

## SENATE

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1965

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in the midst of our deliberations, we bow in Thy presence solemnly conscious of world events which are shaping the future and fixing the destiny of unnumbered hosts whose anguished longings are like the sound of many waters.

In all the bafflements of these days, as we think of our Nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the common rights of man, may we fear nothing but to fail humanity and Thee.

In the councils of our leaders fraught with such awesome responsibility, we pray for wisdom. In combat against the invaders of a free country, and in all our attempts by negotiation to find a pathway to a just peace, grant us the humility which is born of a vivid sense of our own failings. In an hour which calls for greatness may our public service be a sacrament, and our politics purged of corroding littleness.

May our personal devotion become a part of the highway down which the hopes and dreams of those who across the hills of time have seen the city of God, may go on in triumph from victory to victory.

We ask it in the name of that One who hath taught us that this is the victory that overcometh the world—even our faith. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, August 19, 1965, was dispensed with.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

## HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 9811) to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural com-

modities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION  
APPROPRIATIONS, 1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in view of certain circumstances, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 10323) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 10323) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

AMENDING CERTAIN CRIMINAL  
LAWS APPLICABLE TO THE DIS-  
TRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending business be temporarily laid aside, and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 606, Senate bill 1320.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 1320) to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia with amendments on page 4, after line 12, to strike out:

SEC. 6. The Act entitled "An Act for the regulation of the practice of dentistry in the District of Columbia, and for the protection of the people from empiricism in relation thereto", approved June 6, 1892, as amended (D.C. Code, secs. 2-301 through 2-331), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 34. Prosecutions for violations of this Act shall be conducted in the name of the District of Columbia by the Corporation Counsel."

At the beginning of line 22, to change the section number from "7" to "6"; on page 5, at the beginning of line 4, to change the section number "8" to "7"; at the beginning of line 11, to change the section number from "9" to "8"; in line 18, after "Sec.", to strike out "10" and insert "9. (a)"; at the top of page 6, to insert:

(b) The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall by regulation require that bonds in the amount of not more than \$25,000 shall be furnished and kept

in force by all persons licensed as private detectives in the District of Columbia. Bonds required by this section shall be corporate bonds and shall run to the District and shall be conditioned upon the observance by the licensed private detectives and any agent, employee, or person acting in behalf of the licensed private detective of all laws and regulations in force in the District of Columbia applicable to the conduct of persons licensed as private detectives. Such bonds shall be for the benefit of any person who may suffer damages as a result of violation of any law or regulation by or on the part of any licensed private detective or any agent, employee, or person acting on the behalf of any private detective. In addition to any right to any other legal action, any person aggrieved by the violation of any law or regulation by a licensed private detective may bring suit against the surety on a bond required by this section either alone or jointly with the principal thereon and recover damages for such violation of law or regulation in an amount not to exceed the penal amount of the bond.

At the beginning of line 23, to change the section number from "11" to "10"; and on page 7, after line 5, to strike out:

SEC. 12. Sections 5 through 11 shall take effect thirty days from the approval of this Act, but shall not in any case apply to proceedings instituted prior to the approval of this Act.

And, in lieu thereof, to insert:

SEC. 11. Sections 5 through 8, inclusive, and section 10 shall take effect thirty days from the approval of this Act, but shall not in any case apply to proceedings instituted prior to the approval of this Act. Section 9 of this Act shall take effect on the first day of the first full license year for licensing of private detectives and detective agencies prescribed by section 7 of the Act approved July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. 622, ch. 1352), as amended (sec. 47-2301, et seq., D.C. Code), which begins at least ninety days after approval of this Act.

So as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 848 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia", approved March 3, 1901, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 22-403), is further amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 848. Whoever maliciously injures or breaks or destroys, or attempts to injure or break or destroy, by fire or otherwise, any public or private property, whether real or personal, not his own, of the value of \$200 or more, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or shall be imprisoned for not more than ten years, or both, and if the value of the property be less than \$200 shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both."

SEC. 2. The first section of the Act entitled "An Act for the preservation of the public peace and the protection of property in the District of Columbia", approved July 29, 1892, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 22-3112), is further amended by striking out "destroy, injure, disfigure, cut, chip, break," and inserting in lieu thereof "disfigure, cut, chip."

SEC. 3. Section 812 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia", approved March 3, 1901, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 22-2101), is further amended by striking out "for ransom or reward", and inserting in lieu thereof "for ransom or reward or otherwise, except, in the case of a minor, by a parent thereof."

Sec. 4. Section 9 of the Act entitled "An Act to enjoin and abate houses of lewdness, assignation, and prostitution; to declare the same to be nuisances; to enjoin the person or persons who conduct or maintain the same and the owner or agent of any building used for such purpose; and to assess a tax against the person maintaining such nuisance and against the building and owner thereof", approved February 7, 1914, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 22-2721), is further amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 9. In any prosecution for violation of this Act or so much of the first section of the Act entitled 'An Act to confer concurrent jurisdiction on the police court of the District of Columbia in certain cases', approved July 16, 1912 (37 Stat. 192; D.C. Code, sec. 22-2722), as relates to the keeping of a bawdy or disorderly house, the court, upon application of the United States attorney made after such attorney has given notice thereof to the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia, may order any witness to testify or to produce evidence, or both. Upon such order of the court, such witness shall not be excused from testifying or from producing evidence on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture. But no such witness shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any act, transaction, matter or thing concerning which he has been ordered to testify or to produce evidence after having claimed the privilege against self-incrimination, nor shall testimony or other evidence ordered to be given or produced under the provisions of this section be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding against him in any court. No witness shall be exempt under this section from prosecution for perjury or contempt committed in connection with giving testimony or producing evidence under order of the court as provided in this section."

SEC. 5. The last sentence of section 46 of the Healing Arts Practice Act, District of Columbia, 1928, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 2-137), is further amended by striking out "by said United States District Attorney when instituted on behalf of the Commission, and" and by striking out "when instituted on behalf of the Commissioners of said District or by the major and superintendent of police of said District".

SEC. 6. The fourth sentence of section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to define the term 'registered nurse' and to provide for the registration of nurses in the District of Columbia", approved February 9, 1907, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 2-407), is amended by striking out "United States Attorney for the District of Columbia" and inserting in lieu thereof "Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia".

SEC. 7. Section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to regulate the practice of optometry in the District of Columbia", approved May 23, 1924 (D.C. Code, sec. 2-502), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Prosecutions for violations of this Act shall be conducted in the name of the District of Columbia by the Corporation Counsel."

SEC. 8. Section 9 of the Act entitled "An Act to create a board of accountancy for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes", approved February 17, 1923 (D.C. Code, sec. 2-909), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Prosecutions for violations of this Act shall be conducted in the name of the District of Columbia by the Corporation Counsel."

SEC. 9. (a) Sections 425 to 428, inclusive, of the Act entitled "An Act to revise and consolidate the statutes of the United States, general and permanent in their nature, relating to the District of Columbia, in force on the first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and

seventy three", approved June 22, 1874 (D.C. Code, secs. 4-168-171, inclusive), are hereby repealed.

(b) The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall by regulation require that bonds in the amount of not more than \$25,000 shall be furnished and kept in force by all persons licensed as private detectives in the District of Columbia. Bonds required by this section shall be corporate bonds and shall run to the District and shall be conditioned upon the observance by the licensed private detective and any agent, employee, or person acting in behalf of the licensed private detective of all laws and regulations in force in the District of Columbia applicable to the conduct of persons licensed as private detectives. Such bonds shall be for the benefit of any person who may suffer damages as a result of violation of any law or regulation by or on the part of any licensed private detective or any agent, employee, or person acting on the behalf of any private detective. In addition to any right to any other legal action, any person aggrieved by the violation of any law or regulation by a licensed private detective may bring suit against the surety on a bond required by this section either alone or jointly with the principal thereon and recover damages for such violation of law or regulation in an amount not to exceed the penal amount of the bond.

SEC. 10. The last sentence of the first section of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the conservation and settlement of estates of absentees and absconders in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes", approved April 8, 1935, as amended (D.C. Code, sec. 20-701), is amended by striking out "The United States attorney in and for the District of Columbia" and inserting in lieu thereof "The Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia".

SEC. 11. Sections 5 through 8, inclusive, and section 10 shall take effect thirty days from the approval of this Act, but shall not in any case apply to proceedings instituted prior to the approval of this Act. Section 9 of this Act shall take effect on the first day of the first full license year for licensing of private detectives and detective agencies prescribed by section 7 of the Act approved July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. 622, ch. 1352), as amended (sec. 47-2301, et seq., D.C. Code), which begins at least ninety days after approval of this Act.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 623), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

#### PURPOSES OF THE BILL

The purposes of S. 1320 are (1) to strengthen certain laws of the District of Columbia; (2) to broaden the immunity statute of the District of Columbia so that it will conform with other Federal statutes; (3) to provide for certain technical and procedural changes in matters essentially local in nature; and (4) to permit the substitution of the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia as the moving party rather than the U.S. attorney in prosecutions involving violations of various acts relating to licensing and regulation of certain professions.

This bill is a continuation of the committee's efforts to clarify and improve the Criminal Code of the District of Columbia.

Sections 1 and 2 of this bill are designed to deal with the problem of vandalism by bringing the District statutes, dealing with the injury or destruction of property, up to date and make them more effective. In brief, the first section of the bill amends existing law (sec. 22-403, D.C. Code) relating to the crime

of malicious injury or destruction of property by broadening it to cover real as well as personal property. This section increases from \$50 to \$200 the line of demarcation between misdemeanors and felony offenses. It also revises the penalties established for felony offenses involving malicious destruction of property by eliminating the mandatory minimum and maximum sentences of not less than 1 nor more than 10 years' imprisonment and substituting a term of imprisonment of not more than 10 years or a fine of not more than \$5,000, or both. In addition the section increases the maximum fine for misdemeanors from the present \$200 to a maximum of \$1,000 and provides that imprisonment may be imposed along with a fine up to a maximum of 1 year.

As a complement to the change provided in the criminal code by section 1 of the bill, section 2 of the bill removes language from the Disfigurement of Property Statute of the District of Columbia Code (sec. 22-3112) so as to make that statute relate specifically to offenses involving disfigurement of real property, and not operate as a general statute for the prosecution of offenses involving the willful destruction of real and personal property.

The third section of the bill broadens the existing kidnaping statute which now makes it unlawful only to hold a person for ransom or reward. This bill would make the statute applicable to those kidnappings in which the motive is lust, a desire for companionship, revenge, or some other motive not involving ransom or reward. In addition, this section would make the statute inapplicable to cases involving the taking of a minor child by one of the parents of such child. The committee has been informed that these proposed changes in existing District of Columbia law will bring its statute into closer conformity with the Federal statute on kidnaping.

The bill also will broaden the immunity privileges now granted to witnesses in civil cases relating to the abatement of disorderly house nuisances. It would authorize the granting of similar immunity in criminal prosecutions for keeping disorderly houses. Under this bill, the courts could, upon application, compel a witness to testify in a criminal prosecution, notwithstanding his claim of privilege under the fifth amendment. Witnesses who have been granted this immunity would remain subject to prosecution for perjury or contempt of court in connection with their testimony, but they could not be criminally prosecuted for any substantive offenses included in such testimony. This section will materially aid the prosecution of criminal charges for keeping bawdy or disorderly houses.

Sections 5, 6, 7, and 8 amend four acts regulating the practice of professions or occupations by substituting the Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia for the U.S. attorney to prosecute criminal violations of certain of such acts and as the attorney to institute certain civil actions authorized by the Healing Arts Practice Act and the Registered Nurses Act of February 9, 1907, as amended. The committee is of the view that it is more appropriate for an official of the municipal government of the District of Columbia, rather than a Federal official, to perform these functions. For the same reason, section 10 transfers from the U.S. attorney to the Corporation Counsel the right to be a party to court proceedings seeking to subject the property of an absconder to the support of the absconder's wife and minor children, and to pay debts proved against him.

The amendment made by section 9 is designed to restate in existing law a requirement that private detectives be bonded. Such a provision existed in District law for many years and has been held to have been repealed by implication in 1932 (47 Stat. 559,

ch. 366). It was the view of the committee in inserting this amendment in the bill that the public should be entitled to some indemnification against damages resulting from improper activities on the part of private detectives.

The bill has the approval of the Department of Justice, the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia, and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The committee has received no opposition to the bill.

A similar bill (S. 468) passed the Senate in the 88th Congress.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendments are considered and agreed to en bloc.

The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. 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 (Mr. RUSSELL of South Carolina in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

#### U.S. AIR FORCE

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the U.S. Air Force.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Public Health Service.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

#### NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK IN THE AIR FORCE

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations placed on the Secretary's desk in the Air Force.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered and confirmed en bloc.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

#### RIOTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the able Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN] spoke to a group of Senators at a breakfast meeting of Senators in the Senate restaurant recently. The Senator's thoughts, as always, were both profound and sound, his counsel was worthy, and his conclusions, I believe, entirely correct.

In order that his remarks may have wider circulation both in the Senate and in the country, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR LEN B. JORDAN OF IDAHO BEFORE SENATE PRAYER BREAKFAST ON AUGUST 18

#### RIOTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Shocking events of the past week clearly indicate a widespread discontent ranging from comparatively mild demonstrations against authority to defiant outlawry and bloody revolt bordering on anarchy.

Rules governing the conduct of man's relation to his fellow man are as old as recorded history. From the time that Moses laid down the Ten Commandments for the children of Israel, down through the rise and fall of ancient civilizations, through the days of the contemporary influence of Jesus Christ and his disciples, through the Dark Ages, through the Reformation into the modern era, each generation has reviewed this time-honored moral code and found it acceptable and ap-

plicable to its needs. Which goes to point up that in this world of change when everything about us seems to be in a constant state of flux, one of the eternal verities that does not change is human nature itself. Likewise the rules of human conduct which were so laboriously fabricated by the ancients, largely through trial and error, have survived down through the ages somewhat battered but still intact.

But now these historic guidelines appear to be challenged more severely than ever before and at every hand.

Riots in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Springfield, Mass., give geographic evidence that the unrest is not localized.

In less violent form are the protest marches of the unrepresented in the Nation's Capital, on the campuses, and in various cities throughout the land.

Organized mobs try to stop troop trains. Young critics of the war in Vietnam burn their draft cards.

Individual crime is at an all-time high. Murder, arson, theft, assault, destruction of persons and property—all these increase at an alarming rate.

Rape is so common as to be reported about as casually as double parking or running a stop light.

What is the reason for all this? Why has the hot summer brought such an explosion of revolt and carnage? Could it be that we are reaping the whirlwind of seeds planted by the powerful forces of change?

May I suggest two trends which may have contributed to this deplorable state of affairs.

1. A government of laws which has been the cornerstone of our Republic for nearly 200 years is being set aside or superseded, with the outspoken approval of some leaders both religious and secular, for a government of men in those instances where the end appears to justify the means.

2. Breakdown of family responsibilities and discipline in the training of the young by their parents and in the reciprocal responsibilities of children for their parents in sickness and old age encouraged, in part at least, by an overpaternalistic government.

Our country cannot concern itself solely with production and security. Our material resources did not produce our American character. Our character developed the resources. What in America we have, is a result of what as Americans we are. The moral and spiritual values, therefore, are of primary importance.

And it is these moral and spiritual values which are eroded when men in high places, from the clergy or from secular leaders, applaud defiance of the law, even if in their judgment such defiance would accomplish a desirable objective.

The contagion of this defiance is all too clear. The difference between the willful defiance of law or court order by marching clerics in Selma and the burning, looting, and shooting by hoodlums in Los Angeles is one of degree only. In either case man substitutes his personal judgment for the rule of law.

The theory of obeying only the laws a person likes is dangerous doctrine in a civilized society. When we abandon the rule of law—no matter what the pretext—we are sowing the seeds of anarchy.

I turn now to my second point. In our zeal to insure the good life for all, we have been all too willing to excuse the youthful offender because he is poor or disadvantaged—that somehow society is to blame for every dropout, for every first offense, or second, or third.

I am sure no one will claim that we have achieved the perfect social order in this country. But I cannot agree with those who would discharge personal responsibility and charge the whole mess to social ills.

Perhaps our generation has been inclined to make the material comfort and the social status of ourselves and our children our highest goal, at the expense of moral discipline and spiritual well-being. It is time for us to realize that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God."

I turn now to the Old Testament and quote excerpts from Proverbs. Chapter 1: 8-16:

"My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother for they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head, and chains about thy neck.

"My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.

"If they say, come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause. Let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the pit.

"We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil. Cast in thy lot among us; let us; let us all have one purse.

"My son, walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path, for their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood."

Chapter 3: 11-14:

"My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord; neither be weary of his correction for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.

"Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. "For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold."

Chapter 4: 1, 2, and 14:

"Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding. For I give you good doctrine forsake ye not my law. Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men."

Chapter 16: 16-19:

"How much better is it to get wisdom than gold! and to get understanding rather to be chosen than silver!

"The highway of the upright is to depart from evil: he that keepeth his way preserveth his soul.

"Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.

"Better it is to be of an humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud."

Chapter 22: 1 and 6:

"A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold. Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it."

Chapter 13: 24:

"He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes."

And from the New Testament, Ephesians 6: 1-3:

"Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honor thy father and mother; (which is the first commandment with promise).

"That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth."

Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, chapter 5: 13-26:

"For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

"For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

"But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.

"This I say then, walk in the spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh.

"For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

"But if ye be led of the spirit, ye are not under the law.

"Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness,

"Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies,

"Envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

"But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,

"Meekness, temperance: against such there is no law.

"And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.

"If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain glory, provoking one another, envying one another."

Chapter 6: 1-8.

"Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.

"Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ.

"For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself.

"But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another.

"For every man shall bear his own burden.

"Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.

"Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

"For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit reap life everlasting."

#### MRS. GENEVIEVE OLSEN

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 69) for the relief of Mrs. Genevieve Olsen, which was, on page 2, lines 1 and 2, strike out "in excess of 10 per centum thereof."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

#### LT. RAYMOND E. BERUBE, JR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 97) for the relief of Lt. Raymond E. Berube, Jr., which was, on page 2, line 10, after "Act." insert:

No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

#### LLOYD K. HIROTA

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 134) for the relief of Lloyd K. Hirota, which was, on page 2, line 9, after "Act." insert:

No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

#### ROBERT L. WOLVERTON

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 572) for the relief of Robert L. Wolverton, which were, on page 1, line 8, strike out "December 28," and insert "October 6," and on page 2, line 12, after "Act." insert:

No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

#### LT. ROBERT C. GIBSON

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1138) for the relief of Lt. Robert C. Gibson, which was, on page 2, line 13, after "Act." insert:

No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

WRIGHT G. JAMES

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1196) for the relief of Wright G. James, which was, on page 2, after line 11, insert:

No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

JACK C. WINN, JR.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1267) for the relief of Jack C. Winn, Jr., which was, on page 2, line 8, after "Act." insert:

No part of the amount appropriated in this Act shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

#### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1966

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 10323) making appropriations for military construction for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, what is the pending business before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is H.R. 10323.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, H.R. 10323 is the military construction appropriation bill. As chairman of the subcommittee, I shall present a résumé of the provisions of the bill and some of the reasoning and logic which led to the action of the full committee. I shall cite a few figures to show the vast amount provided in the annual military construction bill.

The total amount requested in the budget estimate of the current fiscal year is \$2,049 million.

During the consideration of the authorization bill for these items, the Senate Armed Services Committee rejected and would not authorize \$175,619,000. So of \$1,955,681,000 requested, in conference the amount of \$1,780,062,000 was finally agreed upon.

As a general proposition, and speaking only for myself, I believe that the field of military construction is fertile ground for the President to have his representatives do some effective work to fulfill his sincere desire to avoid unnecessary expenditures.

Year after year the military construction appropriation bill, instead of decreasing, has increased, and now exceeds \$2 billion a year, according to the budget request. This does include a small amount for the Vietnam situation. It also includes a modest amount for construction in the United States that has been brought about by the Vietnamese war; but it is a small amount.

Generally speaking, in making these deletions, we did not remove any amount that we thought was directly connected with the operations of our general military program, including the added responsibilities due to the war in south-east Asia. We did not remove any amount that was actually needed, as we saw it; but if the items were remote from actual need or were being carried on satisfactorily in present facilities, we did reject them. Some of them we deferred for only a year or, if the requests are renewed, for a year or two.

I mention this to show that we attempted to follow a general plan or a general formula in applying the tests that we put to the bill in order to determine whether the items requested were necessary. We found a great many that were not necessary. The report shows a reduction of more than \$292 million from the budget estimates including authorization legislative action.

The bill contains some special items. All of the hospitals that were requested were included. We included as much as we believed necessary for family housing. Provision was made for a generous number of family housing starts, although the amount is greatly under the amount requested. The bill provides for 7,500 new units, whereas the budget requested 12,500. In addition, we are permitting the services to rent 7,000 apartment units or single units for 1 year in connection with their housing program.

This seemed to the committee to provide a great abundance together with what already exists, which amounts to billions of dollars worth of housing, and will permit the program to move fast enough.

A new feature of military housing was included, not through the military appropriations or Armed Services Committee, but by the omnibus housing bill that was passed this year, which provides that around the installations which were being closed the Secretary of Defense could buy houses owned by civilian employees or members of the military service at an acquisition price comparable with what was paid in a representative period prior to the base closure; then the acquired properties could be turned over to FHA for disposal.

Mr. President, I am presenting today the military construction appropriation bill, H.R. 10323, for fiscal year 1966. Senate Report No. 620 explains the

action taken by the Appropriations Committee.

First I should like to present a summary of the bill as to the pertinent figures explaining the committee's action.

The total appropriation recommended by the Senate Appropriations Committee amounts to \$1,756 million. This is an amount of \$1,109,000 over allowances provided by the House and \$292,396,000 under the budget estimate of \$2,049 million.

For military construction for the Active Forces of the Department of the Army, the committee has approved an amount totaling \$329,139,000. This is an increase of \$9,407,000 over the amount of \$319,732,000 approved by the House, and a decrease of \$112,261,000 from the budget estimate of \$441,400,000.

For military construction for the Active Forces of the Department of the Navy, the committee has approved an amount totaling \$320,603,000. This is an increase of \$8,246,000 over the \$312,357,000 allowed by the House and a decrease of \$17,697,000 from the budget estimate of \$338,300,000.

For military construction for the Active Forces of the Department of the Air Force, the committee has approved an amount totaling \$355,410,000. This is an increase of \$17,932,000 over the \$337,478,000 allowed by the House, and a decrease of \$66,590,000 from the budget estimate of \$422 million.

For the Reserve Forces the committee recommends the budget figure, with the exception of the Army National Guard:

Army Reserve.....	No request for funds.
Naval Reserve.....	\$9,590,000.
Air Force Reserve.....	\$4,000,000.
Air National Guard.....	\$10,000,000.

For the Army National Guard, the committee recommends an appropriation of \$10 million, which is the same as the House allowance. Later in my remarks I will explain this increase over the budget estimate and the reason therefor.

For the Department of Defense agencies, the committee recommends an appropriation of \$65,131,000. This is \$18,069,000 below the budget estimate and \$1,663,000 over the amount allowed by the House. The appropriation breakdown is as follows:

Defense Atomic Support Agency,	\$3,932,000;
National Security Agency,	\$6,075,000;
Defense Supply Agency,	\$2,101,000;
and other projects,	\$18,000.

The committee also recommends for the Department of Defense general support program, a total of \$53 million, including planning and design in the amount of \$2 million, minor construction in the amount of \$1 million and \$50 million to meet emergency construction requirements the Secretary of Defense considers vital to the security of the United States. The committee has approved an appropriation of \$5 million for loran stations. This is the same as the budget request.

For the Department of Defense family housing account, the committee recommends an appropriation of \$647,731,000. This appropriation consists of the following: For the Army, construction

\$37,408,000, operations, maintenance, and debt payment \$180,649,000; for the Navy, construction \$58,309,000, operations, maintenance, and debt payments, \$96,412,000; for the Air Force, construction \$62,809,000, operations, maintenance, and debt payments \$219,049,000; for the Defense Agencies, construction \$406,000, operations, maintenance, and debt payments, \$2,289,000.

The breakdown of construction for housing units on a basis of an allowance of 7,500 units is computed as follows: Army, 1,490 housing units costing \$30,836,000; Navy, 3,020, costing \$54,869,000; and Air Force, 2,990 costing \$56,189,000. This provides a total of \$141,894,000 for the construction of 7,500 housing units.

The House allowed \$683,960,000 for the defense housing program. The Senate allowed \$647,731,000. This is a reduction of \$36,229,000. The Department of Defense requested \$683,960,000 of the Senate.

Before I discuss the committee's decision relating to the military service departments, I would like to bring to the attention of the Senate, a number of special problems which involve rather large sums of money.

#### SECTION 108, THE 1965 HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT

Mr. President, the committee went into the matter of section 108 of the 1965 Housing and Urban Development Act which authorizes the Secretary of Defense to acquire houses from distressed mortgagors near military bases which have been ordered closed.

Information furnished the committee indicates the provision of section 108 would apply to FHA, VA, or conventionally financed housing. Acquisition prices would be established on the basis of the average sales prices of comparable properties during a "representative period" prior to the base closure announcement. Acquired properties would be turned over to FHA for disposal. Any surplus receipts—above FHA expense—would be deposited with the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts. Additional information developed shows that the Department of Defense may be precluded from implementing section 108 during fiscal year 1966, in view of the provisions of section 406 of Public Law 85-241, as amended—42 U.S.C. 1594. Section 406 with certain specific exceptions, prohibits the construction or acquisition of family housing units "at or in support of military installations or activities" unless authorized by line item in an annual military construction authorization act.

The committee feels that this is a very complex situation and would require a great deal of study by both the Congress and the Department of Defense as to how such a program should be implemented. It comes to my mind that this program would be in direct opposition to the announced policy of the Congress that all housing required by the Department of Defense will be authorized by the Armed Services Committee. In this connection, there also comes to mind the question of which base would be considered first in buying the surrounding

houses. In essence, Mr. President, the committee felt, as I have previously stated, that we did not have enough information to appropriate the \$10 million requested by the distinguished Senator from Alabama, Mr. SPARKMAN.

#### LABORATORIES

The committee considered this year a number of high-priced laboratories for the services. Each case was gone into at length and deletions made, where, in our judgment, construction could wait until future years. It is not that the activities of these laboratories will cease if this construction is not carried forward. The work is now being performed in structures that are not up to service standards. It is also the feeling of the committee that in each instance a laboratory was deleted, the Department of Defense should study the situation to insure that there is not a duplication of effort.

#### TROOP HOUSING

The committee continues to support the Army's concept for providing troop housing in regimental or group barracks complexes in balanced packages including supporting facilities and for programming full complexes rather than increments when feasible at stations with large barracks deficiencies. In this category are full complexes at Fort Dix, Fort Knox, Fort Jackson, and Fort Leonard Wood this year for which the House denied facilities for one of the four battalions in the regiment. In restoring these complexes to full size, the committee concurrently defers the three-battalion barracks complex at Fort Riley until a full complex can be requested next year. The modest design effort made so far can be applied to the full four-battalion complex. In deferring this barracks complex to the fiscal year 1967 program, little or no construction time will be lost.

#### OBSTETRICAL CARE

The committee amended section 108 of this bill to contain the following language: "unless sound and specific justification is made by the Secretary concerned for omitting such facilities in any such hospital or composite medical facility."

It is our opinion that the addition of this language will make the section consistent with the authorizing legislation. It will permit the construction of hospitals without obstetrical care facilities when the Secretary of the interested service departments certifies that such obstetrical facilities are not necessary and that this type of patient care is readily available in adjacent communities.

#### FAMILY HOUSING, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The committee this year made a full study of the family housing requested by the Department of Defense. The request was for 12,500 houses. As it came out in the authorizing legislation, 11,180 houses were authorized as being on the eligible list and the authorizing legislation allowed funding for 9,500 houses. The House placed appropriations in this bill for the funding of 9,500 houses. Your committee recommends funding for

7,500 houses. It is the feeling of the committee that the number of houses will adequately meet the current needs of the Department of Defense in its housing program. This year 10 percent of the houses requested were in the Washington area. In the authorizing legislation, action was taken to delete all of these houses with the exception of 250 houses at Andrews Air Force Base.

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

Mr. President, to review briefly, the committee approved appropriations of \$339,139,000 for military construction within the Department of the Army. This represents an appropriation of \$329,139,000 for the Active Forces and \$10 million for the Army National Guard. This is a reduction of \$112,261,000 from the budget request of \$441,400,000. I would like to say that later, at the end of this Army discussion, I will discuss the appropriation that was made for the Army National Guard. Troop housing and community facilities composed approximately one-fourth of this year's budget request. The committee has improved enlisted men's barracks complexes at seven stations, medical barracks adjacent to three station hospitals, the third increment of triservice barracks at Fort Myer and other small increments of barracks in the United States. Officers' quarters were approved at some 11 installations in the United States and for much-needed officer space overseas. In operational training facilities, the committee has approved some 60 items. Provision is made for the first increment of a Department of Defense classified project, airfield facilities, and the final phase of construction for the Southeastern Signal School at Fort Gordon, Ga. Communications and operational facilities include support facilities for the Army Security Agency, miscellaneous petroleum facilities, and various classified construction projects.

Provision has been made to update the maintenance and production facilities of the Army, which include tactical equipment shop projects, aircraft maintenance facilities, and missile maintenance projects, plus other maintenance items.

In the research and development area, this bill provides for facilities to support the test and evaluation of the Nike X missile system upon which a decision concerning further deployment of the system will be based. Other major projects in the research and development area which are approved are research laboratories and a support service building at Nadick, Mass. Hospital and medical facilities were approved in this bill in the amount of \$21,307,000.

This appropriation provides for the replacement of five deteriorated, inadequate hospitals at Forts Devens, Stewart, Benjamin Harrison, Irwin, and the Military Academy and the hospital addition at Fort Belvoir. It also includes dental clinics and the Fourth Army medical laboratory.

The committee approved a number of administrative facilities, the major item being a headquarters for the U.S. Continental Army Command at Fort Monroe, Va. Funds have also been provided

for continuing authorization items such as planning and design of construction projects, access roads, and minor construction.

The committee has approved \$10 million for Army National Guard construction for this fiscal year. The Department of Defense did not have a budget request for Guard construction in this year's bill due to the fact that if the Reserve Guard merger was accomplished, carryover funds would be used for construction purposes. However, since the Congress has turned down the merger proposal as put forth by the Department of Defense, it is even more important that these funds be available to carry forth Guard construction programs.

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

For military construction for the Active Forces of the Department of the Navy, the committee has approved an amount totaling \$320,603,000. This is an increase of \$8,246,000 over the \$312,357,000 allowed by the House and a decrease of \$17,697,000 from the budget estimate of \$338,300,000.

This year's program of the Navy is a continuation of a long-range program for the orderly development and modernization of its shore installations. The primary aim is to improve fleet readiness. This objective will be achieved by providing proper facilities to support modern ships, aircraft and weapons, updated training programs, and adequate personnel accommodations.

For the Bureau of Ship Facilities, the committee has approved \$24,322,000. There is a total of 40 line items in this class, of which 33 items amounting to some \$23 million are distributed among the naval shipyards. The construction of these projects will improve existing shipyard facilities to better meet the overhaul and repair requirements of the Navy's modern ships.

For the fleet base facilities and supply facilities, the committee has given approval for an appropriation of \$22,961,000. This includes line items for improvement to naval station facilities that provide direct support to the fleet. There is also a provision for POL pipelines and air conditioning and an administration building at the Naval Supply Depot, Subic Bay, Republic of the Philippines.

In this year's bill, approval has been given for Marine Corps facilities amounting to approximately \$18 million. Most of this money will go directly to facilities at Camp Lejeune and Camp Pendleton in the United States and Camp Butler, Okinawa, for building up and maintaining the combat readiness of the Marines.

Special attention has been given in this year's appropriation for the Navy's service school activities and medical facilities. Money has been provided for improvements to educational facilities for officer personnel at the Naval Academy and the Naval Postgraduate School and the Officers Candidate School at Newport, R.I. Items have also been included to improve the facilities for enlisted personnel undergoing basic training at the Naval Training Centers, Great

Lakes, Ill., and San Diego, Calif. We have also included in the program this year, replacement for a portion of the naval hospital at Newport, R.I., a naval dispensary and dental clinic at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and an outpatient clinic at naval hospital, San Diego, Calif.

The committee has recommended an appropriation of \$86,429,000 for naval weapons facilities. This is the largest of the Navy's facility class, comprising six groups of air and ordnance activities, each of which supports a particular segment of naval aviation or naval ordnance. These groups are naval air training, field support of fleet operations, Marine Corps air stations, fleet readiness support, research, development, test, and evaluation and overseas support of the fleet.

The proposed projects will support five essential tasks: training of pilots and aircrews; improvement of the air striking power of our operating forces; improvement of the ordnance aspects of fleet readiness; progress in air and ordnance research, development, test, and evaluation programs; and improvement in personnel living conditions.

#### DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

The committee has approved a total of \$369,410,000 for military construction, \$355,410,000 for the Active Forces, and \$14 million for the Reserve Forces. The committee allowance represents a reduction of \$66,590,000 from the budget estimate of \$436 million.

One of the large amounts approved in the bill is for the strategic forces. Ten million dollars was approved for use at existing Minuteman and Titan II installations. These funds are necessary to make adjustments and modifications to silos and launch complexes to adapt them to new and improved equipment and techniques of operation. Money was approved for operational facilities for the B-52 and the KC-135 forces in their fully dispersed deployment. This construction was deemed necessary because of rent base and force consolidations where the number of aircraft on certain bases is being increased. There is also money approved in this bill for operational facilities to support our newest strategic reconnaissance aircraft, the SR-71. Hand in hand with the need to maintain and improve our strategic posture is the need for keeping our aerospace systems at a high degree of effectiveness. This objective is reflected in the construction appropriations for implementation of new warning and control systems, as well as improvements to, and facilities for, our established aerospace systems.

As previously mentioned in the Army and Navy recommendations, the updating of a number of medical facilities has been included for the Air Force. This includes composite medical facilities, dispensaries, and dental clinics in the amount of \$14.5 million. Funds for one new composite medical facility at Turner Air Force Base, totaling \$2.4 million, is included in this package.

Money has been included in the bill to expand the airlift forces. This is evidenced by the rapidity of the evolution of the airlift forces with the C-141, Star-

lifter aircraft. The C-141, although designed to operate from our presently existing bases, requires some alterations and expansion of facilities to meet the demands of its physical characteristics and cargo handling capabilities. The balance of the airlift program provides for improved aerial port and terminal facilities at three U.S. and four overseas bases.

To insure adequate support of the variety of research and development programs conducted by and for the Air Force, approximately \$50 million in new appropriations is contained in this bill. The committee certainly recognizes the primary contribution that research and development has made to our present position of world leadership as well as its importance to future attainments.

A large sum of money is included in the bill to support construction for the eastern and western test ranges. Provision has been made for the first unit of a Titan III space launch booster complex for approximately \$18 million, as well as the acquisition of related land and the construction of a technical control center.

The Air Force continues to update the control and warning system of the United States with the addition of new over-the-horizon radar and other technological advancements. Also included is the third increment for the installation of "backup" interceptor control equipment for SAGE. This program, called BUIC, involves a number of sites in the United States. In the defense program, appropriations are approved to update a number of A.C. & W. sites scattered over the North American continent.

The committee has taken cognizance of the Tactical Command and support problems of the Air Force by approving a Strike Command headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base. This headquarters will properly and effectively house the headquarters which has overall command of our national tactical forces. Related is the replacement for the headquarters for the Tactical Air Command at Langley Air Force Base.

The committee has approved approximately \$18 million for general support items not categorized so far. Classified activities at overseas locations account for about \$3.1 million of this amount. The second increment of the construction at Bolling Air Force Base to implement the Bolling-Fort Myer area cantonment plan has been approved. A sizable amount has also been included in this category to provide navigation and landing aids which support such diversified activities and commands as the Air Weather Service, Headquarters Command, and the Southern Command; \$20 million has been included which would be used primarily to complete design of the fiscal 1966 military construction program. Also a portion of these funds will be used to make a start on the fiscal year 1967 construction program. Approval has been given for minor construction in the amount of \$15 million. This appropriation will allow the Air Force to be responsive to such diverse unprogrammed construction requirements as those generated by our presence in southeast

Asia, as well as those resulting from realignment of our forces in the continental United States.

The committee has approved \$2 million to finance the Air Force portion of requirements for construction of off-base access roads and improvements or relocation of existing public highways where the need is generated by Air Force operations.

Mr. President, this completes the presentation of the military construction appropriations bill for fiscal year 1966. The committee believes this to be an austere bill; however, we are certain that only those essential items were approved which will materially contribute to the combat effectiveness and readiness of the U.S. military forces both home and abroad.

I am glad to yield now to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], who, with his usual completeness and thoroughness, as well as dedication, has worked on the bill for 6 or 8 months and has materially aided in preparing the bill presented to the Senate today. I thank the Senator for his fine assistance.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator from Mississippi for the comments he has made about my assistance.

I would be negligent if I did not comment upon his leadership, patience, and conscientiousness in working out the complicated details, which involve large sums of money and also the future of our military forces.

We all appreciate his conscientiousness and his hard work on this subject over a number of years.

The committee had a request for \$10 million to start the program. There were no budget estimates and no rules and regulations under the law enacted a few weeks ago. There was no request from the Department of Defense for the money and no plan submitted by the Department of Defense to put the program into effect.

The committee decided unanimously, in view of all those facts, that there was no ground now to provide hard money for these items.

The committee referred to the item in the report. We have asked for more tangible, definite information to give some idea about how the houses will be acquired. The matter can be considered on its merits at that time. Certainly it would be premature to appropriate hard money for a program with so many unknown quantities.

Mr. President, I wish to add to what the Senator has said. The amount of the bill passed by the House of Representatives was \$1.7 billion. As a result of committee action, that amount was increased by \$1,109,000. Therefore, the total bill reported to the Senate makes available \$1,756,604,000.

The committee also scrutinized carefully the prior year's authorization and reviewed the expenditures and proposals. In addition, it was necessary for the committee to review the reclaims which we received as a result of the House action.

I believe we have a good bill. I suggest that we use it as a yardstick, as the Sen-

ator from Mississippi has so well said, in light of the increasing demand for funds to finance the program in southeast Asia.

The primary objective of our military at the moment seems in contrast. In view of this, we felt that many projects could be deferred for another year. For this reason, we denied funds for building additional service club bachelor officer quarters and other items of construction which could be deferred without affecting our military posture.

The Senator from Mississippi has taken up family housing. The Senator has stated in years gone by that we ought to provide the money for 7,500 houses and allow the Defense Department to pick from the authorized number of units which, this year, was 11,180 units actually authorized.

The House appropriated funds for 9,500 units. Our appropriation is \$36 million under the House appropriation because we provided for only 7,500 units. That difference must be resolved in conference.

The Senator has pointed out that rental housing could be obtained at various military installations. That enabled us to keep the number down to 7,500 units. In addition, we permitted funds for leasing some 7,000 units or more.

We made one exception to the amount of housing in the Washington area. We felt that there was enough housing in the Washington area to take care of the military except the Andrews Air Force Base, where we inserted a provision for 250 units which are authorized. We felt there was a great need for additional housing at that base.

I repeat what I have said about the yardstick that was applied by the committee because with the need for guns and other defense material in southeast Asia, it is necessary to cut back Federal expenditures wherever possible.

The Senator has mentioned the proposal that the Defense Department acquire homes of individuals affected by military base closures. This suggestion raised several questions. We discussed the matter very fully as to what the Defense Department intended to do with the houses after purchasing them and what would be done about the interest which the Government had in the various houses through the FHA, the VA, and other kinds of financing. We felt that it was necessary for the Department of Defense to make a further study of the problem and make a report to Congress before Congress appropriate funds for this purpose.

The committee studied the Army's concept for providing troop housing in regimental or group barrack complexes and decided that the full 4-battalion complex, as outlined in the authorization legislation should be adopted. There are full barracks complexes at Fort Dix, Fort Knox, Fort Jackson, and Fort Leonard Wood. Consistent with this policy, the committee deferred the 3-battalion complex at Fort Riley, Kans., with a view to giving it priority next year.

Mr. President, I feel that we have adequately provided for the urgent needs of

the military with respect to construction. I might add that the National Guard and the Army Reserve funds for construction are provided for on the same basis as in prior years. In addition, as a safeguard, the committee has included funds in the amount of \$50 million to be used to meet emergency construction requirements in situations in which the Secretary of Defense determines the security of the United States to be vital.

It is expected that the Secretary will inform the Committee on Appropriations of both the Senate and the House immediately upon the making of a decision to use any of these funds.

In conclusion, I emphasize that the committee has worked hard in writing this appropriation bill. We hope that the Senate will approve of our efforts.

