

The rating system for aptitude is a percentile scale ranging from one to 100—with 50 the national average.

The citywide Detroit percentile figure is below 50, in the mid-40s.

For Northern High School students, combined aptitude figure is at the 19th percentile, compared to Redford's near-50.

What does it mean?

It means a teacher at Northern or some other inner city school faces a class with less than half the cumulative fitness, inclination, ability or capacity to learn that a Redford class possesses.

It means that teachers at Northern and at any innercity school were scholastic aptitude is low, must try continually to stir their students to learn; to motivate them; to try to make them understand.

"It means," said Dr. Lankton, "that inner-city teachers are doing some hard work in pulling achievement marks higher than aptitude."

It means that you cannot fairly or realistically compare Northern High School to Cass Technical High School, where aptitude is high.

At Northern, last October, first-semester seniors were reading at exactly their combined aptitude percentile—19. They were ahead of their aptitude in social studies: 23. Ahead in writing: 26. Ahead in listening comprehension: 25. Behind in science: 18. Behind in math: 17.

While scholastic aptitude is closely related to native ability, it's also a learned ability. It can change.

This is why the schools keep measuring through the 12th grade. The goal in the inner city is to pull the aptitude closer to that of students in average-achievement schools.

Aptitude cannot be shaped entirely in a classroom.

The Northern High youngsters in the pictures do not all live in neat homes with lawns, although some do. More live in flats, duplexes and apartments along Clairmont and John R., an area fast becoming the most densely populated in the city.

As the freeways have come through, more and more families have moved into the area.

There is no urban renewal. There is little community involvement with the school.

There is little concern by the rest of the city, except to drive through—quickly.

Some of the most knowledgeable, people in the school system interviewed dozens of the Northern students privately following the recent walkout.

Their findings were startling:

"It was as if the Northern High School area is not a city community, but a colony, an island," said one assistant superintendent.

"The feeling of abandonment that some of these youngsters have is appalling. The teachers they think are 'good' are the teachers who seem to like them. Almost all of them confessed to feelings of loneliness."

The loneliness comes from many things. Despite the feeling by many Detroiters that the immigration from the South has ended, statistics show that there is a constant turnover in the inner-city schools. One reported a change of nearly 100 percent in students last year.

In attempting to prepare students for high schools, the local "feeder" junior highs and elementary schools must work with the regulars and with a constant influx of kids who don't know how to sit down correctly, to say nothing of how to read. It takes teachers. Also skill and money.

The Northern student whose family doesn't care what he does as long as he gets out for the day is no exception. Nor is the one who goes to school without sleep or breakfast. Or the one who sleeps with five kids in one bed and who has no place, and no encouragement, to do his homework.

"At one PTA meeting," said a teacher, "the only people who showed up were the ones in charge of refreshments."

If aptitudes can be raised, and if motivation is the answer, where is it going to come from?

"It isn't the job of the schools."

"I don't like smart kids telling off principals: I'll vote against millage."

These two viewpoints can kill whatever hope there is for doing a good educational job in Detroit.

One \$60-million school building program was approved a few years ago. A new Eastern High School is being built with part of that money.

Another \$60-million school building program was rejected, which is why biology students are studying in drafting rooms, and probably will continue to, at a crumbling Northern High and an aged Northwestern High.

About 10 years ago, Detroit became the pilot city for the Great Cities Improvement Program which proved itself immediately in motivating inner city children to do better. It isn't in all schools because of money.

Eastern High School is a Great Cities School. Was that another reason the Eastern kids didn't walk out last week? Because they have a summer program, an after-school program, a school community agent—the "visible symbols" that somebody cares?

Great Cities costs \$37 a child each year to operate. It was two-thirds Ford Foundation money and one-third Detroit money; and its big point is that it involves parents.

"We have to involve parents or we don't succeed," said Carl Marburger, the first director of the program and now assistant superintendent.

"You can take any suburban school, add the louisiest principal, the louisiest teachers. You can still damage the children," he said, "but they will read because of the home reinforcement."

At Northern the remnants of yesterday's glory are all around. It was once the prestige school of Detroit, gathering its students from the plush Boston Blvd., North Woodward area.

Tarnished trophies still in the hall cases point to a hundred champion teams; to great school pride.

There's a fine library at Northern, access to special classes, elective courses. Are they as good as they should be? Are there enough top students to fill such classes?

What happens to the student who transfers from Redford or Cass to Northern?

"It is possible that he might slip into the rut of acceptability," Dr. Lankton said. "He would miss the challenge of a school where more students were performing at a higher level."

It is also possible that he might rebel.

What happens to highly trained teachers working day after day under tense, strained conditions: Crowded schoolrooms, students needing far more time and some needing far more discipline than the teachers have strength to give?

It's possible that they, to might rebel.

What could come out of Northern is the awareness by the community that this is not a simple issue to be dismissed with cliché judgments.

The Second War in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK E. EVANS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. EVANS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I recently had brought to my attention an excellent article by the editor of the

Farm Journal magazine on the work which is going on behind the fighting front in Vietnam. This article provides an important summary of the many efforts which are being undertaken to consolidate military victories in the field. Indeed, our best hope for peace in Vietnam and for the eventual stability of the country is to win this second war. I wish to commend the following article to my colleagues' attention:

THAT SECOND WAR IN VIETNAM

(NOTE.—The most crucial struggle is the one not in the news. A valiant army of Vietnamese aided by brave U.S. AID technicians, IVS farm-boy volunteers, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, are doing some amazing things to win the people to our side.)

As this is written—April 11—the scene in Vietnam is changing hourly. No one can say whether a stable government can emerge which we or anybody can prop up. As I reported from that country last month, there is no front. There are probably 100,000 Viet Cong right in Saigon, to say nothing of those elsewhere in "our" part of Vietnam.

Militarily we are winning, but whether the South Vietnamese can pull themselves together remains to be seen. If they can—

Vietnam could be one of the garden spots of the world, and ironically the war could help it become just that.

If so, a valiant band of American ag specialists, ex-county agents, educators, doctors and other civilians will have had a large hand in it. Their deeds are one of the great untold stories of the war.

Some of our ag specialists over there say that the fabulous Mekong Delta, one of the great rice bowls of the world, could produce eight times more. If the war will allow they'll show it how. They've done a lot already. The highland plateaus of the interior, practically unfarmed now except for an occasional rubber or tea plantation, could be raising good grain crops and grazing a lot of cattle.

The farmers are hard-working, intelligent and "just pretty wonderful people," says Jim Linn of New Jersey, one of our International Voluntary Services boys who lives and works out among them.

Most Vietnamese would like to be on our side and will be anytime (1) we can convince them we are going to be the winners (nobody here dares be caught among the losers), (2) when their own government can give them security and a safe bed at night, and (3) when they see that we can really bring them a better life. Last month I discussed the military and village-security aspects. Now let's look at the "farm war," equally important.

We've shipped mountains of supplies—fertilizer, insecticides, seed, feed, cement, galvanized roofing, reinforcing bars, pumps, windmills, knapsacks, sprayers, Rhode Island Red roosters, Yorkshire and Berkshire hogs, Santa Gertrudis bulls, and rat poison.

We have sent over 25 excellent, hard-working ag scientists, who are exposed to danger daily. (We need three times that many, but more are on the way.)

Also, we have 13 IVS boys there and we're aiming to have 40 more. International Voluntary Services, a non-governmental outfit of fellows in their 20s, pre-dated the Peace Corps by several years and furnished the pattern for it. "They're absolutely tops," says Karl van Haeften, chief of our ag mission in Vietnam, and I agree.

Other countries are in this second war with us, too. The Chinese, from Taiwan, have 72 men here in agriculture, (300 in all counting industrial projects) and do a great job. These men are Asiatics, not white Americans. They know Asiatic farming. They've plowed with water buffaloes. Bare-footed, they get right in the field alongside Vietnamese farmers.

The Japanese have helped boost Vietnam's fish harvest from the sea and farm ponds five times over since 1959, have motorized 10,500 sampans, introduced nylon nets, and bigger boats. We have built bigger wharfs and cold storage.

Americans in Vietnam are working a dozen unpublicized miracles.

Let's start with rats, which in 1962 in some areas were gobbling 35% of all the grain. It was estimated there were 1,000 rats per person!

When Ray Russell of U.S. AID tried to move out a big cache of rice captured from the VC he couldn't find a single gunny sack in the whole province without a rat hole in it. He flew in 50,000 bags.

We shipped in ten tons of rat poison, organized village rat-control committees, with no less than the village chiefs as chairmen, paid 10c per tail for all tails over 100.

In three years, some 88 million rats were exterminated. The savings in food were enough to feed all Vietnam for 18 days. Bubonic plague, carried by rat-borne fleas, subsided. And the whole campaign cost only \$100,000 of U.S. AID.

There's a catch, though. Rats still abound in farm country held by the VC (an that's most of it), and reinfested the rest.

Vietnamese farmers are enthusiastic about fertilizer. They're clamoring for more—at least three times more—and will gladly pay for it. We don't have to give it to them. Trouble is we can't deliver it because most roads are controlled by the VC. We're about to land it on beaches by the same landing craft that brought the Marines in.

Until now, farmers there have accepted insects as an act of God. Now everywhere you see men and women with knapsack sprayers, poisoning bugs on crops. And nowhere have I seen so many to poison.

One thriving project interrupted by the war was the pig-corn deal. We shipped in cement to build thousands of floors for little pig sties, plus a great pile of our surplus corn (much of it wormy, incidentally).

A good many pig sties are empty now because the VC blocks the supply of feed. Open the roads, and you'll soon find a lot of hogs in Vietnam. Good hogs, too. The native pig is a pathetic little creature with a sway back and a belly nearly dragging the ground, but the good Berks and Yorks brought in from the U.S., Taiwan and Japan are fixing that.

Incidentally, the biggest hog operation I saw is owned by a Catholic priest, Father Vinh Loc of Can Tho. He has 150 head.

The increase in crop yields has been phenomenal—25% to 100%, and in the case of a yam (Okinawa 100) it is 250%. We brought in 74 varieties of sugar cane and from them finally selected three. The eight experiment stations in the country have tried 800 varieties of rice, settling on 25.

The Chinese and the U.S. have introduced seven entirely new crops that are now good money-makers: Irish potatoes, strawberries, avocados, big white onions, garlic, cow peas and sorghum.

Lloyd Clyburn, our agricultural advisor for five northern provinces, discovered that almost no one had a garden. Using Extension methods from back in Texas, he now has 7,000 gardens. They look good, too.

Chuck Simmons of IVS, a Negro boy from North Carolina, has pushed better poultry. The native hen is the size of a prairie chicken and almost as wild. Chuck brought in Rhode Island Red roosters and doled them out to farmers who promised to kill their native roosters. The one thing in which the native cocks are far superior is fighting. They can kill a meaty Rhode Island Red in a hurry.

All this works because Vietnam has a fairly good Extension Service.

It also helps that Vietnam has 1,200 4-T Clubs (modeled on our 4-H) with 46,000 members, all the way from school children to 40-year-olds.

Even among one primitive mountain tribe, Don Wadley of Pleasant Valley, Utah has 300 girls learning to sew on 32 machines.

Our personnel are careful to see that the Vietnamese know these are their programs, and that we are there only to advise.

"We welcome your help and need more of it," Lam Van Tri, the able Minister of Agriculture told me. "Please convey to the farmers of America our deep gratitude in our struggle in this difficult time."

Self-help projects—where we furnish the materials and the Vietnamese do the work—have built hundreds of schools, warehouses, village wells, landings along canals, etc. It's a good idea. What they build is theirs, not ours. The VC know how the people feel and are careful not to destroy these objects of community pride.

Our aid to education has been brilliant. Here, as everywhere, the quickest way to win a friend is to do something for his children. Moreover, the Vietnamese, like the Chinese, have a deep respect for learning. The man most admired is not the richest but the wisest.

Since early 1963 we have furnished materials for 5,500 classrooms and money to train 5,600 teachers. We've distributed six million textbooks—the first school books these kids ever had. Some of these children proudly showed me their new books and read for me.

Our "Doctors in Vietnam" project is keeping 30 to 40 American physicians over there for two months each. "At home I'm a surgeon," Dr. J. C. McBratney of South Dartmouth, Mass., told me, "over here I'm a country doctor."

A military adviser, Lt. Col. Bob Storm of Avon, Conn., saw so many children with harelip and cleft palate that he induced Dr. Joseph O'Malley, to journey from Danang up to Quang Tri to demonstrate 28 cleft palate operations in three days before local doctors. One grateful father told O'Malley, "You have just given each little girl a husband and each little boy a wife."

Has all this a chance? Can our good works prevail over terrorism, war-weariness and civil war?

That will depend on whether the government, whatever it turns out to be, wants us to go on or happens to invite us to get out of the country.

We can win the military battle, in fact we are winning it. But whether it is possible to build a viable country on the political and religious sands of South Vietnam is still a good question. It's too early to tell. Also it's too early to despair. The news is discouraging, even discouraging, but the game is by no means up.

One thing sure: whatever happens, Vietnam will forever be better off because a valiant band of Americans have been showing the people there how to raise food, keep well, and educate their children. That much will last.

Bicentennial Commemoration of Birth of Sequoia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. MACKAY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, this morning at 9 a.m. a gigantic sequoia redwood tree was presented on the Capitol grounds. This tree was provided by Mrs. Sidney Ruskin, known to the Cherokee as Princess Chewani.

The ceremony was most impressive,

and the significance of the symbol that this sequoia redwood maintains gave emphasis to the occasion.

The tree is a dedication to the memory of the great Chief Sequoia who, even though he was an illiterate, is listed as one of the 12 men in all human history who has invented an alphabet. Sequoia gave his people an alphabet which worked a revolution. It gave the Cherokee an opportunity to become educated. It greatly helped the early missionaries to convert the Cherokees to Christianity by making possible the translations of the New Testament, sermons, and hymns, into their native language.

Mrs. Ruskin, Princess Chewani of the Cherokee, was the national chairman of the bicentennial commemoration of the birth of Sequoia in 1960. She instigated programs honoring the great leader in all the States where he lived. Mrs. Ruskin is my constituent from the Fourth District of Georgia. This great woman, who is dedicated to the memory of Sequoia, donated the gigantic sequoia redwood tree to the Capitol in 1961. This morning we presented in a formal ceremony that tree which has grown from a 2-foot seedling to 12 feet in height since 1961. It now stands in its permanent place of growth on the lawn of the Capitol under the Grotto.

I would like to include at this point in the Appendix a report of the activities of Princess Chewani:

THE BICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF SEQUOIA, 1960-62 ACTIVITIES OF MRS. SIDNEY H. RUSKIN, DECATUR, GA., NATION-WIDE CHAIRMAN OF PROGRAMS HONORING SEQUOIA

As National Chairman of the Bicentennial Commemoration of the Birth of Sequoia in 1960, Mrs. Ruskin instigated programs honoring the great leader in all the states where he lived and labored. Because of the many people who wanted a part in honoring this famous Cherokee Indian on his 200th birthday anniversary, permission was granted to extend the Observances into the year 1962.

There is no documented evidence as to the exact date of Sequoia's birth. However, the Smithsonian Institution is our best evidence. Dr. James Mooney, in his Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, states: "... according to personal information of James Wafford, who knew him (Sequoia) well, being his second cousin, Sequoia was probably born about the year 1760. . . ." Dr. William H. Gilbert, Head of Research in the Library of Congress writes: "... to the best of my present knowledge, the date given by James Mooney for Sequoia's birth has not been invalidated. . . this must serve only as a best possible guess at an unknown fact."

Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., present Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, in a letter, commends the Bicentennial Observances saying, "I think it fitting that you people are holding a Bicentennial Commemoration of the Birth of Sequoia, the famous Cherokee leader. He certainly merits such recognition."

EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN 1960 INSTIGATED BY THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, MRS. RUSKIN

Mr. Leon V. Langan, Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, requested Mrs. Sidney Ruskin to submit a resolution memorializing Sequoia on his 200th birthday anniversary. Such a resolution was to be approved by Chiefs W. W. Keeler and O. B. Saunooke and submitted to The Congress

This Nation has committed its moral resources to the eradication of poverty. I suggest that now is the time to commit our material resources. A vote for today's minimum wage proposal is one weapon we can all provide our army against poverty. I intend to vote for it.

