

and on avoidance of lunar contamination. It is a sad commentary on East-West immobility that there hasn't been a treaty before. If its value at this point is as much politically symbolic as effectively real, so be it. Let's have a treaty.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AREA TRANSIT COMPACT

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

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday President Johnson sent to Congress an urgent request for the enactment of legislation that would authorize and approve an interstate compact for the establishment of a Transit Authority with power to plan and propose financing for a regionwide transit system for the District of Columbia area. On the same day, the requested legislation was introduced by Chairman CELLER, of the Committee on the Judiciary—House Joint Resolution 1163. Similar measures have also been introduced by Judge SMITH, House Joint Resolution 1164; Mr. BROYHILL, H.R. 15588; Mr. MACHEN, H.R. 15599; Mr. MATHIAS, H.R. 15600; and Mr. SICKLES, H.R. 15603.

All these measures were referred to the Judiciary Committee and, by it, to Subcommittee No. 3, of which I am chairman.

Recognizing the urgency of a solution to the District of Columbia transit problem, the subcommittee has scheduled a hearing on these measures for June 23, 1966.

#### HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION AMENDMENTS TO NDEA

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

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, since the enactment of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, this far-reaching legislation has been amended and extended to provide, among other things, opportunities for teachers to improve their knowledge and skills through summer institutes.

From the basic act which concentrated on science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and guidance, we have progressed by including institutes in the equally vital subject areas of English, reading, history, geography, economics, industrial arts, disadvantaged youth, school library personnel, and educational media specialists. Through the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, the Congress has recognized the importance of these areas of knowledge also, and, of course, since 1918, and more recently since 1963, we have provided assistance, including teacher training, for vocational education in our secondary schools.

The only regular curricular offering of the schools which has not received attention from the Congress is the vitally important area of health and physical

education. The bill I am introducing today will correct this serious oversight. The measure is identical to H.R. 12928 introduced by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MEEDS], who deserves great credit for his leadership in this matter.

The inclusion of health, and physical education in titles III and XI of the National Defense Education Act is proposed as basic to achieving the maximum results from the Federal assistance given to the other subject areas presently covered in the act. The ideal of ancient Greece of a sound mind in a sound body is not merely an idle cliché. Socrates repeatedly stressed that grave mistakes in thinking are attributed to poor health. Comenius, the 16th century Czech educator noted "to attain the best results physical exercise must accompany and condition mental training." Rousseau maintained that "an enfeebled body enervates the mind." In more modern studies, Arnold Gesell, Arthur Jersild, and Jean Piaget have determined that the earliest learnings of children are motor and form the foundation for learning.

Health and physical education programs have several basic contributions to make to academic achievement. The development of motor skills, the promotion of physical fitness, the social and emotional development which is basic to sound mental health are basic to the child's motivation to learn. Lewis Terman, the famous psychologist has, through research, discovered that physical weakness is found 30 percent fewer times in children of higher intelligence than in those of lower mental ability. There are hundreds of studies which indicate that physical fitness is due fundamentally to achievement of a child's full academic potential.

In health education classes, where they exist, students not only learn about good nutrition, the basis for good vision, and the importance of personal cleanliness, they also learn about the harmful effects of dangerous drugs, such as LSD, of smoking, and of the use of alcohol. Our modern youngsters, subjected as they are through television, magazine advertising and movies to the fetish of sexual attraction as the acme of success, need sound instruction in sex education—an area which far too many parents are too embarrassed to approach, and most teachers fearful of attempting.

Action by this Congress to authorize institutes for health and physical education teachers and of matching funds for equipment—not including athletic equipment—for schools to carry out health and physical education programs would indicate to the educators of this Nation that the Congress does believe in a sound mind in a sound body. To fail to enact such a simple, but basic, amendment, on the contrary, will indicate that we are not concerned with our children's health and fitness. I can think of no reason to oppose this legislation—and the reasons for support are myriad, indeed.

(Mr. GONZALEZ (at the request of Mr. HOWARD) was granted permission

to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

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

[Mr. GONZALEZ' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

#### HEARINGS HELD IN MINNEAPOLIS ON WAR IN VIETNAM—V

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

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, after holding the Friday evening session of expert witnesses and discussion with the panel, the Vietnam hearings in Minneapolis continued on Saturday, first with organizational representatives and then with individual citizens.

It is evident to all of us here in Congress that the citizens of our districts and of the Nation have given much careful consideration to our involvement in Vietnam. It is further evident that they have much to contribute to the process out of which our Nation's foreign policy emerges.

Mr. Speaker, I for one am keenly aware of the role which the people can play and the strength which they can contribute to the policymaking process. For it is they who ultimately give energy and direction to our foreign policy. From my point of view, therefore, the purpose of these hearings was twofold: First, to provide a form, a reasonable form, in which a variety of views could be developed and expressed. Second, to help me to have some better understanding of some of the concerns, the points of interest, and the doubts of people in my district and the immediate area.

I think it would be helpful at this point to place in the RECORD a list of the participants at this conference and a summary of the many ideas expressed on each of five questions I had posed as a focus for the hearings:

#### PANEL

Congressman DONALD M. FRASER, Chairman.  
Gary Crawford, Attorney at Law, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Professor Harold Deutsch, Chairman, History Department, University of Minnesota.  
Dr. Abram E. Manell, Department of State (Dec. 8, 1965 only).

Barbara Stuhler, Minnesota World Affairs Center.

#### EXPERT WITNESSES

(Evening Session, Tuesday, December 7, 1965)

Professor Carl A. Auerbach, Law School, University of Minnesota.

Professor Edward Coen, Economics Department, University of Minnesota.

Professor Rodney C. Loehr, History Department, University of Minnesota.

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personal relationship to another Being higher than himself, and he also expresses his interpersonal relationships to others who share his personal beliefs. The religious dimension is a vertical and horizontal one. To restrict the individual in his free and voluntary expression at the level of the horizontal dimension is in my judgment an unrealistic, unwarranted, and unnecessary inhibition not implicit in our Constitution.

The amendment I propose is an amendment which I hope can enjoy the hearty support of all Americans. It is not intended to divide us, but to unite us. It is designed not to limit us, but to enlarge the potentials for religious liberty for us all. It purposefully calls upon the people themselves to safeguard and extend the intent and purpose of the first amendment.

Robert Frost gave a classic definition of freedom when he said:

You have freedom when you're easy in the harness.

It seems evident that our Nation is not "easy in the harness" on the expression of our religious liberties in our public institutions. Admittedly, there are many horns to this dilemma, but truly free men, if given time, if given patience, and if given purpose, have the capacity to file away these horns and to resolve these dilemmas.

My proposed amendment to the Constitution relating to the exercise of religious liberty reads:

No provision of the first or fourteenth articles of amendment to this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit Congress or a State from permitting any person voluntarily to exercise his religious liberties while he is engaged in activities required to be performed by law. Neither Congress nor a State may prescribe the form or content of such exercise.

The force and influence of our tax-supported institutions dare never be one-sided and favor that element which favors either religion, nonreligion, or irreligion. But that force and influence dare never place an individual into a situation required by law and then restrict him in either personal or corporate expressions of his liberties as long as they are voluntary and the form and content are not prescribed by authorities administering these activities.

I recognize that what I propose here poses practical problems which will call for patient dialog between free men of good will. It will take time to discover ways and means to make such free exercise of religious liberty possible under these conditions. But it will be worth the time, the effort, the discussion, the debate, and the dissent to assure ourselves that we can be certain that no laws are ever made respecting the establishment of religion, and that no laws are ever interpreted to prohibit any American the free exercise of his religion.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MOELLER. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Ohio

for his remarks and to congratulate him upon his introduction of this proposed constitutional amendment.

Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman has well said, throughout the years of American history, the religious faith of our people has run like a golden thread through the history of this Republic. From the time our pilgrim fathers came to these shores seeking a place in which to live and work and worship in freedom to the present time our Nation has been bullded upon the shoulders of people of faith, who have sought through the years to make and keep this a nation under God. Our Founding Fathers, the framers of the Constitution, demonstrated this by their frequent references to Deity and by invoking His divine blessings upon their endeavors.

Mr. Speaker, in the Continental Army there were chaplains to serve the men who were fighting for liberty and for the establishment of this Nation. From that time until this the chaplaincy has been a vital part of our Military Establishment. The Congress itself has its Chaplains of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, we have sought recognition of the religious faith of our people and the desire of so many of us to keep our country a nation under God. Yet, we have also been concerned with maintaining the strict separation of church and state, with maintaining a situation in which the people could have complete freedom of religion, but in which there could be no state religion, no state-prescribed religion or establishment of religion by the Congress or by the several States.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MOELLER] in his amendment has sought recognition of these twin necessities in the area of religious liberty; that our interpretation of the principle of the separation of church and state should not take such form that we could in fact circumscribe and limit the free exercise of religion by American citizens.

