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# President Johnson's Address to the Nation

The following is the official text of President Johnson's address to the Nation last night:

My fellow Americans:

As President and Commander in Chief, it is my duty to the American people to report that renewed hostile actions against U.S. ships on the high seas in the Gulf of Tonkin have today required me to order the military forces of the United States to take action in reply.

The initial attack on the destroyer Maddox, on August 2, was repeated today by a number of hostile vessels attacking two U.S. destroyers with torpedoes. The destroyers, and supporting aircraft, acted at once on the orders I gave after the initial act of aggression. We believe at least two of the attacking boats were sunk. There were no U.S. losses.

The performance of commanders and crews in this engagement is in the highest tradition of the United States Navy.

But repeated acts of violence against the armed forces of the United States must be met not only with alert defense, but with positive reply. That reply is being given as I speak to you. Air action is now in execution against gun boats and certain supporting facilities of North Viet-Nam which have been used in these hostile operations.

In the larger sense, this new act of aggression, aimed directly at our own forces, again brings home to all of us in the United States the importance of the struggle for peace and security in Southeast Asia. Aggression by terror against the peaceful villagers of South Viet-Nam has now been joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America. The determination of all Americans to carry out our full commitment to the people and government of South Viet-Nam will be redoubled by this outrage.

Yet our response, for the present, will be limited and fitting. We Americans know, although others appear to forget, the risks of spreading conflict. We still seek no wider war.

I have instructed the Secretary of State to make this position totally clear to friends, to adversaries, and indeed to all. I have instructed Ambassador Stevenson to raise this matter immediately and urgently be-

fore the Security Council of the United Nations.

Finally, I have today met with the leaders of both parties in the Congress of the United States, and I have informed them that I shall immediately request the Congress to pass a resolution making it clear that our Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom, and in defense of peace, in Southeast Asia. I have been given encouraging assurance by these leaders that such a resolution will be promptly introduced, freely and expeditiously debated, and passed with overwhelming support.

It is a solemn responsibility to have to order even limited military action by forces whose overall strength is as vast and as awesome as those of the United States of America. But it is my considered conviction, shared throughout your Government, that firmness in the right is indispensable today for peace. That firmness will always be measured. Its mission is peace.

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ment, and be able to read all blueprints and engineer's drawings.

Sheetmetal repairs, from replacing a rivet to crash damage structural repairs for one-time flights to a depot, or permanent repairs away from MAAMA, also major and minor repairs, T.O.'s and modifications at MAAMA.

T.D.Y. anywhere in any country or climate. I have been stranded 76 days on T-3 (Fletcher's Ice Island), 200 miles from the North Pole, to repair a crash-damaged C-124, which was later flown to the States. I have also been to Vietnam to modify C-123 spray model aircraft, and was required to fly on a spray mission over the Mekong Delta. I have also been required to fly to many other countries on T.D.Y. On T.D.Y. our base pay remains the same as at Middletown, also, there isn't any hazard pay when we fly military air and our commercial insurance will not cover us while on these flights.

In many cases the mechanic's decision could mean the loss of a plane or the life of a pilot, or many dollars to the Air Force. Recently, I made a decision that saved the Air Force a minimum of \$114 million for a minimum 30-day work stoppage period. If it would have been more than 30 days the cost would have been more, due to loss of time of shipment of jigs to the States and back to France.

In regards to Wage Board employees, we are considered semiskilled during a wageboard survey for pay raises, but we are still entrusted with aircraft costing up to \$2½ million and more. An automobile mechanic receives more pay to work on a \$3,000 automobile and there are not as many lives involved. I think the wageboard survey team should consider aircraft personnel as skilled workers for pay raises, and pay us as such. The Federal Aviation Agency has very strict regulations in regard to aircraft mechanics for commercial airlines and their salaries are not in line with the Wage Board. Twenty years ago we were WB-16-5, but have been cut to WB-10-3 and do the same work. At that time, and even later, we were able to qualify for GS-7's and 9's, although now we can't qualify for these grades, as their pay scale is far above ours. Now we have trouble qualifying for a GS-5, and that pay scale is more in line with the W-10's.

