# The original documents are located in Box 131, folder "President, 1975 (2)" of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Digitized from Box 131 of The Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

#### March 7, 1975

Mr. President:

Next week is the week you indicated that John Hersey, the novelist and your former Yale classmate, spend considerable time with you for a long profile for the New York Times' magazine to be published around May 1.

As Hersey told you when he came for a visit one Friday evening, his story will deal with your personality and style rather than any hard news events which may occur during the week. I need some decisions on the following specific requests by Hersey:

1. He would like to spend as much time as possible in the Oval Office while you are holding meetings.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

OTHER:

2. For those meetings or portions of meetings which you don't think he should hear you could suggest that he wait outside with Terry O'Donnell.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

OTHER:

3. He would like to spend some time with you on either Sunday, March 9 for Sunday, March 16 as you relax with casual weekend activities.

Sunday, March 9 APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

Sunday, March 16 APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

OTHER:

Page 2

4. He would like to spend at least one evening with you during a typical relaxed family evening at home.

APPROVE: DISAPPROVE:

OTHER:

5. He would like to sit in on Don Rumsfeld's 8:00 a.m. senior staff meeting, probably Monday, March 10.

APPROVE: \_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE: \_\_\_\_

OTHER:

6. He would like to sit in on your own series of meetings with your staff: General Scowcroft, Bob Hartmann, Don Rumsfeld, Jack Marsh, Ron Nessen, etc.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

OTHER:

7. He would like a letter from you authorizing the University of Michigan and Yale to show him your college academic records.

APPROVE: DISAPPROVE:

**OTHER:** 

8. I have assigned Larry Speakes of my staff to stick with Hersey for next week to help him.

APPROVE:

DISAPPROVE:

Hersey is a serious writer who intends to do a long serious profile on you similar to the one he did on Harry Truman, which you read one weekend at Camp David.

I recommend that he be allowed to do most of what he requests. Since he is not very interested in hard news and his article will not appear until about May 1, I don't think there should be much concern about him overhearing sensitive matters. However, as far as seeing your school records, I am inclined to think you should say no.

Ron Kernen RON NESSEN

March 8, 1975

Mr. President:

Yos've won over John Osborne!

Ron Nessen

Attachment: John Osborne column

FORD LIBRA

#### March 15, 1975

newspaper of all newspapers had wen kept out of a public congressional committee session, there's no doubt stories would be carried and editorials written decrying this abuse of press freedom.

Television may have become the prime source of news for most Americans, but the governing of television licenses by the Federal Communications Commission, and the general threat of government interference, apparently makes television news officials hesitate to demand the access and rights granted others in the news business.



# **Pressing Congress**

If the perceptions and judgments that prevailed at the White House in early March prove to be correct, and they probably will, the period between then and the turn of last November-December will be remembered as the time when it ceased to be possible for a reporter to write in fairness, as I did in this journal's issue of January 4 & 11, that "Gerald Ford is an awfully nice man who is not up to the presidency." In that period, with the formulation of his economic and energy programs and his handling of them in a doubting, fractious and heavily Democratic Congress, and his general handling of himself as a person and a President, Mr. Ford convinced an impressive variety of politicians, officials, journalists and concerned citizens that he is indeed "up to the presidency." Evidence that this is so is also evidence that Gerald Ford in this time at least began to surmount the enormous handicap inherent in the fact that he was the first Vice President and is the first President who entered the two offices by appointment and without a national constituency.

Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic majority leader, put in The Congressional Record of February 27, with unusually prominent display on the first page of the Senate section of that day's issue, a Wall Street Journal columnist's lyrical testament that "Maybe a lot of us are being too rough on Jerry Ford ... Mr. Ford is not only a lot smarter than his critics suggest, but he's also an unusually honest and straightforward man, of considerable personal and professional integrity." Although Mr. Ford should "be judged primarily on policies and performance," the columnist continued, "it would be wrong and unfair if his more personal contributions to the American presidency were slighted or ignored." Two respected Washington correspondents, Lou Cannon of The Washington Post and Martin Schram of the Long Island, NY, Newsday, stayed in Florida after Mr. Ford went

there for one of his rounds of regional seminars and press conferences (along, in that instance, with an afternoon's play in a crassly commercial golf tournament). After interviewing people who had met and heard the President, Cannon and Schram reported that they found heightened respect for him and moderately increased support for his programs. At his Florida press conference the President was asked in successive questions whether he'd recommend a change in the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, under which he was appointed to the vice presidency and succeeded to. the presidency, and whether "you feel any handicap for not having won a presidential election?" They were touchy questions and they could have elicited a display of the nervousness that Mr. Ford in fact feels on both scores at times. Instead the questions induced a display of total confidence. The President's response to the first question was, "I guess I could say it worked pretty well this time," and to the second, "The answer is no." Image manufacture of the kind discussed in a previous report was involved here, but the effect was valid.

Before the President's economic and energy programs were announced in a televised speech on January 13 and his State of the Union speech to Congress on January 15, he and some of his associates, official and unofficial, went through two months of grueling preparation and debate. The resultant programs were so complicated, especially on the energy side, that they are poorly understood to this day. It is enough to say here that the energy proposal rested essentially on two devices: reducing the consumption of imported petroleum and other scarce fuels by increasing their prices rather than by arbitrary quota and allocation; and returning to the consuming public and industry in tax rebates, tax reductions and direct grants the many billions of dollars (30 to 46, depending on how it's figured) that the President's tariff and tax measures would annually suck out of the economy. A combination of rebates to individuals from tax payments on calendar 1974 incomes and of increased investment credits to business, including agriculture, would reinject about \$16 billion into the ailing economy during 1975. This anti-recession proposal was simpler and easier to understand than the energy program, a fact that caused some uneasiness within the Ford councils and led to insistence by staff chief Donald Rumsfeld, among others, that the controversy between Congress and the administration over the energy proposals not be allowed to obscure (as it did for awhile) the President's concern that an immediate tax reduction and rebate of some sort be quickly enacted.

In the period of formulation before January 13-15, Mr. Ford was warned by some of his advisers (among them Bryce Harlow, a corporate and presidential lobbyist who's been in and out of Republican White Houses since the Eisenhower administration) that the future of his presidency, in this mini-term by succession and in a full elective term if he goes for it next year, would turn upon whether he let+' `new Congress, not only Democratic but infused wit\_dismaying number of feisty freshman representatives, run over him and his programs. If he allowed this to happen, Mr. Ford was told and no doubt was quite capable of concluding for himself, he'd be finished, a doormat, a sad-sack President until he was displaced on January 20, 1977.

He prepared himself against this eventuality in two ways. First, he and his people wrote into his State of the Union address and the televised speech that preceded it, and into formal legislative proposals, escape language designed to sanctify every likely and conceivable compromise that he might be called upon to make. Thus what was widely interpreted to be faltering and weakness when he excepted New England and Florida from the impact of higher imported fuel costs, and farmers from higher costs of fertilizers derived from petroleum, had actually been foreseen and provided in the fine print of his proposals. Second and more importantly, he set out in the initial speeches, in every subsequent public statement on the subject, and in the daily pronouncements of his spokesmen, to prod and goad congressional Democrats with the assertion, first and accurately, that he had a program and they didn't, and when they finally began to come up with bits and pieces of alternative programs, that he still had the only comprehensive and coherent one. He, as a 25-year veteran of the House, must have known that in getting a tax relief bill (not his, but a variant that was acceptably close to his proposal) through the House committee stage and bringing Senate and House Democrats close to agreement on an energy alternative, the legislators were acting with better than average speed. Yet, as late as February 26 in Florida, he moaned that "I am really perplexed" by the failure to produce a finished tax bill

and to convene S' te and House committee hearings on energy propositis. It was all calculated. It was marred, at the White House end, by a few bobbles such as baffling but relatively minor differences between Press Secretary Ron Nessen's and the President's evaluations of a House Ways and Means Committee energy proposal as "a basis for compromise." On the whole, however, it was a skillful performance. In a burst of smartly figured compromise on March 4, the President vetoed a House-Senate bill that would have deferred for 90 days his authority to impose additional tariffs on imported oil and postponed two stages of the previously ordered increase for 60 days.

Whatever the consequences, and they are in doubt at this writing, two elements of the Ford performance and its impact should be kept in mind. First, his strictures upon Congress were expressed civilly and within bounds that should prevent lasting scars. Seventy of 75 first-term House Democrats breakfasted with the President at the White House on March 4 and emerged as if bewitched, praising his courtesy and his asserted wish to cooperate with them rather than fight them. Second, the Democrats as a group were going beyond what the President wanted to do in the way of tax reduction and federal spending for economic stimulation. But, in the energy area where lasting impact upon the economy and the society is likely to be had, they in early March were inclining toward rather than away from his fundamental policy of minimizing arbitrary federal controls and relying instead upon market and price mechanisms to get and keep energy consumption within practicable bounds. The President and his programs appeared to be in better shape than many Washington observers, this writer included, thought a month ago that they could be.

# John Osborne

# Our Mercenary Air Force in Cambodia

# Trail of Deception

# by Tad Szulc

US involvement in Cambodia began with a deception in 1969, and it appears to be ending now, six years later, in deception. Looking back, in fact, we've never been told much truth about Cambodia—neither by Presidents

Mr. Szulc is a Washington writer on foreign affairs.

Nixon and Ford nor by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The final deception is the extraordinary manner and circumstances in which a "civilian contractor" with strong ties to the Central Intelligence Agency was set up in business by the Pentagon to fly an arms and fuel

#### WASHINGTON

#### March 10, 1975

#### MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

VIA: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: RON NESSEN

Some time ago I mentioned to you a request from Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, the investigative reporters of the Washington Post who developed the Watergate story, to interview you off-the-record for their forthcoming book on the last days of the Nixon Administration. They have talked to many of the personalities involved in those last days totally off-the-record and not for quotation or attribution. They would very much like to talk to you on this same basis to learn of your memories of those days. In the book none of what you tell them would be attributed to you by name.

The initial decision you made on this was not to do it.

Woodward and Bernstein are coming in to see me on Saturday to informally give me a progress report, at their request, on what they have learned in their research. They have already indicated to me that they have learned nothing which casts any doubt on your role in those last days as it has already been publicly reported.

I am not urging you to reconsider your earlier decision not to talk to Woodward and Bernstein, but their visit to me on Saturday gives you an opportunity to review these options.



I don't want to see Woodward and Bernstein.

You can bring them in for a short courtesy call while they are here on Saturday, but no interview.

You can bring them in to see me when they are here Saturday and I will answer their questions off-the-record for 30 minutes.

I will do an off-the-record interview with Woodward and Bernstein but at a later date, not this Saturday.

## March 14, 1975

## MR. PRESIDENT:

Contra la

I am having a small champagne and cake farewell party for Paul Miltich this afternoon at about 5:00. It will be attended by about 30 of Paul's colleagues from the White House Press Office.

The party will be in Room 160 Executive Office Building.

If you care to drop in on the party, I am sure that Paul and the other Press Office staff would be pleased to have you join us.

