

1964

ligion, or the arts. But the readers of a respectable proportion of the American newspapers' 60 million copies a day do have the assurance that their editors and publishers are not satisfied to print a little news, a lot of stale entertainment, and whatever advertising they can hustle in a wholly unnecessary effort to stay in business.

That kind of newspaper is on the way out. The public service newspaper, so deeply conscious of its social responsibility, is on the rise. That is the brightest and most helpful sign for our journalism.

Mr. President, I think these words ring true nationally, and I know they do in my State of New Hampshire. I have had my share of knocks in the New Hampshire press, and I have too much respect for the great majority of it to think these few words will do anything to change that. There is in my State, as elsewhere, a segment of the press that somewhere along the line lost sight of its duty to inform its readers, in depth but objectively in its news columns, while confining its opinions, responsibility, and truthfully, to its editorial columns.

These editors and publishers can not differentiate between molding public opinion and inciting to riot. Instead of serving the necessary purpose of devil's advocate, they choose to play the role of kingmaker—selecting candidates, putting words into their mouths, directing their every movement, and then pronouncing them perfectly suited for the electorate. These yellow sheets, spewing a onesided, lopsided siren song, earn my contempt, and wherever I can I would do my best to expose them to a partially unsuspecting public.

But my lack of respect for the irresponsible minority of the news media does not extend to all its members any more than my distaste for vultures makes me hate all birds, or my dislike for extremists has turned me against mankind. Those who insist we have a controlled press should look toward the Soviet Union's news media. Those who cry that the press has been captured by the leftwing, the liberals, or the Democratic Party should check how many of our most respected newspapers have seldom, or never, supported a Democrat for public office. To those who complain segments of the press have changed their allegiance only since the complainers have sought office, I would humbly suggest that before placing the blame, they take a good, long look at themselves and what they stand for.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that the article published in the summer 1964 issue of *Columbia Journalism Review* entitled, "Public Service: A 1964 Honor Roll," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

PUBLIC SERVICE: A 1964 HONOR ROLL

(By John Hohenberg)

Kentucky's prison system is undergoing major reform.

North Carolina and Tennessee will have stricter voting laws in the 1964 presidential election.

Needy families in Washington, Baltimore, and several other cities are now protected against illegal profiteering in the Depart-

ment of Agriculture's surplus food program.

In Arizona and Florida, prospective homeowners no longer will be victimized by fraudulent sales by mail of real estate.

In Florida, taxpayers will save millions of dollars in future bond issues through a full-scale reorganization of the State's road construction program.

Hundreds of youthful dropouts will be back in school in Indiana next fall without the expenditure of an extra cent of public funds.

In Philadelphia, the police department will be rid of those who once helped South Philadelphia's numbers racketeers.

These are a few examples of the accomplishments recorded by American newspapers in scores of public service programs and campaigns during the Pulitzer Prize season just past. Never before in the 48 years of the Pulitzer awards has there been so long and diversified an honor roll of accomplishments, large and small. In a responsible American newspaper campaign in 1964, the heaviest public service emphasis is likely to be on the progress of integration, on better government, and on better schools, accompanied by a deepening concern over the administration of public institutions and the conduct of public officials. Beyond purely local or national interests, there is a small but developing body of investigatory reporting of foreign affairs and public service presentations of background materials based on foreign policy discussions.

Very little of this is calculated to produce old-time screaming headlines or to send circulation figures soaring. When such a thing does happen, it is usually by accident, not by design. A worthwhile undertaking in public service journalism is rarely a good short-term investment, for it entails heavy additional costs, a far greater total staff effort, and a certain amount of risk even for highly successful managements. No way has yet been found to guarantee success in any such campaign and there are, of course, many that fail.

Still, an ever-increasing segment of the responsible American press is engaging in such work, often in the face of public apathy or even downright public hostility. Out of the 443 exhibits in the 1964 Pulitzer Prize categories for public service, for the 4 reporting divisions, and for editorial writing, more than half dealt with the press' commitment to the public interest in one form or another. (Nominees in cartooning, photography, and special citations accounted for the rest of the 626 entries.) Moreover, as has been pointed out by J. Montgomery Curtis, director of the American Press Institute, many similar efforts in the daily and weekly field were not entered, but scarcely went unnoticed in their own areas.

INTEGRATION A FAVORED TOPIC

The intense national press interest in the progress of integration, which was by far the most popular subject among the exhibits, illustrates a change in American newspapers' attitudes. Ten years ago, at the time of the historic Supreme Court decision on school segregation, there was no apparent interest in so touchy and difficult a topic. This year, newspapers in almost every major city and in many smaller ones—Eastern, Midwestern, Western, and among the more courageous and dedicated in the South—actively advanced the cause of integration in a mature and sophisticated manner.

A special Pulitzer citation, given to the Gannett Newspapers for their use of success stories in integration, was a partial recognition of the importance of the volume and quality of special coverage of the most challenging social problem of this era. Many individual newspapers, through the use of imaginative editing and reporting techniques and the bold display of pictures, made a special effort to give the public the essential background for an understanding of the

crisis. Here was no mere routine recital of dull and unrelated facts (the curse of the newspaper) but a calculated effort to piece together the complicated mosaic of an emerging social pattern, surely a task worthy of the best in journalism.

It is obviously impossible to name every superior effort in this field. Some of the best were the Chicago Daily News's superb team report, "The Negro in Chicago"; a series by staff writers and Negro leaders in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; the New York Post's special report on Negro education; the Washington Post's detailed coverage and interpretation; and extended commentaries and campaigns in the Des Moines Register, Denver Post, Charlotte Observer, Cincinnati Enquirer, and Boston Globe.

Among editorial writers, civil rights also dominated. For the second successive year the Pulitzer Prize went to the owner of a small weekly in Mississippi. This year the recipient was Hazel Brannon Smith of the Lexington Advertiser. But her courageous battle against the White Citizens Councils was not by any means a lone effort. There were others throughout the South who spoke for sanity and reason, among them Eugene Patterson of the Atlanta Constitution and John A. Hamilton of the Norfolk Ledger-Star. It was in part because of the work of Hamilton and his newspaper that the 1,700 Negro children of Prince Edward County, Va., once more are attending school, through the creation of a free school association, after a 4-year struggle. This achievement came a year before the Supreme Court's decision of May 26, 1964, calling for the reopening of the public schools in that county.

Both the 1964 presidential campaign and the public interest in civil rights legislation make it evident that integration is likely to be prominent for some time to come in American public service journalism. The overwhelming support the cause has received on the Nation's editorial pages outside the South is bound to be reflected in renewed campaigns and series in the news columns. There is a commitment here that is deep and lasting.

GOOD GOVERNMENT

The cause of good government—accompanied by exposés of bad government, misgovernment, and nongovernment—continues to attract the interest of enterprising newspapers in a volume second only to that of integration. The watchdog instinct will not be denied.

In the year just past, the Charlotte Observer did a staggering amount of work in exposing vote frauds based mainly on the misuse of absentee ballots. It was finally able to convince the legislature that reform of North Carolina's absentee ballot law was necessary. New laws were the result of the Observer's energetic campaign.

Nor was the Nashville Tennessean's exposure of vote frauds any less thorough. In addition to pushing through needed voting reforms, the Tennessean's campaigning helped convict six persons, including a city councilman, on a vote-fraud conspiracy charge.

In the equally important field of legislative reapportionment, victories were won by the Monterey Peninsula Herald in California and by the Hartford Times in Connecticut.

Issues of ever greater complexity were explored by other newspapers. The New York Herald Tribune's series on "Our Sideline Legislators" created an uproar in the Republican-dominated New York Legislature with an exposure of some members' outside business interests. The San Jose News delved into a pattern of influence that had been exerted on California's State government. The Boston Globe did a series on "Reform in Massachusetts," certainly long overdue, and the Charleston Mail exposed "mystery companies" that were doing business with West Virginia's State government. Perhaps the

most difficult feat in this area was the Wall Street Journal's carefully documented account of the outside business interests of some Federal judges, a forbidding but important subject.

Newspapers that campaigned in specific areas of government and pinpointed their targets appeared to achieve the most spectacular results. The St. Petersburg Times, winner of the Pulitzer Prize gold medal for public service, attacked irregularities in Florida's State road construction program, forced the resignation of the chairman of the Florida State Turnpike Authority, and achieved both reorganization and reform, with consequent savings of millions of dollars in future bond issues.

The Washington Daily News, through Samuel Stafford's one-man inquiry, unmasked wide abuses and profiteering in the Department of Agriculture's surplus food program for needy families, bringing about necessary reforms in Washington, Baltimore, and other cities.

In Kentucky, the Louisville Times, through the brilliant work of young reporter, Dick Berger forced reforms in the State's penal system. By going to prison voluntarily, Berger was able to uncover major abuses and to help his paper develop support for a 4-year program to create a model correctional plan.

There were achievements of equal importance elsewhere. The Cleveland Plain Dealer played a major role in the investigation and subsequent conviction of the Cuyahoga County recorder. The Dallas Morning News conducted a detailed inquiry into a railroad commissioner's outside oil interests. The Nashville Tennessean exposed workhouse conditions in Nashville through the efforts of John W. Hemphill, Jr., who became a voluntary prisoner to do the job. Another reporter, Rodney E. Wenz, finding employment as a psychiatric aid, helped the Rockford Register-Republic achieve reforms in an Illinois institution for the mentally retarded.

In another exposé, the Philadelphia Bulletin published the most unusual evidence of the year—pictures of city policemen in front of a south Philadelphia numbers bank. Results included a departmental shakeup, four arrests, and a Pulitzer Prize for Frederick A. Meyer, the photographer, and James V. Magee and Albert V. Gaudiosi, reporters.

Much more investigatory reporting was required of Robert A. Caro before his newspaper, *Newsday*, of Garden City, N.Y., was able to spring the trap on Florida and Arizona land-by-mail promoters, forcing many of them out of business and bringing about at least five indictments.

