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4/11/75

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/11/75

I talked with
Sen. M. at Capital.
He understood.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1975

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Honorable Mike Mansfield (D-MONT)
Majority Leader, United States Senate

WHEN: After your meeting today with The Speaker and
Minority Leader Rhodes

PURPOSE: To brief Senator Mansfield on the situation in Vietnam
and give him a preview of your address tonight.

RECOMMENDED

BY: Max L. Friedersdorf *M.G.*

- BACKGROUND:
1. Senator Mansfield was unable to attend the bipartisan leadership meeting yesterday because he was hosting a luncheon involving the Senate Committee Chairmen.
 2. Senator Mansfield regretted missing the meeting and has been given a report on the meeting by Bill Kendall.
 3. Mansfield delivered a major foreign policy speech in the Senate on Monday in which he criticized American foreign policy, assumed part of the blame, and called for the President and Congress to work together in the area of foreign as well as domestic policy. (SEE TAB A)

TALKING POINTS:

1. Mike, I am sorry you and the others could not attend yesterday, but I understand you had a meeting of the Committee Chairmen.
2. We had a good meeting and I explained the current situation to the leaders, and gave them a preview of my remarks tonight.
3. I read your speech on Monday with great interest and found much merit to your assessment. I appreciated your reference to my willingness to cooperate with Congress and I intend to refer to your speech in my talk tonight.

4. The situation in Vietnam is very serious. I would describe it as bleak but salvagable.
5. We have 6,000 Americans in South Vietnam and we are concerned about their safety and evacuation if that becomes necessary.
6. In addition, there are from 175,000 to 200,000 South Vietnamese who have worked for the United States, and they will be the first to go if the communists take over.
7. We are also concerned about the safety of Americans if an anti-American sentiment develops among the South Vietnamese. We are maximizing our efforts to get these Americans out and are developing contingency plans of a very sensitive nature.
8. We also have a moral responsibility to try and save those South Vietnamese people who have stood with us through thick and thin.
9. I intend to give a lot stronger speech tonight than when I originally planned to address the Congress on foreign policy.
10. I will describe the seriousness of the situation in Vietnam, together with my recommendations, but the speech will also include the Middle East, NATO, detente, the PRC and trade.
11. It will be a very frank speech and I will not recommend anything phony. My recommendations will be justified.
12. I believe we are at a very serious turning point in world affairs. We have achieved some excellent results in foreign policy over the past 25 years, and we have suffered some setbacks.
13. If we work together we can move to greater successes. This country has a great destiny to fulfill.
14. But, we cannot achieve our goals if we engage in finger-pointing and blaming one another.
15. I am hopeful you can support my recommendations to the Congress tonight, and continue to lend me the wisdom and strength of your experience and service to the Nation.

A



United States
of America

Congressional Record

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No. 52

Senate

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by Hon. RICHARD STONE, a Senator from the State of Florida.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in whom our fathers trusted, we lift our prayer to Thee, for Thou art the same yesterday, today, and forever. Amid all changes keep this Nation fearless and strong, unwavering in the principles of justice and truth. Keep our deeds compassionate that we may do our share in mitigating suffering and bringing peace to our troubled world. Make us to remember that as the "Captains and the kings depart—still stands Thine ancient sacrifice: a humble and a contrite heart.

"Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be glory for ever and ever." Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D.C., April 7, 1975.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. RICHARD STONE, a Senator from the State of Florida, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. STONE thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, March 26, 1975, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to waive the call of the calendar for unobjected-to measures under Senate rule VIII.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on Thursday last, the President of the United States made a speech in San Diego, Calif.

On the role of the Congress, part of the press conference reads as follows:

QUESTION. Are you blaming Congress for this, then?

ANSWER by the PRESIDENT. I am not assessing the blame on anyone. The facts are that in fiscal year 1974 there was a substantial reduction made by the Congress in the amounts of military equipment requested for South Vietnam.

Later, and the President is still speaking:

I think it is a great tragedy, what we are seeing in Vietnam—

No one would disagree with him in that respect—

I think it could have been avoided, but I am not going to point a finger. The American people will make that judgment. I think it is more important for me and the American

people, and the Congress, in the weeks and months ahead, to do what we can to work together to meet the problems of the future, and that's what I intend to do, and I'll go more than halfway with the Congress in seeking to achieve that result.

