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

Chapter No.	Budget estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates	Chapter No.	Budget estimates	Recommended in bill	Bill compared with estimates
TITLE I—GENERAL SUPPLEMENTALS				VIII	Legislative branch.....	520,592,250	520,592,250
I	Agriculture-Environmental and Consumer Protection.....	\$47,100,000	\$59,387,000	IX	Public Works.....	83,200,000	100,330,000
II	Defense.....	253,348,225	155,025,000	X	State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary.....	523,571,000	541,533,000
III	District of Columbia.....	8,500,000	8,500,000	XI	Transportation.....	49,646,000	47,522,000
IV	Foreign Operations.....	703,000	700,000	XII	Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government.....	315,667,000	329,527,000
V	Housing and Urban Development, Space, Science, and Veterans.....		20,000,000	XIII	Claims and Judgments.....	23,102,020	23,102,020
VI	Interior and related agencies.....	95,493,000	67,281,000	Total, title I.....	2,543,116,504	2,471,211,273	
VII	Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare.....	1,132,715,000	1,115,734,000	Title II, pay costs.....	1,619,929,000	891,504,000	
				Grand total, titles I and II.....	4,163,045,504	3,362,715,273	

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, I will 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-

thorized to say the following: No. 1, the President will definitely accept and sign a bill that contains the language in section 307. No. 2, if military action is required in Southeast Asia after August 15, the President will ask congressional authority and will abide by the decision that 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 the gentleman 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. GIALMO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

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

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

Mr. GERALD R. 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. GIALMO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. GIALMO. 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

...they have not committed themselves to any firm position as to time.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Let me just say that I believe my sources. I have reconfirmed them. I have given my personal word. And I might add a postscript. I hope this is not misunderstood. I do not think that any further extension could be achieved on the floor of the House if I and some others did not try to get it, so whether it is a sufficient word or not I think the White House has to understand that they are not going to let it unless they come back, ask for it and get congressional authority.

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

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

Mr. DUPONT. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman's second point of the three he made is a very important one. I would just like to clarify that and make sure we all have an understanding of it. As I understand what the gentleman said, if the President believes that military activity is necessary in Southeast Asia—and 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 authority 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. All I can say is that in this instance under these circumstances I have the word of the White House. I have gotten reconfirmation of it. As a practical matter I am sure that is what will happen if there is any need and necessity for such authority after August 15.

Mr. DUPONT. 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 would cease unless the President came back to the Congress and asked for and obtained authority to commence military activity?

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

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 be no combat activity in or over Indochina 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 we have that?

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

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Does the distinguished minority leader have this commitment from the White House from the President that the bombing ceases August 15?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I do not have the answer to his precise question as he phrases it but as I interpret 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 House is willing to make that commitment precisely. I think we have time to obtain that commitment between now and the time this 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 negotiations 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, as to the fact that we were going to be 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 the people who have been involved in those negotiations. I am informed that they have some reason for optimism, and I am going to believe it.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman 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 to.

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 yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROUSSELOT).

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Chairman, I want to be sure I heard the gentleman's answer to the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. DUPONT). This includes this agreement, 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.



just North and South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

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 point on the statement he made earlier about the inclusion of North and South Vietnam in the prohibition we are talking 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 the inclusion of North and South Vietnam?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I do not believe it is necessary. I do not believe it 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 my own commitment that it includes Southeast Asia. If we start enumerating North and South Vietnam then we have to define Southeast Asia, and may have to redefine our obligations under the January cease-fire agreement.

Mr. HEINZ. 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 Connecticut (Mr. Giamo) 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 conversation took place.