The detective story of the year came from Norman C. Miller, of the Wall Street Journal, another Pulitzer Prize winner. His was the first comprehensive account of the multi-million-dollar bankruptcy of the Allied Crude Vegetable Oil & Refining Co. and the huge swindle accompanying it.

There were a number of other campaigns dealing with the administration of justice, some more successful than others. The Miami News investigated alleged irregularities in Florida auto insurance. The Flint Journal attacked an alleged fraud in a Michigan water supply project. And in New York City, all newspapers protested editorially when a Bronx Judge's son was freed by three other Bronx Judges in connection with the auto deaths of five persons. After campaigns by the New York Journal-American, the New York Herald Tribune, and the New York Post, the Judge's son was finally convicted of punching a Post photographer.

Widening interest in education attracted the attention of newspapers as large as the Chicago Tribune, with a special series on higher education, and as small as the Baxley News-Banner, which did a series on that Georgia town's own school problems. The

Indianapolis News put on a campaign against school dropouts that achieved substantial results without any increase in funds for education. Thoughtful campaigns for the improvement of education facilities were published in such papers as the Cincinnati Enquirer, the Fall River Herald News and the Tucson Citizen. In Salt Lake City, the temporary solution of a school crisis was brought about in large part through the work of the Desert News and the Salt Lake Tribune.

MODEST VICTORIES

Some newspapers were content to achieve relatively small victories which were, nevertheless, of benefit to their communities. Thus, the Clinton Herald raised funds to remodel and save the only hospital in Clinton, Iowa. The Duluth Herald and News-Tribune led a successful drive for a new auditorium. The Gainesville Sun of Florida exposed a home repair racket. The High Point Enterprise of North Carolina successfully fought for a school lunch program. The Kansas City Star discovered that some psychiatric patients had been put in a jail for lack of room in hospitals and succeeded in halting the practice. The New York Journal-American, in 2 days, persuaded New York City to rename Idlewild Airport in honor of John F. Kennedy. The Ogdensburg Journal battled for and restored regular airline service for its area in New York. The Orlando Sentinel put on a successful drive for a theater-convention hall.

This year, as in every year, a few newspapers uncovered new topics for public service campaigns. Before the assassination of President Kennedy, the Christian Science Monitor published a series by Josephine Ripley advocating a halt to all sales of guns by mail order, the method by which Lee Oswald obtained his profile. *Newsday* campaigned for a bridge between Connecticut and the Orient Point end of Long Island. The Minneapolis Tribune published a different kind of hospital series by Victor Cohn, its science editor, who reported on the city's hospitals in a highly sophisticated manner. The Wall Street Journal published an expose of connections between the Mafia and business. Edwina Davis, science editor of the Atlanta Journal, did a series on epidemiology programs at the Atlanta Communicable Disease Center. The New Orleans States-Item published an article about a retarded child, written by his father. The Oakland Tribune and other papers in the area campaigned to halt the filling of San Francisco Bay. An investigatory series on Pennsylvania rural slums was featured by the Lancaster New Era. One of the most complex of all subjects, the national wheat referendum, was explained for city folk by Richard Orr, farm editor of the Chicago Tribune. Allan Temko, an architectural critic, published a protest in the San Francisco Chronicle against the design of a new cathedral in the city.

All the more familiar subjects were present in considerable numbers, some achieving more than others—urban renewal, science in industry, health problems, conservation of parklands, the problems of minorities other than Negroes, traffic safety, water conservation, the problems of labor. But the one closest to the hearts of the newspapermen themselves was the brilliant and revealing article by A. H. Raskin, of the New York Times, on the 114-day New York newspaper strike. There are few who can write even one such story during a lifetime.

This outpouring of public service journalism is a testimonial to the ever-deepening commitment of the responsible American press to the protection of the public interest. True, we have by no means seen the last of shoddy newspapers and bad newspaper work, any more than we have been able as yet to achieve the millennium in politics, business and industry, law, medicine, religion, or the

arts. But the readers of a respectable proportion of the American newspapers' 60 million copies a day do have the assurance that their editors and publishers are not satisfied to print a little news, a lot of stale entertainment, and whatever advertising they can hustle in a wholly unnecessary effort to stay in business.

That kind of newspaper is on the way out. The public service newspaper, so deeply conscious of its social responsibility, is on the rise. That is the brightest and most hopeful sign for our journalism.

PROVOCATIVE ACTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask that there be printed following my remarks in the RECORD telegrams that I received this morning in support of the position that I took yesterday on the floor of the Senate protesting the provocative acts of the United States leading to war in Southeast Asia for the past several years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, these acts are provocations of which the United States, in my opinion, was guilty. U.S. action led to the violation of our rights by North Vietnam when they fired upon our ships. The violation of our rights came after the aggressive acts of South Vietnam naval-wise against two islands within 3 to 5 miles off the shore of Vietnam, with the full knowledge of the United States that the acts were going to take place. And while the acts were taking place, U.S. aircraft were in Tonkin Bay.

I received only two telegrams of criticism. But because those telegrams questioned my human paternity, I do not think they should be printed in the RECORD. Those are the only two wires that have been excluded from those which were received in my office.

EXHIBIT 1

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We appreciate and applaud the courage evidenced in your statements on Vietnam. If there is a history, you will surely be remembered for it. Our prayers are with you. Perhaps even one speaking words of sanity can help turn the tide away from war.

Dr. and Mrs. JOHN B. URNER.

SAUBALITO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

We support the correctness of your stand on Vietnam. We wish to protest the cruel and vicious attack by our country on North Vietnam. Unilateral action should end now. Thank you for your courageous voice.

HAROLD and ALMA JOHNSON.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Bravo for seeing and describing the quote emperor's clothes in southeast Asia.

VIRGINIA GERSON.

PASADENA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Deeply disturbed and concerned over military action by United States in North Viet-

nam. Encourage and support your stand in this regard.

Sincerely,

E. KELLOGG PECKHAM.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Admire you no end for your stand-alone again if need be—against this stupid Hitler-like aggression in southeast Asia. As Democrats we are humiliated and angered by President Johnson's knuckling under to Senator GOLDWATER. Surely there must be better, more courageous men available at the approaching convention.

BARBARA and GEORGE E. DAVIS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Your courageous Vietnam position represents the truth sensibility and true Americanism in Washington. Congratulations.

JOHN BANCROFT.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Our profound thanks for our lone voice of sanity. There are many of us who, like you, prefer truth and peace.

DORE ASHTON.

St. LOUIS, MO., August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Your lonely dissenting voice against President Johnson's reaction in Vietnam warrants approval. We share your feelings and concern and thank you for expressing your views.

STEPHEN and JOYCE BEST.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I support and encourage your responsible and thoughtful opposition to the congressional resolution regarding our military action against North Vietnam. I trust that your courage will be hailed by all thinking people who are dedicated to the cause of peace and true American dignity.

LOUIS GERSTEN.

ORANGE, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your courageous espousal of unpopular opinion in the national interest. I, too, fear that we may muddle into a conflict with China which may bleed us of millions of young men and billions of dollars and the best we can hope for is another stalemate unless we are willing to go the full route to a nuclear exchange with Russia. You have again proven you are a leader and not a follower. Thank you.

ROBERT R. HAAN, M.D.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Keep up the good work. You are our one hope for peace and sanity. We need more men like you regarding Vietnam war.

ROBERT KLEIN.

WATSONVILLE, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Your position on southeast Asia policy brave and sensible. You have our gratitude and full support.

JOHN and MARY TEELING.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

Your voice of sanity speaks for all who would cry out against the futility of our present course in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. I. B. ADELMAN.

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

I am shocked at my country's provocative warlike acts in Asia, Cuba, or any other backward area. Our go it alone policy is proof enough that in the eyes of our allies and our so-called friends, we are abusively using our power in unpopular causes. These provocations points up the ignorance among the American people of the realities and changes that are taking place in other parts of the world. I suspect our Government censorship is responsible for this ignorance.

V. L. ATKINS.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We appreciate your courageous stand on current Vietnam crisis. Continue vocal opposition to further aggression.

JEANNETTE HERMES,

President, Boatrockers Democratic Club.

AL HERMES,

Berkeley Young Democrats.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Highly commend splendid courage and truth of your speech. Stand firm.

JULIETTE GREEN.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Your vision and courage on Vietnam stand out like a beacon among the blind yes-men in our public life. Why are there not more of you? We salute you.

Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES MACKKEY.

MILL VALLEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Proud your forthright stand against U.S. action against North Vietnam. More power to you.

MARGUERITE EDISES.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Grateful commendation of your courageous stand opposing our further involvement Vietnamese crisis.

Mr. and Mrs. LESTER WICKSTROM.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly support your intelligent and courageous statemnet opposing our disastrous policy in Vietnam. Bombing cities of small nations hardly proves devotion to freedom. It brings to memory Warsaw and Rotterdam.

ARIS ANAGNOS.

HIGHLAND PARK, ILL., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We agree with your North Vietnam position. However, your speech and position on this subject not carried by our local news

media. A copy of your Senate speech on the North Vietnam crisis is urgently requested along with any other pertinent information your office has.

Dr. and Mrs. PHILIP MOZER.

OAKLAND, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courage in Vietnam crisis and work for peaceful settlement.

ELIZABETH TANDY.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

We applaud your courageous stand denouncing outrageous U.S. aggression against North Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. THOMAS F. MAYER.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We strongly support your intention to vote against war resolution.

FRANK and VIVIAN ARCHER.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Btilding,
Washington, D.C.:

Believe history will sustain your position on Vietnam if history continues.

MORIS and FRANCIS WATSON.

TUJUNGA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Wholeheartedly support your statement on Vietnam situation. Urge resolving by United Nations.