Operation: Moral Support—Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the attached letter from the president of the Jaycettes of Asheville, N.C., outlines a program that is of value as a morale builder to military personnel in Vietnam and is also rewarding to the Jaycette members participating. I recommend it to my colleagues and to civic organizations in other cities and communities:

ASHEVILLE JAYCETTES,
Asheville, N.C., May 9, 1966.

HON. ROY A. TAYLOR,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE TAYLOR: Please allow me to take this opportunity to convey a delayed thank-you for your help in starting one of the most worthwhile projects the Asheville Jaycette Club has ever attempted. You may recall that I wrote to you in December asking for suggestions as to what Asheville and particularly the Jaycettes could do to help, in some small way, the Viet Nam situation. You referred my letter to Assistant Secretary of Defense, Arthur Sylvester, and he, in turn, gave us many helpful ideas. These ideas helped us kick off what we call Operation: Moral Support—Viet Nam.

Perhaps you have kept up with the news from our area through the Citizen-Times. If so, you may be familiar with our project, but in case you are not, I will give you some idea of what we are doing.

In March, our club made a public appeal through the local news media for the names and address and other information of the men from the Asheville-Buncombe County area. The response was overwhelming. We had no idea there were so many men from this area in Viet Nam, and even though we felt that these men would like to hear from "hometown folks", we were surprised at the reaction from the families of these men. They are very appreciative and for the first few weeks after our news releases, our phones were busy constantly.

At this writing, we have the names and information of 170 men. Each Jaycette has three or four names. In other words, her family has adopted three or four GIs and following an initial letter from me, as president, introducing him to his "adopted family" each family will follow up with mail and packages on special occasions such as birthdays and holidays. We had planned to take all the expenses from our own pockets, but due to the large response we have had to ask the local merchants clubs and general public for help in the way of postage mailable merchandise money or anything they could offer. The response has been good and we have close to \$400 and hope for more in order to keep this project going in the effective way we want it to. The money we have will help buy gifts.

I know this letter is long but we did want you to know what we are doing and to thank you and Mr. Sylvester for your help. We would like to let other clubs and cities know what we are doing and if you can offer any suggestions along this line we would be more than appreciative.

This project, we hope, has helped a little to boost the morale of our home-town men, but it has done even more for us. I believe each family participating is more aware of our situation in Viet Nam and certainly listens more carefully and reads everything available regarding the situation. But even more important than the news media is the word we receive personally from those who are there. We have a close and personal contact now and feel much more aware and involved in a far-away war which is, or will, effect the lives of all of us.

Thank you again for your help and please feel free to offer any advise or suggestions you may have.

Very sincerely yours,
MRS. JOANN E. ROGERS,
President.

Prayer on Behalf of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, McCormick Place, May 17, 1966, Delivered by Dr. Seymour J. Cohen, Spiritual Leader of the Anshe Emet Synagogue, President of the Synagogue Council of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen of the Anshe Emet Synagogue is one of the great spiritual leaders of the city of Chicago. His eloquent benediction following the President's address at the dinner of the Cook County Democratic organization in Chicago on May 17 struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the thousands who were there. The benediction follows:

Our God and God of all mankind who dwells on high yet is near to the prayers of men, humbly to Thee we turn.

As this historic occasion comes to a close, an evening in which our community has been honored by the presence of the President of the United States and his gracious lady, we join heart and voice in common prayer to Thee for their well-being.

In this unprecedented hour which truly tests the souls of all men, we mourn like the prophet of old that "the whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint."

Heavenly Father, we ask that Thou bless our Chief Executive as he stands on the lonely summit of national leadership and global responsibility.

Out of the depths of our being we ask that Thou sustain Lyndon Baines Johnson by the beneficence as he bears the most awesome burdens of decision which affect the destiny of all mankind.

May he continue to teach us to remain ever sensitive to the agony of the poor, the anguish of the oppressed, and the cry of those who long to be free.

Endow him with that wisdom that can only come from Thee so that his heart's deepest prayer and his most fervent passion to serve our people as "the President of peace" may be fulfilled.

May our beloved land under Thy divine providence be an influence only for good throughout the world, may there be fulfilled the ancient promise heard first in Judea of old that the day will come when "the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and confidence forever."—Isalah 32: 17. Amen.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 13712) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. GLENN ANDREWS].

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, we have been surrounded this afternoon by a substantial group of gentlemen from California, with their rich soil, their irrigated fields, and their huge cats drawing eight tractors behind them; and their superior cotton staple.

Mr. Chairman, I am interested in the real import of this bill which I do not think really has been expressed on the floor of the House, but the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] came rather close to it.

I have never met so many proponents of the minimum wage bill for agriculture as I have from the fine State of California with its very well known fine climate and rich soil, and their relative position of so-called inferiority because of freight rates—something that I have heard of for so many years as a monopoly enjoyed by the Southern States.

I would like to ask the gentleman, any of them from the State of California, to please answer me—what the effect generally is going to be on the upland cotton produced throughout the Southern States when the pegged price or the support price is \$165 and when the Cotton Council estimates that when the minimum wage comes in, the production of cotton will cost \$200 a bale.

I would like to ask the gentlemen from California who produce five bales of cotton per acre on their land, what they really expect is going to happen as a result of this minimum wage deal in upland cotton production throughout the southern United States.

I would like an expression from the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DENT] as to what his answer to that problem would be. What will happen to the production of southern upland cotton if it will cost \$200 a bale to produce it and the price is \$165?

Mr. DENT. Is the gentleman from Alabama asking me that question?

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. I will ask anyone from California to answer that question.

Mr. DENT. I am not from California, but I would say that cotton happens to be one of those products that is under the price support program. If the farmer has to pay a higher price to grow cotton than he gets from the present subsidized plan, we will raise the money to give it to him.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. That is a great big "if," and an enormous promise.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BELL. I would like to say to the gentleman, first of all, that the industrial situation in California and in the Nation as a whole has not been hurt by any minimum wage changes. I do not mean merely agriculture; I mean any type of industry in the Nation.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. The gentleman realizes that up until now agriculture has not been affected by minimum wages.

Mr. BELL. I do not think it will be adversely affected. I think it will be improved.

Mr. GLENN ANDREWS. Are you speaking of California agriculture?

Mr. BELL. I am speaking of all agriculture, agriculture generally. I do wish to say that California, despite the point which the gentleman from Alabama has made relative to the advantages that California has, does have a very definite disadvantage in shipping and hauling costs, and yet despite that disadvantage California has been continuing its operation and is operating on a minimum wage today. California has in effect a minimum wage today, and there has been no loss and no problem of unemployment. There are no problems in other areas the gentleman has mentioned.

I think perhaps if the gentleman would try to work with the minimum wage program such as this bill, when it passes, will bring to the whole Nation, I think he will find that the conditions in his State may improve substantially. I might add that a considerable number of people from his State have moved to California, as tourists and so forth, and apparently they enjoy it. I know we have a large population of people from your State there.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN R. SCHMIDHAUSER
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. SCHMIDHAUSER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on the occasion of her millennium, to Poland and her people, so

many of whom she has contributed to America. This year and especially this month has seen many ceremonies in Poland celebrating this millennium, and it is only fitting that we join in spirit in these celebrations which mean so much to the many fine Polish Americans who have enriched the life of our Nation.

Poland became a part of Western culture in 966 when Catholicism was accepted from Rome and in the 1,000 years that followed, Poland has developed as a symbol of a gallant people's struggle for freedom from authoritarian rule. The Poles have suffered many kinds of oppression and for centuries have been a pawn in the struggle between Germany and Russia for control of Eastern Europe. Throughout this period, the Polish people have continued to maintain their love of liberty and to work constantly to regain it.

I salute this love of liberty and freedom which has ever given life to the Polish people and would like to express my earnest wish that their desire for self-government finally bear fruit.

TV Birchers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in a recent issue of *The New Era*, Reading, Pa., its editor, Bob Gerhart, wrote an interesting column on the John Birch Society's TV programs.

I include, herewith, the editorial which illustrates how heavily financed radio and TV programs promoted by rightwing extremist elements are spreading confusion, disunity, suspicion, and distrust of representative government:

Just about two weeks ago I was eating breakfast and watching TV when suddenly a meeting of a John Birch Society group in New York popped onto the screen. This could be jolting enough in mid-afternoon or early evening but imagine the impact before you've poured down the first cup of coffee in the morning!

Tone of the meeting was set immediately by the reading of a "prayer for the United States." Among other things, Divine assistance was invoked to "root out internal sedition," presumably communism. Yet the prayer originated in 1794 from the mouth of George Washington who was mainly preoccupied with Redcoats. I suppose that the purpose of the prayer was to draw a parallel between modern times and Revolutionary Days and implant the thought that our nation is in as great danger today from communism as we were in 1794 from the tyranny of British kings. With our FBI and military might and unprecedented productivity, I can't quite feel that we're that close to collapse!

The living room Birchers in the TV report included a wide variety of people—a stockbroker, a secretary who paid \$1,000 for a lifetime membership, a bakery owner, a policeman's wife, a sailor and a housewife. Obviously, the Birch Society offered them an answer to all society's ills, including a reduction in assaults and muggings.

An agenda ranging from recruiting new members to impeaching Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren chartered the meeting's course. Members reported on their activity in each category—and each one expressed what appeared to be an obvious fear for the future. They firmly believed that America is being taken over by a foreign power from within, and the theme, "communist conspiracy," lurked behind every sofa and under every table and in every socially progressive piece of legislation—and even in our conduct of the Vietnam war.

If this TV Bircher meeting is symbolic of all other chapters, the "hawks" are winging high on the Vietnam issue. "Get this thing over with," said the sailor. He didn't say how. "If we aren't going to win this war we should get the hell out—one, two, three." Or take this comment: "When are we going to win this war? It didn't take 10 years to beat Germany and Japan." He didn't consider a global conflict with Russia, and China. The whole approach implies that a sinister plot is underfoot by commies in our government to prolong the war deliberately to weaken the country and thereby aid a foreign takeover. True, they didn't say it that way but you got the idea.

My impression of the Bircher attitude and comments was that they have little faith in our nation, little faith in our democratically-elected leaders and little faith in new solutions to new problems. You get the feeling they want to return to the "good old days" of segregation and isolation in world affairs, and a form of rugged individualism which ignores the concept that we are our brother's keeper.

I find it difficult to understand how anyone—yes, anyone—can subscribe to a creed written by Birch Society Founder Welsh who said that President Eisenhower was an unwitting agent of the communists. The Birchers attribute every problem, every frustration to hidden communist conspirators. They are in the civil rights movement. They dominate the United Nations (from which the Birchers want to withdraw). They influence our Vietnam policy. They are trying to influence police departments. It's just one great big bad dream, in the Birchers' confused imagination. But you don't have to leave the Reading area to find a cell of Birchers at work. We're crawling with them.

South Dakota School Board Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BEN REIFEL
OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 25, 1966

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure yesterday to attend the national awards luncheon of the National Education Association-Thom McAn School Board Awards program where the Sisseton, S. Dak., Independent School Board of my district was cited as one of two national winners.

This outstanding school board was selected for its leadership in providing quality education in its community. It received the citation in competition with thousands of other school boards representing schools of less than 3,000 enrollment.

This program was initiated last year for the purpose of focusing public attention on the school board's contribution to its community and to broaden respect

chances that more nations will make irreversible decisions to develop nuclear weapons, and that such decisions will encourage still others to follow suit. If nothing further is done, nations of all types, of all degrees of stability, of all degrees of responsibility, will have in their hands the power of life and death over the whole planet. Security for all will then be gravely diminished, and the chances of nuclear catastrophe immeasurably increased.

Constructive steps to meet the problem of nuclear proliferation need to be taken now. I therefore commend the Senate for passing Senate Resolution 179, and join the overwhelming majority of my colleagues who voted for the resolution in commending current efforts to negotiate international agreements limiting the spread of nuclear weapons and supporting future efforts to bring about solutions to nuclear proliferation problems.

PRESS FOR VIET ELECTIONS NOW

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, an editorial in today's Wilmington, Del., Morning News makes the point that now that the rebel elements in South Vietnam have been put down by the Government, it is incumbent upon the United States to increase pressure to hold national elections.

I believe the editorial's point is well taken and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

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

PRESS FOR VIET ELECTIONS NOW

Now that Premier Ky has crushed the rebel elements in Da Nang and gone a long way toward establishing the suzerainty of the Saigon government over the northern provinces, the United States should step up the pressure on his government to hold national elections in the fall.

This will take will power in Washington, where there have been obvious differences of opinion on the desirability of holding Vietnamese elections for several months. Those men in the Administration who favor sticking with Ky and letting Vietnamese political evolution wait until after the Viet Cong are defeated will undoubtedly find themselves in a stronger position at the White House now that Ky has made it clear that the Buddhists were not the formidable force they seemed to some.

But if their view should prevail, it will be a mistake. The United States would again be ignoring the basic problem in Viet Nam, the effort of the Vietnamese people to bring about a political revolution that is Vietnamese in character. This is an effort that was begun even before World War II and an effort that has been frustrated since then. It is the revolution that Premier Diem subverted and the revolution that the Communists are trying to subvert now.

No one inside or outside Saigon knows how it is going to come out once it has run its course, but that should be no reason for refusing to encourage it, just as Gen. Ky's predilection for labeling as Communist anyone who opposes him is not justification for dismissing as disruptive any Vietnamese who is convinced that the military junta isn't the group to accomplish the Vietnamese political revolution.

It is difficult to fight the kind of war that is being waged in South Viet Nam, that's

admitted. But will it not be even more difficult if the enemy not only is the Viet Cong, but also the Buddhist, the Catholic, the Montagnard and the Hao, Hao; the student, the politician, the intellectual and the monk; all those many, many other individuals and groups who believe that they too should have something to say about running their country and fighting the Viet Cong? The answer to that question is obvious. The United States has no real choice but to press for an election so that all these people will have some reason to hope, some reason to continue the fight against the Communists. The United States has no real choice but to press for an election for its own sake, too, for if the only reason the Johnson Administration has for fighting in Viet Nam is to save face, then it has no reason at all.

OPEN HOUSING

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, the Denver Post has published what I consider to be a serious and provocative editorial on President Johnson's new civil rights bill, especially as it pertains to housing.

The newspaper warns of a truly massive problem, the expanding Negro ghettos in American cities. Once creeping segregation has gained momentum, reversing it or even slowing its progress is a massive job, it is pointed out.

A fair housing law such as the President has proposed won't do this job by itself—

The paper declares, adding that a coordinated effort at all levels—backed by effective law—will be required.

The Post editorial provides much food for thought. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

OPEN HOUSING: WORTH CONGRESS' STUDY

Columnists and other pundits are predicting, we note, that the housing desegregation section of President Johnson's 1966 civil rights bill will never get past Congress.

Well, the pundits were wrong on some predictions like that about the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but this time they could be right. Housing is the area of civil rights where resistance is the best organized, and Negro leadership is the least militant. As a result, this is the only area where racial segregation in America is still increasing.

If the housing section of the administration's bill is doomed to rejection, we hope that it at least stirs plenty of debate, because this proposal opens up for the first time in Congress a truly massive problem: the expanding Negro ghettos in American cities.

Consider the facts: Washington, as everyone knows, is already more than 50 per cent Negro—the first major city in the country to achieve this unnatural distinction. But Baltimore and New Orleans are more than 30 per cent Negro and, according to students of population trends, may well pass the 50 per cent mark by 1970. Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland and St. Louis, now more than 25 per cent Negro, all could have Negro majorities by or before 1980. And Chicago and Houston, now more than 20 per cent Negro, would be next.

On this score alone, the problem is worthy of the Congress' most serious study and action. But reciting mere population changes does not begin to hint at the real troubles such changes are already starting to cause.

