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FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
TO: DAVE GOMPERT FOR
THE SECRETARY
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LDX - To Palm Springs

April 4, 1975

TO: DAVID GOMPERT
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *B*

There follows a new draft of the speech. It will be coming in two copies -- one a retyped version and the other showing the changes made in the draft which you sent this morning.

Warm regards.

4/4/75, PM

ADDRESS BY
PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
April 9, 1975
ON FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues in the Congress:

The course which our country chooses in the world has never been of greater significance -- for ourselves as a nation and for the future of the international community.

America is a great nation. Our contribution has sustained peace, security, prosperity and freedom throughout the world through most of this century. But recent upheavals have raised profound questions in the minds of many Americans. The time has come to ask why -- to take a hard look at what has happened and what we must do.

In the past few years, this nation has made major advances in foreign policy. We have strengthened our ties with our old allies, the industrial democracies -- in our defense relations, in political consultation, and in facing the new economic challenge. Our relations with our allies in Western Europe and Japan have never been better. We have taken dramatic initiatives, of historic and lasting importance, to fashion more stable relations with our adversaries to reduce the danger of global war. In the best American tradition we have committed our influence

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and good offices to contain conflicts and settle disputes in many regions of the world -- often with striking success.

The American people can be proud of what their nation has achieved and helped others to achieve.

But during the past year, a series of events took place which has affected our nation's capacity to respond to the challenges we face. Some were events over which we had no control; some were burdens we imposed upon ourselves.

The fabric of the new foreign policy we so effectively have begun to construct is in danger. If we do not pull ourselves together, the result may be a changed world for America and, ultimately, a changed America. The world of today -- economic uncertainty, political unrest, and security dangers -- does not allow us the luxury of abdication or domestic discord. I call upon the Congress today to join me in a reaffirmation of our unity and our resolve.

At the time of our country's first crisis -- the American Revolution -- Samuel Adams spoke words that should guide us now. He said "the necessity of the times, more than ever, calls for our utmost circumspection, deliberation, fortitude and perseverance."

We need those qualities today. And, we need some

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plain and candid talk about where we stand; not to point the finger of blame, but to repair damage where we find it; to recover our balance, and to move ahead as a united people.

Indochina

A vast human tragedy has befallen our friends in Vietnam and Cambodia.

We now sometimes talk of commitments as if they were legal documents alone; or as if Indochina is a new decision for us. Yet, I need not recall the enormous sacrifices in blood, dedication and treasure that we made in Vietnam over the past 20 years. Five American Presidents have engaged the United States in Indochina. Two U.S. Presidents sent 550,000 men there, of whom thousands died. After years of effort we negotiated a settlement which made it possible for us to remove our forces with honor, leaving it to our South Vietnamese ally, with our material and moral support to maintain its security and rebuild after two decades of war.

The chances for a lasting peace after our departure rested on two critical premises: First that if necessary the United States would be able to help enforce the terms of the Paris accords we signed in 1973; and second that

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the United States would provide adequate economic and military assistance to South Vietnam to sustain its military and economic viability.

The North Vietnamese, almost from the moment they signed, have flagrantly and systematically violated the cease-fire and other provisions of the agreement in total violation of the ban on infiltration of troops into the South. They increased their forces to the unprecedented level of 350,000. In total and specific violation of the agreement, they massively infiltrated the most modern equipment. Meanwhile, they continued to receive enormous quantities of supplies and arms from their friends.

In the face of this situation, America -- by her own acts -- made itself helpless to respond. By legislative action we deprived ourselves of the ability to enforce the agreement, while reducing arms aid and showing an increasing reluctance to give anything at all.

The cuts in our military aid made it impossible for us fully to replace equipment lost in combat or to replace stocks of ammunition, fuel and spare parts needed to keep the remaining equipment fully operational.

Inevitably the balance of force shifted against our friends.

