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have the courage to determine, for ourselves, a role commensurate with our unique opportunities and grave obligations.

In the continuing struggle for universal human rights, the United States cannot indefinitely ignore our opportunities nor permanently postpone our obligations.

We cannot continue indifferent to the battle for human rights. If we fail to lead, mankind will be the victim and history will be our final judge. Recalling the words of Dante: "The hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who in a time of moral crisis remained neutral."

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS ON VIETNAM, REELECTION, AND NATIONAL UNITY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, last night a great American gave a great American speech.

President Lyndon B. Johnson spoke to us of Vietnam and peace, and the effort this world demands of our Nation.

But he spoke to us even more of America and democracy, and the sacrifices our Nation demands of its leaders.

He began by announcing new initiatives in the name of peace in Vietnam. And he ended by announcing the end of his political career in the name of unity in America.

Lyndon B. Johnson has made his reputation in American politics through the art of consensus. His years as majority leader of this body speak for themselves, and so do his years of bringing major legislation into reality as President of the United States.

He has always understood a fundamental truth of American democracy—that we can accomplish almost anything when we work with each other and we can accomplish almost nothing when we work against each other. And so he took two steps:

He acted to deescalate a military conflict which threatened the American consensus without which we cannot progress as a nation;

And he acted to protect the great leadership position of the American political system from the threat which was posed by divisive conflict in a political year.

He defended the commitments which we have made and still must make as a leader of the free world. He promised no easy solutions to the war, and he predicted no immediate end to our problems at home.

But he said:

I cannot disregard the peril to the progress of the American people and the hope and the prospects of peace to all peoples.

He said:

What we won when all our people united must not now be lost in suspicion, distrust and selfishness or politics among any of our people.

And so he said he would not seek or accept a nomination for another term as President.

He saw that America needed still another initiative to cool down the military conflict in Vietnam. He saw that America needed still another initiative to cool down the political conflict at home.

And so he took both initiatives. As the Nation requires of its greatest men, he placed the Nation ahead of his personal

and political career. And the Nation will remember that he truly understood what leadership must be in a Nation like ours.

Mr. President, the Washington Post paid a fitting tribute to the President in an editorial this morning. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial and the text of the President's message of last evening be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

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

IN THE NAME OF UNITY

President Johnson, by his moving declaration that he will not seek nor accept the nomination of his party, has taken himself out of the presidential campaign, barring developments that at this juncture simply cannot be foreseen.

He has at the same time, by both his remarks on his candidacy and the suspension of bombing in nearly all Vietnam, taken the war out of the presidential campaign as far as it is in his power to do so.

He has made a personal sacrifice in the name of national unity that entitles him to a very special place in the annals of American history and to a very special kind of gratitude and appreciation.

Many public men have spoken in the name of national unity to advance their own cause and candidacy. The President last night put unity ahead of his own advancement and his own pride.

The shape of the forthcoming presidential campaign is obscure at this moment; but it ought to be, by any normal expectation, a campaign of less divisiveness and less bitterness than the one the country had expected. The President lanced the boil of faction and opened the abscess of partisanship on the body politic. It is to be hoped that his surgery will diminish the fever of public life and permit the Nation to pursue its political decisions in a climate of restraint and prudence.

The verdict of history remains to be written upon an Administration that has attacked the social and racial problems of America with skill and vigor. The judgment of the world remains to be pronounced upon the success or failure of foreign policies that will influence world affairs for generations.

Americans need wait no longer, however, to conclude that the man who spoke to them last night is a man who greatly loves his country and who deeply cherishes its unity.

TEXT OF JOHNSON SPEECH ON VIETNAM, DECISION NOT TO RUN

Tonight I want to speak to you of peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

No other question so preoccupies our people. No other dream so absorbs the 250 million human beings who live in that part of the world. No other goal motivates American policy in Southeast Asia.

For years, representatives of our Government and others have traveled the world—seeking to find a basis for peace talks.

Since last September, they have carried the offer I made public at San Antonio.

It was this:

That the United States would stop its bombardment of North Vietnam when that would lead promptly to productive discussions—and that we would assume that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of our restraint.

Hanoi denounced this offer, both privately and publicly. Even while the search for peace was going on, North Vietnam rushed their preparations for a savage assault on the people, the government, and the allies of South Vietnam.