Mr. and Mrs. H. COLE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank God for your courage and your voice of sanity in the Senate. You speak for all Americans who cherish our traditional ideals of truth and justice. Please keep up the fight for peace.

SIDNEY CLUTE.

TARZANA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We wholeheartedly support you for your honest and courageous stand on Vietnam. You speak for every intelligent American. Good luck to you and your efforts.

Sincerely,

SERGE and ESTHER HOVEY.

KANSAS CITY, MO., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

We strongly support the position you have taken concerning the role of the United States in Vietnam. We thank you for your courage shown in this hour of crisis.

Prof. and Mrs. F. E. WAGNER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courage and outspoken speech. We pray for peace every day.

MARIAN MOSLEY.

St. LOUIS, MO., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

We look to you for leadership and enlightenment at this dangerous time. We feel President Johnson's decision is extreme in

view of the alternatives and possible consequences.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. JULIUS NEWMAN.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your brave stand on Vietnam. Keep on fighting. The lives you save will be mankind.

Mr. and Mrs. HAROLD HELLER
AND CHILDREN.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

I appreciate your thoughtful and courageous opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

DOROTHY LANE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Highly commend splendid courage and truth of your speech. Stand firm.

JULIETTE GREEN.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We firmly support your stand on present situation in southeast Asia.

Mr. and Mrs. WARREN GOLD.

REDONDO BEACH, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

May God continue to guide you in your courageous fight for peace.

PETER J. GUZVICH, M.D.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We strongly support your position in calling for immediate conference in United Nations on Vietnam crisis. Any other course we agree catastrophic to world peace. Your courage inspires all of us and we are urging our Congressmen to support your stand.

Mr. and Mrs. MEYER EISENSE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Support your courageous stand on Vietnam all the way. Keep up the good fight.

RICHARD and MARY LEWIS.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We highly commend your statement today on the Vietnam situation. We urge that you call for withdrawal of U.S. forces from the area of North Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT H. SICULAR.

LEMON GROVE, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Keep telling the truth about Vietnam. Your courage will long be remembered.

FRANK BARDACKE.

ENCINITAS, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

May God be with you. We will always love you as the most righteous of men.

The NEWTON FAMILY.

OAKLAND, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

In complete agreement with stand on Vietnam. Truth can be lonely profession. Have courage.

DAVID and CINDY ARNOLD.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Wish to commend you on your courageous stand to prevent war.

Mrs. JULIA W. SHERMAN.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

An expression of gratitude for your forthright statement concerning Government action in southeast Asia.

JACK BRANDON.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

We're with you all the way.

PAULINE MALCHER,
ROBERT MALCHER,
CAMPBELL JOHNSON,
ROD JOHNSON,
BRETT MALCHER.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I agree wholeheartedly with your statements on Vietnam. I wish there were something I could do about it.

ANN BALFOUR.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Senator Morse, I fully support you in your stand on North Vietnam. Thank you.

Mrs. L. ADELSON.

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courage and stand on Vietnamese situation.

Mr. and Mrs. G. I. HICKS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We heartily support your stand on the radio tonight.

Mr. and Mrs. LEO SANDVIK.

SAUSALITO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We strongly support your courageous stand against Congressional resolution condoning Vietnam attack.

Mr. and Mrs. ALEXANDER BERNHARD.

DENVER, COLO., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Your courageous position against extending war in Vietnam deserves support of all thoughtful citizens.

CLARA A. LEE.

INGLEWOOD, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We endorse your sane approach to the Vietnam crisis.

Mrs. LEON KOSSOY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

All thinking, unhysterical Americans appreciate your objectively courageous stand, constructively criticizing President Johnson's unwise action in southeast Asia yesterday.

ALEXANDER M. MAN.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your position on Vietnam 100 percent.

LOUISE ROUSSEAU and SAKI DIKRAAN.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Heartily applaud your stand concerning current crisis but am afraid you will jeopardize the support you deserve.

B. S. BLANKENSHIP.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We fully support your stand against the war in southeast Asia.

R. STEPHEN WARNER.

OAKLAND, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand against military action in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. PAUL TERRILL.

AMES, IOWA, August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your forthright courageous stand on Vietnam. Your remarks were the most sensible and informative I have heard. If heeded, our true interests and the ideals for which we stand would be better served in southeast Asia.

CRAIG HARBISON.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly commend your courageous struggle against Vietnam intervention. Keep up this good work.

MURIEL BARTEL.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

In regard to the Vietnam situation you're like a lone voice crying in the wilderness and I sincerely hope you will be heard.

KATHLEEN SMITH GEATHERS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your Vietnam position. Advocate settling the dispute by conference, not bombs.

Mr. and Mrs. BERT BRAUER.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support you on your stand against the resolution concerning the Vietnam crisis.

Mr. and Mrs. MAURICE P. SMITH.

1964

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

You are to be commended for your fearless
and upright stand with regard to Vietnam.
Mrs. HARRY GOODMAN.

YUBA CITY, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

We join you in urging the President to
withdraw immediately and gracefully from
Vietnam.

HEAHN and SARALEE HALPRIN.

EAST LANSING, MICH.,
August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Commend courageous stand concerning
Vietnam. Urge you persevere in lonely task
of speaking truth.

T. H. GREER.

HAWTHORNE, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your position on our interfer-
ence in southeast Asia. Keep America out
of war.

Mr. and Mrs. J. TROJAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

Completely support your forthright state-
ment on Vietnam crisis.

RUBEN W. BOROUGH.

GARY, IND., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

You speak for all sensitive Americans in
your opposition to the appalling role of our
Government in Vietnam. History will un-
doubtedly prove you to be one of the out-
standing Senators of all times.

BURTON and FREDRIKA WECHSLER.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for the courageous and rational
stand you are taking in opposing efforts to
escalate war in southeast Asia. Sending
copies to Senators KUCHEL and SALINGER.

Mr. and Mrs. JACK RUDINOW.

DETROIT, MICH., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Support your stand against Vietnam reso-
lution. Favor conference of all concerned
nations to end war.

Mrs. S. REINSTEIN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Stand by your guns on Vietnam. Many
more of us than you realize are backing you.

FRANCES W. SHIPPEY.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Earnestly support your Vietnam stand.
You are voice of reason in this tragic game.

GEORGIANA STANICH.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Foreign Relations Committee,
Washington, D.C.:

We respect and commend your courage.
Keep talking in the cloakroom, on the Sen-

ate floor, before the cameras. The people
need your voice. God bless your voice.

Mrs. BESS KLINMAN.

WASHINGTON, D.C., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We are with you about stopping the war in
South Vietnam.

Mrs. DOROTHY MAUND.

BLOOMINGTON, IND., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your thoroughly perti-
nent and honest interpretation of U.S. sea
policy. Tragedy that you alone expressed
the truth ignored by your colleagues but
all the more commendable for that reason.

TOM MAGAN,
CHARLES MEDAWAR,
BOB McCLURE.

OAKLAND, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We admire your courage in speaking out
against American action in Vietnam. Keep
up your fight to keep us out of war.

Mr. and Mrs. M. A. BUNOW.

PASADENA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Vietnam developments very distressing.
Negotiations, not bombs. Prove U.S. great-
ness, support your position.

IRVIN and ELEANOR ASHKENAZY.

WEST COVINA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

It is with profound respect and approval I
regard your position on Vietnam.

D. and Mrs. LEONARD LARTS.

LEVITTOWN, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Greatly admire your courageous clear-
headed opposition to disastrous Vietnamese
policy for sons and myself. Thanks.

KARL BERNHARD.

LONG BEACH, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SENATOR: We agree with your views
on Vietnam and have wired the President
we appreciate your unusual courage in this
difficult situation.

Mr. and Mrs. ALFRED DAWSON.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Wholeheartedly support your position on
Vietnam. More power to you.

PHILLIP SHAPIRO, M.D.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We heartily support your stand on Viet-
nam. True patriotism needs your sane voice.

Dr. and Mrs. EUGENE FARBER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Heartiest congratulations on your stand re-
garding Vietnam.

JACQUELINE TUNBERG.

PASADENA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We urge your continued opposition to our
present policy in southeast Asia.

RAY HARTSOUGH.

SANTA ANA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Copy following wire sent Senator KUCHEL:
"Support the truth and conscience of WAYNE
MORSE's stand against President Johnson's
Vietnam resolution."

L. F. B. HEINTZ.

CULVER CITY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

God bless you. You are right.

G. M. SNYDER and FAMILY.

SPOKANE, WASH., August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senator from Oregon,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

In or out of the cloakroom I support your
vote against the proposed Vietnam reso-
lution. I am a long-term Democrat of convic-
tion, not of expediency.

R. MAX ETTER, Lawyer.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Stand fast. We support
your position in this Vietnam crisis.

SAM and RUBY WAINWRIGHT.

BLOXI, MISS, August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Approve of your view of the Vietnam
trouble.

Mrs. VERA M. SQUIRES.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Support for your position on Vietnam bring
U.S. troops home.

Mr. and Mrs. LEWIS SUZUKI.

SAN JOSE, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We do not agree on U.S. position in Viet-
nam. Take this subject out of politics. We
are too great a nation for this.

Mr. and Mrs. BERNARD G. ENRIGHT.

Mrs. H. MOONEY.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Fully support your efforts stop U.S. inter-
vention in Vietnam. Urge you filibuster en-
abling resolution for further military in-
volvement. Rally American people for peace.

LEROY WOLINS.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your Vietnam state-
ment Senator MORSE. You have consistent-
ly shown sanity and reason when other set-
tled for patriotism and self-righteousness.
Popularity is not the test of the truth and
I sincerely hope you will continue to speak
out as an independent both on national and
international affairs.

MARJORIE RICKARDS.

August 6

DENVER, COLO., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Chambers, Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your forthright statement. Please keep up the good fight. Save this lovely world.