Encouraged by these developments, the North Vietnamese recently sent a number of their reserve divisions into South

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Vietnam and thereby they threatened to achieve tactical superiority in certain key sectors. 18 Divisions, virtually their entire army, are in the south. The Government of Vietnam, uncertain of any further American assistance, reacted by hastily ordering a withdrawal of its military forces into ~~many~~ defensible enclaves. This extremely difficult ~~maneuver~~ was not carried out properly and panic set in. The results, for which South Vietnamese commanders must accept ultimate responsibility, are painfully obvious and profoundly moving.

Clearly, the United States is not responsible for the rapid unravelling that has taken place in recent weeks; our friends have shown some serious shortcomings. But our great reluctance to provide needed assistance contributed to the strategic decision which set in train the tragic developments that have followed.

In Cambodia the situation is equally stark. The United States has made major efforts -- over a long period and through many channels -- to end the war in Cambodia through negotiation. But because of their military successes, steady external support and U.S. legislative restrictions the communist side

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has shown no interest in negotiation, in compromise, or in a political solution to the conflict. It presses on with a relentless and brutal campaign to destroy friends whom we have been unable adequately to assist.

We supported the people of Vietnam and Cambodia in their fight for what they believed in. We then cut back and cut off the assistance that they needed to carry on by themselves. Can any American dispute that we share some measure of responsibility for the fate of these people?

To turn our backs upon this desperate situation would only compound our sense of shame which I feel is engulfing our nation.

As your President I intend to do everything in my power to honor the obligations which we as a people have to our friends in Indochina.

I wish therefore to propose the following course of action:

With respect to Cambodia, I am asking Congress to pass within one week our current request for supplemental assistance. This amount, \$ _____, will provide the Khmer armed forces with the ammunition and weapons that are absolutely required to continue

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their brave resistance through the remainder of the dry season.

With respect to Vietnam, I call upon Hanoi immediately to cease military operations and to honor the terms of the cease-fire agreement. In support of this position, the United States is requesting immediately the signatories of the Paris Conference to use their influence to halt the fighting and enforce the 1973 accords. Diplomatic notes to this effect are being sent to all members of the Paris Conference, including the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China.

Concerning emergency military assistance to Vietnam, I am also requesting that Congress approve within the next two weeks the \$300 million of aid which it already authorized but did not appropriate [Note: or some other figure]. I cannot emphasize more strongly the desperate need for this assistance is starkly apparent. I need not describe the human consequences for the peoples of Vietnam if it is not approved now.

Fundamental decency itself requires that we do everything in our power to ease the misery and pain of the monumental human crisis which has befallen

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the people of Vietnam. Millions have fled in the face of the Communist onslaught. I hereby pledge to them that the United States will make a maximum humanitarian effort to help care for and feed the homeless, and if need be to rescue those who flee the North Vietnamese army. In support of this pledge, I shall consult with Congress to obtain whatever authority and funds are required. To start this program, I am now requesting \$_____ from Congress emergency humanitarian aid.

But the most important thing for Americans at this moment of tragedy is to resolve once and for all to put behind us the bitterness and divisions which have torn our country for a decade. We have paid in blood and treasure and national unity. Now let us stop the debate. Let us not search for scapegoats, or engage in recrimination. [Both parties and both branches of government share responsibilities for what has happened in Indochina].

The test of a people is how it reacts to adversity and how well it learns the lessons of past mistakes. So let us draw wisdom from our travail and put an end to self inflicted wounds. Let us

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remember that our national unity is our most priceless asset. A great challenge awaits us. We must face it as Americans, not as partisans.

Turkey

Americans were dismayed last summer by the coup that shattered the peace on Cyprus and provoked a war on the island and tension between our two allies, Greece and Turkey. Just as Greece and Turkey in 1947 were the occasion for our first postwar involvement in strengthening the peace, so our action now in the face of the conflict has great significance for whether we are able to play a responsible role in our major alliance and in the world, and whether we are able to understand our own best interest.

Against my warning and advice, our military assistance relationship with one side -- Turkey -- was abruptly cut off. We have even imposed an embargo on military purchases by Turkey and refused to deliver items already paid for -- an unprecedented act against an ally. These moves, I know, were sincerely intended to influence Turkey in the negotiation over Cyprus. Yet the result has been to block all progress in the negotiation, to disrupt our own mediation effort and

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to enhance the danger of war.