Their attack—during the Tet holidays—

failed to achieve its principal objectives.

It did not collapse the elected government of South Vietnam or shatter its army—as the Communists had hoped.

It did not produce a "general uprising" among the people of the cities.

The Communists were unable to maintain control of any city. And they took very heavy casualties.

But they did compel the South Vietnamese and their allies to move certain forces from the countryside, into the cities.

They caused widespread disruption and suffering. Their attacks, and the battles that followed, made refugees of half a million human beings.

The Communists may renew their attack. They are, it appears, trying to make 1968 the year of decision in South Vietnam—the year that brings, if not final victory or defeat, at least a turning point in the struggle.

NATION WILL SUFFER

This much is clear: If they do mount another round of heavy attacks, they will not succeed in destroying the fighting power of South Vietnam and its allies.

But tragically, this is also clear; many men—on both sides of the struggle—will be lost. A nation that has already suffered 20 years of warfare will suffer once again. Armies on both sides will take new casualties. And the war will go on.

There is no need for this to be so.

There is no need to delay the talks that could bring an end to this long and bloody war.

Tonight, I renew the offer I made last August—to stop bombardment of North Vietnam. We ask that talks begin promptly, and that they be serious talks on the substance of peace. We assume that during those talks Hanoi would not take advantage of our restraint.

We are prepared to move immediately toward peace through negotiations.

Tonight, in the hope that this action will lead to early talks, I am taking the first step to de-escalate the conflict. We are reducing—substantially reducing—the present level of hostilities.

And we are doing so unilaterally, and at once.

Tonight, I have ordered our aircraft and naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam, except in the area north of the demilitarized zone where the continuing enemy build-up directly threatens allied forward positions and where movements of troops and supplies are clearly related to that threat.

The area in which we are stopping our attacks includes almost 90 per cent of North Vietnam's population, and most of its territory. Thus there will be no attacks around the principal populated areas, and in the food-producing areas of North Vietnam.

Even this limited bombing of the North could come to an early end—if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi. But I cannot in conscience stop all bombing so long as to do so would immediately and directly endanger the lives of our men and our allies. Whether a complete bombing halt becomes possible in the future will be determined by events.

A REDUCTION IN VIOLENCE

Our purpose in this action is to bring about a reduction in the level of violence that now exists.

It is to save the lives of brave men—and of innocent women and children. It is to permit the contending forces to move closer to a political settlement.

Tonight, I call upon the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union—as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council—to do all they can to move from the unilateral act of de-escalation I have just announced toward peace in Southeast Asia.

Now, as in the past, the United States is ready to send its representatives to any forum, at any time, to discuss the means of bringing this war to an end.

I am designating one of our most distinguished Americans, Ambassador Averell Harriman, as my personal representative for such talks. In addition, I have asked Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, who returned from Moscow for consultations, to be available to join Ambassador Harriman at Geneva or any other suitable place—just as soon as Hanoi agrees to a conference.

I call upon President Ho Chi Minh to respond positively, and favorably, to this new step toward peace.

But if peace does not come now through negotiations, it will come when Hanoi understands that our common resolve is unshakable, and our common strength is invincible.

Tonight, we and other allied nations are contributing 600,000 fighting men to assist 700,000 South Vietnamese troops in defending their country.

Our presence there has always rested on this basic belief: the main burden of preserving their freedom must be carried by the South Vietnamese themselves.

We and our allies can only help to provide a shield—behind which the people of South Vietnam can survive and develop. On their efforts—on their determination and resourcefulness—the outcome will ultimately depend.

That small, beleaguered nation has suffered terrible punishment for more than 20 years.

I pay tribute once again to the great courage and endurance of its people. South Vietnam supports armed forces of almost 700,000 men today—the equivalent of more than 10 million in our own population. Its people maintain their firm determination to be free of domination by the North.

There has been substantial progress in building a durable government during the past three years. The South Vietnam of 1965 could not have survived the enemy's Tet offensive of 1968. The elected government of South Vietnam survived that attack—and is rapidly repairing the devastation it wrought.

FURTHER EFFORTS REQUIRED

The South Vietnamese know that further efforts are required: to expand their armed forces, to move back into the countryside, to increase their taxes, to select the very best men they have for civil and military responsibility, to achieve a new unity within their constitutional government, and to include in the national effort all those groups who wish to preserve South Vietnam's control over its own destiny.