Ron Neesen

#### PAUL MILTICH COCKTAIL PARTY

Friday, March 14 5:00 pm Conference Room - 160 EOB

Guests:

Paul Miltich Ron Nessen Jerry Warren \* Jack Hushen ~ Margita White Larry Speaks " John Carlson 157 Bill Roberts 🖌 Phil Warden Tom DeCair V Bob Kelly - 157 Lou Thompson ~ Sandy Wisniewski 1001 Kathy Jones Gail Campbell 157 157 Connie Thuma 161 Liz O'Neill 141 Marie Wilkie 101 Becky Hammil 161 Kathy Goltra Jon Hoornstra 127 Ann Swanson 129 Vera Dowhan 100 Darlene Schmalzried 127 EOM Marcie Powers 129 ENM

Food:

Cake "Best wishes Paul" champaigne mixed nuts

## Cost:

Cake \$23.50 Cham \$21.00 (6 bottles) Labor

TOTAL:

WASHINGTON

#### Dear

You are invited to attend a small reception in honor of Paul Miltich on his leaving the Press Office staff to become a member of the Postal Rate Commission

> Friday, March 14 5:00 pm Conference Room in 160 EOB

You are under no obligation whatsoever to donote to the party fund, but if you feel you would like to do so, you may send contributions to help defray the expenses to Connie Gerrard in the Press Office.

Jack Hushen Larry Speaks Biel Roberts Jour De Coir Lou Jaompson

WASHINGTON

Dear

You are invited to attend a small reception in honor of Paul Miltich on his leaving the Press Office staff to become a member of the Postal Rate Commission

> Friday, March 14 5:00 pm Conference Room in 160 EOB

my Warren margitarth hil Narde Bob Kell andy Wisnewsk Jone Campbell Counte The 3 O'nuel marie Fiekie Becky Dammel N

Jon Hoomstra ann Awanson Vera Dowhan Darlene Schwalysied marcie Powers

Garry announced in meeting 3-14-75 at it wo ted to , send to c.g. )

WASHINGTON

Dear

You are invited to attend a small reception in honor of Paul Miltich on his leaving the Press Office staff to become a member of the Postal Rate Commission

> Friday, March 14 5:00 pm Conference Room in 160 EOB



# March 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

Re: Press Conference Briefing Book

Attached is your briefing book for your Press Conference in South Bend this Monday, March 17.

I will have some additional items to give you before the time of the Press Conference on Monday.



RN:jc

March 20, 1975

Mr. President:

The attached is for your reading in case you didn't see it. I think it is generally a fair assessment.

Ren Neepen

Attachment



While he seldom takes the public. into his confidence concerning-future steps his administration will take. Ford uses his press conferences toreiterate current policy: Presumably, attentive readers and listeners can discover where Ford stands on the issues of the day even if they cannot learn where he plans to go next: Ford's two-a-month schedule of pressconferences keeps those current positions from getting too far out of date.

Actual changes in policy — and there have been plenty of them during Ford's seven-month tenure — are usually announced outside of the press conference format.

There is Nothing W RONG WITH Talking about TODAY Nor TOMOTTON

# March 27, 1975

# MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

Here is an advance copy of Fortune's special issue on the American system, including the interview with you. See page 80.

I have written a thank you note in your behalf to Hedley Donovan, the editor-in-chief.

RN/cg



WASHINGTON

# March 28, 1975

# Mr. President:

Here is a compilation of editorial opinion on whether you should sign or veto the tax bill:

IN FAVOR OF SIGNING	VETO	NO DEFINITE POSITION BUT LEANING TOWARD VETO
Washington Post Washington Star-News Baltimore Sun Christian Science Monitor	Wall Street Journal San Diego Union	New York Daily News Chicago Tribune Detroit News
Los Angeles Times		
Detroit Free Press		
Kalamazoo Gazette	· · · · ·	
Boston Globe		
San Diego Tribune		
· · · · ·		
		· · · · ·

Ron Nessen





MANUTED AND ADDRESS ADDRE



# BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1975

The Easter Basket Tax Bill

#### WILLIAM F. SCHMICK, JR., Publisher • PAUL A. BANKER, Managing Editor • J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor

A12

#### DAILY NI

(212) MU 2-1234

# DAILY NEWS

223 East 42d St ..

MARCH 28, 1975

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# THE EASTER-BASKET BILL

3/28/25 Wall Sheet REVIEW & OUTLOOK A Nickey Mouse Tax Cut

FOUNDED June 10, 1847

2

STANTON R. COOK, Chairman and Publisher ROBERT M. HUNT, President and General Manager

CLAYTON KIRKPATRICK, Editor J. S. SCHMIDT, Managing Editor, Features MAXWELL MCCROHON, Managing Editor JOHN MCCUTCHEON, Editorial Page Editor

8 Section 1 V Friday, March 28, 1975

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THE NEWSPAPER is an institution developed by modern civilization to present the news of the day, to foster commerce and industry, to inform and lead public opinion, and to furnish that check upon government which no constitution has ever been able to provide. --THE TRIBUNE CREDO

A tax break for everyone.

FRIDAY, MA The Washington Post AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER The Tax Bill

March 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN JERRY WARREN DICK CHENEY

SUBJECT: New option for trip to West Coast

- Remain here, sign or veto the bill on live television Monday night at 7:30 pm EDT. Go to Palm Springs Monday night (if sign) or Tuesday morning (if veto).
- Extend stay in Palm Springs by two days (returning in time for foreign policy speech to Congress on April 9 or 10).

BENEFITS: -- President is working while Congress is on vacation

- -- Builds public suspense over decision (departure for Palm Springs will lead to conclusion you will sign the bill)
- -- Allows time for arguments against the billito to become known (even editorials urging signing the bill have pointed out the weaknesses in it)
- Shows the President is giving careful consideration, in a work atmosphere, to an important decision
- -- Avoids appearance, which Nixon often gave, of feeling that President has right to take vacation whenever he wants, regardless of pending business

#### LIABILITIES:

- -- President misses Bakersfield (where only small crowd can now be raised) and Elk Hills (which is too late for evening TV shows anyway)
- President misses 2 to 3 days vacation unless stay in Palm Springs is extended (see option 2 above)

March 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

SUBJECT: Tax Cut Bill

I recommend you sign the Tax Cut Bill in a way that makes the fellowing points strongly:

- You should take full credit for initiating and pushing through a footdragging Congress a stimulative tax cut to pull the country out of recession.
- The bill contains expensive, ill-advised, and ill-considered amendments, but the need for immediate stimulation outweighs these disadvantages. Congress already has wasted enough time and delayed taxpayers' getting their refund enecks.
- 3. You are accepting the ill-advised Congressional amendments only with the understanding that you expect Congress now to act in a responsible way and not load any more stimulation onto the budget by running the deficit up to \$100 billion through spending programs which would raise interest rates, undermine the recovery, and bring inflation back at an even greater rate than before.

My observations are based on how I believe the public will perceive your action and not on an expert knowledge of economics. The psychological stimulation of a Tax Cut Bill signing can be magnified by the fact that it comes at the Easter season when the weather is turning good and the first glimmer of hopeful economic news is beginning to show up. This would be a welcome Easter present for the recession-plagued country.

On the other hand, a veto would have a psychologically discouraging effect, and would be difficult to explain to the average TV viewer. Even Fred Hickman conceded in his analysis that a veto, however right from an economic point of view, would be difficult to explain because it would be based on opposition to technical amendments about which the man-on-the-street has little understanding or involvement.



-2-

In addition, a veto now could raise doubts about the consistency of your economic policy and could be interpreted as stubbornness on your part. As Bob Hartmann pointed out the other day, in October you requested a 5% tax increase; in January you requested a 12% tax decrease; and with a veto you would be saying in March a tax cut can wait for Congress to try again. The general view is, as I detect it, that a new bill would be no better and possibly worse than the present one. On the other hand, if Congress overrode your veto, you would lose a considerable amount of authority in future veto confrontations.

Up to this point you have come across to the public as a forceful leader in the areas of the economy and energy, having scored considerable success despite the overwhelming Democratic majority in Congress. To veto this bill, and especially to be overridden, would damage that image. To sign the bill and then launch a new crusade against irresponsible Congressional spending would enhance that image. March 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

Attached is a statement proposed by Brent Scowcroft to be put out to the press here this afternoon in a low-key way. I have also talked to Dr. Kissinger and he agrees on the desirability of putting out a statement commenting on the humanitarian aspects of the fail of DaNang.

With your approval I will issue this statement this afternoon, with any additions or modifications you indicate on this copy.

# PROPOSED STATEMENT BY RON NESSEN

The President considers that the fall of DaNang is an immense human tragedy. It has cruelly trapped many hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese refugees who tried until the last moment to escape the North Vietnamese army. It should be deeply disturbing to to all civilized mankind.

R. FOR

# April 5, 1975

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

#### FROM: RON NESSEN

Here are the newsmen and technicians who came with us from Washington to cover you in Palm Springs, and a very few prominent news people who joined the coverage here.

These are the newsmen and technicians you may want to consider inviting to the press reception Sunday night:

> Richard Growald Frank Cormier Heward Benedict (Mrs. Joy) Ralph Harris (Mrs. Ens) Louis Fey

Los Cassos Jack Germand John Herbers (Mrs. Betty) Paul Healy Aries Large Martia Schram Bruce Winters Aldo Beckman Peter Lisager James Deakin Rudy Abramson (Mrs. Jeyce) Al Sullivan Sanl Kahler William Theis Roy MaCastaey (Mrs. Betty) Richard Beeston

United Press International Associated Press Associated Press

Reuters

Agence Grance Presse

Washington Post Washington Star-News New York Times

New York Daily News Wall Street Journal Newsday Baltimore Sun Chicage Tribune Chicage Daily News St. Louis Post-Dispatch Los Angeles Times

#### USIA

Nowhouse Hearst The Melbourne (Australia) Age

London Daily Telegraph

Thomas DeFrank (Mrs. Mary Jane) John Mashek (Mrs. Sarah) Dean Fischer John Osborne (Mrs. Trudy) John Weisman John Buckley

Thomas Capra Tom Jarriel Ana Compton Walt Rodgers Lucian Millet Charles Thompson Bob Schieffer Phil Jones Jeff Skov (Mrs. Paula) Forrest Boyd Lloyd Siegel (Mrs. Joan) John Cochran Russ Ward Hatsubies Takashima Don Fulsom Philomena Jurey Thomas Girard

Charles Taenadi Ron Bonnett Donnis Brack Wally MeNamoo (Mrs. Nikka) Gordon Hoever (Mrs. Susan) Lew Maddox Mike Melli Gal Marlin Tom Novak Dave Peredia Newsweek

-2-

U.S. News and World Rerport

Time New Republic

TV Guide Western Union

ABC Productions ABC ABC ABC AP Radio Radio Canada CBS Productions CBS CBS CBS Golden West Broadcasters

Mutual NBC Productions

NBC NBC Radio NHK Broadcasting UPI Audio Voice of America Westinghouse Broadcasting