I again congratulate the Senator from Mississippi for the thoughtful, intelligent, and intellectual effort which he has put into the bill.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator very much for his contribution and remarks. The Senator referred to Fort Riley, Kans. I believe that those remarks were very appropriate, indeed. Our idea is that the 4-battalion complex is what the Army really needs and that is what we ought to provide, when we allow a complete barracks complex. We have the Fort Riley matter now in the planning stage. Funds can be provided next year. The request will certainly have a high priority and preference with us if made by the Army.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The Senators from Kansas were both very appreciative of our efforts and they understood the problem.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I join my distinguished colleague the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], in commending the excellent way in which the junior Senator from Mississippi has handled the pending bill.

Some Senators feel that it involves too much concentration of power to permit a Senator to be both the chairman of the subcommittee that authorizes a project and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations that finances the project. However, that is not too much power when it is placed in the hands of a man who is able, fair, and just in his actions. Hence, I welcome this opportunity to say that I believe Congress and the Nation are fortunate in having as the chairman of the subcommittee to authorize construction a man who is also the chairman of the subcommittee that formulates the financing of that program.

I warmly commend the work that the junior Senator from Mississippi has done.

I would be false to my own feelings if I did not also commend our distinguished colleague the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. It has been my good fortune to serve on the Subcommittee on Department of Defense of the Committee on Appropriations for nearly 20 years with the senior Senator from Massachusetts. I frankly feel about him as Thomas Jefferson of Vir-

ginia said about the great John Adams of Massachusetts. When Jefferson lay dying at Monticello, he said, "Thank God that Adams still lives."

I thank God that we have SALTONSTALL—who is, I believe, about the 10th generation of the product of the great school of Harvard—as a Member of the Senate and of this subcommittee. I hope that he will live a long time and that he will remain in the Senate as long as he lives.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I join in those sentiments.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I appreciate what the Senator has said. I shall be glad to continue to work for the Senator from Mississippi as long as he is around.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I do not criticize anything that our subcommittee has done in the way of economy. However, I wish to refer to one matter and invite their reconsideration of it.

Three years ago the Defense Department urgently recommended the construction of an educational building at Fort Lee, Va. The Committee on Appropriations said that there were other projects that had seniority and that they would defer action.

Last year the House again said that there were other projects that had priority, but we incorporated it in the bill.

This year the House finally said, "It has been before us for 3 years. We know that it is needed. It is a budgeted item." It was put in the bill.

I do not criticize our subcommittee for leaving this out. However, I do say that I do not believe that the finite mind can comprehend a billion dollars. This bill involves nearly \$2 billion. It is very difficult, if not impossible, when marking up a bill to remember all of the details of every little item that must be passed upon.

With all due deference, I say that the item has been before us for 3 years. It has been fully justified on all occasions.

I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I express my appreciation and compliments to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], and the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. They always do a fine job in handling this bill.

I think that the country can feel more secure because of their diligence and intelligence, and the patriotic and hard work which they do on this bill.

Mr. President, I express my particular appreciation because of the fact that the Senate committee has included in the bill an item urgently requested by the Defense Department which, for some reason which is almost shocking to me, particularly under our present troubled international situation, was left out by the other body. The item involves the construction of a Strike Command Headquarters building at MacDill Air Force Base in Florida.

I think the Senator knows I have never appeared before his committee in behalf of any project in my State, and I have

never discussed with him or the Senator from Massachusetts any project in my State except upon the urgent request of the Defense Department, because this is a field that far transcends any kind of personal or any kind of State interest.

I do happen to know a good bit about the very inadequate housing of the Strike Command Headquarters at MacDill Air Force Base, because it happens to be close to my home.

A short while ago I had the privilege of accompanying General Adams, who is in command of the Strike Command Headquarters of the Army and Air Force, to go over their quarters, and see for myself the hopelessly inadequate housing of that important headquarters.

I think all Senators will agree that the Strike Command is one of the most critical spots in our whole defense setup. It is almost proper, I think, to call it the nerve center of the farflung Army and Air Force activities throughout the world.

When I saw that this item had been omitted by the House, I felt free to take it up not only with my friends the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from Massachusetts, but also I called General Adams over the phone and asked him, if it was not in conflict with military propriety, to write me in some detail why he or the Defense Department felt there was a need for the Strike Command Headquarters building at an expense of \$3,600,000.

General Adams said he felt he would be happy to comply with that request, because he felt it was so urgently needed and it so vitally affected the defense effort. I received a letter, dated August 14, 1965, from Gen. Paul D. Adams, commander in chief of the U.S. Strike Command.

I ask if the distinguished Senator from Mississippi would object to including this letter in full in the RECORD at this time as a part of my remarks.

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to have the Senator do so.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I make that request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

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

U.S. STRIKE COMMAND,  
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF,  
MacDill Air Force Base, Fla., August 14, 1965.  
Hon. SPRESSAR L. HOLLAND,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLLAND: I am happy to respond to your telephonic request of yesterday afternoon, and to furnish you with pertinent information on the requirement for a U.S. Strike Command headquarters building. During the past several years we have investigated thoroughly many alternate solutions, and have finally provided detailed justifications in order to place the project in the military construction program.

There are several areas in which comment seems appropriate. These are comparable cost and impact of relocating this headquarters; my expanded mission since 1961; and the conditions under which we now operate.

The cost of relocating this headquarters to another area is an important considera-

tion. Under the assumption that a suitable or usable building were available elsewhere, we computed relocation cost for the Sheridan study group at \$3.3 million. The details are listed in enclosure 1. In addition, two specific locations were considered in the study in order to provide costs of site preparation keyed to those available locations. These statistics are contained in enclosure 2.

Several of the sites proposed prior to our locating at MacDill Air Force Base are no longer available. To my certain knowledge one of them, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind., has since been utilized by the relocation of personnel activities from the Pentagon to that area. The same situation may obtain in the other area mentioned, as well as in the many other prospective locations which I personally visited back in 1961.

At that time MacDill Air Force Base was the only facility I could find where we could get to work promptly, after personally visiting every one nominated to me by the services as possibly being suitable. Nothing in the intervening period has caused me to waiver in my conviction that MacDill Air Force Base was a proper location, and the entire command has worked diligently to build proper community relationships. I think we have been a good neighbor, and would seriously regret any decision which would require us to turn our backs on the good people of Tampa who have reciprocated as good neighbors, particularly as regards finding adequate housing for the high percentage of our personnel living off base. This is an important element of military relationships which cannot, and must not, be overlooked in determining the appropriate location for a headquarters such as mine.

The expansion in our mission, and consequently our workload, since 1961 when we were established, has created space requirements which exceed the original acceptable facilities on base. From an original mission, geared to operational requirements and complete mobility, we have emerged broadened and expanded. After 2 years of operation, I was assigned the responsibility for the Middle East, southern Asia and Africa south of the Sahara (MEAFSA), which created geographic responsibilities similar to those of CINCPAC and USCINCEUR. The military assistance program (MAP) responsibilities inherent to the geographic area were foremost among those generated by this additional mission. Since the three squadron-size and one temporary barracks, plus a limited amount of space in the CONAD tracking station, which I was using initially as a headquarters for the original staff, could not accommodate the unavoidable increase generated by the new mission, I was forced to disperse the personnel administering the MAP responsibility into a temporary building which also had been constructed as a barracks. Due to its location apart from my other buildings, a considerable loss in staff efficiency is generated as well as an increased security problem due to the diverse locations thus created.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff subsequently assigned me a further responsibility of evaluating mobility concepts developed by the Army and the Air Force. The important and competent group, which conducts these evaluations and studies, is now located in the old SAC Alert Building, 4 miles from my other headquarters buildings.

Modern communications, as well as current command and control requirements, further forced dispersion within my staff since premium space was required for the critical and expensive items of equipment necessary to conduct these operations. Yet, if I am to respond to the contingencies which generate throughout the world, and be responsive to direction from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I must have modern command and control communications.

Currently, I have been assigned a key responsibility for all deployment planning for the southeast Asia buildup. Although I have absorbed, within my own headquarters, the total manpower requirement for this key function, my transportation planners and operators do not have adequate space in which to work; nor do I have the space available to give them. A mission as important as this, vital to our national defense, is being discharged in a small room, designed as sleeping quarters in an airmen's barracks, since no adequate space is available.

My increased mission and the services required have more than doubled my staff (from 300 to 700) since 1962. The personnel increases were required; but I have lacked the flexibility to improve efficiency and achieve the staff response I seek, simply because adequate facilities normally provided to a headquarters of this level, were not available.

It is unbelievable that the Department of Defense intended to restrict us to the temporary facilities we occupied in 1961. Our mission changes and personnel increases preclude that view.

I have given serious consideration to the cost of construction of an adequate headquarters for Strike Command here at MacDill Air Force Base. The sum is large, and yet it is not much more than the cost to move this command to another unknown location where we would operate in an unknown facility and suffer a severe degradation of our mission accomplishment while moving. The alternate—maintaining status quo amid increasing problems caused by the less-than-efficient operation under dispersed yet crowded conditions dictated by our existing facility—does not appear sound.

Serious study has persuaded me that it is in the best interest of the U.S. Government to expend the funds necessary for the new building. Our current defense posture and the critical international situation require that action, in my judgment, even though other demands are made for each budget dollar. I firmly believe that the defense effort and the American taxpayer will gain by this expenditure, or I would not support it.

I appreciate your interest in this command and the opportunity to provide you these views, and earnestly solicit your continuing support of this project which I consider so essential to the successful and efficient discharge of the mission of the command.

Sincerely,

PAUL D. ADAMS,  
General, Commander in Chief.

*Cost estimate to relocate headquarters, U.S. Strike Command, to a base with a usable, appropriate facility*

Fixed communications facilities:	
Estimated cost for relocation	\$2,285,600
Engineering costs	167,100
Relocation of 2,000 short tons of equipment	100,000
Relocation of 930 personnel and their 740 families	751,060
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,303,760</b>

*Cost estimate to relocate headquarters, U.S. Strike Command, to specific bases listed as potential sites*

Item	1st location	2d location
Rehabilitate or convert facilities for headquarters, USSTRICOM	\$1,700,000	\$250,000
Rehabilitate or construct dormitories and BOQ's	175,000	4,000,000
New communications equipment	2,500,000	2,500,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,375,000</b>	<b>6,750,000</b>

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, without belaboring the matter, I want first to say that the duties of the Strike Command have been so greatly increased since it was set up in 1961 or 1962—I do not remember the date—that it has become more than twice as great in personnel and more than twice as great in its needs and importance to our whole effort, particularly in view of the Vietnam effort.

For that reason I would like to read three or four paragraphs from the letter, just to accentuate that point of view.

Here is a paragraph relating to Department of Defense assignment to the Strike Command located at MacDill Air Force Base. I read that paragraph:

The Joint Chiefs of Staff subsequently assigned me a further responsibility of evaluating mobility concepts developed by the Army and the Air Force. The important and competent group, which conducts these evaluations and studies, is now located in the old SAC Alert Building, 4 miles away from my other headquarters buildings.

I think that the spacing of the divisions of this command, 4 miles away from each other, is not an efficient way to be organized.

Then I read these paragraphs:

Currently, I have been assigned a key responsibility for all of deployment planning for the southeast Asia buildup.

He speaks not only of South Vietnam, but of that whole great troublesome area of the world.

Although I have absorbed, within my own headquarters, the total manpower requirement for this key function, my transportation planners and operators do not have adequate space in which to work; nor do I have the space available to give them. A mission as important as this, vital to our national defense, is being discharged in a small room, designed as sleeping quarters in an airmen's barracks, since no adequate space is available.

I do not need to comment on that paragraph because it seems so clear that this important function is not being adequately housed.

Continuing to read:

My increased mission and the services required have more than doubled my staff (from 300 to 700) since 1962. The personnel increases were required; but I have lacked the flexibility to improve efficiency and achieve the staff response I seek, simply because adequate facilities normally provided to a headquarters of this level, were not available.

Continuing:

It is unbelievable that the Department of Defense intended to restrict us to the temporary facilities we occupied in 1961. Our mission changes and personnel increases preclude that view.

If the Senator will yield for simply one more paragraph to be read, because it expresses the conscientious convictions of one of the finest officers I think we have in our service, or certainly he would not be in this high command if he were not, I call attention to this last paragraph I wish to read:

Serious study has persuaded me that it is in the best interest of the U.S. Government to expend the funds necessary for the new building. Our current defense posture and the critical international situation require

that action, in my judgment, even though other demands are made for each budget dollar. I firmly believe that the defense effort and the American taxpayer will gain by this expenditure, or I would not support it.

Again I compliment our distinguished friends for having seen this urgent need and recognized it in this bill. I hope, with all my heart, that the other body will reconsider its action in conference, by keeping this item in the bill.

So far as I am concerned, I would feel the same way if it were located in Alaska, or Massachusetts, Mississippi, or anywhere else. Wherever the Strike Command is located, it ought to have adequate housing, because it is the nerve center of our Army and Air Force.

I thank the distinguished Senator for yielding.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator for his remarks. We were impressed by the showing made in behalf of the Strike Command. We thought this facility was needed. The Strike Command is a new concept in warfare. It is organized under a very able general, and we think he needs more working tools in order to be effective. We consider this a strong item in our bill.

I wish to say one thing further about this general housing matter. One thing that impressed me about housing was that 10 percent of the 12,500 units requested by the Department of Defense were located in Washington or the environs of Washington, where there is no scarcity of housing at this time.

We also believe that the formula for determining needs for family housing is unsound in one particular. A home can be available for rent, and suitable in every way, but if it is located 1 hour's traveling time from where the man works, even though he has no special function, it is ruled off limits and not available.

I know that many Senators frequently take 40, 45, to 50 minutes or even longer from where they live to reach the Capitol—not using this as any test—but their work in the Capitol is of great importance. Therefore, we believe that the allowance, in view of all that has been built before and made available, is reasonable and just.

Mr. President, upon examination, I find that I am solely responsible for an error in an item for Fort Lee which the Senate left out of the bill. I overlooked the fact that this is the same item which was approved last year. When I was passing on it, I was really thinking of it as something different.

Last year, a strong showing was made for the need for a building at Fort Lee, and we accepted that proof and acted on it and put it in the bill. However, it was lost in conference.

This year it came back in under what we call prior authorizations and was not presented with most of the other items which were presented, and in the final markup—and it was among the very last items passed on—I personally failed to realize that this was the same item, the same need, and the same case which was made last year.

I have called this matter to the attention of the Senator from Massachu-

setts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], who had left the room just at that very moment, I remember, and was really not a part of the situation.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator very much. I hold in my hand background information on the request, which states:

The Department of Defense has been making special representations to get this item back in the bill.

After what the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] has said, I would certainly approve the action of the Senator from Mississippi in accepting the amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Senator for his comments.

Mr. President, I move adoption of an amendment which will strike out a certain figure and insert a larger figure, which will, in effect, take in this Fort Lee installation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator from Mississippi that the Senate will first have to dispose of the committee amendments.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Chair for the information.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments be agreed to en bloc, and that the bill as thus amended be considered as original text for the purpose of amendment, and that no points of order be considered waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the committee amendments are agreed to en bloc.

The amendments agreed to en bloc are as follows:

On page 2, line 4, after the word "Code", to strike out "\$319,732,000" and insert "\$329,139,000".

On page 2, line 14, after the word "appropriation", to strike out "\$312,357,000" and insert "\$320,603,000".

On page 2, at the beginning of line 22, to strike out "\$337,478,000" and insert "\$355,410,000".

On page 3, line 10, after the word "Code", to strike out "\$63,468,000" and insert "\$65,131,000".

On page 4, at the beginning of line 17, to strike out "\$9,500,000" and insert "\$9,590,000".

On page 5, line 14, after the word "law", to strike out "\$683,960,000" and insert "\$647,731,000".

On page 5, line 19, after the word "Construction", to strike out "\$42,282,000" and insert "\$37,408,000".

On page 5, line 23, after the word "Construction", to strike out "\$73,415,000" and insert "\$58,309,000".

On page 6, line 4, after the word "Construction", to strike out "\$79,058,000" and insert "\$62,809,000".

On page 8, line 7, after the word "services", to insert a comma and "unless sound and specific justification is made by the Secretary concerned for omitting such facilities in any such hospital or composite medical facility".

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I offer the amendment to which I have previously referred, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. The Senator from Mississippi proposes an amendment, on page 2, line 4, strike out the figure "\$329,139,000," and insert in lieu thereof "\$332,039,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Mississippi.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a comparative statement of appropriations for fiscal year 1965, and the estimates and amounts recommended in the bill for fiscal year 1966.

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

Comparative statement of appropriations for fiscal year 1965, and the estimates and amounts recommended in the bill for fiscal year 1966

Item	Appropriations, 1965	Budget estimate, 1966	Recommended in House bill, 1966	Amount recommended by Senate committee	Increase (+) or decrease (-), Senate bill compared with—		
					Appropriations, 1965	Budget estimate, 1966	House bill
Military construction, Army	\$300,393,000	\$441,400,000	\$319,732,000	\$329,139,000	+\$28,746,000	-\$112,261,000	+\$9,407,000
Military construction, Navy	247,867,000	338,300,000	312,357,000	320,603,000	+72,736,000	-17,697,000	+8,246,000
Military construction, Air Force	332,101,000	422,000,000	337,478,000	355,410,000	+23,309,000	-66,590,000	+17,932,000
Military construction, Defense Agencies	12,656,000	83,200,000	63,468,000	65,131,000	+52,475,000	-18,069,000	+1,663,000
Military construction, Army Reserve	5,000,000			-5,000,000			
Military construction, Naval Reserve	7,000,000	9,500,000	9,500,000	9,590,000	+2,590,000	+90,000	+90,000
Military construction, Air Force Reserve	5,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	-1,000,000		
Military construction, Army National Guard	10,800,000		10,000,000	10,000,000	-800,000	+10,000,000	
Military construction, Air National Guard	14,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	-4,000,000		
Loran stations	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000			
<b>Total, military construction</b>	<b>939,817,000</b>	<b>1,313,400,000</b>	<b>1,071,535,000</b>	<b>1,108,873,000</b>	<b>+169,056,000</b>	<b>-204,527,000</b>	<b>+37,338,000</b>
Family housing, Army:							
Construction	35,600,000	54,064,000	42,282,000	37,408,000	-1,808,000	-16,656,000	-4,874,000
Operation, maintenance, and debt payment	173,328,000	181,156,000	180,649,000	180,649,000	+7,321,000	-507,000	
Family housing, Navy and Marine Corps:							
Construction	64,544,000	92,140,000	73,415,000	58,309,000	-6,235,000	-33,831,000	-15,106,000
Operation, maintenance, and debt payment	97,739,000	96,948,000	96,812,000	96,812,000	-927,000	-136,000	
Family housing, Air Force:							
Construction	57,589,000	99,290,000	79,058,000	62,809,000	+5,220,000	-36,481,000	-16,249,000
Operation, maintenance, and debt payment	198,859,000	209,307,000	209,049,000	209,049,000	+10,190,000	-258,000	
Family housing, defense agencies:							
Construction	981,000	406,000	406,000	406,000	-575,000		
Operation, maintenance, and debt payment	2,511,000	2,289,000	2,289,000	2,289,000	-222,000		
<b>Total, family housing</b>	<b>631,151,000</b>	<b>735,600,000</b>	<b>683,960,000</b>	<b>647,731,000</b>	<b>+16,580,000</b>	<b>-87,869,000</b>	<b>-36,229,000</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,570,968,000</b>	<b>2,049,000,000</b>	<b>1,755,495,000</b>	<b>1,756,604,000</b>	<b>+185,636,000</b>	<b>-292,396,000</b>	<b>+1,109,000</b>

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, if there are no other questions, that concludes our presentation on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendments and request a conference thereon with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. STENNIS, Mr. RUSSELL of Georgia, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. BYRD of Virginia, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. SALTONSTALL, and Mr. HRUSKA conferees on the part of the Senate.

AUBURN-FOLSOM SOUTH UNIT, AMERICAN RIVER DIVISION, CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT, CALIFORNIA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 323, House bill 485.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H.R. 485) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to

construct, operate, and maintain the Auburn-Folsom south unit, American River division, Central Valley project, California, under Federal reclamation laws.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the pending bill has passed the House of Representatives, and I have introduced a similar bill in the Senate, which passed the Senate committee unanimously. H.R. 485, introduced by my friend, Representative HAROLD T. "BIZZ" JOHNSON, passed the House earlier this year.

This would add the Auburn-Folsom south unit to the great Central Valley project of California.

The Auburn-Folsom south unit has been before Congress for over 20 years. It has been studied in committee, modified and improved to its present form through the diligent and able work of Congressman JOHNSON, and our late beloved Senate colleague, Clair Engle. It has had the support of American Chief Executives, commencing with President Harry S. Truman and by California's Governors, commencing with Earl Warren, now the Chief Justice of the United States.

In his testimony before the Senate Interior Committee, Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, praised the Auburn-Folsom south unit by stating that of all the major reclamation projects which have gone across his desk in the last 4 years in terms of economic benefits, and cost ratio soundness, this was perhaps the best of the lot. The benefit-to-cost ratio of the unit is the unusually high one of 3.6 to 1.

In a word, the project includes a giant dam with a 2½-million acre-foot capacity reservoir on the American River, providing water conservation, flood control, fish, wildlife, and recreation values, as well as helping to meet the growing electric power requirements of the Central Valley. The bill will authorize two smaller dams and reservoirs which, with appurtenant diversion works and conduits, will also provide multipurpose water development to the rapidly expanding adjacent areas to assure continued growth.

Downstream from the Auburn Dam, and the presently existing Folsom Dam, will begin the South Canal to take water approximately 67 miles for a valuable agricultural area where existing water supplies are not enough to meet current and future needs. The overdraft on the area's very important ground water reservoirs has reached an alarming rate of 3 million acre-feet each year.

The Folsom South Canal would provide approximately 852,000 acre-feet of supplemental water to serve nearly 400,000 acres in Sacramento and San Joaquin Counties in California. Some 420 acre-feet per day of water will be available for municipal and industrial uses.

Since 1950, there have been eight floods on the American River, wreaking a frightful loss to the people, the prop-

erty, and the economy of California and the Nation. The Auburn Dam will provide the final necessary protection to our State Capital from future flood threats.

The bill authorizes the expenditure of \$425 million in the construction of this project of the people. As an integral part of the Central Valley project, all reimbursable costs will be repaid within 50 years from the date that construction of the last feature is completed. Over \$147 million in interest payments on the power and municipal water investment will be repaid, and it is estimated that approximately \$462 million will be repaid into the U.S. Treasury to be available, as the people's needs may require, to assist in the development of additional repayable project additions of the Central Valley project.

The Central Valley project is an imposing example of a true multipurpose Federal reclamation project. It is one of the most successful, bountiful, enriching public works ever constructed anywhere, any time. The Auburn-Folsom South unit is a gilt-edged addition to the gilt-edged Central Valley project. It is the next logical step forward in assisting the people of my State in meeting the water and power needs of our rapidly expanding population. I ask favorable consideration by the Senate, so that it may speedily go to the White House for Presidential approval.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 312), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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

**AUBURN-FOLSOM SOUTH UNIT, AMERICAN RIVER DIVISION, CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT, CALIFORNIA**

(Excerpt from S. Rept. No. 312 by Mr. KUCHEL, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to accompany S. 599)

The Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 599) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Auburn-Folsom South unit, American River division, Central Valley project, California, under Federal reclamation laws, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill as amended do pass.

Committee action in ordering S. 599 reported favorably to the Senate was unanimous, and the executive agencies concerned recommended enactment. This project was approved by this committee in the 87th Congress and the 2d session of the 88th Congress. Time did not permit final congressional action. S. 599 was introduced at the beginning of the 89th Congress by Senator KUCHEL and cosponsored by Senator MURPHY.

**PURPOSE OF MEASURE**

The purpose of S. 599 is to help meet the urgent need for water, power, fish and wildlife preservation, and recreational facilities in the great, fertile Central Valley of California. The bill would accomplish this purpose by authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct and operate, under Federal Reclamation law, a multipurpose project consisting of a principal dam and reservoir, with hydroelectric powerplant, on the American River east of Sacramento, the State capital, and including a canal and ancillary facilities to supply urgently needed supplemental wa-

ter for irrigation, municipal and industrial uses in Sacramento, San Joaquin, Placer, El Dorado, and other counties in northern California.

The project will provide the additional flood control which will protect the Sacramento metropolitan area against all future probable floods. It will firm up the water supplies and restore the rapidly dropping ground water levels of a large segment of the agricultural valley lands, improve municipal water supplies, provide greatly increased recreational opportunities for the rapidly expanding population of northern California, and develop the remaining hydroelectric power capabilities of the American River to assist in meeting the ever-increasing demand for electric power and energy.

The Auburn-Folsom South unit will be integrated, as to both financing and operation, with other features of the Central Valley project, a comprehensive water development which represents one of the finest undertakings of the Federal reclamation program.

This project does not impinge upon the interest of any other State. The waters involved are solely intra-California. No part of this project is involved with any other, except other units of the wholly intra-California Central Valley project.

The project has the exceptionally favorable cost-benefit ratio of 3.6 to 1 and is financially, as well as engineeringly, feasible. Attention is invited to the factual description of the several individual works in the project set forth in the official report of the Department of the Interior dated March 26, 1965, printed in full below. It is the next logical addition to the outstanding Central Valley project to give to the people of California the assistance they need to meet their water deficiencies.

**BACKGROUND OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION**

California, with a population of over 18 million people, is the most populous State of the Nation, and at present rates of growth in just a little over 15 years—by 1980—some 27½ million persons will reside in the State. In addition, California is the home of a great number of wide-ranging industries and its highly specialized, intensive agriculture makes it one of the country's leading food producers.

All of these factors require tremendous and ever-increasing supplies of water. Clearly, California's population and economic growth give rise to water requirements that now are outstripping the combined efforts of local agencies, the State itself, and those of the Federal Government to date.

Local agencies, private enterprise, and the State and Federal Governments have all made a significant contribution toward meeting the water needs of a burgeoning population. California is in the midst of construction of its \$1,750 million bond-financed State project. But it will not serve the area to be served by the Auburn-Folsom South Federal project and is unrelated thereto. A sense of urgency for this project is stated by Secretary of the Interior Udall in his report on S. 599. The Secretary says that there is an urgency to the Auburn-Folsom South unit as a logical next addition to the Central Valley project, for many of the areas it will serve are plagued persistently by drought, while much needed water flows unused and often destructively down the American River to the sea. The State of California cannot undertake this merited project because of its tremendous obligation of \$1.7 billion in other critically needed water supply works.

It is the Secretary's opinion that because of the urgent water and power needs, the benefits to the State and to the Nation, and the leadtime between authorization and actual construction, we should move forward on this proposal as soon as possible. It is

his hope that the Congress will agree that the Auburn-Folsom South unit is the next logical addition to the Central Valley project where the Federal Government has been so successful in making an investment in multiple-purpose projects which have in turn greatly enhanced the economy of the Nation.

#### LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

S. 599 is based upon and is a direct outgrowth of S. 351, 88th Congress, and S. 103, 87th Congress, both sponsored by Senator KUCHEL and the late Senator Engle. Both were reported favorably to the Senate, but the press of other legislative business prevented action on the measures prior to adjournment.

Authorizing legislation for the Auburn-Folsom South unit has been before successive Congresses and has been studied by this committee on several different occasions. The Folsom Dam itself was initially authorized in the wide-ranging Flood Control Act of 1944, as a Corps of Engineers project.

In a special message to Congress on January 12, 1948, President Harry Truman urged the 80th Congress to expand the authorization to provide for transfer of the dam and reservoir to the Bureau of Reclamation for construction of a powerplant and transmission lines, and for water distribution works for irrigation and municipal purposes.

The 80th Congress did not act. President Truman, on February 25, 1949, renewed his recommendations to the 81st Congress. Hearings were held by this committee on H.R. 165, sponsored by the then Congressman Engle, which authorized what was described as the American River Basin development, keyed to Folsom Dam and Reservoir.

As reported and enacted on October 14, 1949, the legislation—Public Law 356, 81st Congress—also directed the Secretary of the Interior to make studies to develop plans for disposing of the water and power made available by the project.

The Secretary's report pursuant to the congressional directive was submitted to Congress on January 15, 1962, and printed as House Document 305, 87th Congress. It formed the basis for S. 103, 87th Congress, and S. 351, 88th Congress, sponsored by Senators KUCHEL and Engle, which are the predecessors of the present bill.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE UNIT

The project includes a beneficial reservoir of 2½ million acre-foot capacity. An electric power generating plant with a capacity of 240,000 kilowatts, initially, with provision for expansion to 400,000 kilowatts, would now be authorized. This will add 613 million kilowatt-hours of electricity to the hydroelectric capability of the Central Valley project area.

The Folsom-South Canal, to run some 67½ miles from the existing Nimbus Reservoir below Folsom Dam and Reservoir, all on the American River, would provide approximately 852,000 acre-feet of supplemental water to serve nearly 400,000 acres in Sacramento and San Joaquin Counties. Some 420 acre-feet per day of water would go into municipalities for residential and industrial uses.

As the committee approved last Congress, the canal would be built large enough to accommodate the needs of the East Side division of the Central Valley project, a logical next facility of the Central Valley project.

This bill would also authorize the Sugar Pine Dam and Reservoir for the Forest Hill Divide area—in compatibility with plans contemplated by the local public utility district and the Placer County Water Agency.

County Line Dam and Reservoir, together with the appurtenant diversion works, conduits, and other necessities for water delivery, would also provide multipurpose water development. The County Line facilities would serve a rapidly expanding area in western El Dorado and eastern Sacramento Counties.

#### COST AND ALLOCATION

The estimated cost of the Auburn-Folsom South unit, as authorized in this legislation, is \$424,670,000. A breakdown of this amount among features and units is given in the following tabulation:

	Millions
Auburn Dam and Reservoir.....	\$231,312
Auburn powerplant.....	25,233
Switchyard and transmission.....	13,866
Operating facilities.....	750
Fish and wildlife mitigation lands.....	141
Recreation lands and basic facilities.....	10,803
<b>Auburn subtotal.....</b>	<b>282,105</b>
Folsom South area.....	86,086
Foresthill Divide area.....	7,523
Folsom-Malby area.....	11,916
East Side Canal enlargement.....	23,540
<b>Subtotal.....</b>	<b>411,170</b>
Foundations and penstock for future power installation.....	13,500
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>424,670</b>

#### COST ALLOCATION

The investment cost for the Auburn-Folsom South unit, not including the foundation and penstock for future power installation, is \$427,170,000, derived as follows:

	Millions
Construction costs.....	\$411,170
Interest during construction:	
Municipal and industrial.....	2,091
Commercial power.....	12,012
Recreation and fish and wildlife.....	474
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>14,577</b>
Central Valley project power transfer for Auburn-Folsom South unit pumping.....	1,423
<b>Total investment cost.....</b>	<b>427,170</b>

A tentative allocation of the investment cost of the Auburn-Folsom South unit is as follows:

	Millions
Reimbursable costs: <sup>1</sup>	
Irrigation.....	\$170,637
Municipal and industrial water.....	29,655
Commercial power <sup>2</sup> .....	148,855
Recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement.....	6,200
<b>Subtotal<sup>3</sup>.....</b>	<b>355,347</b>
Deferred use: East Side division.....	23,540
<b>Nonreimbursable costs:<sup>1</sup></b>	
Flood control.....	9,324
Recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement:	
(a) Joint costs <sup>4</sup> .....	32,782
(b) Separable costs <sup>4</sup> .....	6,177
<b>Subtotal.....</b>	<b>48,283</b>
<b>Total investments cost<sup>2</sup>.....</b>	<b>427,170</b>

<sup>1</sup> The allocations to recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement have been assigned to the reimbursable or nonreimbursable category in accordance with the proposed Federal Water Project Recreation Act (S. 1229).

<sup>2</sup> Should the \$13,500,000 cost for providing basic facilities for future power installations be incurred, these amounts would be increased accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> All joint costs allocated to recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement would be non-reimbursable.

<sup>4</sup> Includes \$5,727,000, one-half of separable recreation costs, plus \$450,000 representing the cost of recreation facilities at the Sugar Pine Reservoir which will be in a national forest and be under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 485) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the bill was passed be reconsidered.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar No. 299, S. 599, be indefinitely postponed.

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

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief 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.

#### SHOWING IN THE UNITED STATES OF FILM "JOHN F. KENNEDY—YEARS OF LIGHTNING, DAY OF DRUMS"

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 302, House Concurrent Resolution 285, and that it be laid down and made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

#### H. CON. RES. 285

Whereas the life of John Fitzgerald Kennedy is a continuing inspiration to American citizens all across our Nation; and

Whereas the film "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums" is a part of the country's history which every American citizen is entitled to share; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the people of the United States should not be denied an opportunity to view the film prepared by the United States Information Agency entitled "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums", and

(2) the United States Information Agency should make appropriate arrangements to make such film available for distribution through educational and commercial media for viewing within the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. MANSFIELD subsequently said: Mr. President, I have discussed House

Concurrent Resolution 285 with the leadership on the other side of the aisle and with various distinguished Members of the Senate on both sides of the aisle.

With their full concurrence and understanding, I ask unanimous consent that House Concurrent Resolution No. 285, Calendar No. 302, be taken off the calendar and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, with the strict stipulation that the concurrent resolution be reported back to the Senate not later than midnight on Friday next, August 27.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. It would be the intention of the leadership that the measure be taken up on the following Monday, if at all possible.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed on another matter.

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

#### THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, one of the most perceptive statements on the so-called war on poverty—its meanings and its failings—appeared as the lead editorial in the Des Moines Register of August 18.

I would like to commend both the writer and the Register, for both have performed a public service in this analysis of the program.

I only regret that I was unable to obtain a copy of the editorial before the vote was cast Thursday on the Economic Opportunity Act amendments of 1965. While it probably would have changed no votes, it would have provided further evidence of the need for a more searching look at the bill's contents by the Members of the Senate.

The editorial details some of the reports which it says "thus far are in many ways disturbing."

It remarks that—

There is evidence that behind the noble objectives of the antipoverty crusade lurks the old bureaucratic doctrine that any problem can be solved by spending enough money and hiring enough people.

And it added:

But money will accomplish little unless it is spent with wisdom, perception, and integrity.

It points out—and I most strongly agree—that "there seems little excuse for the lack of sound planning, lack of adequate supervision, and lack of safeguards against cheap political favoritism which are already evident."

It cites the use of faulty poverty statistics and how they have distorted the facts about the real needs of States. It discloses the admission by program officials that some of these statistics are "full of distortions."

It concludes that:

The need for a sound poverty program is urgent, as the ugly news from Los Angeles illustrates. If it is to be effective, it must be a sensible program, efficiently administered and free of politics.

The August 23 issue of U.S. News & World Report contains an outstanding

article which covers some of the most glaring examples of abuse which have arisen in the administration of the so-called war on poverty. These abuses are inexcusable and lame excuses that such things happen when a new program is starting only add cumulative evidence of the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of some of the highly paid appointees in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "The War on Poverty," and the article from U.S. News & World Report be placed in the Record.

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

[From the Des Moines Register, Aug. 18, 1965]

#### THE WAR ON POVERTY

Poverty in the midst of plenty is the tragic irony of our time.

This country has never been more prosperous. Yet all of our cities, large and small, have slums where some of our people live without adequate food and shelter, without proper health or educational facilities, and in many cases without hope.

Some of our rural areas, too, have blotches of poverty, where the mechanics of agriculture and mining have changed, leaving an inadequate number of jobs to support the families in the area.

Next to civil rights, poverty with all of the ills it generates is the major domestic problem of our time. And the two are so closely entwined that if we could solve the problem of poverty we would be close to solving the civil rights problem, too. The ominous riots in Los Angeles and Chicago stem in part from poverty as well as from discrimination.

Poverty is a moral issue, and it is also a practical issue. We cannot have political or economic health if any significant percentage of our citizens are living in despair. C. Edwin Gilmour, the Iowa director of the Federal antipoverty drive, has said it is more sensible to eliminate poverty than to subsidize it through the welfare rolls. To the extent that poverty can be eliminated, he is right.

There can, therefore, be no argument about the objectives of the administration's war on poverty. The method of reaching those objectives may well be another matter.

Because of the magnitude of the problems, because of the huge amount of tax money and manpower committed to it, the antipoverty program deserves the closest scrutiny by all citizens. That is why this newspaper is attempting to report in its news columns all of the facets of this complicated Federal program.

The reports thus far are in many ways disturbing. There is evidence that behind the noble objectives of the antipoverty crusade lurks the old bureaucratic doctrine that any problem can be solved by spending enough money and hiring enough people. Money unquestionably will be needed in large amounts to salvage those families crippled by poverty. But money will accomplish little unless it is spent with wisdom, perception and integrity.

Confusion may be expected, and to some extent excused, in the early days of any program, but there seems little excuse for the lack of sound planning, lack of adequate supervision and lack of safeguards against cheap political favoritism which are already evident.

The Youth Opportunity Campaign was intended to give employment to needy young men and women. It is now apparent that a sizable percentage of those employed in this program by the Post Office Department were hired, not because they needed work, but because they were recommended by Congressmen.

A member of our Washington staff, Nick Kotz, uncovered the fact that some of these presumably needy youths actually are friends or relatives of politicians in high office. Just how many are in this category no one yet knows, because the Post Office Department has arrogantly refused to tell reporters, Congressmen, or the public whom it has hired.

An argument is now going on over who was to blame. One point, however, is clear. A considerable amount of the public's money is currently being spent in the name of fighting poverty to employ friends of politicians.

The Post Office Department is not the only place where funds intended for the needy have been used for political purposes.

In Philadelphia the head of the antipoverty project led a busload of demonstrators to Harrisburg to protest action by the Governor on legislation that had no connection with the Federal antipoverty drive. Demonstrators admitted that this political expedition was financed by the Philadelphia antipoverty committee.

The Head Start project for underprivileged prekindergarten children appears to be a soundly conceived project which may prove effective in helping solve the problem of underachievement in school. This is considerable evidence, however, that the first of these projects have included children from families who are by no means in the poverty category.

Perhaps this program will prove so beneficial that it should include all children without regard to family income. But if so, it should be removed from the poverty administration and put where it belongs, entirely under local school boards, which have a close and direct responsibility to the people of a community for the programs they administer.

It is too early yet to evaluate the effectiveness of the various Youth Corps projects. It is obvious, however, that the pressure to start some project, any project, has been tremendous. There is need for firmer guidelines for agencies which appeal for Federal funds, for better screening of applications and for sensible requirements of supervision and control.

The Federal Government's method of trying to find summer jobs in Federal agencies was an invitation to waste. The administration did not attempt to find out what additional help the Government agencies might need and then order that these jobs go to needy youth. Instead Government agencies were ordered to hire youths for summertime work on a percentage basis.

Last week the Iowa Office of Economic Opportunity distributed a map bearing the ridiculous implication that 25 percent of the families in this State are poverty stricken.

This figure was arrived at by using 1960 census figures and assuming that any family with less than \$3,000 annual income is impoverished. The map shows the "poverty level" for each county in Iowa. It will come as something of a shock to residents of Greene County—to pick one county which we happen to know fairly well—to learn that more than a third of them are poverty-stricken.

If the \$3,000 income figure had any validity as a poverty yardstick in a State like Iowa, the map would still be highly misleading, because it is based on figures which are 5 years old. In 5 years Iowa income has increased substantially.

Total personal income in Iowa went up 16 percent, approximately a billion dollars, from 1960 to 1964. Farm income in Iowa increased by an even greater percentage, and farm population went down. This means that income per farm family increased substantially.

Meanwhile, factory employment in Iowa went up. Iowa's unemployment rate is now down to 1.9 percent compared with the na-

tional figure of 4.7 percent. Weekly manufacturing earnings are higher in Iowa than in the Nation as a whole, and cash receipts from farm marketings the first 5 months of this year were up 5 percent compared with the national increase of 2.7 percent.

The arbitrary use of an annual income figure, even if the figure is correct, is such an imprecise method of determining poverty as to be virtually worthless. Iowa has a high percentage of elderly people. Are the needs of a retired couple with their own home in an Iowa town, for example, to be equated with those of a laborer's large family in Harlem because both may have an income of \$3,000 or less?

Gilmour quickly admitted that the figures on the map issued by his office were arbitrary and "full of distortions," and he said "nobody is going to defend" them. As to why they were used if they can't be defended, his explanation was that they "are all we have at the moment." Later he did defend them on the ground that they would be accurate if all facets of poverty were counted—educational, cultural, spiritual—as well as economic.

We have no doubt that all of us are in some manner deficient in education, in culture, or in spiritual health, but it is the intent of the antipoverty program to eliminate all of these deficiencies, then far more money and manpower will be needed than even the large amount earmarked thus far.

The poverty level map could be dismissed as irrelevant if it were not for the damage it will do in distorting the facts about the real needs of this State.

The need for a sound poverty program is urgent, as the ugly news from Los Angeles illustrates. If it is to be effective, it must be a sensible program, efficiently administered, and free of politics.

[From the U.S. News & World Report, Aug. 23, 1965]

#### POVERTY WAR OUT OF HAND?

Scandals, confusion, red tape, bureaucratic in-fighting—those are examples of the troubles that are hounding the war on poverty in city after city around the country. Complaints are made that agencies are overstuffed, Federal funds being wasted, that the poor are on the short end of benefits.