Last week President Thieu ordered the mobilization of 135,000 additional South Vietnamese. He plans to reach—as soon as possible—a total military strength of some 800,000 men.

To achieve this, the government of South Vietnam started the drafting of 19-year-olds on March 1. On May 1, the government will begin drafting 18-year-olds.

Last month, 10,000 men volunteered for military service—two and a half times the number of volunteers during the same month last year. Since the middle of January, more than 43,000 South Vietnamese have joined the armed forces—nearly half of them volunteers.

All men in the South Vietnamese armed forces have had their tours of service extended for the duration of the war, and reserves are now being called for active duty.

President Thieu told his people last week: "We must make greater efforts and accept more sacrifices because, as I have said many times, this is our country. The existence of our nation is at stake, and this is mainly a Vietnamese responsibility."

He warned his people that a major national effort is required to root out corrup-

tion and incompetence at all levels of government.

We applaud this evidence of renewed determination on the part of South Vietnam. Our first priority will be to support their effort.

REEQUIPPING SOUTH VIETNAM

We shall accelerate the re-equipment of South Vietnam's armed forces—to meet the enemy's increased firepower. This will enable them progressively to undertake a larger share of combat operations against the Communists.

On many occasions I have assured the American people that we would send to Vietnam those forces that are required to accomplish our mission there. With that as our guide, we have previously authorized a force level of approximately 525,000 men.

Some weeks ago, however—to help meet the enemy's new offensive—we sent to Vietnam about 11,000 additional Marine and airborne troops. They were deployed by air in 48 hours, on an emergency basis. Artillery, tank, aircraft, medical and other units needed to work with and support these infantry troops in combat did not accompany them.

In order that these forces may reach maximum combat effectiveness, we should prepare to send—during the next five months—support troops totalling approximately 13,500 men.

A portion of these men will be made available from our active forces. The balance will come from reserve component units which will be called up for service.

Actions we have taken since the beginning of the year—to re-equip the South Vietnamese forces—to meet our responsibilities in Korea, as well as in Vietnam—to meet price increases and the cost of activating and deploying reserve forces—to replace helicopters and provide the other military supplies we need, will require additional expenditures.

The estimate of those additional expenditures is \$2.5 billion in this fiscal year, and \$2.6 billion in the next fiscal year.

These projected increases in expenditures for our national security bring into sharper focus the nation's need for immediate action: To protect the prosperity of the American people and the strength and stability of the dollar.

DEFICIT OF \$20 BILLION

On many occasions I have pointed out that, without higher taxes or decreased expenditures, next year's deficit would again be around \$20 billion. I have emphasized the need to set strict priorities in our spending. I have stressed that failure to act—promptly and decisively—would raise strong doubts throughout the world about America's willingness to keep its financial house in order.

Yet Congress has not acted. And today we face the sharpest financial threat in the post-war era—a threat to the dollar's role as the keystone of international trade and finance.

Last week, at the monetary conference in Stockholm, the major industrial countries took a big step toward creating a new international monetary asset that will strengthen the international monetary system.

But to make this system work the United States must bring its balance of payments to—or close to—equilibrium. We must have a responsible fiscal policy. Enactment of a tax increase now, together with expenditure control, is necessary to protect our security, continue our prosperity, and meet the needs of our people.

What is now at stake is seven years of unparalleled prosperity—in those seven years, the real income of the average American—after taxes—rose by almost 30%—a gain as large as that of the preceding 19 years.

The steps we must take to convince the world are exactly the steps we must take to sustain our economic strength at home. In the past eight months, prices and interest rates have risen.

We must move from debate to action. There is, I believe—in both Houses of the Congress—a growing sense of urgency that the situation must be corrected.

My budget in January was a tight one, It fully reflected an evaluation of our most demanding needs.

But in these budgetary matters, the President does not decide alone. The Congress has the power and the duty to determine appropriations and taxes.

REDUCTIONS IN BUDGET

The Congress is now considering proposals for reductions in our national budget.

As part of a program of fiscal restraint that includes the tax surcharge, I shall approve appropriate reductions in the January budget when and if Congress so decides.

One thing is unmistakably clear: Our deficit must be reduced. Failure to act could bring on conditions that would strike hardest at those people we are striving to help.