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 130,000 250-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 Cambodian 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 June 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. GIAMO. 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 Department 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 being no agreement—that that is

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

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

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

Mr. GIAMO. 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 JAVRS and FULBRIGHT 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 JAVRS and FULBRIGHT 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 735, 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 very 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

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

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

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

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

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

I would like to ask this question of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, who will head our conferees, if we may have the understanding that if we vote for section 307 as it is included here, out of the conference will come the language that includes Cambodia, Laos, and North and South Vietnam, if the leader of our conferees will commit himself to that position.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. While the chairman is discussing a matter with a colleague, let me make a suggestion. Have clearly indicated my interpretation of what the White House understands to be the situation. I do not think we ought to amend this bill today, because I have concern about our peace agreement obligations, but if the other body adds North and South Vietnam in this context, I would have no hesitancy about having the House accept that.

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

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, 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 California (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 ended 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 write 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 for 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 Laos 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 one-third.

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-

propriations 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.

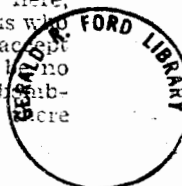
So, we find ourselves pledged to an end of the bombing in Southeast Asia, yet put in the incredible moral dilemma of having to authorize this bombing until August 15. If the Addabbo amendment, which I had voted for, had passed, bombing still would have continued for 15 or 20 days. It is very small consolation 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



Amendment offered by Mr. Evans of Colo-

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I hope that the committee will support my amendment.

Mr. C
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(MAHON)

This Amend.
adds
North Viet
Nam &
South Viet
Nam to
Sec 307.



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 bombing 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 Cambodia and Southeast Asia. May I say nothing could be further from the fact.

The Congress passed a prohibition. The action was vetoed. 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. GLADIO. 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 Vietnam. 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 tenor of the discussion was.

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

Mr. GLADIO. Is it not so that the gentleman's discussion with the President 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 Vietnam.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If I recall accurately what I said, which I got reaffirmation upon as far as the U.S. President is concerned, it is that after August 15 there would be no combat activity which I take to include bombing in Cambodia or otherwise in Southeast Asia. That is what I think I said and that is my understanding from the President.

Mr. GLADIO. My understanding was that we were talking at the time about Cambodia and Laos. We are now introducing North and South Vietnam 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 solution 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 commitment I have made is broad in that no bombing in Cambodia is a part of that overall.

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

Mr. GLADIO. 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?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I came back and said in a few sentences, which I will try to repeat as accurately as I can remember them, that I told the President of the statement I had made on the floor of the House, summarizing it as best I could in approximately 10 minutes. And I had taken 30 minutes on the floor on the same subject. I asked him if I had his authority to reaffirm those commitments and the President said "yes."

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, I take it the statement the gentleman made on the floor of the House, and which will appear in the Congressional Record, 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 standing at the time the unanimous consent request was made will be recognized for three-quarters of a minute each.

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

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. GLADIO) 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. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I am prepared to vote for the amendment to be offered by Mr. FLYNN 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 Flynn position. If the committee position does prevail, then surely it is much better if the language includes North and South Vietnam as well as

can all see the handwriting on the wall. I 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 will and a clear and definite understanding has been reached between the House and the President. I will now join with others in final passage in voting for the committee bill.

Mr. MAHON, Mr. Chairman. I move that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with an amendment, with the recommendation that the amendment be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BROOKS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that the Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 9055) making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for other purposes, had directed him to report the bill back to the House with an amendment with the recommendation that the amendment be agreed to and that the bill as amended do pass.

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

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

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

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 278, nays 124, present 2, not voting 29, as follows:

NOT VOTING—23

abraham	Derwinski	Rooney, N.Y.
aley	Fisher	Ryan
alio	Fuqua	Sandman
ank	Gray	Teague, Tex.
aux	Green, Oreg.	Thompson, N.J.
ke, Fla.	Griffiths	Tierman
rk	Hansen, Wash.	Wilson, Bob
nelson	Hubert	Wyatt
nt	Hunt	Jones, Ala.

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced above recorded.

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

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman's understanding in withdrawing his motion.