AP Photos UPI Photos Time - Black Star Photos Newsweek Photos

ABC - TV cameraman

ABC-TV soundman ABC Radio Engineer CBS-TV cameraman CBS-TV soundman CBS-TV electrician Gerald Conklin Frank Gibsen Al Hongland Ernest Hauser (Mrs. Hary Jane) Aldo Argentieri (Mrs. Helen) Cleveland Ryan CBS Radio Engineer NBC-TV cameraman NBC-TV seundman NBC-TV electrician

-3-

NBC Radio Engineer

Lighting Technician

Meg Greenfield Lloyd Shearer Ted Koppel

Washington Post Editorial Page Parade Magasine ABC - State Department correspondent

## WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBERS THAT HAVE BEEN INVITED:

Ron Nessen Jack Hushen Larry Speakes John Carlson Thym Smith Les Janka Don Rumsfeld Bob Hartmann Alan Greenspan Milt Friedman Bob Orbin Kay Pullen

Ahura Wunderfeld


WHITE FOUSE PRESS CHARTER -- PALM SPRINGS, CALIF. To LAS VEGAS, NEVADA ----------

# 1228171

Then Trontan ichard Crowald Frank Cormier Novara Benedict Ralph Harris Louis Poy

NEWSPAPERS: Lou Cannon Jack Germond John Herbers Paul Healy Arlen Large Martin Schram Sruce Winters Ido Bechman Peter Lisagor James Deakin Rudy Abramson Ceorge Murphy Al Sullivan Saul Kohler William Theis Otto Kreisher Roy Macartney **Richard Beeston** Feb Huffet

MAGAZINES: Thornas DeFrank ohn Mashek Dean Fischer John Osborne John Buckley JOHN WEISHAN Thomas Capra Thomas Jarriel Ann Compton Walt Rodgers Lucien Millet Steve Futterman Charles Thompson Bob Schleffer Phil Jones Bob Pierpoint Teff Shov Forrest Boyd Thomas Brokaw John Cochran Russ Ward Don Fulsom Philomona Jurey Thomas Girard Hatsuhisa Takashima TED KOPPEL STEVE PYIE

Charles Tasnadi Ron Bennett Dennis Brack Wally McNamee Gordon Hoover Lew Maddox Roy Hegstedt Mike Lelli Cal Marlin For. Novak Dave Peredia Gerald Conklin Frank Gibson Al Hoagland Ernest Hauser Aldo Argentieri Cleveland Ryan (OFF LAS) BOB DUNN FRED GAYTON (OFPLAS) United Press International off PSP United Press International Associated Press Associated Press Reuters Agence France-Presse

Washington Post Washington Star-News New York Times New York Daily News Wall Street Journal Newsday Baltimore Sun Chicago Tribune Chicago Daily News St. Louis Post-Dispatch Los Angeles Times San Francisco Chronicle USIA Newhouse Newspapers Hearst Newspapers San Diego Union The Age

London Daily Telegraph

Newsweek

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U.S. News & World Report Time New Republic Western Union TV GVIDE RADIO & TELEVISION COMMENTATORS & PRODUCERS ABC Productions American Broadcasting Company American Broadcasting Company AP-Radio Radio Canada Canadian Broadcasting Corporation **CBS** Productions Columbia Broadcasting System Columbia Broadcasting System Columbia Broadcasting System Golden West Broadcasters Mutual Broadcasting System NBC Productions National Broadcasting Company National Broadcasting Company NBC-Radio **UPI-Audio** Voice of America

Westinghouse Broadcasting Company NHK Broadcasting

ABC AP. PHO TO S

(JOIN 4/5 THEN TO DC) (OFF LAS)

REELS. STILLS, SOUNDMEN, RADIO ENGINEERS & ELECTRICIANS: AP-Photos

Washington

The President and Mrs. Ford

wish to invite you

to an informal patio reception

at their residence

41001 Thunderbird Road Thunderbird Ranch Estates Rancho Mirage

Sunday, April 6, 1975

5:30 to 7:00 pm



WASHINGTON

April 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Miss Connie Gerrard

'nÙ TERRY O'DONNELÍ

FROM:

The President and Mrs. Ford have asked me to invite you to an informal patio reception at their Residence, 41001 Thunderbird Road, Thunderbird Ranch Estates, Rancho Mirage, Saturday, April 5, 5:30 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

<u>Attire</u>: Sport Coat, no tie for men. Casual wear for women

RSVP: The Staff Office via Signal Board or 328-7410



# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 6, 1975

# MRS. FORD:

I thought you might like to have a copy of the attached list of invitees to the press reception this evening.

. Cher 1 5.00 Jun

1 Au

Ron Nessen

# INVITEES TO THE PRESS RECEPTION TO BE GIVEN

# BY THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. FORD

# Sunday, April 6

Richard Growald Frank Cormier Howard Benedict (Mrs. Joy) Ralph Harris (Mrs. Ena) Louis Fov Lou Cannon Jack Germond John Herbers (Mrs. Betty) Paul Healy Arlen Large Martin Schram Bruce Winters Aldo Beckman Peter Lisagor James Deakin Rudy Abramson (Mrs. Joyce) Al Sullivan Saul Kohler William Theis Roy MacCartney (Mrs. Betty) Richard Beeston Thomas DeFrank (Mrs. Mary Jane) John Mashek (Mrs. Sarah) Dean Fischer John Osborne (Mrs. Trudy) John Weisman John Buckley Thomas Capra Tom Jarriel Ann Compton Walt Rodgers Lucien Millet Charles Thompson Bob Schieffer Phil Jones

United Press International Associated Press Associated Press Reuters Agence France Presse Washington Post Washington Star-News New York Times New York Daily News Wall Street Journal Newsday Baltimore Sun Chicago Tribune Chicago Daily News St. Louis Post-Dispatch Los Angeles Times USIA Newhouse Hearst The Melbourne (Australia) Age London Daily Telegraph Newsweek U.S. News & World Report Time New Republic TV Guide Western Union **ABC** Productions ABC ABC AP Radio Radio Canada **CBS** Productions CBS CBS

Jeff Skov (Mrs. Paula) Forrest Boyd Lloyd Siegel (Mrs. Joan) John Cochran Russ Ward Hatsuhisa Takashima Don Fulsom Philomena Jurey Thomas Girard Charles Tasnadi Ron Bennett Dennis Brack Wally McNamee (Mrs. Nikka) Gordon Hoover (Mrs. Susan) Lew Maddox Mike Belli Cal Marlin Tom Novak Dave Peredia Gerald Conklin Frank Gibson Al Hoagland Ernest Hauser (Mrs. Mary Jane) Aldo Argentieri (Mrs. Helen) Cleveland Ryan Meg Greenfield Lloyd Shearer Ted Koppel

Golden West Broadcasters Mutual NBC Productions NBC NBC Radio NHK Broadcasting UPI Audio Voice of América Westinghouse Broadcasting AP Photos **UPI** Photos Time - Black Star Photos Newsweek Photos ABC-TV cameraman ABC-TV soundman ABC Radio Engineer CBS-TV cameraman CBS-TV soundman **CBS-TV** electrician CBS Radio Engineer NBC-TV cameraman NBC-TV soundman NBC-TV electrician NBC Radio Engineer Lighting Technician Washington Post Editorial Page Parade Magazine **ABC-State** Department Correspondent



# WHITE HOUSE STAFF

# INVITED TO THE PRESS RECEPTION - (APRIL 6)

Mr. and Mrs. Ron Nessen Sheila Weidenfeld (Mr. Ed) Larry Speakes John Carlson Thym Smith Les Janka

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Mr. and Mrs. Don Rumsfeld Mr. and Mrs. Bob Hartmann Mr. Alan Greenspan Mr. Milt Friedman Mr. Bob Orbin Kay Pullen

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WASHINGTON

April 9, 1975

Mr. President:

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Here is the statement I propose to read at my news briefing today.

Following this I would hand out the citations from public statements concerning American aid and enforcement of the peace treaty.

APPROVE:

12 really

DISAPPROVE:

OTHER:

Ron Nessen

Attachment



April 9, 1975

(To be read by Ron Nessen at the Press Briefing - April 9)

Assurances to the Republic of Viet Nam as to both U.S. assistance and U.S. enforcement of the Paris agreement were stated clearly and publicly by President Nixon. The publicly stated policy and intention of the United States government to continue to provide adequate economic and military assistance and to react vigorously to major violations of the Paris agreement reflected confidential exchanges between the Nixon Administration and President Thieu at the time. In substance, the private exchanges do not differ from what was stated publicly. The law of 1973, of course, ruled out the possibility of American military reaction to violations of the agreement.

(Citations from U.S.-South Vietnamese communique, President Nixon's news conference, and President Nixon's foreign policy report to be distributed to the press.)

## U.S.-GVN Communique (San Clemente), April 3, 1973:

Both Presidents, while acknowledging that progress was being made toward military and political settlements in South Vietnam, nevertheless viewed with great concern infiltrations of men and weapons in sizeable numbers from North Vietnam into South Vietnam in violation of the Agreement on Ending the War, and considered that actions which would threaten the basis of the Agreement would call for appropriately vigorous reactions. They expressed their conviction that all the provisions of the Agreement, including in particular those concerning military forces and military supplies, must be faithfully implemented if the cease-fire is to be preserved and the prospects for a peaceful settlement are to be assured. President Nixon stated in this connection that the United States views violations of any provision of the Agreement with great and continuing concern.

## President's Foreign Policy Report, May 3, 1973:

"We hope that the contending factions will now prefer to pursue their objectives through peaceful means and political competition rather than through the brutal and costly methods of the past. This choice is up to them. We shall be vigilant concerning violations of the Agreement."

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"We expect our friends to observe the Agreement just as we will not tolerate violations by the North Vietnamese or its allies."

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and privately and publicly th

"We have told Hanoi, privately and publicly, that we will not tolerate violations of the Agreement."

## President Nixon's News Conference of March 15, 1973:

"I will only suggest this: that we have informed the North Vietnamese of our concern about this infiltration and of what we believe it to be, a violation of the cease-fire, the cease-fire and the peace agreement. Our concern has also been expressed to other interested parties. And I would only suggest that based on my actions over the past four years, that the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern, when they are made, with regard to a violation. That is all I will say about it."

\* \* \*

22340

# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - HOUSE

June 29, 1973

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NEW BUDGET (OBLIGATIONAL) AUTHORITY ESTIMATES AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN THE BILL

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Chapter No.		Budget estimates	Recommended ia bill	Bill compared with estimates	Chapter No.		Budget estimates	Recommended In oill	Bill compared with estimates
	TITLE I-GENERAL SUPPLEMENTALS				iX I	Legislative branch Public Works State, Justice, Commerce, and	\$20, 502, 250 85, 200, 600		+13, 150, 000
1	Agriculture-Environmental and Consumer Protection	\$47, 100, 000 253, 848, 225	\$59, 387, CCO 165, 026, CCO	+\$12, 287, 000	XI	Judiciary	523, 594, 000 49, 646, 009	541, 533, 000 43, 883, 660	+13:001 000 -5,753,000
	District of Columbia	8, 500, 600 733, 600	730, 000	8, 530, 000 	XIA	General Government	315, 667, 000 23, 103, 020		-6, 140, 300
V	Space, Science, and Veterans	96, 498, 000	20, 000, 000 67, 281, 000	+20,000,000 -29,217,000		Total, title 1 Title II, pay costs	2, 583, 116, 504 1, 013, 929, 000		-115,275,225 -127,335,000
	Waliara	1, 153, 715, 000	1, 115, 784, 000	-45, 331, 000		Grand lotal, titles I and II	13, 507, 105, 504	3, 362, 345, 279	-244, 260, 225

1 Includes \$444.225,070 in budget estimates not considered by the House.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD).