Mr. Speaker, we do not seek freedom from religion but freedom of religion here in this country.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MOELLER] has specifically included in his amendment the safeguard that neither the Congress nor the State would prescribe forms of religious instruction or the content of any religious exercise.

It seems to me the gentleman is on the right track toward solving a difficult problem, and an important problem in our country in our time. Certainly, this Nation cannot endure unless it remains a nation under God. Surely, we cannot seek freedom from religion in our country. The gentleman would guarantee to Americans free exercise of their faith, and yet protect them from State established or State promoted religious exercises. I congratulate the gentleman and will certainly join in support of his amendment.

Mr. MOELLER. I thank the gentleman for his very fine statement.

I think we must recognize the fact that

should an amendment such as this be adopted regardless of what interpretation might be placed on it by school administrators, we at least are safeguarding for those who are engaged in any kind of activity required by law the right to a religious exercise. Most of all it would, as the gentleman has so ably pointed out also, safeguard our military men so far as the services of chaplains in various branches of the military is concerned, as well as also making absolutely sure that the House of Representatives and the Senate should they so choose may at all times have a chaplain for their spiritual ministry.

I appreciate also the gentleman's comment of support. I hope we can generate the necessary enthusiasm in committee and see to it that this amendment might be brought to the floor for consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CAMERON). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

[Mr. CHAMBERLAIN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

## A MOON TREATY

(Mr. DADDARIO (at the request of Mr. HOWARD) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the spectacular soft landing of our Surveyor spacecraft on the moon focuses attention on the urgent need expressed by President Johnson last month for a treaty on space.

Now the Russians have come to the United Nations with a similar request. In fact, the Soviet proposal is so much like President Johnson's that the Washington Post suggests the U.N. should have no trouble in concluding an international agreement.

The Post says:

If its value at this point is as much politically symbolic as effectively real, so be it. Let's have a treaty.

I ask that the Post editorial be made a part of the RECORD.

## TOWARD A MOON TREATY

The Soviet proposal for a peaceful-moon treaty is so much like the three-week-old American proposal that the United Nations should have no trouble making a treaty. The earlier Luna flights and now the Surveyor mission demonstrate the timeliness of international agreement on unrestricted, peaceful exploitation of the moon and other heavenly bodies. No less useful would be the earth-bound recognition of common purpose that Soviet-American negotiation of a moon treaty would represent.

Procedural differences exist; one hopes the Russians inserted them merely to draw attention from their tardiness in submitting a draft. Substantively their proposal seems fine, a happy overlap of scientific and political purposes, although it does not pick up President Johnson's suggestions on mutual aid by astronauts and cosmonauts in trouble

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Professor Charles H. McLaughlin, Chairman, Political Science Department, University of Minnesota.

Professor Wesley St. John, Political Science, Hamline University.

Professor Burton N. Stein, History Department, University of Minnesota.

Professor Romeyn Taylor, History Department, University of Minnesota.

ORGANIZATION WITNESSES

(Morning Session, Wednesday, Dec. 8, 1965)  
 Colonel Vernal L. Boline, Commander of the Minneapolis Chapter, Disabled American Veterans.

William C. Braatz, Socialist Labor Party.  
 Erik A. Dundurs, President, Council for Liberation of Captive Peoples from Soviet Domination.

Lynn M. Elling, Chairman, Minnesota Branch, United World Federalists.

Grace Gibas, Minnesota Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Joseph Johnson, Socialist Workers Party.  
 Howard L. Kaibel, University of Minnesota Young Democrats.

Ronald V. Kenitz, Commander, Department of Minnesota, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Robert W. McCoy, President, American Humanist Association.

Stanley Nesheim, American Friends Service Committee of the Minnesota Area.

Vance Opperman, Students for a Democratic Society.

Mrs. Harlan D. Root, Minneapolis League of Women Voters.

Janet Rovick, Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Daniel J. Slater, Chairman, Minnesota Citizens Legislative League.

Professor Harlan Smith, Committee on International Affairs, Minnesota Council of Churches.

Arthur Sternberg, Minnesota Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Professor Burnham Terrell, Chairman, Committee on Ministry and Counsel, Twin Cities Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

Margaret M. Thompson, President, Minnesota Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Frank Verrall, Jr., Twin Cities DuBois Clubs.

Denton Wilson, Chairman, University of Minnesota Republican Association.

INDIVIDUAL WITNESSES

(Afternoon session, Wednesday, Dec. 8, 1965)

Professor Henry E. Allen, 1917 James Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Norton L. Armour, 107 Arthur Avenue Southeast, Minneapolis, Minn.

James S. Beck, 180 Bedford Street Southeast, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mrs. Wright W. Brooks, 5056 Garfield Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Martha Cohn, 2420 Seabury Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

Brian J. Coyle, 421 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Bernard Cullen, 3711 East 40th Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

Wallace F. Doerr, 3408 Zenith Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mrs. Orin D. Doty, 3625 2nd Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

John Edie, 4832 Queen Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

J. Merle Harris, 3509 Stinson Boulevard, Minneapolis, Minn.

Ward A. Horton, 3440 Colfax Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Orville J. Jorgenson, 3440 47th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Frank Kent, 1103 Olson Memorial Highway, Minneapolis, Minn.

J. Patrick Kitzler, 303 Towle Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

Paul H. Kundzins, 2607 1/2 7th Street South, Minneapolis, Minn.

David B. Leonard, 4853 Russell Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Joseph E. Murphy, Jr., 2116 West Lake of Isles Boulevard, Minneapolis, Minn.

William Musolt, 2200 Flag Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

Richard Nicholsen, 346 Roslyn Place, Minneapolis, Minn.

Lorraine E. V. Peterson, 4243 44th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Martin Pierce, 308 16th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.

Stanley K. Platt, 2002 West Lake of the Isles Boulevard, Minneapolis, Minn.

Larry Selge, 1819 16th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mulford Q. Sibley, Minneapolis, Minn.

Vera Stephens, 3945 Chicago Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

Matthew H. Thayer, 717 University Avenue Southeast, Minneapolis, Minn.

Lawrence G. Western, 312 South 8th Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

SUMMARY  
 QUESTIONS

Witnesses were asked to direct their testimony to one or more of the following specific points:

1. What role might the United Nations play in Vietnam?
2. What more should the United States do to assist the government of Vietnam in the development of stable political institutions?
3. What can be done in the way of economic and social development?
4. What should an acceptable basis be for settlement of the conflict in Vietnam?
5. What lessons should be drawn from a decade of United States involvement in Vietnam?

The questions themselves point up the constructive emphasis which characterize the hearings.

WHAT ROLE MIGHT THE UNITED NATIONS PLAY IN VIETNAM?

The assumption underlying this question was that the United Nations should have a role in Vietnam. The discussion stressed three aspects of the question. First, the proper time and conditions for the United Nations' consideration of and participation in the Vietnamese problem. Second, the consequences of action or inaction by the United Nations. And third, means to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to bring about a settlement in Vietnam.

One witness stated that the United States should not call upon the United Nations to play any part in an attempt to bring about an end to the Vietnamese conflict, for "it is unrealistic to expect action on the part of the United Nations in support of our position and interests."<sup>1</sup> Another believed that the Communist nations have too much power in the United Nations and that we should not bring the issue to that body.<sup>2</sup> A third declared that the United Nations has no "right to be involved in Vietnamese affairs without the consent of the Vietnamese people."<sup>3</sup>

But on the whole, witnesses favored participation by the United Nations immediately or in the future. Most agreed that the United Nations should take a "central place" in the solution of the conflict in Vietnam.<sup>4</sup>

CONDITIONS FOR UNITED NATIONS INVOLVEMENT

One group of witnesses argued that the United States should place the problem be-

fore the United Nations immediately. One person said that the country is violating its obligations under the United Nations Charter and must invite the United Nations to initiate international presence in Vietnam.<sup>5</sup>

A second said the United States must clearly ask for United Nations action because it does not send a task force into a dispute without being invited by at least one of the parties to the conflict.<sup>6</sup> Another believed we bypass the United Nations whenever it suits our own interest; "to do so, said another, is to weaken the fabric of the United Nations as a peace-keeping instrument."<sup>7</sup>