I had said earlier in the debate that was my intention at that time to counter offering an amendment at this point in the debate. I was going to submit the date of August 1 instead of August 15.

Mr. Chairman, to me that would have given us a common ground. One side would have given up 30 days; the other side, the President, would have given up 15 days. It has the added factor that the Congress would be in session on August 1 and not in recess. I think, with 15 days over, it would have the advantage of stopping the bombing more quickly and saving lives.

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

can all see the handwriting on the wall. I 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 will and a clear and definite understanding has been reached between the House and the President. I will now join with others in final passage in voting for the committee bill.

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The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 278, nays 124, present 2, not voting 29, as follows:

[Roll No. 315]

YEAS—273

Abdnor	Brown, Mich.	Daniel, Robert
Alexander	Brown, Ohio	W. Jr.
Anderson, Ill.	Brophy, N.C.	Davis, Ga.
Andrews,	Brophy, Va.	Davis, S.C.
N. Dak.	Buchanan	Davis, Wis.
Annunzio	Burgener	de la Garza
Archer	Burleson, Tex.	Deaney
Arends	Burleson, Mo.	Dellenback
Armstrong	Butler	Dennis
Bafalis	Byron	Devine
Baker	Camp	Dickinson
Bartlett	Carter	Dora
Beard	Casey, Tex.	Downing
Bergland	Cederberg	Dulski
Bevill	Chamberlain	Duncan
Biaggi	Chappell	du Pont
Blester	Clancy	Edwards, Ala.
Bingham	Clausen,	Elberg
Blackburn	Don H.	Eisenborn
Boggs	Crawson, Del.	Esch
Bolling	Cleveland	Eshleman
Bowen	Cochran	Evans, Colo.
Bray	Collier	Evans, Tenn.
Breckenridge	Collins, Tex.	Fish
Brinkley	Conable	Flood
Brooks	Conlan	Flowers
Broomfield	Coughlin	Flynt
Brotzman	Cronin	Ford, Gerald R.
Brown, Calif.	Daniel, Dan	Forsythe

Fountain	McFar	Saylor
Fraser	McKinnery	Scherie
Frehnshusen	McSpadden	Schneebeli
Frenzel	Madden	Sebelius
Frey	Madigan	Shirley
Fulton	Mahon	Shriver
Gaydos	Manhard	Shuster
Gearty	Mallory	Sikes
Glimau	Mann	Sisk
Ginn	Maroziti	Skubitz
Goldwater	Martin, Nebr.	Slack
Goodling	Martin, N.C.	Smith, Iowa
Gray	Mathias, Calif.	Smith, N.Y.
Grover	Mayne	Snyder
Gubser	Mazzoli	Staggers
Guyer	Michael	Stanton
Haley	Milford	J. William
Hamilton	Miller	Steed
Hammer-	Mills, Ark.	Steele
schmidt	Minshall, Ohio	Steelman
Hanley	Mitchell, N.Y.	Steiger, Wis.
Hanna	Mizell	Stephens
Hanrahan	Mokohau	Stratton
Hansen, Idaho	Montgomery	Stubblefield
Harsha	Moorehead,	Stuckey
Harvey	Calif.	Talcott
Hastings	Moorehead, Pa.	Taylor, Mo.
Hays	Morgan	Taylor, N.C.
Heinz	Mosher	Teague, Calif.
Henderson	Murphy, Ill.	Thomson, Wis.
Hillis	Murphy, N.Y.	Thone
Hinschaw	Myers	Thornton
Hogan	Neisen	Towell, Nev.
Holtfield	Nichols	Treen
Holt	Nix	Udall
Horton	O'Brien	Van Deerlin
Huber	Parris	Vander Jagt
Hudnut	Passman	Vesey
Hutchinson	Patman	Waggoner
Ichord	Patten	Walsh
Jarman	Perkins	Wampler
Johnson, Pa.	Pettis	Ware
Jones, N.C.	Pickle	White
Jones, Okla.	Poage	Whitehurst
Jones, Tenn.	Powell, Ohio	Whitten
Jordan	Preyer	Widnell
Kazen	Price, Ill.	Wiggins
Keating	Price, Tex.	Williams
Kemp	Quie	Wilson,
Ketchum	Quillen	Charles H.,
King	Railsback	Calif.
Kluczynski	Regula	Winn
Kuykendall	Rhodes	Wright
Landgrebe	Rinaldo	Wyder
Landrum	Roberts	Wylie
Latta	Robinson, Va.	Wyman
Leggett	Robinson, N.Y.	Yatron
Lent	Rogers	Young, Alaska
Long, La.	Roncallo, N.Y.	Young, Fla.
Lott	Rooney, Pa.	Young, Ill.
Lujan	Rostenkowski	Young, S.C.
McClary	Roush	Young, Tex.
McCloskey	Roy	Zablocki
McCollister	Ruppe	Zion
McDade	Ruth	Zwach
McEwen	Sarasin	
McFall	Satterfield	

