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during the war, and was also on duty in Berlin throughout the blockade. I was on loan to the Marshall Plan organization in Paris from 1950 to 1952. I recite these assignments merely to underline that obviously I could have no personal complaint, and to illustrate the wide variety of assignments which I have enjoyed.

I am completely persuaded that an examination of our whole foreign service establishment is urgently required and should be undertaken by an impartial commission, such as you propose. I say this not only from the experience of a Foreign Service officer in the normal activities of diplomacy, but speaking as one who has participated intimately in economic warfare, military government, Marshall Plan efforts and aid to underdeveloped countries. I shall not attempt to set forth here all the reasons why I believe this commission should be established. You indicated in your two statements introducing the resolutions a number of valid reasons why such a study should be authorized. The formula you have proposed for the Commission strikes me as most sensible in that it will provide for representation from the Congress and enable the President to appoint other members of high qualification in foreign affairs. If the President so desired, he could appoint members who have previously served in either Congress or the Executive Branch. This formula should make possible the establishment of a truly first-class board, whose membership could represent a wide variety of experience in the conduct of our foreign affairs and whose eventual recommendations would carry great weight.

Although at the moment I am deeply engaged in population problems, if there is any way in which I could contribute to the success of your initiative, I stand ready to do whatever I can.

With warmest regards,
Sincerely yours,

JAMES W. RIDDLEBERGER,
National Chairman.

NEW YORK, October 16, 1969.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: I am delighted by the news that S.J. Res. 173 has been reinstated on the agenda of the Senate as S.J. Res. 157. By whatever number, it is an imperative legislative step toward a goal of the greatest importance to the future conduct of our nation's foreign affairs.

If there is anything that the Advisory Commission or I, personally, can do to further advance its priority or passage, I hope you will let me know.

With all good wishes,
Sincerely,

FRANK STANTON.

NEW YORK, October 23, 1969.

Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: It was my privilege to meet with you on a number of occasions during my fifteen years service on the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information.

This is to express the hope that you get early and positive action on Senate Joint Resolution 157.

Times and changing world conditions call for reassessment of our overseas policy, purpose and performance. The need is urgent.

May I comment especially on two facets of your proposal.

First—it is an over-all study of the agencies involved in our foreign service.

In the foreign services, Agencies are interdependent as you so well know. To study one agency alone as has been suggested for USIA would be to tackle one part of the problem without relating it to the whole.

We have one policy—to preserve world

peace and build respect, good will and understanding for the United States. There should be an across the board evaluation of organization, manpower and morale. This should include a study of the entire outgo in resources together with any waste or duplication that presently exists.

Second—your proposal calls for the inclusion in the Commission of four members from the Congress.

Having Congress represented on the Commission should insure that there will be action on the recommendations in the report.

The history of other Commissions—Sprague, Herter, Wriston and Jackson (on which I served) was that the reports were well received but there was lack of follow through, and the long range results were disappointing.

The proposed over all study could not be more timely. There is need that the resources available to our Government in Washington and overseas be restructured to meet the challenges of today and the years ahead.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

SIGURD S. LARMON.

MORATORIUM DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR MONDALE

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the past weekend again brought to mind the great burden which the war in Vietnam is placing on our young. We saw both the depth of their concern and their willingness to continue to work within the confines of law, order, and established political processes.

Our young people are not all of a single mind on every issue and detail of the war. But they are all immensely troubled by it, and I think that we should not forget what we ask of the young men who must serve in this tragic war.

I spoke on this topic last month at Macalester College during the moratorium day rally. I ask unanimous consent that these words be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS GIVEN BY SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE TO THE MINNESOTA MORATORIUM DAY RALLY, MACALESTER COLLEGE, OCTOBER 15, 1969

As a former student of this college, I must say that I never thought I would see this many people at a Macalester event.

Now I know why Washington government has worked harder this past week than at any time in American history. Miracles are happening. After 28 years Hershey has four stars and is on his way. And unless I miss my guess, we are going to see more and greater miracles this year.

Just a few months ago everyone would have said that the Mets would never win the pennant and would never have a chance for the World Series. Tonight we know that they have won the pennant and have a good chance of winning the Series.

A few months ago most people would have predicted that there is no way to bring the Vietnam War to a head or to mount a demonstration which would show that the American people are tired of this war and want it ended. But that miracle is happening today in this country. Not only are the millions of people who turned out today in the cause of peace in Vietnam unique in the history of this country, but I suspect never in the history of all nations have more people turned out voluntarily to express their disgust with war. Surely, this is a message our President cannot ignore.

It is quite clear that a majority of American people now oppose this war. A poll last week showed that 57% of all Americans want to end the war within 14 months. And a poll showed that 58% of the Americans believe that this war was a mistake from the beginning.

Each day brings more support to the cause of peace and to the disavowal of those policies which perpetuate this horrible adventure. Peaceful dissent is evidently the pastime of no single profession, age group, or political party.

Perhaps today is, in part, a test of the democratic ideal—to see whether our government can respond to this great demonstration of national will.