School administrators, of course, are well aware of those troubles. In cities all over

the nation, including Denver, they are wrestling with the educational problems caused by racial change. Oncoming segregation casts a long shadow ahead of it in the schools. In Philadelphia, for instance, though the city is still nearly 70 per cent white, the public schools are already 57 per cent non-white.

Mayors in many cities also are becoming sharply aware of the problem. They see high-income white taxpayers moving to the suburbs, being replaced by lower-income taxpayers who need more city services; they see civic leaders being replaced by people who know little or nothing of such valuable techniques.

City businessmen, too, are fighting the problem—though it's doubtful whether many realize it. In many cities, they busy themselves trying to rejuvenate downtown areas, ignoring the hard fact that ghettos expanding around the inner city are displacing their closest affluent customers and cutting them off from suburban customers.

This process, of course, can be reversed. It has been done in Georgetown, Washington's most fashionable residential area. It is being done in several other cities—including, possibly, Denver's Park Hill. But once creeping segregation has gained momentum, reversing it, or even slowing its progress, is a massive job.

A fair housing law such as the President has proposed won't do this job by itself. In most cities, this job will require a coordinated, cooperative effort of civil rights leaders, city officials, school officials and business and real estate leaders—backed by an effective law.

The reason even such a potent civic power coalition would need a law can be seen in a statistic from Philadelphia. George Schermer, a well-known Philadelphia human relations expert, estimates that merely to keep Philadelphia's Negro ghettos at their present size would require the movement of 6,000 Negro families a year out of those ghettos, for years to come. Can anyone conceive of any Negro exodus on this scale unless white neighborhoods are legally opened to non-whites?

So there is good reason for Congress to study and debate the problem. And if congressmen do nothing this year, they can feel uncomfortably sure the problem, bigger and harder to solve than ever, will keep coming back to haunt them until they do act.

THE TURNING POINT IN VIETNAM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, one of the most distinguished foreign correspondents reporting on the Vietnam conflict is the Frenchman Jean Lacouture of Le Monde. He concluded a recent article in the May 12 issue of the New York Review by saying:

We can only hope that it is not too late to attempt a different policy, one that would place reliance on the Vietnamese themselves—all the Vietnamese—to maintain their integrity in the face of whatever forces may threaten it.

This article which is entitled "Vietnam: The Turning Point" makes several concrete suggestions which might assist in bringing about a truce or even a peace. It deserves the attention of my colleagues:

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in its entirety in the RECORD.

VIETNAM: THE TURNING POINT

(By Jean Lacouture)

On the screen an old peasant woman stands amidst devastated houses and fields;

like twenty-five million men and women in both parts of her country she wears black silk pajamas. Her left sleeve hangs empty. The picture dissolves quickly and those who see her on the television film that James Cameron, an English newspaperman, has brought back from North Vietnam will forget her—unless they have also read his book, *Here Is Your Enemy*.¹ It is dedicated to the "old lady who lives in the village of Naah Ngang, in the Thanh Hoa province of North Vietnam which is unfortunately near a strategically important bridge."

"The bridge as far as we know still stands." [Cameron writes], "but the old lady had her left arm blown off by one of the bombs that went astray. She was more fortunate than her daughter, who was killed. She said: 'I suppose there is a reason for all this but I do not understand what it is. I think I am too old now ever to find out.'"

Most Americans are now too old to understand and are living far enough from the bombed bridges to appraise soberly the Vietnam policy pursued in their name. Indeed they have more information available to them about the war than any other nation that has ever fought in a remote foreign land. Now, at a moment when the war seems to be reaching a turning point, James Cameron's book and film give us the first perceptive report we have had in years on the lives, reactions, ideas, and leaders of the enemy in the North.

Cameron was the first Western correspondent admitted to Hanoi since the beginning of the bombings. "Why I was selected out of a clamoring multitude of serious newspapermen is an enigma to me," he writes. "It could have been the fact that I had insisted on going, if I went, on my own terms, uncommitted and unsponsored." In any case, it was a fortunate choice. Cameron is not a neutral observer—he has been critical of both the Conservatives and Labour positions on Vietnam—but he seems less susceptible to the passions and resentment we might have expected from a French or American reporter. An English liberal with long experience in Asia, he is able to distinguish between the totalitarian Communist apparatus which rules in North Vietnam and the authentic drive for national identity and independence which has made the Vietnamese revolution possible.

Much of Cameron's book will be familiar to those who read his dispatches in *The New York Times* and the *London Evening Standard* last September. What emerges most clearly from the second reading is his sense of the ordinary Vietnamese people he met during the winter of 1965 when American bombs were falling on the transport and communications systems throughout the country. Cameron is not a sentimentalist but he was enormously impressed by the remarkable courage and cheerfulness of the Vietnamese in the face of death. Indeed the most important contribution of his book is to show that the stoicism of the Vietnamese is one of the most important, and most neglected, factors in the debate over Vietnam—as important as the follies of French colonialism, or the calculations of Secretary Rusk. Western leaders have not understood that bombing operations that might produce panic and disruption in their own countries have had remarkably little effect on a people who resisted French "mopping up" operations for eight years and are led by an old man who has spent one third of his life in prison and another third shaking off the agents of various colonial police forces.

"So far from terrorizing and disrupting the people" [Cameron writes] "the bombing seemed to me both stimulated and consolidated them. By the nature of the attacks

¹ *Here Is Your Enemy*, by James Cameron. Dolt, Rinehart & Winston, 160 pp., \$3.95.

so far, civilian casualties had not been very great, but they had been great enough to provide the government of the Vietnam republic with the most totally unchallengeable propaganda they could ever have dreamed of. A nation of peasants and manual workers who might have felt restive or dissatisfied under the stress of totalitarian conditions had been obliged to forget all their differences in the common sense of resistance and self-defense. From the moment the United States dropped its first bomb on the North of Vietnam, she welded the nation together unshakably . . . even in their own interests the U.S. planners failed to recognize the reality of a society like this. A bomb here, a bomb there; a family eliminated here or there; . . . these were troublesome, infuriating; they were not disabling. The destruction of a bridge or a road—in Western terms it could be disastrous. Here it was a nuisance."

One might add that since the resumption of the bombing, the rate of North Vietnamese infiltration into the South has quadrupled; the number of American casualties has risen; Northern influence in the South has increased along with the prestige of the Communist cadres in the Vietcong. Moreover, the membership of the PRP, the Communist organization within the National Liberation Front, has tripled during the last year.

No doubt Cameron's book will be dismissed—as his articles were dismissed by *Time*—as a "conduit for North Vietnamese propaganda," naive in its uncritical presentation of talks with North Vietnamese leaders. But Cameron writes, "It seemed to me from the beginning that I of all people was most likely to be handled with circumspection and to receive in official conversations the most distilled official line." On the other hand, his observation of the effects of the war on the North Vietnamese are his own and they are important. Those who have served as a "conduit"—if not as a source—for official American propaganda justifying the bombings can learn from Cameron's report how badly this policy has failed.

The events of the past month make Cameron's book all the more pertinent. The bombings in the North have become even more severe, while the demonstrations in the South seem to have made a political solution more possible. At least some of the more fragile American myths have been exploded and the hard political questions that have been obscured by Washington's rhetoric are coming into the open. Can the war be justified as a "defense of free men against a foreign invasion" when thousands of people have been openly demanding an end to dictatorial government, not to mention the American presence itself? Do all the non-Communists really want a powerful American army to fight in Vietnam until the last Vietcong is killed or driven North? If not, what is the basis of the American commitment?

These questions can at last be raised largely because of the agitation of the Buddhists in their Northern stronghold of Hue and Danang as well as in Saigon. But the intentions of the Buddhists are not easily discerned, for they have been reluctant to announce their concrete political aims. Tri Quang and his followers have advocated "absolute peace" and "absolute nationalism," while shrewdly improving ways to undermine the military dictatorship. If their views seem abstract or contradictory, this is a characteristic of Vietnamese political life. Nationalism and Communism have long been intermingled in the Vietnamese revolution; so have the desire of the South Vietnamese for reunification and their resentment of Northern domination. In much the same way it is extremely difficult to distinguish the religious principles of the Buddhists (and often the Catholics) in the South from their political activism.

But it should be made clear that the Buddhists are a relatively new force in South Vietnamese politics. They did not begin to make their influence felt until the early Sixties when the pagodas and monasteries became centers of resistance to the oppressive (and largely Catholic) Diem government. The recent demonstrations are the Buddhists' third political offensive. The first created the situation which led the army to bring down Diem in 1963; the second ended in the fall of Khanh in 1964. Their current campaign is a direct reaction to the mounting intensity of the war and the increasing numbers of civilian casualties all over the South. (According to the recent testimony of Representative Zablocki of Wisconsin before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, it is estimated that at least two civilians, and perhaps as many as six, are being killed for each Vietcong soldier.)

"This cannot go on!" is the Buddhist slogan. It is aimed not only at the war itself, but at the recent national humiliation which is summed up by the word "Honolulu." For the Honolulu meeting exposed the nearly total failure of a great Western power to understand public opinion in a small country, where feelings of oppression and resentment have been smoldering for years. In organizing the conference Washington had hoped not only to strengthen Ky's position but to encourage him to be more flexible politically and to undertake social reforms. However so far as most Vietnamese were concerned, Washington had already shown unprecedented contempt for their country by imposing Premier Ky on them in the first place; to them, the meeting was no more than a summons from a foreign general to a cocky lieutenant—a glaring example of Saigon's "abject" dependence on Washington. The following week Tri Quang warned an American visitor that a wave of anti-American agitation was sure to follow: Obviously a considerable part of the population shared his feelings.

The crisis that broke out on March 10 may well have set a hopeful process in motion. It has shown Washington that the Vietnamese cannot be treated simply as pawns to be managed by native dictators, but that they are in fact a volatile and touchy people with a complex politics of their own. And in South Vietnam itself Washington has begun to act with more political acumen. Although General Ky was foolish enough to claim that Danang was in Communist hands, and the U.S. Air Force was available to help "liberate the city," no serious reprisal was allowed to take place; and William P. Bundy, the Assistant Secretary of State was unusually calm in his appraisal of the situation. Furthermore William Komer, the new White House advisor on foreign affairs, met with Tri Quang in Hue soon after the crisis erupted. He listened to his complaints against the Ky government and then forwarded a letter from Tri Quang to Mr. Johnson. In this letter the Buddhist leader requested that the United States support the convening of a Vietnamese national Congress that would settle peacefully the political and military future of Vietnam and would, in particular, decide whether U.S. forces should continue to be present in the country.

The promise of elections on August 15 seems to have pacified Tri Quang, at least for the moment, but we may be sure that the continuing presence of American troops will remain the central question of the future. Tri Quang and his colleagues will have more to say on this subject. Their elusive neutralisms may turn out to be quite incompatible with any permanent foreign military presence.

Thus the basis of the American commitment in Vietnam has been thrown into doubt. Until now Washington's professed aim has been to allow the South Vietnamese to choose their future freely. The recent

campaign of the Buddhists could finally make such a choice feasible, but it may also mean that the Vietnamese will eventually demand the removal of the American garrison. The question must be raised, however, whether some leaders in Washington are committed not to "self-determination" but to preserving South Vietnam as a military base for the containment of China. In a remarkable essay in the April *Commentary*, George Lichtheim suggests that the essential American motive is to maintain a strong American presence in Vietnam—particularly the enormous air base now being built at Cam Ranh—in preparation for the day when Communist China will possess a nuclear force. Furthermore, in his interview with a correspondent of *Le Monde* George Ball defined Washington's view of an acceptable Vietnamese neutrality as the absence of foreign alliances—but said nothing about foreign bases.

The hypothesis that certain American authorities are anxious to have a large permanent base in Vietnam may help to explain certain aspects of American behavior in the past: its intransigent opposition to direct dealings with the Vietcong, for example. However, the policy has not been publicly stated or defended and it remains unclear why the U. S. should need a base in South Vietnam at all, in view of its other strong installations in the area as well as the Seventh Fleet. But if such a policy were to be adopted, an espousal of neutralism by the Buddhists would make them, for American purposes, the allies of Chinese imperialism and they would soon be swept aside. Tri Quang could easily find himself in the same position as Juan Bosch did last year.

Obviously Washington is about to make vital decisions. The rainy season in the South will start in two months and this will sharply limit air operations and therefore the efficiency of General Westmoreland's troops. We may also expect that attempts will be made during the next two months to reconvene the Geneva conference—possibly as a result of General de Gaulle's visit to Moscow. When this happens, the international pressures on Washington to participate will be heavy. President Johnson would be well advised to undertake his own diplomatic efforts first.

In this situation Washington may reckon that it has two months to win the war. As General Ridgway has recently written in *Look*, the war could be won if the full force of U.S. air and naval power were brought to bear on the enemy. But the price would be genocide: Much of Vietnam would be turned into a desert occupied by Marines, a result the General believes unworthy of American traditions and not justified by the threat of China. Meanwhile another experienced observer, J. K. Galbraith, has warned that the country is running an "intolerable risk" of provoking Chinese intervention as it launches heavier and heavier bombing attacks on the North.

At the same time certain hopeful, if little-publicized, diplomatic developments have taken place: Along with the recent negotiations with the Buddhists they may help to provide an alternative to genocide and further escalation. It seems clear, for example, that new and very discreet contacts have been made with the Vietcong. For over a year negotiations have been underway to obtain the release of Mr. Hertz, a U.S. official held prisoner by the Vietcong. First, Paris attempted to intervene with Hanoi on Mr. Hertz's behalf; then Senator ROBERT KENNEDY stepped in. Four months ago Hanoi let it be known that the National Liberation Front insisted on conducting its own negotiations concerning the prisoner. After some hesitation Washington made contact with the Vietcong and several meetings followed. So far as is known, a dialogue is now secretly taking place somewhere in the South between

the U.S. government and the N.L.F. Apparently no results have been achieved so far, but at least a channel of communication has been established.

Official doctrine is also changing. While Vice President HUMPHREY denounced Vietcong "assassins" in Honolulu, Charles Bohlen and Averell Harriman hinted at a more flexible U.S. position: The Vietcong, they said, might back candidates in the next election and thus participate in a South Vietnamese government. And later, after Senator KENNEDY's statement on Vietnam, Bill Moyers stated that no groups could be denied participation in the public life of South Vietnam, provided its representatives had been duly elected. This "Moyers Compromise" would seem to be the last authoritative word on the subject. Neither Hanoi nor the NLF has as yet rejected Senator KENNEDY's suggestion that the Vietcong might participate in a coalition government (the first "goal of war" of the NLF), although Peking called it a "new imperialist maneuver." Whether or not this is of any significance remains to be seen.

Let us suppose that the American leadership finally rejects the course of escalation and decides to bring the war to an end. The logical objectives of such a policy would be: (a) to restore the moral prestige of the United States in Asia and in the world; (b) to allow the South Vietnamese to create their own independent state which can prepare a future merger with North Vietnam and co-exist with China; (c) to promote the development in South East Asia of a broad movement based on both neutralism and nationalism—a movement that would include the political tendencies of both India and Indonesia and would establish friendly relations with Japan.

Is it possible to suggest precisely what steps should be taken to implement such a policy? A peaceful settlement might be pursued in three stages. At first, every effort must be made to encourage the local forces in South Vietnam to come forward and take their place in the political life of the country. If democracy has any chance in Vietnam it will succeed only by the vigorous political activity of the groups that genuinely represent Vietnamese society—the Buddhists, Catholics, trade unions, students, army, Cao-Dai, and "Hoa-Hao" among others. These are the famous "chickens" that Mr. HUMPHREY wants to protect from the hungry "fox." But if they are bold enough to challenge a regime supported by the U.S. army there is good reason to believe they will be able to resist threats to their integrity in the future. Tri Quang may favor neutralism and negotiations, but he is not a man inclined to yield power to any competing group.

Recently there has been a tendency in the United States to make glib jokes about Vietnam's political "instability." But it remains to be seen whether people who have refused to support a series of despicable dictatorships openly backed by foreigners—the regimes of Bao Dai, Diem, Khanh, and Ky—have proven their instability or their desire for identity and freedom. Should the Vietnamese be called "irresponsible" and "ungovernable" because they reject the rule of an unknown jet pilot trained by the French at the height of the Algerian war?