NAYS—124

Abzug	Donohue	Lehman
Adams	Drinan	Litton
Addabbo	Eckhardt	Long, Md.
Anderson,	Edwards, Calif.	McCormack
Calif.	Fasell	Macdonald
Andrews, N.C.	Findley	Mathis, Ga.
Aspin	Ford,	Matsunaga
Bennett	William D.	Meeds
Boland	Froehlich	Melcher
Brademas	Giammo	Metcalfe
Brasco	Gibbons	Mezvinisky
Burke, Calif.	Gonzalez	Minish
Burke, Mass.	Grasso	Mink
Burton	Green, Pa.	Mitchell, Md.
Carey, N.Y.	Gross	Mockley
Carney, Ohio	Gude	Moss
Chisholm	Gunter	Natcher
Clay	Harrington	Nedzi
Cohen	Hawkins	Ober
Collins, Ill.	Hechler, W. Va.	O'Hara
Conte	Heckler, Mass.	O'Neill
Conyers	Helstoski	Owens
Corman	Hicks	Pepper
Cotter	Holtzman	Pike
Crane	Howard	Podell
Culver	Hungate	Pritchard
Daniels,	Johnson, Calif.	Ranocai
Dominick V.	Johnson, Colo.	Rangel
Delums	Karth	Rarick
Derholm	Kastenmeier	Rees
Diggs	Koch	Reid
Dirigell	Kyros	Reuss



TITLE III

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.

Retroactive
pay increases.

SEC. 303. Applicable appropriations or funds available for the fiscal year 1973 shall also be available for payment of prior fiscal year obligations for retroactive pay increases granted pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 5341.

80 Stat. 471;
82 Stat. 997.
North Vietnam
reconstruction,
use of funds for,
prohibition.
Publicity or
propaganda.

SEC. 304. No funds appropriated in this Act shall be expended to aid or assist in the reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam).

SEC. 305. No part of any appropriation contained in this or any other Act, or of funds available for expenditure by any corporation or agency shall be used, other than for normal and recognized executive-legislative relationships, for publicity or propaganda purposes, 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 presentation to the Congress itself.

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 in or over Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam or off the shores of Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam by United States forces, and after August 15, 1973, no other funds heretofore appropriated under any other Act may be expended for such purpose.

Approved July 1, 1973.

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.





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

An Act

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 sums 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:

Second Supple-
mental Approp-
riation Act,
1973.

87 STAT. 99
87 STAT. 100

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 section 11 of the Act of August 3, 1956 (7 U.S.C. 428a).

70 Stat. 1034.

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 nutritional programs authorized by law in the School Lunch Act and Child Nutrition Act, as amended, in the amount of \$21,960,000 for the current fiscal year in addition to amounts heretofore provided for such purposes.

49 Stat. 774;
62 Stat. 1257.
42 USC 1751
note, 1771
note.

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.