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT T. STONE.

WOODLAND HILLS, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

It is tragic that there are not more Senators with your courage, patriotism, and honor.

PAUL STONE.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your courageous stand against suicidal Vietnam policy. Stevenson admitted Maddox fired the first shots. Hope Johnson is not trying to out-Goldwater GOLDWATER.

Mr. and Mrs. DOUGLAS PERRY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Admire wholeheartedly your position regarding Maddox incident. U.N. must arbitrate.

ISABEL and LEWIS HANSON.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I commend your efforts to get the U.S. Government out of a very dangerous military involvement in Vietnam and to the conference table instead. Please try to filibuster the congressional resolution supporting President Johnson's extremely unwise adventure in the Gulf of Tonkin and North Vietnam.

Sincerely,

LEE HOOVER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly support your courageous position on Vietnam; you represent most decent people.

PAUL SAMBERG.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly support your splendid fight against senseless American policy in Vietnam.

LESLIE and SHEILA OKIN.

JORDAN, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Your lonely and heroic stand is true patriotism and morality.

LINCOLN FIGART JORDAN.

BUFFALO, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

I commend your courageous opposition to U.S. action in Vietnam.

DR. ELWIN H. POWELL.

CHARLESTON, S.O., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Agree with you.

DOUGLAS JENKINS,
American Consul General, Retired.LAKE HOPATCOONG, N.J., August 5, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Your policy on Vietnam is correct as well as courageous.

ARTHUR LIEBMAN.
EDNA LIEBMAN.
MARK KISENER.
DAVID SCHOCHET.

GREAT NECK, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

Your statement today regarding U.S. position in Vietnam stands as a beacon of hope for all Americans who cherish peace.

Mr. and Mrs. OBERWAGER.

JAMAICA, N. Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:

We support you fully in your efforts to prevent war. Keep it up.

STANLEY FINGER.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

For sake of humanity please hold firm. Congratulations on your stand against war in Vietnam.

EUGENE ALEXANDER.

NEWPORT NEWS, VA., August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate Washington, D.C.:

Congratulate your outspoken statement position on vital national issue. Is 1964 Tonkin Bay incident another 1939 Gleiwitz incident? Your impartial inquiry is only guarantee that international problem is not made election year football.

D. C. CLOS.

INGLEWOOD, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your courageous stand on Vietnam.

DOUGLAS and ANN FERGUSON.

MAPLE HEIGHTS, OHIO,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Expressing your different views on Vietnam crisis took courage. I agree wholeheartedly.

Mrs. MARY DANKO.

SILVER SPRING, MD., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Am grateful for your intelligent views on Vietnam problem.

LUCILLE HARRIS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Please increase your effort to end war in Vietnam and stop sending support of predated declaration of war. Please get cloak room votes onto Senate floor.

RICHARD and ROSINA BELMOUVE.

HYANNIS, MASS., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand on Vietnam. You are doing a great service for America.

Mrs. DOUGLAS W. REYNOLDS.

UPPER DARTY, PA., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Have read your August progressive article and heard your quote on radio tonight. Am

with you all the way as are most thinking Americans.

EDITH KLINE.

ORANGE, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We applaud your condemnation of our Government unlawful actions in Vietnam which threaten war.

Mr. and Mrs. THEODORE SHAPIN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on statement re Vietnam. Stand strong. We need voice of sanity. Thank you.

ELLEN ESTRIN.

LOMBARD, ILL., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Applaud your opposition to Vietnam policy. Unilateral action must stop. Defer to United Nations.

WILLIAM and CHARLOTTE KUENNING.

MAHOPAC, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Your statement on TV is the voice of sanity in a sea of confusion. You're absolutely correct and you are not alone. Thinking people owe you a debt of gratitude. Your outstanding courage amidst hysteria is to be congratulated. How can we help?

Mr. and Mrs. EDWARD WALLERSTEIN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your position on Vietnam and commend your courage.

ESTHER and ABRAHAM CAHN.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous stand on the Vietnam policy. Many Americans stand behind you.

J. MAYNARD.

COLOMA, MICH., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand on Vietnam. We need more statesmen like you.

Mrs. C. E. KILLEBREW.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for statement on Vietnam situation. Urge political solution before war.

JOAN LAURENCE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

We fully approve your position on Vietnam.

JAMES and ELIZABETH ROBERTSON.

DETROIT, MICH., August 5, 1964

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

Be steadfast in your struggle for truth, justice, peace. All mankind will bless you.

ALICE HERZ.

SCARSDALE, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Admire your courage in appeal for basic morality and peacemaking in Vietnam.

ROBERT and SARA CORY.

1964

GLEN OAKS, N.Y.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Fully support your statement today against involvement Vietnam. Have wired President our strong protest.

Mr. and Mrs. DAVID P. BENNETT.

NEEDHAM, MASS.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Completely agree with your sentiments expressed over NBC. Why are we war-mongering in South Vietnam?

Mrs. CHARLES E. SOUTHWORTH.

AKRON, OHIO,
 August 5, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,
 Senator from Oregon,
 Washington, D.C.:

In this time, when the military advantage of unity seems to be taking precedence over the moral virtue of truth, your honest and complete evaluation of events may prevent us from becoming a nation of united hypocrites. The world's most powerful country in the word needs a conscience.

DAVID MARILLA.

GREAT NECK, N.Y.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Heard your statement Vietnam TV. Admire your courage and agree with you 100 percent.

Mrs. DONALD PHILIPS.

BALTIMORE, Md.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on being the one sane voice in Washington today. I support you on deploring the Vietnam incident and believe that United Nations control is the only solution.

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. FANNIE TUOMI.

JOAN MANGUM,
 BALTIMORE, Md.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

We wholeheartedly concur with your stand that the United Nations handle the Vietnam crisis and that the President not be given right to decide on war by himself. We are asking our Congressman, Representative GARMATZ, to support you.

Respectfully yours,

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT LEE.

BALTIMORE, Md.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand on Vietnam. Let us get out of Vietnam and allow the United Nations to settle it.

Mrs. VERA CMBALA.

COLUMBUS, OHIO,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations. Continue to demand lawful procedure. No blank checks.

LAWRENCE GRENER.

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE:

Appreciate your opposition to the President's resolution and support your proposed change of policy.

SCRANTON, PA.
 August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senator,
 Washington, D.C.:

An enemy attack and a patrol action does not justify aggression. This war has passed from France to the United States. This is not the course of peace. I support your brave, solitary stand in the Senate.

RAY KENOWSKI.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

Thanks for your courageous Vietnam stand. We need more advocates of moral foreign policy.

MADELINE CARLEY.

TARZANA, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your sanity and rationality. May your views prevail and promote realistic fair settlement.

The BUSCH FAMILY.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

We heartily support your courageous and sane stand in speaking out against our rash acts regarding North Vietnam.

STEIN FAMILY.

OSWEGO, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

We are with you in the southeast Asia situation.

WILLARD RIKER.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Thanks for courageous reasonable stand on Vietnam question. You speak for many otherwise unrepresented now.

SANDRA DRAKE.

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senator from Oregon,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Your remarks regarding escalation Vietnam war appreciated here. We are behind you 100 percent.

HASSEL W. SMITH, JR.,
 DONNA D. SMITH,
 SHIRLEY SHEAHAN.

LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Extension of war to North Vietnam by President is shocking. What are we doing in South or North Vietnam is beyond my understanding.

It was good to hear Senator MORSE on TV as a voice of genuinely peaceful silence. Millions now are for a real peace. A cease-fire and handling by the U.N. as outlined by some is indicated, not bombing. The attempt to eliminate foreign policy as an election issue is too dearly bought from GOLDWATER.

Mrs. ALIE DALE JACKSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

My friends, family, and I are alarmed at recent events in Vietnam. We don't want war in southeast Asia. Let's get out before it's too late. God bless you for speaking for peace.

ALLEN ZAK.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Last evening President Johnson, after consulting with BARRY GOLDWATER, announced that American planes had conducted air strikes upon North Vietnamese naval bases. This act reflects a strong movement to the right by the present administration, an obvious capitulation to Goldwaterism. Many people, including Senator WAYNE MORSE and the Oregon Democratic State Central Committee, have urged a political solution in Vietnam and a removal of the issue to the United Nations. Under the present circumstances this seems the only sane answer to the situation. The possible escalation of this conflict into another Korean war must be opposed. I urge you to do everything in your power to stop this madness.

SENIEL OSTROW.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Fullest support on Vietnam. Letter follows.

JOHN DICKINSON.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on being the only Senator with the sense and guts to act as an adult on the Vietnam situation. Please send copies of this to Senators ELLENDER and LONG.

JAMES LAKE.

BALTIMORE, Md., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Hope you will persist in questioning U.S. goals in southeast Asia and broaden debate on President Johnson's requested resolution of support for air and naval action to include (1) bypassing of United Nations, (2) possible escalation of war, (3) effect on freedom of debate during presidential campaign, (4) futility of meeting social upheavals in Asia by use of weapons and war.

Dr. and Mrs. WILSON WING.

CONCORD, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

No gunboat diplomacy over Vietnam crisis. Truly great society must never fear to negotiate.

Mr. and Mrs. RAYMOND GILBERT.

MIDDLEBURY, VT., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Many Americans agree with your position in the present south Asia crisis. The United States must disengage itself from an immoral and dangerous policy in this sector.

Professor ANDRE MALECOT.

COLUMBIA, MO., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

Commend you for opposition to President's request for force in Vietnam. Share your view.

JOHN SCHUDER.

WASHINGTON, D.C., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

We support you 100 percent on your stand on Vietnam. Please continue to make yourself heard.

Mr. and Mrs. SAM SHORE and
 SIDNEY SHORE.

August 6

OAKLAND, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your efforts to stop interference in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. JOHN RUIMAKER.