Turkey lies on the rim of the Soviet Union and at the gates to the Middle East. It is vital to the security of the eastern Mediterranean, the southern flank of Western Europe and the collective security of the Western Alliance. Our relationship with Turkey is not a gift to Turkey; it is a clear and essential mutual interest. Turkey sent its troops to fight by the sides of American boys in the Korean War, and out of loyalty to the Western Alliance. This democratic government and traditional friend is on the point of making drastic decisions about its relationship with us and with NATO. As its army runs out of spare parts, the danger of rash acts increases. We will lose our capacity to help shape the negotiations. Whatever our judgment of Turkish policy in the Cyprus dispute, which we have been earnestly trying to mediate, it cannot be in the interest of America -- or Greece's interest, or Cyprus's interest -- for us to deal with an ally in such a way. I can think of no better contribution to the just resolution of the Cyprus problem, and to the cohesion of the West, than an end to this self-defeating American action.

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Relations with the Soviet Union

The use of trade and economic sanctions as weapons to compel the internal conduct of other nations must also be seriously reexamined. However well intentioned, however much the executive may share the goals they were designed to serve, the fact is that some of our recent actions in the economic field have been self-defeating. They have not achieved the objectives of the Congress, and they have harmed our foreign policy.

The Trade Act of 1974 prohibits most-favored-nation treatment, credit or investment guarantees, or commercial agreements with the Soviet Union for so long as the emigration policies of the USSR remain unchanged. The Soviet Union rejected a trading relationship based on such legislation. It therefore refused to put into force the important 1972 Trade Agreement between our two countries.

There should be no illusions about the nature of the Soviet system -- but there should also be no illusions about how to deal with it. Our belief in, and desire to see the right of peoples of the world freely to emigrate has been well demonstrated.

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But this legislation not only harmed our negotiating efforts and political relations with the Soviet Union -- on issues of fundamental importance to the world -- it has also jeopardized the fate of those seeking to emigrate. The favorable trend aided by our quiet diplomacy, in which emigration increased from 400 in 1968 to 38,000 in 1973, has been seriously set back. This action should be reversed.

Latin America

Other recent actions have had an unfortunate impact on our relations with Latin America, the area of the world with which we have the longest historic ties of friendship and cooperation. A provision in the Trade Act excluded all members of OPEC from our generalized system of trade preferences. It thereby excluded two old Latin American friends, Ecuador and Venezuela, as well as other OPEC nations such as Nigeria and Indonesia who continued to supply us with oil throughout last year's embargo. This exclusion led directly to a resolution of the OAS against the United States and to cancellation of a meeting of Foreign Ministers with Secretary of State Kissinger --

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which was to have been the next important step in our new dialogue with Latin America. I urge support of the various bipartisan resolutions that already have been introduced to reverse this decision.

A Time for Action

I have cited these issues and called for their remedy because of my profound conviction that America can no longer afford to hamstring itself on questions of national security. The Executive Branch has made its own mistakes. The Congress -- for the best of motives -- has sometimes done the same. But the remedies do lie within our control. You and I have the power to correct the mistakes of the past. Together we can ensure that this nation's foreign policy moves ahead, in these difficult times, with wisdom, assurance, initiatives -- and national unity.

It is essential that we project to the world a united front.

Let no potential adversary believe that recent reverses or national debates indicate a slackening of the national will.

Let no one seek to take advantage of recent events. We will stand by our friends.

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We shall honor our commitments. The American people knows that its strength and authority have helped to preserve the peace of the world for a generation. It will not shrink from this duty in the decades ahead.

Our Atlantic Alliance has never been stronger. There are no peoples with whom America's destiny has been more closely linked than those of Europe. The commitments which we and the countries of Western Europe made to each other in 1949 remain strong because they remain essential. None of the members of the Atlantic community can be secure, none can prosper, none can progress unless all do together. Now, more than ever, we must work closely together to deal in a coherent way with the major issues of our time: -- maintaining our common security; working with potential adversaries toward a more peaceful world; tackling the great new economic challenges.