We can now say that the first step toward a peaceful settlement of the war was taken this Spring, although many questions remain in doubt. Will elections be held on August 15 to form a National Congress? Will this assembly meet only to write a South Vietnamese constitution and decide on the form of a future civilian government? Is it possible to arrange reasonably fair elections under present conditions? In any case, a Constitutional Convention might be able to work out procedures to form a more permanent

congress made up of delegates representing all the significant groups in the South. Until the signing of a cease fire, a number of seats could be held open for the representatives of the NLF. Meanwhile the Congress would set up a caretaker government that would eventually deal with the NLF and prepare the way for its return to legitimate political life.

During the second phase the military leaders on both sides would meet to work out a cease fire: Representatives of the American and South Vietnamese armies would negotiate with leaders of the Vietcong and their Northern Allies. But this will be a harder task than the first because there is no evidence that the Vietcong have abandoned the theory that a long struggle will bring them total victory as the U.S. grows weary of the war. Indeed one of the great tragedies of the conflict is that both sides are so badly informed about the firmness of the other's intentions. Undoubtedly the hard-line Communists in the Vietcong want a long war. For one thing it brings them new recruits. Communist membership has grown from ten thousand since 1951 to almost a hundred thousand at the present time.

The principal effort of American policy must therefore be to provide political opportunities to those revolutionaries who have not become "professional warriors." Unlike the guerrilla fighters who enjoy the adventure and power of warfare, many of the Vietcong followers are exhausted. Senator Kennedy's proposal is therefore sound, because it may strengthen the position of those revolutionaries who would like to convert a military into a political struggle. However while the Vietcong is a most efficient machine of war, its political and psychological skill may not match its fighting power. This is probably one reason why its chiefs prefer war.

The only chance of persuading the guerrillas in the South to accept a cease fire is to speak to them directly and not through Hanoi or at an international conference. They have not forgotten the 1954 Geneva conference when their interests were submerged in a deal among the great powers (and the less-than-great Vietminh). The Southern combat forces were sent off to the North while the country remained in "reactionary" hands.

Many of the same guerrillas have now returned to the "Maquis" in the South and have resumed fighting. It is true that they now depend on the North and the nations of the Communist bloc for much of their support; and any agreement with the guerrillas would eventually have to involve Hanoi as well as the great powers. But since the guerrilla chiefs are wary of being duped again by an international deal—and are enjoying the prestige of battle—they are quite capable of sabotaging an agreement made without their full consent. Therefore any efforts to make peace must start with them—if peace is the goal.

Once a cease-fire agreement is in prospect, the third stage—preparation for self-determination—should begin. The opposing forces must agree on the procedures for a nationwide referendum. It should be pointed out that, unlike the FLN in Algeria, the NLF leaders have unequivocally admitted that their movement cannot fully represent the South Vietnamese people. This has been made clear not only in public statements but in the allotment of public seats on the National Council to volunteers—who are not volunteering. Is it possible that the two incomplete assemblies—the National Congress and the NLF committee—might merge to form a fully representative parliament for South Vietnam?

No matter how it is organized, a referendum would reveal the full diversity of South Vietnamese society. It is entirely possible

that the NLF will appear as a "major factor of the South Vietnamese political scene," as George Carver has recently written in *Foreign Affairs*. It is also quite likely that the Congress will reflect the various zones of influence in South Vietnam, with Buddhists predominating in the Hué and Danang areas, the Catholics around Saigon, Cai Daiists in the West, and Hoa-Hao in the South West. The Vietcong may be expected to predominate in the East (Zone D), the South, and the Quang Ngai area, which lies between the strongholds of the Buddhists in the North and the Catholics in the center of South Vietnam. In Vietnam, as in most countries, men have a stronger political appeal than ideas: The referendum might therefore be more effective if it were to choose a head of state rather than a cabinet government drawn from different factions or parties—but this would require the non-Communist groups to agree upon a common candidate, something that seems highly unlikely at the moment. The key to the political situation and to a workable balance of power among the forces in the South will be the possibility of cooperation between the Buddhists and the Catholics. The Vatican is now trying to bring this about with the help of the new liberal Catholic groups which center around Mgr. Binh and the Archbishop of Saigon, and are now providing a counterforce to the reactionary traditions of Vietnamese Catholicism.

It should be clear that no solution will be acceptable to Hanoi unless there are guarantees of close ties between the two Vietnams before the country can be reunited. It is far from clear how long reunification itself might take. Ho Chi Minh estimated that it might take ten years when I spoke to him in 1962, while in 1965 an NLF spokesman in Algiers thought fifteen years more likely. It could take a long time indeed.

Finally, it will remain for international negotiation to guarantee the results of the peace talks, perhaps making use of an enlarged version of the International Control Commission of 1956 (India, Poland, Canada) to supervise the referendum and protect Vietnamese neutrality. As a matter of fact, international negotiations among the Great Powers have secretly been taking place since 1964. It is rumored that Secretary General U Thant now plans to request a leave of absence from the United Nations in order to concentrate on the Vietnam question. This will put him in a better position to deal with the Asian Communists who distrust his organization but trust him personally. Something may also come of General de Gaulle's trip to Moscow, as well as new interventions by Pope Paul VI. Harold Wilson may at last choose to display his diplomatic talents by assuming his position as cochairman at a reconvened Geneva conference. He could then count on the assistance of Canada (whose delegate at the International Control Commission has kept in close touch with Hanoi).

The next two months will be decisive. The United States can certainly hold South Vietnam and impose a military government simply by threat of force; it can retain a firm grip on its "enclaves" and bases without worrying about popular feelings. The Vietnamese have been subjected to treatment of this kind for many years. Even if this Spring's uprising has demolished some of the myths on which American intervention has been based, it can not be expected to end power politics.

Washington has intervened in Vietnam four times: first, from 1950 to 1954 when it supported France in her fight against Asian Communism; second, from 1954 to 1963 when it supported Mr. Diem, "the defender of freedom"; third, from 1963 to 1965 it sent American troops to fight in the South; fourth, since 1963 it has extended the war to all of

Vietnam. There is no reason why there should not be a fifth stage during which it holds on to the large base of Cam Ranh, in case there is to be a sixth stage—a great war against China.

We can only hope that it is not too late to attempt a different policy, one that would place reliance on the Vietnamese themselves—all the Vietnamese—to maintain their integrity in the face of whatever forces may threaten it.

PROPER PROTECTION FOR RESEARCH ANIMALS

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, public interest in the issue of protecting research animals has been increasing steadily during the present session of Congress. If the hundreds of letters I have received during the last few weeks can be taken as any indication, the vast majority of the American people fervently hope that strong protective legislation in this field will be passed this year.

Mr. President, I believe that I echo the public sentiment accurately when I state that what we need is a law that will apply to animal dealers and research facilities alike. Any legislation that fails to include this two-pronged approach to regulation will be sadly inadequate. The measure passed by the House of Representatives—H.R. 13881—is fine so far as it goes, but, in exempting research facilities from Federal standards, it regrettably only goes half-way.

S. 2322, the bill I cosponsored, if passed with the proposed Monroney amendments, would go the whole way. The Senate Commerce Committee has held hearings specifically on the Monroney amendments in order to explore further the controversial issue of covering the research facilities.

The issue of laboratory coverage has provoked much editorial comment in past weeks, but two editorials especially have caught my attention. One was published in the Louisville Courier-Journal of May 16, 1966; the other in the New York Times of May 23, 1966. Both represent the considered opinions of two of the Nation's most distinguished newspapers. Both strongly support S. 2322 or other legislation that would cover both animal dealers and research laboratories.

The New York Times editorial brings up one point that is especially important at this time. This is the issue of whether S. 2322 would hamper research. The Times reiterates what the bill's supporters have been saying all along: absolutely not. Anyone who reads the bill carefully will see that nothing in it refers to the laboratory experiments themselves. The bill is simply not concerned with the period of time during which an animal is undergoing experimentation.

Unfortunately, this important point has been overlooked by the many respected doctors and scientists who vehemently oppose Federal supervision of animal facilities in laboratories. I am hopeful that the Commerce Committee hearings, together with responsible comment like the Times and Courier-Journal

editorials, will dispell this harmful confusion.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Times and Courier-Journal editorials cited above be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, May 23, 1966]

PROTECTING RESEARCH ANIMALS

The Senate Commerce Committee has scheduled additional hearings this week on the difficult problem of drafting legislation to protect the hundreds of thousands of animals used each year for medical research.

The House of Representatives has already passed a bill—limited to dogs and cats—requiring that the Department of Agriculture license and inspect dealers who sell these animals to laboratories. Representative JOSEPH Y. RESNICK of New York and others interested in this problem have presented distressing evidence that some dealers have failed to provide adequate food and water or sufficiently large pens for these animals. As a result, many animals have died or suffered needlessly without serving any medical purpose whatever.

The controversial question before the Senate committee is whether the Federal standards should also apply to laboratories in the period before and after the actual experiments. In our view, this is a reasonable requirement. It would be desirable to extend the coverage of the bill to include monkeys, rabbits, and other vertebrates.

The pending bill in no way regulates animal experiments, but many respected doctors vehemently oppose Federal supervision of animal facilities in laboratories because they view it as the first step toward Government controls over the conduct of experiments. As we have stated in the past, we believe it would be possible to devise criteria affecting the duration and painfulness of experiments without stifling research. However, that question does not arise under the pending bill, and Congress at present shows little disposition to consider it. On its own merits, a bill to regulate the facilities for animals before and after the experiments deserves enactment.

[From the Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., May 16, 1966]

WE OWE DECENCY TO THE ANIMALS THAT DIE FOR US

Last month, Kentuckians were shocked by an incident that took place on a Lexington street. Police stopped a truck which was crammed with 151 dogs. A veterinarian called to examine them said they were "stuffed in cages" that were cruelly overcrowded. He found one dog dead, and no food or water whatever for the wretched survivors. More than 500 animal lovers rushed forward to try to ransom the dogs out of their prison. The drivers of the truck explained, however, that they were under contract to deliver the animals for laboratory experimentation in another state. Each of the drivers was fined \$100 for cruelty to animals, but the truck rolled on to its destination.

This is the kind of incident that has produced more letters on protection for laboratory animals than on any legislation before the current session of Congress. A large majority of Americans believe in the necessity of animal experimentation for the benefit of human health. Millions who hold that view, revolt, however, when such work is allowed to entail needless anguish for the animals involved.

Proper, decent safeguards are written into two bills now before the Senate Commerce Committee. They are S. 3059, sponsored by

Senator SCOTT, and S. 2322, sponsored by Senators CLARK, MAGNUSON and BREWSTER.

WHY ACTION IS BLOCKED

These measures require humane standards of care for animals in the hands of dealers, in transit, and in laboratories. They do not touch the issues of control over actual laboratory experiment.

Bills for the protection of laboratory animals have been grinding along in Congress for the past six years. They have been blocked in various committees. Public sympathy is aroused, but it has been diffused and dissipated among the various measures. Now it is possible to get a vitally needed reform into effect this very year. Such a simple and forthright measure as S. 2322 or S. 3059 could be released quickly from the Commerce Committee and voted into law without further long delay.

The frantic barking and howling of the dogs trapped in the truck on the Lexington street continued to haunt those who came near, long after the vehicle had lumbered away. Such cries of help from animals marked for laboratory use ring in the ears of men and women of conscience everywhere.

We exact from these animals the sacrifice of their lives for our welfare. Surely we owe them in return a humane standard of care until they meet their death.

DISCRIMINATION AND DUE PROCESS

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, my deep and continued interest in administrative practice and procedure causes me to call the attention of the Senate to an article recently published in the Federal Bar Journal, volume 25, No. 4, beginning at page 333 entitled "Discrimination and Due Process." The author of this article, Conrad D. Philos, is a past national President of the Federal Bar Association and has given considerable research and thought to many of the problems that are arising in the administrative process as our Government gets more complex.

Due to the article's length, I will not place the entire text in the RECORD, but I would like to point out the article comments on the many issues raised by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It indicates the need to establish a sound legal approach in the enforcement and implementation of the act. I am sure all who are interested in the act will find Mr. Philos' article valuable reading.

I also take this occasion to commend the Federal Bar Association for the many articles and panels published down through the years on the developing process of administrative law. When the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was before the Senate, the Federal Bar Journal devoted one entire issue to this important subject, with many articles on both sides, in the legal sense, by several Senators and outstanding legal minds in the Nation under the direction of Justice Stanley F. Reed, retired, of the Supreme Court.

WHY NOT CONFESS ERROR?

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, what a wonderful thing it would be if President Johnson would take a new look, would squarely face the increasingly apparent truth that our military involvement in South Vietnam has been and is a

tragic error. It is, of course, difficult for the head of the State, one proud and sensitive and accustomed to success—which he has so brilliantly achieved in his domestic program—to admit that the path that he has been following in southeast Asia is mistaken. But the evidence is becoming overwhelming day by day that we have no business militarily in Vietnam, that increasing bombing and violence are no solutions, that we can only get ourselves involved more and more deeply with steadily diminishing prospects of a decent solution. The time, it seems to me has come—indeed is overdue—when error should be confessed and every step taken to reverse the existing policy.

Judging from the President's Chicago speech on May 17, he wants every candidate for election in November to support his war policy in southeast Asia. But why hang that albatross around our fellow Democrats' necks? The Democrats have a record in domestic affairs of which all can be proud. The performance of the 1st session of the 89th Congress by both the President and the Congress was unsurpassed in our history. Why let our folly in Vietnam nullify that great achievement?

Our dilemma is realistically discussed in a lucid and forthright column by Walter Lippmann entitled: "Moment of Truth," which appeared this week in the Washington Post. Walter Lippmann analyzes the steadily deteriorating position of the United States in Vietnam and points out that:

We shall increasingly be fighting alone in a country which has an army that is breaking up and a government which has little authority.

And he concludes:

The moment of truth comes inexorably when a radical mistake has been made. The mistake in this case has been to order American troops to fight an impossible war in an impossible environment. The American troops, which may soon number four hundred thousand men, are committed to an unattainable objective—a free pro-American South Vietnam. They are commanded to achieve this on a continent where they have no important allies, and where their enemies have inexhaustible numbers.

The situation, not anyone's pride or the Nation's prestige, must be our paramount concern.

I ask unanimous consent that the entire column be printed in the RECORD.

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

MOMENT OF TRUTH

(By Walter Lippmann)

The hardest question facing us at the moment is whether or not the disintegration of the Saigon government and the army can be stopped and reversed. The official position is, of course, that it can be.

But there is little evidence to support the official will to believe, and there is mounting evidence that General Ky or anyone like him is in an irreconcilable conflict with the weary people of Vietnam. There is no prospect now visible that the South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnamese army can be united and rallied for the prosecution of the war.

Unless this condition changes radically, we shall increasingly be fighting alone in a

country which has an army that is breaking up and a government which has little authority.

We can already see on the horizon the possibility of an American army fighting on its own in a hostile environment. We must hope that the President and his strategic planners are prepared for such a development. For if the South Vietnamese government and army continue to disintegrate as it is now the case, our troops may find themselves without serious organized military support, and forced to find their way in a seething unrest where friend and foe are indistinguishable.

If the Saigon forces disintegrate, it will no longer be possible to continue the war on the theory that the mission of our troops is to smash the hard core of the enemy while the Saigon troops occupy and pacify the countryside. What then? We shall be hearing from the Goldwater faction, whose first article of military faith is unlimited belief in airpower. They are arguing that the way to repair the breakdown in South Vietnam is to bomb Haiphong and Hanoi in the north. The Administration, as we are told by Secretary McNamara and Mr. Brown, the Secretary of the Air Force, knows the folly and the futility of that course of action.

Is there any real alternative to a holding strategy, sometimes called the enclave strategy, pending the negotiation of a truce and agreement for our phased withdrawal from the Asian mainland? If the Vietnamese war cannot be won by the Air Force, if it cannot be won by American troops fighting alone in South Vietnam, what other strategic option is there?

