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SP5/FG 35

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *d.g.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1975

WR3

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN *RG*

This is the quote from Senator Muskie I told you about yesterday. It indicates that even from the viewpoint of Congress it is evident to a responsible person that Congress cannot conduct foreign policy.

Attachment

3/11/75 ...

For the Record

The following remarks are excerpted from a recent speech by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine).

Two recent congressional actions, undertaken for legitimate and valid reasons, have now led to unintended and unfortunate results. I refer to the Jackson Amendment to the Trade bill and the termination of military aid to Turkey. The failure of these congressional initiatives to achieve their purposes should cause us to reflect honestly upon what has happened, and to learn the lessons which might guide us more prudently in the future . . .

American idealism is rightly engaged with the question of personal liberties in the Soviet Union, if only because some minimal moral framework is essential to a stable peace. The practical question for American policy is not whether a degree of pressure for human liberties is warranted, but at what point pressure may become excessive, and therefore detrimental to its own purpose. Clearly, there are limits to what we can demand of the Soviet Union in areas which they regard as matters solely of domestic concern . . .

A second congressional action which raises questions of judgment and timing was the cut-off of military assistance to Turkey . . .

With the Turkish invasion and the subsequent fall of the Greek military junta, world opinion shifted against the Turks. Negotiations were slow and unproductive, and the Congress became exasperated with the spectacle once again of U.S. arms aid being used for purposes contrary to American interests. So the congressional response in cutting off arms aid to Turkey was understandable.

The problem was that congressional action limited the administration's flexibility in dealing with the crisis. The international consequences have subsequently gotten out of hand.