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The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

VIETNAM

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks an editorial entitled "A Way Out of Vietnam," which was published in the Minneapolis Tribune of Sunday, September 14, 1969.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I have not read other editorials or comments on the tragedy of Vietnam that, in my opinion, have as much insight as this editorial. The editorial points out the many occasions in the past when military leaders and others have predicted optimistically that we were about to win the war in Vietnam. The editorial refers to a prediction last fall by Admiral McCain who said the enemy had been defeated and that it would take another year or two to mop up the operation. Since Admiral McCain's declaration last November, 9,000 U.S. servicemen have died in the war.

The editorial observes the exceedingly disappointing lack of progress and, indeed, I think retrogression, on the part of South Vietnam to broaden the political base of South Vietnam's Government, the fact that they have refused to adopt a meaningful land reform program, and many other disappointing facts of which we are all aware.

Over the weekend Vice President Ky predicted that if there were any attempt to create a coalition government or to substantially modify the Government of South Vietnam, there would be a coup within 10 days and the military would resume control. Thus, the world is put on notice of the objective of many of the leaders of the Government of South Vietnam today.

The editorial points out the fantastic amount of corruption in that Government, referring to a Wall Street Journal article which cited the fact that the South Vietnamese chief of staff is seeking to be appointed Ambassador to Switzerland so he can be closer to his money. It did not refer to an earlier comment in the June 23 issue of Newsweek magazine that President Thieu's wife has been buying property in Switzerland.

Mr. President, the editorial concludes with this paragraph:

But until a firm decision is made to get out of Vietnam and until policies and planning are adjusted to that decision, America's involvement will go on and on and on . . . along with the casualty lists and the distortions of our economy and the war-caused tensions within our society. The time is past for tentative, half-way measures. The time is here for a real decision to end this war.

Mr. President, I hope and pray it will be made.

EXHIBIT 1

A WAY OUT OF VIETNAM

Eighteen months ago, President Nixon, then beginning his campaign in New Hampshire, pledged to end the war in Vietnam. Now, eight months after Mr. Nixon took office, the war and its casualties drag on. The end seems little more in sight than it did

last fall, when Adm. John S. McCain, U.S. military chief for the Pacific, said flatly that the enemy had been licked, although another year or two might be required to mop things up. (McCain was one of the military chiefs who met with the President on Friday to advise him on Vietnam).

In recent weeks, optimism has grown in military circles and in some civilian quarters of government that the enemy is indeed growing weaker and our side stronger. Conclusions are again being reached that a military solution is possible. Ambassador Bunker reportedly told Mr. Nixon on Tuesday that the North Vietnamese have been badly beaten on the battlefield. He is said to have urged the President to hold off on negotiations, because the American and South Vietnamese military position is steadily improving.

Even if one grants that Bunker is at least partly right about U.S. and South Vietnamese strength, we believe the assessment must be considered in the context of the steady stream of optimistic statements by U.S. officials, including Bunker, over the years—and must be considered alongside the military potential of North Vietnam to carry on warfare indefinitely. For years, Americans have been told that we can now see a light at the end of the Vietnamese tunnel and all that is needed is an American determination to carry on a bit further. Since McCain's declaration of victory last November, 9,000 U.S. servicemen have died in the war. And in that same period, how much progress has been made in broadening the political base of South Vietnam's government, and how much progress has been made toward needed social and economic reform? Relatively little. Only last week, Vietnamese politicians seriously watered down a proposed land-reform program—even though such reform would be a vital and long overdue step toward building rural support for the Saigon government.

President Nixon has, we believe, concluded that the United States cannot win a military victory in Vietnam and should extricate itself from this war. He has taken a more conciliatory attitude toward the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese, he has made a token withdrawal of U.S. forces, and he has made such positive gestures as temporarily halting B52 flights last week. But the President has not found a way to carry out his pledge to end the war.

We believe there is a way to end the war—and this will require great courage on the President's part. This way is, we believe, to make a firm decision that the United States is going to get out of Vietnam in a responsible, but systematic and determined manner. This means a regular and ongoing withdrawal of U.S. troops geared to a terminal date for U.S. direct involvement in combat operations—say in 18 months. It does not mean a precipitous pullout.

More and more frequently, one hears from politicians, from career diplomats and even, at times, from men with access to the President that the United States must get out of Vietnam, if this country is going to tackle more important domestic problems. We are saddened, though, that such comments often are made in private rather than in public, where such opinions would help create a climate that might help offset military pressures to continue the war.

The United States has, we believe, fulfilled its obligations to South Vietnam and its original goals in being there. Other Southeast Asian countries have been given a decade to strengthen their own security, political structures and economic systems. The South Vietnamese have been given a chance to build their own nation and provide for their own security. A South Vietnam with a million men under arms and with modern American equipment ought to be able to defend itself—if its people have the will to do so. There was nothing in our original involvement that said the United States would do most of the fighting; indeed, President

Kennedy said it was not our war to fight and President Johnson during his 1964 campaign said American boys should not be sent to fight an Asian war.

If the South Vietnamese—after 15 years and after an American economic and military involvement of more than \$100 billion—can't carry their own burden, then the United States has no obligation to go on carrying it for them. And if the United States does begin to withdraw its troops on a systematic basis, then there will be a real light at the end of the Vietnam tunnel. Then, perhaps, the American military will begin to base its decisions and planning on how to get out of the war—and not on its continuation.

A withdrawal process must, of course, be designed to protect American men in Vietnam. It also must provide an opportunity for South Vietnamese who have thrown their lot in with us to find havens elsewhere, including the United States. Already, some of those Vietnamese who have grown fat on the war are finding or seeking such havens. This past week the Wall Street Journal noted that South Vietnam's chief of staff, who has been accused of corrupt practices, is "busily agitating" to become ambassador to Switzerland, "perhaps to be closer to his money banked there."

But until a firm decision is made to get out of Vietnam and until policies and planning are adjusted to that decision, America's involvement will go on and on and on . . . along with the casualty lists and the distortions of our economy and the war-caused tensions within our society. The time is past for tentative, half-way measures. The time is here for a real decision to end this war.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE BUDGET, 1970,
FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
(S. Doc. No. 91-33)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an amendment to the budget for the fiscal year 1970, in the amount of \$8,380,000, for the Department of the Interior (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE BUDGET, 1970
(S. Doc. No. 91-34)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting amendments to the budget for the fiscal year 1970, in the amount of \$4 million in budget authority, and \$20 million in proposals not increasing budget authority, for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Department of the Interior and Civil Service Commission (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

A letter from the Director, Bureau of the Budget, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on fiscal year 1970 outlay limitation through August 1969 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Appropriations.