Our relations with Japan -- which I visited last November -- are just as sound and just as vital. Our bilateral problems of the past have been surmounted. Our security relationship has been freed

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of past frictions and strengthened. Now we are working on compatible approaches to the global economic challenges which affect us both -- in energy, trade, and food.

We shall seek to reduce the dangers of war by continuing the improvement of relations with traditional adversaries.

With the Soviet Union we shall continue to work toward relations based on mutual accommodation and restraint. Central to this enterprise is a delicate and vital negotiation to control strategic nuclear weapons. We intend to turn the Vladivostok agreements into a final treaty and thus for the first time put a ceiling on the strategic arms race. Such an event could mark a turning point in post-war history and mark a crucial stage in lifting from mankind the scourge of nuclear war.

With the People's Republic of China we intend to pursue energetically the principles of the Shanghai Communique. My visit to China later this year will build on the promising foundations which have already been laid.

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The interests of America are vitally affected by what happens in the Middle East. So long as that conflict continues, it threatens continual crisis, war, the weakening of our alliances, the stability of the world : economy and confrontation among the nuclear super powers. These risks are intolerable.

Because our relations with the parties to that conflict place us in a unique position, we have at their request been engaged for the past year and a half in a peacemaking effort unparalleled in the region's history. We have pursued that effort with dedication, and without illusions. The issues dividing the parties are vital to them and not amenable to easy or quick solutions.

Our policy has had remarkable successes. Last year two major disengagement agreements -- one between Israel and Egypt and one between Israel and Syria -- were negotiated and implemented. A process of negotiation on the basic political issues was begun, for the first time in 30 years -- and is still continuing.

Unfortunately, the latest attempt to reach a further interim agreement between Israel and Egypt was suspended. Despite the substantial narrowing of differences between them, the parties were unable to compromise their remaining few differences.

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The United States will not be discouraged by this temporary setback. The momentum toward peace achieved over the last 18 months must and will be maintained. The active role of the United States must and will be continued. The drift toward war must and will be prevented.

I hereby pledge the United States to a major effort for peace in the Middle East -- an effort which has the solid support of the American people and Congress.

We will not permit stagnation. We will pursue the national interest. Let no one doubt our resolve to see an end to this crisis and a new turn toward peace.

But essential to all our policies is the strength of the United States. Without our strength and resolve, principles that depend on us and friends that rely on us will be at the mercy of determined foes.

I therefore call upon the Congress to help me maintain a strong national defense through a defense budget which will lead no foreign power to doubt our strength or test our resolve. The budget we have submitted is a minimum. Any significant reductions would imperil our national security.

I must mention another most sensitive but vital aspect of our national security -- our intelligence services. The effective conduct of our foreign affairs, and the defense of our values requires that we have the most

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capable, imaginative, and dedicated intelligence effort possible. There are areas of international affairs which can be dealt with in no other way. This is an essential part of every nation's foreign relations and we all know it. We can be proud of the vital contribution and significant achievements of the intelligence services of this nation, mostly without recognition, since the passage of the National Security Act of 1947.

It is entirely proper that this system be scrutinized by the Congress. But a protracted or sensationalized public debate over legitimate and sensitive intelligence activities is a disservice to this nation. It ties our hands in situations where our enemies operate with skill and resources. This we cannot afford. The Congress has a responsibility to conduct its investigation with the maximum discretion and the utmost dispatch, lest this process dismantle or demoralize vital institutions of our own government.

Further, if Congress is to oversee intelligence activities effectively -- as it should -- I must ask it to organize itself in an appropriate manner. It has been traditional /for the Executive to consult with the Congress through specially-protected procedures to prevent compromising disclosure of legitimate intelligence activities. But this process cannot work when scores of Congressmen must

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be briefed on the most sensitive operations. I urge the Congress to establish rapidly a procedure that assures Congressional supervision while protecting national security. The Executive Branch in turn will cooperate fully with the Congress.