JAMAICA, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Your fight against warlike actions of U.S. Government in southeast Asia is in the best tradition of American decency and the world of sanity. It will earn you the respect of history and the gratitude of Americans everywhere who truly love their country enough to fight for peace.

NETTIE and PAUL BECKER.

ELGIN, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your courageous and forthright stand on Vietnam.

RUTH and JIM HUMPREY.

CORNWELLS HEIGHTS, PA.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Admire and agree with stand on undeclared war in Vietnam.

BEATRICE SINCLAIR.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand against U.S. attack on North Vietnam.

JERALDINE GORDON.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Believe that many voiceless Americans today accept you as their spokesman. We are truly grateful.

Mr. and Mrs. Wm. J. LITTLE.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SIR: You have stated the facts. God give you continued strength to stand against the President's resolution concerning further powers with respect to the Vietnam crisis.

Respectfully yours,

DONNA E. WORKMAN.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
August 5, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Your only voice thousands informed citizens protesting U.S. warmaking. Speak boldly before too late.

Mrs. ELSA CLAY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Full support to your opposition to our policy in Vietnam. Negotiation must replace provocation.

MERTON and JANICE DUSHKES.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Heartily applaud your stand for international law and order.

P. STRAWMAN.

RICHMOND, CALIF., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I support your position on Vietnam that this should be settled in the U.N.

ANTHONY RUSSO.

LONGMEADOW, MASS., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank God we have one brave man with the courage of his conviction. As a lifelong Democrat I'm with you 100 percent.

IRENE GOODLESS LEDIARD.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Regardless of those in Congress rushing to disassociate themselves from your position about our Government involvement in Vietnam, I believe many more Americans agree with you. Personally I am grateful for your past and present efforts toward a rational attitude on the part of our Government in this area. Government officials of both parties have for months urged an extended war into North Vietnam. They now surely do not believe U.S. citizens are naive enough to believe their explanation for the provocative presence of our 7th Fleet off the coast of North Vietnam. The remarkable speed of bipartisan government is always evident where cold or hot wars are concerned. I believe it could be better applied to legislation on the many problems of our impoverished millions of unemployed, our aged, and the education of our youth.

ZINA KLEINSTEIN.

ROYAL OAK, MICH., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Why don't you run for President. The American people want peace.

JOSEPH W. BENTON.

ROCHESTER, N.Y., August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Offices,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations forthright stand against spreading war in Vietnam.

R. LEVINS YAUCO AVVENTORLICO.

PITTSBURGH, PA., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Your courageous stand in re U.S. foreign policy in southeast Asia is to be admired and respected by all those who deplore abuse of power and irresponsibility in relations between nations.

PAUL GRISEL,
NORE DINARDO,
SCOTT COOK,
MIKE KUPERSANIN,
DIANE FRANK,
MILDRED BAZZ.

Members, Social Science Program, University of Pittsburgh.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We wholeheartedly support your stand on the Vietnam resolution. We admire your courage.

Mr. and Mrs. STEPHEN J. KARAKASHIAN.

GRESHAM, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SENATOR: Wired President Johnson, Secretary Rusk, Ambassador Stevenson, Secretary U Thant appraising them our belief

Vietnam crisis should be handled by U.N. That we're in Vietnam illegally and would lose respect all freedom loving nations if we persist in present program. Thanks for your great fight.

M. CHAMBERLIN.

ASTORIA, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Commend wisdom and morality your position on Vietnam.

Mrs. JOHN LARSON.

TROUTDALE, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Feeling mutual. You have our support on your stand on Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. CLARENCE BAXTER.

ANN ARBOR, MICH., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

About Vietnam we appreciate your continuing resistance to panic and your persistence in questioning easy assumptions. Here are some unanswered questions based on news reports about the first attack on the destroyer *Maddox* on Sunday.

1. Why was the attack announced from Pearl Harbor instead of Washington and not until 2 hours after it happened? See Chicago Tribune, Monday, page 1, column 7.

2. If the attack was unprovoked why was there a delay from Sunday morning until the second attack had been reported about noon on Tuesday before an official U.S. protest was made public? See Chicago Daily News, Wednesday, page 1. All times are U.S. eastern daylight.

3. On Saturday, August 1, apparently before the first seafight involving *Maddox*, Hanoi protested an attack by American and South Vietnam warships on North Vietnam islands. Said to have been made last Thursday. Chicago Tribune, Sunday, Associated Press story on page 3, column 4. The New York Times, Tuesday, August 4, page 2, column 2, reported that on Sunday after the first seafight, Hanoi claimed that U.S. warships had shelled the islands of Honne, Nonngu in the gulf of Tonkin; on page 3, column 1, the Tuesday Times also reported that these islands were said to be in North Vietnam territorial waters and are about 40 miles northwest of the point at which the *Maddox* was reported by the Navy to have been attacked. On page 2, column 2, the Tuesday Times said that Senator Russell had reported some South Vietnamese naval activity in the gulf of Tonkin. In column 3 on page 2, the Tuesday Times quoted a report without a stated source that the U.S. destroyers on the Tonkin gulf patrol have sometimes collaborated with South Vietnamese hit-and-run raids on North Vietnamese port cities. Though the destroyers themselves stay in territorial waters questions, any or all of these stories correct as a South Vietnam naval attack on the islands been underway since last Thursday was *Maddox* at time of the seafight on Sunday providing cover for his attack? If so, would this be a violation of U.S. treaties or international law? Whose authority was it ordered and was Congress consulted?

4. Regarding the Navy's announced chronology of the first seafight—

A. What is the reason for the unexplained reference to the sighting by *Maddox* of a fleet of 75 junks at 11 p.m. Saturday, 2 hours and a half before it first sighted torpedo boats?

B. Why did it take the 50-mile-per-hour torpedo boats more than 2 hours and a half after they were first reported more than 10 miles north of *Maddox* at 1:30 a.m. to close

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to within range of *Maddox* at 4:08 a.m.? When the seaflight actually began was *Maddox* running away to the south at full speed from 1:30 a.m. to 4:08 a.m.? If so, would this have put *Maddox* 30 miles off Vietnam coast as reported by the Navy and 40 miles southeast of the islands at 4:08 a.m. when the seaflight began? What were the positions of *Maddox* at 1:30 a.m. when it sighted the patrol boats and at 11 p.m. Saturday in relation to North Vietnam coast and the islands reported by Hanoi to have been under attack by U.S. Naval vessels?

C. If patrol was routine and attack unprovoked, how was *Maddox* able to report at 3:40 a.m. that the apparent intention of the 50-mile-per-hour torpedo boats was to attack it 28 minutes later at 4:08 a.m.? The torpedo boats are reported by the Navy as still being 5,000 yards, almost 3 miles away, from *Maddox*. The sea fight began at 4:08 a.m.

D. Language of the Navy chronology is consistent with torpedo boats having launched torpedoes at *Maddox* from 5,000-yard range after, not before, coming actual fire from *Maddox*. Who fired first? Under normal circumstances is the approach of a foreign warship within 3 miles of a U.S. warship considered grounds for opening fire on it? If so, what is U.S. policy about Russian patrol bombers which have been reported as routinely flying over U.S. warships in international waters? Since Detroit newspapers are on strike we have no reliable current news about the second sea fight involving *Maddox* reported to have occurred on Tuesday.

Questions:

Was this also in the immediate vicinity of the islands reported by Hanoi as under attack?

Does the Navy plan to release a chronology similar to that released on the first *Maddox* sea fight?

These are unpopular questions but in view of the record of bipartisan errors in similar international incidents from U-2 to the Bay of Pigs it seems appropriate that they be asked. (Copies McNamara and Hart.)

NATHAN B. HALL.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Support your fight against our participation in Vietnam war. Urge continue efforts for peace.

Mr. and Mrs. A. SPINDEL.

BURBANK, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Applaud your courage. Support your stand on Vietnam crisis. Keep talking sense to United States.

Mr. and Mrs. S. J. WAXMAN.

PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We support your position on Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. LEO ZIMMERMAN.

GLENDORA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

I agree with you 100 percent on the Vietnam crisis.

MARY OLLIE JONES.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We fully support your stand for American withdrawal from southeast Asia. Keep up

the good work, continue to spread the truth, and fight the aggressive policies of the U.S. Government. Informed and peace-loving Americans support you.

MORRIS and NINA INDMAN.

DOWNNEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your courageous stand against the North Vietnam war.

JEFFERY EWING.

SHERMAN OAKS, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Heartily support your decision regarding Vietnam. Please continue working for withdrawal of our forces.

Mr. and Mrs. J. KOVNER.

SCHENECTADY, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Urge negotiated truce Vietnam now. Avert world holocaust.

ESTHER LANGWORTHY.

EVANSTON, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Military action violates U.N. Charter, destroys peace. Insist upon negotiation. Applaud words of WAYNE MORSE.

ALICE WALTON.

BLAIRSTOWN, N.J., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Thank you, Senator MORSE, for your courageous stand on international issues.

CAROLINE LEXOW BABCOCK.

STUDIO CITY, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Admire wholeheartedly your position. Thank heavens for Maverick.

ALAN TASKER BROWN.

BLOOMINGTON, IND.,
 August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Fully support your position for peace in southeast Asia. Yours is one of the few voices of moderation in these troubled times.

DON and RITA LICHTENBERG.

SHEBOYGAN, WIS.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Support your position of South Vietnam. Congratulations.

SOL BENSMAN.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We are in complete agreement with your stand on Vietnam.

ALLEN and ELAINE HERZOG.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

We wish to declare total support and sympathy your sane courageous statement op-

posing congressional resolution re southeast Asia.

WILLIAM and LESS HUNTINGTON.

HANOVER, N.H., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

I want to salute your courageous stand and to express full agreement with your criticism of our policy in southeast Asia.