A sampling of local reports provides a national cross section of what's going on.

Is the so-called war on poverty getting out of hand?

Around the country, more and more people are asserting that it is. The White House is concerned about the swelling volume of criticism.

Complaints are heard in growing numbers—charges of administrative chaos, bureaucratic bungling, waste, extravagance, costly duplication of existing services, internal squabbling.

Cases of serious crime, violence, and racial friction involving youths enrolled in Job Corps camps appear to be on the rise.

Much criticism is being directed at R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., boss of the poverty war. Mr. Shriver, a brother-in-law of the late President Kennedy, heads both the Office of Economic Opportunity—the antipoverty high command—and the Peace Corps.

A Congressman described Mr. Shriver's poverty-war headquarters as "an administrative shambles. Nobody in that office seems to know who is responsible for what."

#### OUTLAY IS RISING

Federal spending in the antipoverty program is to run to well over \$1.5 billion in the year ahead—more than double the first year's outlay.

In the city after city, political wrangling over control of antipoverty funds has impeded programs which are intended to help the poor. The poor themselves, according to

some of their spokesmen, are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the whole thing.

In some places, local wrath has been stirred by what one newspaper called the "maddening frustrations" of dealing with Washington headquarters.

Chagrin has resulted, too, from what some community leaders who are attempting to aid the "war" effort regard as a contemptuous attitude on the part of Federal officials.

Following are examples of the controversy and complaints to which the attempt to stamp out poverty is giving rise in various parts of the United States—

In Omaha, Nebr., an angry stir was created by a "confidential" report prepared by a poverty-war official from Washington.

The report said the Omaha citizens who volunteered to help get the program started were "power-structure types," "gray-lady types," and "white do-gooders."

The document was prepared by Jack Williams, a special agent of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who was sent to investigate Greater Omaha Community Action, Inc., the area's planning organization for the war on poverty.

Although the OEO refused to release Mr. Williams' report for publication, the Omaha World-Herald obtained a copy and published it—along with some pungent editorial comment.

Mr. Williams described the Omaha power structure as a triumvirate of corporations, of which he mentioned only one, the Northern Natural Gas Co.

The report said that both the 50-member GOCA council and its 15-member board of directors were topheavy with power-structure types. Mr. Williams observed also that the council membership includes many well-meaning gray-lady types.

#### AMONG NEGROES: SKEPTICISM

The Federal official said that there is no confidence in GOCA by the Omaha Negro community.

The report was less than flattering to J. Alan Hansen, president of the GOCA council and personnel director of Northern Natural Gas. Mr. Williams had this comment:

"Hansen is somewhat weak in his orientation toward the poor—sort of an Edgar Eisenhower Republican—and he's deep in the gray-flannel-suit corporate in-fighting of the company.

"Ken Young, the Negro vice president of GOCA, wants to quit now because he views Hansen as a weak reed who will inevitably quit, and Young doesn't want to be in the heir-apparent position when that happens. Mr. Young also caught a good deal of flak as an Uncle Tom because of his continued involvement with GOCA as its critics grew.

"These two resignations, if they happened together, would be a serious blow to GOCA. Hansen would lead the white do-gooders off the board, and the departure of Young would probably make it tactically impossible for any other Negro to remain with GOCA. \* \* \*

#### NEWSPAPER'S LAMENT

In its editorial the World-Herald said: "GOCA commanded substantial backing and respect among Omahans largely because of the kind of leadership it had—including many good citizen's, both white and Negro.

"But how innocent these Omahans were. They have now learned from Mr. Williams that white citizens who have given of their time and energy are gray-flannel-suit types and gray-lady types or merely white do-gooders. And responsible members of the Negro community are called Uncle Tom, simply for being associated with GOCA.

"The report has angered some Omahans. Perhaps it has dismayed a great many others as they reflect that the clairvoyant Mr. Williams is a representative of the great new antipoverty bureaucracy that has a great deal of the taxpayers' money to spend."

Crime involving Job Corps trainees is a major headache for officials of the antipoverty program.

Some recent incidents:

Five Negro youths from the Camp Gary Job Corps training center at San Marcos, Tex., were arrested in connection with an attempted robbery and the shooting of two U.S. Air Force military policemen at San Antonio.

One of the wounded airmen may be permanently blinded. The other was shot in the stomach and hand. The airmen are white.

At Camp Atterbury, Ind., seven Job Corps enrollees were arrested on charges of sexual assault on another trainee.

Two other Job Corps youths at Camp Atterbury were charged with assault after they allegedly injured two fellow trainees in fights.

A newspaper in Columbus, Ind., reported that youths from Camp Atterbury had attempted to buy guns while on leave from the camp.

Two dropouts from the Job Corps were arrested on burglary charges near Cotulla, Tex.

The Job Corps policy of using Federal funds to hire attorneys for enrollees accused of crimes has come under fire.

Noting that the taxpayers are footing the bill for defense of the youths involved in the San Antonio shooting, a Texas columnist pointed out that when members of the Armed Forces are in trouble with the law, they must hire counsel with their own funds, or, if broke, accept court-appointed lawyers.

The crime problem in the poverty war is not confined to the Job Corps.

A raid on a job-retraining center at Poughkeepsie, N.Y.—a project set up under the Manpower Development and Training Act—had this result:

Three men were charged with possession of marijuana. Four were accused of possession of knives. One was charged with possession of obscene literature.

Racial antagonism is one cause of violence at Job Corps camps.

Fights between white and Negro youths at the training center in Tongue Point, Oreg., resulted in a request by Oregon's Gov. Mark Hatfield for a Federal security force to prevent more serious outbreaks.

The camp administrator said that fighting erupted when white enrollees used disparaging language about Negro trainees.

At Lewiston, Calif., site of California's first Job Corps camp, citizens, at a protest meeting, accused the Job Corps of reneging on promises that no youths with criminal records would be assigned to the camp.

Lewiston residents also complained of such incidents as the knifing of one Job Corpsman by another, gunplay in a parking lot, and purchases of liquor for teen age enrollees.

Recruiting procedure for the Job Corps has drawn widespread criticism.

The Government, beside using the U.S. Employment Service, pays some private employment agencies \$80 for every youth accepted as a trainee.

One charge made is that some agencies, in order to collect as many \$80 fees as possible, often conceal from Government screeners the fact that some applicants have criminal records.

Standards for admission to the Job Corps—which is expected to number 40,000 by the end of this year—specifically bar criminals, drug addicts, and youths with serious emotional or psychological disorders.

Nevertheless, it is charged, hundreds of youths who have been involved in serious crimes have turned up at the camps.

Another complaint is that \$80-a-head recruiters lie to prospective enrollees about the type of training which is available and

give them a false impression that life in the Job Corps is a country club existence.

A storm of unfavorable publicity has swirled around the women's Job Corps training center set up in a resort-type hotel at St. Petersburg, Fla.

Complaints of noise and disorder at the center prompted the St. Petersburg City Council to ask the Government to vacate the premises.

The antipoverty program is paying \$225,000 to rent the hotel for 18 months. The market value of the property has been estimated at \$150,000 to \$200,000.

Senator STROM THURMOND, Republican, of South Carolina, had this comment on the St. Petersburg training center:

"The girls get little training, but do get \$30 spending money and \$50 put in the bank each month, special bus transportation to the bank and downtown, and maid service. They are not even required to help serve their own food.

"On the staff for this one project are 122 persons who are paid more than \$680,000 per year. These employees have little experience in the type work required. Many of the staff have resigned their well-paying jobs in disgust. Many of the trainees in this integrated project have been dismissed for chronic misbehavior, including fighting and drunkenness."

The staff at the center adds up to one full-time employee for every two girls. According to one calculation, expenditures for each girl—including housing, food, training, transportation, and pay—run to \$7,000 a year—considerably more than the cost of sending a girl to college for a year.

Complaints of political favoritism resulted in the shutdown of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project in Macoupin County, Ill.

Ernest Reher, an editor of the weekly Carlinville Democrat, charged that most of the youths in the project were ineligible.

Mr. Reher said that some of the selections were made on the basis of "political preference" and favored children of families that voted Democratic.

Investigation then disclosed that 80 of the 200 enrollees in the project were ineligible.

A spokesman for the Illinois Farmers Union, which administers the antipoverty summer work programs in 32 Illinois counties, said on August 10:

"We definitely tried to go too fast on the thing. We put too many to work too fast. We put far too many to work in some places. There definitely was a misunderstanding on the local level."

Said J. M. Watson, Illinois coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps:

"There was some political favoritism."

The youths were being paid \$1.25 an hour for 32 hours of work a week, the national rate in the Youth Corps.

A comment by Representative RICHARD L. ROUBEUSH, Republican, of Indiana, on a Veterans' Administration directive authorizing treatment for Job Corps members in VA hospitals:

"Every admission of a Job Corpsman takes a bed away from a veteran."

The frustrations experienced by one city in its attempts to cooperate in the Government's war on poverty are recounted in an editorial that appeared in the Denver Post on July 20.

Excerpts from the editorial, which was entitled "Open Letter to Sargent Shriver":

"Dear Sargent Shriver,

"For nearly 6 months, Denver has been trying to get your poverty agency to approve a plan for a neighborhood health center to help people in slum areas in this city overcome some of the health problems that keep them poor.

"For everyone involved in this effort, the experience of dealing with your agency has had a nightmarish quality about it and the

kind of maddening frustrations appropriate for a novel by Kafka.

"As you know, the frustration became so intense last spring that Denver's Mayor Currihan felt obligated to complain about it to the Vice President of the United States and threatened to keep Denver out of the program altogether.

"Poverty officials in Denver complain that a long series of vague and sometimes contradictory messages from Washington left them thoroughly confused about what your agency wanted.

"At one point, they say, they were told that the proposal was about to be approved; later, that it would need only minor revisions; still later, that it would have to be revised entirely.

"What do you want from us, Mr. Shriver? What can you accomplish with all this delay except to keep these extra health services from the poor of Denver and disillusion the people of this city with the war on poverty?"

"This newspaper has supported the poverty program from the beginning, and we would like to go on supporting it. But the example we have had so far of redtape and delay is enough to sour anyone on the whole program."

A poverty-war program that is causing more and more controversy is Project Head Start, in which Federal funds are used to underwrite costs of preschool training for children of the "hard core" poor.

With the handling of this project his target Representative CHARLES R. JONAS, Republican, of North Carolina, described what he called "a glaring example of extra cost whenever the Federal Government insists on handling a local program out of Washington."

Mr. JONAS, pointing out that his State already had such a program in operation, financed by non-Federal funds, said that North Carolina applied for Federal money to expand the program only to have the application rejected. The Congressman added:

"The sole reason advanced by the Director of Project Head Start for rejecting the North Carolina plan was that our plan was based on State administration of the funds and program.

"It apparently did not matter to the Federal officials that the North Carolina program had been conducted by professional and trained public schoolteachers at a cost of \$30 per child and that the federally directed program would cost \$170 per child.

"They were not interested in expanding a well established and efficiently operating program which would cost \$140 per child less than the Federal program, but their concern was to retain control and direction of the program in the hands of Federal officials."

A complaint about Project Head Start expressed by educators in Boston:

Children of "hard core" poor families are not being reached by the project because, as one teacher put it: "Nobody in their families cares enough to put them in it."

A private day-care center for children of working parents in Indianapolis has complained that some of its teachers have been lured by higher salaries to an antipoverty preschool program.

An incident at San Antonio, Tex., reported in the San Antonio News:

A San Antonio physician refused to participate in a medical examination program for children involved in Project Head Start because she objected to the speed with which the youngsters were being processed.

The physician said that some 100 children were rushed through in 1 hour. The school district involved, which handles funds for the project, pays \$5 for every 20 examinations. The San Antonio physician said that tests required by the Federal Government could not be completed properly at the pace set.

Adverse comment has been created in some areas by the antipoverty program's practice of paying teachers' salaries higher than those paid in public school systems.

Typical of this comment is a statement by a Texan, referring to the academic staff at a Job Corps center:

"They have pulled out of the school system good instructors and teachers with master's degrees. These teachers are sorely needed in our public schools. There is quite a lot of dissension among teachers about the difference between their salaries of \$5,000 and the \$9,000 a year paid at Camp Gary."

A prominent Negro educator, Lester B. Granger, of Dillard University, New Orleans, called the antipoverty program a "slaphappy, sloppy, wasteful procedure. Mr. Granger told the National Urban League convention:

"The fat should be taken out of it. We are going to waste two-thirds of the funds going into it, just like the New Deal. This doesn't mean I don't support it. If we get even one-third out of it, it would help."

The spreading complaints about the way the poverty war is run have been echoed in strong criticism in Congress, by members of both parties.

Some examples, from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—

Representative DONALD D. CLANCY, Republican, of Ohio, branded the war "an obvious fiasco." Mr. CLANCY said: "There is hardly an aspect of the program that has not become mired in waste and utter confusion."

Representative EDWARD J. GURNEY, Republican, of Florida: "Funds have been given out without investigation to sham groups, in areas where poverty is almost unknown."

Mr. GURNEY said that in one such area, in Ypsilanti, Mich., "over 90 percent of the population own their homes, nearly everyone has at least one car and a TV set, and the average family income is just dollars short of \$8,000."

A sample of political in-fighting in the antipoverty operation was given by Representative LEONARD FARBSTEIN, Democrat, of New York. Assailing William F. Haddad, the program's inspector general, Mr. FARBSTEIN told the House:

"He is the gentleman who ran against me last year and has stated publicly that he is going to run again. Now it is my opinion that he is subverting parts of this program for his own personal political gain. I think he is attempting to build a personal political organization out of poverty funds."

In spite of the rash of criticism in Congress and from around the country, the heavily Democratic Congress insists upon giving Mr. Shriver more spending authority than he said he needed to expand the war against poverty.

In so doing, the legislators disregard such comment as that of Representative ALBERT H. QUIE, Republican, of Minnesota, who said:

"This program could become not just a national disgrace, but a national catastrophe."

#### INFILTRATION OF VIETNAMESE-SPEAKING RED CHINESE INTO VIETNAM

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the degree and type of Red China's intervention in the Vietnam war has become a matter of grave concern to many.

It was brought home in a report carried in the Sunday Star of August 8 that Communist China has declared she would definitely intervene in the war if the United States continues its military buildup in that southeast Asia nation.

It was again underscored in an August 16 article in the Washington Post when Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the

Joint Chiefs of Staff, commented that Red China has "moved certain air units down into the southern part of China nearer to the border of North Vietnam."

Both these reports indicate the possibility of direct intervention in the war. But they also could indicate that Red China wants to bluff the free world into believing that it will enter the war, and thus force a negotiated settlement on Communist terms.

In my opinion, Red China does not wish to intervene to the extent that she would have to take on the United States in a head-on confrontation.

Gen. Maxwell Taylor, former U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, and ex-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, apparently holds this belief.

According to the August 16 New York Herald-Tribune, General Taylor remarked that traditional hostility between Red China and North Vietnam and Peiping's fear of the United States would "likely hold back the Red Chinese" from intervening in the war.

However, as one Communist diplomat was quoted as saying in the Washington Post of August 16, the United States is overplaying the historical aspect of the friction between Red China and North Vietnam and underestimating the political ties between Hanoi and Peiping.

I believe Red China will more likely seek to accomplish her ends through infiltration at this time, hoping the United States will not regard this as sufficient cause for retaliation. If one reads history, it can be seen that such tactics have played a significant role in the East-West struggle since early in the post World War II period.

Infiltration, blending into so-called guerrilla movements, is designed to enable the Communists to avoid free world counteraction because it is difficult to make a clear legal case justifying counterintervention. Such tactics permit delaying counteraction until the strength of the guerrilla movement has grown to such a point as to magnify greatly the difficulties of defeating it.

This type of warfare has its roots in the strategic and tactical principles designed by Red China's Mao Tse-tung.

Infiltration, then, is the method Red China will most likely use if and when she decides to take a more active part in the Vietnam conflict.

The question then is: When will Red China take this step?

I believe that Red China may already be pursuing this course of action.

That these fears apparently have some foundation is supported, in part, by an article which the Library of Congress has translated from a Chinese newspaper. I will come back to that in a few minutes. First I would like to sketch in some background which will lend credence to my case.

The likelihood of Red Chinese infiltration into the Vietnam war has grown as a result of the defection to Red China of Gen. Li Tsung-jen. General Li was a former Vice President of Nationalist China. He was Acting President of Nationalist China at the time of the Communist takeover on the mainland.

After residing in exile in the United States for the better part of 16 years,

General Li showed up in Red China on July 20 of this year. Needless to say, this was a propaganda coup for Red China. But after an initial volley of denunciations of the country which had harbored him for nearly 16 years, General Li faded from the scene.

At the same time, from various reports in newspapers at the time of his appearance in Red China, it was indicated that the State Department was not greatly disturbed over the defection. This unconcern prompted me to pursue the matter a little further.

Apparently the State Department had ignored General Li's background. It had ignored the fact that General Li had been an able governor of Kwangsi Province, bordering what is now North Vietnam.

This alone could very well indicate that Kwangsi Province, if infiltration is to be successful, would be the key in any plans of Mao. What better way to cement together an effective force from this province than to bring back the one person held in great esteem by the people there.

I would like to quote an observation from "China: An Area Manual," prepared by the Operations Research Office of Johns Hopkins University, under contract with the Department of the Army:

Kwangsi was for many years governed well by two able generals, Pao Ch'ung-hsi and Li Tsung-jen, who did much to give the province peace and a stable economy. Though not friends of Chiang Kai-shek, Li and Pao were not run-of-the-mine warlords; rather they were men with a sense of public responsibility. Their partial independence enabled them to train one of the best armies in China.

The people of Kwangsi Province are noted for their fighting ability and discipline, the report pointed out.

Let us examine the importance of Kwangsi Province and its relationship to North Vietnam.

Kwangsi is in the south-central administrative region of mainland China; it is surrounded by Kwangtung, Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan, North Vietnam, and the Gulf of Tonkin.

The chief agricultural crop is rice; it is the second leading tin-producing province.

The chief railroad is the Hunan-Kwangsi-Kweichow line from Hengyang in Hunan, which passes through northern Kwangsi via Ch'uan-hsien, Kwei-lin and Liu-chow and proceeds into Kweichow Province. There is a vital railroad extending from deep in Kwangsi Province to the North Vietnam capital of Hanoi.

On August 6, the Chinese newspaper, *Min Chih Journal*, published in New York, ran this article with a Hong Kong dateline.

The headline was: "Li Tsung-jen arrived in Kwangsi."

This is the same Li Tsung-jen who defected from the United States on July 20 and who played such a vital role in Kwangsi Province.

The text of the article follows:

The policymaking body in Communist China led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung realized the difference between the attitude toward the Vietnam war taken by President Johnson and the attitude toward the Korean

war taken by President Truman, and has not publicly and overtly dispatched Chinese Communist volunteers to participate in the Vietnam war, for fear of bombardment of the mainland by American airplanes. Now they have devised effective measures in assisting Ho Chi-minh by sending large groups of Vietnamese-speaking militia to participate in the war. Even if they are captured they can pretend that they are volunteers from North Vietnam because they can speak the Vietnamese language. Thus the Americans cannot find any pretext to attack the Chinese. The people deep in Kwangsi and along the borders of North Vietnam were in the past deeply impressed with Li Tsung-jen. If he goes there and organizes them into militia corps they would be happy to respond.

Let me repeat that:

The people deep in Kwangsi and along the borders of North Vietnam were in the past deeply impressed with Li Tsung-jen. If he goes there and organizes them into militia corps they would be happy to respond.

This, Mr. President, fits squarely with the observation in the manual prepared for the Department of Army by Johns Hopkins.

Continuing, the article said:

A total of 50,000 Vietnamese-speaking Kwangsi people will be conscripted as a first step.

According to intelligence from Nanning, Li Tsung-jen, who was accompanied by Chinese military leaders, Gen. Lin Piao and Lo Jui-ch'ing, flew to Kweilin from Peiping. They immediately went to Nanning to call a local high level conference, to launch a movement for the Yao minority group to participate in the war. Fifty thousand volunteers of both sexes who can speak Vietnamese will be organized into military service. The reserve army will also be composed of 50,000 people. Lin Piao will be responsible for political indoctrination, and Lo Jui-ch'ing will be responsible for intelligence work. Within a short time they will be dispatched from Hanoi to the battlefields in South Vietnam to assist the Vietcong guerrillas in resisting American troops and the troops of South Vietnam.

In this connection, a few days ago the distinguished minority leader of the House of Representatives, Representative Ford, of Michigan, and I exchanged views on a television program, to the effect that we thought the use of Nationalist Chinese forces in South Vietnam should be considered.

Some rather superficial responses to that suggestion were made to the effect that this would perhaps provoke the Red Chinese to enter the war. I suggest that on the basis of what I have disclosed thus far in my speech, whether Nationalist Chinese forces are or are not used in South Vietnam makes little difference. It appears that the decision has already been made by Red China to intervene in the Vietnamese war.

If one examines a map, it can readily be seen that the railroad from Kwangsi Province can be used to transport this force into North Vietnam, and then down to the South Vietnam border.

One can readily see that air units on Hainan Island, jutting from southern China—Kwangsi Province—into the Gulf of Tonkin could be used to airlift these forces across the gulf either into positions adjacent to the North Vietnam-South Vietnam border or into South Vietnam itself. There are at least two

known airfields on Hainan Island now; probably there are more.

Mr. President, if, in fact, these reports are accurate, then we had better prepare ourselves for a change in the intensity of the war.

I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Red Chinese Pledge Intervention in War," published in the Washington Star of August 8, an article entitled "Wheeler Says Chinese Move Air Units South," published in the Washington Post on August 16, and also the various articles bearing on the defection of Gen. Li Tsung-jen, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 8, 1965]

**RED CHINESE PLEDGE INTERVENTION IN WAR—  
CITE INTENT TO ACT IF U.S. FORCE RISES**

**TOKYO.**—Communist China declared Saturday it would definitely intervene in the Vietnam conflict, as it has repeatedly pledged to the Vietnamese people, if the United States continues its military buildup there.

"We warn the U.S. aggressors once more: We Chinese people mean what we say," the Chinese Communists asserted.

"We, the 650 million Chinese people, have repeatedly pledged to the Vietnamese people our all-out support and assistance, up to and including the sending, according to their need, of our men to fight shoulder to shoulder with them to drive out the U.S. aggressors."

The warning was contained in a Communist Chinese government statement distributed internationally by the New China News Agency in a broadcast monitored here.

**JOHNSON OFFER REJECTED**

It also ruled out any peace offer by President Johnson and said "The facts have proved once again that Johnson's talk about peace negotiations is fraudulent; what he really means is expansion of the war."

The Peiping statement was in response to President Johnson's July 28 statement in which he said he is adding 50,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Peiping then reiterated the four-point Communist proposal as the only solution for the Vietnam issue. These four points include withdrawal of all U.S. Forces from South Vietnam.

It was the third Communist reaction in 2 days to Johnson's statement. The Vietcong asked Communist North Vietnam Friday for active help in battling the Americans. And a Soviet Government statement said U.S. leaders "should have no delusions that American aggression would go unpunished."

**"UNJUST CAUSE"**

Red China said the United States is sending large numbers of troops to take part in combat in South Vietnam and added:

"This display of arrogance and ferocity is actually but the swagger of a helpless desperado. The United States is fighting for an unjust cause in Vietnam, hence the low morale of its soldiers and the paucity of support it gets."

Predicting victory for the Vietcong, Peiping assailed Johnson's statement on a willingness to discuss peace.

"Johnson's statement of July 28 was a wholesale exposure of the counterrevolutionary dual tactics used by the U.S. imperialists.

"While announcing the sending of large reinforcements to South Vietnam, he hypocritically talked about America's willingness to begin unconditional discussions

with any government at any place at any time. This was not the first time Johnson played such a trick.

**FOUR-POINT STAND OUTLINED**

"Johnson said that the United States was ready to discuss any proposal of any government, including those already set forth by Hanoi. This can deceive nobody.

"As everyone knows the basic content of the four-point proposition of the Government of the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam is that the Geneva agreements should be strictly implemented, that U.S. aggression in Vietnam should be stopped, that all U.S. Armed Forces should be withdrawn from Vietnam, and that the problems of Vietnam should be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves."

The reference was to the Geneva agreement of 1954 that ended the fighting in Indochina but left Vietnam divided into the South and the Communist North. The two sections were to be united by free elections. But South Vietnam refused, saying free elections were impossible in the North.

**SCOFFS AT U.S. POWER**

Peiping scoffed at U.S. military might, saying:

"This 'special war' waged by the United States for 4 years and more in South Vietnam has failed completely, and the myth of U.S. 'air and naval superiority' has been exploded."

The Chinese statement continued:

"What the United States is now doing is to send large reinforcements to South Vietnam to expand its war of aggression against Vietnam in an attempt to keep South Vietnam under its military occupation, perpetuate the division of Vietnam, and to scrap the Geneva agreement.

"Can this indicate the slightest desire for peace on the part of the Johnson administration?"

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Aug. 16, 1965]

**WHEELER SAYS CHINESE MOVE AIR UNITS  
SOUTH**

(By Richard Halloran)

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said yesterday that Communist China has "moved certain air units down into the southern part of China nearer to the border of North Vietnam."

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler added that the Chinese have increased somewhat their air forces on Hainan Island, which juts from southern China into the Gulf of Tonkin.

But Wheeler did not advocate American air strikes against the Chinese buildup, which he said does not include ground forces so far. Wheeler appeared on the television show "Issues and Answers" (ABC-WMAL).

Representative GERALD R. FORD, of Michigan, the House minority leader, agreed with Wheeler that the United States should not carry the war to China.

**URGES WIDENED BOMBING**

But FORD strongly advocated bombing significant military targets in North Vietnam's heavily populated, industrial area around Hanoi and Haiphong. FORD was interviewed on "Face the Nation" (CBS-WTOP).

"Our Air Force with all their training and all their equipment ought to be capable of pinpointing significant military targets in any area in North Vietnam," he said.

On relations between China and North Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor asserted yesterday that North Vietnamese leaders have more to fear from China than from the United States.

**TRADITIONAL ENEMY**

The former Ambassador to Saigon said that the Chinese are very unpopular in both Vietnams, and they have been a traditional enemy through history. Taylor spoke in an

interview with House Majority Whip HALE BOGGS, Democrat, of Louisiana, for a New Orleans television station.

A Communist diplomat here disputed this view, saying the United States is overplaying the historical aspect and underestimating the political ties between Hanoi and Peiping.

On the military front, General Wheeler confirmed reports that North Vietnam has semimobile surface-to-air missile equipment in addition to the five SAM sites emplaced around Hanoi.

He said he didn't know how much of this equipment North Vietnam has, nor whether Russians are manning it. But because of these missiles, Wheeler said, "Our pilots have got to be more careful in the areas over which they fly."

Wheeler reiterated the administration view that American forces are not taking over the Vietnam war. But he said, "In certain instances, Vietnamese officers have voluntarily placed their forces under the command of our American field commanders so as to achieve a better military organization for command."

On news coverage of the war, Wheeler acknowledged that relations between government officials in Saigon and the press were not good. But he insisted that "a great deal of information is set down for the benefit of the press."

The General also said that "we are going to have to take a very hard look" at the possibility of military censorship. He said he was distressed by advance publication of military movements.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times, July 21, 1965]

**EX-AID OF CHIANG SCORES U.S. POLICY—LI,  
ARRIVING IN PEIPING, BIDS MORE NATION-  
ALISTS DEFECT**

(By Seymour Topping)

**HONG KONG, July 20.**—Gen. Li Tsung-jeh, former Acting President of Nationalist China, who flew to Peiping today after 16 years of exile in the United States, pledged support of the Communist cause to make up for his guilty past.

In a statement at the airport distributed by Hsinhua, the Chinese Communist press agency, the 74-year-old general appealed to Nationalist political and military leaders on Taiwan to follow his example and join in a common front against the United States.

The former anti-Communist leader accused President Johnson of expanding the war in Vietnam and "thereby even trying to provoke war against the Chinese people."

The general was warmly welcomed at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai and more than 100 other prominent political figures, including a number of Nationalist officials who had defected since the Communist conquest of the Chinese mainland in 1949.

The demonstrative reception seemed to have been intended to encourage other Nationalist officials to rally to Peiping.

**HE DISAPPEARED IN ZURICH**

General Li, accompanied by his wife, Kuo Teh-chieh, flew to the Chinese Communist capital by a secret route aboard a special plane after having disappeared in Zurich, Switzerland.

The general left the United States for Zurich last month after having sold his New Jersey home. He told friends that he wished to be with his wife, who was recuperating from an operation for cancer, but that he would return to the United States.

It was understood that U.S. officials had become aware of the general's probable intention to go to Communist China but had taken no action to block his departure from New York.

U.S. officials also anticipated that upon his arrival in Peiping the general would take up the Chinese Communist propaganda line against the Johnson administration.

General Li, following a distinguished military career, became Vice President of Nationalist China in 1948 while the civil war with the Communists was in progress. After Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had temporarily retired as President, General Li served as Acting President from January 21, 1949, to February 28, 1950.

#### HE FORMED A THIRD FORCE

Declining to join Generalissimo Chiang in his refuge on Taiwan, General Li went to the United States in December 1949. He later broke with the Taiwan group and formed what he called a third force to regain power in mainland China.

In his statement in Peiping today, General Li said that his first mistake had been his refusal to accept the Communist accession to power and his second had been an abortive effort to start a third force movement.

Cheng Su-yuan, who had been an aide to General Li in the third force movement and particularly active in Hong Kong, accompanied the former Nationalist leader to Peiping today.

Hsinhua distributed abroad a text of the statement by General Li. The Communist press agency said that the statement had been issued on his arrival but did not say whether it was being read by the general.

In his statement General Li said he would like to advise his "comrades on Taiwan of impressions formed during my more than a decade's stay in the United States." He continued:

"For years the United States has purported to be opposing communism, yet it is actually committing a series of sordid crimes against the people of China and of the world, in an attempt to isolate China and dominate the world."

#### U.S. DESIGNS ON TAIWAN SEEN

The statement asserted that "the United States has been bent on seizing Taiwan for itself and has stopped at no tricks, and plots to attain this end." It added that "reunion of Taiwan with the mainland is purely China's internal affair, in which the United States must not be allowed to meddle."

In urging Nationalist leaders on Taiwan to defect to Communist China, the statement reminded them that Peiping had long ago announced a policy that "all patriots, both forerunners and latecomers, belong to the same family and that freedom of movement is guaranteed both to and from the mainland."

Chinese sources in Hong Kong said it was expected that General Li would be given a titular post in the Peiping government similar to those awarded to Nationalist officials who rallied to Communist China.

#### TAIWAN IS NOT SURPRISED

TAIPEI, TAIWAN, July 20.—Nationalist China brushed aside today the defection of General Li but looked for the Peiping Communists to exploit it as a major cold war victory.

Officials declined to talk about the cross-over, saying they did not want to lend it undue importance. General Li had been read out of the ruling Kuomintang party in 1952 after having clashed with President Chiang.

Word of the defection had been in the wind in Taiwan for a week.

Thus the Peiping announcements came as no great shock to the Nationalists.

#### CHIEF DEFECTOR TO REDS

WASHINGTON, July 20.—General Li is the most prominent figure to go over to the Chinese Communists since the collapse of the Nationalist regime.

"There is no doubt that Peiping will try to get as much play as possible out of this," commented one official closely connected with Chinese affairs. "I don't expect a wave of defections from Taiwan, but it may give some of Li's old associates food for thought."

Most experts on China at the State Department took the view that the effect of the aged former war lord's return was considerably limited by two factors.

One was the personal motives that are believed to have underlain his action. The general lived quietly with his wife in New Jersey and took next to no part in the political discussions and efforts that are common among some prominent Chinese exiles.

General Li was described as having been almost completely dependent upon his wife in dealing with his surroundings. The grave illness of Mrs. Li is believed to have been a strong motive in inducing General Li to give up his life here and return to China, where some of his wife's relatives still live.

As for the second factor, General Li during his exile in the United States was considered by Taiwan to have cut himself off from the Nationalist movement. For this reason experts here believe that the Nationalist Government will be able to play down the significance of his return.

#### MOVE ASTONISHES COLLEAGUES

(By Farnsworth Fowle)

General Li's return to Communist China astonished American scholars at Columbia University with whom he had worked on a 1,000-page autobiography in English translation now complete and under consideration for publication by the Columbia University Press.

It was one of five tape recorded memoirs by leaders of Nationalist China undertaken since 1959, by the university with the assistance of the Ford Foundation.

General Li had been a perennial critic of the Nationalist administration on Taiwan and had never visited the island.

Although he had duly arranged his trip with his wife to Switzerland through the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service office in Newark, he had not told his Columbia associates of his plans. They said one of his Chinese friends had received a letter from him in Switzerland telling of the couple's decision to return to mainland China.

General Li's motives for adhering to Communist China were a matter of speculation, as were the time and place of planning his return.

Chinese nationalist sources have circulated reports, which they describe as unconfirmed, that two Chinese Communist agents moved into his neighborhood in Englewood Cliffs, N.J., where he owned a house at 77 New Street, and that they started winning his confidence several years ago.

Other associates thought that advancing age and the difficulty of obtaining servants might have impelled General and Mrs. Li to seek a more comfortable existence in their native land.

These sources had heard unconfirmed reports that Mrs. Li had a brother in Switzerland and that plans for the return to mainland China might have been arranged through him rather than in this country.

General Li spent some time in Europe in 1963, returning to the United States December 21 of that year. In applying this spring for permission from the Immigration and Naturalization Service to leave the United States and return, he said he planned to leave in May and spend about 3 months abroad. The permission was granted April 28, 6 days after his application.

#### OFFICIAL EXPLAINS CASE

William J. Wyrsh, deputy director of the office of the Service in Newark, said the matter had been handled in a routine manner.

When asked how General Li had supported his wife and their son, Jee Sen (Jackson) Li, since they arrived on American soil December 6, 1949, Mr. Wyrsh said the general had listed himself as a retired official of the Nationalist Government with a private income.

Mr. Wyrsh explained that his office was not required to examine such matters more closely as long as the alien resident complied with all laws. The Li's had permanent residence here under the Refuge Relief Act of 1957.

General Li came to the United States first for an abdominal operation. When he left a New York hospital in 1950, the family moved to a spacious house at 4565 Delafied Avenue in the Fieldstone section of Riverdale in the Bronx.

Neighbors recalled that the city police had maintained a sentry box with a man on duty outside the house 24 hours a day. The Li's were remembered as an aloof couple in a community in which distinguished foreigners are readily welcomed.

A few years later the Li's moved to New Jersey. The son, who according to friends served in the U.S. Army and is now an American citizen, was not active in the autobiographical project. He is living in Riverdale with an older brother and is reported to have been completely surprised by his parents' return to China.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 21, 1965]

#### SIXTEEN-YEAR EXILE RETURNS TO CHINESE FOLD

(By Vergil Berger)

PEIPING, July 20.—Gen. Li Tsung-jen, 74-year-old former Nationalist Chinese Acting President, returned to an emotional welcome here today after 16 years in exile, mostly in the United States.

At the airport to greet General Li and his wife were Premier Chou En-lai, three vice premiers and several other top officials of the Communist regime, which ousted his Kuomintang government in 1949.

Li said he was returning to "contribute my humble share to all efforts for the patriotic cause of opposing imperialism."

He attacked the United States, accusing it of trying to dominate the world, and called on his Chinese friends abroad either to support Communist China or to return here "for it is not yet too late to come back."

(Li became vice president under Chiang Kai-shek in 1948, made an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate peace with the Communists in 1949, and was acting president from January 1949, to February 1950, when Chiang withdrew his forces to Taiwan.)

On his arrival by special plane Li exchanged warm handshakes and greetings with the Communist leaders and former Kuomintang leaders who stayed on after the Communist takeover.

Li also said the Chinese achievements under the Communist party, including the recent successful explosions of two atom bombs, had "inspired great pride in every Chinese living abroad except a handful of diehards."

[From the New York Times, July 22, 1965]

#### TAIWAN PLAYS DOWN EX-AIDE'S DEFECTION

TAIPEI, TAIWAN, July 21.—Nationalist China tried to take the defection of its former Acting President, Gen. Li Tsung-jen, to Peiping in stride today. Officials here are attaching as little significance to the defection as possible.

As one high-ranking official of the Kuomintang put it, "We are purposely playing this one down. Why help the Chinese Communists with the propaganda barrage that is sure to follow?"

All of Taipei's Chinese-language newspapers described the defection in a short news item on their inside pages.

Most officials expressed the opinion that since General Li had been out of touch with Chinese affairs for so long, his defection would cause little stir among Chinese here and abroad.

Nationalist China has always taken the position that he deserted it by going to the United States and remaining there for the last 16 years.

It was also reported in the press here that General Li sent Mao Tse-tung, leader of Communist China, two boxes of paintings and scrolls a year ago and that in return Mr. Mao had sent him \$100,000 through two agents who had sought to persuade him to return to China.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 20, 1965]

#### HIGH NATIONALIST DEFECTS TO PEIPING COMMUNISTS

TOKYO.—Li Tsung-jen, who served 6 years as Vice President of Nationalist China and was its acting President for 1 year, threw in his lot with the Chinese Communists today. He fired a parting blast at the United States which had sheltered him since 1949.

The New China News Agency said Li and his wife arrived by special plane at Peiping Airport. They were greeted by Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and a delegation of 100 high Communist officials.

The 74-year-old former soldier-statesman was the most important Chinese to go over to the Reds since the Communists drove Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland 16 years ago.

Li reportedly left the United States July 15 for Switzerland. In a statement at the airport, he called the United States our foreign enemy and accused it of "committing a series of sordid crimes against the people of China and of the world in an attempt to isolate China and dominate the world."

#### DENOUNCES JOHNSON

"Especially since Lyndon B. Johnson came to office," he continued, "the United States has stepped up its evil doings and expanded the war of aggression in Vietnam, even trying thereby to provoke a war against the Chinese people."

Li had lived in Englewood Cliffs, N.J., for 9 years.

Li, whose defection has been rumored in Taipei and Hong Kong newspapers for a week, said he had made his choice because he had been impressed by Red China's two atom bomb tests and "the wise leadership" of Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

"I hereby pledge to devote the remaining years of my life to the service of my country, and may heaven and earth be witness to my sincerity," he said.

#### OTHER MISTAKES CITED

Appealing to his comrades in Chiang's Kuomintang Party to join him, Li described himself as an exile "with a guilty past." He said he had always regretted failing to accept the Communist terms for "internal peace" in China in 1949.

He said his efforts during the first years of his self-exile to create a third force among the Chinese "added another mistake to my previous ones."

Li said he had recently felt there were only two alternatives, either to side with the Communists "or to wallow in the mire with the reactionaries and be discarded along with them by the times."

An army commander by the time he was 36, Li held key military posts for 20 years and served on China's National Military Council during World War II. He was director of Chiang's headquarters in Peiping from 1945 to 1949.

He became Vice President in 1948 and held the title until 1954, although he spent the last 5 years of the term in the United States.

When the Communists were on the verge of victory, Li and others clamored for peace negotiations. Chiang abruptly resigned on January 21 and named Li acting President to give him a free hand in seeking a settle-

ment. Li got nowhere and after the mainland was overrun, Chiang resumed the Presidency on March 1, 1950, on Formosa.

#### HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, it is with much regret that I note the absence in this bill of any funding for section 108 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. The Department of Defense has informed me that they recognize their responsibility for their personnel who are affected by closures at such installations as Olmsted Air Force Base, and they also tell me that they support in principle the intent of section 108. However, they then proceed to imply that they simply do not have enough information at this time to advise the committee as to the appropriation needed.

I submit, Mr. President, that all the sympathetic words on the part of the Defense Department will not replace the hundreds of dollars their employees are losing on the sale of their homes. Secretary McNamara has given us technical objections instead of the humanitarian approach, in view of the urgency of this situation. Senator CLARK and I have worked diligently to protect the interests of our constituents at Olmsted, and it is with deep regret that we are now informed that the Defense Department refuses to act on our request.

Originally, it was my intention to offer an amendment to the bill on the floor to fund section 108, but, in view of the committee's decision to await the Defense Department's estimates, I shall defer any such action. I do, however, call upon the Defense Department to submit their estimates to the Appropriations Committee at the outset of the second session of this Congress so that remedial action may be taken at that time. I feel that it is the responsibility of our Government to insure that its employees are not subjected to extraordinary economic hardship through governmental action; in this case merely because the Department of Defense decides to shut down a Federal installation.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter dated August 17 from the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] in reference to that act. I ask unanimous consent also that a statement of my colleague [Mr. CLARK] be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,  
August 17, 1965.

HON. HUGH SCOTT,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR HUGH: I was very much interested in Senator Clark's presentation before the Military Construction Subcommittee last Tuesday for the immediate funding of the program authorized by section 108 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

The committee considered the proposal and decided that the details had not been adequately worked out and it was difficult to assess the ultimate cost of the program.