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, 1 win try to state as the chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations has stated a view that I think is sound in this national emergency that we face.

Anyone familiar with my remarks and my voting record for the last 5 or 6 years on this issue would know very, very well that I would never write the language of this appropriation bill, section 307. That I would never support this language unless I was convinced that that language was the only solution out of a very serious dilemma that we face in this country. We face it in the House right now. The other body will face it shortly and the President will face it when this legislation gets to him.

My record is clear from the very beginning. I have time after time after time opposed any cutoff date, period. I have resisted many efforts by Members on the other side of the aisle and some on this side of the aisle who have repeatedly over a span of years sought to get the Congress to approve amendments that would limit the authority of the President to conduct military operations in Southeast Asia. I have never challenged the motives of anybody who felt differently than I. I have sought to vigorously set forth my own views and I have tried to convince individual Members on both sides of the aisle to adjust their views with mine.

But we have a different situation today. It seems to me that we should now, at this critical juncture, accept the language in this appropriation bill, section 307. This is not my language. This is not the language of the people who have felt totally different than myself. It is a compromise that in my judgment reasonable people can accept as we face a very critical problem in the United States.

With those introductory remarks, I should like to state as clearly and as unequivocally as I can information that may be of some help and assistance to those individuals who are undecided how they are going to vote.

I have communicated directly with the spokesman at the White House last night and again today, and I am au-

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thorized to say the following: No. 1, the President will definitely accept and sign a bill that contains the language in secion 307. No. 2.—If multary action is renurred in Southeast Asia after August by the President will ask congressional authority and will abide by the decision inat is made by the House and the Senate, the Congress of the United States.

Let me add a third point. The third point is just as clear as the other two. The President will definitely veto any legislation that contains any restriction sooner than August 15. It is August 15. No earlier date.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to thegentleman from Maryland.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. The gentleman is saying. then, that the President will, if more time is needed, ask Congress around August 15 for more time?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Let me phrase it this way.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. I got that impression from what the gentleman has said.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I think what the gentleman has said is a reiteration of what I have said.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Yes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If the President wants to take any military action in Southeast Asia after August 15, he will come back to the Congress and request that authority.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. He will ask for more time?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. He will ask for authority to pursue any military operation.

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Right, which is to ask for more time; is that not what it is?

Mr. GIAIMO, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. GIAIMO. I do not want to get into any disagreement here. I have the highest respect and regard for the gentleman from Michigan's word and have for many years, but I am very nervous about the question of assurances from spokesmen in the White House. Let me say this: I understand that just as of an hour or so ago in the other body there are meetings taking place between the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Secre-

tary of State, wherein they have been discussing this question of trying to work out a compromise solution to the Southeast Asia problem, and my latest understanding is that although there is an indication on the part of the Secretary of State, and a willingness to work out some modus operandi in this matter, the fact of the matter is that as of the present time, I understand, we cannot and have not received any absolute assurances such as the gentleman just stated.

This does create a problem here, because we are being asked to compromise, and we are all compromisers in this Government, but there is no offer of compromise from the other side excepting an open-ended ticket.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD Because I suspected, and properly so, that there would be a discussion on the floor of the House at this time. I went back this morning and got a reconfirmation of the information that I had last night late, after we finished yesterday's deliberations.

Mr. GIAIMO. Can the gentleman tell us from whom?

Mr. GERALD P. FORD I will be frank with the gentleman: I did not talk with the President, but I am talking of people who have told me they have talked with the President.

Let me just reiterate what I said. I happen to believe the sources, and I will add, if It means anything to my friend, the gentleman from Connecticut—I know it will not mean anything to some people, but I trust that it will make some impact on the gentleman from Connecticut.

What I am saying on behalf of the President I will stick by, which means that I will not come in the well of the floor of this House and ask for any extension beyond August 15 if there is not a Presidential request for congressional authority. I will make that firm commitment here on the floor of the House.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I understand what the gentleman means by his statement. Of course I would take the gentleman's statement any time, any place, anywhere. The only thing that disturbs me, I say to the gentleman from Michigan, is that the information I have is that the Secretary of State has apparently indicated this morning that although they will try to work something at they have not committed themselves any firm position as to time. Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Let me just

ay that I believe my sources. I have reonfirmed them. I have given my peronal word. And I might add a postscript. hope this is not misunderstood. I do ot think that any further extension ould be achieved on the floor of the louse if I and some others did not try o get it, so whether it is a sufficient word r not I think the White House has to inderstand that they are not going to et it unless they come back, ask for it nd get congressional authority.

Mr. DU PONT. Mr. Chairman, will the entleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD, I yield to the entleman from Delaware.

Mr. pu PONT. Mr. Chairman, I think he gentleman's second point of the three e made is a very important one. I would ust like to clarify that and make sure ve all have an understanding of it. As I inderstand what the gentleman said, if he President believes that mintary ac-lyity is necessary in Southeast Asia-ind that would include Cambodia. Laos and North and South Vietnam-after August 15. that he will come back and request such authority from the Congress. That means to me he is affirming the constitutional principle that the auhority is here in the Congress for such operations at least in that section of the world. Is that the gentleman's understanding?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am not going to get into a constitutional discussion. We had some of that earlier this week. I suspect we will have that discussion after the recess when we consider again the war powers bill.

There is, I concede, some debate and difference on that issue. Al' I can say is that in this instance under these en-cumstances I have the word of the White House. I have gotten reconfirmation of i. As a practical matter I am sure that is what will happen if there is any need August 15: Nar. DU PONT. If the gentleman will

yield further I think that is a very important point to consider in our deliberations, the fact that we have that kind of agreement from the President of the United States.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. Chairman, do I understand correctly that under this bill which would authorize bombing to be continued up to August 15 the White House is committed when this bill is enacted and signed into law that all bombing would cease on August 15, that all military activity in and over Laos cambodia, and North and South Vietnam ound cease unless the President came ack to the Congress and asked for and planned authority to commence military

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. That is my

Mr. McCLOSKEY. And we are going to

be in recess from August 3 until September 5, so there is a period of some 3 weeks that we could be assured that there would .

no combat activity in or over Indomina unless Congress is reconvened and gives its approval?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. That would be my understanding.

Mr. McCLOSKEY, And the gentleman in the well, the minority leader, will lead us in the effort to obtain that commitment from the White House or do ve have that?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Will the gentleman repeat that again? I want to be very frank.

President that the bombing ceases Au- and I am going to believe it. gust 15?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I do not have ine answer to his precise question as he musses to one as a microrat what they have said it would include a "Yes" answer to the gentleman from California. Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. Chairman,

from my own position, I do not know how I will vote on these matters, which to me can be perhaps the greatest constitutional question since the Civil War, but how I vote will depend on whether or not the White nouse is willing to make that commitment precisely. I think we have time to obtain that com-Transa Contra Delaware and the state of the state vote will occur

Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. Chairman, I want to be very frank with the gentleman from California. I am not going back and ask the precise question the way the gentleman phrased it. I do not think we have to have it as the gentleman necessarily phrases it. I have it in a way that I think covers any and all contingencies, including the way the gentleman from California phrased it.

I have no feeling that there is any difference in the way he phrased it and the way I sought to explain it. Therefore, I think we have to have faith in the gentleman from California, myself and others, that the situation is covered.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. WOLFF).

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, I understand the reason for setting the time at August 15 was so that we can negotiate further. What leads the gentleman from Michigan to believe that there has been any change on the part of the parties involved in the negotiations which would enable us to get the idea that they will not wait until August 15. if we do set the date? That is the argument that has always been used against setting a date.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I agree, and I understand it, but I am also told that there has been and there is now and there will continue to be active negctiations involving Cambodia at a very high level. The anticipation is that there is some reason for optimism. In my judgment, the White House apparently is willing or believes that between now and August 15 there is reason for a settlement at the negotiating table.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, is this not the same thing that was told to us in early May, which is some 50 days ago, he fact that we were going to be 25 able to conclude negotiations with these high sources or high authorities? I support the Flynt amendment to cease the bombing upon the enactment of this bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman. I think the gentleman is right, but we started negotiations with the North Vietnamese back in 1968. We did not make much progress, but the effort has been continuous. We finally solved the problem by getting a peace agreement in January of this year. I have to rely on Mr. McCLOSKEY. Does the distin-guished minority leader have this compared those negotiations. I am informed that mitment from the white House from the they have some reason for optimism,

> Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentieman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. MAHON).

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, we are talking about how successful the negotiations may be. Successful or unsuccessful. we provide and make provision in this bill for a cutoff of combat activity in Cambodia and Laos. It is not dependent upon any successful negotiations concerning the Cambodia question.

This is the first time that the members of the Appropriations Committee have joined together, in submitting a bill to fix a cutoff date. If the combat activity continues beyond that date, it will be in defiance of the express statutes of the land.

Therefore, it seems to me a pretty clear situation. I, for one, propose to stand by the provision which we have before us, and I believe that the Members of the House would feel likewise, that there are no escape hatches. It is just a matter that it is over so far as combat activity by U.S. forces in or over Cambodia or Laos is concerned after August 15. That is the answer. Of course, with respect to North and South Vietnam, we have specific obligations under the January cease-fire agreement and they must be adhered

I certainly have received assurances from people such as Mel Laird, although I have not talked to the President, but these assurances have been unequivocal. However, it does not make any difference whether we have assurances or not in taking this action.

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD, I vield to the gentleman from California (Mr. Rousse-LOIT

Mr ROUSSELOT Mr Chairman want to be sure I heard the gentiemat answer to the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. DU PONT). This includes this agree. ment, South Vietnam.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. It includes Southeast Asia, and South Vietnam is in Southeast Asia

Mr. ROUSSELOT. So in fact it is more total in its all inclusiveness than previous statements.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Yes. Southeast Asia has a broader context than

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just North and South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

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Mr. ROUSSELOT. So it is really more inclusive than the coverage in previous times.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. That is my understanding.

Mr. ROUSSELOT. If the mechanics work out, and we recess on August 6, and something does occur, so that the President feels he must use additional military force beyond that date, will it be, in all likelihood—I know there can be no guarantee—submitted prior to our recess?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. No. 1: I hope the negotiations will have resolved the problem, the one remaining problem. a government in Cambodia, before that date. If that has not been resolved by August 6 I believe the President will have to go to August 15 and stop military operations in Southeast Asia. If something comes up which justified, in his opinion, the consideration by the Congress of further military activity in that area, I believe he would have to ask the Congress to reconvene and consider his proposal.

I do not look down the road and anticipate that, but as I understand the commitment that is what it means.