ALEXANDER ERLICH,
Columbia University.

SILVER SPRING, Md., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

This citizen is grateful for the one honest and courageous senatorial voice re U.S. involvement in southeast Asia. May God give you strength.

ROBERT G. KASSEBAUM.

MISSOULA, MONT., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We the undersigned support your stand in the southeast Asia crisis and hope you will continue to work for a peaceful settlement through the United Nations.

E. W. and JEAN S. PFEIFFER.
 DEXTER and SUSAN ROBERTS.
 EMILY LORING MYER.
 FLORENCE CHESSIN.
 ROGER DUNSMORE.

STOSSET, N.Y.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Thanks and congratulations for your opposition to vote predated declaration of war in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. E. R. STABLER.

BALTIMORE, MD.,
 August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Our thanks for your courage and sanity. You have our unqualified vote of confidence.

WARREN and ELEANOR THERIEN.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.,
 August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We heartily approve your opposition to military extremism. God bless you and strengthen you.

SAMUEL A. CORSON FAMILY.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Your position is the only sane voice.

ELIZABETH PETERSON.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,
 August 6, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We support your stand on Vietnam.

CHARLES C. DAVIS.

ORONO, MAINE,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

You have more courage than is represented by the cumulative votes against you today. Congratulations.

DR. E. VAUGHAN GULO.

August 6

NORFOLK, VA.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

I appreciate your sane voice concerning Vietnam. Press for rejection.

Mrs. ANN GREENBERG.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous stand on the Vietnamese crisis. This is a matter for the United Nations rather than hasty unilateral military retaliations. Aside from danger of escalation we are setting a poor example to the smaller nations whom we urge to settle their differences peaceably.

Homer and Lois Chance, Lois Dianey, Gregory and Judy Buboff, Theodore and Edith Hefley, Hugh and Beatrice Henshaw, Mark C. and Phyllis Pillsuk.

OAKLAND, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Keep up the strong stand against U.S. military action in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. G. D. WRIGHT.

FRESNO, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Masses of us thank you for your courage. If civilization lasts your name will be long remembered.

RUTH and CLAUDE HASTY.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

All power to your courageous stand against the suicidal folly of attacking a very poor and weak nation. The attack can only intensify the poverty which makes communism inevitable and more powerful.

DWIGHT SPENCER.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Urge Senate recommend no further military action in southeast Asia. Seek negotiated settlement through United Nations.

L. P. CARNER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Applaud your courageous statement criticizing our actions in Vietnam. With North Vietnam we share responsibility for major war neutralization. Only hope.

Mr. and Mrs. WM. GOMPERT.

DENVER, COLO.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We commend and support your stand against expanding war in Vietnam.

V. D. WALKER.

CONCORD, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We are most grateful for your courageous stand on Vietnam and you have our complete support. You have laid the cards on

the table for all to see this dirty business. Keep up the fight as there must be millions behind you.

Mr. and Mrs. M. C. BELKNAP,
Mrs. C. M. DAVIDSON.NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We wholeheartedly support your position on South Vietnam and commend your personal courage. Urge continued fight against President Johnson's request of Congress for carte blanche authority in southeast Asia.

Mr. and Mrs. THOMAS JACOBS.

HAMDEN, CONN.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Fully support your position on our role in South Vietnam.

MARGARET CABANOVA.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly support your intelligent and mature position on Vietnam situation.

R. K. GOODWIN.

ASTORIA, OREG.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulate you for your statesmanship and courage on Vietnam.

KERMAN J. BIRCH.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Appreciate your efforts to insist on thoughtful discussion of all implications in South Vietnam crisis. Hope consideration will be given to possible international conference leading to political rather than primarily military settlement.

ROBERT A. FANGMEIER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand against U.S. military aggressiveness in Vietnam or anywhere. Keep sanity in world.

DAN and FRANCES TROY.

CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand opposing war in Vietnam. Get more Senators to support you.

Mr. and Mrs. MAURICE SILVER.

TAMPA, FLA., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:

Heard your statements on TV. Aim with you 100 percent.

Mrs. JOHN RODRIGUEZ.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Agree with your statement re Vietnam and wholeheartedly support your courageous stand.

Mr. and Mrs. JOHN DOBBS.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.Senator MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Yes, yes, yes—and keep saying it. You are a sweet voice of reason on Vietnam.

MORTON and CAROL KAPLAN.

BOSTON, MASS.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

I am happy to see that the light of reason still shines. Thank you; copy speech.

ARTHUR SHEEHAN.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your minority position. Please continue to speak up.

WILLIAM and ELEANOR OTTERNESS.

REDMOND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

In entire agreement. Do anything you can to stop it.

Mr. and Mrs. B. S. KNOWLES,
Dr. and Mrs. C. E. STEWART.

LEBANON, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am proud of your courageous stand on Vietnam. I heard you at Kansas University.

CARL BANGS.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I agree with your stand on the Vietnam situation.

Miss MABEL DOWNS.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

I support your speech condemning U.S. unilateral action in southeast Asia and opposing congressional resolution.

RONALD SUBOTNICK.

EUGENE, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Strongly support your view that U.S. policy in Vietnam has been provocative unjustified unwise.

Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT LEEPER.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Wholeheartedly support your stand on Vietnam and oppose expansion of McNamara's war.

Dr. MORRIS MALBIN.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We fully support your lone and courageous dissent to U.S. warmongering in Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. FEUERBERG.

SALEM, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

We support the position you are taking regarding the crises in Vietnam.

Respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. JOHN FULLENWIDER.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:
Thank God for a sane voice. Thank you
for voicing 20th-century realities.
Dr. and Mrs. JACQUES SINGER.

SALEM, OREG., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
We support your position on Vietnam.
HUEY FREDERICK.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:
Now more than ever your courageous de-
nunciation of Pentagon aggression vital lest
humanity perish.

JOHN P. VAN-HYNING.
MADISON, WIS., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Accept my full support for your position
and action on American policy in southeast
Asia.

WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS.
SALEM, OREG., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:
We support you on negotiations rather
than extending Viet war.

ROBERT and SHIRLEY MILLER.
SALEM, OREG., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
We support you to urge negotiations and
not to extend Viet war.

Mr. and Mrs. JAMES E. NELSEN.
EUGENE, OREG., August 5, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Endorse your position on Vietnam with-
out qualifications.

MARTIN and JOAN ACKER.
SALEM, OREG., August 5, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Praise your statement tonight on Viet-
nam crisis. You are absolutely right. Urge
you keep talking.

MARVIN and VIOLET METTLETON.
MADISON, WIS., August 6, 1964.
Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:
Congratulations on your intelligence, hon-
esty, and courage.

GLADYS BORCHERS.
NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Thanks for bringing out the facts about our
Navy in North Vietnam. We support you.

Mr. and Mrs. H. L. FEAY.
HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thanks for your courage and your decency
in opposing escalation of war in Vietnam.
Thank God one man in the Senate tells the
truth. You are defending not only the lives
and consciences of Americans but the future
itself.

MARY P. AUSTIN.

COLUMBIA, S.C., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:
Support opposition Vietnam action con-
tinue fight. Support you all the way. No
more war.

EMMETT J. DURANT.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Highly respect your position, urge you in-
sist on United Nations decision before further
action.

MARGARET DRIGGS.
INGLEWOOD, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Support your Vietnam position.

GAIL EABY.
LEONIA, N.J., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:
We and many others support your stand
Vietnamese crisis and hope for full investiga-
tion.

LEROY J. ELLIS and DOROTHY M. ELLIS.
ALHAMBRA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:
Congratulations on your position in favor
of more restraint on our part in Vietnam.
Respectfully,

WILLIAM F. GRAVES.
STAMFORD, N.Y., August 6, 1964.
Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.:
DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Today you are rep-
resenting all that is best in Americanism.
Future generations will honor you for your
stand; do not falter.

Respectfully,
STEPHEN D. JACOBY.
OAKLAND, CALIF., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Congratulations on your stand regarding
Vietnam. Best wishes.

MOTT D. CANNON.
SANTA MONICA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Heartily endorse your stand southeast Asia.
Keep up good work.

HAROLD K. and KEAN MANTIUS.
CHICAGO, ILL., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Thank you—thank you—thank you.

ATLANTIS MARSHALL.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Blessings, voice of sanity. Keep up pres-
sure for United Nations peaceful solution
Vietnam and southeast.

FRANCES NELSON.
WICHITA, KANS., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building, Washington, D.C.:
Why the administration's so unpromising
venture 3,000 miles away after all the un-

decisiveness, confusion, and deceit. Why not
only 80 miles away? I don't believe it's too
late yet. Frankly, I am scared to death and
we are depending on your good judgment.
BILL SONTAG.

RIVEREDGE, N.J., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
We fully support your courageous action
in the Vietnam crisis.
Respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. CARL FISCHER.
OAKLAND, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
We support your position on Vietnam.
Urge you embark on nationwide speaking
tour.

Mr. and Mr. A. BRUMER.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Heartily commend your opposition to pres-
ent action Vietnam. Suggest neutralization
of southeast Asia.

EDNA MACGOWAN.
NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Deeply grateful to you for speaking on
behalf of millions who want peace. May you
continue to stand firm.

ELIZABETH MOOS.
BERKELEY, CALIF., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Congratulations for not being stampeded
by unconvincing evidence into so-called
deliberate bodies war hysteria.

RUTH ANSPACH.
NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:
Admire your brave attitude and sane
thinking on the Vietnam situation. Thank
you.

FRANCES M. MALDEN.
BAR HARBOR, MAINE,
August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Support your opposition to our military
action in North Vietnam and admire your
courageous stand for truth and justice.
GACIA BODDE.

BROOKLYN, N.Y., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:
Congratulations on your reported stand
against war.

ALBERT LAZARUS.
NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.
Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:
Congratulations. Support your position
Vietnam.