We are still, in fact, wallowing around in a swamp of non-policy, hoping to back into peace just as we backed into war.

We have all disavowed this war, all right. Everyone—the President, the Pentagon, the hawks, the “great middle”—all have disavowed it. We don't like the killing; we don't like the disruption; we all prefer peace.

But too many of our leaders are disavowing the *predicament* and not disavowing the *policy*, which has brought us ten years of war on the Asian mainland and cost this country over 44,000 American dead, a quarter of a million wounded, and cost this state over 800 of her own boys.

Surely tonight it is clear that it is not enough to hope for peace . . . We must relentlessly pursue peace.

It is not enough to say that we have failed in our objective . . . We must openly and frankly admit that our very objectives were in error.

We cannot cling to honor and pride and only hope to bring an end to the war. We must seek peace and only then bring an end to the dishonor and the lost pride which we have already experienced.

Unfortunately, however, we are seeing an old, old movie in this country, sponsored first by a Democratic President and now being re-run by a Republican President.

We have all heard it before: “Things are getting better; infiltration is down; the enemy is demoralized and weakened; Saigon, Thieu, and Ky want only to represent the people of South Vietnam (including, we suppose, the 21,000 political prisoners resting tonight in Vietnamese prisons); U.S. casualties are down; enemy casualties are up; the peace talks could progress if only we had a united front; the South Vietnamese Army—yes, the South Vietnamese Army—is nearly ready to take over.”

It is an old movie, but an even earlier version was sponsored by the French. Their famous last words are best represented by the unfortunate prognostication of General Navarre in January of 1954 when he stated clearly: “I fully expect only six months more of hard fighting.”

Today we are told the President has a secret plan. And I believe some of us have heard that before. The predicament we are in reminds us of Frost's couplet: “We dance around a ring and suppose. But the secret sits in the middle and knows.”

We would like a secret or two from the middle tonight—What is American policy? I don't believe there is anyone in Washington, with the possible exception of the President, who can answer that question. Those who criticize our dissent often appeal to us on the need to present a united front and support our Administration in the difficult pursuit of peace. But I have yet to see a single document or hear a single statement that tells us what that plan or what that course is.

Is it designed to save lives or to save face? Is it designed to end the war or to relieve political pressure at home? Is it a policy which recognizes our errors or one which simply seeks to obscure them? Is it a policy which is to be determined by America or is it one which continues to lock us in the

desires of Hanoi and Saigon? In short, is it a policy to get us out or keep us in Vietnam?

I acknowledge the President's sincere desire for peace. But, we still, after withdrawal of 60,000 troops, will have 484,000 American troops in South Vietnam—only 6,000 less than a year ago.

We are still in full support of a government which has imprisoned 21,000 men and women, political and religious leaders, largely for their political beliefs. I think it is fair to say that those 21,000 Vietnamese in the main did nothing other than what we are doing here tonight.

We still espouse the cause of self-determination in Vietnam, although we know that Thieu and Ky have categorically stated their refusal to acknowledge any free election which gives any recognition to the National Liberation Front. As President Thieu put it, he "would not concede a single hamlet to the other side."

We are told in Washington that our troops have shifted to a defensive strategy, but from Vietnam we hear that we are waging war as usual.

In short, by not setting forth a clear policy which disavows the past and sets a new course for peace, we are clinging to old policies and old myths. It is this admission which we seek from our Administration. It is not their mistake they need admit, it is our mistake and it is my mistake. What we are paying for today is simply a price for pride, and the price is too high for any civilized society to continue to pay.

I have a pride problem of my own. I once supported this war. I thought it was right. I thought many things would happen in Vietnam; a popular non-corrupt government, land reform, a South Vietnamese Army that would fight, and many other things. I found out I was wrong; I admit it; and I think it is time for the U.S. Government to do the same.

I believe our President said this in May, in so many words, when he said there was no longer any hope for military victory in Vietnam. I think that President Johnson also admitted the wrongness of this war—in so many words—when he stopped the bombing of the North and placed a ceiling on our troop commitments.

But "so many words" are not good enough. "No more Vietnam" is not good enough. If we shouldn't have any more Vietnams, let's not have the one on our hands today. I think the time has come to substitute humility and candor—the pride of the strong—for arrogance and self-deceit, which is the pride of the weak.

You don't have to, and none of us need dwell on, the cost of this war: the 44,000 dead; the 250,000 wounded; the 100 billion dollars gone forever at a rate, now, of 30 billion dollars annually; the unprecedented inflation; the highest interest rates in the history of our society; and all the rest. The dollars seem no longer to astound us. The staggering cost is what we have given up elsewhere, and it is exceedingly difficult to try to make specific the cost of the war and the cost of that defense budget.

We spend \$21,000 in ammunition alone for each enemy soldier believed to be in Vietnam while the Federal Government spends \$44.00 for every child in this country believed to be in our education institutions.

For 1 billion dollars—enough to run the Vietnam war for 10 days—we could provide headstart opportunities for 825,000 children. We could provide job training and supporting services for 500,000 welfare parents. We could expand cancer research five-fold.