In the committee report it was pointed out that the Department of Defense may be precluded from implementing section 108 during fiscal year 1966, in view of the provisions of section 406 of Public Law 85-241 as amended (42 U.S.C. 1594). Section 406 with certain specific exceptions prohibits the construction or acquisition of family housing units "at or in support of military installations or activities" unless authorized by line items in an annual military construction authorization act. The committee expressed the opinion that the Department of Defense should make a study of section 108.

In my opinion it would be well to withhold action until such time as the Department submits a thoroughly worked out plan to the Congress. I realize your deep interest in this matter and hope that something can be worked out next year.

With kindest regards,  
Sincerely,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,  
U.S. Senator.

#### STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK, DEMOCRAT, OF PENNSYLVANIA, BEFORE THE MILITARY CONSTRUCTION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am extremely grateful for this opportunity to appear before you.

My purpose in testifying before you today is to urge the immediate funding of the program authorized by section 108 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, which has just been passed by the Congress.

That program is designed to provide some badly needed financial relief to homeowners who lose their jobs as the result of the closing of a Federal base. It was added to the bill as a result of the efforts of Senators SPARKMAN, TOWER, and myself, and Representatives KUNKEL and BARRETT in the other body.

Although the need for such relief was made plain to me through the plight of my constituents in the Olmsted Air Force Base area, the problem is truly a national one. Similar hardships are being felt by or are in prospect for families in Mobile, Ala., and Waco and Amarillo, Tex. The scenario is the same in each small community: an announcement is made that the base will be closed; hundreds of homes are suddenly placed on the market as people go elsewhere to find work; and the result is a sharp decline in real estate values.

Consider the case of the homeowner who has just been told that his job is either being transferred or abolished. More likely than not, his main financial asset is his house, bought at a time when the market was good, and quite probably heavily encumbered. Perhaps he is willing to accept a functional transfer, which means moving to a new community. Perhaps he would like to move to take a private job in some other part of the country.

In either case, he will have to try to find a buyer for his house. What he will probably find instead is that his house has been turned from an asset into an albatross overnight—because of the same base closing which cost him his job.

The fact is that the simple economics of base closings extract a double penalty from the homeowner-employee. In a single stroke a shutdown order can rob him of the two things that are most precious to him: his livelihood and his savings.

It was because of this need and this injustice that we wrote section 108 into the law. It provides in cases where a homeowner has lost his job as a result of a base closing and is unable to find a buyer willing to pay a reasonable price for his house, that the Secretary of Defense is authorized to buy the house at a price determined by consulting the market prior to the time the Department of Defense announced its intention to close

the base. The properties thus acquired would than be turned over to the FHA for disposal.

There is nothing particularly novel about this idea. It has been in use for some time by certain large corporations, notably IBM. And it provides a tested means for rectifying a serious injustice and softening a severe financial blow.

But this excellent program cannot do the people of Middletown, Pa., and Mobile, Ala., and Waco, Tex., one iota of good unless and until it is funded. For many, who are faced at this very moment with the need to sell their homes to seek new employment, justice delayed will literally be justice denied. And if the program should go unfunded this year, irremediable injury will be done to many Americans whose only crime was to lose their jobs as the result of a shutdown of a Federal installation.

Accordingly, I hope that this subcommittee will seek the guidance of the Department of Defense in determining the size of the appropriation required to set this homeowner-relief program in operation now. I urge the members of the subcommittee to include in the pending Military Construction Appropriations bill the full amount needed to provide this modicum of assistance to the many families whose lives have been disrupted by the closing of Federal installations.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF SERVICE OF MARK TRICE IN THE SENATE

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, yesterday we paid tribute to the distinguished secretary of the minority, Mr. Mark Trice. Quite a number of speeches were made on the floor of the Senate, and other Senators would like to insert speeches in the RECORD.

I therefore make the following request for myself and for the distinguished majority leader:

First, that all Senators may have 10 days in which to insert speeches in the RECORD with reference to Mark Trice;

Second, that those speeches be gathered and published as a Senate document.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Yesterday there was a soiree, so to speak, in tribute to Mark Trice, and at that time he was presented with a gift. I thought it was an interesting gift, since Mark had been in the service of the Senate for 45 years. I could think of nothing quite so suitable as supplying him with a large wall electric timepiece which, instead of moving forward like a clock, moves backward and, therefore, rolls back time. In connection with that presentation, I took the liberty to offer a few quotations from a poem by Elizabeth Akers.

I ask unanimous consent to have the quotations made a part of my remarks

so that they may also be included in the document in which the speeches are to be assembled.

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

#### ROCK ME TO SLEEP

Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight,

Make me a child again just for tonight.  
Mother, come back from the echoless shore,  
Take me again to your heart as of yore;  
Kiss from my forehead the furrows of care,  
Smooth the few silver threads out of my hair;

Over my slumbers your loving watch keep—  
Rock me to sleep, mother—rock me to sleep.

Backward, flow backward, O tide of the years.

I am so weary of toll and of tears—  
Toll without recompense, tears all in vain—  
Take them and give me my childhood again.  
I have grown weary of dust and decay,  
Weary of flinging my soul wealth away,  
Weary of sowing for others to reap—  
Rock me to sleep, mother—rock me to sleep.  
—ELIZABETH AKERS.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, Mark Trice has been a part of the Senate for 45 years. He is much too young to be termed an institution, but one can say in all honesty that he is a tradition. That tradition embodies respect for his fellow man, a willingness to counsel when counsel is needed, and simply a readiness to lift your spirits up when everything else is getting you down.

In defining a gentleman, Cardinal Newman once said that "it is almost enough to say that a gentleman is one who never inflicts pain."

Yes, Mark Trice is a gentleman in that spirit, but that does not say it all.

As he would refrain from inflicting pain on any one, so too would he sacrifice his own comfort if it would bring an iota of happiness to another.

On his 45th anniversary of service in the Senate—we salute Mark as an adviser, as a gentleman, but above all—as a friend.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, somebody described the perfect staffman as one "with a passion for anonymity." When you add to that characteristic an equal passion for complete and equal-handed unselfish service, you are just beginning to describe Mark Trice. It did not take him 45 years to learn to anticipate the differing needs and problems of Senators with wide differences in experience, seniority, and personality. To each he conveys the impression that that man's problems are just a little more important than usual and for each he has just the right suggestions. I am sure of this because ever since I came to the Senate as a freshman I have been the recipient of many special services and kindnesses.

I am sure the Senate is a stronger and more effective legislative body because Mark Trice has for so long been one of its unseen buttresses.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, in spite of the fact that I have not been a Member of this body nearly so long as some, I do feel qualified to give testimony to the full measure of dedication and devotion to duty that has marked the 45 years of service of Mark Trice at the Capitol.

Coming to the Senate as I did in the latter portion of a session, I quickly realized the necessity of having reliable information not only on the issues at hand, but also information on Senate procedures and operation. My colleagues quickly referred me to the secretary of the minority, Mark Trice. This was sound guidance. I received the information I needed and Mark Trice more than once kept the junior Senator from Idaho from blundering astray. Furthermore, Mr. Trice began at once to provide me the education needed by a new Senator.

Now, one would expect the secretary to the Senate minority to guide new Senators of the minority side of the aisle. But the manner and way this aid is given is what puts Mark Trice in a class by himself. He never takes advantage of his position. He is devoted to helping Senators perform their senatorial duties in the best way. And above all, certainly not the least of Mark Trice's commendable traits is his integrity. He is friendly, amiable, unobtrusive, and yet Mark Trice commands the respect of all who work with him regardless of which side of the aisle they may have a seat in the Senate Chamber.

Whether one is the most junior Member of the Senate or the most senior Member, all can seek and get valuable advice and assistance from Mark Trice. Those who receive this advice can always be assured that it will be given in the best interests of both the individual and the effective, responsible operation of the Senate.

Mr. President, as a member of the Republican team in the Senate, I am grateful to Mark Trice for his devoted service in the past 45 years. I wish him well and congratulate him as he begins his 46th year in the Senate. I am privileged to have him as my friend.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, today is the 45th anniversary of service to the Senate of J. Mark Trice, secretary to the minority.

Such a period of service seems almost unbelievable when one considers the comparative youthful appearance of this fine public servant, and I suspect that his wonderful wife, Margaret, has had a great deal to do with it.

The secretary to the minority comes about as close to being a Republican Senator as one can without actually being one. He probably spends more time on the Senate floor than any of us, and his knowledge of pending legislation and parliamentary procedure is invaluable in enabling the regular Senate Members to be informed at all times, merely by calling the floor, while we are necessarily in committee meetings or in our offices.

I have, in my 5 years here, found Mark Trice a source of friendly, wise counsel—always cheerful, always helpful, and always with the highest sense of dedication to the Senate and its Members.

I join with my colleagues in heartiest congratulations to Mark and Margaret. We are most proud of you, and you have our deepest affection.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in congratulating Mark Trice on his 45 years of service in the Senate.

Starting as a page, Mark has practically grown up with the Senate. During the more than 20 years I have been associated with him, I have found him to be one of the most dedicated, able, and personable public servants I have ever known. He handles a very difficult job in a most commendable way. Not many could serve so well. His 45 years of continuous service in itself speaks better than words of the esteem and respect in which he is held by all of the Members of the Senate.

I treasure his friendship and express the fond hope that he will be serving the U.S. Senate for many, many years to come.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, today, I would speak of Mark Trice, and of his courtesy and his helpfulness. We appreciate these qualities, but to me the outstanding characteristics which have attended Mark Trice have been his steadiness, his correctness, his sense of duty, and his respect and loyalty for the Senate as an institution of our Government and of our country. Mark Trice has served both his party and the Senate of the United States faithfully and honorably, and we honor him for this service.

#### TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

#### REPORT OF SURVEY ON BANK PROTECTION WORKS ADJACENT TO RAILROAD ALONG EEL RIVER, CALIF.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Deputy Director, Office of Emergency Planning, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, for the information of the Senate, a report of survey on bank protection works adjacent to railroad along Eel River, Calif., which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. SYMINGTON, from the Committee on Armed Services, with an amendment:

H.R. 7596. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove inequities in the active duty promotion opportunity of certain Air Force officers (Rept. No. 634).

By Mr. ERVIN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 356. A bill for the relief of Miloye M. Sokitch (Rept. No. 636).

#### FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS—MINORITY AND ADDITIONAL VIEWS (S. REPT. NO. 635)

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business, I submit that committee's 15th annual report, to-

gether with minority and additional views, and ask that it be printed.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 2440. A bill for the relief of Ramona Gomez Villa; and

S. 2441. A bill for the relief of Kwok On Ong, also known as Seto Doo Jew; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### RESOLUTION

#### ELECTION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE

Mr. MANSFIELD submitted a resolution (S. Res. 140) for the election of the Secretary of the Senate, which was considered and agreed to.

(See the above resolution printed in full when submitted by Mr. MANSFIELD, which appears under a separate heading.)

#### PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATION BILL, 1966—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 411

Mr. PROXMIRE submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 9220) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware River Basin Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENT NO. 412

Mr. NELSON submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to House bill 9220, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at its next printing the name of the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as a cosponsor of S. 1676, to provide additional officers in the Department of State and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the next printing of S. 2375, a bill to waive certain limitations upon claims under Public Law 88-519 (78 Stat. 699), the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] be added as a cosponsor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### HEARINGS SCHEDULED TUESDAY, AUGUST 24, ON S. 1676, A BILL TO COORDINATE AND DISSEMINATE BIRTH CONTROL INFORMATION UPON REQUEST

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures will continue public hearings on S. 1676 on Tuesday, August 24. The hearings will be held in Room 3302, New Senate Office Building, starting at 10 a.m.

Scheduled to testify at the hearings on S. 1676, a bill to coordinate and disseminate birth control information upon request, are Mrs. Gabrielle Edgcomb, Washington, D.C., representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Mrs. Sven Linner, from Uppsala, Sweden, author, family counselor, and teacher; Father Dexter L. Hanley, S.J., Washington, D.C., director, Institute of Law, Human Rights and Social Values, Georgetown University Law Center; and William B. Ball, Harrisburg, Pa., general counsel of the Pennsylvania Catholic Welfare Council.

The bill S. 1676, would coordinate and disseminate birth control information upon request and authorize the President to call a White House Conference on population in 1967.

It is appropriate at this time, I believe, to recall the statements of President Johnson concerning the population explosion which have been made since the first of the year.

On January 4, 1965, in his state of the Union message before the Congress, President Johnson said:

I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources.

At the 20th anniversary of the United Nations at San Francisco on June 25, 1965, the President stated:

Let us act on the fact that less than \$5 invested in population control is worth a hundred dollars invested in economic growth.

Most recently, at the swearing-in ceremony of John W. Gardner as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on August 18, 1965, the President said:

This administration is seeking new ideas and it is certainly not going to discourage any new solutions to the problems of population growth and distribution.

#### SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, tomorrow the sun in the east will be just a little brighter as it begins its daily ascension over the Pacific for tomorrow will be the sixth anniversary of Hawaiian statehood. The Hawaii of 1965 shares the prosperity which blesses most of this Nation and looks to the future with boundless confidence.

From the clear and cool heights at the 13,796-foot level atop Mauna Kea on the Island of Hawaii to the dazzling white sands of Waikiki Beach on Oahu, the Hawaiian economy continues to diversify and expand to undreamed of proportions.

Sugar and pineapple remain key industries in Hawaii, but it is the tourist industry which continues to grow right off the charts of last year's projections. Tourists were arriving at a rate of better than 60,000 per month as the summer season began, double the total of 5 years ago. A year after Hawaii became the 50th State, major hotels in the Waikiki area were operating at near-capacity levels.

Construction in Hawaii for the first 5 months of this year was 11.6 percent above the alltime high recorded in 1964 and announcements of major \$1 to \$2 million high-rise apartment projects continue to fill the real estate sections of our daily newspapers.

But Hawaii is well aware that prosperity alone is not the measure of a society. In its striving for excellence, Hawaii has concentrated much of its efforts on the University of Hawaii, determined that this institution shall be staffed and equipped to graduate students well prepared to meet the needs of tomorrow in the Pacific Basin.

These young people will play increasingly important roles in behalf of the United States in the fields of government, industry, and the sciences in an era when East-West relations may reach new critical stages.

Armed with the conviction that East-West relations can improve, rather than deteriorate, the East-West Center, a Federal institution on the University of Hawaii campus in Honolulu, continued to reinforce the strong bonds which now exist between the United States and our many friends in the Pacific.

In the belief that we can do much more for our friends in need in this vast area, I introduced a bill in this session of the Congress to establish a Pacific Medical Center in Hawaii to enroll young people from Asia and southeast Asia, teach them medical skills and send them home to work among their people.

Hawaii has come a long way from its early plantation economy. Today our people track orbiting satellites and manned nose cones from NASA-developed electronic complexes, check the accuracy of ballistic missile flights from California, and scan the far reaches of the universe through giant reflecting telescopes.

Confident that the science of oceanography will ultimately lead to great scientific breakthroughs which will have an enormous impact on our economy, our people are already hard at work plumbing the depths and mysteries of the Pacific. They are prepared, too, to assist some of our Nation's top scientists in probing the very crust of the earth on the Mohole project.

In 1966, a communications satellite will be placed in a stationary orbit over Hawaii, making direct television broadcasts to the islands feasible for the first time in the history of the islands.

For all this, Hawaii has not forgotten its great heritage from the Hawaiian people—the Polynesians who first chose this Pacific paradise as their permanent home.

That heritage is the spirit of Aloha—the love, if you will, for their fellow man—a deep social consciousness.

Although you may detect a note of pride as I speak here today, I trust that you will also find a deep sense of humility. Many of my colleagues here today helped make Hawaii's eternal dream of statehood a wonderful reality 6 short years ago.

As we mark this historic anniversary, I hope that all of my Senate colleagues will once again accept the deep gratitude of the people of Hawaii and will share with us in this time of solemn rejoicing.

#### HAWAIIAN LEADERSHIP IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, tomorrow marks the sixth anniversary of Hawaiian statehood. Although Hawaii is limited both in land area and population, it has one priceless asset which can benefit all of us—a widespread spirit of tolerance.

I know that my distinguished colleagues from Hawaii would readily concede that discrimination has not been completely banished from their lovely islands, but Hawaii has created a society in which many races live in relative harmony.

Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, of the New York Times, made some interesting comments on the leadership exhibited by Hawaii in the field of human understanding in an article published August 18, 1965, in the New York Times.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in full in the RECORD.

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

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS: RACE PROBLEMS AND SURVIVAL

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

ATHENS.—The bitter lesson of recent racial troubles from the California Negro riots to the secession of Singapore from Malaysia is that, no matter how much they may pretend to the contrary, human beings have yet to learn how to live tolerantly with each other.

All the main religions and ideologies agree in teaching mutual respect for peoples of different origins. The Christian Bible instructs that men are brothers. The Koran sees as a godly sign "the diversity of your tongues and complexions." Both democracy and communism endorse equality of mankind's varied branches.

#### WORDS NOT DEEDS

But what is preached is not, alas, practiced in most corners of the earth. Russia itself has had ugly anti-Negro student fracasos. Singapore's Chinese couldn't bear their Malay cotizens. Britain is increasingly embarrassed by prejudice of white against black or brown Commonwealth immigrants. South Africa has been made a hell for dark-pigmented people. And the United States, a century after our Civil War, has not yet managed to appease the Negro's claims for total justice.

Even in free Africa, where racism's most recent legacy is being tortuously erased, its hideousness persists. Black Dinkas of south Sudan fight Arabs of north Sudan. In Rwanda, Nilotic Watusi are brutalized by Bantu Bahutu.

#### START OF RACIAL BIAS

There is no acceptable definition of race agreed on by anthropologists who find similarities in skull shapes between Scandinavians and Bantu Africans and in complexion between Indians and Spaniards. History didn't know racial prejudice until the 15th century. Europe saw simply a division between Christian and infidel, but, unhappily, darker populations were not only converted but exploited.

The Roman Catholic Church formally denounced its own earlier racist policies in 1550, but the decision has done little tangible good. Protestant lands have often been intolerant. A branch of South Africa's Calvinist Church even insists that white and Negro worshipers recite a different Lord's Prayer.

Educational systems and traditions around the world still permit what superficially may seem to be atavistic prejudices. That these are essentially unreal can be seen from the brilliant adjustment to white societies of such past famous men as Aesop, Pushkin and Alexandre Dumas.

It is only when there are evident social and economic gaps between those of one pigmentation and the others that trouble becomes pernicious. In Singapore the Malays resented Chinese business dominance and the Chinese resented Malayan arrogance. It was a question of the role played vis-a-vis each other in a complex society and not merely physical traits.

#### TELLING ROLE BY COLOR

This is, indeed, still the case in much of Africa. In Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania it is still usually possible to tell a man's economic role by color alone. The American Negro writer Louis E. Lomax observes: "Racism is the irritant on Africa's raw nerves—not colonialism."

Disagreeable interracial experience focuses especially on the United States, where millions of Negro Americans have not yet found their national role. The legal revolution in their status is inadequate by itself. The rights to vote, work and learn do not suffice for an impoverished, easily distinguished minority still forced by social pressures into a kind of segregation, which is economically unable to exercise full opportunities.

The entire procedure of adjustment must be speeded up. This will cost not only immense sums but also immense effort. And it is not only a moral need and a matter of internal U.S. policy. It is also a matter of vital foreign policy.

We are competing for the favor of foreign countries in a world whose population is predominantly dark and we are competing against a Chinese political credo that seeks to stress racism to the disadvantage of the Western World. If we lose in this competition, we are ultimately lost ourselves—all Americans, white, pink, yellow, and black.

#### HAWAII POINTS THE WAY

One of our States, Hawaii, has shown magnificently how it is possible to compose a harmonious multiracial society. The whole Nation should ponder this lesson. We have demonstrated in moments of past national emergency an astonishing ability to move massively and fast. It is evident we are now again in a moment of national emergency. For the sake of our internal conscience and external survival we shall have to heal the causes of the turmoil.

#### A \$10,000 SPECIAL INDEMNITY INSURANCE FOR THE SURVIVORS OF SERVICEMEN

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am very pleased that the Senate has approved unanimously a bill to provide a \$10,000

special indemnity insurance for the survivors of servicemen killed or who die as a result of injuries suffered in a combat zone.

I cosponsored a similar bill, introduced by my distinguished colleague from Kentucky, Senator COOPER, and I want to congratulate and commend both him and Senator TALMADGE, whose bill was passed, for their initiative in this matter.

Certainly it is not too much for us to do, to provide this modest amount of security for our servicemen and their families.

Very shortly we will have over 100,000 men in Vietnam and this figure will undoubtedly go much higher in the months ahead.

There is always the possibility of interventions similar to the one in the Dominican Republic, when there is a distinct threat of a Communist takeover.

Since many thousands of American servicemen will be exposed to danger in combat situations such as these, for many months and even years to come, we should give them the same type of insurance coverage that was available to the Armed Forces in both World War II and the Korean war.

I hope the House will join with the Senate in this step and promptly approve this measure.

#### HUNGARY'S ST. STEPHEN'S DAY

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, it is the nature of men to pay special tribute to great events in their national history. America has her Independence Day celebration on July 4th, commemorating the birth of our Nation. For us, this is a very special occasion, one on which all Americans set aside their daily labors and reflect upon the significance of the event and the virtues and ideals which it embodies.

For Hungarians, such a day is St. Stephen's Day, and Hungarians who have a deep-seated and lasting affection for their country commemorate the occasion when the great Hungarian Monarch, King Stephen I, was crowned by Pope Sylvester in honor of Stephen's conversion of his people to Roman Christianity.

This great reformer organized Hungary into national political and religious units, thus superseding the previous anarchy of the tribal system. Stephen, due to his immense personal prestige and vision, was able to make the following years an era of peaceful consolidation and growing prosperity. Moreover, his conversion of the Hungarian people to Christianity was to make Hungary an integral part of the great and enduring traditions of Western Christendom.

It is fitting that all Americans join with the Hungarians in commemorating this sacred holiday, for such occasions give all of us the opportunity to reflect upon the proven worth and dignity of Western democratic and religious values. It also affords us an opportunity to take a serious look at the danger that these values now face from overt and covert forms of Communist aggression.

It is indeed a delusion to believe that the tenets of communism are compatible

with these great value of Western Christendom which St. Stephen brought to the Hungarian people. In a very real sense the fate of Vietnam is directly related to the task of preserving these values, for there seems to be little real doubt that what is being tested in Vietnam today is the capacity of the free world to diligently protect freedom-loving peoples from the imperialistic challenge of Communist aggression.

Today Hungary is part of the larger constellation of Communist states which were cruelly subjugated by the Communists in the late stages of World War II. Yes, the land of St. Stephen has fallen into the hands of our 20th century infidels, the Communists; but we must always distinguish between the ruled and the ruler. While Communist puppets may govern the state of Hungary they do not, by any means, govern the hearts, minds, and aspirations of the Hungarian people. Twenty years of Communist intimidation and indoctrination have utterly failed to obliterate from the soul of this great nation the traditions of St. Stephen. Indeed, it is the hope and prayer of all free men that the traditions and values of this great national leader one day will consume the tyranny that now bears down upon the Hungarian people and bring to them once more the freedom and human dignity that all men strive to possess.

#### BRIGHT GLOWS THE REACTOR

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, today marks a special day in the maritime history, for today the Maritime Administration turns the nuclear ship *Savannah* over to private interests through a charter agreement to a subsidiary of the American Export Isbrandtsen Line, FAST, Inc., at Galveston, Tex. FAST, or the First Atomic Ship Transport, was formed solely to operate the world's first nuclear-powered commercial ship. This is, indeed, an encouraging step and in my opinion signals a forward move on the part of our merchant marine.

In practical cost-reduction terms, the taxpaying American citizen will save approximately \$4 million yearly, for this was the annual cost of the *Savannah's* operation to the Government as a demonstration ship. In terms of positive benefits to be gained from this change-over, this step, first, marks the shift from an optimistic experiment into a viable commercial reality. Second, the Government will continue to receive scientific and technical information by observing the ship's progress. Third, this private operation of the *Savannah* will continue to promote atoms for peace, will train additional crews, and will provide further operating experience in the use of nuclear powered vessels. Finally, this operation will undoubtedly lead the way to improved atom-powered ships in the future.

Mr. President, along similar lines Defense Secretary McNamara has announced that the next supercarrier of the U.S. Navy will be nuclear-powered. If my memory serves me, I recall that once the Navy's *Enterprise* was launched as the world's first atomic carrier, she

was deemed to be too expensive for her utility. What has happened? What has caused this apparent shift in policy on the part of our cost-conscious Defense Establishment?

The answer may be found, I believe, in the fact that the staggering development costs of nuclear marine reactors have finally reached a plateau. In effect, these costs which had previously outruled on-the-water nuclear powerplants can now be made economical because of breakthroughs in reactor technology, both for military and commercial application.

The United States is clearly the world's leader in the field of nuclear power for peace. In a modern world where technological superiority is competitive superiority, the United States cannot afford to lose our leading position in this field.

With regard to maritime capability, no nation holds an absolutely guaranteed dominion over the seas. In days past it was Great Britain, today it is the United States, and tomorrow—who can say. Perhaps someone else will take the lead unless we are continually working for progress, and protecting our lead. But in this day, other nations are challenging our lead. The Soviet Union has embarked on a tremendous marine expansion program. The Germans will soon have a nuclear bulk-carrier ready for the Baltic trade. The Japanese have offered bids for an atomic-powered oceanographic research vessel. And incidentally, Mr. President, the United States has provided the reactors for the German vessel, and may well provide the reactor for the Japanese ship.

What will happen if we allow our lead to diminish, if we remain static in our nuclear development programs, if we are not ever watchful of our commitment to progress? The answer is obvious. We will no longer have any lead whatsoever and we will continue to fall behind in the march of progress. The United States is clearly on the threshold of a potentially great maritime revolution in this transfer of a government demonstration ship into commercial operation. In the future we can hope that the *Savannah's* operation will be beneficial to her operator as well as providing a springboard for the future of our American merchant marine.

In a series of articles which antedate today's transfer of the *Savannah*, Alan F. Schoedel lucidly examines the issue of marine nuclear power. For the benefit of my colleagues I ask unanimous consent that the three articles from the Journal of Commerce, dated April 26, 27, and 28, 1965, be inserted in the Record at this point.

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

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal of Commerce, Apr. 26, 1965]

UNITED STATES FACING BIG DECISIONS: SHIPPING NEARS NUCLEAR REVOLUTION  
(By Alan P. Schoedel)

"We think we are right on the threshold of one of the greatest maritime revolutions in all time."

The revolution predicted in these words is the shift of the most important segment of American-flag merchant shipping from oil to nuclear propulsion.

Making the prophecy, albeit with the anonymity required by Government service, was one of the country's top experts on the potential of atom-powered cargo ships.

#### MAJOR DECISIONS AHEAD

It can be said with certainty that the Federal Government in general and the Maritime Administration in particular are on the threshold of highly important decisions which will determine whether the United States moves into waters of nuclear merchant ship development with engines at dead slow or full speed ahead.

Already under consideration are terms of an agreement by which the pioneer nuclear ship *Savannah*, now lying at her berth in Galveston, would be operated in regularly scheduled commercial service, under charter to American Export Isbrandtsen Lines. AEL now is agent for the ship, taking it under the Atomic Energy Commission and Maritime Administration direct.

Secondly, according to well-informed sources in New York, Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson soon will have before him a recommendation that the Government embark on a program calling for construction of 12 nuclear-powered, high-speed, cargo ships. American Export Isbrandtsen Lines last October applied for four such vessels, to be built by the Government, but designed for straight-out, competitive, commercial service.

#### THIRTY-KNOT SPEED

Proponents of nuclear ships see them as the salvation of American ocean trade in the face of high-speed foreign competition that is virtually certain to develop in the years just ahead.

The talk in terms of 30-knot speeds—an almost fantastic leap forward from today's levels, at which a 21-knot freighter is considered exceptionally fast.

Advocates of atomic propulsion see it as the only means of preserving for American-flag cargo shipping its most important advantage—a second-to-none rank in speed that enables it to get a large share of premium-rated, top-value cargo.

Only with nuclear power, they say, can the U.S. merchant fleet effectively and economically take the next step up the ladder of speed.

To do it with oil means devoting excessive amounts of space and power simply to carrying the fuel supply. As the spokesman for one Federal agency put it, the vessel in its lifetime would make the equivalent of several voyages carrying oil alone.

An official of a private company concerned with reactors noted recently that the new generation of 24-knot U.S. ships require something like 26,000 shaft horsepower. This, he said, is "just about running out" of economic speed in conventional power plants.

Maritime Administrator Johnson will not, of course, be called upon to make a simple decision on what is obviously right and progressive. The choice before him, and ultimately before his superiors in the echelons of Government, is whether an investment in nuclear ships represents the best use of what funds will be available. Can conventional ships do the job as well, or better?

#### ECONOMIC BENEFITS

Already completed, at least in preliminary form, are the series of studies for which the Maritime Administration contracted, on what kind of economic benefits could be expected from nuclear ships on various trade routes.

The last of these studies will be in final form by June 30, the end of the fiscal year.

Contents of the reports have not been disclosed, but according to one Washington au-

thority on the subject, the results so far indicate that on the routes analyzed nuclear ships at worst could match the performance of conventional ships and at best could show a considerable advantage.

Proponents of atom-powered freighters do not, of course, think of them as replacing at this juncture all the slower conventional ships that call at a long list of ports, large and small. To justify its extra cost, a 30-knot nuclear freighter would most likely be used in some long run, like the Pacific, giving express service to a few big, well-equipped ports—perhaps only one at each end of the crossing. It would demand the most modern cargo-handling equipment.

#### EARLIEST DELIVERY

But, as the shipping industry knows, it is the major ports that generate the best-paying cargo. Shippers of this premium cargo are most likely to be concerned with its "inventory factor"—that is, the importance of getting it delivered at the earliest possible time.

Four nuclear ships, it is estimated, would do the work of six conventional ships on a properly selected trade route, and cost \$25 to \$30 million more.

Estimates of benefits to the Government over the lifetime of the ships vary over an extremely wide range, and the highest are nothing less than astonishing. One Government spokesman, in a recent interview, mentioned a figure of \$250 million or more. He not only mentioned it, but spoke of it as probable.

Fewer ships—once the "first of a kind" expenses are out of the way—would mean smaller operating subsidies, of course. Higher paying cargo, which the nuclear ships would be out to capture, would increase the likelihood of recovery of subsidy payments, or at least reduce the subsidy per revenue ton of freight. Since American owners of the nuclear ships would not be buying residual oil abroad, the balance of payments would be helped. On a shaft horsepower basis, nuclear fuel is nearly on a par with oil.

These are some of the arguments on which advocates of nuclear propulsion base their case. To these individuals, the time is at hand when American shipowners must begin thinking about atomic fuel just as matter of factly as they do about diesel oil.

#### NO VISIBLE POLICY

At the same time, the atomic-shipping advocates—both in the maritime industries and in the Government—are deeply worried. Much work has been done and decisions may be at hand—but as of today the United States has no visible policy on development of nuclear shipping.

A start could be made in the 1966 fiscal year, it was pointed out in Washington, but any really substantial moves would require supplemental legislation. The present budget for fiscal 1966, which begins July 1, was a serious disappointment to those who feel delay in getting into development of nuclear merchant ships can be very costly in terms of lost markets and a lost lead in atomic capability. Within the Maritime Administration, the fiscal 1966 budget would permit only analysis of nuclear shipping studies already made.

They point to West Germany's construction of an atom-powered bulk carrier, the *Otto Hahn*, and Japanese plans for a nuclear merchant ship. They point to the threat posed by the Japanese and Russian programs for huge expansion of their conventional merchant fleets within the next few years—a threat that U.S. ship lines will be hard put to meet with only conventional service.

Adm. John M. Will, board chairman of American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, said the choice is between aggressive U.S. action now or a merchant marine that drags on its obsolescence for the next 25 years.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal of Commerce, Apr. 27, 1965]

#### THEORY VERSUS PRACTICE: LAND OR SEA RESEARCH KEY POINT IN PROGRESS OF U.S. NUCLEAR FLEET

(By Alan P. Schoedel)

One basic question must be resolved before this country can make any real start in putting nuclear power to work for the American-flag merchant fleet.

It is this:

At this stage, will development of atomic propulsion units for merchant ships be best served by more land-based research on prototype reactors, or by practical working experience with nuclear-powered ships at sea?

Influential voices in the Federal Government advocate more research. Important figures in U.S. shipping and shipbuilding feel that the time is at hand to make an actual start in use of nuclear ships in commercial competition on the oceans of the world. This latter view is not without its supporters in Government, although final decisions at command level have not yet been made.

#### VESTED INTEREST

It would be easy to point out, of course, that the let's-get-moving school of thought includes many who have a potential economic interest in a program to build and operate atom-powered ships. It is also true that without companies having a special interest in carrying forward the nuclear cargo ship program, the United States would have no such program at all.

"What is our (nuclear) maritime policy?" asked one industrial authority in the field recently. "Everybody seems to be holding back until there is some more definite commitment . . . the whole industry is holding back. What we're doing is letting the rest of the world catch up with us, and maybe we're letting the world leapfrog us."

The bulk carrier *Otto Hahn* being built by West German industry and the Euratom organization will be a noneconomic ship, designed to provide experience, he said. In this respect it is just like the U.S. pioneer nuclear ship *Savannah*, now tied up at Galveston. It is also Germany's first step into the age of nuclear cargo shipping.

An agreement that would enable American Export Isbrandtsen Lines to put the *Savannah* into regular commercial service on bareboat charter from the Maritime Administration and the Atomic Energy Commission, reportedly is being hammered out in Washington.

#### BIDS IN JAPAN

A Japanese industrial group with government support has asked for bids on construction of a nuclear vessel, an oceanographic and training vessel capable of 18 knots. But the managing director of the Japanese Nuclear Ship Development Agency, Shoichi Amari, has declared that his country should proceed without delay with construction of a high-speed, commercially competitive, nuclear ship. Great Britain is weighing a proposal for an atom-powered bulk carrier and/or a 25-knot general cargo ship.

Both Japan and West Germany have an important incentive that is lacking in the United States, a naval architect in New York said. They build ships "for export"—for sale to owners in other countries. They are shipbuilding powers, Japan now ranking as No. 1 in the world.

That means, said the New York spokesman, that they can be off and running once they achieve the pattern for successful nuclear ships, competitive on world trade routes. And he wonders where this country will be then.

#### LACK OF EVIDENCE

Declaring that there is a lack of evidence of even talk about a long-range maritime

nuclear policy, he said, "This is what bothers us more than anything else—a do-nothing attitude."

Laboratory research alone, in his opinion, can never put the U.S. merchant marine into the nuclear race. If the commercial airlines had waited for researchers to come up with a demonstrably economic jet plane, he observed, they never would have had today's jet aircraft. Only actual use showed that jet planes were an economic necessity, he said.

Some Washington leadership might dispute their New York critic's charge of a do-nothing attitude, considering the mass of data being analyzed, but there seems little doubt that the budget for fiscal 1966—starting July 1—contains much less for nuclear shipping than advocates of this program had hoped to see. The Atomic Energy Commission put in for only \$1.4 million for nuclear merchant ship development. There had been hopes for \$5 million, according to industry sources.

#### VERY SMALL PROGRAM

This is "a very small program," Milton Shaw, AEC's Director of Reactor Development and Technology, admitted to the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He called it the first effort in a long-range plan to obtain a "low-cost, highly reliable, maritime plant."

Several things that Mr. Shaw said in his testimony in early February would be viewed with dismay by those who want to get U.S.-flag merchant ships into service. Last year saw a "significant decrease" in AEC's activity in maritime research, he said, and as of early this year the agency "actually had nothing" in the category of reactor research for merchant shipping.

He spoke of taking all the experience already gained in this field and plowing it back into the future effort. The \$1.4 million, he said, would be used to establish a "prototype laboratory," not a ship.

#### ANOTHER REACTOR

All this added up to a program to build another test reactor—the "prototype"—on land. It would mean that, if this country ever gets started on the first flight of four nuclear ships, five reactors instead of four will have been built. One spokesman for a New York company in the field noted recently that the *Savannah* was built without a prototype.

The main worry of those who deplore any tendency to keep the nuclear ship program tied to land research for the indefinite future adds up to this:

If the success of U.S. nuclear ships depends on getting into the markets for freight first, how much delay can be risked now?

Mr. Shaw said there had been "a large expression by industry" of willingness to fund part of the program, but he didn't know how the companies would respond when asked to put up the money.

#### CONSIDERABLE INTEREST

A member of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mrs. Mary L. Bunting, told the congressional committee that there was "considerable interest" among ship lines in the use of atomic power, but she emphasized the need for Government support of the program. Without Federal aid, she warned, the U.S. maritime effort would be "very much slower, and other countries would undoubtedly move in faster."

American Export Isbrandtsen Lines, in its application last October to AEC and the Maritime Administration for Government-aided construction of four 30-knot nuclear freighters, emphasized repeatedly the need for action in addition to research.

"We sincerely believe that now, rather than 1970 after the development of prototypes, is the time for Government and our private merchant marine industry to cooperate in the next logical step in the pilot program be-

gun by the *Savannah*," wrote Adm. John M. Will, board chairman of AEL.

#### CONCERN FOR SAFETY

Commercial spokesmen concerned with building maritime reactors feel that concern for safety not be a drag on the program. Their view is that the *Savannah* was made so supersafe that future designs can be reduced from this level while remaining comfortably within the bounds of extreme cautiousness.

The biggest problem, said one of them, "is lack of a firm commercial schedule." Like Admiral Will and others, he believes that the greatest progress can come with actual ships at sea. But in Washington, he said, there is still "an atmosphere of delay."

Adding to the concern of those who share this feeling is the realization that failure to get an adequate appropriation in one budget can mean loss of a full year.

The threatened evaporation of this country's nuclear leadership at sea can be measured in days, not years, they say.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal of Commerce, Apr. 28, 1965]

#### AFTER THE "SAVANNAH": ATOMIC SHIPS NEAR PROFIT LEVEL (By Alan F. Schoedel)

Nuclear power can give a keener competitive edge to the American merchant marine at a crucial time in its history, advocates of atomic propulsion believe.

Estimates of the number of high-speed nuclear ships that eventually will be not just economically feasible, but essential, vary in different surveys that have been made. Numbers mentioned have been 50, 100, 150. A start with 12—three "flights" of four ships each—reportedly is under consideration by Maritime Administrator Nicholas Johnson, or soon will be.

Those in the business of nuclear vessel planning, both in Government and private industry, say now that the United States already has advanced from the pioneer stage represented by the nuclear ship *Savannah* to the point where atomic-powered cargoliners can be built to yield a profit. That is, of course, within the framework of maritime subsidies which already apply to conventional freighters, plus some additional "first-of-a-kind" assistance for the first few ships.

#### CONSTANT CHANGE

One indisputable fact is of foremost importance to the American-flag shipping industry: development of atomic reactors and the economic factors that give them significance are constantly progressing, constantly changing.

For example, new designs put the steamplant inside the reactor unit, instead of outside, as it is on the *Savannah*. Since only about one-fifth the space is required, overall weight of the plant is reduced from 2,450 to 520 tons, and vast quantities of lead and concrete shielding can be eliminated.

If American-flag shipowners accept what advocates of atomic power say has been established by surveys—that extra speed of service is a key to getting high-rate, premium cargo for U.S. vessels—then the significance of such improvements is obvious.

#### SIX TIMES THE POWER

There is a shipbuilding maximum to the effect that to double the speed of a ship takes six times the power. The nuclear cargo ships already applied for would have a speed of 30 knots. For a conventional oil-fired vessel to achieve this speed, said a New York naval architect, would require 10,000 shaft horsepower just to push the weight of the extra fuel it would need.

Nuclear power can enable a merchant ship to break through this seemingly impenetrable barrier. In fact, its advocates say that only 5 or 10 years hence it will be possible

to build a nuclear freighter that will have not only an operating advantage but also will cost no more—perhaps less—than a conventional ship.

One of the problems encountered by those who work out the economic justification for building nuclear ships is the almost steady decline in the price of bunker oil in recent years. Back in the early 1950's, the price was as high as \$3 a barrel; 3 years ago, at North Atlantic ports, it was about \$2.65 to \$2.75, and now it is as much as 35 cents lower.

#### MORE DIFFICULT TASK

This means, of course, that designers of atomic ships have a more difficult task in coming up with a vessel of proven economic superiority over conventional vessels. As one naval architect in the field said recently, "We're in a somewhat worse position than we were before."

On the other hand, measured in terms of cost per shaft horsepower, the cost of nuclear fuel also has come steadily down. It already is lower than bunker oil by this criterion, said one authority, and will be lower in the future.

The *Savannah* first operated at about 4.8 mills per shaft horsepower, he said, but this already is down close to 2 mills, and by 1970 it's expected the figure will be as low as 1.6 mills. With bunker oil as low as \$2 a barrel, he added, its corresponding cost would be about 3 mills.

If a nuclear cargoliner had an advantage of a tiny fraction of a mill per shaft horsepower, the margin could become important when compared with a conventional ship built for extra-high speeds.