The United States, suggested one person, should introduce into the Security Council or the General Assembly a resolution requesting a ceasefire and suggesting that the 1954 Geneva Conference be reconvened with the National Liberation Front present.<sup>8</sup> Beyond these actions, said someone else, the United Nations should be called upon to determine whether acts of aggression have occurred; to monitor the truce to prevent violations, including infiltration of supplies and men from North Vietnam; to supervise any elections resulting from negotiations; and to sponsor and supervise such projects as the Mekong Delta Project for the economic development of the area.<sup>9</sup>

Others doubted the fruitfulness of United Nations participation at the present. The previously mentioned group foresaw a role for the international organization in bringing about a ceasefire and negotiations. These persons believe the United Nations' role can only begin after the end of military operations. Discussion of this question, along with questions two and three, is "tragically irrelevant in the short term while in the long term and with an end to military operations or their drastic reductions, these points become the most important that one could consider," said one witness.<sup>11</sup>

Other views: The United Nations may later play a vital role in a peacekeeping capacity in the supervision of Vietnamese elections and in social and economic development.<sup>12</sup> At the present, however, only diplomatic soundings by the Secretary General should be carried on,<sup>13</sup> and the United Nations should "act as a medium of communication."<sup>14</sup> The United States should not seek to enlarge this present role, nor should the United Nations.<sup>15</sup> Such action might make the situation worse.<sup>16</sup> These witnesses expressed reservations about the reaction of the Soviet Union: She would not dare to support United Nations action because of the danger of losing control of the Communist world to China;<sup>17</sup> her restraining attitude would disappear, and she would be forced to align herself more closely with China.<sup>18</sup>

CONSEQUENCES OF ACTION OR INACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

The ability of the United Nations to consider the Vietnamese problem was a matter of concern both to those who urged its immediate involvement and to those who favored action by it at a later time.

The former thought that the longer United Nations action is delayed and denied by American military efforts, "the more damage the United Nations will suffer in its capacity

<sup>5</sup> Howard L. Kaibel, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> B. J. Merle Marvis, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Edward Coen, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Norton L. Armour, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Arthur Sternberg, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Armour, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Stein, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Edie, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Professor Rodney C. Loehr, p. 80.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> Stein, p. 78.

<sup>16</sup> Edie, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Loehr, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Edie, p. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel J. Slater, p. 1 (page references are to pages of statements submitted by organization and individual witnesses and to pages of the recorded testimony by expert witnesses.)

<sup>2</sup> Lorraine E. V. Peterson, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Verrall, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Burton N. Stein, p. 15.

to deal with that matter or any other similar matter."<sup>19</sup> These holding this position believed there existed a lack of consistent support for the world body by its large-nation members.<sup>20</sup>

Those witnesses who urged waiting until a truce is obtained before putting the issue before the United Nations stated that the United Nations "has not yet devised methods by which peace can be maintained in situations where one or more of the major world powers believes that they have overriding interests at stake,"<sup>21</sup> for the great powers have not yet accepted peaceful settlements of disputes of that magnitude as a paramount mutual interest and principle.<sup>22</sup> Faced by an unsolvable problem, the United Nations would be dangerously weakened, according to this thinking.<sup>23</sup>

#### STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

Persons from both groups agreed upon the difficulty of settling the Vietnamese conflict by the United Nations without Communist China's membership.<sup>24</sup> The United Nations, to their thinking, may not even function as "an effective vehicle for discussion" as long as it excludes China,<sup>25</sup> although if the Chinese Communists sat on the Security Council they would be almost certain to veto anything done there.<sup>26</sup> To assume a dispute-settling and peacekeeping process built upon the facilities of the United Nations, they said, representatives of four divided countries—China, Vietnam, Korea, and Germany—should be seated in the United Nations as soon as possible.<sup>27</sup>

Another area of agreement was the need for strengthening United Nations peacekeeping force activities. The military and economic commitment to South Vietnam by the United States is so great that in comparison "the United Nations lacks the resources and the power to guarantee the security of South Vietnam," one man stated.<sup>28</sup> That American troops cannot be withdrawn, according to one witness, until a settlement can be guaranteed by the United Nations, emphasizes the urgency to create within the United Nations adequate machinery to meet peacekeeping needs.<sup>29</sup> An automatic method of financing the United Nations, such as a tax on all international trade,<sup>30</sup> is required to support an international police force, was suggested.<sup>31</sup> Also suggested was the reconstruction of the United Nations Panel of Inquiry and Conciliation with appointments made by the Secretary General.<sup>32</sup>

#### WHAT MORE SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DO TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF STABLE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS?

Almost all participants said they appreciated that the problem in Vietnam is by no means military alone and that a great effort to strengthen the political, social, and economic structures of Vietnam and other Southeast Asian nations is needed.<sup>33</sup> Differences arose over the proper means to bring about strong political structures.

#### WHILE THE WAR CONTINUES

One witness stated that our objective is to have an independent government in South Vietnam which is capable of governing in its

own interest. To bring about this independent government, he said, stable conditions must be created by ending the invasion from the north and quelling the insurgency in the south.<sup>34</sup> Although in the short run, it is likely that the peasants of South Vietnam would be better off if the war ended immediately and on any terms, the long-run consequences would be to eliminate true self-determination, said another witness.<sup>35</sup> After the war is won by the present South Vietnamese government, free elections (perhaps supervised by the United States<sup>36</sup>) will be held to establish a constitutional and sovereign government, said others.<sup>37</sup>

Other persons argued that nothing could be done while military actions continue,<sup>38</sup> or there is continuation of aid in any form whatsoever to the Ky regime.<sup>39</sup> Immediate withdrawal is necessary<sup>40</sup> because there is "absolutely no possibility" of the development of stable political institutions in Vietnam "so long as American military forces are present," some said.<sup>41</sup>

#### STABLE INSTITUTIONS

There was general agreement that the end of war will not necessarily bring democracy or the development of stable political institutions in Vietnam.<sup>42</sup> Most believed that the United States has a role there. Some, however, suggested transfer of our involvement to the specialized agencies of the United Nations,<sup>43</sup> because "the opportunity to build political institutions within Vietnam to a point of livable stability would be greater than trying to 'go it alone'."<sup>44</sup> It was pointed out that in its support of President Diem, the United States had not worked to build a democratic government but rather had created one representing a small minority of the Vietnamese people.<sup>45</sup>

The difficulty of fostering stable political institutions through the central government in Saigon was noted in several ways: They cannot be created by a magic reshuffling of politicians.<sup>46</sup> Over a period of eleven years South Vietnam has had leadership which failed to win popularity in the local communities and villages, and there is a lack of understanding among villagers of the role of the Saigon government.<sup>47</sup>

Indeed, the problem of creating stable institutions is greater than mere unification of religious sects whose leaders are very jealous of their authority and not ready to share it, and tribes of Montagnards who are under the absolute rule of their chiefs and hostile to the Vietnamese people.<sup>48</sup> It is not enough to integrate civilian leaders into the power structure of the government.<sup>49</sup> The problem is more complex than just a struggle between Communists and anti-Communists.<sup>50</sup> The government of South Vietnam today is city-oriented, and a better balance between city and country is needed<sup>51</sup> to bring to the whole of the Vietnamese population a sense of belonging to something worth fighting for.<sup>52</sup>

#### UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE

Suggestions for United States aid in political development emphasized activity in the

villages beyond Saigon. These were some opinions: Of primary importance in creating a stable community is immediate relief for large numbers of refugees.<sup>53</sup> The United States can send professional people to train administrators in rural regions and increase Agency for International Development and Peace Corps personnel in the villages.<sup>54</sup> Political involvement by the peasants can be increased by expanding and extending public forums held in provincial councils, in which government programs are explained and peasants have an opportunity to state their problems. This device has been used in Gia Dinh province.<sup>55</sup> Advisory teams of civilians who are fluent in the language, expert organizers, and able in the primary skills of agriculture, sanitation, and health might be developed.<sup>56</sup>

Long-term programs to bring about increased involvement include leadership training of Vietnamese village leaders by institutes here in the United States,<sup>57</sup> increased school construction,<sup>58</sup> and an international university of students from Southeast Asia.<sup>59</sup>

One piece of testimony suggested that the United States encourage the Vietnamese government to adopt electoral procedures consistent with Vietnam's largely illiterate population and highly fragmented society, and similar to a three-tier system of representation promulgated in Pakistan.

On the assumption that the Pakistanis can best choose representatives from among those with whom they are personally acquainted, villagers elect leaders, who in turn elect the provincial government. The provincial governors elect the national leadership.

