case of a 'political prisoner.' "

Yet remarkably, visiting U.S. lawmakers have succeeded in locating several prisoners who have been jailed and tortured

Mam swore to the Americans that he was not guilty of the charges against him. He had been beaten badly, he said, in the presence of South Vietnamese officials. As the three legislators started to leave, Mam slipped them a letter written in blood.

A Fraser aide, Robert Boettcher, spoke with a girl who said she had been picked up "at random" from a marketplace

when Fraser showed up at police headquarters, he was given three ground rules:

(1) He was not to discuss controversial issues with the prisoners; (2) he could ask them only for their names, dates of birth and state of health; and (3) he would be accompanied by government officials.

Fraser was so incensed, according to eyewitnesses, that he

# Udall Calls Viet 'Loss' False Issue

By Richard L. Lyons

Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) warned the administration yesterday that it will make a mistake if it tries to blame a loss of Indochina on the Democratic Congress' opposition to more military aid.

The presidential hopeful taking note of White House statements, told a news conference.

"This is no time for recrimination and bitterness about who lost Indochina. It wasn't ours to lose in the first place. The American people don't want to play that game. We made a mistake, all of us, in getting involved. The President will divide the country if he seeks to make this a partisan issue."

• Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons.-R.N.Y.) urged private and governmental agencies to help Vietnamese refugees. Sen. Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.) asked the President to appeal to the United Nations for refugee aid.

Udall, broke with a Democratic administration 7½ years ago to oppose U.S. military involvement in Indochina, said he favored providing "a couple hundred million dollars" for food and medical supplies for Indochina and for helping the refugees return to their villages and farms.

But he said he will oppose any more military aid for South Vietnam unless its government can form a strong defense perimeter around Saigon and more aid is needed to start negotiations. He does not believe this will happen.

Udall said the United States should also do everything possible, including trying to bring in the Soviets and Chinese, to limit suffering in the wake of an expected Communist takeover of Vietnam. This might include granting asylum in the

Brent -- take special note of this paragraph.

Jack

sent to  
Scowcroft  
4/7-al

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## ... And President Ford's Reassessment

President Ford's "reassessment" of Mideast policy, coinciding with the most rancid U.S.-Israel relationship ever, has produced one hard result: a holdup of final approval for arming Israel with two advanced U.S. weapons systems.

Negotiations for delivery of the 170-mile-range Lance missile with conventional warhead and the F-15 fighter aircraft, both avidly sought by Israel, have been suspended. That is by no means proof that Mr. Ford has decided to use the weapons lever to force concessions from Israel. To the contrary, reassessment at the highest levels here will reach no final conclusions prior to completion around April 10.

have affected the talks, he said, because it wasn't sent until after Rabin turned down the last Egyptian plan (even though the formal Israeli cabinet approval of the turn-down came a few hours later).

Item: Israel's insistence on formal Egyptian "non-belligerence" as the price for yielding strategic Sinai passes and oil fields, despite highly persuasive Israeli statements to the U.S. before the latest round of talks that this would not be a sticking point.

While such distrust and anger were being sown between the Israeli and U.S. governments, a special Israeli mil-

So pervasive is the President's reappraisal that Kissinger summoned a blue-ribbon panel of elder statesmen and former high officials for a private review Monday at the State Department.

Among the dozen present were former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, former Under Secretary George Ball (who has differed fundamentally with Kissinger's settlement formula) and former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon. All have tried in the past—always unsuccessfully—to negotiate Israeli withdrawal from captured Arab territories, seeking Arab-Israeli peace.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

George on annual  
leave - passed  
attached on to  
Kyle Miller, his  
#2 man.



News Summary  
April 4, 1975  
(Friday's networks, wires)

Viet Cong Say 'Rout' Was Really 'Panic'

Viet Cong representatives have told their contacts in the American peace movement that what the United States has been calling full-scale offensive in South Vietnam really began as a limited military escalation, ABC reported. David Schoumacher (ABC) reported that what took place, according to the Viet Cong, was not a massive attack, but massive panic. The Viet Cong version of what happened has been verified by Quakers on the scene in DaNang and is credited by some intelligence circles in the United States, Schoumacher said.

\* \* \* \*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

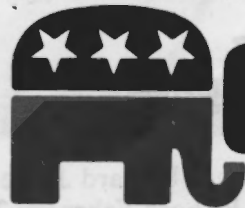
April 4, 1975

Jack, a copy of this was sent along to me by J. M. Niemczyk, Director of the Heritage Groups Division at the Republican National Committee. He asked that I pass on a copy for your own information.