The times call for prudence in this land of plenty. I believe we have the character to provide it, and I plead with the Congress to act promptly to serve the national interest, and all the people.

Now let me give you my estimate of the chances for peace: the peace that will one day stop the bloodshed in South Vietnam, allow that people to rebuild and develop their land, and permit us to turn more fully to our tasks at home.

I cannot promise that the initiative I am announcing tonight will be any more successful in achieving peace than the more than 30 others we have undertaken and agreed to in recent years.

It is our hope that North Vietnam, after years of fighting that has left the issue unresolved, will now cease its efforts to achieve a military victory and join us in moving toward peace.

And there may come a time when South Vietnamese—on both sides—are able to work out a way to settle their differences by free political choice rather than by war.

As Hanoi considers its course, it should be in no doubt of our intentions. It must not miscalculate the pressures within our Democracy in this election year.

We have no intention of widening this war. But the United States will not accept a fake solution to this long an arduous struggle and call it peace.

No one can foretell the precise terms of an eventual settlement.

Our objective in South Vietnam has never been the annihilation of the enemy. It has been to bring about a recognition in Hanoi that its objective—taking over the South by force—could not be achieved.

PEACE BASED ON GENEVA

Peace can be based on the Geneva Accords of 1954—under political conditions that permit the South Vietnamese—all the South Vietnamese—to chart their course free of any outside domination or interference.

Tonight I also reaffirm the pledge we made at Manila—that we are prepared to withdraw our forces from South Vietnam as the other side withdraws its forces to the North, stops infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides.

Our goal of peace and self-determination in Vietnam is directly related to the future of Southeast Asia—where much has happened to inspire confidence during the past 10 years. We have done all that we could to contribute to that confidence.

A number of its nations have shown what can be accomplished under conditions of security. Since 1966 Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world, has had a government dedicated to peace with its neighbors and improved conditions for its own people. Political and economic cooperation between nations has grown rapidly.

Every American can take pride in the role we have played in Southeast Asia. We can rightly judge—as responsible Southeast

Asians themselves do—that the progress of the past three years would have been far less likely—if not impossible—if America and others had not made the stand in Vietnam.

At Johns Hopkins University, three years ago, I announced that we would take part in the great work of developing Southeast Asia, including the Mekong Valley—for all the people of the region. Our determination to help build a better land—for men on both sides of the present conflict—has not diminished. Indeed, the ravages of war have made it more urgent than ever.

I repeat tonight what I said at Johns Hopkins—that North Vietnam could take its place in this common effort just as soon as peace comes.

Over time, a wider framework of peace and security in Southeast Asia may become possible. The new cooperation of the nations of the area could be a foundationstone. Certainly friendship with the nations of such a Southeast Asia is what we seek—and all that we seek.

One day, my fellow citizens, there will be peace in Southeast Asia.

It will come because the people of Southeast Asia want it—those whose armies are at war today, and those who though threatened, have thus far been spared.

Peace will come because Asians were willing to work for it—to sacrifice for it—to die for it.

But let it never be forgotten: Peace will come also because America sent her sons to help secure it.

It has not been easy—far from it. During the past four-and-a-half years, it has been my fate and responsibility to be Commander-in-Chief. I have lived—daily—with the cost of this war. I know the pain it has inflicted and the misgivings it has aroused.

Throughout this period, I have been sustained by a single principle: That what we are doing now, in Vietnam, is vital not only to the security of Asia, but to our own security.

Surely we have treaties which we must respect, and commitments we must keep. Resolutions of Congress testify to the need to resist aggression in Southeast Asia.

But the heart of our involvement in South Vietnam has always been America's security. And the larger purpose of our involvement has always been to help the nations of Southeast Asia become independent, self-sustaining members of the world community.—At peace with themselves and with all others.

With such an Asia, our country—and the world—will be far more secure than it is tonight.

I believe that a peaceful Asia is far nearer to reality because of what America has done in Vietnam. I believe that the men who endure the dangers of battle there are helping the entire world avoid far greater conflicts than this one.

The peace that will bring them home will come. Tonight I have offered the first in what I hope will be a series of mutual moves toward peace.