Mr. ROUSSELOT. I appreciate the gentleman's answer.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. HEINZ, I thank the minority leader.

I believe the minority leader made a very good come on the statement be hade earlier about the inclusion of North and South Vietnam in the prohibition we are failing about with respect to Southeast Asia after August 15 Would the gentleman in the well support an amendment to the bill reported by the Committee on Appropriations that would make explicit in the bill his inclusion of North and South Vietnam?-

MF. CHRALD R. FORD, I do not believe to is necessary. I do not believe to is essential.

Mr. HEINZ. Why would the gentleman contend it would not be necessary?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. In the first place, I have the word of the White House. I have made at own commitment that it includes Southeast Asia if we start enumerating North and South Vietnam then we have to define South east Asia, and may have to redefine our obligations under the January case fire agreement.

Mr. MEINZ. The gentleman would not oppose such an amendment?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am going to stick by the language in the bill, with the assurances that have been made.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. In regard to the statement made just a few moments ago by the gentleman from Connections (Mr. Grando) based on information he believed to be correct, let me inform the House that the Secretary of State has not been over to the Senate today. No such

Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LEGGETT. I believe we have made considerable progress in our conflict of will with the White House with respect to the termination of the war in Southeast Asia. We can all take heart today that at least we know the war is going to be ended come the middle of August.

What we are still concerned about, of course, is the fact that between now and August 15 we are going to be dropping. with 100-plane raids, per day, on the order of 180,000 250-pound bombs in an effort to kill about 100 to 150 alleged Communists, 90 percent of whom are indigenous Cambodians.

What I cannot quite understand is why it is necessary for the President to pledge to grind the operations to a halt in the domestic affairs of the United States in order to accomplish that particular Cambedian objective and to risk the loss of further additional dead American flyers, who undoubtedly will die over the next month and a half, and further missing in action, all for a nebulous agreement which may be forthcoming, when we have just had additional protocols executed and put in effect.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, let me respond in two respects. Unless we get a settlement in Cambodia, a government, and a cease-fire, we are in effect abandoning any verification of MIA's. This is the only way we are going to get any verification of MIA's.

No. 2, as was indicated earlier, I have always voted against any cutoff. The gentleman from time to time, if I recall his record accurately, has voted consistently to impose a prospective cutoff. So by voting for August 15 on this occasion and authorizing certain military activity between Jume 29 and August 15, he is not doing anything differently than he has done in the past by voting for a prospective cutoff date of 60 or 90 days.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, will the distinguished minority leader yield? Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, will the minority leader yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, let me get the comment from the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BUCHANAN), first, because what the gentleman from Alabama says may relate to what the gentleman from Connecticut wishes to discuss.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, one of the top assistants of the Secretary of State has just indicated to me that the Secretary did testify yesterday before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and did make some remarks concerning there being no agreement at that time, at 2 p.m. yesterday afternoon, to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. However, he has not had further conversation today on this subject with anyone, and the State Depart ment says that what the minority leader said in the well of the House at this hour is the way it is, that there is agreement which is firm and there is no question about it, and they by no means wish to confuse or challenge that. What was quoted earlier concerning there

tary said prior to the word the minority leader received from the White House last night or this morning.

man and the second and in the second statements

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, will the minority leader yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The gentleman knows that I do not want to misstate or deceive anyone in this Chamber, and certainly not the gentleman from Michigan. What I said or what I should have said is that Senators JAVITS and FULARIENT had a meeting this morning, but the meeting with the Secretary of State took place last night, as the gentleman said. But as of this morning, when they did have a meeting, there was an announcement made by Senators JAVITS and FULERIENT that as of the present time, about 11 a.m., there had still been no meeting with the Secretary of State.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I will yield to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Buchanan). Then I will yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. HANNA).

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I will simply underline that what the minority leader has promised in the name of the President is the same as the State Department's understanding of the President's position and that the agreement is firm and clear.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I will now yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. HANNA).

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I am one Member who thinks that a considerable amount of progress has been made and that we should give full and intelligent consideration to the fact this is in effect a real compromise. I bring this suggestion to the committee: That in striking the language that previously existed, and in particular looking at the general provisions in section 733. I notice that the language previously was to the effect that no money shall be transferred after a particular date; that was in the other language. But in the language now being recommended by the committee, it puts in, both as to the money in this bill and as to the money heretofore appropriated, the language that after the date of August 15 no money shall be expended.

Now, I trust I am correct in this, and I wish that the chairman of the committee would correct me if I am wrong, because to me this is a vary important point. I am particularly concerned that there be a tandem relationship between the money to be expended and the activities that are going on.

Mr. Chairman, am I right now in my understanding that by putting this language in, in relation to expenditures, we can be assured that the flow of money and the stoppage of activity are coincidental as of August 15?

Mr. MAHON. Will the gentleman

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Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the entleman.

Mr. MAHON. I would say you are preisely correct.

Mr. HANNA. To me this is a very imortant aspect of this compromise, and believe, precisely as the gentleman in he well does, that it does not make any ifference what the President assures. If this Congress makes the law clear, hen the President is bound by it. The nly way he could change this is to veto his law. I would take it from the statement of the gentleman in the well that I he vetoes this one, we will override his eto by a very substantial margin.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the entleman from California (Mr. Mc-Closkey).

Mr. McCLOSKEY. As I understand he gentleman in the well, it is that the anguage of section 307 in the commitee bill is intended to include Southeast isia. North and South Vietnam as well is Cambodia and Laos.

I would like to ask this question of the listinguished chairman of the Commitee on Appropriations, who will head our onferees, if we may have the undertanding that if we vote for section 307 is it is included here, out of the confernce will come the language that inludes Cambodia, Laos, and North and South Vietnam, if the leader of our conerees will commit himself to that posilon.

Mr GEPALD R. FORD. While the hairman is discussing a matter with colleague, let me make a suggestion, have clearly indicated my interpretaion of what the White House undertands to be the situation. I do not think the ought to amend this bill today, beause I have concern about our neace greement obligations, but if the other ody adds North and South Vietnam in his context. I would have no hesitancy ibout naving the House accent that. The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has consumed 30 minutes, and the time of the gentleman (Mr. CEDERBERG) has exbired. The gentleman from Texas has 17 minutes remaining.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairnan, will the gentleman yield me 2 minutes?

Mr. MAHON. As I have committed all of my time on this side, I can yield only 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I have yielded an awful lot of time to an awful lot of people, and I would like to have 1 minute. I yield to the gentleman from Californiz (Mr. McCLOSKEY).

Mr. McCLOSKEY. I would just like to make this statement: We have tried and failed to get the two-thirds majority necessary to write into the law of the United States that this conflict will be anded on a date certain. If the President will sign existing 307 in this law, for the first time we will have reestablished the constitutional power of the Congress to prevent any further conflict. Since we cannot get the two-thirds majority to trite it into the law today, I am prepared to vote for 307 if it comes out of the committee in order to reestablish the Constitution.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I hope that the bill is approved as it is being presented.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I did have some time and it is gone, but I think it was for a very worthy purpose. I think that the compromise spirit is here, and I only hope it will prevail, because it is essential  $f \cdot the$  best interests of keeping this Government operative.

Mr. McKINNEY. Mr. Chairman, this past Monday, the House of Representatives by a vote of 235 to 172 prohibited the use of any funds contained in the second supplemental appropriations bill, or any previous appropriations bill, for combat operations in, over, or off the shores of Cambodia and Laos.

Our vote on Monday was a logical extension of the position which this body assumed on May 10 when by a vote of 224 to 172 we prohibited the use of any funds contained in the second supplemental appropriations bill for combat activities in Lacs and Cambodia.

The majority of the Members of this House have on two occasions in the past month explicitly voted to end America's combat role in Indochina.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, the will of the majority of this Congress has been thwarted by a Presidential veto, sustained by one-third of the Members of this body. The issue before us today is twofold: Is it the will of this Congress to end the bombing of Indochina? And shall the will of Congress be determined by a simple majority of our Members, or shall we be dictated to by a minority of one-third?

As I have continually stated in the past, I am hard pressed to find any justification for the continued bombing of Cambodia either on strategic or legal grounds. If nothing else, the last 10 years have proven that peace in Asia will not be achieved by massive American bombing. The authority which a past Congress vested in the Presidency through the Gulf of Tonkin resolution is not the policy of the 93d Congress. We have clearly broken with the past.

For the first time since the Congress surrendered its constitutional powers to the executive branch almost a decade ago, we have the opportunity to reassert the right of Congress to decide when American men will go to war. If we accept section 307 of this bill. American combat involvement in Indochina will cease once and for all on August 15. If the President should wish to continue the war in Indochina he will have to petition the Congress to do so. Under the provisions of section 307, the decision to maintain American combat involvement in Cambodia and Laos will be decided by a simple majority of the House, not onethird.

Therefore, today I will join with those who have voted against this war since their very arrival in Congress in voting for section 307 of the supplemental ap-

probations bill. In so doing, I do not for one moment condone our bombing Cambodia. To me, the overriding issue is that in the acceptance of section 307 and in the President's signing that section, we are receiving from the executive branch of the Government the first agreement in over 10 years and the first acknowledgment since World War II that the President of the United States may not put American military men, forces, or money into action without the approval of Congress.

With the addition of the Case-Church amendment this morning, the provisions of section 307 now include not only Cambodia and Laos but South Vietnam. North Vietnam, and Thailand as well. The President's signature on this bill is. in fact, his endorsement of a Southeast Asia War Powers Act. He is very clearly stating that it will be the law of the United States that there be no activities in Southeast Asia without the approval of both Houses. And that approval he will not get.

So, we find ourselves pledged to an end of the bombing in Southeast Asia, yet put in the incredible moral dilemma of having to authorize this bombing until August 15. If the Addabbo amendment, which I had voted for, had passed. bombing still would have continued for 15 or 20 days. It is very small consolation that we have achieved what we have by having to authorize bombing for another 20 days. But I think the overriding issue was, and still is, the fact that we recognize the constitutional power of the legislative branch to control the military adventures of the United States. For that reason, with reluctance but with a firm conviction that the issue is far bigger than 20 more days of bombing, I will join my colleagues in our decision to close the war off on the 15th. We do this with the strong feeling that the constitutional and legislative strength of this bill will give us the renewal of the power this House threw away almost a decade ago.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, for many years I have served on the Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations, and certainly since 1967, when I spoke to the annual convention of the National Reserve Officers Association—and 200,000 copies of the speech went out all over the country calling for an end to the war in Southeast Asia, I have done everything that I knew to bring the war to a conclusion.

We are at a place where at long last we can have the end in sight. I say that so that you may know there has not been anyone on this floor more active in trying to bring the fighting and combat to a satisfactory conclusion.

We have a nation with three equal and coordinate branches of government. As I have said many times, there must be a comity of understanding between those three branches of the Government or else our Government fails.