The only other option would be to make no new decisions, pursue the present course, and hope that things are not so bad as they seem, and that something better will turn up. The President is bound to be strongly tempted to take this line. The alternatives open to him are dangerous or inglorious, and repulsive to his cautious but proud temperament.

A great head of government would have seized the nettle some time ago, as long as 1964, and would have disengaged gradually our military forces. But that would have taken a high mindedness and moral courage which are rare among the rulers of men. For rulers of men nearly always will do almost anything rather than admit that they have made a mistake.

Yet the moment of truth comes inexorably when a radical mistake has been made. The mistake in this case has been to order American troops to fight an impossible war in an impossible environment. The American troops, which may soon number 400 thousand men, are committed to an unattainable objective—a free pro-American South Vietnam. They are commanded to achieve this on a continent where they have no important allies, and where their enemies have inexhaustible numbers.

The situation, not anyone's pride or the Nation's prestige, must be our paramount concern.

DEATH OF FORMER SENATOR THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, death cannot diminish the inspiration which Theodore Francis Green has been to so many Americans.

A lifetime of nearly five-score years is an opportunity for exceptional achievement, and Senator Green filled his years with exceptional deeds of public service.

Throughout his career, he was a modern day renaissance man, excelling as a

Roman law scholar and professor, an attorney, businessman, textile manufacturer, State representative, Governor, and U.S. Senator. He was a world traveler, linguist, art connoisseur, and a gentleman whose integrity, wisdom, courtly manners, and warm wit charmed his friends and colleagues.

Senator Green applied his enormous energies without stint to every undertaking, whether it be the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee, the reorganization of Rhode Island's executive and judicial branches, or his demanding regimen of physical fitness.

In many respects, Senator Green was born to be a national leader. But were it not for his tremendous desire to serve, and his courage to overcome 25 years of political defeat, Rhode Island and our Nation would have been deprived of his leadership.

It will always be a source of great satisfaction to me that I was privileged to serve in the Senate with him. He enriched the lives of all who knew him. He was respected by all who worked with him. It is my good fortune to occupy his office, suite 221 in the Senate Office Building. My office is a daily reminder of a man whose values I admire so much.

APPEALING EDUCATOR: MOTHER ELEANOR M. O'BYRNE

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, Mother Eleanor M. O'Byrne announced last week that she will retire as the president of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart in July. Her term as president has witnessed many changes in the college—not just its relocation from New York City to Westchester County, and a substantial increase in the number of students enrolled, but also a steady increase in the standards of educational quality under her intelligent and imaginative leadership. She is in large measure responsible for the retention of a warm spirit among the faculty, staff, and students, a difficult task when an educational institution increases in size and expands the educational opportunities available to its students, and at the same time requests that the students devote greater energies to both studies and community projects. All those connected with the college will miss her intense personal interest in them—and her smile.

The American educational community will also miss Mother O'Byrne. She has contributed fruitful ideas, and has given generous service, particularly in the field of Negro and international education. I hope that her promise to keep in touch will mean that she will continue to give the benefit of her experience and imagination to other college administrators, their students, and to all with whom she comes in contact.

The New York Times reported Mother O'Byrne's decision to retire last week and also published a warm account of her years at Manhattanville in an accompanying "Woman in the News" column. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that these articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

APPEALING EDUCATOR: MOTHER ELEANOR MARY O'BYRNE

She has called herself "the old witch," "Crazy Jane" and "Mother Lollipops," but the secret of her achievements, she confided to an interviewer, is her ability to be a "Jimmy, Jimmy, got anything to gimme." The last characterization was Mother Eleanor Mary O'Byrne's salty way of explaining her success in wheeling money for her beloved Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart in Purchase, N.Y. During her 21-year tenure as president—the school announced yesterday that she will retire in July—she has more than tripled the college's worth, to \$19.1-million, and raised alumnae contributions from \$65,000 in 1945 to \$169,050 last year.

That sum would be just chalk-and-erasers money for one of the universities that count their students in the tens of thousands, but for Manhattanville, with its 935 girls, it is a gift-giving record to make a secular college president, hired chiefly for his ability as a dollar-collector, gnash his teeth in envy.

One reason the gifts come pouring in is the loyalty the college instills in its girls. No student spent four years at the gray stone and brick campus without becoming a first-name intimate of Mother O'Byrne. And she keeps the ties taut with frequent visits to alumnae around the country.

Invariably, on these trips, the Manhattanville graduates proudly present their children, an experience Mother O'Byrne enjoys and prepares for carefully.

LOLLIPOPS, UNLIMITED

"For the first two minutes the children are always perfect," she said. "Then they start behaving normally. That's why I'm always armed with lollipops."

Small, slim, with plump cheeks and bright brown eyes behind rimless spectacles, Mother O'Byrne looks, at first glance, nowhere near the 70th birthday she is approaching this year. And she is in perpetual motion, bouncing quickly down the marble stairs of the administration building, a turreted, granite castle that once was the home of Whitelaw Reid; racing down the walk toward the chapel for a moment of prayer; using even her rare moments of repose for knitting.

She seems to be the living embodiment of the spirit of the college. A frequent visitor said he never would forget seeing her at the head of a line of nuns, passing chairs from hand to hand like a bucket brigade as they prepared the campus for an outdoor concert, and all of them singing lustily "I've Been Working On the Railroad."

A HECTIC MOVING DAY

Another recalled the hectic summer days of 1952, when the college was preparing to move to Purchase from its old center on Convent Avenue in Manhattan.

Ophir Farm, as the place was called when the Reid family owned it, had been churned up into a sea of mud by bulldozers and other heavy machinery as workmen rushed to complete five new buildings. Mother O'Byrne wore heavy overshoes under her long black skirts and waded into the muck and mire to cheer the workmen on.

And when one truck driver shouted to another to ask "Where's this blankety-blank Mother O'Byrne?" she just chuckled over the "blankety-blank" and answered: "Here I am. What do you want?"

Born on Sept. 12, 1896, in Savannah, where she was reared, Mother O'Byrne is the antithesis of the green-gallery Georgia peach, and very much a modern woman. Reproached for the abstract design of the stained glass windows installed in the college chapel in 1963,

she replied: "We are living in a contemporary world—not in the 13th century."

SHE ABOUNDS IN DEGREES

Mother O'Byrne prepared herself for the Sacred Heart Order and for a career of teaching at the Manhattanville College, Fordham University and Oxford University. She has two bachelor's degrees, two master's degrees and three honorary doctorates. In June, she will get two more honorary degrees from Boston College and from Georgetown University.

After completing her studies at Oxford in 1933, she returned to Manhattanville as professor of history, became dean in 1934, and succeeded to the presidency in 1945. In recent years, her work off campus, on committees of distinguished educators, has brought her national fame.

One off-campus work Mother O'Byrne is particularly proud of is her service on behalf of Negro education. In 1953, she began urging the Association of American Colleges to open scholarships and fellowships to Negro students, and she has served as director of Catholic Scholarships for Negroes and as a member of the educational committee of the United Negro College Fund.

MANHATTANVILLE LOSING PRESIDENT: MOTHER O'BYRNE, 69, TO QUIT IN JULY FOR POST "JUST 240 MINUTES AWAY"—STUDENTS IN SERENADE—SING "DIXIE" WHEN THEY HEAR SHE'S LEAVING AFTER 21 YEARS AS COLLEGE HEAD

PURCHASE, N.Y., May 19.—Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart announced today that Mother Eleanor M. O'Byrne would retire as its president in July. She will be succeeded by Mother Elizabeth J. McCormack, academic dean of the Roman Catholic institution.

Now 69 years old, Mother O'Byrne said, "God has left me in good health, and senility has not yet appeared." While still ahead, she went on, she wants to step aside for Mother McCormack, who is 44.

When she had to confide her plan to the faculty this week she waited until the end of a routine meeting when the teachers were about to leave.

"This is the time of year for good-bys, and we can add Mother O'Byrne to the list," she said as tears welled in her brown eyes.

She paused, then said: "There's nothing I want less than good-bys. I'll never leave Manhattanville in interest. In my new work I'll be just 240 minutes away by driving at the legal limit—and I'm sure my friends will do it much quicker."

Her new post will be in Kenwood, the provincial house of the Sacred Heart Order in Albany, where she will set up education and advisory projects.

When the campus grapevine spread the word about Mother O'Byrne, somebody pushed a button in the chapel that started the bells pealing.

Soon most of the 935 students left their dormitories and formed outside the chapel. Their voices rose first in "Dixie" (Mother O'Byrne was from Savannah, Ga.) and then "For She's a Jolly Good Fellow."

"Silly girls," Mother O'Byrne retorted. "This is a strange use of your reading period. I never say good-by." Then she saw Mother McCormack in the crowd and added, "Everybody must know that I am not irreplaceable."

Mother O'Byrne became president of Manhattanville in 1945 when its campus, with 399 students, was in Manhattan. She managed the development of the new campus here in 1952 on the old Ophir Hall estate of Whitelaw Reid.

Mother McCormack, who is from Larchmont, joined Manhattanville in 1944 as an English teacher. She became the academic dean in 1962.

May 25, 1966

laws which subject individual manufacturers or distributors engaged in fraudulent practices in the sale of their goods to criminal prosecution and many States have laws giving the State government the right to seek injunctive relief to procure a remedy against fraudulent practices.

During the Commerce Committee's consideration of this bill, I supported the proposal which requires manufacturers or distributors of packaged goods to print on the outside of such packages in clear, understandable, conspicuous lettering the weight, measure, or numerical count of the pieces contained in the package and if the content is not in pieces but in weight, then the weight contents should not be identified in pounds and ounces but in ounces alone to simplify the housewives task in making comparisons.

My interest in protecting the buyer is just as deep as the interest of anyone else, but I do not subscribe to the policy of passing new laws on a given subject when existing laws are adequate to reach the desired objective.

Every time you pass a new law of this type, you create new bureaus with their plethora of public employees bringing about a scandalous, indefensible expansion of public workers duplicating the work that is already authorized under existing law.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I wish to speak in support of the resolution of the senior Senator from Minnesota to establish a Select Committee on Intelligence Operations, as that resolution was ordered reported by the Foreign Relations Committee.

Recent stories in the press indicate that there is a need for oversight over some aspects of the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency with particular reference to the effects of this activity on our general foreign policy. Participation of members of the Foreign Relations Committee will permit and be particularly appropriate to such scrutiny.

It appears, for example, that CIA agents used Michigan State University as a "cover" for intelligence activities, in a technical assistance project undertaken in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959.

What effect does such activity have on our technical assistance projects elsewhere in the world? Surely it gives opponents of U.S. activity in such countries a handle with which to beat our supporters. If so, is the gain from this particular activity worth such a cost? These questions of foreign policy can best be answered by a broadlybased Select Committee.

It is reported in the series of New York Times articles of April 25-29 on the Central Intelligence Agency that the Agency has used money to influence the results of elections in foreign countries on occasions where it appeared that Communists were doing so. Certainly such activity cannot be carried on without becoming known. If the report is correct, how does this affect other foreign policies which we wish to pursue?

The junior Senator from New York recently spoke in this Chamber on the Alliance for Progress, and urged that the United States should take an active part in encouraging democratic forms and traditions in Latin America. I think nearly everyone agrees with him. How is such a desirable policy affected in its execution by the fact that we are in some places using bribery to influence the outcome of elections? Will they not do as we do, not as we say?

Answering such questions involves weighing the intelligence advantages in light of our long range foreign policy—an exercise most appropriately performed by a committee including members of the Armed Forces, Appropriations, and Foreign Relations Committees.

Another question which might well be taken up by the Select Committee is the degree to which our foreign intelligence activities may properly extend into this country. It has recently come to light in the press that Mr. George A. Carver wrote an article on the Vietcong in the April issue of Foreign Affairs without disclosure of the fact that he is a full-time employee of the CIA. The New York Times also reports in its series of articles that the CIA has subsidized U.S. book publishers under circumstances that were not clear. What intelligence goals are furthered by such activities? To what extent do they conflict with historic values and freedoms of our citizens?

The same question may well arise from the position of the Agency, asserted in a slander suit in Baltimore, that its agent when acting under orders, can with absolute immunity slander a man in this country by labeling him as a Soviet agent.

Because these questions extend beyond the intelligence field into areas of foreign policy, I support the motion which would place them within the scope of a select Committee on Intelligence Operations.

VIETNAM: MOMENT OF TRUTH

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, with American battle casualties exceeding those of the South Vietnamese, and with the South Vietnamese fighting one another instead of the Vietcong, the time has come for us to consider what possible justification there is for us to continue fighting in Vietnam.

Incidentally, when I visited Vietnam and Thailand and other places in southeast Asia from last September 28 until October 19, my eyes were opened, and it did not take me very long to see for myself that we were involved in a miserable civil war in an area that is of no strategic or economic importance whatsoever to the defense of the United States.

Our President has two alternatives. One is to escalate the war by increasing our armed forces in southeast Asia, from the present number approximating 400,000 by 100,000 or 200,000 additional American GI's, bombing Hanoi and mining the harbor of Haiphong, and carrying the war more directly to North Vietnam.

The second is to suspend all bombing

of areas of North Vietnam and withdraw to our strongholds, pending the negotiation of a cease-fire and an armistice. This should be followed by elections under the supervision of the International Control Commission or under the auspices of the United Nations, and eventually by the orderly withdrawal of our Armed Forces.

Mr. President, in his usual concise and clear manner, Walter Lippmann, one of the free world's great journalists and outstanding thinkers, has stated the problem extremely well in his column, entitled "Moment of Truth," which was published in the Washington Post on May 24, 1966. I commend this column to my colleagues and am hopeful that administration leaders responsible for Vietnam policy will give serious and careful consideration to the excellent analysis set forth by Walter Lippmann. I ask unanimous consent that his column be printed in the RECORD.

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

MOMENT OF TRUTH (By Walter Lippmann)

The hardest question facing us at the moment is whether or not the disintegration of the Saigon government and army can be stopped and reversed. The official position is, of course, that it can be.

But there is little evidence to support the official will to believe, and there is mounting evidence that General Ky or anyone like him is in an irreconcilable conflict with the war-weary people of Vietnam. There is no prospect now visible that the South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnamese army can be united and rallied for the prosecution of the war.

Unless this condition changes radically, we shall increasingly be fighting alone in a country which has an army that is breaking up and a government which has little authority.

We can already see on the horizon the possibility of an American army fighting on its own in a hostile environment. We must hope that the President and his strategic planners are prepared for such a development. For if the South Vietnamese government and army continue to disintegrate as is now the case, our troops may find themselves without serious organized military support, and forced to find their way in a seething unrest where friend and foe are indistinguishable.

If the Saigon forces disintegrate, it will no longer be possible to continue the war on the theory that the mission of our troops is to smash the hard core of the enemy while the Saigon troops occupy and pacify the countryside. What then? We shall be hearing from the Goldwater faction, whose first article of military faith is unlimited belief in airpower. They are arguing that the way to repair the breakdown in South Vietnam is to bomb Haiphong and Hanoi in the north. The Administration, as we are told by Secretary McNamara and Mr. Brown, the Secretary of the Air Force, knows the folly and the futility of that course of action.

Is there any real alternative to a holding strategy, sometimes called the enclave strategy, pending the negotiation of a truce and agreement for our phased withdrawal from the Asian mainland? If the Vietnamese war cannot be won by the Air Force, if it cannot be won by American troops fighting alone in South Vietnam, what other strategic option is there?

The only other option would be to make no new decisions, pursue the present course, and hope that things are not so bad as they seem, and that something better will turn

they are, the housewife will have one 12-ounce package to compare with another 12-ounce package, and she can draw sensible conclusions when one costs more.

When the regulating agency decides that standards of weight or volume should be set, the industry concerned can move to work out its own voluntary standards under procedures established by the Secretary of Commerce, and it has a year or in some cases a year and a half to do it. We would hope that industry will in most such cases take the lead in establishing standards in a process where consumers are represented, as the bill requires.