ROTHSCHILD.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.
 Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Congress of the United States,
 Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your courageous stand on the Vietnam issue. Future generations will thank you.

HOWARD KING.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

With you all the way. Keep talking.

Mrs. ARTHUR P. MILLER.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Keep up good fight for sanity peace and justice. Am wiring my Congressmen do likewise. Congratulate and bless your courage.

CLARA COLON.

WEST CORNWALL, CONN., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on Vietnam stand. History and good men everywhere will applaud your courage. Continue bravely.

JEREMY BRECHER.

PASADENA, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

We support your stand in Vietnam.

Dr. and Mrs. JEROME WEINBERG.

NAPERVILLE, ILL., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

We praise you for your stand on the crisis in Vietnam.

EUGENE W. KREVES.

SHENOROCK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous position. The majority of American people believe as you do.

Mr. and Mrs. LEONARD DRAPKIN.

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Support your position on southeast Asia. It is in the victorious tradition of progressive dissidence.

ALBERT STERN.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Few dare tell the truth today about Vietnam. We are thankful for your voice.

HELENA CHASE JOHNSON,
 MANSI KERN,
 The Pines Cheyenne Mountain.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Please do everything possible to continue your battle against the terrifying actions taken by our Government in Vietnam. You are one of the few fighting for truth and justice. May you have the strength and determination to carry on this fight despite the grim power of your opponents who seek

to hide the truth from those to whom it matters most, the citizens of the United States. No words can express my appreciation of the debt we owe you. Good health and good luck.

ROBERTA DIAMOND.

LINCOLN, NEBR.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Deeply appreciate your stand opposing hypocrisy of simultaneous peaceful talk belligerent action.

R. H. MARKS.

GROVE, ILL.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

I cheer you for your stand on crisis in Vietnam.

MARY PHILLIPS,
 Lemont, Ill.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

Support heartily your position of conscience in Viet crisis.

GEORGE SPENCER.

HANCOCK CENTER, MASS.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

You have support of all thinking people. Do not give up the battle.

Dr. RICHARD M. SCHNEER.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Commend you on Vietnam. Please filibuster White House war resolution until Monday.

BEN STACKLER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
 August 6, 1964.

WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Strongly support your criticism of southeast Asia policy and endorse your refusal support congressional resolution.

ROBERT BROWN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Approve your stand on Vietnam situation.

ZELDA GRUBBS,

STATE COLLEGE, PA., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington D.C.:

Approve your position as on TV interview yesterday. Urge complete use of United Nations.

WARREN S. SMITH.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington D.C.:

Strongly support your Vietnam stand in New York Times today.

RALPH F. GUERTIN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington D.C.:

Your honest, courageous statement concerning Vietnam is outstanding example of best in American public life.

THOMAS AMNEUS.

VALLEY STREAM, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington D.C.:

Thank you for your continued sanity on Vietnam.

LEAH HARRIS.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington D.C.:

Admire your sane and courageous stand on the Vietnamese issue. You have our full support.

IRVING M. ZEITLIN.

SAN JOSE, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

We, the rational minority, support your courageous stand on Vietnam.

JOHN BERNSTEIN,
 President, FDR Democratic Club, California Democratic Council.

ROCHESTER, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

You are right. We want no war. Let's get out of Vietnam before too late.

KARL NELL,
 Rochester, N.Y.

BOSTON, MASS., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous criticism of Vietnam reprisal. Please continue to question wisdom of our policy.

FLORIAN WEISSENBORN.

MONTCLAIR, N.J., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Many thanks for your reasonable and sane statement regarding Vietnam. Your courage and judgment appreciated.

Mrs. L. FREEMAN,
 Montclair, N.J.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Support your position on Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. A. H. KERR,
 Portland, Oreg.

EUGENE, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Bravo. Your position on Vietnam absolutely right. Conference table civilized solution.

CATHERIN LAURIS.

ASTORIA, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

I support your position on Vietnam and everything else.

SHANE RUUTTILA.

1964

ASTORIA, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

I applaud your decision to vote no on Vietnamese resolution and salute your courage.

JULIA RUUTILA.

PORTLAND, OREG., August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Bravo. Heartily favor negotiation Vietnam crisis. American withdrawal overdue.

G. BERNHARD FEDDE.

IOU NO. 28—20 QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR LOADED LIGHT BILL

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, a favorite propaganda technique of the IOU's—they call themselves investor-owned utilities—is the rigged quiz. Electrical consumers are asked questions and told answers which create an image of the local power company as home folks, overburdened by taxes and regulation but nevertheless struggling to meet the payroll, just as the corner grocer.

Anyone interested in an elaboration of this technique will find most interesting the articles, "A Farm Family Visit to a Powerhouse," and "Rigging Your Own Quiz Programs" which appeared in the June 8, 1961 and November 23, 1961 issues, respectively, of "Public Utilities Fortnightly," an industry publication.

Mr. President, there is a great need for consumer understanding of utility operation. The electric light and power industry is the Nation's largest. Every month millions of American families each pay the local power company up to \$5 more than it needs to provide electrical service, expand and make a reasonable profit. For many consumers, the \$60-a-year overcharge cancels out the income tax reduction voted by Congress this year.

Companies use part of this monthly overcharge to finance a massive propaganda campaign, through their advertising and public relations programs and by contributions to a variety of organizations which want to shift more taxes from the rich to those less able to pay and which would abolish the United Nations. They also seek to weaken or destroy their nonprofit competitors—the rural electric, municipal and public utility district power suppliers. The IOU's do not like competition, which forces them to reduce rates.

Part of the overcharge is kept by the companies as extra profit. However, ordinary stockholders in power companies do not always benefit from the consumer overcharge. In fact, if you hold stock in an investor-owned power company, you may get "taken" twice—once when you pay your light bill and again when you get your dividend check. The equity of ordinary stockholders in some power companies is being diluted by creation of additional stock which is sold to company insiders for as little as one-fourth of the price charged ordinary stockholders.

In an attempt to provide better understanding of this issue, I have prepared

20 questions and answers which will, I hope, help offset the rigged quiz programs of the power companies and afford consumers a better understanding of their electricity bills.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, these 20 questions and answers.

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

TWENTY QUESTIONS

1. Who supplies the power?
2. How do power suppliers differ?
3. How do IOU's differ from other businesses?
4. Don't power companies pay any taxes?
5. Do the IOU's refund taxes when they collect too much?
6. Must an IOU refund other overcharges?
7. How are electric rates set?
8. Are IOU profits increasing?
9. Are IOU rates too high?
10. Don't lower rates increase sales?
11. Do IOU insiders get cut-rate stock?
12. What do options cost?
13. Are option windfalls taxed?
14. Aren't options more costly than salaries?
15. Then who do IOU's use options?
16. What will reduce my light bill?
17. How do IOU's distribute propaganda?
18. How do IOU's help ultra-right groups?
19. Do the companies publicize such gifts?
20. Who pays for this propaganda?

1. Who supplies the power?
 About three-fourths of the electricity in the United States is supplied by 220 companies. These are the large "investor-owned utilities" (as they call themselves) or the IOU's (as I prefer to call them). Together these companies comprise the largest industry in the United States, with about 12 percent of all capital invested in business in the Nation.

The rest of the power—less than 25 percent—is supplied by nonprofit systems, including municipals (city owned), rural electric cooperatives, and public utility districts.

All power suppliers are alike in one sense. They are monopolies, being the sole supplier of power in a given area, with rare exceptions.

2. How do power suppliers differ?
 The IOU's and rural electric cooperatives are privately owned; the other systems are publicly owned. The IOU's are controlled by principal stockholders, which are frequently holding companies, insurance companies, banks or individuals who live far from the companies' service areas. The rural electric are controlled by the consumers they serve. Each customer has one vote. Likewise the municipal and public utility district systems are locally controlled.

Control of the IOU's is usually centralized. In fact, in some instances all voting at annual meetings—of millions of shares of stock—is by proxy. The primary interest of IOU investors is profit.

In contrast, the primary interest of consumer-owned power suppliers is good service, at the lowest possible cost.

3. How do IOU's differ from other businesses?

Competitive, free enterprise businesses are subject to risks and losses. About 15,000 ordinary businesses fail each year. There has not been a failure in the giant electric light and power industry in more than a generation. This is because, as utilities, they are granted numerous special favors by government and practically guaranteed all ex-

¹ Just one insurance company—Metropolitan Life—has more than twice as much invested in the electric power industry as the Federal Government has invested in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

penses, including taxes, plus profit. In other words, they are essentially cost-plus contractors, assured costs, including taxes, plus profit.

4. Do not power companies pay any taxes?

No. Despite what many IOU's advertise, each company "merely acts as tax collector for the Government." Surprisingly, these are the words of a private power spokesman, Edwin Vennard, managing director of Edison Electric Institute, the IOU trade association. You, the customer, pay the taxes when you pay your light bill. They are included by the company as part of its expenses.

If you don't pay those taxes which are included in your light bill, the company will cut off your lights.

In their advertisements, some IOU's try to appear to be identical to other businesses. But the IOU's have a monopoly on an essential product, for which demand is unparalleled, along with the practical assurance of all expenses—including taxes—plus profit.

How many other businesses are in that category?

5. Do the IOU's refund taxes when they collect too much?

Hardly ever. In fact many IOU's do not even pass on tax reductions to the consumer who buys electricity at a rate set high enough to pay the company's taxes and other expenses. Under the Revenue Act of 1964, for example, private power companies get two tax reductions—a 2 percent cut in 1964 and an additional 2 percent reduction in 1965. But according to a State-by-State survey by the New York Times in June of 1964, many companies do not plan to pass this tax reduction on to their customers and several State regulatory commissions have indicated they will make no effort to get the companies to do so.