Despite the efforts of everyone here, despite the deep feelings of all of us who are in this House, if we do not accept section 307 as follows, there will be no time limit, nor other limit on the bombing in Cambodia and Laos, and there ななないというとうないので、このないないというないというというできたという

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# RECORD — HOUSE

to override the veto. ide fell short by 35 d attempt to create f. it is clear that we utile effort.

ias announced that an August 15 cut-off e is no evidence that otes that we lacked

is that we need this chers that must pass he end of the fiscal rep this Government ting. If we continue f political brinkmanive branch we are gontry in an economic straitjacket of ter-

will go without loans gress, have promised. public safety officers, o without pay or re-Many necessary and is in the field of huevaporate.

about it, Mr. Chairis compromise cutoff ce. If I could have my ut of Cambodia today. ecord to that effect

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report for the first ate certain for the end engagement in Indoie commitment of the will accept this cutword of the White litary activity will be mdent after that date approval of Con-

fr. Chairman, and reat since the 10th of s consistently opposed long our engagement can be no doubt that the verge of ending for all.

: this opportunity slip rs by stubbornly inumediate terminaton. : votes to do that. We o end the war by Au-: that the House do

All time has expired. ud.

ded to read the bill. ing the reading). Mr. inimous consent that se bill be considered he remainder of the idment at any point. Is, there objection to ie gentleman from

peaker, reserving the the intention of the nan of the Commitns to permit debate

# June 29, 1973

on amendments relating to the Cambodian situation to continue for a reasonable period of time without an effort to cut off such debate?

Mr. MAHON. Well, of course, we have had some debate in connection with the so-called Southeast Asia amendment. and we will have further debate. There will be no disposition to be arbitrary or unreasonable in restricting debate.

Of course, we could debate it until midnight. I am sure the gentleman has in mind some reasonable accommodation.

Mr. MOSS. Well, I use the term, "reasonable," advisedly.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman. I withdraw my request.

The Clerk resumed the reading of the bill

Mr. MAHON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I renew my unanimous-consent request. I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill be considered as read and open to amendment. The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to

the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I address the same question to the gentleman from Texas...

If there is assurance that there will be a reasonable opportunity for debateand I underline the word "reasonable"then I certainly will not object.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman, have I served in the U.S. Congress for 39 years and established a reputation for being otherwise than fair?

Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the request. The Clerk resumed the reading of the bill.

Mr. ROSENTHAL (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill may be considered as read and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I object. The Clerk resumed the reading of the bill

Mr. ADDABBO (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill be considered as read and be open to amendment, from this point on.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. EVANS OF COLORADO

This Amend. adds North Viet

Nam + South Vist

Sec 307.

Man to

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, 1 offer an amendment.

The portion of the bin to which the amendment relates is as follows:

SEC. 307. None of the funds herein appropriated under this Act may be expended to support directly or indirectly combat activities in or over Cambodia or Laos or off the shores of Cambodia or Laos by United States forces, and after August 15, 1973, no other funds heretofore appropriated under any other Act may be expended for such purpose.

#### The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Evans of Colo-

the word "or" between the words "Cambo-dia" and "Laos", and insert a comma in lieu thereof; and after the word "Laos" on line 23 msert a comma and add the following: "Horth Vietnam and South Vietnam". And on line 24, strike the word "or" be-

tween the words "Cambodia" and "Laos" and insert a comma in lieu thereof and after the word "Laos" on said line 23 insert a comma and add the following: "North Vietnam and South Vietnam".

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order against the amendment. Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Chairman, I do not mind saying that both in the Appropriations Committee yesterday and since, when we considered the bill that was to be brought to the House today, I had a great deal of difficulty in making up my mind what I was going to do.

man. In the committee, it seemed to me that ment we had no other choice, that a veto had not been overridden and therefore it was Michi up to the House to offer something different to the President. Then I began to think, "Well, we have other issues at stake here; we have a continuing resohis pc lution with tougher limitations on it; we have a debt ceiling bill which has different limitations on it." I began to feel, in the absence of any indication from the White House or the President himself as to what the position of the President would be, that probably the best course of action would be to send back to the White House exactly the same bill he vetoed with the message hopefully being that a strong majority of the House and Senate believe we should cut off all our military activities in Southeast Asia.

I have listened with great interest to these proceedings in the House this afternoon. I have been most impressed. I must say, with the assurances that have been brought to us by the distinguished minority leader, first of all on his personal word, which I was inclined to take, and then, after the challenge of the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut and Illinois regarding, not the word of the distinguished minority leader, but the word of the people upon whom the minority leader in the White House was relying, I was then considerably impressed with the fact that the minority leader came back to the Committee of the Whole a few minutes ago with the assurances that he had just spoken personally with the President, and that the President had personally assured the minority leader that the remarks he had just made on the floor of the House were correct, and reflected the commitment of the President, and that if for any reason the President wanted to become involved in military activities in Southeast Asia after August 15, that before doing so he would come back to the Congress and ask for authority from the Congress to take such action.

On the strength of those assurances the amendment which I offer would merely add North Vietnam and South Vietnam to the provisions of section 307. For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I

hope that the committee will support my amendment.

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Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Chairman, it would seem to me that the gentleman's amendment has much wisdom if one wants to compromise here today. For example, there is a possibility of a compromise going to August 15 and including North and South Vietnam. That seems to me a more realistic approach to compromise than merely extending the date to August 15. That is why I commend the gentleman for his amendment.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I think it is incorrect to say that the House, by adopting the committee recommendation today, is placing its approval upon bombing in Cambodia or Laos. People can still have their views. The bill language does not say whether there is any authority or not. We do not say there is any. We just say there shall be no bombing in Cambodia and Laos after August 15. It does not say, "we favor or recommend bombing prior to August 15."

Mr. ECKHARDT. If the gentleman will yield back to me, I think it is the simplest logic to say that if we say we will not bomb after a particular date, it will mean that we are authorizing bomoing until that date.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. WOLFF. I support the amendment to include North and South Vietnam in the restriction placed upon the President. The gentleman in his statement said something to the effect that this amendment would be a question of war powers of the President. I recall, however, that just recently the gentleman issued a statement to all the Members, opposing the war powers bill, which I support.

Mr. ECKHARDT. For the same reason: I do not think we should authorize any power on the part of the President to engage in hostilities except by congressional action.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ECKHARDT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman is absolutely correct. I think we ought to understand something else. The bill that the President said to the minority leader he would accept is not the bill we would have if the gentleman from Colorado's amendment is in there, and it would take the President, as well as the minority leader, completely off the hook, if it were adopted.

Mr. ECKHARDT. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, the argument has been raised repeatedly that we are by some method or some means either authorizing or condoning the bombing of Cambedia and Southeast Asia. May I say nothing 'could be further from the fact.

The Congress passed a prohibition. The action was vetced. We did not have

the votes to override the veto. We do not have them now. Thus we offer you the earliest date for a cutoff in an attempt to get the bill signed into law by the President.

Further, if we read this bill from top to bottom and forward and backward, we will not find any place where it authorizes the President to bomb. Personally. I hope there will not be a single bomb dropped anywhere. I would like to see it stop tomorrow. But we tried that, and lost. We offer you the best course possible but nowhere authorize bombing. We are not approving anything. We are just being realistic and saying, right or wrong, combat must stop on or before August 15. The bill has to be passed and signed to do us any good. Again we are not authorizing approval or condoning any bombing. We are being realistic and putting in a date that we can sell. Wishful thinking will not help.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. There is no bombing going on to my knowledge at the present time in North and South V::tnam. I think this confuses the issue. We just heard from the distinguished minority leader. that he had been on the telephone with the President of the United States. I assume that I am correct when I say that the conversation referred to bombing in Cambodia, and I would ask the gentleman from Michigan if that was not what the theor of the discussion was.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman rephrase his question, please?

Mr. GIAIMO. Is it not so that the gentleman's discussion with the Provi dent of the United States referred to bombing in Cambodia and Laos? We now have a new factor in here, a commitment from the gentleman and from the President that there will be no bombing in North and South Vielmam.

AIR GERALD R. FORD. If I recall accurately what I said, which I got readermation upon as far as the U.S. President. Is concerned, it is that after August 15 there would be no compat activity which I take to include pombing in Cambodia or otherwise in Southeast Asia That is what I counk I said and hat is my uncerstanding from the President. Mr. GIAIMO My understanding was-

Ar GIAINO My understanding was that we were talking at the time acour Cambodia and Laos. We are now intraducing North and South Viernam which is a subject of great controversy in the other body at the present time between the administration and those who are trying to work out a soution to this, and I understand that there is administration opposition to the inclusion of North and South Vietnam.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am not commenting on any such opposition. I am simply stating what I believe, that the commutation i have made is provid in the compound in composite is a part of that overall.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, with the gentleman yield so I may ask a question of the minority leader?

Mr. GIAIMO. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. May I ask the minority leader to tell the House what the subject of his conversation was and what the commitment of the President was?

Committeent of the free left was: Mr. CERALD P. FORD Mr. Chain man. I came back and said in a few senbaces which I will fix to repeat as acourately as I can remember mean that but the existent of the statement I add made on the door of the statement I add made on the door of the statement I add made on the door of the statement I add manuals, which is doll in approximately I'm minutes which is doll in approximately if an in a floor on the same should in asked him if I had his authority to reminimum yes.

the statement the gentleman made on the floor of the House, and which will above in the Concession Process is a commitment of the President of the United States, is that right?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. To the best of my knowledge and personal contact with him.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 5 minutes.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Members starding at the time the unanimous consent recuest was made will be recognized for three-quarters of a minute each.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CEDERSERG).

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, as far as I personally am concerned, I have no strong feelings about this amendment. If the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GIAIMO) is opposed to this amendment and those over on the other side of the aisle are opposed to it, in the spirit of compromise, I shall be glad to be against the amendment. It is all right with me.

This is the first time I have ever had a chance to compromise with the gentleman from Connecticut and the gentleman from Illinois, so let us vote the amendment down. That is fine.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, I just heard my name mentioned.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Chairman, I understood the gentleman was opposed to this amendment.

Mr. EINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I am prepared to vote for the amendment to be offered by Mr. FYYNT for the immediate cutoff, but I cannot understand why anybody, who favors stopping the war in Indochina, should be opposed to the amendment offered by Mr. Evans of Colorado.

This amendment represents a broadening of the language offered by the committee. The committee compromise I think, is likely to carry even though a number of Members will continue to support the Flynt position. If the committee position does prevail, then surely it is much better if the language includes North and South Vietnem as well as Varing nove or final passage plus on Evans Hmend. to include North

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Jones, Ala. t: So the amendment was rejected. The result of the vote was announced above recorded.

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Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Chairman, I move strike the requisite number of words. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentlen's understanding in withdrawing his tion

had said earlier in the debate that was my intention at that time to coner offering an amendment at this int in the debate. I was going to submit e date of August 1 instead of August

Mr. Chairman, to me that would have en us a common ground. One side uld have given up 30 days; the other e, the President, would have given up days. It has the added factor that the ngress would be in session on August 1 d not in recess. I think, with 15 days ver, it would have the advantage of pping the bombing more quickly and ving lives.

I do not think at this particular point would serve any successful purpose to er the amendment because we now

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can all see the handwriting on the wall. still think it is something the conference might find a common ground on to help work out a final compromise. For that reason I will not offer the amendment I think the House has worked its wil and a clear and definite understanding has been reached between the House and the President. I will now join with other in final passage in voting for the com mittee bill.

