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VIETNAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I made a speech the other day from the floor of the Senate in which I said that the Senate and the House of Representatives are going to adjourn in spite of my protest in regard to adjourning sine die while our American boys are dying in South Vietnam. This is a course of action which, in my judgment, cannot be justified by any Member of Congress. When the motion for sine die resolution is before the Senate, the senior Senator from Oregon will go on record in opposition to the resolution.

In my judgment, we cannot justify adjourning Congress so long as American boys are being killed in an unconstitutional war in South Vietnam. People have a right to have the Congress in session to maintain a check upon the executive branch of government.

Congress had better start checking, in spite of all the interpretations being given under so-called polls. I am like so many with whom I have talked; I am still waiting to meet the first person who has been polled; but somebody must be polled.

The reliance of this administration upon polls is an act of whistling by graveyards. The sad thing is that it is filling the graveyard, by the unnecessary killing in South Vietnam, not only of Americans, but of Asians.

I am at work on a speech entitled "The Crucifixion of the Teachings of Christ in South Vietnam." I am always interested in Christians trying to rationalize, on moral grounds, this unconstitutional, illegal war in South Vietnam.

But, Mr. President, come next January, if the State Department does not clarify its position in regard to military intervention in Latin America, this chairman will conduct hearings for whatever length of time is necessary to make the record replete with the facts with regard to what our clear national law obligation is under the treaties to which I have referred.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record an article by Mr. Emil Mazey, International Secretary-Treasurer, United Auto Workers, entitled "South Vietnam Leaders No Better Than Reds—L.B.J. Backed Military Dictator in Dominica."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SOUTH VIET LEADERS NO BETTER THAN REDS—L.B.J. BACKED MILITARY DICTATOR IN DOMINICA

(By Emil Mazey, International Secretary-Treasurer, United Auto Workers)

Some of the problems that currently face the people of our world today are the aftermath of struggles for independence on the part of colonial peoples. The difficulty in South Vietnam today is a typical example of what I have reference to.

The people of Vietnam sought their independence from French domination and finally defeated the French in 1954. The 1954 struggle was terminated by the signing of the Geneva Conference accord which among other things, accepted the sound principle of self-determination and stipulated that free elections would be held in 1956 to reunite the country.

The present civil war in South Vietnam began in 1956 when President Diem, with the concurrence of the Eisenhower administration, refused to hold elections.

The reasoning of Diem and the reasoning of the Eisenhower administration was that elections would result in the Communists winning control of the government.

This violation of the Geneva Conference accord is responsible for the civil war and conflict taking place in South Vietnam today.

President Lyndon Johnson inherited a war which, I am sure, he doesn't want. President Johnson has repeatedly stated that we are in Vietnam to maintain freedom, liberty and democracy and the right of the South Vietnam to choose their own political path.

I disagree completely with President Johnson on this evaluation. There is no democracy in South Vietnam. There is no freedom in South Vietnam. There is no liberty in South Vietnam.

There is no representative government in South Vietnam. The people have not chosen their national leaders or their regional leaders.

There is no free trade union movement in South Vietnam.

In my opinion, the war in Vietnam is being fought to bolster and maintain an oppressive military dictatorship. The war is not being fought to extend freedom and democracy. The government of South Vietnam does not have the confidence of the people and is totally and completely unstable.

We have seen the perpetual circus in Saigon in one clique of military leaders fighting to replace another military clique for political control of Vietnam.

This game of musical chairs to see who is going to control South Vietnam, apparently has the blessing and full financial support of our Government because we have endorsed and embraced each new punk dictator who has gained power.

President Johnson is very thin-skinned about any criticism of his policy of South Vietnam.

He has discouraged free discussion of his policies and has attempted to justify his policies on the ground that he and his advisers have information not available to the average citizen, and therefore, we must have faith in his judgment and blindly follow and endorse his policies.

Constructive criticism is equated with treason—those who oppose escalating the war are called appeasers—citizens calling for a negotiated peace have been charged with being soft on communism.

Despite the fact that we have a large military force and a large body of CIA agents in South Vietnam, every time a military coup takes place, spokesmen for our Government announced they were surprised by the overthrow of one regime by another.

If our Government truly understood what was happening in Vietnam, I suggest we would not be surprised by developments there.

I believe that the President of the United States is making a serious mistake in escalating the war in South Vietnam by the attacks on North Vietnam. This policy is really the Goldwater policy and has the full support of the leadership of the Republican Party.

I suggest that President Johnson not take too much comfort in the support he is receiving from Goldwater and DUKAKIS because in 1966 and 1968, the South Vietnam war will become the major political issue and will be referred to as the Johnson war by the Republicans currently urging and egging President Johnson on to escalate the war.

I do not believe the struggle in South Vietnam can be won by negative anticommunism. It should be obvious to everyone that the South Vietnam

confidence in their government because two-thirds of South Vietnam is already under the control of the Vietcong.

Frankly, the South Vietnamese have not been given anything to fight for. Fighting to maintain the status quo is not good enough.

The South Vietnamese find little difference between Communist dictatorship or a military dictatorship over their country. I confess I see no difference between Communist dictatorship and a military dictatorship.

The people of South Vietnam look upon American forces as a replacement to the French forces they kicked out in 1954.

The people in South Vietnam must be given an effective alternative to communism or to a military dictatorship.

I suggest that the alternative ought to be a democratic government chosen by the people with a program of land reform and other reforms that can raise the living standards and improve the security of the people.

I know that there are no easy answers to resolve the Vietnamese problem. Among the possible answers are the following:

1. We ought to seek the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Conference accord. The nations that brought about the agreement in Vietnam originally ought to be called into session to seek a solution to the present problem.

2. We ought to consider giving the United Nations an opportunity of solving the Vietnam crisis. Placing Vietnam under U.N. trusteeship for a period of time and subsequently implementing the Geneva Conference accord of 1954, may be one way to solve this dilemma. I believe the recent statements of President Johnson to the effect that he is willing to have unconditional talks to bring about a negotiated solution to the Vietnamese problem, is good. However, I believe that the President is making a mistake in trying to bring about these negotiations through the escalation of the war.

I believe that our Government needs to re-evaluate our entire foreign policy position. It should be clear to all of us that our Government cannot unilaterally act as a world police force and cannot by itself solve the many problems that the years of colonialism on the part of Great Britain, France, and Belgium created.

Our Government seems to favor military dictatorship to democracy. I am alarmed and sickened at the quickness in which President Johnson moved 30,000 marines into the Dominican Republic to bolster and maintain a military dictatorship that came into power by overthrowing the only freely elected government in the Dominican Republic in the past 30 years.

Our Government gave quick recognition to the military dictatorship which replaced the democratically elected government in the Dominican Republic in 1963.

In 1965, when the democratic forces attempted to overthrow the military dictatorship, our Government finds itself on the side of the military dictatorship again. Some 30 years ago, United States marines moved into the Dominican Republic and placed Trujillo, the military dictator, in power. We must raise our voices in protest to see that history doesn't repeat itself.

I want to commend Senator WAYNE MORSE for having the courage and the intestinal fortitude to criticize our Government on foreign policy and on other matters when he believes the Government to be wrong. I believe that the best way to support President Johnson is not to rubber stamp his every act, but to oppose him constructively when we believe that his policies are in error.

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