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usefully to assist the creative and positive social and political forces in the emerging nations. A greater emphasis on creative diplomacy than is now the case—on international organizations, on economic assistance and on the interchange of the business, trade, technical and cultural activities of nations—would do more, in my view, to promote durable peace than a continued reliance and emphasis on military security arrangements so dominant during the past ten years. So this is a fifth lesson of Vietnam: that we must make greater efforts to use peaceful means of organizing the peace than we have in the past. We must do so without weakening our ability to defend ourselves if necessary. The two objectives are not incompatible, but the two objectives must be used with wisdom and a full understanding of the purposes and inherent capabilities of the two approaches.

The war in Vietnam has shaken the foundations. It has been a bitter experience, full of loss and tragedy, yet it offers the United States and the world a great opportunity. Because neither the United States nor its opponent has been able to impose its will through force, the nations and peoples involved have been forced to ask where we have failed and what we must do in order to succeed. I have always had confidence in the purposes of our nation, and I continue to believe these purposes are just. Our failure in Vietnam has not been one of our national integrity. Let us be grateful rather than despondent, for the harsh and bitter experience of Vietnam has given the people and leaders of the United States the opportunity to re-examine our principles, to reorder our priorities with reason and justice, and as a result, I believe we will be able to unite and strengthen our country and reestablish our position of moral leadership in the world.

EAST EUROPEAN TRADE OPPORTUNITIES

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the international trade concerns of the United States are many and varied. Much of the talk in Congress centers on balance-of-payments concerns and protectionist measures. I think it important that Congress this year not overlook the crucial importance of East-West trade opportunities both in the interest of a response to the events in Eastern Europe and a response to American trade difficulties.

An editorial and an article appearing in the Washington Post recently discuss the failure of the United States to respond to changes in Eastern Europe and to take advantage of increased trade opportunities. I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Return to Glassboro" from the Washington Post of June 8, 1968, and an article entitled "United States Blind to Red Trade Opportunity" from the Washington Post of June 10, 1968, be inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, June 8, 1968]

RETURN TO GLASSBORO

The President's return to Glassboro, where he met with Premier Kosygin a year ago, was more than an exercise in nostalgia. It allowed him to restate his major interest in cooperation with the Soviet Union—an interest he has tried earnestly to spare from the inroads of Vietnam. One does not have to accept Mr. Johnson's self-professed "optimism" about the Soviet-American outlook in order to appreciate his efforts to improve it. Perhaps next year Glassboro could invite Mr. Kosygin to give the commencement address.

Mr. Johnson's review centered on Executive initiatives. Yet obviously, a substantial range of American policy requires a congressional mandate and it is here that American performance has been noticeably remiss. A case in point is East-West trade. Not only has Congress sewn in restrictions, centering on Vietnam; it has refused the President selective authority to halt tariff discrimination.

So dispirited is the Administration, however, that it has not even resubmitted its request for that authority. Instead, it is standing by, albeit helpfully, while Senator Mondale tries to pilot through a "sense of Congress" resolution favoring East-West trade. The resolution has the useful but limited purpose of keeping the issue alive—chiefly by whetting appetites for prospective trading profits—until Congress's Vietnam fever subsides.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Johnson, at Glassboro, did not address himself to East Europe, particularly Czechoslovakia. The omission will tend to confirm a harmful and widespread impression that, to cooperate with the Soviet Union, the United States is refraining from support of the new liberal regime in Prague. To explain its feeble response to the Czech transformation, the Administration has gotten into the habit of pointing with a helpless shrug at Congress. It would do better to show more of an enterprising spirit toward East Europe on its own.

[From the Washington Post, June 10, 1968]

UNITED STATES BLIND TO RED TRADE OPPORTUNITY

(By Murray Seeger)

President Johnson's recent trade message to Congress was more notable for what it didn't contain than for what it did say.