Russ

R





# **GOP Nationalities News**

**Volume 5 Number 2 March 1975**

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## **CIA Panel May Probe JFK Killing**

By Lou Cannon  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**SAN DIEGO, April 3—President Ford said today that the Rockefeller commission may investigate a report that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy.**

At the same time the President used apparently carefully chosen language to defend the basic conclusion of the Warren commission which in-



*David S. Broder*

# Vietnam: An Issue for Wallace

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Any thought that the United States might be spared the agony of recrimination over “who lost Vietnam” can be forgotten. George C. Wallace, who has built a political career on the exploitation of divisive issues, has fastened on the tragedy unfolding in Indochina as the latest weapon in his unending assault on the

The point had been made. But Wallace, displaying the same headstrong quality that led to his fateful choice of retired U.S. Air Force Gen. Curtis Lemay as his 1968 running-mate, was unable to curb his own anger.

“I knew the Communists would never keep the Paris records,” he said. “They’re liars and cheats, and anyone who thinks you can detente with them without being able to look them in the eye because they know you’ve got the strength and will use it—they’re crazy.

“Fellows like Lemay that they called Hawks, they’re the real Doves. Lemay would have ended that war. The real warmongers are those who cut the heart out of our defense for all these social welfare programs. And those who said, ‘oh, no, you mustn’t carry the war to them’—they’re the ones who are going to have to answer for this.”

*The writer was a special assistant to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and top domestic adviser to President Lyndon Johnson.*

Joseph A. Califano Jr.

# Where Have All the Leaders Gone?

At a time when America desperately needs leaders who seek to make history, our nation seems condemned to a President, Secretary of State and loyal opposition who are more interested in rewriting it. In response to the debacle in Indochina, President Ford, Secretary of State Kissinger and Secretary of Defense Schlesinger have made a judgment to feed the Democratic Congress to the lions rather than to lead the people. With the simplicity adaptable to modern communications — televised press conferences and newspaper headlines — they are trying to convince the people that the

For the Democrats are distinctly vulnerable. On March 29, Sen Adlai Stevenson III (D-Ill.) wrote to The Washington Post that more military aid for South Vietnam would "only assure a bloody takeover by the Communists," whereas the termination of aid would free "the South Vietnamese for the first time to establish a broad-based government which could govern, negotiate and with the [Viet Cong] carry out the Paris Agreement." Like too many of his House and Senate colleagues, he ignores the fact that the withdrawal of Lon Nol in Cambodia only led Prince Sihanouk to demand that Lon Nol's

This amorality play of recrimination is staged by leading Democrats and Republicans at a time when the American people are obsessed with economic problems and disgusted with international entanglements that intrude upon their self-interested attempts to solve the intransigent problems of domestic inflation, unemployment and maldistribution of wealth. The recent Chicago Council on Foreign Relations poll reports that the only nation to which a majority (77 per cent) of the American people are willing to commit troops in case of invasion is Canada. Only 29 per cent would

Marquis Childs

## 'Wallowing in Vietnam'

"Wallowing in Watergate" was the expression used by Richard Nixon to deride the press for dwelling on the scandals of his administration. Wallowing in the tragedy of Vietnam is a condition absorbing the press and much of officialdom, especially President Ford.

The ultimate tragedy of this long, fearful, divisive ordeal would be a quarrel among ourselves over who lost Vietnam. Ford seemed to anticipate such a quarrel in his San Diego press conference. Granted questions from reporters pushed hard on the imminent

The United States, with Secretary of State Kissinger taking full responsibility, cancelled the visit of a troupe of Chinese performers that were to tour the country. The reason was a song calling for the liberation of Taiwan. This may in American eyes be a small matter. Peking is offended, believing it was a violation of the Shanghai communique signed by President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai, stating that the Chinese on both sides of the Formosa Strait are Chinese.

At times President Ford manages to

"There are, with regard to Indochina, stronger reasons for allied misgivings: our government's failure to learn from the China experience; its repeated misinterpretations of and self-deception regarding Indochina, and its series of remarkably bad judgments, culminating in the wanton decision to attack and assume responsibility for Cambodia."