#### FIXED PRICE

Another indication of progress is that, of the four or five companies now in a position to manufacture nuclear reactors for shipboard use, at least one—Babcock & Wilcox—offers a water-cooled reactor at a fixed price. In other words, the price of the nuclear powerplant can be figured in advance, just as with conventional engines. It need not be an indeterminate sum, fluctuating as problems of design and installation are encountered.

Federal spokesmen in Washington say that, under optimum conditions—the most rapid action in getting official approval and assignment of funds—the first of the four nuclear ships already sought by American Export Isbrandtsen Lines could be completed by the end of 1969, the fourth some time in 1970.

This, they admit, is almost more than they dare to hope for. What the sharp-pencil executives of the shipping industry will be thinking about, almost certainly, is the cost of waiting until the United States no longer has a lead in this realm.

#### LOOK AT THE FUTURE

The question posed, in brief, is this: If the United States is not the first to offer high-speed nuclear service on certain key trade routes, can it ever hope to develop enough cargo as the second?

Here the steamship line executive will begin to think of such things as Japan's billion-dollar program to double the size of her merchant fleet, Russia's plan to expand her merchant tonnage by 50 percent, and the fact that foreign-flag lines have been adding ships in the 18-21-knot range at a faster rate than the United States.

It adds up, say the nuclear advocates, to the threat of tremendous competitive pressure not too many years off. It adds up, they say, to the threat of too much tonnage in relatively slow-speed (that's 21 knots in the nuclear lexicon) vessels.

#### "SAVANNAH" A SUCCESS

They see American-flag ships losing their capacity to win a sizable share of premium-rate cargo in this country's trades.

Finally, it might be noted that those most closely associated with the maritime nuclear field look upon the *Savannah* as a complete success, even though it is a "noneconomic" ship, not able to yield a profit on its \$55 million cost.

"She has done what she was supposed to do," said one New York authority. "The *Savannah* has proved that a technical nuclear operating ship can go around the world. She has proved that you can take ordinary merchant crewmen and, with a relatively short period of training, send them to sea on a nuclear ship. She has exposed some of the labor problems involved with operating such a ship."

Another New York company spokesman, referring to the *Savannah's* troubles with labor and regulatory agencies, commented:

#### PROBLEMS ISOLATED

"She has isolated these problems and, to a large extent, solved them."

One of the biggest contributions of the *Savannah*, these individuals said, was to make the nuclear ship a familiar object in some of the leading ports of the world, not a cause for apprehension. Thousands of persons have toured her engine room; port agencies have been shown what regulations, if any, are tested by the presence of an atomic-powered ship.

The *Savannah's* next role very probably will be that of the world's first nuclear merchant ship in regular service. Proponents of atomic propulsion for commercial ships hope that in this capacity she will be opening the way for a whole new fleet of American-flag cargo liners which will offer shippers the first 30-knot service anywhere in the world.

#### THE GREAT SOCIETY

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, on yesterday afternoon, I listened with approval to an interesting and illuminating speech by the distinguished minority leader [Mr. DIRKSEN] in opposition to H.R. 8283 which proposed to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as a vital part of an overall program to establish the Great Society. I voted against that bill, not because I do not believe in the creation of a Great Society, but because I thought H.R. 8283 was not the right approach.

Since the floor manager of the bill was the fine senior Senator and my good friend from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA] who from the start of the debate recognized that I was not going to vote for the bill, but frankly conceded to me the right to differ with him on what was involved, I am calling as a witness in defense of my position, a very able and articulate doctor of medicine of the great State of Michigan, Dr. M. R. De Haan, who has recently concluded five radio speeches on the subject of "The Great Society" in which he successfully, in my opinion, points out that we will never reach that goal through the passage of bills such as H.R. 8283. Mr. President, I ask that the five De Haan radio messages be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### THE GREAT SOCIETY

I

The Great Society, so vigorously recommended and publicized in our day, is not a new product but a new name for a very old

program. The aims and goals and projected blessings are certainly desirable, if only they were within reach of human fulfillment. The Great Society envisions a world at peace and an end to all war by mutual understanding, tolerance, and friendly coexistence. Optimistically, the goal is an end to racial strife, elimination of depressed areas, the abolition of poverty by economic planning. They envision for us the conquering of disease through science as well as the great lengthening of life. It will be the fulfillment of man's age-old dreams for the solution to all the problems of mankind: the problem of international relationships, the problem of economic irregularity, the problem of the distribution of wealth, the problems of poverty, hunger, and famine. Man dreams of conquering the forces of nature, and ending the destruction wrought by storms, flood and drought, through the scientific advances in meteorology. The social problem of race strife will be ended and we shall attain to a world which will be Heaven on earth. It will be the Great Society indeed. What a marvelous prospect.

#### Is it fantastic?

There are many who consider it all an empty, unattainable dream, a political slogan, and a sop for the gullible. Political parties often adopt slogans of various kinds. A former President popularized the expression, the New Deal. Wars were also identified by various slogans, such as "the way to make the world safe for democracy"; and the "war to end all wars." We mention these things only as reminders of man's effort to bring about universal peace and prosperity. Many of us well remember the four freedoms so vigorously promoted by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The goal of the program was:

1. Freedom of speech.
2. Freedom of religion.
3. Freedom from want.
4. Freedom from fear.

It is not in our domain to sit in judgment on these ambitious programs, but merely to point out the failure of man to achieve his wishful desires. From the beginning of human history, man has dreamed of a world of peace and prosperity, a one world united economically, politically, religiously and socially. The new name for this yearning of man is the Great Society. It is not our intention to discuss the human plans for this Great Society, nor to question the sincerity and earnestness with which they are promoted. We believe the advocates of the Great Society in the main are men of sincere convictions, men who really believe that these high ideals are possible of attainment.

#### Will the Great Society succeed?

The only question we wish to discuss is this: Is this Great Society possible? Is there any hope that this dream of man will ever come true? The answer is an unqualified Yes, but we must hasten to add that it will not find its fulfillment in the way man proposes. His program for world peace and prosperity and the bringing in of a millennial Utopia is doomed to failure. There is only One who can bring in the ideal Great Society, and until He comes humanity will continue to be frustrated by the failures of all human plans and programs for a golden age.

#### Bible gives the answer

Long before man began to suggest a New Deal or a Great Society, the Bible had already outlined every step and every detail of this golden age. But until this man Jesus the Prince of Peace returns, there will not be, there cannot be a fulfillment of the Great Society; instead, things will deteriorate morally, spiritually, economically, internationally, and socially, until man would destroy himself except for the intervention of the only One who will bring to realization

the desires of man. The Bible says that in the end-time things will become so desperate that unless those days were shortened by the personal return of the Lord Jesus, no flesh, no organic life, would survive on this planet.

#### The millennium

This second coming of Jesus Christ will be followed by the millennium, a thousand years of peace on earth and universal blessing. Hundreds of unmistakable passages from the word of God speak clearly of this blessed future day of God's Great Society. In these messages we shall be able to point out only a few of the many references in the word of God. While this glorious period of the reign of Christ is voluminously described in both the Old and the New Testament, it is not until we come to the last book of the Bible that its exact duration is settled beyond all question. We refer you to Revelation 20:

"And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

"But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.

Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years" (Revelation 20:4-6).

In this passage the expression "thousand years" is used three times, and a total of six times in this chapter alone. Often we hear someone objecting that the word "millennium" does not occur in the Bible, but this is the result of a misunderstanding of the word. The expression "thousand years," used six times in Revelation 20, is a literal translation from the original language. In the Greek it is *chillad*, meaning "1,000 years," and the word millennium itself happens to be the Latin equivalent of "a thousand years." The word comes from two other words: *millie*, meaning "1,000," and the word *annum*, meaning "years," so that the expression millennium is merely the Latin term for our English equivalent, "1,000 years."

#### The Bible doctrine

The Bible doctrine concerning the millennium is that there will be a period of one thousand years during which Jesus Christ will reign on this earth together with His church. During this millennium, following immediately the second coming of the Lord Jesus, Israel as a nation will be reestablished in the land of Palestine. The nations will be at peace. There will be no war, no preparations for war, no military training, no armies, no navies, and no military air forces of any kind. Peace and prosperity will reign throughout the earth. The Lord Jesus Himself will be the only king, and the only ruler, and for this one thousand years the problems of humanity will be completely solved.

Belief in the coming millennial age dates from the very beginning of the history of the nation of Israel. In the International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, we read this statement: "the doctrine of a temporary Messianic kingdom preceding the consummation of the world [or world's history] is of pre-Christian Jewish origin."

Another quotation from the same encyclopedia reads as follows: "The great majority of evangelical Christians believe that the kingdom of God shall have universal sway over the earth, and that righteousness and peace and the knowledge of the Lord shall

everywhere prevail. This happy time is commonly called the millennium, or the thousand years' reign. Divergent views are entertained as to how it is to be brought about. Many honest and faithful men hold that it will be introduced by the agencies now at work, mainly by the preaching of the gospel of Christ and the extension of the church over the world. An increasing number of men equally honest teach that the millennium will be established by the visible advent of the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup>

This we quoted from the International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, which certainly cannot be said to be biased or slanted to the premillennial view.

#### *Restoration of creation*

For this glorious age all creation is waiting. It was the hope of the Old Testament Israelite who looked forward to the coming of the Messiah, and at His coming the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth. This was the hope of the disciples of Jesus and John the Baptist; all orthodox Jews of Jesus' time looked for that day, and because He failed to bring in this kingdom at His first coming they rejected Him, for they knew not that it would be at His second coming, and not the first, that the kingdom would be established. Today the orthodox Jew is still expecting the Messiah, and the reestablishment of the Davidic Kingdom.

Because of the confusion which exists in the minds of many Christians concerning the future program leading up to this millennial age, we want to simply and briefly outline the chronological order of events between now and the realization of earth's golden jubilee.

#### *Order of events*

We believe the next event in the program of God will be the coming of Christ for His church, usually called the rapture. When He comes, He will appear in the sky, He will shout from the air, and all believers who are asleep in Christ will arise in resurrection bodies, all living believers will be instantaneously changed, and they together will be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. Then will follow a period of 7 years called the tribulation, during which God will judge the nations of the earth, and the church will be prepared for the wedding of the lamb at the judgment seat of Christ. At the close of this 7 years, the Lord Jesus Himself will return visibly and publicly with His church to this earth; He will destroy His enemies, will regather the nation of Israel into the land—the land of Palestine, and will usher in the millennial age of peace when Satan shall be bound for a thousand years. So we do believe with all our hearts that the return of Christ for the church, when He will take us unto Himself, is imminent, and then He will pour judgment upon this earth and cleanse it from all His adversaries.

In our following messages we shall bring some of the details of the Bible teaching concerning this event; but before going into this, it is necessary that we have a clear picture of the events as they will develop. Let me repeat them again. The next event will be the coming of Christ for His church. After the church is gone, the man of sin, the anti-Christ, will be revealed upon the earth, and there will ensue a 7-year period of the greatest tribulation and trouble of war and bloodshed and deception that the world has ever known. This 7 years will end in the battle of Armageddon. This battle will be suddenly interrupted by the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ with His church; Satan will be bound and cast into the bot-

tomless pit; the false prophet and the anti-Christ will be cast into the lake of fire, and after the earth has been cleansed, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself as king will reign in Jerusalem, and the millennial age will be ushered in.

At the close of the millennium, Satan will be loosed for a short season, to prove not only his own incorrigibility but also unregenerate human nature. Satan will be defeated and cast into the lake of fire together with all his followers, and then the earth will be completely purified by fire, a new Heaven and a new earth will be formed by God, which shall be the dwelling place of the redeemed throughout all eternity. This is God's long-range plan. This is God's program for this earth. The Bible has so much to say about this, and it is so clear in its teaching, it behooves all of us to study His Word and study God's plan, that we may know what He is doing, and be ready for His appearing.

Before we close this message, we want to press again upon you the question, Are you ready for the next event in God's program? It avails you nothing to know all about the program and be clear on the teaching of prophecy, if you have not personally received Him who is the king, the Lord Jesus Christ, as your personal Saviour. So we plead with you once again, in view of the brevity of life and the imminency of the return of the Lord Jesus, to flee from the wrath to come, and "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved" (Acts 16:31).

2

The Great Society, which man hopefully envisions, is not a new idea; it was not only described but promised millenniums ago. The Bible is replete with prophecies of a coming age of peace and prosperity. It will be a time when war will be utterly unknown. Not a single armament plant will be operating, not a soldier or sailor will be in uniform, no military camps will exist, and not 1 cent will be spent for armaments of war, not a single penny will be used for defense, much less for offensive warfare. Can you imagine such an age, when all nations shall be at perfect peace, all the resources of earth available for enjoyment, all industry engaged in the manufacture of the articles of a peaceful luxury? Can you imagine a golden age when all the hospitals will be shut down, when all doctors and nurses will be out of a job, and medicines will be worthless and uncalled for? Can you imagine with me an age when there will be no poverty, when children will never die, when everybody will have all needs supplied, and when violence and crime will be practically unknown? Can you imagine a time when there will be no wastelands, no storms, no droughts, no crop failures, no floods, and when even the wild animals will be tame and harmless, and will cease devouring one another?

I say again, Can you imagine such a coming golden age? Well, my friend, this is not mere imagination. It is a certain unquestionable fact—as certain as the sun rises and sets. You ask me, Where in the world did you get that wild dream? Listen, my friend, it is not a wild dream, but the word of the living God who made all the creation and the worlds. If you ask me where we find any such information, you have but to read your Bible, the word of the living God, for it is full of that glorious coming age of full redemption, and creation's restoration. We could spend hours reading from the word of God alone, foretelling and describing this glorious future golden age of redemption. We therefore suggest that you keep your Bible open every minute, as we refer you to passage after passage in this blessed book, bearing on this wonderful subject. Turn with me, therefore, to Isaiah 2:2-4.

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall

be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

"And Many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

"And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isaiah 2:2-4).

#### *The last days*

In this passage from Isaiah we are told when this glorious age will come. The prophet says: "And it shall come to pass in the last days" (Isaiah 2:2).

In this passage there are two things that are clearly set forth. First of all, notice the certainty of this event, and then the time of its fulfillment. God says: "It shall come to pass." It shall come to pass. Since it has never yet come to pass, and these conditions have never existed in this world, it must still lie in the future, for God himself says, "It shall come to pass." Far be it from us to question the word of the eternal God. Then notice the second thing: It will be in the last days. It will be at the close of the ages of man's sojourn upon this earth. These two things then, are absolutely definite.

Studying history, and looking upon the confused state of the world today, however, it does seem almost impossible that this could even be thought of. Think of it. After almost 2,000 years of Gospel preaching, there are more pagans and infidels in the world today than ever before. Only a fraction of the 3 billion inhabitants of this world are even nominally Christian, and no one knows how many of these (or how few) have truly been born again. After 1,900 years of preaching the Gospel of the Prince of Peace, this world has seen in a single generation its two most devastating and cruel wars in all history, and today the fear of the third world war with its atomic horrors and consequences is gripping the entire world.

Crime is at an all-time high. Rumors and preparations for war fill the air, and are plastered all over our newspapers. The Christian home has degenerated, and the divorce evil has increased until it now approximates one divorce for every three marriages, sending an ever-increasing stream of neglected children from broken homes into a cruel world and into a decaying society, to add to the already amazing volume of juvenile delinquency. Drunkenness is increasing by leaps and bounds. Moral standards are sinking lower and lower, while a jazz-crazy age is dancing its way into perdition in the very shadows of impending judgment.

#### *Has the Gospel failed?*

In the face of all these conditions, which no one can deny, we are led to ask: "Has the Gospel of the grace of God then failed?" Yes, Christianity is a colossal failure, and the Gospel of grace a farce and anything but the power of God; if we are to judge from the progress we have made in converting the world in this present dispensation. But, beloved, Christianity is not a failure, and the Gospel is not a failure. Righteousness and truth and the Gospel will still prevail and triumph in the end, when the time comes for it in the long-range program of God. There is not a single verse in the entire Bible which teaches that it is God's plan that the whole world should be converted to Christ in this present dispensation. Quite to the contrary, the Bible teaches that wickedness will increase and become worse and worse until the very moment of Christ's second coming again. God's program for this age is not world conversion, but rather the taking

<sup>1</sup> The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia (Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 1960), vol. II, p. 986; vol. III, p. 2053. Used by permission.

out of a remnant of believers, a minority, to form the body of Christ, and the bride of our Lord; and when that number is full, according to God's sovereign plan, then Jesus Christ will return to judge the nations of the earth. Then, and then only, the kingdom will be set up, and world conversion will result, when "every knee shall bow to Him, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." This will be the time when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, and when all men shall know Him, from the least even unto the greatest, and earth's golden age will then be ushered in.

#### *God's long-range program*

If, therefore, it is God's program to convert the world, in this dispensation, then indeed, we repeat, God's program has utterly failed. But, beloved, it has not failed, because it is not God's program to convert the world before the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. God's program is still running exactly on time, and exactly on schedule. The golden age will come only after Jesus Christ returns to this earth, to catch away His Bride, then to judge and cleanse the earth; and then, then, after Jesus returns, will the hundreds of prophecies of earth's jubilee find their complete fulfillment.

#### *Affects all creation*

This redemption of creation and restoration of that which Adam lost through sin will affect the entire earth, the people, the nation of Israel, the animals, the plants, and even the soil. We shall point these out as we move along and study some of the glorious revelations of each one of these realms. We want to direct your attention to the effect of Christ's return first of all on the nation of Israel, for she is the central object of God's prophecy, and then upon the rest of the nations of the earth. The Old Testament prophecies are crowded with references to the final restoration of the nation of Israel in the land of Palestine, but we would call your attention now to one which is representative of all the others. In Jeremiah 23:5-8 we read:

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.

"In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called, the Lord our Righteousness.

"Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt;

"But, the Lord liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land" (Jeremiah 23:5-8).

I am sure that all of you recognize that this has never yet been fulfilled, and that it therefore must still lie in the future. We believe with all of our heart that the return of the nation of Israel politically to the land of Palestine in these recent years was the first step in the accomplishment of the full blessing of this passage, and many others in the Word of God. Judah and Israel shall dwell safely in the land of Palestine, never to be removed from it again. Not a single son of Jacob who survives the great tribulation, the day of Jacob's trouble, and belongs to the remnant of God's elect nation, will be left or overlooked. The miraculous preservation of this miracle nation during all of these centuries and millenniums in the face of the most bitter odds, stands as a living testimony to the truth of the word of God, that He will keep His covenant promise, and that He will keep every one of His assurances

given to the house of Israel, from the days of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

#### *The nations blessed*

After Israel is back in the land, and Jesus Christ reigns upon the earth, then shall the promise of God come true which He made to Abraham when He said: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." During the personal reign of the Lord Jesus, wars will be unknown. There will be no battles, no navies, no armies, no arsenals, no ammunition plants, but all the ingenuity and inventive wisdom of men will be turned into useful production of implements of peace. Men shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. Peace and universal prosperity will abound, "and they shall not hurt nor destroy, saith the Lord, in all my holy mountain." There will be no poverty nor unjust inequality. Sickness will be unknown, and death will be the rare exception, for the inhabitants shall not say, "I am sick." And even the soil shall be transformed by the presence of the king. Then will the words of Isaiah come true, which he uttered over 2,500 years ago: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose" (Isaiah 35:1).

The entire earth will be made productive again, and there will be no more deserts and badlands, except Moab and Egypt, as reminders that even in this age of blessing, God is still a just God.

#### *Animals made tame*

Even the animal creation shall be changed, and there shall be no more carnivorous beasts to waste and destroy and prey one upon the other. That will be the glad day spoken of by the prophets in describing this time of Christ's reign in Isaiah 11:6-9:

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fating together; and a little child shall lead them.

"And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

"And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den.

"They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Isaiah 11:6-9).

Amid the violence and destruction of these days, dare anyone assume that these glorious prophecies have ever been fulfilled? Even though we try to spiritualize these prophecies, by no stretch of the imagination can we say that this has ever been true. The earth today is still filled with violence and destruction, and growing worse all the time. If the history of man is to be our guide, then there can only be one thing in the future—the utter destruction of man by his own wickedness, and his own violence.

But God, who cannot lie, holds out a better hope than the gradual bringing in of the age of peace by man's feeble and fallible efforts. Instead, the Lord tells us that in the end-time we shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, nation rising against nation, kingdom against kingdom, violence and destruction will increase, until He who said He would come will come. What a blessed thing to be able to look upon this present world and all its conditions and see in them not the reason for despair and hopelessness, but the very signs of which Jesus said: "when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh" (Luke 21:28).

3

The Bible is full of prophecies concerning a Great Society of the future when the earth will be at rest, wars will be unknown, and even nature will cease her destructive forces.

However, before this Great Society can become a reality the nations must first be taught the lesson that without God it is but an idle dream. God will prepare the nations for this coming day by a period of judgment and cleansing. This period of time, voluminously described in the Bible, is called the tribulation, and the great tribulation. After the rapture of the church there will be 7 years of earth's greatest sorrow, ended only by the return of Christ with His church and the setting up of the Great Society of King Jesus. This tribulation will be brought to a head when the armies of the world are gathered against the city of Jerusalem in Palestine. Among the many passages describing this climatic event we quote from Zechariah 14:

"Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, and thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee.

"For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle; and the city shall be taken, and the houses rifed, and the women ravished; and half of the city shall go forth into captivity, and the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city" (Zechariah 14:1, 2).

This is the prophet's description of the concluding battle of the last war of all time. It will take place in Palestine. It will be fought against the city of Jerusalem. The armies engaged in this war will represent all the nations of the earth, as distinguished from the nation of Israel in particular. It will be the coming Battle of Armageddon, preparations for which we believe are going on today, probably unknown to the actors themselves in this great drama of the end-time.

#### *Interrupted by the Lord*

This final battle will be suddenly interrupted by the personal appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Glory, according to His own promise. The promise appears right after the prophecy of the final siege of Jerusalem, in Zechariah 14, where we read:

#### *Then—Then*

"Then shall the Lord go forth, and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle" (Zechariah 14:3).

One word demands attention in this particular verse. It is the first word in the passage, the word "Then." Then. It pinpoints the very time, the exact moment of Christ's return to this earth. It will be when all nations besiege the city of Jerusalem. God permits the nations of the world today to carry on their wars and aggression and their atrocities without any apparent interference from Heaven above; but when they march against the Holy City of Jerusalem, the future capital of the world, and against God's nation, then the Lord will restrain Himself no longer but will come to cut short the battle, deliver His people, and save Jerusalem. We therefore send forth the warning "Watch Palestine." and "Watch Jerusalem." It is the most important key to the lateness of the hour in which we are living.

#### *His public return*

This, of course, refers to His coming to the earth at the close of the tribulation. Seven years before this final battle, however, and the return of the Lord publicly, He will already have come in the air to take out the saints from the earth. This we call the "rapture" or the "translation" of the church. But the event in Zechariah 14:3 is after this. Events today are increasingly pointing to Jerusalem and the Middle East as the focal point of all the troubles among the nations. The real prize for which the nations will finally battle is not a Korea, or an Indochina, or Vietnam, but Palestine, and everything is already pointing in that direction. Since the second coming of the Lord and the battle of Armageddon will not take place until at least 7 years after the rapture of

the church, and it already seems that the nations are beginning to converge upon this very spot on the earth where this battle must be fought, we can only surmise how near the coming of the Lord must be.

#### *Comes to the earth*

Notice carefully what follows the coming of the Lord to judge the nations gathered against Jerusalem. It is found in Zechariah 14: 4. We repeat also verse 3 for the connection:

"Then shall the Lord go forth, and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle.

"And his feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south" (Zechariah 14: 3, 4).

If you are a true believer, you must believe this to be the word of the Lord, and that He means exactly what He says. We believe that it teaches that Jesus shall come again, and He will return to the exact place from which He ascended—the Mount of Olives, and about which the two men said: "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven" (Acts 1: 11).

At the touch of His feet there will be a tremendous earthquake, splitting the Mount of Olives from the east to the west, and causing a valley to be formed from the great sea, the Mediterranean, to the Dead Sea in the southern part of Palestine, so that the waters from the Mediterranean shall rush in through this gigantic channel produced by the feet of the Lord Jesus Christ. At the same time the Dead Sea shall be lifted up from its present depression of 1,292 feet below sea level, and the 2 seas of the Bible, the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean, will become one body of water connected by a vast channel. Created by the earthquake, at the coming of King Jesus upon the Mount of Olives, this will provide Palestine with the greatest inland harbor in all the world. On the banks of this great channel and this great inland sea will stand the city of Jerusalem, the city of Peace where the King will reign, and all the nations shall bring their wealth and their glory into it. Listen to the word of the Lord in verses 9 and 10 of this same chapter: "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall there be one Lord, and His name one.

"All the land shall be turned as a plain from Geba to Rimmon south of Jerusalem: and it shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place" (Zechariah 14: 9, 10).

Then will you notice what follows concerning Jerusalem in the 16th verse:

"And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles" (Zechariah 14: 16).

Surely we must either accept these words as being the words of Almighty God, and meaning exactly what they say, or we might just as well throw our Bibles away as a bit of worthless scrap. We must believe these things, even though they may seem impossible in the light of present conditions, but we must still believe and trust that God knows what He is talking about, and He will keep His promise.

#### *The land restored*

In that day then, the land which for centuries has lain largely waste shall be made the garden spot of the world. Palestine will become the wonder place of the world for fertility and beauty and productivity. After all, God never made a desert in the begin-

ning. Scripture says that He made nothing void or useless, but that He made the entire earth to be inhabited. Since sin made the earth barren to a large extent, when Jesus comes He will make the whole earth once more like the Garden of Eden. The Bible makes only one exception to this, the marshes south of the Dead Sea, as a reminder, even in the millennium of what sin has really done. While all the rest of the earth will be like a garden of roses, these places will stand as exhibits to mankind to remind us of what sin has done, and stand in sharp contrast to the glorious restoration wrought upon this earth when Jesus reigns here below. The prophet Isaiah also speaks of this glorious time when Jesus comes. In chapter 34 we have a description of the battle of Armageddon at the close of the tribulation, and then comes Isaiah's picture in chapter 35:

"The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose" (Isaiah 35: 1).

The land of Palestine which for centuries and millenniums has lain waste and has shown the effects of the curse of God upon a disobedient people will then be restored, and become the most beautiful place, rivaling the very beauty of the Garden of Eden before the fall. At the same time that the land shall be restored to its former productivity and fertility, the Bible tells us that the earth will also be redeemed as far as the soil is concerned, and vegetation will also be redeemed, so that the entire world will become again as God wanted it in the beginning.

What a wonderful, marvelous time this is going to be. How our hearts beat with glad anticipation when we think of that glorious golden age of one thousand years upon the earth with our precious Lord Jesus personally present, reigning in Jerusalem, the very place where He had been crucified and humiliated. Israel, who had rejected Him, will be saved and settled in peace in the land, all according to their inheritance, and the 12 tribes forever blessed and safe from their enemies, and we, the church, the Bride of Christ, will be reigning with Him there. The curse shall be gone, the earth shall bring forth unrestricted and in unlimited abundance. There will be no storms to destroy, no wars to devastate, no wild animals to tear, but all will be peace under the righteous reign of Him who said that He would come, and will not tarry.

Surely as we look round about upon the struggle which is going on in every realm of creation today, especially among the nations, and the deepening clouds of coming judgment rising high upon the horizon, every Christian's eyes should be lifted toward Heaven for that next climactic event when the Lord Jesus Christ shall descend from heaven with a shout to take us unto Himself. How we ought to pray as we have never prayed before: "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." That prayer which has gone up from the hearts of countless millions of Christians ever since Jesus taught it to His disciples, has never yet been realized and answered. His kingdom has not yet come, His will certainly is not yet being done on earth as it is in heaven; but blessed be God forever, we know that one of these days that prayer is going to be answered and fulfilled in every detail. I repeat, it has not yet been done. Is there anyone who can look upon the world today and say that God's will is being done, the will of Him who said, "Father, I will that they all may be one, even as I and Thee are one"? Surely no one is foolish enough to make such claims; but beloved, listen to me, there is a time coming when we shall cry, "The kingdom has come." It will be the end of all tribula-

tion, when the seventh angel in Revelation sounds his trumpet:

"And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." (Revelation 11: 15).

May God haste that glad day, and in the meantime set us on fire, and send us forth far and wide with the message—the vital message needed today—Jesus Christ is coming again. The only hope of a dying world.

4

The Bible describes in hundreds of prophecies a coming age of earth's greatest blessing, going far beyond the wildest dreams of man concerning a Great Society. The world will be united under one supreme ruler, with the capital in the city of Jerusalem in Palestine. Jerusalem will be free, the nation of Israel will be restored, and in possession of the entire land of Canaan given by an everlasting covenant to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The key to earth's Great Society and the golden millennial age is the land of Palestine and its people. As long as the city of Jerusalem is not free, there can be no world peace. In fact, we are nowhere told to pray for world peace, but instead we are told to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem" (Psalm 122: 6).

Until Jerusalem is at peace there can be no peace elsewhere. To the student of the Bible the events which transpire in the land of Palestine overshadow all other world events, whether in Asia, Africa, South America, or anywhere else. Before the golden age of earth's redemption comes, Israel and her land must be completely freed from gentile domination. The key to the future is the miracle nation of Israel.

#### *History's greatest miracle*

Though overlooked by most people, the history of the nation of Israel, her dispersion and recent restoration, is the greatest international miracle of all time. Only one nation has its entire future foretold in minutest detail for thousands of years in advance. Many of the prophecies concerning Israel are already history, and every one of them has been fulfilled to the letter. It began with God's prophecy to Abraham when He told His servant what would happen to his descendants more than 400 years in the future. God said to Abraham before he even had a child:

"Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them 400 years;

"And also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance" (Genesis 15: 13, 14).

Four hundred years after, this prophecy was literally fulfilled to the letter, and Israel, after her bondage in Egypt for four centuries, went out to possess the land of promise. This first promise, so meticulously fulfilled, is a picture and a prophecy of the entire history of Israel. This brief history at the very beginning of the nation has been repeated over the past 2,500 years. Since the capture of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the nation 2½ millenniums ago, they have been out of their land among the Egypt of the nations. All this was predicted by the Lord. We shall mention but a few of the passages among the hundreds of others. No other nation has ever had its future so carefully foretold as this nation of Israel. Listen to the word of God spoken even before the nation had entered the land of Canaan:

"And I will bring the land [Canaan] into desolation: and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it.

"And I will scatter you among the heathen [nations], and will draw out a sword after

you: and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste" (Leviticus 26: 32, 33).

History stands as proof of the literal fulfillment of this prophecy, for after Israel had been in the land for some 800 years, the king of Babylon swooped down upon Jerusalem, sacked the city, and carried them away into captivity. After 70 years, only a handful of about 40,000 returned under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but all the rest, together with the 10 tribes of the northern kingdom (deported 100 years previously), were scattered to the 4 corners of the earth. And then in A.D. 70, under Titus, the Roman, Jerusalem was finally destroyed and the remnant dispersed among all nations. Thus literally did the prophecy of Moses find fulfillment.

#### Among the nations

In addition to the prediction of their dispersion, the Bible also foretold their suffering among these nations and their supernatural preservation. Here are the words of Moses in describing the children of Israel while out of the land:

"And upon them that are left alive of you I will send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; and the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee, as fleeing from a sword; and they shall fall when none pursueth.

"And ye shall perish among the heathen [nations], and the land of your enemies shall eat you up.

"And they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity on your enemies' lands" (Leviticus 26: 36, 38, 39).

Comment hardly seems necessary. History records the pogroms, persecutions, and atrocities against the scattered seed of Israel, in Spain, in Russia, in England, and more recently in Germany and Italy, and still more recently the banishment of upwards of 30,000 Jews from the land of Egypt. At one time during the Middle Ages, those desperately dark days for Israel, the nation was reduced to less than a million survivors.

Or listen to the words in Deuteronomy, again spoken long before the nation had even entered the land. Hear God saying:

"And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, even wood and stone.

"And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind:

"And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life:

"In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see" (Deuteronomy 28: 64-67).

What a description of the history of this scattered nation during the centuries of their dispersion. And all of it was literally fulfilled. Now don't forget that at the same time God predicted Israel's dispersion among the gentiles, he also prophesied their preservation and ultimate restoration to the land.

We cannot emphasize this fact too forcibly. The prophecies of Israel's blessing in the land, their deportation in 600 B.C., their experience of persecution—all these have been literally fulfilled to the letter. And the presence of a literal nation of Israel in the promised land today, after millenniums of dispersion is an unassailable evidence of the literalness of the Old Testament prophecies. But at the same time that these prophecies (now fulfilled) were spoken, the prophecies of their future deliverance were also spoken. They were all future when they were given. By what rule of interpretation (or misinterpretation)

can we say that the unfulfilled portions will not be fulfilled with equal certainty and literality.

#### Spiritualizing Scripture

This spiritualizing of the word of God by otherwise consistent interpreters is an enigma and a puzzle. To apply all the prophecies of Israel's dispersion, sufferings, and tribulations of the past to literal Israel, and then without "batting an eye" apply all the promises of Israel's future blessings to ourselves and the church is an inexcusable error which confuses the whole program of God. Too long we have given to Israel the curses predicted in the world, and then have stolen her blessings by rejecting the promises of her glorious future. Surely if "spiritualizing" Scripture is the work of a spirit, it must have been an evil spirit indeed.

With this inviolable rule of interpretation in mind, listen to the promises of Israel's preservation and restoration. Ezekiel speaks:

"For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land.

"And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people and I will be your God" (Ezekiel 36: 24, 28).

#### Not yet fulfilled

Now there are those who would tell us that the return of Judah from Babylon after 70 years' captivity was the fulfillment of all these prophecies of Israel's restoration. But that is utterly impossible, for only about 40,000 returned with Nehemiah, and they were almost all from the southern kingdom of Judah. They did not receive their independence or their land, but were, until the destruction of Jerusalem, vassals of foreign gentile powers. This return of a handful of Jews to Palestine in 530 B.C. was only temporary, for in 70 A.D. Jerusalem was completely destroyed, and the inhabitants which survived were scattered to the four corners of the earth. Just recently they are returning for the final vindication of the word of God. A few Scriptural passages from among hundreds in the Bible will show that the complete restoration of Israel to the land looks way beyond their return from the Babylonian captivity.

#### Isaiah speaks

Listen first to Isaiah:

"And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea.

"And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth" (Isaiah 11: 11, 12).

#### Jeremiah speaks

Listen now to Jeremiah:

"And I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their folds; and they shall be fruitful and increase.

"Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, the Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt;

"But, the Lord liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land" (Jeremiah 23: 3, 7, 8).

#### Ezekiel speaks

Or listen to Ezekiel:

"And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the children of

Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land:

"And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no longer two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (Ezekiel 37: 21, 22).

#### Amos speaks

Passage upon passage of Scripture might be quoted, but we call attention to just one more which standing by itself would be conclusive. Listen to Amos:

"And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them.

"And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God" (Amos 9: 14, 15).

Here the God of Israel promises a final restoration, a regathering in their land, never to be plucked up again.

God gave the land to them way back in the promise to Abraham, as an everlasting possession, and His word will not fail.

Today, after millenniums of dispersion, political Israel is again in the land, and soon her spiritual resurrection will take place when according to God's word,

"They shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jeremiah 31: 34).

Only one thing must happen before the final complete restoration of Israel. It is the coming of their Messiah King. The next event is the translation of the church, and then the tribulation, and then Israel's final glory. The fig tree has sprouted again, the buds have appeared, and the fig tree which had been withered all these centuries is in full blossom in the Garden of Canaan. The fruit will soon follow, and Jesus said:

"Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near:

"So ye in like manner, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know that it is nigh, even at the doors" (Mark 13: 28, 29).

5

Can you visualize a day when all the world will be united under one ruler and one king? We talk today about the United Nations, but it expresses only an ideal, a hope, a dream, rather than an accomplished fact. Man hopes for a united world at peace, and does his utmost to achieve it—meeting only with failure again and again; but that dream will come true someday. It will not be brought about by human means or organization, but by the return of the Lord Jesus Christ to this earth. The city of Jerusalem will become the world capital, while all the earth is at peace. Hundreds of passages in scripture deal with this golden age, many of which we have already referred to in our previous broadcasts, but today we invite you to turn to a number of others. First of all, will you follow in your Bible as we consider Isaiah 65: 19.

"And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying.

"There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed.

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.

"They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands.

"They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them" (Isaiah 65: 19-23).

This is an exceedingly rich passage of Scripture, and we suggest that you study it for your own private devotion. There are several things to be noted which, as the context will clearly show, are a description of the conditions that will exist in this world during that coming golden age, centering in the city of Jerusalem, the world capital in that wonderful day when Jesus reigns upon the throne of David.

First of all, will you notice that the Lord promises that in this wonderful age, which we believe lies in the not-too-distant future, sorrow and weeping and crying will be forever banished. The Lord will remove those things which are causing the sorrows of this world today. Satan, of course, will be bound during that age, and cast into the bottomless pit. All men will at least nominally profess to know the Lord Jesus and bow the knee to Him, so that sorrow and troubles and trials which beset us today will be utterly unknown when Jesus reigns upon the throne in Jerusalem. Then will you notice, in the second place, that this passage also teaches that life will be greatly prolonged during the millennial age.

"There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old" (Isaiah 65: 20).

From this interesting passage we find that life will be so tremendously lengthened that a child will not mature until he is at least a hundred years old. All the processes of life will be slowed up, so that a child will remain a child for an entire century. As a result, since a child is not responsible until he has come to the years of accountability and this age of accountability will not be reached in the millennium until after a century of life here upon the earth, there can be no infant death of any kind. No one will die during the millennium under 100 years old, because the only cause of death will be open, deliberate, presumptuous rebellion against the King. The minimum span of life will be 100 years, and only after the child has reached a hundred years, and the age of responsibility and accountability, will it be possible for it to die, and then, as we have stated, only in case of open rebellion against the King, the Lord Jesus. So that we read further: " \* \* \* the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed" (Isaiah 65: 20).

In the 22d verse of this same chapter we read: " \* \* \* as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands" (Isaiah 65: 22).

Since a thousand years is with the Lord as 1 day, and 1 day is as a thousand years, we can understand these statements. You will recall that God said to Adam in the Garden, "The day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Since a thousand years is as 1 day with the Lord, God told Adam that he because of sin could not live out the span of 1,000 years upon the earth, which is equal to one of God's days; and as a result Adam and all other antediluvians died before they ever reached the age of 1,000 years. But at the coming of Christ and the setting up of the Kingdom, the curse will be removed, and then men will live out the full day of God, 1,000 blessed years.

#### *Sickness will be unknown*

We said a moment ago that the only cause of death in the millennium will be a result of the immediate judgment of God upon open rebellion of sinners. We are further

told in the Scriptures that sickness will be unknown during this blessed age of Christ's reign upon the earth. In Isaiah 35, we read:

"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped.

"Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing" (Isaiah 35: 5, 6).

If you will notice carefully the context of this passage, especially the 34th chapter, you will notice that the time referred to is the time of Christ's return and the setting up of His Kingdom here upon the earth. All sickness, therefore, will be banished. In Isaiah 33: 24, we read this:

"And the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity" (Isaiah 33: 24).

I realize that it is exceedingly difficult for us to imagine this in an age of sorrow and sickness, suffering and death, on every hand; however, there will be a period of 1,000 years when there will be no hospitals, no clinics, no ambulances screaming down our streets, for there will be no sickness and no disease. According to the Word of God, there will be only the occasional funeral service when someone who has openly rebelled against the King of Kings will suffer the immediate judgment of Almighty God.

#### *No more poverty*

The next thing we are told in this wonderful passage concerning the Millennium is that poverty and want shall be abolished forever and ever. Inequality among people will be wiped out, and there will be that common blessing of Almighty God upon all. In Isaiah 65 we read once again:

"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.

"They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat" (Isaiah 65: 21, 22).

Everyone will be self-employed, and shall enjoy the full fruitage of his own labor. The prophet Micah tells us: "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (Micah 4: 4).

Every single inhabitant of the world in that age will be independent, own his own property and his own home, and provide for his own family in abundance. There will be no want, there will be no hunger, there will be no thirsting, there will be no problem of distribution, there will be no famine of any kind, but all will have enough, and all shall be satisfied.

The Bible tells us also that in this wonderful age, all of the religious controversy and strife and difference of opinion which has become such a reproach shall be forever ended. There will not be a large number of religions all contending one with another, but instead one great world religion will be the result. In Micah 4 we read concerning the worship in this wonderful age:

"And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Micah 4: 2).

In this same vein we read the following in Jeremiah 31: 34:

"And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jeremiah 31: 34).

The Apostle Paul writing in the New Testament also speaks of this coming day, when all of the divisions, not only of Christianity, but all religions will be forever past, and all men shall be worshipers of the Lord Jesus, at least in outward profession. Paul tells us that the day is coming, when "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in

heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth;

"And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Philippians 2: 10, 11).

We have already touched upon the fact that during this age there will be universal peace. There will be no military training camps, no war planes, no battleships, no hostile submarine activity, there will not even be any munitions factories, for in that day they shall "beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks; nation shall not rise up against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Time would utterly fail us to quote passage after passage from Scripture, all of them with one accord and without contradiction speaking of that glorious age for which every true child of God must be looking.