On the positive side, Mr. Johnson refused to be stampeded by the heavy protectionist mood of Congress and rejected requests for new taxes on foreign imports.

But, on the negative side, he bowed to the cold political facts of today and made no new bid to loosen the chains that bind American trade relations with eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

For 20 years, the United States and the trading nations of Western Europe have been watching the Iron Curtain for the appearance of cracks big enough to accommodate commercial trading.

Those rents are now there for all to see except those members of Congress whose reaction to Communism is as automatic as the fire house dog's response to an alarm.

At first there was only Yugoslavia and Titoism. Now there is Rumania and Czechoslovakia and a new era of national Communism. Opportunities for restoring normal commercial relations between east and west are developing rapidly for those prepared for change.

But the biggest trading nation of all—the United States—is not ready. Instead of moving forward to a new era, this country is moving sideways and backward, guided by Congressmen more concerned about short range politics than long range national interests.

The attitude of Congress has been to tie the President's hands so that he cannot negotiate and deal with the Eastern bloc countries the way he would like to.

In a landmark speech on Oct. 7, 1966, Mr. Johnson said: "Our task is to achieve a reconciliation with the East—a shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement . . . we seek healthy economic and cultural relations with the Communist states."

The record since that date has been one of erecting road administration can use their power only with Yugoslavia and Poland. Goods from other Eastern nations must enter the American market on a high tariff schedule written in 1930.

The President in 1966 extended the power of the Export-Import Bank to guarantee

commercial credits to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia in addition to Yugoslavia.

But early this year Congress wrote a law barring bank credits to any nation supplying goods to North Vietnam. Only Yugoslavia has passed that test.

As a result individual American businessmen seeking trade opportunities in Eastern Europe find that the countries cannot sell enough goods in this country to earn dollars and that they cannot get the kind of loan guarantees routinely given for overseas deals in other countries.

Trade between American companies and eastern Europe is growing despite the handicaps imposed by Congress. The administration is encouraging the companies to move into the newly opened markets, but the effort is risky and limited.

The businessman who does business with the curtain countries runs the risk of being attacked by such right wing groups as the Young Americans for Freedom who forced the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. to back out of a deal in Romania and embargoed by the International Longshoremen's Assn. The YAF and ILA have little in common except a knee-jerk reaction to anything labeled communism.

Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) has moved into this subject with a resolution to put Congress on record in favor of peaceful East-West trade and a bill that would grant special tariff concessions to Czechoslovakia.

In the present mood of Congress neither item is likely to be passed. Mondale, however, has been able to air the subject through his power as a subcommittee chairman to call hearings.

The majority of Congress still sees Communism as a monolithic power directed from Moscow bent on destruction of the free world. In this Neanderthalic view, ordinary commercial trade is equated with foreign aid.

In dealing with Communist nations, according to this argument, the goods purchased from us would enable the Soviets and their allies to devote a larger portion of their economies to building war machines.

This argument is foolish—the Soviets have become a formidable world power without much trade from the West and will continue to devote the resources it chooses to maintain its strength.

In the meantime, the failure of Communist economics to satisfy the desires of the Eastern European nations becomes more apparent every day. The desire to catch up with the western consumer economies is one of the most compelling forces in the Communist nations.

The United States should be in a position to encourage these instincts and to promote the concept of nationalism which is breaking up the old satellite system. This would best serve our security interests by reducing the threat of Communist expansion in Europe, improve our trade and balance of payments accounts and provides more demands for the economy and jobs for American workers.

PRINCIPLES OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, recently I received a copy of a winning essay by a high school student in Asheville, N.C., who won the award for the 1968 essay contest sponsored by the Asheville Civitan Club. The winning essay was written by Stanford Kent Clontz and entitled, "Principles of Good Citizenship Which Must Be Exemplified in My Life as a Youth of Today and an Adult of Tomorrow."

I found this essay particularly interesting against the background of the recent student rebellion with its apparent confusion about the meaning and value