I pray that it will not be rejected by the leaders of North Vietnam. I pray that they will accept it as a means by which the sacrifices of their own people may be ended. And I ask your support, my fellow citizens, for this effort to reach across the battlefield toward an early peace.

RENOUNCES NOMINATION

"Finally my fellow Americans, let me say this:

"Those to whom much is given, much is asked. I cannot say—no man could say—that no more will be asked of us. Yet I believe that now—no less than when the decade began, this generation of Americans is willing to pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Since those words were spoken by John W. Kennedy the people of America have kept

that compact with mankind's noblest cause.

"We shall continue to keep it. Yet I believe we must always be mindful of this one thing:

"Whatever the trials and tests ahead, the ultimate strength of our country and our cause will lie not in powerful weapons or infinite resources or boundless wealth, but in the unity of our people.

"This, I believe very deeply.

"Throughout my public career, I have followed the personal philosophy that I am a free man, an American, a public servant, and a member of my party—in that order, always and only. For 37 years in the service of our Nation—first as Congressman, as Senator, as Vice President, and now as your President, I have put the unity of the people first, ahead of any divisive partisanship.

In these times, as in times before, it is true that a house divided against itself—by the spirit of faction, of party, of region, of religion, of race—is a house that cannot stand.

A HOUSE DIVIDED

There is a division in the American house now. There is divisiveness among us all tonight. Holding the trust that is mine—as President of all the people—I cannot disregard the peril to the progress of the American people and the hope and the prospects of peace for all peoples. I would ask all Americans, whatever their personal interest or concern, to guard against divisiveness and all of its ugly consequences.

Fifty-two months and ten days ago, in a moment of tragedy and trauma, the duties of this office fell upon me. I asked then for "your help and God's" that we might continue America on its course, binding up our wounds, healing our history, moving forward in new unity to clear the American agenda and to keep the American commitment for all our people.

United, we have kept that commitment, and united, we have enlarged that commitment.

Through all time to come, America will be a stronger nation, a more just society, a land of greater opportunity and fulfillment because of what we have done together in these years of unparalleled achievement.

Our reward will come in the life of freedom and peace and hope that our children will enjoy through ages ahead.

What we won when all our people united must not now be lost in suspicion, distrust and selfishness or politics among any of our people.

I SHALL NOT SEEK NOMINATION

Believing this as I do, I have concluded that I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. With America's sons in the field far away, with America's future under challenge here at home, with our hopes and the world's hopes for peace in the balance every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or a day of my time to any personal partisan causes or to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office, the Presidency of our country.

Accordingly, I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party for another term as your President. But, let men everywhere know, however, that a strong and a confident, a vigilant America stands ready to seek an honorable peace and stands ready tonight to defend an honored cause, whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require.

Thank you for listening. Goodnight, and God bless all of you.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED ADDITIONS TO NATION'S WILDERNESS SYSTEM

A communication from the President of the United States, urging the Congress to consider making 26 additions to the Nation's wilderness system (with accompanying documents); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PROPOSED FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE LEGISLATION

A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the several governments of Central America in the prevention, control, and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

REPORT OF NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RESERVE

A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Department of Defense (Installations and Logistics) transmitting, pursuant to law, the 20th annual report to the Congress on the National Industrial Reserve (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

NUCLEAR-POWERED GUIDED-MISSILE FRIGATES

A letter from the Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the President's determination with respect to nuclear-powered guided-missile frigates (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE

A letter from the Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of a military department or the head of a Defense agency to sell production equipment to contractors and subcontractors (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT OF AIR FORCE MILITARY CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS AWARDED WITHOUT FORMAL ADVERTISING

A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Air Force military construction contracts awarded by the Department of the Air Force without formal advertising for the period July 1, 1967, through December 31, 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Armed Services.

NAVAL RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING PROGRAM

A letter from the Deputy Chief of Naval Personnel, Department of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the list of principal and alternate candidates selected for the 1968 Regular Naval Reserve officers training program (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT ON DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PROCUREMENT FROM SMALL AND OTHER BUSINESS FIRMS

A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Department of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Department of Defense procurement from small and other business firms for the period July 1967-January 1968 (with an accompanying report and paper); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

A letter from the Chairman, National Transportation Safety Board, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the first annual report of the Board to the Congress, covering the last 9 months of calendar year 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL PROPERTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES ACT OF 1949

A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting a draft