I think, Mr. President, the media has given an underemphasis to a part of this; it did not give enough emphasis to that part when he said, "and that's what I intend to do. I'll go more than halfway with the Congress in seeking to achieve that result."

Mr. President, recent months have witnessed a breakdown in U.S. foreign policy in widely separated parts of the globe. At the present time, our policy in Southeast Asia is in a state of disarray and it might be said that we have no foreign policy at all, except to advocate more military and economic assistance.

In the eastern Mediterranean, we have the situation on Cyprus involving Greece and Turkey, and in the western part of that sea, an uncertain situation developing as it affects Portugal. In Latin America, we have over the years, if not the decades, paid too little attention to that most important part of the world. At home, we have 8.7 percent unemployment, or 8 million Americans out of work, inflation in the double figures, and a worsening farm situation, to mention just a few of our difficulties.

It is time that we base our foreign policy on the present rather than on the past, that we revise and review our defense arrangements all over the world and that we do so in both areas on the basis of cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of Government. We have paid a higher price—too high a price—for our participation in the Indochina tragedy, in men and money. The Cambodians, the Laotians, and the Vietnamese have likewise paid a terrible price in killed, wounded, starvation, disease, and an increasing number of refugees.

The results of a foreign policy inaugurated six Presidents ago and carried on down to the present are now at our doorstep. In our domestic policy, we have seen a bad economic situation become steadily more dangerous and more all-embracing as far as industry, agriculture, and the work force are concerned. The President and the Congress have approved a tax bill which will add enor-

mously to the budget deficit, and we have passed a farm bill which will increase Government costs.

We have become the world's chief supplier of arms and it appears that we will sell to anyone, anywhere, anytime who wants to buy our armaments, often at bargain basement prices, and, in some cases, we have even given them away. We have helped to supply our opponents in Indochina with weapons to use against the governments in Saigon and Phnom Penh. This armament was not sold to the other side but was captured or acquired in various manners as was the case of approximately \$1 billion of military equipment left behind in the retreat to the south in Vietnam, and similar situations, though to a lesser degree, have occurred in Cambodia.

The President has indicated that there will be a reassessment of our foreign policy as it affects the Middle East. I would suggest, most respectfully, that this reassessment should be conducted on a worldwide basis. The time is long past due for such a reexamination of our foreign and defense policies to take place, because many of those policies go back to the end of World War II and have long been subject to revision. We can no longer live in the past, but we must face up to the present and plan for the future. It is not a question of our credibility but our will to make necessary changes. It is a question of our judgment and, in all too many parts of the world, that judgment has not been as sound as it should have been. Military interventions, except in the interests of our own security, should become a policy of the past and should be conducted only in proper consultation between the executive and the legislative branches. The Nixon doctrine was at least a step away from direct armed intervention and, in effect, a return to the Truman doctrine. Developed further, it could, perhaps, provide a new and contemporaneous directions to foreign policy.

This is not the time for either the executive of the legislative branch to begin pointing the finger. If there is any blame to be attached, and there is a great deal, we must all share in it. None of us is guiltless. It is time for Congress and the President to work together in the area of foreign as well as domestic policy. The President, in his speech at San Diego last week, indicated that he was prepared to go more than halfway in working with Congress, and I believe the Congress can and should do no less. This does not mean that there will not be differences between us but it does mean that under the leadership of the President and with the cooperation of Congress we can and we will find a way out of the morass in which our country now finds itself. Cooperation will very likely not achieve much in the way of headlines, but those we can do without. Finger pointing will achieve headlines, temporarily, but the Nation will suffer and so will the executive and the legislative branches. A few might like nothing better than to witness bitter recriminations between the executive and the legislative branches; the people weighed down by the anxieties of these uncertain times would like nothing less.

So, let us start afresh. Let us recognize that there is enough blame to go around and that it affects all of us. Let us do what we can, together, to bring this country out of the economic morass and out of the quagmire which we helped to create in Indochina. The people cry for leadership and that leadership can come from the President assuming the initiative and the Congress working with him in tandem. The people expect no more; the people deserve no less.

THE ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished majority leader for a very responsible, a very appropriate, and very typical statement. One need not agree with every point the majority leader makes to recognize that his is the kind of statement that we need coming from our leadership today.