For a single billion dollars—10 days of war, we could run MacAlester College, tuition and donation free for 125 years.

But the best is yet to come. If we were bankers and understood the occult art of investing, and were able to find 5% money (which would be hard to find these days because it is 7% and 8%)—but if we could find

5% money, and invested that billion dollars, we could run Hamline, MacAlester, Augsburg, St. Olaf, and Gustavus tuition free forever, and that's a pretty good deal.

Yesterday afternoon, for five hours, Senator Nelson and I led the fight to try to expand the poverty program. We asked for \$250 million to keep Headstart with the same number of children that they have today. We asked for a modest amount of increased funds to expand the Legal Services and to keep them independent from those who would like to keep them under control. We proposed expanding money for emergency food and emergency medical care. We proposed a slight expansion of programs designed to help the migrants and farmworkers of this country.

In 20 minutes the opposition mounted and successfully adopted amendments that cut \$250 million out of that poverty program in the name of inflation. That was more than we were able to cut out of the \$20 billion military authorization budget in 2½ months of fighting on the Senate floor.

What I am saying is this: We have gotten to the point where this war and the cost of the defense budget is taking its greatest toll upon the value system of our country. Where we can justify and support \$600,000 to the University of Mississippi to determine how birds can be used in the next war, and cut-back on cancer projects throughout this land. Billions more for an indefensible war in Vietnam, while we say we cannot afford the funds to feed the hungry in our own country. Isn't it remarkable that two of our scientists recently received the Nobel Prize for research in biomedicine and shortly thereafter had their Federal research grants reduced because of the war in Vietnam. This system—this system of ignoring the needs of our people—may be one of the great casualties caused by the war in Vietnam.

But there are other costs as well, and perhaps there's one apart from the loss of life which is the greatest cost of all. This is the cynicism, the bitterness and the alienation of the young of this country.

I am deeply disturbed by the thought of a generation which may lose all confidence in the ability of a democracy to respond with justice, reason and humanity. But what can we expect of a generation which is asked to kill and be killed in a war which cannot be explained. Can a fractured, disheartened and demoralized American possibly be a price worth paying for a few more years of an Americanized government in Saigon?

Recently, the Presidents of 76 colleges wrote President Nixon. They said this: "There are times to be silent and there are times to speak. This is the time to speak. The accumulated costs of the Vietnam war are not in men and material alone. There are costs, too, in the effects on the young people's hopes and beliefs. Like ourselves, the vast majority of the students with whom we work still want to believe in a just and honest and sensitive America. But our military engagement in Vietnam now stands as a denial of so much that is best in our society."

The desire to love and respect one's country is one of man's deepest instincts. Yet, equally deep are the beliefs and values about justice, morality, and humanity. And perhaps the greatest crime of this war is that we have forced our young men and women to choose between these two instincts. The great majority of the young will never feel a bullet. Many, in fact, will not have to go even into the Services. But nearly all will be called upon to disavow either their minds, their conscience, or their country. And no civilized, free society should put anybody to that test.

We can feel pride and love for those who must serve. Yet we cannot feel pride for the war itself. We cannot feel that a great purpose will be won. We can only shut our eyes and choose—and we lose either way. And something must be blamed for this

awful choice. It may be the government, the President, the "establishment," the middle class or some other symbol. But something must lose the respect, the love, and the allegiance of those who must choose. And in the end, it is America that loses.

Above all else, a free society must grant its young the might to act in accordance with rational conscience. Above all else, we must end this war and restore this right.

Six years ago, in words that were tragically ignored, President Kennedy told this country of Vietnam; "In the final analysis it is their war; they are the ones who have to win it or to lose it."

I believe the final analysis has come.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, discrimination against Soviet Jewry is an unconscionable act which can no longer be tolerated.

In a stirring appeal to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on November 10, 18 Jewish families in Soviet Georgia asked this Commission and the world at large to help them in their efforts to emigrate to Israel.

We should applaud the courage and determination of these families. They have bravely brought this issue personally to the world at great risk to themselves. They symbolize the 3½ million Jews living in difficult conditions in the Soviet Union.

For years, the Soviet Government has denied Jewish families their right to join their loved ones in Israel. Then, in January 1969, the Soviet Union signed the Convention for the Liquidation of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This charter assures every person the right to leave any country, including his own.

Yet the Soviet Union has continued to turn a deaf ear to the pleas of the 18 Jewish Georgians who want to leave for Israel.

It is sad to see the difference between the words and actions of the Soviet Government.

These actions should be condemned. They mock the cherished rights of free emigration and self-determination.

The families involved and the Israeli Government have patiently negotiated this question for months within the Soviet Union.

Persuasion has not worked. The only recourse now is pressure from the world community.

It is my hope that the United States will support the letter sent to the United Nations, and encourage that body through its Commission on Human Rights, to bring the necessary pressure to bear on the Soviet Union to secure the open emigration of Jews to Israel.

For as the appeal has said:

There are 18 of us who signed this letter. But he errs who thinks there are only 18 of us.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD letters to the Human Rights Commission and to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. N. V. Podgorny.

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