The bill authorizes the regulating agency to take other actions when necessary to prevent deception or to permit price comparison. Regulations can be passed to eliminate confusion over "king size," "giant size," and such names in a product line. Labels such as "4 cents off" can be regulated. "Four cents off" what? The producer or distributor who puts the label on does not know, and neither does the consumer.

Such regulations may also be issued to set a quantity for a "serving" when foods are labeled by the serving. I would hate to sit six people down to dinner at my house and give them courses of some packaged foods represented as "serving six." If a "serving" always meant the same thing, I could adjust for it according to my appetite, but the point is that it doesn't mean the same thing each time.

When there is no standard, two persons suffer. The first is the consumer, who unknowingly pays more for a product because it supposedly has more servings. The other loser is the ethical producer—the one who means a full serving when he says "serving." This bill will remove the unfair advantage of the producer who says a "serving" when he means a half a serving.

It may appear that we are talking about pennies, and in the case of any individual item, we are. But the total economic effect of misleading packaging is great, to the individual consumer and to the economy.

In the example of the 33 college-educated housewives who failed 43 percent of the time to select the cheapest product, they paid a total of 9 percent more than they would have if they had selected the cheapest item in every case. We can only speculate how much greater this percentage may be in the case of the less educated consumer, and what impact such higher percentage has on the poor. True, the housewife may not always want the least expensive product. But she should at least be able to tell which it is and select it if she wants it.

The consumer who is a retired person on a small pension, or who has a large family and small salary, is the one most likely to try to select the least expensive goods. And when a consumer family spends up to \$250 per year extra just because it is impossible to tell which items are cheapest, it is not pennies at all.

We talk about preventing inflation. But has anyone realized the tremendous inflationary effect which occurs when

consumers who are buying \$80 billion worth of packaged goods are spending 9 percent more than they need or want to? Nine percent extra spent for such items is greater than the total increase in consumer prices over the last 5½ years. This inflationary effect is caused by misleading packaging practices, and the money goes to those who are engaged in them. It does not go to the people who grow the food. Of the \$105 increase in per capita food expenditures over a 14-year period, less than 1 percent of that money has gone to the farmer.

The consumer will spend less if he can—that is what he is being asked to do to prevent inflation. But he cannot do that unless there is some way for him to determine which product on the shelf is cheaper. Enactment of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act would give the consumer the weapon he needs for his own self-defense.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial from the New York Times of May 22, 1966, entitled "Reforms for the Consumer."

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

[From the New York (N.Y.) Times,
May 22, 1966]

REFORMS FOR THE CONSUMER

After four years of public discussion, committee hearings and extensive revision, a truth-in-packaging bill is now nearing a vote in the Senate. Its approval by the Senate Commerce Committee is a tribute to the perseverance of the bill's sponsor, Senator PHILIP HART, of Michigan.

The bill would afford consumers some necessary and elementary protection when they shop for food, drugs, cosmetics and toilet articles. At the same time it meets many, though not all, of the objections of manufacturers who have expressed fear that strict Federal controls will inhibit competitive merchandising. In its mandatory sections the bill requires manufacturers to state on their labels the exact contents of the package and either a numerical count of its contents or its net weight in ounces. In this way the buyer will be able to compare the prices of different makes and sizes. Misleading verbiage is forbidden. The bill also grants discretionary authority to Federal authorities to develop additional regulations for specific kinds of products.

Although the bill could usefully have been more stringent in some respects, it is nevertheless a reasonable compromise. Its prospects for approval in the Senate appear to be good; but if action is to be completed in this Congress, it is imperative that the House Commerce Committee begin work promptly. And now that the truth-in-packaging bill has finally cleared its committee, this should be a signal to the Senate Banking Committee to take up a companion measure, the truth-in-lending measure introduced by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, of Illinois. Consumers are as unwary—and as much in need of Federal protection—when they go shopping for credit as when they buy food in the supermarket.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, while I voted in favor of reporting S. 985, the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, to the full Senate, I reserved at that time the right to oppose the bill on the floor of the Senate.

I wish to point out that I want to protect the consumer in the fullest degree against any deceptions practiced by the manufacturers or distributors of pack-

aged articles. There is no issue with me about the need of such protection. The issue is whether or not under existing Federal laws, the executive branch of the Government has already been vested with coercive powers adequate to protect the consumer and make the manufacturer or distributor answerable to criminal prosecution and injunctive relief favoring the consumer by ordering a complete cessation of practices that are deceptive.

At present, the Federal laws contain two acts which are intended to protect the consumer:

First. The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act:

Section 403 of this act states that food shall be deemed to be misbranded—first, if its labeling is false or misleading in any particular; second, if it is offered for sale under the name of another food; third, if it is an imitation of another food, unless its label bears, in type of uniform size and prominence, the word "imitation" and, immediately thereafter, the name of the food imitated; and fourth, if its container is so made, formed, or filled as to be misleading.

This section of the act also requires:

First. That labels show an accurate statement of the quantity of the contents in terms of weight, measure, or numerical count; and further second, that all information required by the act to appear on the label must be prominently placed thereon with such conspicuousness and in such terms as to render it likely to be read and understood by the ordinary individual under customary conditions of purchase and use.

While the foregoing major provisions apply only to foods under this act, similar provisions are contained in the act relating to drugs and cosmetics.

It should be further noted that general regulations were issued by the Food and Drug Administration, section 1.9 (1) through (6) amplifying existing law which takes into consideration smallness or style of type, insufficient background, contrast, obscuring designs, etc.

Second. The Federal Trade Commission Act:

Section 5 of this act declares unlawful "unfair methods of competition in commerce, or unfair or deceptive acts or practices in commerce."

Section 12 of this act arms the Federal Trade Commission with additional procedural weapons to combat practices of false advertising of foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics, thus giving these broad provisions coverage over all unfair or deceptive packaging and labeling and advertising practices relating to all products in commerce.

It has been my opinion that under these two acts, the Federal Government is vested fully with the power to bring prosecution against manufacturers or distributors who in any manner practice deception in the packaging of their goods and also vests the Federal Government with the power to go into a court of equity and procure injunctive relief against any manufacturers or distributors who indulge in such practices.

In addition to the two foregoing acts of the Federal Statutes, each State has

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up. The President is bound to be strongly tempted to take this line. The alternatives open to him are dangerous or inglorious, and repulsive to his cautious but proud temperament.

A great head of government would have seized the nettle some time ago, as long as 1964, and would have disengaged gradually our military forces. But that would have taken a high-mindedness and moral courage which are rare among the rulers of men. For rulers of men nearly always will do almost anything rather than admit that they have made a mistake.

Yet the moment of truth comes inexorably when a radical mistake has been made. The mistake in this case has been to order American troops to fight an impossible war in an impossible environment. The American troops, which may soon number 400 thousand men, are committed to an unattainable objective—a free pro-American South Vietnam. They are commanded to achieve this on a continent where they have no important allies, and where their enemies have inexhaustible numbers.

The situation, not anyone's pride or the Nation's prestige, must be our paramount concern.

GALLANT SHIP AWARD CEREMONY ON CAPITOL STEPS TO "JAPAN BEAR"

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, yesterday, on the steps of the Senate wing, an intrepid American merchant mariner, his officers and crew of the ship the *Japan Bear* were honored for a great act of courage and heroism performed a year ago last January when the Chinese Nationalist vessel radioed an SOS as it was breaking in two, and the *Japan Bear* came to its rescue.

The captain of the *Japan Bear* is Kenneth A. Shannon. I am proud to observe that he is a fellow Californian.

The ceremonies took place under legislation adopted in the 84th Congress and sponsored by one of the great leaders in the field of maritime legislation in Congress, our friend, the distinguished senior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON].

The Senator from Washington spoke yesterday at the ceremonies. It was an eloquent tribute at the time that the Gallant Ship Award was given to the ship the *Japan Bear*.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of the comments made by the Senator from Washington.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR WARREN MAGNUSON AT GALLANT SHIP AWARD CEREMONY

It is a special pleasure for me to be here to present the Gallant Ship Award to the *Japan Bear*. I have long been deeply aware of the selfless courage exemplified by American seamen and concerned that it be properly recognized. It was for that reason that I sponsored Public Law 769, which was passed by the 84th Congress, and it is for that reason that I am here today.

We expect our American seamen to be courageous. Even their way of life is barred to the fainthearted, for they leave home and shore far behind them as they venture to the farthest reaches of the earth. No matter how new and modern their vessel, they must always beware of the power of the sea which,

when enraged by storm, is a fearful adversary. Thus their very calling requires courage. How much greater is the demand when they face the elements in a rescue at sea. It is only just that we recognize how magnificently they respond.

I am proud of the men who man our ships—men like the crew of the *Japan Bear*, acting in the highest tradition of the sea. Their courage is unchallengable and their willingness to come to the aid of others is known throughout the world. I am proud of the superb seamanship which enables them to successfully battle the elements, and I am proud of the safety of American ships—the safest in the world.

No words can better praise the men of the *Japan Bear* than the simple story of what they did. I would like to read the Unit Citation so that all may know and admire these men.

"During the early morning of January 13, 1965, the *Japan Bear* received an SOS from the Chinese Nationalist Ship *Grand*, immediately altered course and raced to intercept the distressed vessel. Late that afternoon in heavy seas rendezvous was made with the *Grand*. The vessel had broken in two; only the stern section remained afloat and that was settling rapidly. The *Grand's* remaining lifeboats were damaged and the survivors huddled on deck. The Master of the *Japan Bear* immediately assumed on-scene command and ordered other arriving vessels to strategic positions about the stricken vessel. A lifeboat was launched in an attempt to remove the survivors, but the wind and waves made this impossible, and it was only after a supreme effort that the lifeboat and its crew were recovered. In a display of skillful seamanship, an unmanned lifeboat was towed to a position where it would drift alongside the wreck and nine survivors jumped into the boat. When the lifeboat floated clear of the wreck, the *Japan Bear* maneuvered alongside and hauled the survivors safely on board.

"The courage, resourcefulness, expert seamanship and teamwork of her Master, officers and crew in successfully effecting the rescue of survivors from a sinking ship have caused the name of the *Japan Bear* to be perpetuated as a Gallant Ship."

The *Japan Bear* today joins a select company. Only 17 other ships have been designated as Gallant ships. Nine ships were cited for actions in which they participated during World War II, three for their part in the *Andrea Doria* rescue, one for a mass rescue of 14,000 civilians during the Korean conflict, one for a rescue off Alaska in 1959, one for the rescue of all 47 crewmen of a sinking Japanese ship on the edge of a typhoon, one for the rescue of nine survivors of a Chinese ship off Formosa in 1963, and one for the rescue of 18 survivors of a Liberian ship off the Japanese Coast in 1964.

It is with great pride that I present to you, Captain Shannon, and through you to your officers and crew and to Pacific Far East Lines, the Gallant Ship Plaque. This beautiful bronze award carries on it for all to read the story of your gallant ship. I also present to you for the crew the Gallant Ship Citation Bar which all 60 members of your crew will have the honor of wearing.

To you, Captain Shannon, for your magnificent display of seamanship and to the five members of your crew who manned the lifeboat that awful, stormy day, I am proud and honored to present Merchant Marine Meritorious Service Medals. I present them to you on behalf of Thomas Cresci, Leland M. Faraola, Alfred J. Gluck, Julius Hudzik, John J. Kerlin, and yourself, Captain Kenneth A. Shannon. Finally, I present to you for the Radio Officer of the *Japan Bear*, Lambert F. Champion this letter of Commendation.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 additional minutes.

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

PHILIPPINE BROOM—WALIS NATING TING

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, in April of this year, the Philippine House of Representatives, by a vote of 45 to 6, approved the dispatch of an engineering battalion to aid in the struggle for freedom in South Vietnam. The Philippine Senate is now debating that question. It has been proposed that this Philippine battalion join the forces of the United States, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries, in helping to defend the people of South Vietnam.

Mr. President, we live in a world where free nations are interdependent. There is a wise and unique saying in the Philippines about a locally made broom which is called the walis na ting ting. This broom is made of tiny ribs of ting ting. A single rib is weak and brittle, but not even the strongest of men can break the ting ting when they are joined together.

Thus it is with free peoples joined together to deter aggression, or if unhappily, it becomes necessary to combat it.

On March 1, Senator Francisco Soc Rodrigo spoke out in the Philippine Senate in support of sending Filipino forces to southeast Asia. In a clear discussion of the issues as seen through the eyes of a patriot of the Philippine Republic, the senator pointed out how the contributions of small nations can be joined, like the walis na ting ting and, more importantly, how vital to national self-respect and sovereignty it is for these nations to participate in the defense of the freedom of their neighbors.

If there is any aspect of diplomacy of southeast Asia today that should give us heart in these troubled times, it is the support given by free and independent nations in the far Pacific to the cause of a free South Vietnam.

In his speech, this fellow legislator, recalled the words of that great and gallant American soldier, Douglas MacArthur. He also recalled the words of the first Filipino President after the United States of America brought freedom and independence to our gallant friends in the Philippines. He made his speech with great eloquence, which commends itself to reading by all Senators. I therefore ask unanimous consent that a major portion of the Senator Rodrigo's speech entitled "Help the Philippines by Helping South Vietnam" be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HELP THE PHILIPPINES BY HELPING SOUTH VIETNAM

(Privileged speech delivered by Senator Francisco Rodrigo on the floor of the senate on Mar. 1, 1966)

Some friends of mine advised me against coming out openly with my stand on the raging issue of sending an Engineering Battalion with security support to South Vietnam. They called my attention to the fact

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that I might be running for reelection next year, and therefore it would not be politically prudent for me to make a public stand on a very controversial issue such as this. They said I would be better off if I played it safe; kept quiet; and maybe just cast my vote without participating in the public discussion of this issue.

I appreciate the well meaning intention of these friends of mine, but I cannot follow their advice. My conscience tells me that I have no right to again face our people as a candidate if I do not have the courage to face them with my stand on an issue which vitally concerns the security of our country. I would rather not run for re-election than run away from the performance of a very important, though very difficult, public duty.

Mr. President, since last year, I had already formed my opinion on this subject. I was in favor of H.B. No. 17828, recommended by then President Macapagal, appropriating the sum of P25-million, for the same purpose. I arrived at this decision after a conscientious study of all arguments, pro and con, always bearing foremost in my mind the security and best interest of our country.

Since last year to the present, there has been no change in the situation to warrant a change in the stand I had taken. If anything, the threat to our security has intensified.

The only significant change is in the local political scene. There is now a new administration. While H.B. No. 17828 was recommended by President Macapagal, who belongs to my party, the present bills on the subject are recommended by President Marcos, who belongs to the opposite party.

This fact is no reason for me to change my stand. The issue involved is of such vital importance to our people that our approach to it must transcend partisan motivations.

I appeal to our people to place this issue above party; and above petty prejudices and irritations. Let us not be guided by emotionalism. Let us illumine our judgment by a dispassionate, objective, courageous and patriotic appraisal of present facts and future consequences.

And let us not allow the discussion of this issue to degenerate into name-calling and personal recriminations. Let us not endanger our national unity by dividing our people into two hostile camps—branding one camp "doves" and the other "hawks"; or labeling one side pro-communists and the other puppets of America. Let us anchor our debates to the factual and sober premise that all of us, brother Filipinos, are motivated by what we believe is to the best interest of our country and people.

Among the very first pronouncements made by the Filipino people in the Constitution is our adherence to democracy.

In the very first section of the "Declaration of Principles", our people declared that "The Philippines is a Republican State. Sovereignty resides in the people and government authority emanates from them."

In the same Constitution, we imposed upon ourselves the duty to safeguard this democracy, not only for our generation but for generations yet to come. Thus, in the preamble of our fundamental law, the Filipino people announced that one of the basic purposes of ordaining and promulgating the Constitution is to "secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty and democracy."

In the pursuance of this great objective, our people, in the second section of the Declaration of Principles, imposed upon the Philippine government and all Filipino citizens the following solemn obligation: "The defense of the State is a prime duty of the

government, and in the fulfillment of this duty all citizens may be required by law to render personal, military or civil service."