Mr. MAHON, Mr. Chairman, I mov that the committee do non lice and re Dont the one back to the House with a amendment, with the recommendation that the amendment be agreed to an that the bill as amended do pass. The motion was agreed to.

teroranighy the Committee lose; and the Speaker having resumed the chain Mr. BROOKS, Chairman of the Committe of the Whole House on the State of th Union, reported that the Committee having had under consideration the bil (H.R. 9055) making supplemental appro priations for the fiscal year endin June 30, 1973, and for other purposes had directed him to report the bill bac to the House with an amendment with the recommendation that the amend ment be agreed to and that the bill a amended do pass.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I move th previous question on the bill and th amendment thereto to final passage.

The previous question was ordered. The SPEAKER. The question is on th amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on th engrossment and third reading of th bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrosse and read a third time, and was read th third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on th passage of the bill.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speake on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

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The vote was taken by electronic de vice, and there were—yeas 278, nays 12 present 2, not voting 29, as follows:

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#### Public Law 93-50 93rd Congress, H. R. 9055 July 1, 1973

# An Art

# Making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following Second Supplesums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply supplemental appropriations (this Act may be cited as the "Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973") for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for other purposes, namely: 87 STAT.

#### TITLE I

#### CHAPTER I

#### AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS

#### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

#### SCIENCE AND EDUCATION PROGRAMS

#### ANIMAL AND PLANT HEALTH INSPECTION SERVICE

For an additional amount for "Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service", \$12,100,000: *Provided*, That this appropriation shall be available for acquisition of land, or interest therein, as authorized by 70 Stat. 1034. section 11 of the Act of August 3, 1956 (7 U.S.C. 428a).

00 STAT. 100

#### MARKETING SERVICES

#### AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE

FUNDS FOR STRENGTHENING MARKETS, INCOME, AND SUPPLY (SECTION 32)

Funds available under section 32 of the Act of August 24, 1935 (7 U.S.C. 612c), shall be available for child feeding programs and 49 Stat. 774; nutritional programs authorized by law in the School Lunch Act <sup>62</sup>/<sub>42</sub> Usc 1751 and Child Nutrition Act, as amended, in the amount of \$21,960,000 note, 1771 for the current fiscal year in addition to amounts heretofore provided note. for such purposes.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

#### ABATEMENT AND CONTROL

For an additional amount for abatement and control activities. \$6,287,000, to remain available until expended.

Funds made available for independent grant and contract review advisory committees shall be available for transfer to meet increased pay costs.

Vietnam (North Vietnam).

#### TITLE III

- 30 -

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS

Fiscal year limitation.

SEC. 301. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall remain available for obligation beyond the current fiscal year unless expressly so provided herein.

SEC. 302. Except where specifically increased or decreased elsewhere in this Act, the restrictions contained within appropriations, or provisions affecting appropriations or other funds, available during the fiscal year 1973, limiting the amounts which may be expended for personal services, or for purposes involving personal services, or amounts which may be transferred between appropriations or authorizations available for or involving such services, are hereby increased to the extent necessary to meet increased pay costs authorized by or pursuant to law.

SEC. 303. Applicable appropriations or funds available for the fiscal

SEC. 304. No funds appropriated in this Act shall be expended to

SEC. 305. No part of any appropriation contained in this or any

poses, for the preparation, distribution, or use of any kit, pamphlet, booklet, publication, radio, television, or film presentation designed to support or defeat legislation pending before the Congress, except in

year 1973 shall also be available for payment of prior fiscal year

Retroactive pay increases,

obligations for retroactive pay increases granted pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 80 Stat, 471; 5341 82 Stat, 997. North Vietnam aid or assist in the reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of reconstruction. use of funds for prohibition. other Act, or of funds available for expenditure by any corporation or agency shall be used, other than for normal and recognized Publicity or propaganda. executive-legislative relationships, for publicity or propaganda pur-

> SEC. 306. Appropriations and authority provided in this Act shall be available from June 5, 1973, and all obligations incurred in anticipation of the appropriations and authority provided in this Act are hereby ratified and confirmed if otherwise in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Combat activities by U.S. forces in Cambodia, Laos, etc., use of funds for, prohibition.

SEC. 307. None of the funds herein appropriated under this Act may be expended to support directly or indirectly combat activities m or over Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam or oll the shores of Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam by United States forces, and after August 15, 1975, no other funds heretofore appropriated under any other Act may be expended for such purpose.

Approved July 1, 1973.

presentation to the Congress itself.

#### LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 93-350 (Comm. on Appropriations). CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 119 (1973): June 29, considered and passed House and Senate.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS; Vol. 9, No. 27: July 1, Presidential statement,

## WASHINGTON

# April 11, 1975

Mr. President:

Here is a transcript of what Vice President Rockefeller actually said during the NBC interview.

The earlier quote "blood on their hands" was phoned to us by NBC but as you can see by the attached transcript, the Vice President never said it. Therefore, no White House reaction is needed or will be given.

Ron Nessen

Attachment

NBC on ROCKEFELLER -- Friday, April 11, 1975

A. When the Members of Congress face, as I think they have to face, the question of whether they are going to let 6,000 Americans stay and perhaps all of them be executed -- lose their lives -- or whether they are going to take the steps necessary to avoid that possibility, that they will choose for the latter.

Q. Do you think the safety of the 6,000 Americans depends on the \$700 million?

A. I think it is dependent upon the change of the law and the funds.

# Mr. President:

When Chuck Bailey, the Editor of the Minneapolis Tribune, stopped in briefly to say hello a week or so ago, he promised to send you the results of the most recent highly respected Minnesota poll on public opinion in that area. Here is the poll for your information.

I am also sending a copy of this to Bob Hartmann.

Ron Nessen

FORD

# 



Copyright 1975 Minneapolis Tribune

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON April 14, 1975

# MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

SUBJECT: Bill McGaffin

Bill McGaffin, Deputy Bureau Chief for the Chicago Daily News, died today in Doctors' Hospital after a long bout with cancer. There will be a memorial service on Thursday or Friday. The body will be cremated, no public funeral service is planned.

The wire service story is attached.

UP-123

(MCGAFFIN)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- WILLIAM MCGAFFIN, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS BUREAU IN WASHINGTON, DIED TODAY OF CANCER IN DOCTORS' HOSPITAL. HE WAS 64.

MCGAFFIN, A NATIVE OF NEBRASKA, JOINED THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS DURING WORLD WAR II AFTER REPORTING IN MOST OF THE MAJOR THEATERS OF WAR FOR THE ASSOCIATED PRESS. HE WAS TRASNFERRED TO WASHINGTON IN 1956 AND SPECIALIZED IN COVERAGE OF THE PENTAGON AND RELATED DEFENSE ACTIVITIES IN CONGRESS.

MCGAFFIN WAS A GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA AND THE COLUMBIA SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND JOINED AP IN 1937.

NO PUBLIC FUNERAL SERVICE IS PLANNED. A MEMORIAL SERVICE WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER.

THE FAMILY, WHICH LIVES IN FALLS CHURCH, VA., REQUESTED NO FLOWERS BUT SAID CONTRIBUTIONS COULD BE MADE TO THE AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY.

MCGAFFIN IS SURVIVED BY HIS WIFE, JEAN, AND TWO SONS, CHRISTOPHER AND NICKY.

UPI 04-14 05:05 PED

WASHINGTON

April 15, 1975

# ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DOROTHY DOWNTON

FROM:

The attached memorandum was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

-- Have Dorothy Downton talk with me about a contribution and a letter of condolence.

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

Thank you.

cc: Don Rumsfeld



# April 15, 1975

# Mr. President:

Here is the Bicentennial Issue of Fortune Magazine which you requested.

I know you have already seen the interview with yourself. However, you recall Don Rumsfeld thought you might like to look through some of the other articles -- especially the one on Foreign Affairs.

Ros Nessen

rBN/cg



# April 16, 1975

Mr. President:

Here is an advance copy of John Hersey's

profile on you.

Ron Nessen



#### WASHINGTON

# April 21, 1975

Mr. President:

Here are some points your advisers think you should emphasize during the CBS interview tonight, aside from your direct answers to questions. These memos contain the input of the Economic Policy Board, the OMB, Alan Greenspan, the Domestic Council and the Energy Resources Council.

The NSC has not yet prepared its talking points for the broadcast.

Ron Nessen

Attachments

WASHINGTON

## April 21, 1975

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM ECONOMIC POLICY BOARD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SUBJECT

# TALKING POINTS ON THE ECONOMY FOR CBS INTERVIEW

# 1. <u>There is growing amount of commentary that the recession</u> is bottoming out and the economy will soon turn up. Do you agree?

It is true that a number of early indicators that normally appear prior to the bottoming of a recession have begun to emerge in recent weeks. Although we expect the economy to stabilize and to begin to recover in the months ahead it is still declining - more slowly than earlier but the trend is still downward. Consequently, we must expect to see several months more of unfavorable economic indicators. Among these we should expect another increase in the unemployment rate to be reported for the month of April perhaps even to 9 percent or even more.

The evidence that is gradually appearing is consistent with and supportive of our view that the economy would bottom out around mid-year. This was our forecast in January in the Economic and Budget Messages and we see as yet no evidence to suggest that the expected mid-year bottoming out has been advanced or delayed.

<u>Memo:</u> A number of key indicators have continued to do better than we expected: retail sales, a stabilization in new orders and, most importantly, the growing evidence that the recession is to a very large extent an inventory recession, and by its nature means that both the depth and the duration of the recession are limited.

## 2. Inflation rates, though down, are still too high.

The rate of inflation has declined significantly since last year. But the current rate of inflation of about 7-8% is still unacceptably high and needs to be reduced further. Further improvement will, however, be a slow and gradual process because the present rate of inflation is deeply imbedded in the current structure of prices, costs, and wages. However, we will continue to work on this problem.

-2-

# 3. Larger deficits threaten future inflation and a sound economic recovery.

The deficits for this year and next are sure to be extremely large. Most of that is due to the recession itself, which causes sharp reductions in tax receipts and sharp increases in unemployment benefits. But the problem now is that the deficits may get too big, and that threatens us with two very serious dangers. One is that the enormous borrowing will force interest rates to rise, which will choke off private investment. The housing industry would be sent into a tailspin, and we would not have the capital that we need to do things like developing our energy resources and insuring an adequate supply of electricity. The second danger is that these large deficits will send inflation soaring again. The bigger the deficits, the more serious is the danger that these problems will develop.

# 4. We should guard against over-reaction to lagging declines in unemployment.

The unemployment rate usually lags and does not start to improve as soon or as fast as economic activity does. We must be careful not to over-react to this situation. Many of the spending bills now before Congress would take time to implement, and if the experts are right, they will have no effect on the timing of the trough in economic activity or on the speed of recovery during its early phases. Rather, they would stimulate the economy later in the recovery and add to budget deficits in 1977 and beyond. This is just when many experts believe that the inflationary danger could again be growing rapidly.