This is only the most recent example of the IOU's failure to pass tax reductions on to the customer. Since World War II the Federal Government has granted nine tax reductions to the IOU's. Many companies have simply pocketed the reduction. Since 1954 the IOU's have obtained more than a billion dollars in tax relief through accelerated amortization (fast writeoffs of property for tax purposes) and more than a half a billion dollars through liberalized depreciation. The investment tax credit provides them an annual tax savings of more than \$50 million. The Revenue Act of 1964 will save the industry \$60 million in 1964 and \$100 million in 1965 and every year thereafter. In addition power companies have distributed more than \$741 million in tax-free dividends which, because of rapid depreciation, are considered a return of capital.

Thus, in summary, many private power companies are really tax collectors who, when the Government cuts the tax rate, keep on collecting taxes from the consumer at the higher rate. But if taxes are raised, IOU's pass the increase on to the consumer. So the IOU's collect more tax dollars than they turn over to local, State, and Federal Governments.

6. Must an IOU refund other overcharges?

No. One of the principles of utility regulation is the "water over the dam" rule. Under this principle, if revenues or expenses are incorrectly estimated, the party damaged does not get a refund. Another way of stating this principle would be the old phrase, "let bygones be bygones." The trouble with this rule, as far as the electric consumer is concerned, is that in rate cases most of the experts are on the side of the IOU's. Many regulatory commissions do not have sufficient staff to analyze critically the company's statements. And in most States electric consumers are unorganized.

One of the cases I have used to illustrate how the "water over the dam" principle hurts the consumer involves the Virginia Electric & Power Co. About 10 years ago it started sending out light bills every other

month, instead of each month. During a rate case at that time the company was asked how much money it would save sending out only half as many bills. The company said there would be practically no savings. The State regulatory commission accepted this statement, and granted the company the rate increase it requested. Yet by 1962 the company was telling its shareholders that it was saving almost \$2.5 million a year just by bimonthly billing. This saving was not passed on to the consumer. And as late as February 1964, a spokesman for the State regulatory commission said he didn't even know how much the company was saving by bimonthly billing.

Recent studies of the companies' own reports show that 95 IOU's overcharged their consumers more than \$2.2 billion in recent years. But past overcharges cannot be balanced off against future profits. The money is gone—water over the dam.

So the IOU's are better off than the ordinary cost-plus contractor, who sometimes has to go before a renegotiation board which will require him to return excess profit.

7. How are electric rates set?

Officials elected by the electric consumers establish rates for rural electric cooperatives and municipals. But rates for IOU's, which serve four out of five Americans, are in most cases established by a State regulatory commission. Most commissions and utility consultants consider a 6-percent rate of return on investment to be reasonable. Thus if the company has \$100 million invested in plant and equipment, rates will be set to provide the company a net operating income or profit of \$6 million (\$100 million times 6 percent) after expenses, including taxes, are deducted from revenue.

A 6-percent rate of return on investment usually means a 9- or 10-percent return on common stock. This is because carrying charges on bonds and preferred stock, by which the average IOU raises well over half its capital, are well below 6 percent—about 4 or 4½ percent.

TYPICAL RATE OF RETURN

Revenue (\$20 million) minus expenses (\$14 million) (including taxes) equals net operating income (\$6 million) divided by rate base (\$100 million) (plant and equipment) equals rate of return, 6 percent. Because of tax regulation the rate of return for some companies has risen as high as 9 percent.

8. Are IOU profits increasing?

Yes. Standard & Poor's, a leading investment adviser and financial publisher, reported in 1963 that "in the past few years, a number of electric utilities increased their earnings to the extent that rates of return on invested capital reached or exceeded those allowed by regulatory authorities." Net income for electric utilities "has advanced from 14.5 cents out of every revenue dollar in 1952 to 18 cents in 1962, a gain of almost 25 percent," according to a 1963 report by Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, the largest investment stock brokerage house.

Standard & Poor's predicted that "the extraordinary growth of the electric power and light industry during recent years is but a foreshadowing of continued progress to come."

9. Are IOU rates too high?

Yes. According to Standard & Poor's the net earnings of electric utilities increased \$543 million from 1958 to 1962, yet during the same 4-year period the net effect of IOU rate changes was an increase, of \$85 million.

The net effect of rate changes is now a slight decrease, but these small cuts don't begin to give the customer his due. Technological changes have produced great savings. Although cost of electricity to the residential customer is less than two-thirds what

it was during World War I, twice as many kilowatt hours of power can now be obtained from a ton of coal as was possible at the end of World War II. Power pooling is also providing spectacular savings. These interrelated transmission systems will provide savings estimated at \$3 billion, just from reduction of reserve capacity, by 1980.

Forbes magazine reported in 1964 that the industry's "net income is rising faster than net property and the industry's rate of return has moved up steadily." But instead of sharing the increasing profits with the consumers, the solution to the rate of return "problem," according to Forbes, "seems to lie in expanding the rate base."

10. Don't lower rates increase sales?

Yes, they do. Furthermore, when IOU's reduce rates, they still do well financially. Most of the IOU's close to the Tennessee Valley Authority have reduced rates more, proportionately, than companies in other parts of the country. And their common stock earnings have increased more than twice as fast as the national average. In Oregon and Washington residential families use from two to four times as much electricity as persons in Montana, where the rates are about twice as high. Oregon and Washington have substantial Federal power development and consumer-owned power systems which provide yardsticks by which the public can compare profit and nonprofit power. There is not a single municipal power system or public utility district in Montana.

11. Do IOU insiders get cutrate stock?

Yes, many do. Power companies, which are assured expenses, including big salaries and retirement plans, plus profit, are different from competitive businesses, some of which argue that they have to offer restricted stock options to key executives to provide incentive. But during the complacent 1950's a number of power companies—by now at least 29—started issuing their key executives restricted stock options. One of the lucky IOU executives can now buy the stock at a price no more than or even slightly below what it was when the option was granted. The market value of many utility stocks has increased fivefold—in one case, fourteenfold—since 1950. This means that an IOU executive with a stock option may buy, for \$100, the same amount of stock for which an ordinary stockholder must pay several hundred dollars. Some IOU insiders in Texas and Montana made several hundred thousand dollars apiece in windfall profits by using the restricted stock option.

In the case of the president of the Montana Power Co., who made \$370,000 in windfall profit in one option transaction, the windfall has more than doubled to about \$800,000 because of the increasing market value of the stock.

12. What do options cost?

It is impossible for a regulatory commission to estimate the future value of option stock. Therefore, profits from options are not included in the ratemaking process. Issuance of these options dilutes the equity of ordinary stockholders and indirectly reduces the company's capital, because stock sold on the market provides the company full market value, while option stock does not. Furthermore, availability of option stocks encourages company officials to forgo rate reductions and make ever greater profit, thus, increasing the market value of the stock, so their windfall profit will be even larger when they exercise their options.

13. Are option windfalls taxed?

Not always. If the company executive sells his stock, he will have to pay only capital gains, which is 25 percent or less. If he gives the stock to a tax-exempt organization he may be able to deduct the market value of the stock—not just the lower option price—from his gross income.

But with smart advice from his tax lawyer, he may give the stock to his wife or children and avoid not only Federal income tax, capital gains tax and gift tax but also—with advice planning—estate tax as well.

The average American may make less in his life than an IOU official makes in one option transaction, but the consumer might pay more taxes on his lifetime earnings than the IOU executive pay on this one windfall.

14. Aren't options more costly than straight salary increases and bonuses?

Absolutely. There is no question that stock options are far costlier than salary increases or bonuses because the latter are tax-deductible. The cost of stock options, on the other hand, is not. For example, suppose a utility company president makes a \$300,000 profit through the restricted stock option. The company is therefore out \$300,000 in capital forgone. But if the president had received a \$300,000 bonus, and if the State or Federal regulatory commission ruled that the \$300,000 bonus was compensation for services rendered, the company would be out nothing. It could include the entire \$300,000 in its operating expenses, which the company gets from its customers.

15. Then why do IOU's use options?

IOU expenses, including taxes, are simply passed on to the consumer. Perhaps more importantly, bonuses and salaries are sometimes publicized and options are usually hidden. Not even stockholders are told much about option benefits. Power companies sometimes send their own propaganda and reprints from the Reader's Digest along with the light bill. But have you ever seen a report from a power company on how its officials are benefiting—at the expense of the ordinary stockholder and consumer—from a restricted stock option plan?

16. What will reduce my light bill?

Regulatory commissions composed of strong members who do what they are supposed to do (regulate the utilities) and backed by an expert staff and an informed organization of electric consumers will help obtain savings for the ratepayer while still allowing the power companies to make a reasonable profit. However, the most effective method of rate reduction is to give the IOU's more competition, in the form of municipal power systems, rural electric cooperatives, public utility districts, and Federal power projects.

These are "yardstick" competitors because the operations and rates charged by private power companies can be measured against them.

The IOU's attack these competitors as socialistic or worse, although all of them are much more democratic than IOU's. The monopoly IOU's have no real competition and they are afraid of even remote competition-by-comparison offered by yardstick competitors.

For example: Georgia Power paid the city of Rome, Ga., \$50,000 for its agreement "not to establish a municipal electric system in competition with" Georgia Power.

A rural electric cooperative in Montana was charged 9½ mills per kilowatt hour by Montana Power Co. until Congress voted funds for a transmission line to serve the cooperative, whereupon the company promptly cut the rate to 5½ mills.

Back in the thirties, the Consolidated Edison Co. of New York City fought off a rate reduction, then cut rates anyhow. Why? Because the then Mayor Fiorello La Guardia threatened to set up a municipal power plant as a yardstick by which reasonable rates for the city could be determined.

As former Federal Power Commissioner Howard Morgan said in 1963:

"Regulation must be supplemented by programs that in addition to their other roles would provide the yardsticks and competitive restraining forces necessary to assist the regulatory commissions in their efforts to hold