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Mansfield, Mike 1903-2001, "Congressional Record S. 5271 - U.S. Foreign Policy" (1975). *Mike Mansfield Speeches, Statements and Interviews*. 1249.

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 94th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 121

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1975

No. 52

Senate

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-

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

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 re-primations 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.