Truly as we look upon conditions in the world today, if we did not have this hope of Christ's returning, and we had to rely upon the power of the church, and the testimony of Christians to bring about the cessation of hostilities and to bring in perfect righteousness, I for one would despair and give up hope entirely. Personally, if I did not believe in the imminent, personal return of the Lord Jesus to make right that which is all wrong in this world today, and to bring in the peace for which man has so long been sighing, and for which he has so long been looking, I don't think I would care to preach another sermon. I would have to admit that the whole thing is a failure, and that the Gospel has not accomplished that which we had expected, and that Christianity is nothing else but another religion, and a tremendous farce.

But, glory be to God, we have this assurance, we who know His program, that He who said He would come, will come, and will not tarry. His last promise which He left with His disciples was "I am coming again." The last promise of the Bible is:

"He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly" (Revelation 22:20).

So we can praise God that in the midst of all the darkening clouds of impending judgment and the ominous shadows of dark days ahead, when men's hearts are failing them for fear of things which are coming to pass upon the earth, we can still believe for ourselves that everything is going to be all right, that God is still on the throne, His program is being carried out in this world, and that soon He will come and take away the veil, and explain all that which today remains a mystery to us. We are not only happy that we can believe this for ourselves, and rejoice in the comfort which it brings to our own hearts, but we do thank God for the blessed privilege and opportunity of being able to bring it to others, to broadcast this message to a lost world, the message of hope and cheer which the world needs so much today.

What a glorious, wonderful message it is to bring to a world which today is floundering about in dismay, and in confusion, not knowing whither to turn. The darker the days become, the more glorious this blessed hope shines in our lives. I come to you with a message of encouragement, and hope and assurance and cheer, that one of these days, just as surely as Jesus came and died on the Cross the first time, and arose from the grave, and ascended into Heaven. He is coming again. Coming again, to put a stop to all the wickedness, the inequality, and iniquity of this present day, put an end to man's rule of failure and bungling, and to set up His glorious, millennial Kingdom. Yes, indeed, one of these days—

"The Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first:

"Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in

the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

"Wherefore comfort one another with these words" (I Thessalonians 4: 16-18).

#### IMPRESSIONS OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, it is difficult for the average American to visualize and understand the kind of life faced by our Armed Forces in Vietnam. During periods of hostility most of us are dependent upon the perceptive powers and accuracy of those writers who are privileged to live with troops in the field for our knowledge of their everyday experiences and sacrifices.

Recently a young information specialist, Pfc. Richard A. Busse, of Gary, Ind., wrote an excellent article depicting in clear yet moving terms some GI reactions to the problems and tribulations confronting our men in Vietnam. This fine analysis is much in the tradition of Ernie Pyle, our famous Hoosier reporter of World War II. Because indirectly it will help citizens at home comprehend in a limited way the thoughts and feelings of those now serving in Vietnam, I ask unanimous consent that this article, which appeared in the Gary Post-Tribune for July 21, 1965, be printed at this point in my remarks.

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

#### GARY MAN AT SCENE TELLS HOW WAR HITS VIETNAMESE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Pfc. Richard A. Busse, son of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Busse, 4722 Grant Street, is an information specialist in Vietnam. He is a 1958 graduate of Calumet Township High School and a 1962 graduate of Northwestern University. Busse is in the last year of a 3-year enlistment in the Army. Previous to duty in Vietnam he was stationed in Korea. Busse is a reporter of service news in Vietnam and has also had articles printed in the Saigon Daily News. In this article he gives his first impressions of Vietnam, its people, and the GIs who have come there to aid in the fight for freedom.)

(By Richard A. Busse)

A child is crying. Its bandaged limbs hurt. The stretcher on which medics have placed it is not its own bed. It asks for its mother and father, but they are dead, in the charred skeleton of a village sacked and burned by Vietcong guerrillas trained by agents of Communist Ho Chi-minh.

No one can yet determine whether the shock of the terror the child saw will leave it as scarred within for the rest of its life as it is without. But the chances are it will.

At this moment a magic contrast to the violence it experienced adds to the child's confusion. Gentle hands from far away bring it food, comfort, mercy. They heal, and the strangers' soft voices, speaking a language it cannot comprehend, sound understanding.

The child's people were not warlike. On the contrary, they were traditionally worshippers of "the peaceful" and "the tranquil." They were unskilled in methods of self-defense. But peaceful men of such intensity who toil all day long to plant and harvest rice on the land of their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors, do not have time to build walls against countrymen they do not know are their enemies.

They tried to defend themselves when the truth broke upon them, using desperation

against an enemy more skilled at guerrilla warfare than the best armies in the world.

There was no reason to the slaughter the child saw, just cunning insanity. To end it, the survivors would have to learn how to go out and destroy it, or forever live at the point of its sword. But someone would have to teach them how, because peaceful natures cannot be changed overnight.

Until then there would be more lonely aftermaths like this one, and more futile emotion; the anguish of more children left without their parents, and bewildered dogs rummaging through garbage.

While Gray works, plays, and sleeps, the sound of mortar and artillery never ceases to come from west of Saigon. Every night it grumbles dully, sometimes shaking the ground, compelling many of the new men just in from the States, Korea, Okinawa, and other bases throughout the Pacific, to lie awake, staring into the darkness of their tents, asking themselves \* \* \* "what about tomorrow \* \* \* what will tomorrow be?"

They live in a reception station, a tent city growing every day to handle more and more incoming troops.

Many here await transportation to duty stations all over Vietnam: outposts like Da Nang, Pleiku, and Vung Tau; Soc Trang, Dalat, and Bien Hoa; Duc Hoa, Duc My, and Phu Lam; Vinh Long, Song Be, Dong Xoai, Binh Gia, and many many more.

Listen for these names. Try to remember them. As time goes by they will become as familiar to the Americans in the fields and towns of Indiana who inform themselves as they are now to the Americans who man the outposts in the fields of South Vietnam.

These names sound strange today, as strange as the names of battlegrounds during World War II and Korea did to the generations who made them immortal.

Whether he is in a tent-city reception station, an outpost at night under attack by insurgent guerrillas, or in a rear area fighting a lonely battle against time or concern over personal problems at home, the GI does not take it entirely for granted that every American agrees with his being here.

Neither does the marine on patrol in the jungles around Da Nang, or the sailor in hostile waters far off shore in the South China Sea, or the airman whose plane is hit and in trouble somewhere over North Vietnam.

It's a "helluva" way to have to go through a day over here, knowing that. But he figures the dissenting opinions in situations like this always point up the difference between being near something and far away from it; between judging something from a distance and being involved in it up to your neck.

Some men receive their hometown papers. Some have access to popular stateside magazines on current events. Some can tune in on honest appraisals of the news from Washington over the Armed Forces Radio Service. Democracy provides freedom of information and he makes use of it.

He reads about mothers back home asking "Why must mothers mourn?"

No, he feels, it's not a crime for mothers to ask if their son's participation in the war in Vietnam is a necessary thing. They should ask if only because it is a way of life with us to hold the value of the individual human soul above all else, especially when that soul is a son's.

But he feels it is a woman's question in a man's world. He feels that fathers who have fought on foreign soil understand his situation only too well. There is a certain common chemistry about sons who wear their country's uniform. There is only one age among them \* \* \* the age of duty.

Harassing fire continues in the night. Enemies probe for each other. Single bursts boom across the horizon, then whole volleys. Sometimes flares drift down on parachutes,

lighting the sky and the earth below when friendly forces want to see what the Vietcong are up to. At night the Vietcong is in his element. The flares burn with a dazzling golden light and leave erratic trails of white-looking smoke.

Tent city is judged a relatively safe place by the men who live there, because it hasn't been hit by the Vietcong yet.

Some men sit alone in the darkened tents, writing letters home by flashlight. Others worry about why none have been coming from home. GI's bless the balmy sea breeze embracing the land at night, tolerate the monsoon rains which come at all hours, and curse the torrid heat of the day.

They have done their details. They have filled sandbags for bunker construction, painted latrines, dug a few ditches, and policed the compound. And they have sweated. Some now walk guard. Most of the guards are privates, and most of the privates are kids on their first time away from home and families. But they're doing all right.

Some men lie on their bunks, staring into the darkness, listening to the sound of war rumbling distantly. Perhaps the outpost he will be going to lies in that direction. Yet he knows directions make no difference because the war is all around. There are no lines, no fronts, no thoroughly safe rear areas anywhere. The guerrilla can hit anywhere, sometimes singly by planting a bomb or throwing a grenade, or he may come in small groups, or in platoon, company, or battalion strength. Worrying about it is useless. But nobody loses sight of the fact that it could happen. It's really all a matter of chance.

It is a different kind of war, the kind he read about in the magazines before he got here; the unorthodox new tactics, the new weapons and new usages for old weapons, the sneak hit-and-run attacks the ambush, the terrorist raids, and the Vietcong-Vietnamese Communist—"VC" in GI jargon.

But the American soldier is resilient. No matter where he is he brings a part of America with him. It is alive in his laughter, his wit, and his love of life and freedom.

They ask questions amongst themselves, trying to put a picture together of their new situation, as they smoke outside their tents. They discuss all the rumors they've heard since arriving. They speculate on what the duty will be like where they are going. Some men's orders have been changed since arriving. They're going to a place they haven't looked up on a map yet.

"Hey, where's Phu Bai?"

"Anybody know where Ban Me Thuot is?" Nobody ever gets the pronunciations right, but after a while everybody gets to understand.

Names, places, stories, and scuttlebutt; each man tries to find his own niche in this struggle for which his generation now bears the burden of such great responsibility.

In a blacked-out tent a GI talks to his buddy in the next bunk. He gripes about his discomforts, the lousy luck that brought him here, the good job he had to give up back home, the sweet car he was paying on, his girl, the gang he ran around with on the block, and the good life a million miles away.

This is a GI's heritage a script he doesn't realize he knows already, handed down through this century from generations of Americans who spent nights in tents like this on battlefields all over the world.

His buddy doesn't answer, and he wonders how a guy can sleep so hard so fast.

The American soldier in tent city is impatient to get going. He is perpetually tired of standing in lines and waiting for things. Nothing will satisfy him more, aside from going home, than to get to his new unit where he can begin the countdown of days until his 12-month tour is over and he can go home, to his folks, his car, and his girl, and the good life again.

Other men, the college age men, look forward to home and school, many of them.

Older men, lifers in the service, look forward to getting back to the wives and children they had to leave behind.

Nothing in the Army will be good enough for the GI until then. But that's good. It gives a man something to fight for.

The GI can be cynical, gross, and irreverent. He can also be profound, reverent, and proud; comic, outspoken, and patriotic. He would probably never be able to adjust in another army where men are disciplined more for speaking out, because he is an American and these personal liberties are also a way of life. He has always been so.

He will put down the cocky youngster who thinks the world owes him an apology for throwing a curve into his life—like Vietnam. Yet he and the same kid will carry each other home the next night after a few beers. He will go out of his way to communicate with the local ladies, and he'll play with the throngs of children who gather around the compound to chase bugs in the glare of the floodlights, to say "hello" (every one of them), to ask "shine shoes?" and generally to gawk at the "big eyes" from far away.

He likes children. He can't turn his back on one; the spunky, rugged little Vietnamese boys who want to punch, wrestle around, and try out their karate, and the delicate, very feminine, and very lovely little Vietnamese girls with the beautiful long black hair who stand aside shyly; the little pee-wee who comes toddling up without his pants to be with bigger boys, or the hungry little kid who comes up and asks for a nickel.

He works magic with these children. It's called a smile, a stick of gum, a small candy bar, and a big heart.

There is an undercurrent around which tells him almost instinctively that this land is witnessing a showdown between an ideology like his, which cherishes the value of the individual human soul, like the souls of these children, and the dogma which places far greater value on the individual's back, a value like the Vietcong's brand of communism.

He still has a lot to learn about personal diplomacy with people whose ways of life are different from his own, and that, when walking down a sidewalk in another man's land, it is often a sign of great humility to allow that man the center of the sidewalk. But he is learning \* \* \* every day.

He cannot be certain of the future, but he is determined to have one. And many GIs, more than some Americans not here can ever know first hand, are determined that these Vietnamese kids and their families will have a future, too.

He is apprehensive of that moment when the burden of battle may be dropped on his shoulders for the first time; when the qualities of mercy and charity, ingrained in him since childhood might have to be shoved aside if it becomes necessary to kill a man. Others will have no compunctions about pulling the trigger on a Vietcong.

He senses that the character of war and the rumble of distant conflict remain constant in their honesty. They are what they appear to be and nothing more or less. They seek not to impress because they are not living things of flesh and blood, like men. But they do impress, the first time, and lastingly, for neither souls nor consciences have been built into them, or the power to deceive. What they are they make no excuses for. Neither do they repent. They know no better, and there is no hope of their ever being taught or learning differently.

This is why no man can forget them who has ever associated himself with them or experienced the havoc they wreak.

Nobody ever guaranteed that living or dying in this century would be easy. It's

natural that a heavy burden should tire a man's shoulders, even a great nation's shoulders. But it is how well a man or nation carries its burdens that bespeaks its character. And here in the embattled republic, humanity calls.

To the American soldier who will have served here, died here, and survived here, it will have sounded eternally profane for the secure at home to have said, "you men were wrong and your ordeal in vain."

Let the man guard his words who has not been here, who has not seen, and felt, and known this war.

Let us ever guard his right to dissent. But one Sunday in the church of his choice may he instead ask God to grant the Americans here and to those to come, the South Vietnamese soldier in battle for his Republic, and the Allies here to help him, one fair request:

"The serenity to accept the things they cannot change here;

The courage to change the things they can;  
And the wisdom to know the difference."

#### MARITIME RESTRICTION PREVENTS AMERICAN WHEAT SALES

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the regrettable shipping restriction which makes it impossible for the United States to sell wheat to Russia and Eastern Europe cannot be defended on any rational ground. The unfortunate aspects of such restriction is further underscored in an excellent editorial published in the Chicago Daily News of August 13, 1965.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, Aug. 13, 1965]

#### RUSSIA TURNS WEST FOR WHEAT

Russia has plunged into the Western wheat market in a big way with orders for 214 million bushels from Canada to cost \$450 million. The purchase reflects another bad harvest in the Soviet Union and raises a strong possibility that Russia will once more seek a deal to buy grain from the United States.

U.S. wheat sales to Russia lack the simplicity of the Canadian approach. To Canadians, business is business, and if Russia, Red China, or any other Communist country has the money, Canada will sell. Here the grain business gets intertwined with domestic and international politics and prejudice until the strands are lost.

Already, forces are being marshaled in Washington to block any wheat sales to Communist countries. This despite the experience of 2 years ago, when Russia bought \$145 million worth of wheat in the United States without undermining the Statue of Liberty.

U.S. stores of surplus wheat have declined a bit in recent years, to a current 12-year low. But there were still 819 million bushels in the bins as of July 1, being stored at a massive cost to the taxpayer and otherwise contributing to the insoluble farm problem. An opportunity to sell some of this surplus on the world market ought not to be lightly dismissed.

Much of our surplus grain goes to countries that can pay only in soft, local currencies, which means the sale is virtually a gift. Russia pays in hard currencies on the international market, which is no small consideration in view of our precarious balance-of-payments situation.

There are, of course, ample reasons for caution in trading with the Soviets that do

not arise in trade with our allies. It would be foolhardy, for example, to extend long-term credits to Russia and thereby help build up an economy that is in threatening competition with our own.

But we find no merit in the emotional argument that selling Russia subsidized wheat constitutes an American subsidy to Russia. It is the American farmer and exporter who benefit from the subsidy, not the nation that buys grain at the world market price. And if we block sales of grain to Russia, there is nothing to prevent middleman nations from buying our grain at the world price and reaping a profit from selling flour to Russia.

Nor should we overlook the propaganda value in the simple fact that the Communist nations turn to the West when they need wheat. Nothing they could do would better illustrate the basic point we are trying to make: Our system works; theirs doesn't.

#### CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT AND REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FINANCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, the Congress needs to maintain Government-wide oversight and review of the research and development being financed by the Federal Government. The distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] has long recognized that need and has himself done significant and valuable work toward that end in his capacity as chairman of the oversight committee of the Senate, the Government Operations Committee, on which I am honored to serve. I am greatly pleased that our distinguished chairman [Mr. McCLELLAN] has created a special Subcommittee on Government Research in the Senate Government Operations Committee, and has appointed me to chair it.

With the help of the able and hard-working Senators who have been appointed as members of this subcommittee, we will do our best to carry out the job our distinguished chairman has given us.

Mr. President, to further explain the subcommittee's work and scope of operations, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], dated August 20, 1965, and a statement which I made on the same date, be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

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

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOHN L. McCLELLAN, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, AUGUST 20, 1965

Senator JOHN McCLELLAN announced today that he has appointed a Special Subcommittee on Government Research of the Committee on Government Operations, to be composed of Senators FRED R. HARRIS, of Oklahoma, as chairman, McCLELLAN, ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, KARL E. MUNDT, and MILWARD L. SIMPSON.

The subcommittee will be authorized and directed to undertake intensive studies, including hearings as may be necessary, into the operations of research and development programs financed by departments and agencies of the Federal Government. The studies will include research in such fields as economics and social science, as well as basic science, research and technology. Special emphasis will be placed on those programs

now being carried out through contracts with higher educational institutions and private organizations, corporations and individuals, to determine the need for the establishment of national research, development and manpower policies and programs, in order to bring about government-wide coordination and elimination of overlapping and duplication of scientific and research activities.

The subcommittee will be further directed to examine existing research information operations, the impact of Federal research and development programs on institutions of higher learning, and to recommend the establishment of programs to insure equitable distribution of research and development contracts among such institutions and other contractors.

The staff of the full Committee on Government Operations will be assigned to provide the necessary staff services to the subcommittee, and the subcommittee chairman will be authorized to appoint, without compensation, such technical advisors and consultants as may be required to attain the subcommittee's objectives. Should these studies indicate that legislative action may be required to develop an adequate and comprehensive program covering these operations, the subcommittee will be directed to submit appropriate recommendations to the Committee on Government Operations.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS, OF OKLAHOMA, AUGUST 20, 1965

I am grateful to Senator JOHN L. McCLELLAN, of Arkansas, chairman of the Government Operations Committee, for the creation at my suggestion of a special Subcommittee on Government Research, and for his appointment of me to chair the new subcommittee.

The Federal Government is the largest purchaser of research today. The Government is spending approximately \$15 billion a year for research and development, or more than 15 percent of the total annual budget. This compares with a Government expenditure for the same purpose of around \$75 million in 1940 and \$2 billion in 1953.

More than half of those engaged in research in this country are financed by the Federal Government and most of the others are influenced by its research programs.

The Subcommittee on Government Research will be an active subcommittee, examining into all aspects of the huge, \$15 billion annual expenditure for Federal research and development programs. I plan to call a meeting of the subcommittee soon to discuss objectives and to lay our work for next session and the balance of this session.

I have long been concerned with the subject embraced by this new subcommittee. Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY, as chairman of a Government Operations Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization and International Organizations, undertook in 1960 studies of this matter, as did a House Select Committee on Government Research in 1963 and 1964.

Presently, there is no way for one agency to find out readily whether a subject proposed to be researched by it is or has been the subject of research by some other governmental agency. There is no centralized oversight or review of research contracts let by the various departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

Research results are not readily accessible to government agencies or the general public, because there is no centralized filing, indexing, or reporting of them.

No present administrative procedure exists to require substantial justification for the letting of particular contracts. Each agency pretty much makes its own decisions on whether research contracts should be let and to whom.

Universities and other prospective research contractors have no regular way of knowing in advance what research and development contracts are to be let.

The \$15 billion annual expenditure by the Federal Government for research and development has tremendous impact on higher education and our economy generally. There is no overall national policy on research or the proper use of research manpower resources.

Approximately 100 of the 1,800 colleges and universities in America receive the bulk of research contracts let to higher education institutions. Twenty universities do approximately two-thirds of the Government research work and, not surprisingly, these same 20 universities graduate about two-thirds of the Ph. D.'s in the country. The result obviously is that the favored institutions have grown stronger while the unfavored ones have become less able to compete for research projects.

Lastly, our subcommittee, in addition to considering these various aspects of the problem, will also be concerned with making recommendations for the establishment of administrative machinery to eliminate duplications and overlapping of research projects handled by different Federal agencies and to reduce unnecessary expenditures.

COOPERATIVE ACTION TO ELIMINATE IMMEDIATE AND DEEP-SEATED CAUSES OF RIOTS

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, last Tuesday I addressed a letter to the President of the United States making several recommendations for action in connection with the tragic holocaust occurring in my State last week.

Yesterday I received an excellent and constructive reply from the President telling me that my suggestions would be thoroughly considered. I ask unanimous consent that both letters be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

AUGUST 17, 1965.

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Recently in the Watts district of the city of Los Angeles in my State, the Nation and the world witnessed a tragic outbreak of violence and destruction. Apparently, law and order have now been re-established. Sociologists will long study what caused this explosion but the time for constructive measures by both the legislative and executive branches of the National Government, and by the State government, and the communities affected is now.

I have long supported the establishment and continuation of the programs carried out under the Economic Opportunity Act which is now before the Senate. I believe it is essential that all Federal agencies, as well as those dealing with the antipoverty program be immediately mobilized on a coordinated basis to make the reconstruction of the Watts area a true demonstration of self-help and cooperation between private and public groups. I would hope that the resources not only of the Office of Economic Opportunity, but also of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Small Business Administration, the Department of Labor through the manpower development, retraining, and employment programs would be imaginatively extended to those who have suffered so much in this area. Certainly programs such as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) would be immensely helpful in working with community organizations to

further adult participation on a neighborhood basis in community life. I understand such a program has already been successfully conducted on a demonstration basis in Philadelphia.

Surely, all arrangements should be immediately made to eliminate the causes of this holocaust. I respectfully believe the Federal Government can be of great assistance in this critically important field.

With sincere respect,

THOMAS H. KUCHEL.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, D.C., August 19, 1965.

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TOM: I appreciate your letter of August 18 recommending that programs of Federal agencies, as well as those of State, city, and private organizations, be coordinated to make the reconstruction of the Watts area in Los Angeles a demonstration of self-help and cooperation between private and public groups.

I have been deeply concerned about the Los Angeles situation. As you know, I have followed the events there closely.

In response to the request of Governor Brown and Mayor Yorty, Governor LeRoy Collins, Under Secretary of Commerce and former head of the Community Relations Service, was sent to Los Angeles to advise and consult with both the Governor and the mayor. Governor Collins is working on all the approaches you have so thoughtfully suggested. He has reported that he is meeting with the State, local, private, and Federal representatives in Los Angeles immediately to assist in bringing together the efforts of all of these agencies to ease tensions and begin the task of rebuilding.

I agree that we must eliminate both the immediate and deep-seated causes of riots such as those we witnessed in Los Angeles. Together with the Congress, and with much help from Senators like you, we have been able to obtain many programs designed to give residents of poverty-stricken areas the sense of hope and responsibility essential for human growth in a free society. But, there are complex problems and the solutions are neither quick nor easy. The White House Conference in November should help us to find solutions, as should the work of the special commission announced by Governor Brown to examine in depth the causes of the Los Angeles riots.

With deep gratitude for your excellent suggestions and assurances that I will see that each of them is thoroughly considered immediately for appropriate action, I am, your friend,

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

RECESS UNTIL 12:30 P.M.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 12:30 p.m.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.), the Senate took a recess until 12:30 p.m.

The Senate reconvened at 12:30 p.m., when called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATIONS,  
1966

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate

turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 615, H.R. 9220.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 9220) making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Delaware River Basin Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, no action will be taken on the bill this afternoon. It will be the pending business on Monday.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### REMARKABLE CONTINUITY OF U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA UNDER EISENHOWER, KENNEDY, AND JOHNSON

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, recently there have been some ominous indications that American policy in Vietnam was about to become a matter of partisan controversy. Ingenious efforts seemed underway to discover some way of splitting Republican policy in southeast Asia under President Eisenhower from the period in 1954 to 1961 from Kennedy, and especially Johnson policy more recently.

The division was labored, but it was given impetus by a statement attributed to President Eisenhower that, under his administration, the United States concentrated on economic aid, not military commitment, in Vietnam.

Yesterday President Eisenhower clarified the situation with a resounding endorsement of President Johnson's policy in southeast Asia—a statement of warm and generous support.

President Eisenhower, in fact, flatly repudiated efforts to make a partisan issue of the Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam. He described—and I use his word—as “rot” published reports of a difference in approach on the Vietnam question between him and President Johnson.

In fact, at his news conference yesterday, former President Eisenhower rejected any interpretation that there was any difference between the Eisenhower policy on Vietnam and the Johnson policy.

Let me quote what President Eisenhower added at that news conference. These are President Eisenhower's remarks yesterday:

The public should understand how different the circumstances are today from a decade ago.

Eisenhower said that in 1954 the hope was that South Vietnam would be left in peace by the Communists in North Vietnam and could survive with sufficient economic aid. But those hope have not been realized.

President Eisenhower added:

I have said again and again that I support the President in his efforts to defeat the Communist military challenge in South Vietnam.

Mr. President, any careful and fair review of our policy in Vietnam since 1954 discloses the remarkable continuity and consistency of that policy.

It has evolved logically from commitments originally made in 1954, based on the principle of assisting a country that formally requested us to help.

Throughout this period we have never lost sight of the fact that peace through economic and educational aid and, yes, through some military advice and supply, was our basis for responding to the South Vietnamese plea for support.

Anyone with an ear to hear or an eye to read must admit that in recent months the Johnson administration has stepped up our drive for peaceful negotiations—negotiations anywhere, anytime, any place, with anyone—even more vigorously than we have necessarily stepped up the scope and size of our military help.

With the appointment of General Lansdale as a top aide to Ambassador Lodge, we are seeking a greater initiative on the economic and educational front of this complex war.

The Johnson administration certainly recognizes at least as clearly as any administration has that we must win peace in Vietnam in the minds and hearts of the Vietnamese people, not simply on the field of battle.

The American commitment is greater than it has been, but no one should lose sight of the fact that that commitment is in about the same balance in 1965 as it is in 1955—in spite of the immense escalation in military activity from Communist aggression. We still recognize that we cannot successfully help South Vietnam to defend itself without very heavy commitments on the economic, the educational, and the psychological fronts. And our actions show this.

We recognize that this war must end with negotiations. We have no design, none on North Vietnam. But we also recognize that the military capacity to defend South Vietnam and the will to use that capacity in its defense is just as important as the will to negotiate, if peace is to be achieved.

Consider the remarkable record of continuity in the U.S. policy in southeast Asia since we first responded to the request for assistance from that embattled little country.

From 1954 to 1965, the fundamental purpose of the United States in its south-

east Asian policy has been unchanged. That purpose has been to prevent the imposition on southeast Asia of the political power of communism, backed by China and the Soviet Union. As President Eisenhower explained to Winston Churchill on April 4, 1954, such a result in southeast Asia “would be a grave threat to the whole free community,” and “this possibility should now be met by united action and not passively accepted.”

That was not President Johnson in 1965; that was President Eisenhower in April 1954, more than 11 years ago.

In the conditions of early 1954, united action did not prove possible, and at the Geneva Conference later that spring, agreements were reached which conceded one-half of Vietnam to Communist power.

But the United States did not change its purpose. It proceeded promptly to take the lead in the negotiation of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. In the words of Secretary of State Dulles:

The purpose of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty is the creation of unity for security and peace in southeast Asia and the southwestern Pacific. It is a treaty for collective defense against both open armed attack and internal subversion. Although the United States has no direct territorial interest in southeast Asia, we have much in common with the people and governments of this area and are united in the face of a common danger that stems from international communism.

The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty was signed on October 14, 1954. The Senate approved it 4 months later by a vote of 82 to 1. Vietnam is not a member of the treaty, but it is protected by the treaty under a protocol agreed at the same time.

This is something that many of the critics of the administration in Vietnam overlook. The fact is that it was a firm commitment made by President Eisenhower in South Vietnam, and reaffirmed by President Kennedy and President Johnson, and that we also have a commitment under the Southeast Collective Defense Treaty of 1954.

As Secretary Rusk said so well on television some 10 days ago, the American commitment is the heart of the matter. Unless we keep our commitment to South Vietnam, a commitment which is widely recognized throughout the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain, our word and promise will mean little in the future. As Secretary Rusk also indicated, peace is based very heavily on the good word of the United States of America to more than 40 countries throughout the world.

On October 25, 1954, President Eisenhower made a specific offer of help to the Government of Vietnam. He pointed out that the implications of the recently concluded Geneva Conference “have caused grave concern regarding the future of a country temporarily divided by an artificial military grouping, weakened by a long and exhausting war, and faced by enemies without and by their subversive collaborators within.” President Eisenhower said that he was instructing the American Ambassador in Vietnam to discuss with the Vietnamese Government

how an intelligent program of American aid could assist Vietnam in its hour of trial, provided that the Vietnamese Government in return would give assurances as to its own standards of performance. President Eisenhower stated:

The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means.

That was the commitment which President Eisenhower made to Vietnam in 1954.

This Eisenhower purpose is the same as the Johnson purpose, the purpose of the U.S. Government today. In support of this consistent, continuous purpose, changes in the shape of American assistance and support have been made from time to time in the last 10 years, as subversion, terror, and infiltration from the north have increased.

American economic assistance under Eisenhower was followed almost at once by an American Military Advisory Group, in 1955.

In the late 1950's, economic and military assistance were stepped up, and, in October 1960, President Eisenhower assured the Vietnamese Government:

For so long as our strength can be useful, the United States will continue to assist Vietnam in the difficult but hopeful struggle ahead.

In December 1961, President Kennedy responded to increasing Communist pressure by a major enlargement of the Military Advisory and Assistance Command.

In August 1964, President Johnson replied to direct aggression in the Gulf of Tonkin, and the Congress overwhelmingly passed the southeast Asia resolution by a combined vote of 504-2. This resolution reaffirmed the vital importance to the United States and to world peace of "the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia." It declared:

The United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

In February 1965, after repeated military sneak attacks upon U.S. installations in South Vietnam, President Johnson authorized controlled and measured air action against North Vietnam.

In the spring and early summer of 1965, after careful review of the military situation in Vietnam, President Johnson authorized further deployments of U.S. forces for combat assignments in South Vietnam, having determined that it was essential to meet the needs of the American Commander, General Westmoreland.

Throughout these 11 years, there has been no partisan division within the United States on southeast Asia or on South Vietnam. Democrats have supported a Republican President, and Republicans have supported two Democratic Presidents. Senator Lyndon Johnson fully supported President Eisenhower, and General Eisenhower has given

generously of time, counsel, and support to President Johnson.

The purpose of the United States today is the purpose of the United States in 1954. That purpose was clearly stated by President Johnson on July 28, as follows: "To do what must be done to bring an end to aggression and a peaceful settlement."

Mr. President, in support of my contention that the Johnson administration is indeed stepping up the efforts to fight for the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese people as well as meeting the military necessities, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article written by Evans and Novak entitled "Vietnam's Quiet War," setting forth the remarkable record and assignment of Gen. Edward Lansdale.

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

#### VIETNAM'S QUIET WAR

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Acting under the private sponsorship of the White House itself, a new team of non-military experts will take off soon for the jungle hamlets of Vietnam.

Their mission: To develop new techniques to close the worst gap of all—the growing gap between the people and their Government.

What makes this newest attempt in the vital nonmilitary phase of the war particularly interesting is the identity of the American who will lead the new effort: the famed Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale (U.S. Army, retired), a victorious veteran of counterinsurgency politics in the Philippines.

The decision to let Lansdale try his experienced hand in the shadowy arts of rural reconstruction (perhaps the decisive issue in saving South Vietnam from communism) was taken at the highest levels. It is a gamble—and an opportunity.

The gamble is found in Lansdale's personal history in the Far East.

While still on the active list (and famous throughout southeast Asia as "Over Hill and Lansdale") the general was an inside man in the turbulent early days of Saigon's Ngo Dinh Diem. He was the go-between in countless sub rosa missions for the then tiny U.S. mission in Saigon and the new, unstable Diem government.

"Nothing happened in Saigon that Ed didn't have a hand in or know about," an admiring Washington friend confides. "He knows where all the bodies are buried."

Why, then, is he a gamble? Because nobody really can predict Lansdale's reception by the present ruling faction in Saigon's presidential palace. Since Diem's assassination in 1963, governments have come and gone like monsoon showers. Consequently, Lansdale's brilliant exploits in those early days might embarrass rather than assist him in working with the newest regime, headed by Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky.

In fact, this danger is a key reason why the U.S. Government hasn't sent Lansdale back to Saigon sooner than this.

But now the White House has decided that the opportunity outweighs the gamble.

That opportunity can also be found in Lansdale's background: During the last stages of the violent guerrilla war in the Philippines, led by the Communist Huks, it was Lansdale who worked out new techniques to win back the allegiance of peasants who had defected to the Reds.

Lansdale was the late Ramon Magsaysay's unsung hero on the long road back to victory over the Huks. The essential job as Magsaysay rallied his country against the insur-

gency was to woo the Philippine peasants away from the promises of the guerrillas.

In Saigon today an immense U.S. aid mission dispenses some \$350 million a year to keep the economy going. But the alienation of the hamlets from Saigon continues.

Out in the provinces there still is no sense of identification with the central government.

On top of this, the prospect of thousands of innocent victims in the escalating war (many of whom will be blamed on the United States) is deeply worrying the Johnson administration. Drastically needed while the noisy military war intensifies is even greater intensification of the quiet war.

No hard plans have yet been made for the team of a dozen experts that Lansdale will take to Saigon in the next couple of weeks. One possibility: a lengthy tour of duty in a single province, perhaps in Long An Province near Saigon, to develop the elusive techniques for closing the gap between the Government and the people.

Lansdale will be directly responsible to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, with an open-end commission giving him plenty of room for maneuver. He will work closely with the Vietnamese Government and local Vietnam officials engaged in pacification and rural reconstruction in the hamlets and villages.

But officials here are keeping their fingers crossed. The question is not only whether his old Diem connections will hurt Lansdale despite all his expertise in the politics of counterinsurgency. The deeper question is whether Saigon can really win the allegiance of the countryside.

In an answer to that second question lies the key to a final solution in Vietnam.

#### RESTORE BUDGET CUTS IN CONSERVATION TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the Wisconsin Legislature, reflecting the Badger State's great interest in conservation, has passed a joint resolution urging the Congress to restore budget cuts in conservation technical assistance and in cost sharing for conservation and resource development projects works on privately owned lands.

Happily, both the Senate and the House share this great concern for conservation and have restored these funds. This congressional action, which I fully supported, restored an average of \$4,500 per county district to Wisconsin's 72 county soil and water conservation districts, for a total of \$315,000.

The Wisconsin Legislature also adopted a resolution offering to purchase a site and provide necessary auxiliary facilities for a 200 Bev accelerator if the Atomic Energy Commission locates this atom smasher in Wisconsin.

This joint resolution points out that Wisconsin offers an ideal site, ample and inexpensive utility services, multiple transportation facilities, a skilled labor force and excellent scientific, educational, cultural and recreational opportunities for the scientific staff which would man the accelerator.

Mr. President, I commend the Wisconsin Legislature for its initiative and join them in urging construction of this research facility in Wisconsin.

I ask unanimous consent to have these two joint resolutions printed in the RECORD.

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

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 69

Joint resolution memorializing Congress to restore funds for conservation technical assistance and for conservation and resource development works

Whereas this is a time for greater attention to the beauty of the Wisconsin and American countryside, for recreational and wildlife developments on privately owned lands, and a stepped up "slowdown" of silt-ing and pollution in our streams, rivers, lakes, and harbors; and

Whereas in keeping with President Lyndon Johnson's statement to the 18th Convention of the National Association of Soil and Water Conservation Districts, when he said: "In the last 30 years, we have, through conservation programs, fought an important and winning struggle to save our Nation's most basic resources; our soil and water. I remember, as do many of you, how desperate was the problem and how long seemed the odds against us when we began. The success we have achieved today is proof of how well we can work together—from the Federal level to the local level—to do the things our Nation needs done for the present and the future"; and Wisconsin joins with the growing number of Senators and Representatives in Congress, and farm and conservation organizations, private organizations and individuals from our villages and cities in the impending battle to maintain an effective U.S. conservation effort: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the assembly (the senate concurring),* That the Wisconsin Legislature hereby protests the cut of \$20 million in conservation technical assistance and of \$100 million in cost-sharing for conservation and resource development works on privately owned lands proposed by the U.S. Bureau of the Budget. Seventy percent of the Nation's lands are in private ownership and this slash would be a reversal of national policy of support for the family farm and for farmers least able to pay for essential conservation work; be it further

*Resolved,* That the Wisconsin Legislature protests the proposed reduction of present Federal technical assistance to the 72 county soil and water conservation districts in Wisconsin by approximately \$315,000, estimated at \$4,500 per county district; further protests the proposed 40 percent reduction in Federal cost sharing in applying soil and water conservation practices to safeguard for the future the natural resources of our State and Nation; and further protests the shifting of this responsibility from the Federal Government to private landowners and local units of government; and be it further

*Resolved,* That truly attested copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to the Honorable Kermit Gordon, Director of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget; and be it further

*Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the members of Wisconsin's congressional delegation, with the request that they take all appropriate action to draft, introduce and enact legislation which will restore Federal funds for conservation technical assistance and for conservation and natural resource development works to the necessary minimum levels.

ROBERT T. HUBER,  
*Speaker of the Assembly.*

JAMES P. BUCKLEY,  
*Chief Clerk of the Assembly.*

PATRICK J. LUCEY,  
*President of the Senate.*

WILLIAM P. NUGENT,  
*Chief Clerk of the Senate.*

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION 105

Joint resolution memorializing the President and Congress of the United States and the United States Atomic Energy Commission to locate the proposed 200-billion-electron-volt proton accelerator in Wisconsin and expressing wholehearted intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and construction of suitable auxiliary facilities if the accelerator is so located in Wisconsin

Whereas the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is considering alternative sites as a location for the construction of a 200-billion-electron-volt accelerator; and

Whereas the University of Wisconsin has submitted a proposal for a Wisconsin site as the choice for the new accelerator and its research mission; and

Whereas, Wisconsin offers an ideal site, ample and inexpensive utility services, multiple transportation facilities, a skilled labor force, excellent scientific, educational, cultural, and recreational opportunities for the scientific staff; and

Whereas, the location of the accelerator in Wisconsin would correct the serious imbalance of the distribution of Federal scientific facilities among the major geographic areas of the country; and

Whereas the Government, educational institutions, business community, labor unions, and entire citizenry of the State of Wisconsin have enthusiastically expressed complete endorsement of the Wisconsin site for the contemplated accelerator; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Assembly (the Senate concurring),* That the Legislature of Wisconsin urge the President and Congress of the United States and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to locate the contemplated 200-billion-electron-volt proton accelerator at the proposed Wisconsin site; and be it further

*Resolved,* That the Legislature of Wisconsin express its intent to provide a sum sufficient for the purchase of a site and the construction of suitable auxiliary facilities for the proposed accelerator if it is located in Wisconsin; and be it further

*Resolved,* That properly attested copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the U.S. Senate and the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, to the chairman and the Director of the Division of Research of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and to each member of the Wisconsin delegation in Congress.

ROBERT T. HUBER,  
*Speaker of the Assembly.*

JAMES P. BUCKLEY,  
*Chief Clerk of the Assembly.*

PATRICK J. LUCEY,  
*President of the Senate.*

WILLIAM P. NUGENT,  
*Chief Clerk of the Senate.*

PROGRESS IN STOPPING NUCLEAR SPREAD

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the most depressing specter hanging over the world is the terrible prospect that the power to destroy mankind through nuclear explosions may soon be held by 10 or 20 nations, including some of the most irresponsible demagogues in recent history.

Recently, the distinguished junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] made a superlative speech on this issue. It was exceptionally well received in this body. Of course, it supported the efforts of President Johnson to develop strong

public support for a new and more comprehensive nuclear treaty—one that would be specifically designed to choke off the terrible threat of proliferation. Now that the Johnson administration has presented a draft treaty to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons at Geneva, we seem to be moving ahead, at least a little.

In a recent column, the able commentator Joseph Kraft analyzes the significance of this American proposal and concludes:

The end result is that a door once locked tight is now slightly ajar. If that gain looks minimal, the fact is that, just as in the test ban, the Russians may, any time, walk through the door.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the article written by Joseph Kraft "Progress at Geneva," printed in the RECORD.

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

PROGRESS AT GENEVA  
(By Joseph Kraft)

Anybody can sing a dirge on the draft treaty against the further spread of nuclear weapons that this country presented yesterday at Geneva. The Russians are not about to sign. France and China are not even in the conference. And the draft is only a piece of paper anyhow.

Even so, the draft is probably the biggest step toward peace since the test ban treaty of 2 years ago. Indeed, its mere existence confirms the President's growing mastery over forces and pressures that have previously slowed or blunted almost all conciliatory proposals of the United States.