I would not want you to take this letter as one of gripes, but as known facts as I know them. I have been with the Air Force for quite some time, as I flew 25 missions during World War II, and was recalled to duty for Korea. I have always taken great pride in my work, and the Air Force, and I hate to see the backbone of the Air Force broken, as the morale of the mechanic is the backbone.

If you would wish to talk to me on any of these items, I would be more than pleased to do so at any time.

Sincerely yours,

ZANE H. CASSELL.

#### COLORADO MEDICAL PROGRAM

(Mr. BROTZMAN (at the request of Mr. BELL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, Colorado has a fine medical program for its elderly. The system is provided for in the constitution and statutes of our State; it is tied to the Kerr-Mills Act. Basic control of the program reposes in Colorado.

To illustrate the attitude of many in our State, I would like to insert an editorial which appeared in the Bulletin

Free Press of Denver, Colo., on August 27, 1964. Its publisher is Mr. Charles E. Bloedorn whose opinions are highly regarded:

KERR-MILLS

A committee of the House has been considering ways and means by which the Kerr-Mills Act—which is the basis of the existing State-Federal health program for providing medical aid to the aged and needy—may be revamped to encourage the States to make wider use of it.

The social security approach—commonly known as medicare—simply has failed to gain substantial public and congressional support. And there is every reason why that should be so.

It takes no account of need or whether the individual wants or doesn't want the benefits. Almost every authority is convinced that the official cost estimates are ridiculously low.

And, above all, it presents the very real danger of governmental, bureaucratic domination of the medical arts and institutions. After all, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

The Kerr-Mills approach is much sounder. It places administrative responsibility where it belongs—within the States, and State officials should certainly have a better idea of local problems than a faceless group in far-off Washington.

It offers help where help is needed—not just because a person has reached a given age. And, in various instances, the benefits provided are greater than under medicare.

The changes that may be desirable in Kerr-Mills are a matter of argument. But the principle on which Kerr-Mills is based is the right and workable one.

#### TRIBUTE TO U.S. SERVICEMEN IN VIETNAM

(Mr. SHRIVER (at the request of Mr. BELL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing a great deal about peace and tranquility throughout the world from the administration these days. However, the situation in southeast Asia is becoming more confusion and puzzling for American citizens each day. Thousands of American lives are at stake in Vietnam where there certainly is no peace.

The position of the present government in Vietnam remains shaky. U.S. policies and the conduct of the war in Vietnam must be clarified for the American people.

Mr. Speaker, when American lives are being lost, there is no peace. The Department of Defense casualty list, from January 1, 1961, through September 14, 1964, reports 193 deaths of American servicemen in Vietnam. There have been 1,139 Americans who have suffered non-fatal wounds in the Vietnamese war.

Today I want to pay special tribute to U.S. Air Force Capt. Roger M. Gibson, of Wichita, Kans., who is typical of the courageous Americans fighting with the South Vietnamese for their freedom again Communist aggression.

Captain Gibson recently returned to the United States after a year of fighting in Vietnam. During that period he flew 162 combat missions attacking the Communist Viet Cong guerrilla forces. He

was one of the 1,139 Americans to suffer combat wounds. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by Frank Garofalo, staff writer for the Wichita Beacon, concerning Captain Gibson's heroism:

VIET VICTORY HOPED BY EX-WICHITA PILOT

(By Frank Garofalo)

America's combination of military, economic, medical, and educational aid will win the war in South Vietnam.

This is the conclusion of U.S. Air Force Capt. Roger M. Gibson, who left the troubled Asian country 9 days ago, after a year of fighting.

The much decorated warrior, who flew 162 combat missions attacking the Communist Vietcong guerrilla forces, and his wife, Elisabeth, are here this week visiting an aunt, Miss Helen Slocum, 159 Circle Drive.

The 29-year-old former Wichita University student saw several nonmilitary problems facing the United States in the guerrilla war:

Bolstering the Vietnamese people's will to win the war.

Convincing them—mainly the peasant farmers in outlying jungle villages—that the democratic government is better than communism.

Convincing the Vietnamese "we are behind them all the way and are going to stick with them."