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1975



MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

The President's Interview with Walter Cronkite Tonight

The Government spending issue is the key point that the President should make tonight in the Domestic area. He needs to make the point over and over again that the Federal Government can't solve all of our problems by continuing to increase Federal spending. He should hit hard on his concern about increasing the size of the Federal deficit and urge the Congress to act more responsibly as they review budget issues in the weeks and months ahead.

## ENERGY POINTS

- Since I announced my comprehensive energy program on January 15, the Congress has come a long way
  - There is a realization that the energy problem is serious

and a program must be enacted now, not next year.

Hearings have been held on all of my proposals and legislation is moving through several committees.

However, we still have a long way to go

We do not have a comprehensive program enacted.

The Congress still seens unwilling to enact a tough conservation program with meaingful savings during the next few critical years.

Even if there were a resolution of the Middle East situation and the threat of an embargo diminished, we must save energy now- otherwise we become more

vulnerable to a further round of oil price rises. Many are still looking to allocation, quotas and rationing as an easy way to cut use. It is certain

burgeoning Federal bureacracy and restrictions of individual freedoms than the market approach I

that this approach will cause more economic impact,

have proposed - and it will save less energy.

April 24, 1975

# Mr. President:

Attached is a notebook containing updated reaction to your news executives breakfasts, luncheons, and receptions around the country.

You will see both complementary letters to the White House from the news executives, as well as stories and columns.

Ron Nessen

CR/ BRA RAL

April 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN

Attached is a statement of White House reaction to the story <u>Newsweek</u> magazine will run tomorrow saying you have decided irrevocably not to run for election in 1976.

Dick Cheney and I agree that this statement should be issued.

Please indicate to Bill Greener any changes you wish made in this statement. It will be issued to the networks and wire services to coincide with the publication of <u>Newsweek</u> Sunday night and it will be given to any reporters inquiring about the <u>Newsweek</u> story.

Attachment

FOR

## GUIDANCE FOR QUESTIONS ON NEWSWEEK ARTICLE

## BACKGROUND:

Newsweek will report in its Monday issue that President Ford recently held a private meeting with a small number of friends and associates at which he told them that he has decided irrevocably not to run for election in 1976.

The following statement will be issued to the wires and nets for release at 6:00 p.m. EDT Sunday, and in response to press queries you may say:

"The President wants it known that this story is untrue. The President held no such meeting. He definitely plans to run for election in 1976. Any reports to the contrary are wrong."
Monday, April 28, '75 6:50 - fuitent Buckfut 7: 34 - Prisident to Court Office 7: 5% - lum dyout White them 8: 51 - Mrs. Ford Reutifit 12: 23 - Men Ford Depart (Comber - Internet - Cht) 3: 13 - Lun Quin White for 3: 5 - Mrs. Fort suin Mite Am 8'8 - The Pres from that 2 mlf 834 - Sened cottoft - 8 +3 915-Dinner The Prest MAR. Ford. 1126 The Pres to office A Situation Pm. 1205 - The Pres to 2 = All. 1225 - retiref.

# PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION \_\_ Washington, D. C.

DATE 28 April 1975

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0735	White House Oval Office
1013	South Grounds
1013	Depart South Grounds via Motorcade
1016	Arrive Constitution Hall
1054	Depart Constitution Hall via Motorcade
1055	Arrive South Grounds
1057	White House Oval Office
1747	Cabinet Room
1913	White House Oval Office
1923	Roosevelt Room
2008	White House Oval Office
2019	Residence
2328	White House Oval Office
2331	White House Situation Room

WHCA FORM 15, OCTOBER '74. ALL PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THIS FORM ARE OBSOLETE.

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WASHINGTON

#### TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

April 28 , 1975

	TIME				
	PLACED	DISC	NAME	ACTION	
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WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

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# Page 2

April 28, 1975

3:16 Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Cheney out 3:50 John Dellenback and group in 3:56 Above out. 4:05 Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Cheney in 4:35 Above departed Governor Holshouser, Mr. Hartmann and Mr. Rumsfeld in 4:40 5:19 Above out 5:20 Rep. Kelly and Miss National Teenager in 5:25 Above departed. 5:27 Secretary Coleman, Mr. Cheney and Mr. Walker in 5:43 Above out. 5;45 To Cabinet Room for Economic/Energy Meeting 7:12 Meeting concluded. President to Oval Office accompanied by the Vice President. 7:15 Secretary Kissinger in To Roosevelt Room accompanied by Vice President and Secretary 7:23 Kissinger for NSC Meeting Returned to the Oval Office 8:08

8:19 To the Residence.

#### WASHINGTON

### THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE - MONDAY - APRIL 28, 1975

7:34	TO THE OVAL OFFICE
7:45	General Scowcroft and Mr. Peterson in
7:57	Above out.
8:00	Mr. Hartmann in
8:35	Mr. Hartmann out. Mr. Rumsfeld in.
9:02	Mr. Rumsfeld out
9:45	Mr. Hartmann in
9:50	Mr. Hartmann out.
11:00	Mr. Nessen, Mr. Friedersdorf, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Hartmann and Mr. Rumsfeld in.
11:40	Above departed.
11:43	Secretary Kissinger in
11:50	General Scowcroft in
12:45	Secretary Kissinger and General Scowcroft out
12:45	Mr. Marsh in
1:05	Mr. Marsh out
1:05	Monsignor Zerfas, Mr. Zylstra and Mr. Cannon in
1:20	Above out.
2:03	Secretary Weinberger in
2:26 2:30	Above out Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Cheney in

# The President and Mrs. Ford's Dinner Menu, Monday, April 29, 1975

Oyster Cocktail

Corned Beef and Cabbage

Carrots

Beet Salad

Balck Cherry Jello



Theesday april 29 Tim Breakfast - The President 732 The President to office 1D: 05 - Mer. Ford depart white the (Welst Farmed) 11: an - mus. Ford uter White How 11:4 - Mue. Ford talaat Thing 12:21 - Mee Fact to Recide 12:45 - Mrs. Ford Lunder 1: 45 - The Ford to Contact Office 2: 24 - Mer. Ford ut Ring (Civitan). 647 The Pres from office to 2mg 73 - Dinner greats art of to Kel My Alushmente 7# - The Pres to N. Port & queter HM. Hussein I Hoff 805 - Dinney Stateth Ritt. in honos of A.M. Aussain I (3D. Stag: 815 - Durinet Mike Fort of Susan, 9th-Toastrat Table 920 To Blue PM. for Coffeet liquors 1015 The Prestioner quest find granted N. 1026 The Presto Dest fli; all questo de fait

WASHINGTON

	THE	PRESIDENT'S	SCHEDULE -	TUESDAY -	APRIL 29, 197	5
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7:35	TO THE OVAL OFFICE. RON NESSEN IN.
7:38	Ron Nessen out
7:40	General Scowcroft and Dave Peterson in
8:00	Above out
8:03	Mr. Hartmann in
8:15	Mr. Hartmann out
8:40	Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Cheney in
8:50	Mr. Marsh in. Secretary Kissinger in
9:05	Secretary Kissinger out Mr. Nessen in.
9:15	Above out. Secretary Kissinger in
9:47	President and Secretary Kissinger to Cabinet Room for Cabinet Meeting.
1025	Returned to Oval Office.
10:36 11:32	King Hussein in, Secretary Kissinger, P.Min, Rifai, Gen. Scowcroft Above departed. and Amb. Pickering in
11:3 <b>9</b>	Bipartisan Congressional Leadership Meeting
12:27	Returned to Oval Office. Mr. Marsh, Hartmann, Rumsfeld, Kissinger, Friedersdorf, Nessen in . Also Dick Cheney
12:55 12:58	Kissinger, Rumsfeld, Nessen, Cheney out Rumsfeld in
1:16	Rumsfeld, Marsh, and Friedersdorf out

1:17	Mr. Hartmann out
1:30	Secretary Kissinger in
1:33	Secretary Kissinger out
1:50	Secretary Kissinger in
1:55	Secretary Kissinger out
2:00	Civic Group heads in individually for photographs
2:10	President joined civic group heads in Cabinet Room
2:25	Returned to Oval Office.
2:40	To cabinet room for meeting re coyotes.
342	Returned to Oval Office.
342 345	Messrs Zarb, Greenspan, Marsh, Friedersdort Rumsfeld and Cheney inVice President in.
3:55	Dr. Kissinger in
4:00	Dr. Kissinger out
4:23	Dr. Kissinger in
4:25	Dr. Kissinger out.
4:28	Mr. Zarb, Greenspan, Marsh, Friedersdorf, Rumsfeld and Cheney out
4:40	Vice President out.
4:40	Peruvian Ambassador in
4:42	Peruvian Ambassador out

<b>±:</b> 43	Amb. of Haiti in
4:50	Amb of Haiti out
4:51	Amb. of Chile in
5:00	Amb. of Chile out
5:00	Dr. Kissinger in
5:05	Dr. Kissinger out
5:05	Amb. of Columbia in
5:10	Above out.
5:15	President to Cabinet Room for Farm Bill meeting.
5:45	To Oval Office with Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Cheney
6:00	Mr. Rumsfeld and Mr. Cheney out
6:19	Dr. Kissinger in
6:32	General Scowcroft in
6:34	General Scowcroft out
647	to Résidence

WASHINGTON

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# TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

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April 29 , 1975

 

	TIME				
	PLACED	DISC	NAME	ACTION	
XXXXX	12:23 AM PM	12:25	Secretary Henry A. Kissinger White House Office White House Signal X-260	Tlkd-ok 12:24 AM	
XRXX	12:43 AM PM	12:44	Secretary Henry A. KissingerTlkd-okWhite House Office12:43 AMWhite House Admin X-64112:43 AM		
XAXX INC	1:07 AM	1:11	Secretary Henry A. Kissinger White House Office White House Admin X-640	Tlkd-ok 1:08 AM	
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WASHINGTON

#### TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

P.ST. april 29 , 1975 President TIME NAME ACTION PLACED DISC OUT AM, (EN+ 640) pr. Kissinger 1243 1244 OK. ING PM AM TUG (ENV 640) 108 Dr. Kissinjer 111 OK PM AM Please put the Ser, 525 al. of State Calleon X515 INC OUT РМ AM 1704 di Dr. Kissinger 110 X925 РМ AM 60 Ule ona, al 2:24 ( commettee Rm INC PM OUT AM 225-0798 PM INC Vna OUT AM Brickefoller o V.P. Oh 616 P 618 mtc) Serg Schlesinger ip. 62/00 632 INC OUT Secy Lessinger AB 7/9 (FM) Am 2 mta King Hussein Secy Sch esinger 159 teke INC PM U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE :1970-0-375-347

### PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION \_\_ Washington, D.C.

DATE 29 April 1975

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0002	lst Floor, Residence
0004	2nd Floor, Residence
0735	White House Office
0947	Cabinet Room
1025	White House Office
1138	Cabinet Room
1227	White House Office
1411	Cabinet Room
1426	White House Office
1439	Cabinet Room
1542	White House Office
1716	Cabinet Room
1741	White House Office
1847	2nd Floor, Residence
1943	lst Floor, Residence
2229	2nd Floor, Residence
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