Let us act to regain the momentum of our foreign policy progress elsewhere in the world.

To strengthen our alliances and facilitate conciliation:

-- I call upon the Congress to lift the American arms embargo against our Turkish ally by passing the bipartisan Scott-Mansfield Bill, now before the Senate. This bill will restore our relationship with Turkey and enable us to work with the new Turkish Government to reach a just and rapid solution of the tragic and dangerous Cyprus conflict. I accept -- and indeed welcome -- the bill's requirement for monthly reports to the Congress on progress toward a Cyprus settlement. I am prepared to treat the Congress as a partner in displaying American concern for a just and rapid solution.

So that hopeful trends in our relationship with the Soviet Union may be maintained:

-- I propose that Congress and the Executive consult

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as soon as possible to discuss how East-West trade relations should proceed -- as well as to address the concerns of Congress as expressed in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

To promote better relations and a new dialogue between the United States and its oldest friends in Latin America:

-- I call upon the Congress to provide the Executive with the authority to waive these restrictions of the Trade Act that discriminate against traditional friends in Latin America.

One of the biggest success stories in our foreign policy is the cooperative effort with other major energy consuming nations. In the space of a little more than a year we have together with our partners created the International Energy Agency; we have negotiated an emergency sharing arrangement to minimize the danger of an embargo; we have created institutions of financial solidarity; we ^{have} launched conservation efforts; and we have developed a massive program for the development of alternative sources of energy.

But all of these programs depend ultimately on what we do at home. In January I proposed a comprehensive program, along with a tax cut, to eliminate this nation's dangerous dependence on imported energy. Congress has passed the tax cut -- the easy part -- but has yet to respond

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positively to the urgent national need for energy conservation and alternative energy sources. Every month that passes brings us closer to the day when we will be dependent on imported energy for 50% of our requirements with greatly enhanced domestic vulnerability. If we do not act now, the expected economic upturn will rapidly erase the conservation effect of our reduced demand of the last year. Our conservation effort, at home and in concert with our fellow consuming nations, and our collective strategy to affect the international price, will not survive our continuing failure to act.

A new embargo, under conditions of even greater dependence on OPEC oil, would have a devastating impact on jobs, industrial expansion, and inflation at home. Our economic policy cannot be left at the mercy of cartel decisions over which we have no control; our foreign policy cannot be subject to blackmail. A strong energy program is an urgent, top-priority national need.

The Future

Mr. Speaker, I have come before you this evening because history is testing us today. We cannot afford indecision, disunity, or disarray in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

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The agenda of today -- peace, prosperity, energy, food, the future of democracy -- are issues on which the potential contribution of the United States is vast, and indispensable. The world looks to us now for the vigor and vision that characterized our efforts at earlier great moments in our history.

My personal philosophy in foreign affairs, is this:

- I see a confident America, secure in its strength and in its ability to do good, and determined to maintain both.
- I see a conciliatory America, offering its hand to allies and adversaries alike, to forge bonds of cooperation to deal with the vast problems facing us all.
- I see a strong America ready to defend its principles and its allies.
- I see a compassionate America, its heart reaching out to refugees and to our fellow human beings threatened by war and tyranny and hunger.

I ask the Congress and the people to join me in these endeavors. Let us remove the self-inflicted obstacles in

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the way of our further advance. Let us be proud of what we have done and of what we can do.

As President, entrusted by the Constitution with the responsibility for the conduct of our foreign affairs, I renew the pledge I made last August: to work cooperatively with my colleagues in the Congress.

In return I ask that the Congress help keep America's word good in the world, and ensure that the national interest does not yield to the special interests. We are one nation, one government, and we must have one foreign policy.

Americans have never shirked their duty and have never shrunk from challenge. The spirit of America is good -- and strong. This is my faith, and it gives us courage.

You and I, the Congress and the President, share a responsibility before the nation and before the world. Let us meet our challenges together.