The very first law enacted by our National Assembly, after the promulgation of the Constitution, was Commonwealth Act No. 1—the National Defense Act. The fact that our National Assembly gave topmost priority to this law; the fact that it did not enact any other statute before it had enacted Commonwealth Act No. 1, demonstrates that the members of that body considered every other action futile until they shall have provided for the military defense of our country.

I pointed out this basic policy laid down in our Constitution lest our people be misled by the repeated emphasis placed by the opponents of the Vietnam bill on a subsequent constitutional declaration that "The Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy".

I want to make it clear to our people that this principle does not mean that this country should never resort to military action in defending itself against aggression, and in securing to our people and our posterity the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty, and democracy.

In the light of these principles, any help that we send to our beleaguered allies in South Vietnam, would be in response to the sovereign mandate of our people.

We will be helping in the preservation of democracy which, in South Vietnam, is imperiled by communist aggression.

We will be acting in defense of the State by helping prevent the tide of aggression from approaching our shores.

We will be helping secure to ourselves and to our posterity the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty and democracy, for unless the tide of communist aggression is contained in South Vietnam, all these blessings will be in serious jeopardy.

B. OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE IS BASED ON COLLECTIVE SECURITY

I want to make it clear that the plan to send help to South Vietnam is not just a product of a "good neighbor policy", but is actually part and parcel of our national defense effort.

This is so because the basic philosophy of our national defense is collective security.

Being a small and weak nation, we know that, alone, we are sadly lacking in resources to put up a military establishment strong enough to defend our country. We know, however, that there are many countries in the world—big or small, strong or weak—that are willing to enter into treaties of collective defense with us, because of mutuality of interests and unity in fundamental beliefs and ideologies.

It was in pursuit of this national policy of collective security that we entered into a mutual defense agreement with the United States, and allowed her to maintain military and naval bases within our territory. It was also in consonance with this policy that we became a member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, together with seven other countries: the United States, Great Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand. The state of South Vietnam, as well as Cambodia and Laos, are included in that Treaty by means of a protocol. Said inclusion entitles these three countries, subject to their request, to the economic measures and military assistance provided in Articles III and IV of the Treaty.

It is also in pursuance of the principle of collective security that the Philippines is a member of the United Nations.

The basic concept of collective security, expressed in simple layman's language, is the following: You undertake to come to the aid of your allies in their time of need, so that they will, in turn, come to your aid when your time of need comes. It is, to my mind,

an application, in international relations, of the golden rule: Do unto others what you want others to do unto you.

Since we rely on collective security for our national defense, and since collective security means helping our allies so that they will in turn help us, I want to erase the misconception in the minds of many people that by helping in the common action of free countries in the war in Vietnam, we are not actually helping ourselves; and that the money we will spend to send an engineering battalion to Vietnam is an expenditure that bears no relation to the defense of our own country.

This is a dangerously wrong concept; and it is our duty, as leaders of our people, to correct it.

Based on the concept of collective security, whatever help we extend to our allies in Vietnam, is not a useless expenditure, but a profitable investment. Using an imperfect analogy, it is like depositing money in a common fund from which we can draw bigger amounts later on, in case of need.

Our Armed Forces are among the smallest and weakest in Asia. And yet, our yearly appropriation for our Department of National Defense, is P284-million, in round figures, for the Fiscal Year 1965-66. For the coming Fiscal Year, the amount proposed for that Department by the President, is P355-million, in round figures.

Imagine the amount we would have to appropriate every year, if our National Defense posture were not based on collective security. Even if we were to allocate our entire budget of over P2-billion for National Defense alone, leaving not a centavo for education, health, public works, and other government expenditures, we would not be able to put up a military establishment strong enough to defend our country, without the help of our allies.

It is a fact that cannot be denied that our adherence to the principle of collective security has saved our country hundreds of millions, if not billions, of pesos.

It is in this light that we must evaluate the P35-million sought to be appropriated in the bill.

Were the defense of our country not based on "collective security", how much more would we be spending every year for our national defense? It would certainly be much, much more.

If we refuse to appropriate this amount of P35-million now to strengthen our position within the "collective security" circle of free nations, how much more would we have to appropriate and spend, if, when the hour of our need comes, our allies deny us the help we seek in the same manner that we rejected their call for help? It would most certainly be much, much more.

And if and when that time comes—and it will come unless the tide of communist aggression and subversion is halted—can anyone say sincerely that we can save our country without the full support of our allies, no matter how much money we pour into our armed forces?

And so, I repeat, let us not view this investment which we are called upon to make within the narrow confines of our vulnerable national boundaries, but in the larger perspective of "collective security" upon which we have to rely for our national survival.

C. HELP STOP THE WAR BEFORE IT REACHES OUR SHORES

It is practically inherent in the concept of "collective security" agreements that some members will be in need of help ahead of the others.

Thus, South Korea, which comes under the "collective security" mantle of the United Nations; and now South Vietnam, which is a protocol state under the SEATO, were confronted with the need, ahead of us, to seek

bers of the Coast Guard with their consent may be designated as, aviation cadets.

"(b) Except in time of war or national emergency declared by Congress, not less than 20 per centum of the aviation cadets procured in each fiscal year shall be procured from qualified enlisted members of the Coast Guard.

"(c) No person may be enlisted or designated as an aviation cadet unless—

"(1) he agrees in writing that, upon his successful completion of the course of training as an aviation cadet, he will accept a commission as an ensign in the Coast Guard Reserve and will serve on active duty as such for at least three years, unless sooner released; and

"(2) if under twenty-one years of age, he has the consent of his parent or guardian to his agreement.

"(d) Under such regulations as the Secretary prescribes, an aviation cadet may be transferred to another enlisted grade or rating in the Coast Guard, released from active duty, or discharged.

"§ 372. Aviation cadets; benefits

"Except as provided in section 402(c) of title 37, aviation cadets or their beneficiaries are entitled to the same allowances, pensions, gratuities, and other benefits as are provided for enlisted members in pay grade E-4. While on active duty, an aviation cadet is entitled to uniforms, clothing, and equipment at the expense of the United States.

"§ 373. Aviation cadets; appointment as Reserve officers

"(a) An aviation cadet who fulfills the eligibility requirements of section 6023(b) of title 10 for designation as a naval aviator may be appointed an ensign in the Coast Guard Reserve and designated a Coast Guard aviator.

"(b) Aviation cadets who complete their training at approximately the same time are considered for all purposes to have begun their commissioner service on the same date, and the decision of the Secretary in this regard is conclusive."

(21) Section 438 is amended by striking out "and section 438 of this title."

(22) Section 654 is amended by inserting the following catchline immediately after the section number:

"Public and commercial vessels and other watercraft; sale of fuel, supplies, and services."

(23) Subsection (b) of section 755 is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The provisions of chapter 13 of this title, except for section 461, apply to members of the Reserve under the same conditions and limitations as are applicable to officers and enlisted men of the Regular Coast Guard."

(24) Section 771 is amended to read as follows:

"§ 771. Applicability of this subchapter

"(a) This subchapter applies—

"(1) only to the Coast Guard Reserve;

"(2) equally to women members of the Reserve except where the context indicates otherwise.

"(b) This subchapter does not apply to temporary members of the Coast Guard Reserve."

(25) The analysis of chapter 11 is amended—

(A) by striking out—

"334. Retirement in cases where higher grade has been held."

and inserting in place thereof:

"334. Grade on retirement."

(B) by inserting the following new items:

"371. Aviation cadets; procurement; transfer.

"372. Aviation cadets; benefits.

"373. Aviation cadets; appointment as Reserve officers."

(26) The analysis of chapter 13 is amended by striking out the following items:

"462. Pay and allowances of rear admirals.

"464. Allotment of pay.

"465. Advance to officers ordered to and from sea or shore duty beyond the seas.

"466. Settlement of accounts of deceased officers and men.

"474. Compensation for travel tolls and fares.

"504. Disposition of remains of personnel.

"505. Escorts for deceased officers and enlisted men.

"506. Issue of national flag free of cost."

amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (e) of section 415 is amended by striking out "435" and inserting "214" in place thereof.

(2) The second sentence of section 402(c) is amended by deleting "or" between Air Force and Marine Corps in both places that it appears and by inserting ", or Coast Guard" after Marine Corps in both places where the latter appears so that the sentence will read as follows: "An aviation cadet of the Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard is entitled to the same basic allowance for subsistence as is provided for an officer of the Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, respectively."

Sec. 3. Subsection (e) of section 5 of the Act of September 24, 1963 (77 Stat. 193), is amended by adding the following at the end thereof: "An officer of the Regular Coast Guard who was appointed as a permanent commissioned officer under any provision of law in effect prior to the effective date of this Act and who is serving on active duty shall be considered to have been appointed under section 211 of title 14, United States Code, and subject to the provisions thereof."

Sec. 4. Section 202 of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C. 1082), is further amended by adding the following paragraph:

"(36) civilian members of the faculty of the Coast Guard Academy whose compensation is fixed under section 186 of title 14, United States Code."

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 11781) was laid on the table.

"COLLAPSE OF BUDDHIST MYTH"

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include a newspaper article.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I am putting in the Record an article which appeared in the Washington Star yesterday entitled "Collapse of Buddhist Myth."

It tells of 40 newspapermen who were trapped in a Buddhist pagoda and who were enticed there by these phony alleged "monks" who told them there was going to be a press conference there.

Mr. Speaker, this article ought to be must reading for every Member of Congress. It tells how these Buddhist bonzes dragged bodies in from the streets—bodies of people who were shot by their own men. Then they attempted to fake a scene and have the bodies set up in different positions as though they had been shot inside the pagoda so the American newsmen could take pictures and send them back here, which pictures would purport to show the brutality of American troops and the brutality of the South Vietnamese troops.

The writer of this article says that the scales were knocked from the eyes of the newspaper crew in Saigon. I

think it is about time the scales were knocked from the eyes of a lot of Americans who talk about these Buddhist bonzes as being members of a religious order. The fact is that they are politically inspired power grabbers and a lot of them are bums and beggars and the sooner we wake up to that fact and know what is really going on out there, the better off we will be.

I think everybody ought to read this article.

The article referred to is as follows: [From the Washington Star, May 24, 1966] NEWSMEN ENTICED, TRAPPED—COLLAPSE OF BUDDHIST MYTH

(By Richard Critchfield)

SAIGON.—The collapse of the myth that the Buddhists represented a just but repressed popular cause probably began Sunday night in Da Nang when veteran Associated Press Reporter Robert Poos staggered into the American press camp livid with anger and bleeding from a chest wound.

"The Buddhists trapped us in the pagoda and then opened fire when we tried to get out," Poos shouted with rage.

During the previous hour the scales had fallen from the eyes of some 40 American and foreign newsmen who spent some of the most frightening moments of their lives within Da Nang's besieged Tinh Hoi Pagoda.

In a kind of shock treatment that stripped bare the almost incredible cynicism toward human life of Buddhist monks and rebel political commissars, newsmen were enticed inside for a fictional urgent announcement, then were told it was too dangerous to leave for the remainder of the night after Buddhist forces provoked a heavy firefight with surrounding paratroopers and tanks.

PLACE OF TERROR

Though the word hostage was never used, there was little mistaking the monks' intentions. In the early darkness Tinh Hoi was a place of unutterable terror. Torches flickered from a horror chamber where 26 corpses lay under Buddhist flags and swarms of flies.

Other dead and dying civilians lay on the dusty exposed courtyard ground in pain and unprotected during bursts of heavy fire. Muffled sobs of nearly 100 high school girls and boys mingled with frenzied pagoda gongs and explosions in the nightmarish cacophony.

In a candlelit cell Tinh Hoi's senior bonze, Thich Minh Chieu, held a press conference.

"I fear," he said, his smooth face impassive and pallid, "the paratroopers will attack us tonight or at dawn. I want the press to be here to see it."

FEAR GRIPS NEWSMEN

By then, in an atmosphere of hysteria and fanaticism, several newsmen voiced fears of ending up as corpses in Tinh Hoi's grisly collection of "martyrs." These fears later proved well grounded when in the predawn hours rebel fanatics, or possibly Viet Cong, set up machine guns on the pagoda terrace and started shooting at any rebel soldiers who tried to surrender.

For almost every newsmen there is one particular bit of horror he knows he will never forget. For some it was seeing painfully wounded women lying on stretchers on the ground in a hideously callous display for press photographers. For others it was the corpses, including those of two small children whom the Buddhists claimed the government wouldn't allow them carry out for burial, though we had seen large trucks waving Red Cross flags drive in and out of the pagoda smuggling grenades and ammunition. Perhaps the most cynical and outrageous touch was a wailing baby someone had propped against the body of a dead woman for the photographers' benefit.

(21) Section 438 is amended by striking out "and section 438 of this title."

(22) Section 654 is amended by inserting the following catchline immediately after the section number:

"Public and commercial vessels and other watercraft; sale of fuel, supplies, and services."

(23) Subsection (b) of section 755 is amended to read as follows:

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"505. Escorts for deceased officers and enlisted men.

"506. Issue of national flag free of cost."

Sec. 2. Title 37, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Subsection (e) of section 415 is amended by striking out "435" and inserting "214" in place thereof.

(2) The second sentence of section 402(c) is amended by deleting "or" between Air Force and Marine Corps in both places that it appears and by inserting ", or Coast Guard" after Marine Corps in both places where the latter appears so that the sentence will read as follows: "An aviation cadet of the Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard is entitled to the same basic allowance for subsistence as is provided for an officer of the Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, respectively."

Sec. 3. Subsection (e) of section 5 of the Act of September 24, 1963 (77 Stat. 193), is amended by adding the following at the end thereof: "An officer of the Regular Coast Guard who was appointed as a permanent commissioned officer under any provision of law in effect prior to the effective date of this Act and who is serving on active duty shall be considered to have been appointed under section 211 of title 14, United States Code, and subject to the provisions thereof."

Sec. 4. Section 202 of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C. 1082), is further amended by adding the following paragraph:

"(36) civilian members of the faculty of the Coast Guard Academy whose compensation is fixed under section 186 of title 14, United States Code."

With the following committee amendments:

On page 4, line 5, delete "need" and insert in lieu thereof "needs."

On page 6, between lines 7 and 8, delete "334. Grade on retirement" and insert in lieu thereof "§ 334. Grade on retirement".

On page 6, lines 18, delete "percent" and insert in lieu thereof "per centum".

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries be discharged from further consideration of the bill (S. 2471) to improve and clarify certain laws of the Coast Guard, which is identical to the House bill just passed, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

S. 2471.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title 14, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(1) Section 4 is amended—

(A) by inserting the word "and" at the end of clause (d); and

(B) by striking out "; and" at the end of clause (e) and inserting a period in place thereof.

(2) Subsection (a) of section 42 is amended by striking out "three thousand five hundred" and inserting "four thousand" in place thereof so that the subsection will read as follows:

"(a) The total number of commissioned officers, excluding commissioned warrant officers, on active duty in the Coast Guard shall not exceed four thousand."

(3) Section 44 is amended by striking out "The position vacated by an officer appointed Commandant shall be filled by promotion according to law."

(4) Subsection (c) of section 46 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) An officer who is retired prior to the expiration of his term, while serving as Commandant, may, in the discretion of the President, be retired with the grade of admiral and retired pay computed at the highest rates of basic pay applicable to him while he served as Commandant."

(5) Subsection (d) of section 46 is repealed.

(6) Subsection (c) of section 47 is amended to read as follows:

"(c) An officer who is retired while serving as Assistant Commandant, or who, after serving at least two and one-half years as Assistant Commandant, is retired after completion of that service while serving in a lower rank or grade, may, in the discretion of the President, be retired with the grade and retired pay of vice admiral."

(7) Subsection (d) of section 47 is amended to read as follows:

"(d) An officer who, after serving less than two and one-half years as Assistant Commandant, is retired after completion of that service while serving in a lower rank or grade, shall be retired in his permanent grade and with the retired pay of that grade."

(8) Section 182 is amended by striking out "three" in the first sentence and in-

serting "four" in place thereof so that the sentence will read as follows:

"The number of cadets appointed annually to the Academy shall be as determined by the Secretary but the number appointed in any one year shall not exceed four hundred."