If there is to be a quarrel over blame for the collapse of Vietnam and Cambodia it is likely to be even more charged with emotion than the "who lost China?" conflict. The 55,000 Amer-

# U.S. Files To Intervene In Suit Against Mississippi Colleges

By JAMES LEGGETT

From The Commercial Appeal  
Greenville Miss., Bureau

GREENVILLE, Miss., April 8. — The Justice Department, in a motion signed by Atty. Gen. Edward H. Levi, Tuesday moved to intervene in a racial discrimination lawsuit against public Mississippi higher education institutions.

Levi signed a Justice Department complaint asking that the government be allowed to intervene in a January lawsuit in which blacks claimed the state discriminates against them by establishing branches of "historically white" schools near predominantly black schools in an attempt to foster segregation.

"Unless enjoined by this court, the defendants will continue to maintain and operate a dual system of higher education based on race and will continue to refuse to take affirmative steps to disestablish that dual system and to eliminate the continuing effects of present and past discrimination to the immediate and irreparable injury of the United States of America and of black students attending and prospective black students who may attend state-supported schools in Mississippi."

The attorneys asked for a court order enjoining state education officials from maintaining and perpetuating racial dualism in the state-supported system of higher education and that they



# U.S. Tries To Intervene In Civil Against Mississippi Colleges

By JAMES L. MOYER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (AP) — The U.S. Justice Department in a move to force integration in a school district in the city of Jackson, Miss., has filed a suit in federal court against the state of Mississippi.

The suit, filed in the U.S. District Court in Jackson, charges that the state has violated the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 by refusing to desegregate its public schools.

The suit also charges that the state has violated the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 by denying the right to vote to Negroes in the state of Mississippi.

The suit is the latest in a series of federal actions against the state of Mississippi to force integration in its public schools.

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"Mississippi will continue to maintain and operate a dual system of education based on race and will continue to refuse to take any effective steps to desegregate its public schools and to eliminate the remaining vestiges of segregation and discrimination in its public schools."

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*Calvin  
Notes*



*Joseph Kraft*

# The Lessons of Defeat

PARIS—The rout in Southeast Asia is so visibly the fault of local governments and armies that no one can fairly put the primary blame on any group of Americans. But the helpless bystander role of the United States is not without lessons.



*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

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# 'Brainstorming' Out of Vietnam

On Monday morning, a top-level Pentagon official was horrified to hear the television news quoting Gen. George Brown from Indonesia on possible renewed U.S. military intervention in Vietnam—his horror pointing up the impossible dilemma facing President Ford and darkening this nation's future.

The Defense Department civilian immediately placed a transoceanic tele-

mander in the South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) but one of the best in the world. Yet, symbolizing the despair in Saigon, Truong is now hospitalized with temporary exhaustion following the disintegration of his entire Army Corps in the North.

In truth, however, even revitalized leadership would face impossible odds, thanks to the disastrous ARVN retreat combined with the flood southward of

of all but a handful of millions of Vietnamese who placed their faith in this country.

Military expert Sir Robert Thompson stopped in Washington six weeks ago on his way home to London from Vietnam while public and congressional opinion loudly denounced permanent U.S. commitments in Indochina. "Eternal dishonor," commented Sir Robert, "is a permanent commitment."



*Kenneth Crawford*

# Indochina Recriminations



In a recent talk show on the public television channel a lot of gratuitous advice was passed out. One panelist advised against "recriminations" in this country when the question becomes: Who lost Indochina? She

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*Mr. Crawford is a former columnist for Newsweek.*

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said such recriminations would be "divisive." Another member of the panel warned against discussion of the defeat in a cold-war context. He said the cold war was passe—a relic of the

*"Congress has said that what is left of Cambodia and South Vietnam under non-Communist auspices must be defeated quickly to end the bloodshed of war."*

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the roads to Saigon under North Vietnamese rocket and artillery fire. It might be comforting to them to know that the explosives came from a branch of the one big happy world family brought together by detente.

lost on the Thais, the Filipinos, the Israelis, the Portuguese and, naturally, the Soviet and Chinese governments.