#### WHAT CAN BE DONE IN THE WAY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT?

The problem of fostering economic and social development looms large in Vietnam. A visitor to the country is impressed by a paradox of "fertile land and rich resources, and of suffering and poverty among the people in the villages."<sup>60</sup> For millions of Vietnamese, war has become a way of life.<sup>61</sup> Bombings have hindered social and economic development<sup>62</sup> of the country with the greatest economic potential in Southeast Asia,<sup>63</sup> although international cooperation in the Mekong River Valley has continued with no interruption.<sup>64</sup>

The central thrust of development must fit a rice-subsistence economy.<sup>65</sup> Although there are gains which American Agency for International Development personnel can help bring about, especially in in-country education,<sup>66</sup> "whatever is done must be done in terms of Vietnamese culture and needs and not in terms of American culture."<sup>67</sup> Moreover, some participants said they believed that economic development is best fostered by a leftist, authoritarian government of the sort which we would not favor on ideological grounds and would hesitate to assist.<sup>68</sup> Finally, some said they believed unilateral assistance suggested American imperialism.<sup>69</sup> For these reasons, most persons who spoke to the point favored a multilateral approach to Southeast Asian economic and social development, perhaps

<sup>19</sup> Stein, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Sternberg, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> J. Patrick Kittler, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Edle, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Professor Romeyn Taylor, p. 83.

<sup>25</sup> Larry Seigle, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Loehr, pp. 79-80.

<sup>27</sup> Kalbel, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> William D. Musolt.

<sup>29</sup> Lynn M. Elling, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Robert W. McCoy, p. e.

<sup>31</sup> Edle, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> McCoy, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Professor Wesley St. John, p. 27.

<sup>34</sup> Loehr, pp. 41-42.

<sup>35</sup> Denton Wilson, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Peterson, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Slater, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Professor Mulford Q. Sibley, p. 3

<sup>39</sup> Seigle, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Vera Stephens.

<sup>41</sup> Seigle, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Paul H. Kundzins, p. 1

<sup>43</sup> Professor Burnham Terrell, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Elling, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Martha Cohn, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Terrell, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> Mrs. Wright W. Brooks, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Cohn, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Wilson, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Loehr, p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>52</sup> Cohn, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Terrell, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> Loehr, p. 43.

<sup>55</sup> Wilson, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> David B. Leonard, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Mrs. Harlan D. Root, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Musolt, p. 2.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. a.

<sup>60</sup> Stanley Nesheim, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Grace Gibas, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Seigle, pp. 2-3.

<sup>63</sup> Nesheim, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Elling, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Loehr, p. 44.

<sup>66</sup> Musolt, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Loehr, p. 44.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>69</sup> Taylor, p. 34.

<sup>70</sup> Sibley, p. 3.

through the specialized agencies of the United Nations in cooperation with non-governmental agencies.<sup>71</sup>

**INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AID**

Continued encouragement of the Mekong Development Committee was urged. The four riparian nations, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam, have shown enthusiasm for the venture and a willingness to cooperate<sup>72</sup> even though they are frequently at odds politically.<sup>73</sup>

In the past half decade, surveys of dam sites, irrigation canals and electric power installations have been done with little interruption by the war.<sup>74</sup> President Johnson stated his commitment to such means of development in his speech at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore on April 7, 1966.<sup>75</sup> The establishment of the Asian Development Bank with assets of one billion dollars was also viewed as a wise step.<sup>76</sup>

Mekong economic plans can help bring political stability to Southeast Asia. North Vietnam might benefit from the electric power generated by the Mekong River.<sup>77</sup> Inclusion of China in the international planning should be hoped for but if it does not occur, United States-Soviet cooperation should not be delayed, in the opinion of some witnesses. Indeed, this cooperation might retract North Vietnam from the Chinese orbit and eventually cause the Chinese to join, some think.<sup>78</sup>

**WHAT SHOULD AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS BE FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM?**

This question elicited the most response from those who presented testimony. There was agreement by most participants that the war is now an international conflict rather than one internal to the Vietnamese.<sup>79</sup> The two goals mentioned as the bases for the United States involvement in Vietnam are first, to help the South Vietnamese maintain or obtain a government free from aggression and intervention by North Vietnam and, second, to contain the spread of Chinese Communism in Southeast Asia.<sup>81</sup> Although the assumptions are not necessarily exclusive ones, the acceptance of one or the other governed the terms of settlement proposed by most participants.

**WITHDRAWAL NOW**

Some persons rejected both assumptions and urged immediate withdrawal of all United States troops.<sup>82</sup> Among their statements: For Americans to remain in Vietnam is to reject the right of self-determination upon which our nation was founded.<sup>83</sup> The United States can give nothing but a right-wing dictatorship instead of a left-wing dictatorship.<sup>84</sup> Our nation, therefore, has no position from which to negotiate, and should withdraw immediately, and stop bombing North Vietnam.<sup>85</sup>

The two Vietnams cannot be unified at the present time; the recognition of the two countries is a political reality.<sup>86</sup> The United States must encourage the Saigon Government to explore with the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) some basis for ending

ing the war, at the cost of having to carry it on themselves, if no agreement is reached.<sup>88</sup>

Our nation should also state its acceptance of the principle of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam by means of free elections and its willingness to see the National Liberation Front included in a coalition government.<sup>89</sup>

**END AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH**

To those participants who accepted the assumption that the United States is in Vietnam to help the South Vietnamese people repel aggression from the north, settlement means ridding South Vietnam of North Vietnamese troops and any Chinese advisers who might be there<sup>90</sup> and pacifying local guerrillas.<sup>91</sup> From this viewpoint, the Viet Cong are terrorist agents of North Vietnam, not an indigenous movement,<sup>92</sup> and are opposed by the people of South Vietnam.<sup>93</sup> No coalition government can be accepted.<sup>94</sup> Only after tranquility is restored can elections be held in South Vietnam.<sup>94</sup> Persons holding this position urged blockading North Vietnamese harbors,<sup>95</sup> bombing of enemy supply lines,<sup>96</sup> more air strikes,<sup>97</sup> and bombing of North Vietnamese missile sites.<sup>98</sup>

**CHINA AND THE SETTLEMENT**

Others believe the presence of the United States in Vietnam is a consequence of the U.S. goal of containing the expansion of Chinese Communism in Southeast Asia. To some who agree with this assumption, if the United States does not make a stand in Vietnam, it will have to make it elsewhere or give up the whole Southeast Asian mainland to China; and the most favorable relative conditions for such a stand exist in South Vietnam.<sup>99</sup> To others, we should not accept Vietnam as a test case for stopping "wars of national liberation," for "we could have hardly found a worse place on the face of the earth in which to prove our ability to accomplish this."<sup>1</sup> Thailand is greatly different from South Vietnam.<sup>2</sup>

The acceptance of the assumption led other participants to suggest cessation of military operations and withdrawal by both sides of military forces in accordance with an agreed time schedule to be followed by elections supervised by the United Nations for the establishment of a government for all Vietnam.<sup>3</sup> The nationalism of a resulting strong, stable, and independent Vietnam might be a counterpoise to Chinese domination,<sup>4</sup> for historically the Vietnamese and the Chinese have been enemies,<sup>5</sup> according to this reasoning. The United States should then undertake to encourage Vietnamese independence of Peking as it has encouraged Yugoslavia's independence of Moscow.<sup>6</sup>

Still other participants who saw the need to contain Chinese expansion said they believed it could best be accomplished by accommodation and cooperation with Communist China. The states of Southeast Asia need enormous long-term economic assistance, according to this thinking, and such

assistance can only be given under a neutralization of the area guaranteed by the United States and China.<sup>7</sup>

Said others: In the short run, a return to the Geneva Agreement of 1954 is necessary.<sup>8</sup> The United States should stop the bombing of North Vietnam and follow immediately with an announcement of willingness to agree to a ceasefire, and, pending such an agreement, with cessation of the bombings in South Vietnam.<sup>9</sup> The United States should declare its willingness to negotiate for the eventual withdrawal of all its military personnel, for a return to the conditions of the Geneva Agreement of 1954, and for the purposes of setting up an economic aid program to a unified Vietnam.<sup>10</sup> Implementation of the Geneva accords would prohibit the presence of foreign troops and foreign military bases in Vietnam, guarantee its independence, unity, and territorial integrity and provide elections to bring about reunification of the two parts.<sup>11</sup>

Withdrawal of troops would be supervised by the International Control Commission and the United Nations.<sup>12</sup> Treaty guarantees of Vietnamese independence would be given by the United States, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom.<sup>13</sup>

An alternative would recognize North and South Vietnam as independent states to be free of foreign troops. A political convention of South Vietnamese factions—the National Liberation Front, other Viet Cong, the armed forces, the Buddhists, the Catholics, the Hoa Dal and the Hoa Hao—would determine a government which would speak for South Vietnam at an international conference similar to the 1954 Geneva Conference. The conference would by treaty guarantee an independent, democratic and federated South Vietnam.<sup>14</sup>

**WHAT LESSONS SHOULD BE DRAWN FROM A DECADE OF UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM?**

Responses to this question discussed the problem of making foreign policy in a democracy such as the United States and the question of the posture of the United States abroad.

**FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING**

The testimony which discussed foreign policy formulation indicated misgivings about the processes of reaching decisions governing our involvement abroad. The Vietnam war was given as the prime example.

These were among the thoughts expressed: The original support given by the United States to President Diem and the commitments there were made without congressional hearings and public discussion.<sup>15</sup> The suppression of the facts leading to subsequent decisions about Vietnam<sup>16</sup> resulted in the situation in which in August, 1964, three-fourths of the American people were unaware of our involvement in a war in Vietnam.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the mass media never provided a stimulus for a discussion of our policy in Vietnam.<sup>18</sup>

The need for informing and educating the public is complicated by insistence by officers of government upon a united front in foreign policy.<sup>19</sup> The problem is due, first, to a widespread attitude in the nation that,

<sup>71</sup> Terrell, p. 4.  
<sup>72</sup> St. John, p. 28.  
<sup>73</sup> Root, p. 2.  
<sup>74</sup> Elling, p. 2.  
<sup>75</sup> St. John, p. 27.  
<sup>76</sup> Musolt, p. 2.  
<sup>77</sup> Nesheim, p. 2.  
<sup>78</sup> Sibley, p. 3.  
<sup>79</sup> Wallace F. Doerr, p. 2.  
<sup>80</sup> Harris, p. 1.  
<sup>81</sup> Gary Crawford, pp. 101-102.  
<sup>82</sup> Matthew H. Thayer, p. 1.  
<sup>83</sup> Seigle, p. 3.  
<sup>84</sup> Coen, p. 64.  
<sup>85</sup> Janet Rovick, p. 1.  
<sup>86</sup> Harlan Smith, p. 4.  
<sup>87</sup> Armour, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, p. 4.  
<sup>89</sup> Armour, p. 7.  
<sup>90</sup> Loehr, p. 45.  
<sup>91</sup> Carl A. Auerbach, p. 72.  
<sup>92</sup> Bernard Cullen, pp. 1-2.  
<sup>93</sup> Slater, p. 2.  
<sup>94</sup> Auerbach, p. 73.  
<sup>95</sup> Lawrence G. Western, p. 1.  
<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.  
<sup>97</sup> Erik A. Dundurs, pp. 1-2.  
<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.  
<sup>99</sup> Loehr, pp. 46-47.  
<sup>1</sup> Taylor, pp. 105-106.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109.  
<sup>3</sup> St. John, pp. 26-27.  
<sup>4</sup> Stein, p. 19.  
<sup>5</sup> St. John, p. 26.  
<sup>6</sup> Taylor, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Stein, pp. 92-93.  
<sup>8</sup> Richard Nicholson, p. 1.  
<sup>9</sup> Margaret M. Thomson, p. 1.  
<sup>10</sup> Opperman, p. 4.  
<sup>11</sup> McCoy, p. 4.  
<sup>12</sup> Kalbel, p. 2.  
<sup>13</sup> Sternberg, p. 3.  
<sup>14</sup> Kalbel, pp. 2-3.  
<sup>15</sup> Rovick, p. 2.  
<sup>16</sup> Stephens, p. 3.  
<sup>17</sup> Rovick, p. 2.  
<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.  
<sup>19</sup> James S. Beck, p. 6.

with respect to foreign policy, the executive branch is to be trusted as faultless in its judgment and that neither groups of citizens nor opposition political parties should oppose.<sup>20</sup> Second, the Congress has abdicated responsibility in the area of foreign affairs, as illustrated by passage of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, which gave the President *carte blanche* to wage war in Vietnam.<sup>21</sup> The result is inflexibility by the administration<sup>22</sup> and a hindrance of the best efforts of government officials because of the absence of the stimuli of public scrutiny and ideas.<sup>23</sup>

#### CONTAINMENT POLICY

The United States policy of containing Communist aggression was criticized as being an over-extension of United States commitments<sup>24</sup> and as inapplicable to many countries of Asia.<sup>25</sup> First, some said, the United States cannot afford to try to police the world<sup>26</sup> and to determine by unilateral action that governments suit us, especially if these governments are unpopular with the majority of their citizens.<sup>27</sup> When peace and human freedom are threatened, however, the President is faced with the dilemma of choosing between multilateral action which is not likely to be effective and unilateral action which invites violent criticism of the United States.<sup>28</sup>

Second, said some witnesses, although containment should be seen as a political, social and economic problem rather than a military one,<sup>29</sup> the practical definition in these terms is different in Southeast Asia today than it was in Europe after World War II.<sup>30</sup> Great infusion of United States capital brought the economic recovery of Europe, without massive social disturbances.<sup>31</sup> The industrialization of non-industrial Southeast Asian countries demands profound change in their culture and institutions. Thus the economic phase of containment necessarily produces very different results there than in Europe.<sup>32</sup> Also, there can be no substitute or creation of indigenous leadership and popular local opposition to Communism.<sup>33</sup>

#### NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

Closely related to the policy of containment is the problem of distinguishing between true nationalist movements and Communist-led movements. Some viewpoints: Too often, as in Vietnam, our containment policy develops into a "brutal suppression" of an indigenous nationalist movement.<sup>34</sup> A contradiction results between our alleged devotion to the principle of self-determination and anti-Communism, especially when Communism is no longer considered the monolith it once was.<sup>35</sup> For anti-Communism does not guarantee that a man will be a popular leader dedicated to changing the unjust *status quo*.<sup>36</sup> The United States' excessive fear of Communism has led it to mislead the driving force behind the turmoil of the post-colonial world and national movements,<sup>37</sup> and to be identified as a colonial power.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Rovick, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Western, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Beck, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Taylor, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> Smith, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Nicholens, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Eiling, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Sibley, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Taylor, p. 31.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>33</sup> Stein, p. 95.

<sup>34</sup> Rovick, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Beck, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Gibas, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Brian J. Coyle, pp. 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> Slater, p. 3.

Other viewpoints: The United States foreign aid program has reflected our concern for combatting Communism.<sup>39</sup> Aid is overwhelmingly military and funneled through representative leadership and governments.<sup>40</sup> In addition, there has been a neglect of attempts to nurture democratic values and institutions at the local level. Instead, the American political failure in the developing countries is to have attempted to impose our system from the top down, rather than building from the bottom up by means, say, of cooperatives and community action programs.<sup>41</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The hearings in Minneapolis forced the participants to look beyond the narrow confines of our South Vietnam involvement and the day-to-day operations there to the broader problems of lasting peace in Southeast Asia, including the long-neglected question of our relations with China and the role which the United States is now playing and will play in the developing nations, of which Vietnam is only one. The hearings also focused attention on the achievement and guarantee of world peace by United Nations action. In this regard, they served their purpose well.

In another sense, that of testing and confirming the strength of democratic procedures here in the United States, the hearings were also successful. They allowed the opportunity for the people to present differing views to their representative in Congress. The hearings, it is hoped, increased public knowledge of and concern about the war in Vietnam and channeled new ideas and interpretations to the policymakers in our government. Most importantly, the hearings effectively demonstrated that free discussion, debate and dissent do not weaken our capacity to maintain democracy in a world in which it is continually challenged but rather sustain and strengthen that capacity. They verified the belief that the basic strength of democracy in times of crisis derives from continued adherence to the facets of democracy.

#### UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA DEAN TESTIFIES FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1966

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

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the International Education Act of 1966 has been described as the most important piece of education legislation to come before Congress this year. I was gratified by House passage of this important bill last week.

One of the witnesses to speak in support of the bill during committee hearings was an outstanding Minnesotan, Dean Willard W. Cochrane, of the Office of International Programs at the University of Minnesota.

Dean Cochrane's testimony helped to place in perspective the various elements of the bill. In particular, he pointed out the need for sustained funding of the act so that institutions of higher learning can avoid a hand-to-mouth funding relationship with the Federal Government.

Because of the pertinence of this testimony, I commend it to the Members of

<sup>39</sup> Kalbel, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the House and submit it for inclusion in the RECORD:

#### STATEMENT BY DEAN COCHRANE

The proposed legislation of the 2nd session of the 89th Congress entitled "The International Education Act of 1966" provides authorization to implement programs of decisive importance to the national welfare. As presently drafted the Bill contains two crucial elements: (1) the recognition of the importance of international education to vital national goals and (2) the importance to these goals of a mutual partnership between government and institutions of higher education. This statement will emphasize these two elements and add further comments concerning their implementation.