(9) Section 186 is amended—

(A) by striking the words "of the teaching staff" and the words "whose compensation shall be fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended" in the first sentence, by inserting the word "faculty" between "civilian" and "members" in the first sentence, and by inserting a period after the word "require" so that the first sentence will read as follows: "The Secretary may appoint in the Coast Guard such number of civilian faculty members at the Academy as the needs of the Service may require."

(B) by redesigning the amended section as subsection (a).

(C) by adding a new subsection (b) as follows:

"(b) The compensation of persons employed under this section is as prescribed by the Secretary."

(10) Section 190 is amended by inserting the following after the first sentence: "The Secretary may retire any member of the permanent commissioned teaching staff who has completed thirty years' active service."

(11) Subsection (a) of section 211 is amended by striking out "four" in paragraph (4) and inserting "two" in place thereof so that the paragraph will read as follows:

"(4) licensed officers of the United States merchant marine who have served two or more years aboard a vessel of the United States in the capacity of a licensed officer."

(12) Subsection (a) of section 214 is amended by striking out the period at the end of the sentence and adding ", and from licensed officers of the United States merchant marine."

(13) Subsection (b) of section 214 is amended by striking out the period at the end of the sentence and adding ", and from licensed officers of the United States merchant marine."

(14) Subsection (c) of section 214 is amended by striking out the period at the end of the sentence and adding ", and from licensed officers of the United States merchant marine."

(15) Subsection (a) of section 253 is amended by inserting "the officers eligible for consideration," after "to be considered,".

(16) Subsection (a) of section 256 is amended by inserting the words "who are eligible for consideration for promotion to the next higher grade and" before the words "who have not" in the second sentence.

(17) Clause (2) of section 258 is amended to read as follows: "the names and records of all officers who are eligible for consideration for promotion to the grade to which the board will recommend officers for promotion, with identification of those officers who are in the promotion zone."

(18) Subsection (b) of section 332 is amended by inserting the following sentence at the end thereof: "However, this limitation does not apply to retired officers of these grades recalled to serve as members of courts, boards, panels, surveys, or special projects for periods not to exceed one year."

(19) The catchline of section 334 is amended to read as follows: "§ 334. Grade on retirement."

(20) By adding the following new sections after section 370:

"§ 371. Aviation cadets; procurement; transfer

"(a) The grade of aviation cadet is established as a special enlisted grade in the Coast Guard. Under such regulations as the Secretary prescribes, male citizens in civil life may be enlisted as, and male enlisted mem-

May 25, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

10861

Until paratroopers surrounded the pagoda with tanks and armored cars mounted with machineguns just before dusk on Sunday, people had moved freely in and out of secret passageways to the pagoda compound, yet monks had made no attempt to lead the young girls and children to safety. Both Vietnamese and American eyewitnesses near the pagoda claimed many of the dead and dying were victims of rebel snipers' bullets and grenades who were falling in street dragged into the pagoda by Buddhist Boy Scouts.

Tim Page, one of the photographers wounded by a grenade blast as newsmen attempted to leave, after being pulled into a doorway a few yards down the street from the pagoda gate, kept murmuring through bloodsoaked mosquito net wrapped around his head: "Don't take me back to the pagoda. Don't take me back to the pagoda."

Both Vietnamese and American witnesses earlier had expressed their belief that most of the civilians wounded by rebel grenades or sniper fire had been dragged into the pagoda yard by Buddhist Boy Scouts.

If Premier Nguyen Cao Ky's battalions had indeed launched a bloody all-out assault on the pagoda it would have been an epic news story to reporters who survived to describe or photograph it. But a compulsion to stand up for human decency swept the newsmen there in the darkness of Tinh Hol, and their fright became mixed with almost uncontrollable anger.

Despite the real risk of being mowed down by the Buddhist rebels, the newsmen turned their backs on the monks and, waving handkerchiefs and undershirts, marched out the pagoda gates with rebel machineguns trained at their backs. After trying to stop the first group with sniper bullets and a grenade and injuring three, rebels let others pass without firing.

Looking back now with relative calm, the truth is the real civil war in Da Nang probably ended as the reporters marched down the dark street away from Tinh Hol. The rebel leaders and senior bonzes might have defied Ky's troops and triggered a bloody showdown after slipping away themselves at the last moment. But if the pagoda was to be destroyed and scores of women, children, and soldiers massacred, the enormity of such carnage would require the monks being positive in advance that the press would fix the blame on Ky's forces and not themselves.

VIETNAM

(Mr. YATES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, this morning's newspaper carries a fortuitous and significant combination of reports from two speeches made yesterday.

The first by U.N. Secretary General U Thant delivered to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, stressed the fact that he feared the war in Vietnam was becoming a major threat to world peace. He said:

Peace can only be restored by a return to the Geneva agreements and that as a preparatory measure, it would be necessary to start scaling down military operations, and to agree to discussions which include the actual combatants.

Perhaps under these conditions—

He said—

it will still be possible to arrive at an agreement between all powers concerned, and among these the five major powers including the People's Republic of China.

The second newspaper item reported the speech made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk in which he said:

I remain prepared to go to Geneva immediately whenever there is anybody there with whom to negotiate peace.

Mr. Speaker, there is nothing new in the Secretary's expression of willingness to go to Geneva to discuss peace. What is new—and I hope I am not reading something not intended into the Secretary's language—is his use of the term "anybody." Previously, his language had stressed the term "governments."

As I see it, this is a very important breakthrough, for the term "anybody" would appear to include the so-called Vietcong. This is the first indication I have seen that the Secretary is willing to negotiate directly with this belligerent group—and I, for one, welcome it.

I have believed for some time that the Secretary's refusal to deal with the Vietcong has been a major barrier to efforts to establish peace negotiations. A willingness to confer with the Vietcong does not constitute approval either of them or of their demand that they be recognized as the Government of South Vietnam. It would indicate only that as a combatant the Vietcong is an appropriate party in discussions to end hostilities.

Mr. Speaker, we have offered before to scale down our military operations in the cause of peace. Let us hope that this new concession on our part will help break the impasse that now exists, and permit the Secretary General to initiate a peace conference. I urge the Secretary General to renew his efforts now to bring into being in Vietnam a cease-fire and peace negotiations.

MIDDLE EASTERN WAR COULD MEAN GLOBAL DISASTER

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I note in the morning press that Ahmed Shukairy, mouthpiece for the group which calls itself the Palestine Liberation Organization, has been boasting that Arab refugees are being armed and trained by Communist China to wage a war against Israel. I can only interpret this to mean, Mr. Speaker, that the refugees currently sustained and protected by the United Nations, mostly with American funds, are secretly cooperating with the Red Chinese to foment strife in the Middle East. I will ask the State Department to check on the accuracy of Shukairy's claim. If it is true, I shall recommend in the Foreign Affairs Committee and on this floor that the United States suspend immediately all assistance to the Palestine refugees and if unsuccessful, at least to reduce the American share of aid this year. Nothing could be greater folly, it seems to me, than for us to continue to finance an operation which is ostensibly humanitarian but which in reality is opposed, in the most belligerent fashion, to America's peaceful objectives in that area of the world.

Let me also note with some gratification, Mr. Speaker, the decision of our Government to sell tactical jet bombers to Israel. This decision reaffirms our commitment to an arms balance in the Middle East, a balance constantly being upset by purchases by Egypt and other Arab States of modern arms from behind the Iron Curtain. The American commitment, in making the jet bombers available, is an important one.

But I must go on to say, Mr. Speaker, that a peace-loving observer of what is occurring in the Middle East cannot be happy with recent events. The arms race is escalating at a frightful pace, fed on the one hand by the Communist countries, on the other by us. The likelihood of a major conflict seems to grow every day. I do not believe it is in the interest of either the Western bloc or the Communist bloc to trigger war in the Middle East. Both sides stand to be losers. The whole world could easily be engulfed in such strife. I suspect the consequence of a new outbreak of war in the Middle East would make Vietnam look like a Sunday school party. For this reason, I urge our Government to reinstate efforts—not matter how often in the past they have failed—to curtail the arms race in the Middle East. If the Communists or the Arabs will not take the initiative, then we must do it. Middle Eastern war could conceivably mean global disaster.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS FOR ACCURATE REPORTING

(Mr. McDOWELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 23, there appeared in the Wilmington, Del., Evening Journal, the Delaware State News, and on Tuesday, May 24, in the Washington, D.C., Post, and in other newspapers of the Nation and the world on these days, a UPI radiotelephoto and an AP wirephoto which demands the most serious consideration by the Congress. The caption on the AP wirephoto reads as follows:

Baby Weeps Over Mother: Lying wounded on a stretcher, a Vietnamese mother, who was caught between opposing forces fighting in Da Nang, comforts her crying baby while awaiting further aid yesterday.

The UPI radiotelephoto reads this way:

Innocent Bystanders: Sharing a stretcher with his wounded mother, a bleeding baby boy wails in pain after they were hit yesterday in Da Nang during an exchange of fire at the surrounded Tien Hol Pagoda. Rebel holdouts in the pagoda surrendered today to troops loyal to Premier Nguyen Cao Ky.

The origin of these official AP and UPI wirephotos is described in the following manner by a byline story published in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star on Tuesday, May 24, written by Richard Critchfield, Asian correspondent of the Star, and I quote from Mr. Critchfield's dispatch, which is entitled "Newsmen En-

ticed, Trapped: Collapse of Buddhist Myth," the following revealing statement:

Perhaps the most cynical and outrageous touch was a wailing baby someone had propped against the body of a dead woman for the photographers' benefit.

I submit the full text of the Critchfield dispatch:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, May 24, 1966]

NEWSMEN ENTICED, TRAPPED: COLLAPSE OF BUDDHIST MYTH

(By Richard Critchfield)

HAIGON.—The collapse of the myth that the Buddhists represented a just but repressed popular cause probably began Sunday night in Da Nang when veteran Associated Press Reporter Robert Poos staggered into the American press camp livid with anger and bleeding from a chest wound.

"The Buddhists trapped us in the pagoda and then opened fire when we tried to get out," Poos shouted with rage.

During the previous hour the scales had fallen from the eyes of some 40 American and foreign newsmen who spent some of the most frightening moments of their lives within Da Nang's besieged Tinh Hoi Pagoda.

In a kind of shock treatment that stripped bare the almost incredible cynicism toward human life of Buddhist monks and rebel political commissars, newsmen were enticed inside for a fictional urgent announcement, then were told it was too dangerous to leave for the remainder of the night after Buddhist forces provoked a heavy firefight with surrounding paratroopers and tanks.

PLACE OF TERROR

Though the word hostage was never used, there was little mistaking the monks' intentions. In the early darkness Tinh Hoi was a place of unutterable terror. Torches flickered from a horror chamber where 26 corpses lay under Buddhist flags and swarms of flies.

Other dead and dying civilians lay on the dusty exposed courtyard ground in pain and unprotected during bursts of heavy fire. Muffled sobs of nearly 100 high school girls and boys mingled with frenzied pagoda gongs and explosions in the nightmarish cacophony.

In a candlelit cell Tinh Hoi's senior bonze, Thich Minh Chieu, held a press conference.

"I fear," he said, his smooth face impassive and pallid, "the paratroopers will attack us tonight or at dawn. I want the press to be here to see it."

FEAR GRIPS NEWSMEN

By then, in an atmosphere of hysteria and fanaticism, several newsmen voiced fears of ending up as corpses in Tinh Hoi's grisly collection of "martyrs." These fears later proved well grounded when in the predawn hours rebel fanatics, or possibly Viet Cong, set up machine guns on the pagoda terrace and started shooting at any rebel soldiers who tried to surrender.

For almost every newsman there is one particular bit of horror he knows he will never forget. For some it seeing painfully wounded women lying on stretchers on the ground in a hideously callous display for press photographers. For others it was the corpses, including those of two small children whom the Buddhists claimed the government wouldn't allow them carry out for burial, though we had seen large trucks waving Red Cross flags drive in and out of the pagoda smuggling grenades and ammunition. Perhaps the most cynical and outrageous touch was a wailing baby someone had propped against the body of a dead woman for the photographers' benefit.

Until paratroopers surrounded the pagoda with tanks and armored cars mounted with machineguns just before dusk on Sunday, people had moved freely in and out

of secret passageways to the pagoda compound, yet monks had made no attempt to lead the young girls and children to safety. Both Vietnamese and American eyewitnesses near the pagoda claimed many of the dead and dying were victims of rebel snipers' bullets and grenades who were falling in street where dragged into the pagoda by Buddhist Boy Scouts.

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Looking back now with relative calm, the truth is the real civil war in Da Nang probably ended as the reporters marched down the dark street away from Tinh Hoi. The rebel leaders and senior bonzes might have defied Ky's troops and triggered a bloody showdown after slipping away themselves at the last moment. But if the pagoda was to be destroyed and scores of women, children, and soldiers massacred, the enormity of such carnage would require the monks being positive in advance that the press would fix the blame on Ky's forces and not themselves.

Mr. Speaker, there are glaring discrepancies between the AP and the UPI picture story and its caption on Monday and the Critchfield dispatch the following Tuesday, and I demand an explanation by the responsible news media which have brought these two stories to the attention of millions of American newspaper readers. In the absence of such an explanation, the responsibility and accuracy of the American press in its reporting of the war in South Vietnam is immediately subject to question. Either the photographer and these official pictures of the UPI and AP, major news gathering media around the world, were at fault and are guilty of inaccurate and irresponsible reporting, or the reporter, Critchfield, is equally guilty of these charges. Realizing that the American people, as well as world public opinion is entirely dependent upon the reasonable accuracy of the journalists who originate their stories in South Vietnam, there must be no question of the responsibility for accuracy by the wire services and the reporters, newspaper editors, and publishers of these dispatches.

I therefore call upon these private agencies to accept their public responsibility to clarify the marked variances between the two news stories and pictures I have described, and if they are in the wrong, to admit their error and therefore

make such an explanation fully available to the American people. In the absence of any reasonable investigation by the news media responsible for these spectacular stories, I shall call upon proper committees of Congress to make a full investigation of this violation of the responsibility of the press of this country. For, if one single picture or one single major news story can be questioned for accuracy and factual background, then the American public should know this that they may judge their newspapers accordingly. We expect propaganda in the Communist press. Certainly our own free press should not be subject to such a charge.

A GREAT AMERICAN: ANTONIO A. MICOCCHI

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I must speak first for my own State of Florida—and, indeed, for my own city of Miami—in mourning the untimely passing of Antonio A. Micocci, staff adviser to the Cuban refugee program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Tony Micocci moved into the Cuban refugee program in its early days—at a time when all sorts of dire predictions were being made. During those trying times he worked, almost single-handedly in Washington, not only to take care of the physical needs of the refugees from Castroism, but also to look to their future as Americans.

But I speak, too, for all Americans when I pay tribute to this remarkable man. You will recall that, back in February 1961, with Cuban refugees coming into this country at the rate of 1,800 per week, President Kennedy established the Cuban refugee program.

Tony understood that he was working on behalf of a proud people most of whom had never been on relief, but now found themselves stripped of their resources in a strange land. He also understood that the great voluntary agencies of America could help not only with the immediate problems in Florida, but also in finding homes for these brave people throughout the country.

In December of 1961, when doubters were still questioning the program, he told a Senate committee:

The thing to remember is that it took 18 months to resettle 38,000 Hungarians. We have been resettling in the last 2 months at a rate of better than 525 persons a week. That is a measure of the fine job that the [voluntary] agencies are doing and indicates why we don't think we need to panic yet, and why we can do better * * *. We haven't gone in for any drama with this program, not yet, anyhow. Maybe we will have to come around to it. But in spite of that, the rate of resettlement at the end of September was as high as that of the Hungarian program, and now it has exceeded it.

One reason for the deep understanding and great heart which Tony Micocci brought to the Cuban refugee program was that he knew what it was like to come to a strange land with a great hope in your heart. Born in Rome, he came to the United States with his parents at the age of 5—at a time when some peo-