Up to now, discussion of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons was everybody's favorite excuse for braying insults. That fatal temptation could be seen even in the relatively mild sessions of the present Geneva meetings.

The Russians kicked off by saying that the price for a treaty was that this country abandon Vietnam, Laos, the Congo, and West Germany. The American delegate retorted that the Russians were using the talks as a cover for the form of aggression they call wars of national liberation. The most important neutrals at Geneva—India, Sweden, and Egypt—thereupon declared that they would make no commitments until the Big Two settled down to the realities.

The treaty draft at least gets the subject down to realities. It indicates what is required, from big countries and from small, if early and rapid proliferation of nuclear weapons is to be prevented. Diplomats would not be diplomats if they were not adept at avoiding the subject. But from here on in, when nonproliferation is the subject, the world will know who is talking seriously and who is merely spouting propaganda.

In working out the draft, moreover, the White House asserted primacy over two power centers in the West that, for good reasons of their own, have usually been against conciliatory moves. The West Germans, for one, have feared that a nonproliferation agreement would foreclose their chance to participate in NATO decisions on nuclear weapons. A section of the State Department has always wanted to humor Bonn on the grounds that otherwise vicious nationalism would reassert itself in German politics.

For years, the combination of Bonn and Foggy Bottom has been slowly diluting proposals favored by determined Presidents. With German elections set for September

19, and with little chance that the Russians would sign anything, another victory for the combination looked like a sure bet. But two happy circumstances, and a large dose of maneuvering skill, made it possible for the White House to beat the odds.

The first happy circumstance was the speech calling for a nonproliferation treaty, by Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of June 23. The speech drew widespread and favorable attention, including endorsement from the nuclear deans of the Senate, CLINTON P. ANDERSON and JOHN O. PASTORE. The President, in effect, was on his mettle to produce. Next day, with an intimation that it would brook no foot-dragging by the State Department, the White House requested proposals for a draft treaty from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

As to the second happy circumstance, for domestic political reasons the British Government had been longing to take a new initiative in disarmament. In eagerness to engage the Russians, the British, on July 26, came up with a plan that would have cut out the Germans entirely from a voice in NATO nuclear affairs. Such a plan, had it been put forward as a formal proposal at Geneva, would probably have blown the alliance to bits.

With that threat in the air, the United States was under even more pressure to come up with a draft treaty, while the Germans, for once, had to make concessions. After 2 weeks of behind-the-scenes talks, the Germans and the British came around to a plan that continues an option for German participation in NATO nuclear decisions even if a nonproliferation treaty is reached. That, in effect, is the American draft treaty proposal.

The end result is that a door once locked tight is now slightly ajar. If that gain looks minimal, the fact is that, just as in the test ban, the Russians may, any time, walk through the door.

#### ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS ENTERS NEW ERA

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, few programs of this Government have started with more idealism and higher hopes than the Alliance for Progress. Here was a selfless commitment to the ideal of assisting our neighbors to the south to help themselves fight and work their way to better, freer, fuller lives.

Like many idealistic proposals the chances of its success seemed dim. The fact is that the Alliance for Progress has done surprisingly well. But in this new field nothing fails like success. There is real danger that by sticking to a formula that proved temporarily successful, we would fail to meet the challenge of changing conditions.

Fortunately we have not made that mistake. We are experimenting the Alliance for Progress in much the same way as we experimented in the New Deal in this country.

Charles Bartlett the highly perceptive news commentator has recently written how we have adjusted and modified the program. Bartlett writes of the success recently of a savings and loan association under the inspired and persistent leadership of a Catholic priest. The institution may well be setting an example for the possibilities of private, non-Government self-help.

I ask unanimous consent that the article from last night's Washington Star,

entitled "Alliance for Progress Enters New Era," be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Aug. 19, 1965]

#### ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS ENTERS NEW ERA (By Charles Bartlett)

The fourth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este is brightened by indications that an attempt will soon be made to restore the mystique of the Alliance for Progress.

The old mystique, which went into mothballs when Thomas Mann assumed command of Latin policy at the outset of President Johnson's administration, was a fervent, emotional commitment to the poor people and nations of the hemisphere. It was a clarion of urgency, eloquently proclaimed in the charter and reiterated many times by President Kennedy and his officials.

The distinctive aura that was purposefully wrapped about the program contributed significantly to its beginning and many eyebrows were raised when Mann undertook to lay it aside. A matter-of-fact diplomat who had been somewhat uneasy in the liberal ferment of the New Frontier, Mann was determined to operate a pragmatic, unromanticized version of the Alliance.

The mystique was acknowledged to have some weaknesses. It was fuzzy and it implied a response to Latin poverty that exceeded the resources allotted to the Alliance. Its revolutionary flavor, injected by the Kennedy people to stir action and hopes, had raised intimations of a class struggle. The glamor of the mystique attracted interest but it also attracted critics.

Mann has now left Latin affairs for larger spheres of State Department influence and his "cold turkey" phase of Alliance management is judged by most critics to have been a constructive interlude. He made the program duller but more stable and assured. He transformed the anguished soul searching of his agency into poise. He presided over a period in which the Latins learned their obligation to scrutinize their own shortcomings.

Mann's successors, Jack Vaughn, and David Bronheim, must contend, however, with a flatness that has crept into the Alliance, a deflation of the hope and zeal that marked its initial phase. The Alliance is a going concern and South America is producing growth rates that match the expectations of Punta del Este. But the program is losing its sparkle, its capacity to incite the Latins to new enthusiasms and exertions.

The aims of the Vaughn-Bronheim team and the exhortations of CIAP, the inter-American panel that has called for redoubled efforts "to avoid the spread of a sense of frustration," now indicate the start of a third phase of the Alliance. This will be a new campaign to involve more Latins in the program.

The experiences to date have shown that the best means to this end is to create new institutions that will enlist new talent and new forms of cooperation. The Alliance has slowly abandoned its initial insistence that all aid be channeled through existing governments. The trend will be accelerated by the deepening awareness that it is less useful to build buildings than it is to back people who have ideas and spark.

This lesson is emphasized by the contrast between the Kennedy housing project in Bogotá, Colombia, and the People's Savings and Loan Association in Lima, Peru. The Bogotá project produced some homes at considerable cost but it has not inspired any

Latin imitators or local initiatives. It is a monument to the aid program and little more.

In contrast the Lima savings association, founded in 1961 by a dogged Maryknoll priest, Father Dan McLellan, has inspired the people themselves to found their own financial institution. Its resources, now almost \$7 million, have underwritten the erection of about 2,900 homes already. The association's success has caused it to be widely imitated. Since the institution is run by its members its operations have uncovered able young people who will be potential leaders of the new Peru.

Pope John XXIII stressed the necessity of involving the people in his encyclical, which urged special efforts to see "that workers in underdeveloped areas are conscious of playing a key role in the promotion of their personal socioeconomic and cultural betterment. For it is a mark of good citizenship to shoulder a major share of the burden connected with one's own development."

The pressing need as Father McLellan explains it, is to fill the vacuum between the people on top and the people on the bottom. "We have good first teams in many of these countries but we have no depth," the priest maintains. "The way to fill the vacuum is to prevail upon the Latins to build their own institutions." This will be the aim of the new mystique.

#### NECESSITY FOR WINNING EQUILIBRIUM IN U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, recently there has been a tendency on the part of some to argue that because the balance of payments is in balance and that, in fact, we have a surplus in the second quarter of this year, our balance-of-payments problem is over.

Our balance-of-payments problem is not over. It is still very serious. There are good reasons to believe that our balance-of-payments situation may now be regarded as even more serious than at any other time in our history.

Mr. President, a series of hearings have been held before the International Finance Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency. The hearings were started last spring. They were interrupted and postponed for a time. As the balance-of-payments situation changed, additional hearings were held. Meanwhile, the Joint Economic Committee held two series of hearings. One was on the subject of the statistical aspects of the balance of payments. Those hearings were held by the subcommittee of which I am the chairman. The others were held under the chairmanship of Representative REVUSS. The purpose of those hearings was to determine what can be done to meet the problems that seem to be developing. I have had the good fortune of sitting on each of the subcommittees and hearing virtually all of the expert testimony on our balance of payments. I believe that anyone who has followed the balance-of-payments difficulties must conclude that the improvement we have enjoyed in the second quarter may be strictly temporary. We hope and pray that it will continue.

There is no question that the President's so-called voluntary program, to secure the cooperation of banks and big

corporations in our country that invest abroad, has been a smashing success. There is no question that the administration of this program has worked so well that it has brought one of the most depressing and spectacular deficits from which this country has suffered in the last quarter of 1964, into balance in the second quarter of 1965.

When we study what happened and read the testimony of the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of the Treasury, and outstanding experts and economists, we should recognize that there is no question that this was a temporary, one-shot improvement to a considerable extent. There are some elements that may contribute to a long-term, favorable balance of payments, but they do not strike at the fundamental difficulties that are involved.

Furthermore, something that has been rarely commented on developed yesterday in the hearings before the subcommittee on International Finance of the Joint Economic Committee. In the course of that hearing it became apparent that at the present time we are not using any of the instruments of this Government which are normally used to correct an adverse balance-of-payments situation. None are being used for that purpose.

I hastily add that there is good reason for not using some of them.

The weapon that is most commonly used to correct an adverse balance of payments, the one that has been urged on us by the leading bankers of this country, and for a long time by leading bankers in Europe—monetary policy—has been used only slightly. Monetary policy can be used to correct an adverse balance of payments by tightening the money supply, or at least by not increasing it as rapidly as the economy expands. As the supply is not increased to keep pace with the demand for money, interest rates increase. As interest rates rise, it becomes less attractive to borrow money in this country and more attractive to borrow money abroad.

Consequently, dollars are less likely to flow abroad, because foreign companies do not come as often to borrow money and take dollars from this country. Also, our own borrowers are less inclined to borrow. There is a more subtle impact of higher interest rates. People are discouraged from building homes or buying automobiles, and the economy slows down. As general demand slows down, prices drop and costs drop, and we are able to export more.

In one of two ways monetary policy can be said to contribute constructively to an adverse balance of payments provided interest rates rise. The test of whether monetary policy is being used to help correct an adverse balance of payment is whether interest rates rise and how much. How do our interest rates meet that test. Long-term interest rates have not risen. That has been a very wise decision on the part of the administration, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other monetary leaders in this Government. If interest rates had risen, it would have had a depressing ef-

fect on the economy, it would have reduced employment.

Some short-term interest rates have risen, in a very limited way. However, they have reached almost the full extent of their rise, and they are now about as high as long-term interest rates. There is an overwhelming consensus among monetary experts that if we raise both rates—and of course it is very difficult under present circumstances to raise short term rates above long term rates—such an effort would probably raise both. The result will be to slow down the economy, at a time when we still have heavy unemployment, when much of our industrial capacity is not being used, and when we are not suffering from inflation.

My argument is not that we should use monetary policy in this way, but that it is an instrument that we could use to correct our balance of payments, and that we are not using it, and that in all likelihood we will not use it in the reasonably near future. This is one of the big, major weapons that any government has in correcting its adverse balance of payments, and we are not for good reason going to employ it.

The second of the two major weapons that a government has to help solve its balance of payments is fiscal policy. Of course, that works primarily on the economy itself. It works this way: If we are spending more abroad than we are receiving from abroad, and if we wish to increase our sales and exports abroad, and depress our imports, what we must do is increase our taxes and decrease our spending, and get a surplus into the Federal Government's operations.

This reduces domestic demand. It takes money out of the economy for higher taxes, and keeps buying power out by reducing Government spending. As we create a Federal surplus we reduce American buying. So we buy less from abroad, our exports go down.

Also as demand falls, prices fall, costs fall; wage costs tend to fall. We offer better bargains to the world and sell more abroad. So our imports go down. Our exports go up. Dollars stop flowing out. They flow in.

Obviously, we have not followed this policy because what we have done, instead of increasing taxes, has been to reduce taxes. In 1964 we had the biggest tax cut in the history of our country. We also have increased our Federal spending. In 1964 we increased our spending over 1963. We also increased spending this year, and we shall do so again in 1966.

This year there was another big tax cut. There is now talk that we may have another big tax cut in 1966.

Regardless of the wisdom or unwisdom of this policy domestically, there is no question that this kind of expansive fiscal policy has an adverse effect on our balance of payments, because it has the effect of increasing our cost, and it has the effect also of discouraging our exports. It has the effect of stimulating demand in this country and encouraging imports.

There is one interesting wrinkle which was raised when Secretary Fowler ap-

peared before our subcommittee yesterday. He said that while the argument for using fiscal policy to stimulate or benefit our balance of payments is all right under classical conditions, the United States is not operating under classical conditions at the present time.

As he properly pointed out, our exports exceed our imports. We have one of the most favorable balance-of-trade situations we have ever had. Therefore, he contended, the argument that we must depress the economy in order to increase exports and decrease imports would not be logical now.

The argument of the Secretary of the Treasury would be sensible, except that he also argues that the best way for us now to improve our balance of payments is by further, I repeat, further increasing our exports in relation to our imports. In other words, our favorable balance of trade must become even more favorable. And indeed we are heavily counting on it doing so.

But, Mr. President, no one can contend that an expansive fiscal policy—more tax cuts and higher spending—will enable us to do this.

The Secretary properly pointed out that there are changes in our tax laws and changes in the interpretations by the Internal Revenue Service of tax laws which tend to reduce our costs. There is no question that the corporation income tax reduction, the investment credit and the depreciation guidelines are all elements that help to contribute constructively to reducing costs of American corporations, making us more competitive, helping our exports. But the overall impact of the tax cut and an increase in Federal spending—this is the real fiscal impact—has been adverse to our balance of payments.

Mr. President, we come to the specific policies of our Government that affect the balance of payments. One is foreign aid. I have been a supporter of foreign aid in the past. I expect to be again this year. But no one can deny the fact that when we pay out foreign aid, it has an adverse effect on the American balance of payments.

The administrator of the foreign aid program has appeared before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency and he has appeared also before the Joint Economic Committee and testified to that fact. He has minimized it by pointing out that much of our aid is tied to American production. The fact is that our foreign aid program contributes adversely to our balance-of-payments situation. It will not be much less this year than it was last year. It will be about the same.

The second important governmental aspect of our balance of payments is our military policy. Does anyone argue that our military policy today is less expensive than it was last year? Our commitment for troops overseas will be substantially bigger.

It is estimated by some that the Vietnam war will increase our costs by as much as \$7 billion to \$10 billion a year. That increase is bound to have an adverse effect on our balance of payments.

Once again, just as in relation to monetary, fiscal, and foreign aid policies, I support the military policy of our Government. But we are blind if we do not recognize that that policy will have an even more adverse effect on our balance of payments than it has had in the past. There is no prospect that it will be changed drastically or that it can be corrected.

As I have said, the Secretary of the Treasury has said that we can rely on trade—increased exports and decreased imports—perhaps to improve our balance of payments. That is mighty optimistic when we recognize that our balance of trade now is more favorable than it has been at any time, except during the very artificial period immediately after World War II, when countries abroad needed an enormous amount of what we produced and when we were able to produce very well and they were not able to produce very much that we could buy.

The trade policy today is so favorable, we are shipping so much abroad, and exporting so much more than we are importing, that it is difficult to see how other countries would agree to continue policies which give them such an adverse, negative, and unfavorable balance of trade. Under those circumstances we could hardly look to trade policy for improvement.

There has been a real effort—on the part of our administration—to improve our tourist policy; that is, to discourage people from traveling abroad and spending American dollars abroad, because obviously that contributes adversely to our balance of payments. I believe that everyone knows that more people have been going abroad this year than ever before in our history and spending more. In spite of the efforts of our administration to discourage it, more money is being spent abroad by American tourists than has been spent in prior years.

So in this respect the performance this year is not good. Next year it will probably be even worse.

There has been one big reason for the spectacular improvement in the balance of payments in the second quarter. That is what has happened to investment abroad—sending abroad American dollars to invest. Our improvement has been primarily in investments by banks which have been retrenched sharply and, in fact, have been reversed.

We have been repatriating funds that banks and corporations have had abroad. We have been repatriating those funds by the hundreds of millions of dollars, and doing so in the second quarter of this year. But that has been accomplished. It is largely over.

Furthermore, if we crack down on American investments abroad, the consequences will be adverse in the long run to our balance of payments, because one of the biggest and best elements that we have that is favorable in our balance of payments is income from our investments abroad. That is a positive element.

Furthermore, an excellent showing has been made before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency that when cor-

porations go abroad—in many cases they take very little American capital with them. They bring American know-how and American organization. What they do when they go abroad is to build a plant often with foreign capital and then take over American products, which constitute American exports of machinery and equipment of all kinds to help construct those installations abroad.

While on the surface, on paper, American investment abroad might seem to be a negative factor in our balance of payments, actually it is a strong and positive factor.

That has not been completely proved out. We need additional statistics to demonstrate it finally. But there is a strong presumption that investment abroad has been healthy and constructive.

At any rate, the policies followed by our administration, which, as I said, have been wise and good policies, must be recognized as temporary policies—policies which cannot continue to give us a surplus in our balance of payments in the future. We shall probably have a negative showing in our balance of payments in the third quarter, almost certainly in the fourth quarter, and next year the effect of the President's excellent agreement with business will be relatively modest and limited.

Mr. President, another aspect that ironically is most discouraging and has not been fully recognized in the press or elsewhere is the remarkable job the present administration has been doing to try to correct our balance of payments by using intelligent, efficient operation of our Defense Department, for example. Secretary McNamara has done a superlative job. We have reached agreements, for example, in Germany so that for the dollar costs of our troops stationed in Germany, the German Government will procure from our country the weapons and the equipment that they need to compensate for that.

We have done our very best to organize our troop commitments abroad, so as little as possible is spent there. In Vietnam there is talk now of using scrip instead of dollars, to reduce the dollar drain.

The Commerce Department and the Treasury Department have worked extremely hard to reduce, to the greatest extent possible, the effect of our policies on our balance of payments. The Treasury for instance has tied ingenious cost reducing incentives into our tax cuts. They have done a superlative job. But that makes it all the harder for us to improve the situation in the future unless we recognize some of the tough, basic assumptions on which our payments diversion is based:

First, that we have a foreign aid commitment which is very big, and which constitutes a modest but explicit drain on this country's balance of payments;

Second, that we have a military commitment all over the world—to many countries throughout the world—that constitutes a far bigger drain on this country.

When we put those two together and combine them with all the other ele-

ments in the picture, it is clear that it will be difficult for us to correct the balance of payments without some tough soul searching. It goes back to the quotation attributed to the late Governor Stevenson:

There are no gains without pains.

There does not seem to be any painless way of curing this most unfortunate adverse balance-of-payments situation, which, as the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] and others have said, constitutes perhaps the most serious economic problem that faces our country. As important and massive as is our military power, it is based upon economic power, and our economic power depends, of course, on its handmaiden, financial power. If those abroad should lose faith in this country in relation to the soundness of the American dollar, our military forces and our economic forces would be bound to suffer seriously.

All of this is apropos this morning's lead editorial in the New York Times, entitled "Managing the World's Money," which thoughtfully discusses the matter and handles a most complicated, perplexing problem neatly and well.

There has been concern on the part of many persons, including myself, that if we remedied our balance-of-payments situation, a correspondingly difficult situation would quite quickly be created, because as we reduced the flow of American dollars abroad, we would automatically reduce the international liquidity that was available for the growth of international trade—and it has been a wonderful growth in the last 10 or 15 years. It has been largely financed by the deficit of American dollars and the flow of American gold abroad. Now we are trying to shut off or actually reverse that flow of American dollars and gold. Indeed we did this in the second quarter of this year. If we shut it off, the effect will be that world trade will not be able to grow so rapidly, and the economies of the world will not be able to grow as rapidly.

The problem now is not only one of providing adequate liquidity or ready cash and maintaining growth in world trade. It is also a problem of ending the outflow of American dollars that supply the liquidity; we must do both at once, and it is an extremely difficult and delicate task to accomplish.

The New York Times editorial points out that if we do not solve the balance-of-payments problem, a lack of faith in the American dollar may result in converting American dollars into gold. This would quickly reduce liquidity, and would aggravate both problems at the same time. It is conceivable that in that kind of situation our balance of payments could deteriorate and the supply of liquidity in the world might decline also. In that case, we might have an adverse balance of payments and a weakening of America's financial and economic power. There would also be a deterioration of trade, and worldwide deflation.

One of the most heartening aspects of the situation is that the Secretary of the Treasury and the President, and the President's other economic counselors,

are aware of what is taking place and are working diligently to try to solve the difficult problem.

The reason why I am making this speech in the Senate today is that I believe too few Members of Congress and too few people throughout the country recognize the seriousness of the problem and the fact that we are a long way from solving it. It will take some real soul searching to do so.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the lead editorial, entitled "Managing the World's Money," published in today's New York Times.

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

[From the New York Times, Aug. 19, 1965]

#### MANAGING THE WORLD'S MONEY

The architects of international monetary reform face a formidable task. Just how formidable is apparent from a study of various reform proposals undertaken by 33 experts from the 10 leading industrial nations under the chairmanship of Rinaldo Ossola of the Bank of Italy.

Under the present system, dollars flowing abroad as a result of the past chronic deficits in the U.S. balance of payments have been the chief source of additional liquidity—international monetary reserves—required to meet the needs of an expanding world economy. There is a limit, however, to the amount of one nation's currency that other nations are willing to hold. This limit has been reached. With the United States finally reporting a temporary equilibrium in eliminating the dollar outflow, the experts agree that some new method for increasing liquidity is desirable. But they are deeply divided over both the nature and the amount of reserves needed to do what the dollar has done up to now.

The extent of dissension among the experts should not deter the effort to achieve reform. Indeed, it should have the salutary effect of concentrating attention on the importance of preserving and strengthening the present system. For all its faults, the present way of managing the world's money has worked reasonably well. Its big weakness is its vulnerability to sudden movements of funds from countries running a deficit.

This weakness cannot be overcome by increasing liquidity if the additional reserves are simply hoarded. To be sure, reserves will be needed to keep the world economy in high gear. But even more vital now is broader international monetary cooperation in order to make full use of present liquidity.

The United States and Britain can make a major contribution by eliminating their deficits, as this country did in the second quarter. Far from decreasing liquidity, they would be helping to expand it in the short run because other nations would then be more willing to hold dollars and sterling instead of exchanging them for gold.

If this can be accomplished, the task of reform will become easier. For it will put an end to the divisive attempt to enhance the role of gold. And it will enable the International Monetary Fund to exercise control over liquidity increases, which will mean that the developing countries—and not merely the rich men's club of industrial nations—will have a voice in managing the world's money.

#### NEW AMERICAN ECONOMIC WEAPON—IMPROVED STATISTICS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the New York Times this morning has an-

nounced a revision of our economic statistics. It shows an improvement in our gross national product—an improvement not only in the level but also in the rate at which the gross national product has been increasing.

Also, the New York Times today contains a fascinating column written by Edwin Dale, the Times expert economic reporter in this field. He refers to the recent revision in economic statistics.

Mr. Dale observes that the initials "GNP," which stands for "gross national product," are becoming commonly known. The gross national product is discussed at cocktail parties and at dinners. It is discussed all over America, not only in Washington, but in Madison, Milwaukee, and Wausau, Wis. More and more people are becoming familiar with the term. Few people realize or recollect that this is a relatively brandnew conception, and the fact that people now recognize that there is such a thing as gross national product, and recognize that it is a measure of the growth of our economy, is an immense contribution to sophisticated and wise economic policies.

I should like to quote from the Dale article, because I believe it puts the subject in interesting perspective. Mr. Dale writes:

But the revisions actually make their numbers more, rather than less, useful. For example, it turns out that consumers have spent somewhat more of their after-tax income than had been thought, and they are spending more now, with increasing affluence, than they spent in the last decade even though that seems to contradict common-sense.

Mr. President, this is encouraging because the feeling was that as incomes increased, people would save more; that as they saved more, there would be less demand; and that as there was less demand, the economy would slide downhill. This is one of the reasons why the economy has been progressing so well. I continue to read from Mr. Dale's article:

It also turns out that business profits were a little greater than had been thought, and that investment was higher in relation to consumption than the former figures showed.

All of this will be meat and drink for candidates for doctors' degrees in economics. But it will also be at least salad for the new breed of business economists, for Congressional committees and for the men in the administration and the Federal Reserve System who make Government policy.

Thirty years ago their predecessors groped in the dark because national income and product statistics did not exist. Now, with the statistics, they still have no absolute assurance of what to do or where the economy will go. There is still no exact science.

But they do not bleed patients with leeches, as doctors used to do. They know better.

Mr. President, this is one of the most neglected but one of the most vitally important strengths of America's economy as compared with the situation 30 or 40 years ago. We now know much more about what is taking place, not because our economists are more intelligent, certainly not because Members of Congress are more able, but because the statistics are much better and more comprehensive.

We did not even have unemployment statistics 35 years ago, and this statistic alone has had much to do with the legislation that Congress has passed and the policies it has adopted.

For many years we did not have timely monetary information and statistics. Today we are far better informed than ever before. Our knowledge is a source of great help.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the article entitled "Measuring the Economy," written by Edwin L. Dale, Jr., and published in the New York Times of August 20, 1965.

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

#### MEASURING THE ECONOMY—GROSS PRODUCT IS REVISED UPWARD IN NEW STATISTICS FROM GOVERNMENT

(By Edwin L. Dale, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, August 19.—The Government told Americans today that the national economy has been a little different from what we all thought it was, at least statistically, but not only this year and last, but all the way back to 1948.

The change was not spectacular. All the ups and downs of the business cycle are still there in the new profile of the economy. Though it turns out that the economy performed even better than we thought in the postwar period, this difference is not large.

Yet all of a sudden we learn from a basic revision of the key statistics published today that the gross national product, or total output of goods and services, in the April-June quarter just ended was \$8 billion higher than had been formerly announced and was put at a yearly rate of \$666 billion instead of \$658 billion. Past quarters also were revised upward, and the numbers will be higher from now on.

#### VIEWS ON REVISION

To some skeptics this basic revision of the national accounts, which happens only once every 5 years, is evidence of their unreliability. But to most economists and businessmen and bankers, the revision today is likely to be a reminder of a remarkable fact about the modern American economy and society.

This is the whole new world of thought and action opened by the existence only since World War II, of a statistical profile of the economy, through what are called the national income and product accounts. It is these that were revised today, to make them more accurate on the basis of information going back as far as the 1958 Census of Business, and on the basis of some new statistical technique.

Although no one has attempted to prove it by a survey, it is probably that the term GNP is more familiar to educated Americans today than such other jargon terms as EEC, ESP, or DNA (respectively, European Economic Community, extrasensory perception and the biological term for a key compound in genetics).

A sales manager, a bank vice president, a labor leader, an advertising man, will often speak of GNP at a cocktail party in the clear understanding that his listener will know the term, just as today everyone can use the term Gemini to describe a space flight. The term, and the new conceptual world behind it, has entered our language.

This change in awareness is even more acute in Government. What happens to the GNP—which nobody even knew existed until about 1943 or 1944—is the main measure of how the economy is doing and what Government policy ought to be. It is like the modern physician's technique in diagnosing disease.

Though the relatively unknown men who worked out the difficult conceptual problems involved would never make the claim, it is possible that the unexampled prosperity of the entire industrial world in the last 15 years has been due more to the existence of national-income-and-product accounts than to the new economics of Government policy generally attributed to the British economist, John Maynard Keynes.

Simon Kuznets, Milton Gilbert, and George Jaszi are names known mainly to economists. But they and others are the ones who, under the pressure first of depression and then of war, developed the national-income-and-product accounts in the United States between 1935 and 1945. Later the concept spread abroad.

Today, in effect, these men admitted once again that their numbers were not entirely accurate—particularly Mr. Jaszi, who many years later is now in charge of the Commerce Department's Office of Business Economics and supervised the revisions.

#### USEFULNESS IS OUTLINED

But the revisions actually make their numbers more, rather than less, useful. For example, it turns out that consumers have spent somewhat more of their aftertax income than had been thought, and they are spending more now, with increasing affluence, than they spent in the last decade, even though that seems to contradict common sense.

It also turns out that business profits were a little greater than had been thought, and that investment was higher in relation to consumption than the former figures showed.

All of this will be meat and drink for candidates for doctor's degrees in economics. But it will also be at least salad for the new breed of business economists, for congressional committees, and for the men in the administration and the Federal Reserve System who make Government policy.

Thirty years ago their predecessors groped in the dark because national-income-and-product statistics did not exist. Now, with the statistics, they still have no absolute assurance of what to do or where the economy will go. There is still no exact science.

But they do not bleed patients with leeches, as doctors used to do. They know better.

#### DEATH OF FORMER GOV. PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, on Wednesday night of this week, a former Governor of Wisconsin, Philip F. La Follette, died in Madison. Philip La Follette belonged to the most illustrious and eminent political family Wisconsin has ever known.

Philip La Follette's father, "Old Bob" La Follette, served as a Representative from Wisconsin and then as Governor of our State. As Governor, he gave initiative and impetus to the most wide-reaching reforms that any State had had in the 19th or 20th century—reforms that, to a great extent, overshadowed the New Deal.

Philip La Follette's father came to the U.S. Senate in 1905 and served for 20 years. He held the seat I now occupy. He was recognized by the Special Senate Committee on the Senate Reception Room, headed by the late former Senator John F. Kennedy, as one of the five outstanding Senators of the 176-year history of this body. His portrait adorns the reception room outside the Senate Chamber.

Phil La Follette was the younger son of "Old Bob" La Follette. Phil's elder brother was young Bob La Follette, who also served in this body for 20 years and held the same seat I now occupy. He was recognized as a Senator's Senator. He had great ability and was affectionately regarded on both sides of the aisle.

The La Follette contribution to America is not over; in fact, it seems to be only beginning. Perhaps the youngest attorney general in the United States is Bronson Cutting La Follette. Bronson Cutting La Follette is the son of young Bob La Follette. He is not yet 30 years old. In 1964, he won a smashing upset election as attorney general of our State against the incumbent and well-entrenched Republican attorney general. Bronson Cutting La Follette has done a magnificent job since his election, not only as attorney general but in the field of consumer affairs and in other areas. He obviously has a bright future.

Phil La Follette, the former Governor of Wisconsin, who died on Wednesday night, was a remarkable man. He became Governor of our State in 1930, when he was 32 years old. He was the youngest Governor in the history of Wisconsin and the youngest Governor in the country at that time.

He brought to his office not only a great name and the marvelous political home environment which only the sons of old Bob La Follette could enjoy, but he also brought a tremendous capacity and ability.

In all the history of Wisconsin, Phil La Follette had the highest average at the University of Wisconsin Law School that anyone had ever attained. The University of Wisconsin Law School is one of the greatest law schools in the country. It is a tough law school for students.

Phil La Follette, though he came from an illustrious family and had all kinds of advantages and temptations, had such an intellectual capacity and was so brilliant that he achieved that remarkable distinction.

Phil La Follette was as great a speaker as his great father was. He was an exciting, dramatic, and dynamic speaker who had a wonderful way of dramatizing the issues and arousing the enthusiasm of a group.

I have heard many stories about the speeches which Phil La Follette made before thousands of people in many sections of Wisconsin.

Phil La Follette was not only a brilliant speaker and able to rally public support in difficult times, during the depression, but he was also a leader who had genuine compassion. It was under Phil La Follette that Wisconsin enacted the first Unemployment Compensation Act. Philip La Follette did many things to put people to work in Wisconsin at a time when unemployment was heavy.

Governor La Follette's political career ended at a startlingly early age in 1938, before he was 40. He was defeated and never reelected to public office. He never ran again. He had been talked about as a possible presidential candidate, and, of course, as a great national leader.

This did not end his service to his country. He served on the staff of Gen. Douglas MacArthur and served brilliantly in World War II.

He continued to serve as an elder statesman in our State. He served his Nation and the State until the time of his death.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a detailed obituary which appeared in this morning's New York Times concerning Gov. Phil La Follette be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE DIES AT 68: FORMER GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN—SON OF "FIGHTING BOB" SERVED THREE TERMS IN 1930'S—LED NATIONAL PROGRESSIVES

MADISON, Wis., August 18.—Former Gov. Philip F. La Follette, a member of one of Wisconsin's most prominent political families, died Wednesday night in Madison General Hospital. His age was 68. Death was attributed to pneumonia and lung complications.

Mr. La Follette was hospitalized August 3 with severe pains in his chest and side.

Survivors include his widow, the former Isabel Bacon; and three children, Robert M. La Follette 3d, Judith and Isabel.

#### BORN FOR LEADERSHIP

"Most of our opponents claim we are crazy," Philip Fox La Follette said in October 1934. "But if we have the power, we will do what we promise, call it what you will. The one thing that is fatal is to fail to lead."

It was leadership Mr. La Follette was born to, and it was leadership he sought. His father was "Old Fighting Bob" La Follette, a hell-raising liberal who received 5 million votes for President in 1924, after serving 44 years as a Representative, Governor, and Senator from Wisconsin. His brother was "Little Bob" La Follette, who succeeded their father in the Senate in 1925, and served until his defeat by Joseph R. McCarthy in 1946.

Phil, as everyone called him, ran five times for the governorship, winning three times. He was a leader in the Progressive movement, which championed the little man against the big man, but finally turned to big government as the little man's best defense.

His downfall was not a result of the timidity he had warned against, but of powerful personal ambition that prompted him to oppose the New Deal by forming a radical national party in 1938. Three years after respected observers had favorably discussed his presidential chances, his political career was ended, at the age of 41.

#### POLITICS A DAILY EXPERIENCE

Mr. La Follette was born on May 8, 1897, while his father was wandering in the political wilderness. He was 3 years old when the elder La Follette moved into the executive mansion in Madison.

He was a product, someone wrote in 1935, "of one of the most thorough political educations any young man in America ever received."

He inherited his father's dramatic oratorical style and his tangled mane of hair. But Phil La Follette was his own man. At 20 he interrupted his education at the University of Wisconsin to enlist in the Army, although other members of his family were outspoken pacifists.

He finished his undergraduate work in 1919, and received his law degree from Wisconsin in 1922. Two years later he left his private law practice to stump for his father's presidential candidacy under the Progressive Party banner. At the same time he was elected district attorney in Dane County

(which includes Madison), a position his father had held from 1880 to 1884.

#### JOINED LAW FACULTY

He was already being discussed as a gubernatorial candidate in 1926 when he finished his 2-year term and joined Wisconsin's law faculty as a lecturer.

Despite his father's third-party candidacy in 1924, the Progressive movement had usually remained a distinct but loyal segment of the Republican Party in Wisconsin. Walter J. Kohler, the plumbing executive, had captured the statehouse for the conservative wing in 1928. Mr. Kohler was a strong supporter of Herbert Hoover, and in 1930, Phil La Follette entered the primary.

He railed against the chain banks and called businessmen "the feudal serfs of corporate capital." He favored public control of utilities and other services. With rising unemployment in Milwaukee and other cities, and with the La Follette name again echoing through the State, Mr. Kohler's group was in trouble.

Mr. La Follette smashed a weak Democratic opposition in November and, at 33, became the State's youngest Governor. He instituted an ambitious reform program. He was particularly interested in securities and other financial problems. He chose David E. Lillenthal, later Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as his Public Service Commissioner. Mr. Lillenthal's chief counsel was Adolf A. Berle, Jr., also destined to be a prominent figure in the New Deal.

"It was a very simple society in Madison in those days," Mr. Berle recalls. "We all used to knock around together. It was perfectly natural for the Governor to come by for a sandwich and coffee on the back porch."

Governor La Follette, Mr. Berle said, "was a perfectly delightful man. He inherited that genial quality of 'Old Bob.' He had the gift of meeting men."

In addition to a securities act, the La Follette administration pushed through the legislature the first unemployment insurance measure ever adopted by a State.

But the predicted expenditure of \$17 million rose to \$24 million. Other welfare programs, such as the creation of jobs by elimination of railroad grade crossings, also cost money. Taxes rose.

The Governor's position was further shaken when many of his Democratic supporters followed the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Former Governor Kohler rode the crest of a "taxpayer's revolt" that defeated a La Follette in Wisconsin for the first time in 40 years.

By 1934 Mr. La Follette and his brother were convinced that the New Deal was not going to make the basic changes in the structure of American life they thought necessary.

The Republican Party was, in their eyes, hopelessly reactionary. The only choice was independence, and a new Progressive Party was formed. In its first primary Phil was nominated for Governor and Bob for reelection as Senator.

Although it limited its operations to Wisconsin, the party clearly had national importance. Its major proposal included control of credit through a Government-owned central bank, Government ownership of railroads and utilities, more benefits for workers, and guaranteed employment for those willing to work.

#### REJECTED LIBERALISM

"We are not liberals. Liberalism is nothing but a sort of milk-and-water tolerance," Philip La Follette said. He accepted the appellation "radical," he said, "in the sense that radicalism implies that you mean business."

After their dual victory in 1934, the La Follettes were at their peak. They brushed

aside all talk about a national third party by emphasizing the necessity to build slowly.

In 1936 the new party was the Farmer-Labor-Progressive coalition and, as its gubernatorial candidate, Philip La Follette won a third term.

But before his third inauguration he committed what was generally considered a serious blunder, by forcing the ouster of Dr. Glenn Frank, the popular president of the University of Wisconsin.

"Phil's enemies claim he is a prima donna," one writer said. "They say he insists, as his father did before him, on leading the parade wherever it happens to be going."

Mr. La Follette thought this parade was leading to national leadership. In early 1938 he made a series of radio speeches blasting President Roosevelt and the New Deal.

"At the end of 10 years," he declared, "we still have not solved the fundamental underlying problems that caused the depression."

#### FORMED NATIONAL PARTY

Talk of a third national party grew. So did criticism of its founder. On April 28, 1938, Mr. La Follette (his brother was detained in Washington) announced the formation of the National Progressives of America.

The real issue in American politics, he said, was "between the earners on one side and the collectors on the other." Among his proposals was security for the worker "founded on a decent annual income for all."

In the words of Norman Thomas, NPA was a complete flop. There was just no room for a radical party in a country whose politics were rooted in liberal traditions more ancient than the Republic. The pragmatic New Deal had the loyalty of most American liberals, who thought Governor La Follette's party was only dividing the left.

The Governor's own campaign for reelection foundered. Seven months after his bid for national leadership he was defeated by a Milwaukee businessman, Julius P. Heil.

For the next 3 years he devoted much of his time in an effort to keep the United States out of World War II. He made a series of speeches for the America First Committee. After Pearl Harbor, however, he enlisted in the Army, in March 1942, at the age of 45.

He served most of the war in the Pacific on the staff of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. He was awarded the Bronze Star for meritorious service in the New Britain campaign, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

As early as 1943 Mr. La Follette was accused of promoting General MacArthur's presidential ambitions. In 1948, after returning to private law practice, he headed a slate of delegates pledged to the general in the Wisconsin primary. It was won by Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota.

In a final bid for political power, Mr. La Follette in 1952 supported the unsuccessful presidential candidacy of Gov. Earl Warren of California. The State rang once more with dire threats of a "La Follette dynasty." This time they came from Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, another unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination.

In February of the next year, Mr. La Follette's brother committed suicide in his Washington home.

In recent years Mr. La Follette practiced law and served on the boards of several companies, including the Hazeltine Corp. in Little Neck, Queens, manufacturers of electronic equipment.

#### EXCELLENT APPOINTMENT OF RALPH HUITT TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF HEW IN CHARGE OF CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, it has just come to my attention that a

distinguished son of Wisconsin who served on my staff when I first came to the Senate in 1957 and 1958—a man who was born and educated in Texas, and served briefly on the staff of President Johnson when he was a Senator, a man who has distinguished himself at the University of Wisconsin as a professor of political science, who has written a number of articles on political science in the Political Science Quarterly and elsewhere—has just been appointed Assistant Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in charge of congressional affairs.

I am delighted with this appointment. President Johnson and Secretary John Gardner could not possibly have done better.

Professor Huitt understands education from a lifetime as a superb educator at one of the Nation's greatest educational institutions. He understands the congressional process as few Members of Congress do. He was working on, as its head, the biggest, most comprehensive, and most generously endowed study of the Congress that has ever been undertaken. The study is sponsored by the American Political Science Association under a grant from the Carnegie Foundation. The study is now in progress. Thus no recommendations are made by Huitt as to how Congress should operate.

It was typical of Ralph Huitt that, rather than work on a study to tell Congress what to do, he developed the study with the help of the outstanding experts in the country as to how Congress could do a better job, without making any recommendations. The study was made available, but no recommendations are made by Huitt as to how Congress should operate. It was left up to the good judgment, intelligence, and understanding of Members of Congress.

Ralph Huitt brings to Washington an unusually charming wife and two delightful children.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BARTLETT in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RECESS

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m. the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

On the expiration of the recess, the Senate reassembled at 2 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m. and was called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. MONTONA in the chair).

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.

#### RETIREMENT OF FELTON M. JOHNSTON, SECRETARY OF THE SENATE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution. Before the resolution is read I should like to make a few remarks.