Explicit in Section 2 of the draft Bill is the first of these two elements—the recognition of the importance of international education to vital national goals. It emphasizes the importance of strong American educational resources as a base for strengthening relations with other countries, the importance of developing resources for international study and research, the need to assist the progress of education in developing nations and the need to promote mutual understanding and cooperation among nations. To this list could be added other areas of needed emphasis including the importance of an alert and better informed public opinion about foreign policy and international relations. But extending this list would be superfluous. This is a thoroughly documented field and the evidence is clearly and unequivocally in support of the relevance of international education to vital national goals. Its recognition and implementation through this legislation is a pioneering step in educational legislation.

#### MUTUAL PARTNERSHIP

The second crucial element in the proposed legislation is the recognition of the important mutual partnership that exists between government and institutions of higher education in achieving vital national goals. This is explicit in Sections 3 and 4 of the Act. This mutual partnership is a distinctive American innovation with a solid record of achievement and public acceptance. This record has been won largely in fields of science and technology, but the operating principles contributing to this record of achievement and public approval are equally applicable to other vital national goals including international education. This principles are so important to the International Education Act of 1966 that they are worth reviewing here. Briefly they are as follows:

1. A search for excellence and the provision of incentives to assure its growth. Since universities are the only institutions which produce more high level manpower and research than they consume (that is, they are suppliers to the nation of trained manpower and research findings), it is essential that these supplies be of excellent quality. Thus, this principle of a search for excellence is a most important aspect of the relationship between government and institutions of higher education.

2. A reliance on an advisory system to recommend the awarding of federal grants and contracts. This system has involved many scientists from many different fields and it has been an essential element of the search for excellence.

3. A move from specific to general purpose support. This principle has evolved from an earlier practice which favored the support of an individual professor and his project rather than an institution. *The evolved principle of institutional support is now an accepted one in fields of science. It is illustrated, for example, in the research grants of the NIH for medical schools and in the institutional grants of the NSF.* This principle is an integral part of Sections 3 and 4 of the Inter-

13-14, additional tens of thousands of innocent peoples were arrested and deported. In sum, during the first stage of their occupation of these countries, the Soviet Government deported several hundred thousand Baltic peoples whose sad fate is not accounted for to this day. That ruthless and inhuman act constitutes the worst crime committed by Soviet authorities in the Baltic countries.

Today, more than 25 years after the deportation of these peoples from their homes, as we solemnly observe that sad and tragic anniversary, the fate of the survivors is not a happy one. More than 5 million Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians still suffer in their homeland under Soviet totalitarian tyranny. In paying due homage to the memory of those who suffered and died for their righteous cause, we pray for the freedom of those who still suffer and endure the abominable yoke of Soviet communism.

#### THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET MASS DEPORTATIONS FROM THE BALTIC STATES

(Mr. PATTEN (at the request of Mr. HOWARD) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers today are filled with stories of Asians and Africans who, after years of colonial subjugation and domination, are finally in the process of unchaining themselves from tyrannical rule and of setting up free and independent states. When we see this happening, we applaud these actions of self-liberation as steps toward world freedom.

Yet, it is sadly ironic that, while these nations strive for their liberty and independence, there are other states which are still held against their will in unjust and brutal subjugation. The peoples of these states have—in a larger sense—been political prisoners for a quarter of a century; there appears to be no change in their condition of incarceration.

The people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—after three short decades of fleeting freedom—have been imprisoned under the harsh rule of Communist oppression for 25 years. In that period of time, regardless of changes in the Government of the Soviet Union, persecution has continued unabated in the Baltic States.

On June 14, 1941, tens of thousands of the Baltic peoples were arrested in Gestapo-fashion and were deported to the bleakest areas of Siberia and the Soviet Arctic where they were sentenced to life imprisonment in forced labor camps. Since that day, the people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been subjected to the most blatantly outrageous forms of colonialism; they have had to face religious, social, and cultural suppression, economic exploitation and the loss of all political sovereignty.

We in the United States cannot forget the suffering of these battered and bloodied people, captive in the hands of a foreign and unwanted government. Now, 25 years after the first great massive deportation of these people, we must pledge ourselves to the perpetuation of the hopes that the nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania will again join the worldwide family of free nations.

On three continents, Balts are striving to work for national independence and freedom. There is no doubt that the road will be long and rocky. Yet, if we cooperate and give them cause to feel that the citizens of the world pray for their deliverance; then, the barriers to freedom will be lowered to some measure.

Although the major share of our attention today is directed to another corner, we must not forget this shocking example of brutality and destruction. Hopefully, the voices crying for freedom will soon be recognized.

#### BUDDHISTS PLAYING FOES' GAME IN BIG LIE TECHNIQUE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. McDOWELL] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following interesting report with respect to the conflict in Vietnam, which appeared in the Washington Post, Thursday, June 2, 1966:

##### BIG LIE TECHNIQUE—BUDDHISTS PLAYING FOES' GAME

(By William S. White)

The most grisly hoax since the early Nazis leaped to power by burning the German Reichstag and framing the Communists for the crime is being undertaken by a handful of "Buddhist leaders" in South Vietnam.

With a Big Lie technique quite similar in principle to the one Hitler used to seize Germany they are seeking naked power under clouds of fraudulent spiritual motives. Hitler, representing in truth only a small and vicious minority with unlimited capacity for propaganda and violence, exploited the fear and loathing of decent Germans for the Communist terror in order to put in a terror of his own.

The Buddhist extremist politico-clergymen, who speak in truth not simply for only a tiny minority of the Vietnamese people as a whole but also for only a minority of their own co-religionists, are exploiting the deep religious tolerance of the Western world to seek the destruction of the regime of Premier Ky.

In the United States as elsewhere in the civilized world the mere suggestion that somebody is being persecuted for his religious belief is enough to turn honest public opinion to his side. This the more bloody-minded Buddhist operators are cleverly using. Add the sick and terrible occasional self-destruction of individual Buddhist dupes who are fanatical and psychotic, and the full evil genius of the Buddhist manipulators of human misery becomes plain.

The simple truth is that the same pseudo-religious Buddhists who brought about the murder of Premier Minh Dinh Diem in 1963 are now seeking the destruction of today's

regime under the very ugly cover of a phony religious issue.

To its shame the United States under President Kennedy condoned, at the very least, this moral campaign against Diem. For all his faults he was the most nearly effective national leader against the Communist invaders that South Vietnam to this day has produced. There are many, this columnist among them, who have never believed Mr. Kennedy would ever have tolerated covert American collaboration with the most cynical among the Buddhist monks had he not been tragically mis-advised by other officials. One must suppose that these officials, undoubtedly good and devoted men, were themselves hopelessly misled.

The crucial point is that the frightful hypocrisy of some of those "Buddhist leaders" who at last got Diem never came through to the American people. Nor, it seems, does it come through now that the target is Ky. Reliable American correspondents in Vietnam have reported in detail the ghastly exploitation by such "Buddhist leaders" of the bodies of women and children put on display for American photographers as "proof" of the brutality of the Ky regime. Armed Buddhist revolutionaries had themselves provoked the shooting in which these hapless victims had fallen.

American officials are reluctant to speak of such things, lest their words be twisted into some suggestion that Ky is spotless and, above all, into a lack of sympathy for human suffering and for "free religious expression." Nor are they ready to attribute Communist plots to the worst of the Buddhist politico-clergymen. But does it matter very much? Whose game are they playing here—that of anti-Communist South Vietnam or of the Communist assailants?

They are slandering not merely South Vietnam and, by attempt and by implication, the United States. Most of all they are slandering the vast majority of the true Buddhists of South Vietnam.

The very rock-bottom decencies of the Western world, and of the United States in particular, are being preyed upon by power-grabbing men who at the most generous estimate could never run South Vietnam even if they captured it or continue resistance to the Communist invaders even if they would try.

And it is not being professionally anti-Communist, moreover, to say that some of these men have very close ties, indeed, with other men in North Vietnam who are sworn enemies of South Vietnam.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. MATSUNAGA, for period from June 14 through June 20, 1966, on account of official business in his State.

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for June 13 and June 14, 1966, primary election—Seventh District of Illinois.

Mr. STALBAUM (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. PEPPER (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. MCEWEN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. FLYNT (at the request of Mr. BOGGS), for Monday, June 13, 1966, on account of official business.