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*"This was an army out of hope and on the run from an enemy superior in equipment and numbers and it panicked."*

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Sir Robert is exactly right in his interpretation of what Congress has said. ~~It~~ said that what is left of Cambod-

Washington Post - 4/9/75

## *Aid for Vietnam Refugees*

PRESIDENT FORD has no more difficult or urgent task in his foreign policy address to the Congress tomorrow than to strike a correct balance between his administration's political objectives and the country's moral obligations in Vietnam. He can hardly be expected to announce the abandonment of Saigon. Yet his previous plans to seek a final three-year commitment of military aid have been mooted by the South Vietnamese collapse, and his suggestion just last week that he might ask for more than an additional \$300 million for fiscal year 1975 is already politically obsolete. And even if he finds it possible to frame a feasible military-aid request meant to enable Saigon to proceed limping toward an end short of outright surrender, he will also have to find a way

His problem is complicated by the fact that although refugee care sounds strictly humanitarian, it actually is political because it involves not only an offer of service or refuge but an assertion of control. Many Americans, touched by the pathos of the refugees' plight, are reaching out to help them, especially the most vulnerable and symbolic among them, the children. But the North Vietnamese and Vietcong regard this concern as an effort to remove their citizens from their prospective control, and to show them up for being incompetent and heartless. As long as the war goes on, those who wish to help the Vietnamese people ostensibly on a humanitarian basis will have to accept the charge that they are engaging in politics too.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

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# Rockefeller, Reagan and the GOP Right

Vice President Nelson Rockefeller's choice as his new policy adviser of an outspoken liberal Republican from California who makes Ronald Reagan see red reflects both polarization and increasing confusion in the upper reaches of the Republican Party.

John G. Veneman, widely esteemed as under secretary of Health, Educa-

tion than Jack Veneman? "This was not a political appointment," a Rockefeller spokesman told us in all seriousness.

But Veneman is a politician to his fingertips who, of course, will be advising Rockefeller on politics as well as health care legislation. Accordingly, his political background takes on significance.

Nor does Rockefeller's new course seem coordinated with the President, who would have ruled differently on Rule 22 and prefers not to offend Ronald Reagan. The latter desire explains Mr. and Mrs. Ford inviting the Reagans to dinner-for-four at a rented Palm Springs Mansion April 2.

*Hobart Rowen*

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# James Lynn: The Boss Behind the Budget

You would think that a Republican presiding over a budget that he says threatens to run an unprecedented \$100 billion in the red would approach the job with a sense of foreboding or, at least, trepidation.

But James Lynn, the President's



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# Lisbon Envoys, Kissinger Disagree

**By Jack Anderson  
and Les Whitten**

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger reportedly has made up his mind that Portugal is turning Communist, but he can't seem to keep an ambassador there who will agree with him

assistance to the new Portuguese government and, thereby, to bolster the moderates who want to keep Portugal in the Atlantic Alliance.

Kissinger dispatched a special team to Portugal to make an independent assessment. They returned with a report that as

val operations, former ambassador to Portugal and present chairman of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board.

Anderson maintains a fashionable home in the gentle, southern province of Algarve. He helped to convince Kis-

to the new government. But his basic attitude, according to our sources, remains unchanged.

Meanwhile, 44-year-old Frank Carlucci, a former troubleshooter for President Nixon, has taken over as the new American ambassador. He hadn't been in Lisbon long before he

T. D. Allman

# The Refugee Strategy

America's 21-year war in Vietnam is ending as it began—with massive population displacements encouraged by U.S. policy, which would not have occurred without American intervention, and which are storing up human and political problems which will afflict both Vietnam and America for years to come.

The American aircraft today fly ammunition into Saigon and fly babies out: The CIA's Col. Edward G. Lansdale was doing the same thing in Hanoi exactly 20 years ago. Unwary children were hustled into airplanes as they took off, to ensure their relatives followed on the next one. Before

Eight million South Vietnamese and half of Laos' three million people were made refugees, often dozens of times. The Nixon-Kissinger Cambodia invasion created two million refugees in three months. Official U.S. reports that the firepower war was killing twice as many children under 13 as fully armed U.S. combat troops; that refugee children were developing diseases, such as night blindness, previously unknown in Indochina, were welcomed by U.S. officials as signs of "progress." Depopulating the countryside, not military progress, provided the U.S. statistics that the population of Vietnam was increasingly "friendly"

It provides the ideal emotional and bureaucratic escape from America's real responsibilities. Instead of plan-

ning comprehensive aid for redevelopment, the Washington task forces grind out scenarios for airlifting millions to freedom. As thousands claw and bribe their ways on to U.S. aircraft, U.S. officials, rather than trying to understand the bases of their Vietnam failure, assert yet again that a nation is "voting with its feet" against communism.

The validity of such assertions can be judged by imagining the chaos if a U.S. President suddenly announced that one million Bengalis, Ethiopians or Chileans were to be given free rides to America. The melodrama of Danang, in this sense, was instructive. Thousands rushed to board U.S. trans-