It was with great regret that I received some days ago from Mr. Felton M. Johnston notice of his desire to resign from the office of Secretary of the Senate at the beginning of next year. Mr. Johnston has served the Senate for many years with distinction and dedication. As Secretary of the Senate for more than a decade, he has served the entire Senate with impartiality and effectiveness. So I regret that personal reasons have compelled him to advise me and the other Democratic leaders of the Senate of his impending withdrawal from the Senate service.

I am pleased, however, to present to the Senate a resolution which I hope will be considered shortly and which would designate an outstanding official of the Senate, Mr. Emery L. Frazier, the Chief Clerk, as Secretary of the Senate for the period beginning January 1, 1966, to September 30, 1966, vice Felton M. Johnston, resigned effective December 31, 1965.

In line with Mr. Frazier's stated desire to retire for personal reasons at the latter date, this proposed resolution would elect Mr. Francis R. Valeo, who serves as secretary for the majority, as Secretary of the Senate beginning October 1, 1966.

The arrangements for the Office of Secretary of the Senate which are expressed in the proposed resolution were agreed to unanimously by the conference of Democratic Senators on yesterday. They have since been discussed with the distinguished minority leader, Mr. DIRKSEN.

So while it is a source of regret that Mr. Johnston will leave at the end of the year, it is a source of satisfaction that he will be succeeded by two other outstanding and dedicated officials of the Senate.

I now send to the desk a resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration, and urge its adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MONTONA in the chair). The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

S. RES. 140

*Resolved*, That Emery L. Frazier, of the State of Kentucky, be, and he is hereby, elected Secretary of the Senate of the United States for the period beginning January 1, 1966 through September 30, 1966 vice Felton M. Johnston, resigned, effective December 31, 1965.

*Resolved further*, That Francis R. Valeo, of the District of Columbia, be, and he is hereby, elected Secretary of the Senate beginning October 1, 1966.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana?

There being no objection, the Senate resolution was considered and agreed to.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, in connection with the resolution which we have just agreed to, I should like to make a few comments from this side of the aisle. I believe that all of us who have known Felton Johnston agree—and we seldom call him Felton, it is always Skeeter, because of his great friendship with all of us—that no one could be more cooperative and helpful to the minority members of our party, as well as to the members of his own party, than Felton Johnston.

We all regret his retirement. But I think we can understand his desire, after 35 or more years of service to the Senate. I, for one—and I am sure everyone else joins in this—wish him long life and happiness with all of the good things of life in his retirement.

As far as Emery Frazier is concerned, he deserves, in my judgment, whatever consideration the Senate can give him. I certainly believe that this is a splendid recognition of his long years of service. Many of us have known him for years and served with him. His cooperation and conduct have been above reproach. On many occasions, they have been above and beyond the call of duty.

Then, as to that part of the resolution which elects Francis Valeo as Secretary of the Senate, that is a part which personally pleases me very much.

For about 15 or 18 years, Francis Valeo has been one of my closest friends in the Senate. I first knew him when he came on loan to the Foreign Relations Committee a good many years ago from the Library of Congress where he occupied a very prominent job and where he had a substantial future.

He then became a permanent member of the Foreign Relations Committee staff. I have had a great deal of association with Frank Valeo over the years, both here and on missions abroad. He has a tremendous knowledge of world conditions. He is an historian and a researcher of great ability. But, above all else, he is utterly honest, and he is utterly impartial and fair in the performance of his duties.

While I do not question his party loyalty in any way in the statement I am about to make, I say that I am sure that in the performance of his duties, Frank Valeo has no partisan bias whatever. He operates always for the best interests of the responsibilities which he has assumed. He is highly intelligent. He is kindly and he is able and he is considerate.

I congratulate the majority on their selection of Frank Valeo for Secretary of the Senate to succeed Emery Frazier. I join with those whose enthusiasm is great in what I believe to be a fine selection, a selection of a most able servant to fill that most important job.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I yield.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President I have nothing but hearty agreement for these appointments. The Senator from

Iowa used words that I should like to use concerning the people named in the resolution.

My personal association with Felton Johnston, Skeeter Johnston, if you please, has been most pleasant. From my standpoint the only objection I have had to it is that it has not lasted long enough. I have been in the Senate only since 1959. I have come to know Skeeter Johnston as a friend.

I am sorry that, for personal reasons, he sees fit to leave us at the end of this year. But I respect those reasons because it is in a man's knowing that the time has come to do other things than those that he has been doing.

Speaking for my wife and myself, I wish Skeeter Johnston many, many years of complete happiness to do those things which he wants to do.

I want Skeeter Johnston to know that always, as long as I am here, I shall miss him every day.

Mr. President, not long after I arrived here, Emery Frazier saluted me by the title "Bob." I treasure that friendship. I frankly return it.

I believe that it is a fine and splendid thing that his long and varied service in the Senate will be crowned by his being designated as Secretary of the Senate, a high and honorable position. I know that no one could possibly be more adequately equipped to perform the duties of that high office and serve the Senate with honor and dignity than Emery Frazier.

The man who will come to that high office after Emery is, as the Senator from Iowa has related, admirably equipped for that assignment and almost any other assignment because he is an exceptional scholar and gentleman, a man who knows the world, this country, and the people in the Senate.

We shall indeed regret the departure of Skeeter Johnston and the only consolation we shall have is in having these two fine men succeed him.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I am very happy that a distinguished officer of the Senate has been elected Secretary of the Senate—the Honorable Emery Frazier.

I know that all of us would agree that in every position Emery Frazier has held in the Senate, he has served faithfully and with great ability. It is no surprise, that he has now been elected the Secretary of the Senate.

It is a matter of particular pleasure to me because Emery Frazier is a resident of Kentucky and although our families have different political faiths, they have been acquainted throughout the years. I remember that when I came to the Senate in 1947 for a 2-year term, Emery Frazier greeted me and spoke of his friendship with my father, who had been dead for many years.

Emery Frazier had a distinguished career in Kentucky before he came to Washington. He was an able lawyer. He had served with distinction as a Member of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Kentucky and as mayor of Whitesburg, Ky. His background gave promise of a political career in Kentucky, or great success in the practice of law. But he was persuaded by the late Senator and late Vice President

Alben Barkley to enter the service of his country in Washington.

Emery Frazier, although he has been in Washington many years, returns to his native State every year and to the community he served so well in the State legislature and as mayor.

The people of those counties greet him as if he had never left them, because they remember him for his services. They remember him as a man of integrity and human kindness. He has never lost those qualities. His service as an officer of the Senate has brought honor to the people of the State of Kentucky. We applaud his election as Secretary of the Senate.

We are sad that Felton Johnston is retiring. I have had the same experience that all of us have had with him, regardless of party. We have been helped by Felton Johnston. We have been accorded every courtesy by him.

He has made our service here more enjoyable, and I hope more valuable. We honor him for the services he has rendered to the Members of the Senate and to the Senate itself.

I know that he and Mrs. Johnston will take with them the good wishes of all of us who have had the opportunity to serve in the Senate.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I would not want this opportunity to go by without expressing my sentiments about the impending retirement of the Secretary of the Senate. I think I can say I am a life-long friend of Skeeter Johnston. I came to know him first on the floor of the Senate in 1933 when I worked out of the Sergeant at Arms' office with a man we honored yesterday, Mark Trice.

Since 1933 to the present I have known both men well and continued to work closely with them. They have always been very helpful to me.

I regret that Skeeter Johnston felt compelled to make the decision he did. This is a personal matter, however, and I respect his wishes in this regard.

Skeeter Johnston has carved for himself an unusually fine record during the years he has served the Senate. He started as assistant clerk of the Finance Committee under the then chairman, Pat Harrison of Mississippi. Later, while I was working here on the floor of the Senate and was detailed out of the Sergeant at Arms' office, Skeeter Johnston was full clerk of the committee.

Over the years this friendship has ripened and strengthened. Now he has been Secretary of the Senate for 10 years. Coincidentally, that is the length of my service in the Senate in my present capacity.

I am happy to learn from him, incidentally, that he plans to spend considerable time in the West to see the wonders of that great area of the country.

His wife, Wanda, also, has been a life-long friend. I know something of the illnesses and struggles she has had over the past few years, of the devotion Skeeter has extended, and their courage in that respect.

It is a real loss, in my opinion, to the Senate to lose the services of a man the caliber of Skeeter Johnston.

Yet, I wish him well as he goes into retirement. I hope it will be an active

retirement, because he has much to contribute to better government, be it here or elsewhere.

I certainly salute another long-time friend, Emery Frazier. I know his tour of duty as Secretary of the Senate will probably not be as long as we would like. Nevertheless, it is a crowning achievement in a record of public service of many years.

I think one of the things I recall most vividly from Democratic conventions of past years was Emery's resonant voice calling out the States.

Such are times when, for a fleeting moment, we have our place in the sun. Emery has had a great part in such proceedings. Here in the Senate, I know he will serve us well. He is well trained for the important assignment to which he has been designated. To him, also, I extend my sincere best wishes for the future.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in the 8 years I have been in the Senate it has been a great pleasure to serve with Felton Johnston, Secretary of the Senate. I never heard him make a statement that would mislead anyone. He is a man of spotless integrity, a man on whose word one can rely. I could think of no higher tribute to pay to one who serves in this great deliberative body. We will miss him. I rather envy those Senators who have served here longer and have known him longer.

With respect to Emery Frazier, I can say the same about him, although I have not served in this body as long as other Members. I think the Senate is fortunate in having most of the people who have served it, and certainly all of those who now serve it. People like Emery Frazier, Felton Johnston, our recently retired Parliamentarian, Charles Watkins, have added much to the Senate, and to the dignity and overall efficiency of this body.

I shall miss Felton Johnston more than just as a Secretary. I think of Benjamin Franklin when he was secretary or clerk of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and kept the records. Somebody said to him, "Why don't you run for election?" He said, "I came here as a clerk and I learned what was going on."

He was too modest to say that he learned more as secretary of the then Colony of Pennsylvania than he would have as a member of the legislature.

Felton Johnston is in that same mold. He knows what is going on. His influence here is like that of Benjamin Franklin—he never would admit that he used influence in the Pennsylvania legislature. We know it was tremendous. Whatever Felton Johnston used, it was not visible. He did not engage in button-holding anyone. He did not ask anyone to vote a particular way. He did not say that he was using this power, but I have the feeling that he has used it—and wherever he has done so, it has been for the good of all.

We shall all miss him. Felton Johnston has been an honor and a credit to the Senate. I wish him success, pleasure, and happiness in whatever he does, because he is not old enough to be put on the shelf. I know that he will not be put on the shelf because he is too able a man

to be placed on the shelf, regardless of his personal family obligations.

I know that intellectually he will continue to make a contribution to this great Nation.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the resignation of Felton Johnston—"Skeeter," as we who have lived and associated with him call him—is one which I greet with mixed feelings.

We wish him success. We know that he will soon have freedom to do what he chooses and to devote himself to his wonderful family. But, in addition to that, we also know that we who have visited with him in the days and evenings will miss him very much. We will miss his quiet dignity. The complete respect and confidence in which he is held in his personal relationships are such that each and every one of us could well look upon them as excellent examples to follow.

Personally, I shall miss him. I wish him well, not in retirement, but in the fulfillment of the decisions which he will make in the future.

Emery Frazier, who will succeed him, is a man with a warm and charming personality, as well as a man who understands the Senate.

Frank Valeo, who will succeed him later, is one whom I wish equally well, now and in the future.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I join in the remarks made concerning the three eminent employees of the Senate whose positions have been affected by the resolution just adopted by the Senate.

When I learned of the retirement of Mr. Johnston, I wrote him a letter in which I tried to explain to him my appreciation for the fine way in which he had done his job, for his impartiality, and for his attempts to make life easier for all Senators, regardless of party.

As for Mr. Emery Frazier, I am happy to see this honor come to him. He has served the Senate for a long time. We have mutual friends, and I hope that he will have an opportunity to join some of those mutual friends in a little trout fishing in Colorado after he retires.

Certainly, I am sure that no better choice could have been made. All Senators, on both sides of the aisle, are happy that the choice was made.

Mr. President, as to the permanent choice of Secretary of the Senate, I join my colleagues in approbation.

I was not acquainted with Mr. Valeo until 5 years ago, but the manner in which he assumed his duties in the Senate as assistant to the majority leader, his consideration of every Senator's problems, regardless of his position as to service to the Senate, as well as to the majority leader, commends him to all of us. We are proud and happy that he will be enabled to enjoy this advance.

Let me thank the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE] for yielding to me to make these remarks.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, in the long history of the Senate, great giants have strode across this Chamber. There have been outstanding Senators. There have been outstanding servants of the Senate. All of them have served the American people. I must say that it is with mixed feelings that I rise. It is with happiness to note that the majority

has seen fit to entrust a valiant public servant with the title of Secretary of the Senate and, subsequently, to a second distinguished public servant, Mr. Frank Valeo. Both are members of the Democratic Party. It is with a feeling of sadness that I greet the news of Felton Johnston's retirement, after a long and illustrious career of years, serving not only the men and women of his party in the Senate, but also serving the Senate as a whole and serving the country.

I have come to call Felton Johnston my very good friend. I wish the RECORD to show that, like all who know him in this legislative Chamber, I, too, wish him Godspeed in his retirement, and for Mrs. Johnston and the Johnston family many years of health and happiness in the future.

As a Republican, I wish to salute Emery Frazier. My friend from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] mentioned Emery's quadrennial responsibility of calling the roll at national conventions of his political party. I remember Emery's resonant voice years ago, when, as a Republican, I was listening on the radio in California, to hear what the Democrats were doing. I recognized that voice when I came to this Chamber and heard Emery call the roll in the Senate.

All I wish to say is that here are three good men. We wish Felton every good thing in his retirement. We wish Emery and Frank every good thing in their forthcoming responsibilities.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, it was indeed a pleasant surprise to learn that Frank Valeo, a devoted and dedicated public servant and personal friend of so many of us here in the Senate, has been elected Secretary of the Senate, effective October 1, 1966.

This appointment must certainly give a deep sense of personal satisfaction to Mr. Valeo. He has earned the position as anyone familiar with his record is aware. I am sure he will serve the Senate and the country with distinction in his new capacity and I wish him well in the years to come.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to express my high regard and appreciation to Felton M. Johnston, more affectionately known as "Skeeter." "Skeeter" has announced his intention of retiring from the post of Secretary of the Senate.

Secretary Johnston began his long and distinguished tenure of service in the Senate in August 1929. He has served the Senate in numerous capacities since that time, excepting a brief period during the Second World War, in which he served in the Armed Forces and with the Department of State. Over that period of time, all of the Members of the Senate have come to know "Skeeter" as a dedicated public servant, always cordial and accommodating in his dealings. I wish him the best in his well-deserved retirement.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the following appear at an appro-

priate place in the RECORD. I do so only for the information of the Senate as to what is going to take place next week.

As the Senate knows, the pending bill is the public works appropriation which will be taken up on Monday.

It will be followed, and not necessarily in this order, by the conference report on the foreign aid authorization, and then possibly by FEPC jurisdiction over co-operatives.

Perhaps on Tuesday the interest equalization bill will come up, or on Monday; and then the defense appropriation bill will come up on Tuesday.

The State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary conference report will come up on Tuesday.

That is about as much of a record as I can make at this time, based upon what is on the calendar.

Let me say that as we go downhill toward the end of the session, it may be necessary to start—some time next week perhaps—coming in early and perhaps staying late. Of course, that will depend on the amount of legislation which is available for consideration by the Senate.

I would hope, therefore, that as adjournment comes into sight, Senators would be careful as to any commitments they may make, so that they can be in the Chamber to attend to the necessary business of the Senate.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business today, it adjourn to meet at noon on Monday next.

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

#### U.S. BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS SURPLUS ACHIEVED

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the achievement of a balance-of-payments surplus by the United States in the second quarter of this year marks the end of an era. The years of the dollar glut have come to an end. American Government and American business, cooperating under the President's voluntary programs of restraint, are demonstrating to the world that a free society can exercise measured self-discipline. But in this complex world, the solution of one problem almost inevitably raised new dilemmas. Moderating the outflow of dollars has brought the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit under control; it also threatens to allow the problem of international liquidity to get out of control.

The Washington Post has been and continues to be a wise balanced observer of the international monetary scene. In its lead editorial of this morning, August 20, the Post comments on the reversal of the U.S. payments position as follows:

This swing of nearly a billion dollars in the payments position demonstrates that the dollar drain, once viewed as hopelessly chronic in European financial circles, can be halted by resolute Government policies. But it raises the disquieting question of whether

the elimination of the deficit is compatible with the maintenance of economic stability in the non-Communist world.

During the months since the proclamation of the President's emergency program last February 10, Government financial and economic policymakers have placed great and undiminished emphasis on the need to satisfy the Continental European critics of the dollar as to our determination to achieve balance-of-payments "equilibrium." The clear and present danger today is that too great a concern for the deflationary sentiments of the European central bankers will be the determining factor in our balance-of-payments policy—outweighing the concern we should and must have for the needs of such friends of the dollar as Great Britain.

If the administration determines to set its sights on absolute elimination of the U.S. payments deficit—which means an absolute end to dollar additions to world reserves—the one hope for increasing world liquidity to fill the needs of world prosperity will be a world monetary conference. I have long advocated such a conference as have many of my distinguished colleagues; I have hailed Treasury Secretary Fowler's leadership in mobilizing our Government behind the idea of world monetary reform; I believe that Secretary Fowler's mission to Europe in September to sound out other governments on this subject is of crucial importance. But I must also subscribe to the concluding view expressed in the Washington Post's editorial this morning:

If the success of Secretary Fowler's forthcoming mission to Europe were assured, if one could be reasonably optimistic about reaching an agreement on monetary reforms that would assure the growth of international liquidity, the equilibrium toward which this country is striving would pose few dangers. But with the success of the Fowler mission in doubt and the prospects for convening an international monetary conference dim, this country's policy should not be geared toward placating the most gold-thirsty holders of dollars. Completely satisfying their desire involves risks that are too great for this country to assume.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post editorial, dated August 20, and entitled "The Proper Balance," be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### THE PROPER BALANCE

The official balance-of-payments figures confirm what has been known for some time. This country now has a modest surplus on its transactions with the rest of the world, having shifted from a deficit of \$691 million in the first quarter to a surplus of \$298 million in the second quarter of this year. This swing of nearly a billion dollars in the payments position demonstrates that the dollar drain, once viewed as hopelessly chronic in European financial circles, can be halted by resolute Government policies. But it raises the disquieting question of whether the elimination of the deficit is compatible with the maintenance of economic stability in the non-Communist world.

As the world's largest trading Nation, the country whose dollar deficits accounted for more than half of the annual growth of international monetary reserves, the United

States cannot permanently maintain a payments surplus without widespread disruption. United States surpluses must elsewhere in the system increase deficits, and as countries which had for long been the recipients of U.S. capital funds find their reserves falling, they are compelled to apply monetary restraints which depress economic activity and thus reduce the demand for imports. And since the European surplus countries are not disposed to extend credits, the contraction of international liquidity, now reflected in the figures released by the International Monetary Fund, must perforce lead to a contraction of output and employment that will affect many countries.

Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler is doubtless well aware of these dangers, but his reply to a press conference question does not dispel the fears engendered by the administration's policy. When asked whether it is still the administration's intention to eliminate the payments deficit, the Secretary replied that: "The goal of the administration is to achieve an equilibrium in our balance of payments, an equilibrium that will be manifest by the confidence of the world that the dollar is as good as gold."

But an equilibrium in which the holders of dollars no longer wish to convert them to gold is very difficult to attain. Liquidity as measured by the French or Belgian or Dutch desire to convert dollars might be "excessive" while much of the rest of the world is confronted with a shortage of liquidity.

How long would it take to achieve the equilibrium envisioned by Secretary Fowler? The answer is 2 years according to a thoughtful article which appears in "Quarterly Review" and "Investment Survey" published by Model, Roland & Co. of New York. But can the growth of international liquidity be halted for 2 years without severe economic repercussions?

If the success of Secretary Fowler's forthcoming mission to Europe were assured, if one could be reasonably optimistic about reaching an agreement on monetary reforms that would assure the growth of international liquidity, the equilibrium toward which this country is striving would pose few dangers. But with the success of the Fowler mission in doubt and the prospects for convening an international monetary conference dim, this country's policy should not be geared toward placating the most gold-thirsty holders of dollars. Completely satisfying their desire involves risks that are too great for this country to assume.

#### ENTITLEMENT OF CHILDREN OF CERTAIN VETERANS TO BENEFIT UNDER THE WAR ORPHANS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 551, H.R. 227.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 227) to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with an amendment, on page 2, line 8, after the

word "thereof" to strike out "striking 'during the induction period' in the fourth sentence and inserting in lieu thereof: 'other than during a period of war.'"

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the basic purpose of the bill before the Senate is to make war orphan's educational assistance available to the sons and daughters of those veterans who died or were totally and permanently disabled from a service-connected disability which directly resulted from the performance of active duty, or was incurred while engaged in extrahazardous service, during peacetime periods after the Spanish-American War and prior to September 16, 1940.

This benefit is available generally only to individuals between the ages of 18 and 23 and for higher education, and due to the lapse of time between the death or disability and the present date, would be extremely limited. It is estimated that this extension would only apply to between 25 and 30 persons, but due to the hardships that they face it is a desirable extension of the basic purposes of the war orphan's educational assistance program.

This program has been urged by the Disabled American Veterans, an organization that has long been active in the field of veterans affairs and which has so forcefully presented the need of this bill to Congress. The total cost of the bill will be less than \$400,000 yet it will provide these people who were previously excluded from the War Orphan's Education Act the opportunity for the education which they deserve.

I ask unanimous consent that an explanation of this bill be inserted at this point in the RECORD, and I urge the enactment of this worthy bill.

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

#### EXPLANATION OF H.R. 227

The purpose of this bill is to make war orphans' educational assistance, authorized by chapter 35 of title 38, United States Code, available to the sons and daughters of those veterans who died or were total and permanently disabled from a service-connected disability which directly resulted from the performance of active duty, or was incurred while engaged in extrahazardous service, during peacetime periods after the Spanish-American War and prior to September 16, 1940.

It appears to the committee that this is indeed a reasonable extension of the basic purpose of the war orphans' education assistance program. In view of the fact that this benefit is available generally only to individuals between the ages of 18 and 23 and for higher education, its application would be extremely limited.

The amendment adopted by the committee is technical in nature and would eliminate any possible confusion created by a conflict between an amendment proposed by section 3 of H.R. 205 and the subject bill.

Section 3 of H.R. 205 would eliminate the "performance of active military, naval, or air service" requirement for induction period service by striking out the fourth sentence of section 1701(a)(1). This would be in conflict with the amendment to section 1701(a)(1) which would be accomplished by the enactment of H.R. 227, which would retain the fourth sentence in an amended form.

The proposed amendment would eliminate all changes in the fourth sentence of section

1701(a)(1) and thus avoid all conflict between the two bills.

The total cost of this proposal will not exceed \$40,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, insert the following new section:

Sec. 3. (a) Section 503 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by inserting "(a)" after "503", and by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (a), in the case of any individual—

"(1) who, for the first month after the month in which the Social Security Amendments of 1965 is enacted, is entitled to a monthly insurance benefit payable under section 202 or 223 of the Social Security Act,

"(2) who, for such month, is entitled to a monthly benefit payable under the provisions of this chapter, or under the first sentence of section 9(b) of the Veterans' Pension Act of 1959, and

"(3) whose insurance benefit referred to in clause (1) for any subsequent month is increased by reason of the enactment of the Social Security Amendments of 1965, there shall not be counted, in determining the annual income of such individual, so much of the insurance benefit referred to in clause (1) for any subsequent month as is equal to the amount by which such insurance benefit is increased by reason of the enactment of the Social Security Amendments of 1965."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, my amendment is similar to a provision inserted by the Senate Finance Committee in the 1964 social security bill and is the same as the amendment accepted by Senator LONG of Louisiana, floor manager of the 1965 social security bill, and approved by the Senate.

The amendment is designed to insure that veterans' benefits are not cut back due to the 7-percent increase in social security benefits. In 1964, the Senate Finance Committee report on the social security bill stated at page 14:

It has been brought to the committee's attention that the present bill may have the unintended result of reducing or eliminating non-service-connected pensions of certain veterans or their widows because of the receipt of increased social security benefits. To prevent this, the committee amendment amends the appropriate provisions of the veterans' law to exempt from its annual income test the amount of social security increase resulting from this bill.

The amendment this year was opposed by the Veterans' Administration. However, the VA acknowledged that some veterans will receive a cut in pensions and has estimated the number of persons affected to be as high as 18,000. The VA argued that veterans will not be cut below their 1964 pension level due solely to the increase in social security benefits. While this may generally be true, the veterans were, nevertheless, promised an increase in pensions and have actually received an increase in pensions during the months of

1965 to date. It should be borne in mind that the 7-percent increase in social security benefits only partially replaces the decrease in spending power, which has occurred since the last general increase in social security pensions, due to inflation.

I ask unanimous consent that an example of how the 7-percent increase will in fact result in a cut in a veteran's pension be placed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

Example showing how the 10-percent exclusion does not prevent loss of benefits as a result of 7-percent increase in social security pension (veteran receiving \$105 per month social security pension prior to 7-percent increase):

Present annual social security income.....	\$1,260
Less 10 percent.....	126

Income for VA purposes..... 1,134

This gives the veteran an income of under \$1,200 for VA purposes so he continues with his \$100-per-month veteran pension.

Same annual social security with 7-percent increase.....	\$1,348
Less 10 percent.....	134

Income for VA purposes..... 1,214

Since the income for VA purposes now exceeds \$1,200, the veteran will be reduced to the next lower benefit bracket, or \$75 per month.

Thus he will suffer a loss of \$300 per year in veterans' benefits as a result of an increase of \$88 per year in social security pension.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, Senator Long of Louisiana argued two points in supporting the conference report on H.R. 6675 which deleted the amendment previously approved by the Senate. The first was that the House conferees took the attitude that the defect was in the veterans' laws rather than in the social security laws and that the veterans' committee should look into the matter. The second was that the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee was unwilling to consider the amendment because it fell within the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Committee. Senator Long of Louisiana urged at page 18503 of the RECORD that the amendment be added to a veterans' bill so that the objections raised by the prior Conference Committee would no longer be valid.

Due to the urgency of the situation arising from the September 1, 1965, effective date for the increased social security benefits, it appears that H.R. 227 would be an appropriate bill to take care of this situation.

I ask unanimous consent that a recent article by John Troan, Scripps Howard staff writer, be placed in the RECORD.

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

VETERANS RUN INTO A PARADOX  
(By John Troan)

Sometimes it hurts to get a raise. An estimated 12,000 to 18,000 war veterans will find this out shortly when their social security checks are increased.

Due to a legal quirk, the boost in social security benefits will cost them money—be-

cause the pensions they are drawing from the Veterans' Administration will have to be cut down or cut off.

The paradoxical situation stems from the fact a VA pension is geared to an ex-serviceman's other income.

OVER THE TOP

By getting more money from social security, some vets will go over the VA income ceiling—and thus lose their pensions.

Others will move up to a higher income bracket—and thus find their pensions reduced.

The VA figures as many as 18,000 of the 1,220,000 vets drawing such pensions will be adversely affected by the social security raise. That is, they'll wind up netting less in Federal benefits.

The Senate sought to head this off by adopting a proposal by Senator JACK MILLER, Republican, of Iowa, to direct the VA to disregard the forthcoming 7-percent boost in social security benefits when calculating a vet's outside income for pension purposes.

OUT

But this was knocked out by the House and Senate conferees who yesterday finished ironing out differences in the social security medicare bill which is due to get final congressional approval next week.

Caught in the squeeze are veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict who are collecting pensions for non-service-connected disabilities.

To qualify for such a benefit, a vet's income must be below a certain level.

This ranges from \$600 to \$3000 a year, depending on when the vet started drawing the pension and whether he has any dependents.

In figuring a vet's income, the VA may exclude only 10 percent of his social security benefit. The Senate wanted the VA to exclude the pending increase, too. But the House refused to go along.

The maximum increase in social security benefits will be \$8.90 a month. But reductions in VA pensions may run as high as \$35 a month—and total loss of a VA pension could mean as much as \$106-a-month difference to some ex-servicemen.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I have discussed my amendment with the distinguished Senator from Texas. It is similar to an amendment which was offered to the social security bill. It was accepted by the distinguished majority whip, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long]. I understand that the Senator from Texas is willing to accept the amendment and take it to conference.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, on behalf of the committee I accept the amendment and will take it to conference. It involves a question of committee jurisdiction, which will have to be settled in conference between the House and the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

THE JUDICIAL CONDUCT OF JUDGE JOHN BURNETT

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, a few days ago on the floor of the Senate I felt

it my duty to call attention to a judge in the District of Columbia. I had waited a long time before doing so, because I do not especially like—in fact, the very contrary is the case—to take advantage of my position as a Senator to discuss what I consider to be the misbehavior of a high public official.

In this case, however, I felt obliged to do so. Today, I expect to speak briefly about Judge John Burnett.

Judge Burnett presides over the domestic relations court in the District of Columbia. I accused him of browbeating witnesses, of making life miserable for many who are obliged to come into his courtroom, and of having had, and of still having, an obsessive interest in the sexual lives of those who are before him in his court.

Mr. President, in the few days which have gone by since I made my statement in the Senate, I have received many telephone calls and many letters from people in the District and from people in nearby Maryland and Virginia—those who had lived in the District—telling of their personal experiences—all extremely uncomfortable—when they were in this man's courtroom.

They expressed gratification that the attention of Congress had been called to this situation, and they expressed the hope that something would come out of the discussion.

I have said nothing outside the Senate concerning this subject. I have no desire whatever, I assure the judge, to castigate him on a personal basis. But I feel that it is my clear duty to do so on the basis of his occupying the office that he does.

I thought he was a bit intemperate when he went to the newspapers and the radio following my speech and castigated me pretty severely personally. I do not intend to do the same concerning him. I am not interested in him as a human being except insofar as what he reflects in his courtroom attitudes.

Judge Burnett said that he would not even know me on the street, or elsewhere, I presume, unless I were dressed like an Alaska "hay shaker." I do not know what a hay shaker is, so I would not know how to dress like an Alaska "hay shaker" so the judge might readily recognize me if we were to pass in the street.

He said that which I had done meant no more to him than a fly on his coat-tail. Mr. President, it is going to. It is going to mean considerably more, because the letters and telephone calls I have received and the long previous research I have performed and caused to be performed in respect to this man's "performance"—I use that word advisedly—in the courtroom must be called to the attention of those in a position to act.

I shall say further that it has been called to the attention of those in a position to act. It is true that this man's term of office as a judge of the general sessions of the District of Columbia Court has only a few more months to run. Perhaps it should be said that nothing ought to be done, that he should be allowed to continue, that his term will expire soon, anyway, and that surely, in the light of the record, he would not be reappointed.

But I say that is not enough. If the man's behavior is as I understand it to be, he should not be allowed to serve where he now is until the conclusion of his term, however short a time that might be, because if injustice is what people going into his courtroom are receiving instead of justice, the situation cannot end too soon. It ought to end immediately.

In newspaper references to me, Judge Burnett has said that I was acting at the instigation of some unnamed judge. That is not the case. The statement made by Judge Burnett is a fabrication and without merit. No judge has asked me to do this, and I do not believe that I would be particularly interested if any judge did, if I did not have evidence of the kind which has come to me during recent months concerning the conduct of Judge Burnett.

The judge implied that my interest was aroused because of a case which came before him involving a former resident of Alaska. That is partly true, but mostly not true. It could be better said that that was the first time that I ever had contact with, or ever heard about this judge.

One day I was called to his court, not as a witness of substance, but as a character witness in a case before his court. I was shocked, surprised, and hurt because the judge was incredibly rude to me, without any reason for being so. He was even ruder to the wife of my colleague from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], when she testified in the same case—needlessly and unnecessarily so.

That caused me to wonder what kind of man this was. What type of judge was this man who would go out of his way to assail people who appeared as witnesses?

Then it was that my research began. Mr. President, my research has been extensive; it has been exhaustive; it has been thorough. I have read transcripts and/or excerpts from transcripts in respect to a number of cases which have come before Judge Burnett. I was horrified that this man, who should have been kind, considerate, and helpful in the court of domestic relations, browbeat women—women especially—who were there before him.

He went further than that, as I said in my statement the other day. He had a strange, overwhelming obsession regarding the sexual lives and the sexual behavior of those women. He probed and questioned in a manner that was extremely disturbing to me. As I began to make inquiry, I learned that this man has, throughout the bar of the District of Columbia, a very considerable reputation and, I regret to say—and I really do, because he is a high judge—that the reputation is the very opposite of favorable.

The question might be asked, "Why have not the lawyers done something about it?" If they have known that this man was not fit for the judicial robe, why have they not protested? Why have they not made outcry? Why have they not sought to have him removed from office?

The question is easy to ask, and I believe the answer is not hard to find. It may not be completely satisfying to all of us, but granted the practical world in which we live, I suppose it is understandable. The answer is that the lawyers had to appear before this man in case after case and trial after trial. They knew that he was extremely vindictive. They knew that if they lodged protests with any official body, in all likelihood they would be in for trouble when they next appeared in his court.

This went on and on. It has gone on and on through the years.

I knew about it for a very considerable while before I spoke on this subject. Why did I hesitate? Why did I wait so long?

Mr. President, for a while I thought I would wait for the term of Judge Burnett to expire, in the hope that he would not be reappointed. I felt great confidence that if I were alive his nomination would not be confirmed again, even if he were reappointed, because I would certainly, quickly, and categorically, and always, have a personal objection to him.

But as more and more evidence came in my direction it appeared all the clearer that it was my plain duty, without further delay, to make the facts that were available to me available to the Senate and to whoever might read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This I have done, and this I shall persist in doing in the sure belief that when this man's record is examined and scrutinized, he will not be in office long. He is not entitled to be in office. Those who go into that court are entitled to be protected against him. The evidence will not come and should not come from me.

It might be said that I have a bias. I suppose that that would be a correct statement. I might not be the most impartial of judges of Judge Burnett. I might lack the fine degree of impartiality, of sweetness, of light, and of justice that a judge ought to have, and which assuredly Judge Burnett does not possess in any degree that I have been able to discover.

There are those in official positions who are competent to examine into the matter. I should like Judge Burnett to know that the fly on his coattail may be of no considerable source of irritation to him—that is the way he described me—but I suggest that those who are now examining into his record give this entire subject the light of objectivity and a judicial approach. All they will have to do is to read the transcripts of the cases which have come before Judge Burnett.

No man in my experience has indicted himself more thoroughly, more consistently, and with greater frequency. It is appropriate to state here—I have his permission to do so—that yesterday I talked with Mr. Paul McArdle, president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia about Judge Burnett and my belief that Judge Burnett is not fit to sit on the bench of the court over which he now presides or any other court whatsoever.

Mr. McArdle informed me that in his capacity as president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia he has appointed two committees to look into

this matter. One committee is the committee on domestic relations. The other is the committee on relations with the District of Columbia court of general sessions.

Mr. McArdle has instructed those committees to look into the allegations promptly and to report to him their findings.

I am given to understand that some Members of the Senate and at least one committee of the Senate are actively examining Judge Burnett's record since his appointment as a judge of the court of general sessions.

If what I have said here is without merit, then naturally, because I personally have nothing against the man, he should remain in office and should be reappointed, if he desires reappointment.

But the sad fact is that no objective man or woman could make the examinations which I have made and have caused to be made and come to a conclusion other than that this judge is in serious and immediate need of help himself.

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned under the order previously entered, until Monday, August 23, 1965, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 20, 1965:

##### DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

J. Cordell Moore, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, vice John M. Kelly, resigned.

##### WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Dr. James Watt, of the District of Columbia, to be the representative of the United States of America on the Executive Board of the World Health Organization.

##### U.S. MARSHAL

George M. Stuart, of Alabama, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of Alabama for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

Keith Hardie, of Wisconsin, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Wisconsin for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

George A. Bukovatz, of Montana, to be U.S. marshal for the district of Montana for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

##### U.S. ATTORNEY

Robert Nelson Chaffin, of Wyoming, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Wyoming for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

##### THE JUDICIARY

William O. Mehrtens, of Florida, to be U.S. district judge for the southern district of Florida vice Emmett C. Choate, retired.

#### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, August 20, 1965:

##### U.S. AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for temporary appointment in the U.S. Air Force, under

the provisions of chapter 839, title 10, of the United States Code:

*To be major generals*

Brig. Gen. William E. Creer 1742A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Loren G. McCollom 1632A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Thomas B. Whitehouse 1677A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. James W. Humphreys 19928A, Regular Air Force, Medical.  
 Brig. Gen. Joseph L. Dickman 1656A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Ford 2065A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. William W. Wisman 4990A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Joseph J. Cody, Jr., 5126A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Richard S. Abbey 1992A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. William D. Greenfield 1899A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Howard A. Davis 3860A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Timothy F. O'Keefe 4608A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. George S. Boylan, Jr., 4836A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Lawrence S. Lightner 5219A, Regular Air Force.  
 Brig. Gen. Richard H. Ellis 36867A (major, Regular Air Force), U.S. Air Force.

*To be brigadier generals*

Col. Roger E. Phelan 1659A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Daniel E. Riley 3768A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Sterling P. Bettinger 3842A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Stephen W. Henry 3907A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Arthur E. Exon 3940A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. James H. Thompson 4023A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Russell A. Berg 4376A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. James D. Kemp 4517A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Archie M. Burke 4642A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. John E. Frizen 4706A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Leo A. Kiley 4953A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. John W. Kline 5084A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. David I. Liebman 5164A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Carroll H. Bolender, 5243A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Lee M. Lightner, 18923A, Regular Air Force, Dental.  
 Col. Thomas L. Hayes, Jr., 4672A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Herman Rumsey 4723A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. George V. Williams 7733A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Edward M. Nichols, Jr., 7805A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Leo P. Geary 8037A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. John A. Des Portes 8199A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Henry B. Kucheman, Jr., 8353A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Francis W. Nye 8418A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Gerald W. Johnson 8671A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. John R. Murphy 8944A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. James F. Kirkendall 9092A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Frank K. Everest, Jr., 9100A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Frederick E. Morris, Jr., 9166A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Rockly Triantafellu 9504A, Regular Air Force.

Col. Louis T. Seith, 9756A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. David C. Jones, 9887A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Sherman F. Martin, 9963A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. William V. McBride, 10077A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. John S. Chandler, Jr., 10102A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Henry L. Hogan III, 10151A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. August F. Tate, 4256A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Frank J. Collins, 9330A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Charles W. Carson, Jr., 10113A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Burl W. McLaughlin, 10624A, Regular Air Force.  
 Col. Russell K. Pierce, Jr., 18118A, Regular Air Force.

**PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE**

The following candidates for personnel action in the regular corps of the Public Health Service, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law and regulations:

**I. For appointment:**

*To be senior assistant veterinary officer*

Stephen Potkay

**II. For permanent promotion:**

*To be senior assistant surgeon*

Francisco Frias

*To be senior assistant sanitary engineers*

Paul D. Eckrich

Kenneth J. Kronoveter

Alan C. Foose

Russell S. Lo Galbo

Barry L. Johnson

*To be senior assistant pharmacists*

Elmer W. Akin

Michael J. Kopcho

Robert Brotman

Jeremiah R. Toomey

Jean P. Davignon

*To be senior assistant scientist*

John J. Bartko

*To be senior assistant therapist*

Dale E. Swett

*To be health services officer*

Clifton R. Gravelle

*To be senior assistant health service officers*

Gregory J. Barone

Kenneth D. Howard

Wayne G. Brown

Thomas J. Keast

*To be assistant sanitary engineer*

John F. Walsh

*To be nurse director*

Mary E. O'Connor

**I. For permanent promotion:**

*To be assistant sanitary engineers*

Douglas L. Johnson

Richard H. Mosbaugh

Donald R. Kaiser.

**IN THE AIR FORCE**

The nominations beginning John D. Best to be captain, and ending Michael R. Watts to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on August 11, 1965.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, AUGUST 23, 1965

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., used this verse of Scripture: Psalm 119: 105: *Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.*

Almighty God, who art always speaking unto us through Thy Holy Word, may these words, with their message of comfort and cheer, be a revealing light

and a sustaining power during the hours of this new week.

Grant that the thoughts of our minds and the meditation of our hearts may be tempered and disciplined by the entrance of Thy word, giving us the spirit of charity and kindness, of tolerance and patience, as we seek to solve difficult problems of human relationships.

May Thy words illumine and transform our loftiest aims and aspirations, with insight and wisdom, and bring them in tune with a great faith, which will enable us to meet the unknown future, however dark, without fear and confusion.

We thank Thee for Thy servant with whom we walked and worked for a little while upon this earth. Thou hast received him into Thy nearer presence. Give unto his family and loved ones the consolation of Thy grace. In Christ's name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, August 19, 1965, was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 485. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Auburn-Folsom South unit, American River division, Central Valley project, California, under Federal reclamation laws; and

H.R. 10132. An act to authorize the Honorable JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., of Massachusetts, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, to accept the award of the Military Order of Christ with the rank of grand officer.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 8283. An act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McNAMARA, Mr. MORSE, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. NELSON, Mr. JAVITS, and Mr. PROUTY to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is