June 13, 1966

Mr. KREBS (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), for today, on account of official business.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (at the request of Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota), for 15 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. McDOWELL (at the request of Mr. HOWARD), for 5 minutes, today; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. McFALL (at the request of Mr. HOWARD), for 30 minutes, on June 14; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the Record, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. RYAN in four instances.

Mr. SAYLOR preceding adoption of the resolution relating to Gas Industry Week offered by Mr. ROGERS of Colorado.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SMITH of New York.

Mr. QUILLEN.

Mr. MATHIAS in five instances.

Mr. McCLORY.

Mr. BOB WILSON in three instances.

Mr. HORTON.

Mr. YOUNGER.

Mr. SHRIVER.

Mr. GOODELL.

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin in two instances.

Mr. MORSE in four instances.

Mr. MOORE in four instances.

Mr. BERRY.

Mr. RUMSFELD in three instances.

Mr. BROCK.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HOWARD) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DADDARIO.

Mr. BINGHAM.

Mr. DORN in three instances.

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota.

Mr. MURPHY of New York.

Mr. ROSENTHAL.

Mr. GONZALEZ in two instances.

Mr. FRASER.

Mr. McVICKER in two instances.

Mr. BANDSTRA.

Mr. RONCALIO in two instances.

#### SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's

table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 985. An act to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by preventing the use of unfair or deceptive methods of packaging or labeling of certain consumer commodities distributed in such commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1199. An act to liberalize the provisions of title 38, United States Code, relating to automobiles for disabled veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

S. 2104. An act for the relief of Harriet C. Chambers; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 3107. An act to provide for a comprehensive review of national water resource problems and programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

S. 3368. An act to amend section 14(b) of the Federal Reserve Act, as amended, to extend for 2 years the authority of Federal Reserve banks to purchase U.S. obligations directly from the Treasury; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills for the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1857. An act to revise existing bail practices in courts of the United States, and for other purposes; and

S. 2267. An act to extend the provisions of title XIII of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, relating to war risk insurance.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3177. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase dependency and indemnity compensation in certain cases;

H.R. 3957. An act to authorize establishment of Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, N. Dak. and Mont., and for other purposes;

H.R. 5984. An act to amend sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, with respect to certain lands granted to the States;

H.R. 6646. An act to amend the Recreation and Public Purposes Act pertaining to the leasing of public lands to States and their political subdivisions;

H.R. 9961. An act to amend chapter 15 of title 38, United States Code, to provide that where a veteran receiving pension under this chapter disappears, the Administrator may pay the pension otherwise payable to the wife and children;

H.R. 10431. An act to declare that certain federally owned land is held by the United States in trust for the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe;

H.R. 11748. An act to amend section 111 of title 38, United States Code, to authorize the prepayment of certain expenses associated with the travel of veterans to or from a Veterans' Administration facility or other place, in connection with vocational rehabilitation or counseling, or for the purpose of examination, treatment, or care;

H.R. 12676. An act to amend the Tariff Schedules of the United States to provide that certain forms of copper be admitted free of duty;

H.R. 13866. An act to authorize the disposal of aluminum from the national stockpile;

H.R. 13768. An act to authorize the disposal of celestite from the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 13769. An act to authorize the disposal of cordage fiber (sisal) from the national stockpile;

H.R. 13770. An act to authorize the disposal of crocidolite asbestos (harsh) from the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 13773. An act to authorize the disposal of opium from the national stockpile; and

H.R. 15151. An act to permit the planting of alternate crops on acreage which is unplanted because of a natural disaster.

#### BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 706. An act to amend the Railway Labor Act in order to provide for establishment of special adjustment boards upon the request either of representatives of employees or of carriers to resolve disputes otherwise referable to the National Railroad Adjustment Board, and to make all awards of such Board final.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HOWARD, Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, June 14, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### REPORT OF EXPENDITURES OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES AND APPROPRIATED FUNDS INCURRED IN TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES DURING 1965 AS REQUIRED BY THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954, AS AMENDED, BY PUBLIC LAW 86-472 AND BY PUBLIC LAW 86-628

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by section 401(a) of Public Law 86-472, approved May 14, 1960, and section 105 of Public Law 86-628, approved July 12, 1960, require the reporting of expenses incurred in connection with travel, including both foreign currencies expended and dollar expenditures made from appropriated funds.

The required report for travel during 1965 by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is submitted herewith:



EXCELLENCE WILL CONTINUE

In June, 1963, I shall retire and Punahou will have a new president. The trustees, whose job it is to preserve school continuity, will soon start the process of searching throughout America for the best man they can find to head the school.

Since my length of tenure is limited, therefore, I shall write very little about the future. I am sure, however, that Punahou will continue to be one of the nation's very best college preparatory schools.

Changing conditions and new leadership will undoubtedly dictate different directions than I might propose at this time. Every administrator is different, and what works for one will not necessarily work for another. A new president should be entirely free to develop his own goals and procedures without hindrance from his predecessor.

Punahou has developed rapidly in the past two decades because many people who believed in it contributed their determination, vision, and resources toward making it first-class.

To provide the best personalized education possible for each student, the School's 125-year heritage was related to present needs, goals were clarified and restated, deficiencies were overcome, the curriculum was broadened and deepened, facilities were updated, three new libraries were added, faculty salaries and enrollment tripled, Living Endowment and scholarships sextupled, and the entire campus was improved.

The job, however, will never be finished. . .

**The Continuing Quest for Peace in Vietnam**

SPEECH

OF

**HON. LESTER L. WOLFF**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 7, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the search for peace in Vietnam must be a bipartisan effort and must be beyond politics. I rise today to applaud my friend the senior Senator from New York, Mr. JAVITS, for his approach to a solution of this problem which so concerns us all.

I heartily endorse the Senator's proposal, which he made yesterday on Long Island at Hofstra University's graduation exercises, that the United States agree to cease bombing North Vietnam if we can secure a pledge from North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to come to the conference table and negotiate a peace.

Senator JAVITS is quoted by the New York Times:

The cessation of bombing in the north should provide Hanoi with some face-saving reason for agreeing to talk. It could also create a calmer atmosphere for the talks.

I concur in this.

I join the distinguished Senator in his call for a cease-fire in Vietnam to prepare for free elections. Hopes for peace in Vietnam rest with elections that truly express the desires of the people in their choice of government.

A cessation of the fighting would be of immense help in providing the proper climate for free elections—and I respectfully join my Republican colleague in his most recent contribution to our continuing quest for peace.

**St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. ALEC G. OLSON**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 13, 1966

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives the statement made by Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag, of Minnesota, before the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation against proposed toll increases on the St. Lawrence Seaway. I believe his statement deserves the consideration of the Congress:

IN THE MATTER OF THE PROPOSED INCREASE OF TOLLS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY AND THE PROPOSED IMPOSITION OF LOCKAGE CHARGES ON THE WELAND CANAL

(Statement of Karl F. Rolvaag, Governor, State of Minnesota)

I am appearing here as Governor of Minnesota to support the position of the state, and of its industries, public agencies and the Port of Duluth, against proposed toll increases on the St. Lawrence Seaway and against imposition of lockage charges on the Welland Canal.

The people of Minnesota have made a strong financial commitment to expanded foreign trade on the St. Lawrence Seaway. The State of Minnesota, County of St. Louis, and the City of Duluth have all made substantial investments to establish a public marine terminal at Duluth. It is one of the finest in the country and truly makes Duluth competitive with all other ports.

The Minnesota Legislature has generously appropriated funds over the years to assist in promotion and development of Minnesota's seaport at Duluth. This investment is sound—it has produced dividends to the economy of Minnesota and to the nation.

I am here today because the action contemplated at this hearing tends to blight and destroy the good that has been created by the Seaway and its development. Increased toll and lockage charges will impede the free flow and natural increase of midwest commerce. Such increases will deny Minnesota and other midwestern states their rightful share of world trade. This action discriminates in favor of areas whose transportation facilities have been established, created and maintained by general contribution from the resources of this entire country, including the midwest.

During recent years, the Duluth-St. Louis County area has been classified by the federal government as distressed. Nevertheless, from 1959 through 1965, more than 19 million tons moved in foreign trade through the port of Duluth-Superior. This foreign trade contributed in excess of \$85 million dollars to the economy of the area. The increase and expansion in operation of the Port of Duluth has been one of the bright, stabilizing aspects of northeastern Minnesota's economy. Its effect has permeated our entire state and the midwest. It is estimated that over \$200 million dollars in transportation costs were saved by our industries which were involved in the movement of this traffic.

The toll increases which are the subject of this hearing may potentially result in limiting the number of Minnesota businesses taking part in foreign commerce. It may result in lower net prices received by Minnesota and midwestern farmers for their crops. It may result in higher consumer costs for many items Minnesotans purchase daily. I do not believe these serious results are offset

by any amount of potential anticipated revenue through increased tolls.