In particular, I commend him on his recognition that certain comments made by the President at San Diego did not really warrant the interpretations and some of the criticism that followed. It should be kept in mind that the President was appearing at a press conference. The only statement he volunteered had to do with humanitarian assistance and help for orphans in South Vietnam; the rest of his comments were in response to direct and very pointed questions from the press.

With respect to the President's response to the one question which had to do with the blame of Congress, I think the President's response was remarkably restrained under all the circumstances. He indicated that he will leave it to history to assess blame, and that he intends to work with the people and with Congress to meet the problems of the future.

I certainly share that viewpoint. There is plenty of blame to go around, and it can be left to the historians to decide where most of the blame should rest.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the transcript of the President's press conference last Thursday be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 4, 1975]
TRANSCRIPT OF PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE
ON FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC MATTERS
OPENING STATEMENT

Will you please sit down.

At the outset, let me express my appreciation to Mayor Pete Wilson and the fine people of San Diego for the very warm welcome.

I also am delighted to see one or more of my former colleagues in the Congress here. It's always nice to see them and Al and others who may be here. Good morning.

I have a short opening statement. We are seeing a great human tragedy as untold numbers of Vietnamese flee the North Vietnamese onslaught.

The United States has been doing and will continue to do its utmost to assist these people.

I have directed that all available naval ships stand off Indochina to do whatever is necessary to assist. We have appealed to the United Nations to use its moral influence to permit these innocent people to leave and

we call on North Vietnam to permit the movement of refugees to the area of their choice.

While I've been in California I have been spending many hours on the refugee problem and our humanitarian efforts. I have directed that money from a \$2-million special foreign aid children's fund be made available to fly 2,000 South Vietnamese orphans to the United States as soon as possible. I've also directed American officials in Saigon to act immediately to cut red tape and other bureaucratic obstacles preventing these children from coming to the United States.

I have directed that C-5A aircraft and other aircraft especially equipped to care for these orphans during the flight be sent to Saigon. I expect these flights to begin within the next 36 to 48 hours.

These orphans will be flown to Travis Air Force Base in California and other bases on the West Coast and cared for in those locations. These 2,000 Vietnamese orphans are all in the process of being adopted by American families. This is the least we can do and we will do much, much more.

The first question from Mr. George Disinger of the San Diego Tribune.

QUESTIONS

Q. Mr. President, are you ready to accept a Communist takeover of South Vietnam and Cambodia?

A. I would hope that that would not take place in either case. My whole Congressional life in recent years was aimed at avoiding it. My complete efforts as President of the United States were aimed at avoiding that. I am an optimist, despite the sad and tragic events that we see unfolding. I will do my utmost in the future, as I have in the past, to avoid that result.

2. Military aid for Vietnam

Q. Mr. President, I understand you're soon going to ask Congress for new authority to extend humanitarian aid in Southeast Asia; I wondered if you stand by your request though for more military aid for South Vietnam.

A. We do intend to ask for more humanitarian aid. I should point out that the Administration request for \$135-million for humanitarian aid in South Vietnam was unfortunately reduced to \$55-million by Congressional action.

Obviously we will ask for more—the precise amount we have not yet determined. We will continue to push for the \$300-million that we have asked for, and Congress had authorized, for military assistance to South Vietnam, and the possibility exists that we may ask for more.

3. The will to resist

Q. Mr. President, how and why did the United States miscalculate the intentions, the will of the South Vietnamese to resist?

A. I don't believe that we miscalculated the will of the South Vietnamese to carry on their fight for their own freedom. There were several situations that developed that I think got beyond the control of the Vietnamese people. The unilateral military decision to withdraw created a chaotic situation in Vietnam that appears to have brought about tremendous disorganization.

I believe that the will of the South Vietnamese people to fight for their freedom is best evidenced by the fact that they are fleeing from the North Vietnamese and that clearly is an indication they don't want to live under the kind of government that exists in North Vietnam. The will of the South Vietnamese people, I think, still exists. They want freedom under a different kind of government than has existed in North Vietnam. The problem is how to organize that will under the traumatic experiences of the present.

Q. A unilateral decision by whom?

A. It was a unilateral decision by President

Pitw

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: JERRY H. JONES
SUBJECT: Recommended Telephone Call to
Senator Mike Mansfield

Your telephone call recommendation to the President on the above subject has been reviewed and the following notation was made:

-- I talked with Sen. M. at Capitol. He understood.

cc: Don Rumsfeld