"It's going to be a lengthy war," Gibson said, "but our military, economic, medical, and educational assistance are the things that will win."

#### OTHER NATIONS AID

He said South Vietnamese also are getting medical support from the Philippines, Japan, and Thailand. Those nations, he said, have sent medical teams into the villages.

Militarily, Gibson said, South Vietnamese and American military forces are definitely moving toward winning the war.

"It is difficult to explain this type of war. It's not like World War II, where you knew who and where the enemy was and you move across the line to annihilate him.

"Guerrilla tactics are so much different. The Vietcong operates a lot at night, and they naturally blend in with the rest of the people so you can't tell who is Vietcong and who isn't."

However, Gibson saw a possible break coming for the Government side—the strengthening of the Vietcong into a well-organized army unit.

"Since 1962 the Communists have doubled their cadre to about 40,000, and their number of sympathizers has doubled."

This, according to Gibson, is molding the Vietcong into a well-organized army unit "that is capable of massing and launching a major attack on widespread fronts. They cannot disperse as easily as when they were in small bands.

"This can be termed an advantage," he said, "because now we will have army fighting army on the same ground instead of an organized army (Government forces) fighting small bands of guerrillas."

#### WOUNDED IN ACTION

Gibson was stationed at Bien Hoa, 25 miles north of Saigon, with the 1st Air Commando Squadron. He flew in B-26 attack-bombers and T-28 single-engine-driven fighters.

He was wounded by shrapnel from automatic weapons ground fire on one mission. His left leg was hit. He called it "nothing other than like getting a cut with a knife."

His decorations include Purple Heart, Distinguished Flying Cross with Oak Leaf Cluster, Bronze Star, and Air Medal with six Oak Leaf Clusters.

Mr. Speaker, Captain Gibson has ably expressed confidence that "America's combination of military, economic, medical, and educational aid will win the war in South Vietnam."

We would like to share the confidence demonstrated by Captain Gibson. There is no doubt that our Nation possesses the resources, the strength, and the determination to achieve victory against any aggressor.

The Congress has passed, and I supported, the joint resolution which gave the President authority 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."

We long have been committed to the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. However, the administration has failed to provide the leadership and thus the U.S. position in southeast Asia is in doubt.

#### UNIVERSITY STUDY CRITICAL OF "GUIDELINES" APPROACH TO PRICE-WAGE CONTROL

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. BELL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, two University of Illinois professors recently published a study of the efforts of a number of European governments to hold down wages and prices. The study, which was based on observations of government policy in Italy, Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands, concluded that direct government efforts have been largely ineffective. The application of indirect measures, through monetary and fiscal policy, is considered to be more effective.

Although the study focuses upon policy in European countries, the findings have relevance to wage and price decisionmaking in the United States. The Johnson administration, like governments in the four countries studied, has also used the method of exhortation as embodied in its "guidelines" for price and wage decisionmaking. The steel wage and price controversy of 1962 is an example of the use of such coercive methods to achieve the administration objectives. The study says that the reason for frequent application of the exhortation method is that, "the high governmental official who urges wage and price restraint is conveying the message to the voters that he is on their side, for they are all consumers," and continues by saying, that "at the same time, he is conveying the message to businessmen and union officials that the ultimate decision is really theirs."

Interestingly enough, prominent U.S. economists have been at odds over recent administration policies in this area. Arthur F. Burns, former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, criticizing present policies, sees "clouds" on the economic horizon. One of the "clouds" he cited in a letter to the New York Times

on August 25, is "the tendency of high Government officials to interfere in the price-making process of our market economy."

Because of the importance of this study, I include the article which appeared in the New York Times on September 1, reviewing the study, in the RECORD.

Since preparing these remarks it has become apparent that the Johnson administration has little intention of implementing its wage-price guidelines, certainly not in the campaign months of September and October. Yesterday I placed in the Appendix of the RECORD—page A4820—a pertinent news item from the Washington Post entitled "Wage-Price Guides Hit by Recent Accords," which points up some of the evidence to support this conclusion.

