

UNITED STATES



OF AMERICA

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

VOLUME 115—PART 4

FEBRUARY 24, 1969, TO MARCH 6, 1969

(PAGES 4179 TO 5498)

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 17, 1969.  
 Mr. PHILLIP L. GEYELIN,  
*The Washington Post,*  
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GEYELIN: Thank you for publishing my letter about your editorial of February 6 on the U.S. commitment to Thailand and for correcting an important inaccuracy in that editorial. However, your further comment in your editorial of February 13 seems to me to reflect a basic misconception.

You write that "the Johnson Administration acted as if there had been an armed attack (on Thailand) without any showing of such a fact." You say that instead of acting the Johnson Administration should have consulted, in accordance with the paragraph of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty which applies to subversion. In line with those statements you imply that some 50,000 U.S. military men now in Thailand are there for the purpose of assisting Thailand to deal with insurgency. That is not so.

Although the fact that this insurgency is "externally-directed and supported" has been attested even by Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of Communist China, neither the Thai Government nor our own has ever regarded it as the "aggression by means of armed attack" which would justify a request by Thailand to its SEATO allies to "act to meet the common danger." And I certainly intended no implication that Thailand is now being attacked in a way which would bring into play that obligation under the first section of Article One of the Southeast Asia Treaty.

Most of the U.S. military men in Thailand are in the Air Force. The Army has there a substantial number of engineering and logistical support personnel but no combat units. I am informed that our MAAG personnel—military advisers to the Thai armed forces—number less than one-half of one percent of all our uniformed men in Thailand, and that none has taken part in combat against the insurgency in Thailand.

The Thai Government has repeatedly affirmed that dealing with the insurgency is a Thai responsibility. The statement of May 9, 1968, on the Thai Prime Minister's talks with President Johnson in Washington said that the Prime Minister "also noted that while welcoming foreign assistance in the form of training, equipment, and advice, the Royal Thai Government regarded defeating the insurgency as a Thai responsibility to be carried out by its own forces."

U.S. assistance to Thailand in dealing with insurgency has been limited to training, equipment, and advice. The Thai Government permits U.S. Air Force planes to operate out of Thailand not to combat insurgency in Thailand but as part of its contribution to the defense of the Republic of Viet-Nam and the treaty area generally, pursuant to the obligations which both Thailand and the U.S. undertook when they adhered to the Southeast Asia Treaty.

Sincerely,

ERNEST K. LINDLEY.

#### HE LISTENED, TOO

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, it is appropriate that Senators recognize the efforts of President Nixon to seek greater unity among our European allies, and to give thanks for his safe return from his journey.

Mr. Nixon made this trip without the fanfare normally associated with a trip of this magnitude by a President of the United States. No summit conferences were occasioned by the Nixon trip. Mr. Nixon went to Europe to work. He listened, too—which is an important part of understanding.

All of us hope the President's research,

study and discussions with the heads of other states can move us closer to both immediate and long-range goals.

Work can be performed with great publicity. It also can be accomplished quietly. Most of our college students today proceed quietly to studies. A few do not. It is highly possible the quiet ones will have a better effect on the future of the world than will those who destroy and get notoriety in the news.

We can hope that Mr. Nixon's relatively quiet trip will result in the long-range good we expect from the quiet students. We cannot see today how long Mr. Nixon's trip will be remembered. But we can recall some words of a great President of the past, who said:

The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here.

That was a miscalculation at Gettysburg, and we would do well here to refrain from snap judgments as to the success of Mr. Nixon's European journey.

Much of the mail I have received from constituents in Wyoming, and from other States, in the past few weeks has had a new tone. It reflects a new confidence in the Federal Government. There is a feeling that a calm is spreading across our land. Mr. Nixon's quiet and efficient manner has improved the climate, and it is commendable that he proceeded in this manner through the capitals of Europe.

#### ST. PAUL DISPATCH SUPPORTS SENATOR MONDALE'S FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I was pleased to read recently in the St. Paul Dispatch an editorial entitled "Poverty War Super Board?" The editorial pointed to something which I, myself, have long been committed to: The need for social accounting as a basis for social planning.

It is indeed difficult for me to understand how we seem to be willing to spend vast sums of money to improve the quality of every American's life; yet, simultaneously seem to have so little interest in analyzing the outcome of our efforts. As the editorial notes: "We haven't developed an overall social planning program to coordinate the efforts" of HEW and HUD. When the funds allocated to these agencies are already critically short, we certainly cannot afford the luxury of overlapping or worse still conflicting programs. Some sense of order and logic is plainly needed.

As John Gardner has remarked, we have the unfortunate tradition of "stumbling into the future." It should be obvious to all of us that if we are to win the war on poverty and realize the goal of full opportunity for every American then it is imperative that we develop a coordinated social plan. This social plan could be embodied in the Presidential Social Report which is outlined in the Full Opportunity Act, S. 5, which I introduced last month.

To formulate such a social report a set of social indicators would be needed. These social indicators would be used to critically and precisely evaluate the quality of American life and thereby enable us to know whether or not we are in

reality closing the gap between present programs and urgent social needs. The President, the Congress, and the entire Nation would then be in a position to determine how successful we all were in realizing consciously selected social goals.

The Full Opportunity Act of 1969 cannot guarantee that we will realize our social goals. It is not a panacea. One can say, however, that without the enactment of the Full Opportunity Act we will be forever "stumbling into the future."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### POVERTY WAR SUPER BOARD?

A central weakness in the national war on poverty has been the failure to establish a command headquarters to plan the numerous attacks we're making on social problems.

More specifically, while we wage massive assaults on poverty through both the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, we haven't developed an overall social planning program to coordinate the efforts of these large departments.

To meet this lack of overall planning, Sen. Walter Mondale has introduced a bill to create a social advisory council comparable in purpose to the Council of Economic Advisers. That is to say, the social advisory council would strive to present the governmental agencies with an overall view of social trends and needed adjustments, much as the Economic Council advises the government on shifts in the economy and necessary actions to meet them.

Substantiating the need for such a council, Mondale points out that the nation today lacks "a comprehensive and consistent information base upon which major decisions in social affairs may be made."

While numerous organizations are involved in studying social problems, Mondale argues that "neither the information measured nor the measurers themselves have been sufficiently precise, consistent or systematic to allow rational judgment about the gaps between present programs and urgent social needs, or even to measure satisfactorily the impact of those programs."

It might be argued that either HEW or HUD has the resources now to create such an agency. It might be said also that the newly created Council of Urban Affairs, headed by Daniel P. Moynihan, could serve as an overall social planning agency.

This might be possible, but there is something to be said for striving for a more objective approach through an independent advisory council without direct ties with the operating agencies.

Such a planning and analytical organization above the bureaus could perhaps serve a worthwhile purpose. At least the idea deserves consideration by the Administration and by Congress.

#### PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the return of President Nixon to this country on Sunday night concludes the first chapter of a new era of relations with our friends of Europe. It is not a new era because the President made the trip, nor because, suddenly, as a result of the trip, there is an important change in handling our relationships with the nations of Europe.

It is a new era because the relation-