#### INDIRECT CONTROL OF WAGES ADVISED—SPECIFIC LIMITS INEFFECTIVE, STUDY OF FOUR NATIONS FINDS

(By John D. Pomfret)

WASHINGTON, August 31.—Two university professors have concluded on the basis of a four-nation study that government efforts to depress wages and prices directly have been largely ineffective.

The study was made by two members of the University of Illinois faculty, one of whom has since gone to another school. The professors found that indirect measures, through monetary and fiscal policy, have been much more successful.

Nevertheless, they expect that governments will continue to use direct methods, such as exhortation, establishment of wage and price guidelines, and outright controls for political reasons.

#### BRITAIN AMONG SOURCES

The study covered Italy, West Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands. It was made by Professors Murray J. Edelman, a political scientist, and Robben W. Fleming, then at the Illinois law school. Both are industrial relations experts.

Mr. Fleming recently went to the University of Wisconsin as provost of its Madison campus.

The study was prepared for the American Foundation on Automation and Employment, a joint venture of U.S. Industries, Inc., and the International Association of Machinists. It did not cover the United States.

Nevertheless, its conclusions are relevant to the United States, where the administration through the President's Council of Economic Advisers has been trying to persuade unions and employers voluntarily to limit gains in employee compensation in most instances to the average annual gain in output per man-hour in recent years. This is roughly 3.2 percent.

A test of the Council's guideline is currently being made in the negotiations between the automobile industry and the United Automobile Workers. The union has indicated that it has no intention of being confined by the Council's formula.

#### GUIDELINES DIFFICULT

In a footnote on the American situation, the two professors said:

"The formulation of wage guidelines abroad has been as difficult and as unsatisfactory in end result as in the United States. Productivity—output per man-hour—remains the popular favorite, except in application.

"The difficulties in calculating productivity on any except the broadest (and therefore least meaningful) base have not been overcome; the realities of bargaining power remain the more potent influence."

The study said that all governments exhort businessmen and unions to exercise moderation and sometimes suggest guidelines or prescribe ceilings "not because they necessarily bring economic stability, but because there are political advantages in doing [these things] and because the public and the public officials alike find them reassuring."

"The high governmental official who urges wage and price restraint is conveying the message to the voters that he is on their side, for they are all consumers," the report continued. "At the same time, he is conveying the message to businessmen and union officials that the ultimate decision is really theirs; and this too is a welcome and popular message, likely to bring political support."

Though pronouncements on wages and prices by governments, unions, and managements have doubtful direct impact of economic trends, they often have considerable impact on political and organizational loyalties, the study found.

#### MEXICAN FARMERS' ADVANTAGE CITED

(Mr. TEAGUE of California (at the request of Mr. BELL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Santa Barbara, Calif., News-Press, September 19, 1964. The article correctly points out that, as a result of the termination of the bracero program December 31, 1964, Mexican farmers will have a terrific advantage over California farmers and that the bulk of strawberries, tomatoes, and cantaloupes will in the future be grown in Mexico, rather than in California, unless a supplemental labor supply is made available:

#### BRACERO NEED TOLD—MEXICAN FARMERS' ADVANTAGE CITED

The end of the Mexican bracero program December 31 is already giving Mexican farmers a big advantage over California farmers, and the bulk of the strawberries, tomatoes, and cantaloupes are being grown south of the border, according to Ezekiel Villasenor, Jr.

Because the American farmers have to plan ahead with their crops, they are not willing to take a chance on having enough labor for the harvests and are not putting in the crops, the president of the Villasenor Labor Camps here told the Downtown Lions Club's weekly meeting.

"In the next 3 years a million more acres will be put into production in northern Mexico for the market," the speaker said. "As a result, the prices of fresh fruits and vegetables are going up locally. California, which has been producing more than 50 percent of the fresh produce of the Nation, is dropping rapidly."

#### BRACERO HISTORY

Villasenor, a Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute graduate engineer and former Mexican Air Force military attaché in Washington, recited the history of the bracero (Spanish for "someone who lends his hands") program, which started at the end of World War II. Such labor import has been going on for a century in the United States, with men from Ireland to China coming here. Public Law 78 went into effect in 1951 and has continued until the present.