Statistics released by the U.S. Department of Commerce indicate that Minnesota was able to increase its foreign trade 32% in 1965. This 32% increase represents millions of dollars—new dollars—to Minnesota.

The infant seaway has shown substantial growth. The extension of the sea into the heart of the midwest has permitted our agriculture and industry to compete with vigor in the world market. This dramatic increase in foreign trade is not restricted to Minnesota. South Dakota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Iowa, all show increases in foreign trade of 30% or more. The national average increase in foreign trade for the same period was 14%.

In the future, the midwest will be increasingly tied to foreign markets and sources of supply. The importance of overseas trade will continue to grow. We have recognized and are preparing for it. Many trade missions have already been sent overseas to establish the necessary contacts. The Port of Duluth for the past two years has maintained a representative on the continent of Europe.

Our businesses are vitally concerned with anything that threatens their ability to compete with their counterparts in other sections of the country. They have a right to compete on an equal basis in the world market. I do not subscribe to the economic myth that there is only a limited amount of traffic to be divided among existing transportation systems or seaports. That is fallacious. We are expanding trade—trade which previously did not exist. The St. Lawrence Seaway permits the midwest to participate in markets that were previously barred to us because of cost. Our entire economy has benefited.

We are not discussing a local issue. The states in the Great Lakes region contain approximately 40% of the population of our country. Six of these states, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio, pay over 27% of the total revenues collected by the federal government. The same states undoubtedly contribute to the federal revenue which is used to improve federal waterways in other areas. We do not object to this. We believe these waterways also contribute to the total economic health of the nation. We only ask to participate on the same basis.

Analysis of the debates which preceded passage of the enabling legislation for the seaway indicates several sources of principal opposition. This opposition tended to center around competing modes of transportation and seaports located on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The opposition was based on the selfish consideration that the seaway would have an adverse competitive effect on their own operations. History tends to destroy this argument. Many of these ports have increased their investment, improved their facilities, and have consistently reported new records of tonnage moving through their facilities since the opening of the seaway.

Another argument for the imposition of tolls was that the waterway was merely for the benefit of the shipping community and was compared with other toll-type waterways such as the Panama and Suez Canals. These comparisons are not analogous. The St. Lawrence Seaway is not a shortcut. It serves as a gathering area and provides great value to the economy of its surrounding areas. The St. Lawrence Seaway was not built for the exclusive benefit of the world's shipping community. It was built for the interest and benefit of our entire midwestern and national economy.

Throughout the history of American waterways policy, federal development of inland waterways has existed. Congress has recognized this policy as necessary to obtain economic benefits for the nation as a whole.

June 13, 1966

Originally, our guiding principal of freedom of use of waterways emerged from the geographical, economic and political necessities of a new nation. Our nation—being large in geographical area—required cheap transportation and the preservation of national interest as opposed to local and sectional rivalries. The same situations exist today. Increased participation in world trade requires that local burdens on commerce be removed.

The federal government has expended vast sums of money to maintain channels on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Other improvements such as channels from the Port of New Orleans to the Gulf, improvement of the Delaware River, and harbor maintenance and improvement in many North Atlantic ports, have also been accomplished. I believe the billions appropriated for these purposes were warranted and are good, sound investments. I also believe that the investment in the St. Lawrence Seaway is sound. The distinction, of course, is that tolls are not levied against commerce to pay for those other improvements, whereas they are imposed on traffic in the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The fundamental policy which we should follow may very well depend upon whether the facilities under consideration contribute to the public welfare generally. If so, their costs should be spread generally. If facilities are only for the direct benefit of the users, then presumably an appropriate charge is in order. It should be clear to any disinterested person that the former situation applies in the case of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The Seaway is of major general importance to the entire national economy.

At the time that the original tolls on the Seaway were set, it was agreed to review the toll structure within a certain period. I understand that this time period has been extended until now. The level of tolls was originally based on predicted estimates of seaway tonnages. The review was established to compare the forecasts with actual experience after the Seaway was at full operating capacity. Unfortunately, the Seaway is not yet at full operating capacity. I understand that the necessary 27 foot channels will only be completed this year. Many harbor improvements and port facilities are yet to be finished. The estimates and predictions did not take these factors into consideration.

There are a number of indications that the Seaway may very well become self-liquidating in one or two years under the present system of tolls. If the philosophy of repayment is continued, the Seaway will achieve a level of activity that will enable it to liquidate its indebtedness within the original 50-year time limit. The original estimates did not take into consideration the length of time necessary to change shipping habits and practices. They did not take into consideration the length of time necessary to educate midwest industries and agricultural businesses, which had previously not engaged in direct export trade, to the advantages they gain by entering the world market.

I believe toll increases at this time will tend to depress rather than increase any revenues which might accrue to the Seaway. To raise tolls when we are attempting to strengthen our domestic economy, to expand our foreign trade, and to narrow the U.S. balance of payments gap, appears inconsistent with national policy. We must promote and advance our national position. We cannot follow a course which tends to stifle future growth. It is essential that the competitive position of the midwest be maintained and bolstered by the most efficient transportation available. It is our national policy of long standing to let the differing means of transportation compete without special advantage to any segment.

A meaningful evaluation of the potential of the Seaway can only be realistically made after the facilities are completed. I understand that substantial completion is now imminent.

Therefore, I recommend that the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation find that a moratorium should be imposed on any increase in tolls and lockage charges. This moratorium should continue for a sufficient period of time to permit the Seaway to obtain reasonable operating levels after completion of all facilities originally contemplated. I also recommend and urge that during this period of time Congress review its policy of imposing any tolls on the St. Lawrence Seaway, with the goal of making the Seaway a free waterway for the use and benefit of all.

### Award to Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 9, 1966

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note a few days ago that the Honorable Waggoner Carr, attorney general of the State of Texas, and a resident of my home town of Lubbock, had been selected by the National Association of Attorneys General to receive the Wyman Award as outstanding attorney general for this year. Announcement of his selection was made at the association's annual conference in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 19, 1966.

The Wyman Award is given in the memory of Attorney Louis E. Wyman of Manchester, N.H., formerly governor of the American Bar Association. It is awarded each year to the State attorney general "who by majority vote of the National Association of Attorneys General in the year preceding each Annual Conference has done the most to advance the objectives of the National Association to help make the United States of America a better place in which to live for all."

Waggoner Carr is one of the outstanding leaders in the State of Texas. He served for a number of years as speaker of the Texas House of Representatives. In January 1963, he became attorney general of Texas. He is to be congratulated upon achieving the Wyman Award for outstanding service as attorney general.

I quote the following from the citation:

The nominee for the Award this year has been a valuable member since he became Attorney General of Texas in January, 1963. He has participated actively in all the affairs of our National Association and he has contributed greatly as Chairman of the Southern Regional Group and as a member of the Executive Committee of the National Association. As Chairman of the Association's Committee on Antitrust he has provided leadership in encouraging all of the states to carry out their responsibilities in this field. He was a most gracious host to the Association's 59th Annual Meeting held in San Antonio, Texas last year.

It is the unanimous recommendation of this Wyman Award Committee that the National Association of Attorneys General at its 60th Annual Meeting in Cleveland, Ohio present the Wyman Award to our distinguished and beloved colleague, the Honorable Waggoner Carr of Texas.

Respectfully submitted.

Clarence A. H. Meyer, Nebraska, Chairman; Earl Faircloth, Florida, Vice Chairman; Warren C. Clover, Alaska; Richard J. Dubord, Maine; Frank L. Farrar, South Dakota; George F. McCannless, Tennessee; John F. Raper, Wyoming; Wyman Award Committee.

### The Role of Private Enterprise in the Economic Development of the Middle East

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 13, 1966

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, at the recent 20th anniversary conference of the Middle East Institute here in Washington, Sheikh Najib Alamuddin, chairman of Middle East Airlines and former Minister of Public Works and Transport for the Republic of Lebanon, delivered an address entitled "The Role of Private Enterprise in the Economic Development of the Middle East." The substance of Sheikh Najib's remarks will, I am certain, be of great interest to all Members concerned with the economic and political development of that strategic area of the world and the role which private enterprise is playing in that development.

For this reason, I wish to insert Sheikh Najib's address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

While neither agreeing nor disagreeing with all of the points in the address, I wish to commend Sheikh Najib for presenting a thorough and thoughtful analysis of such an important and timely subject.

The speech referred to above follows:  
THE ROLE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST  
(By Sheikh Najib Alamuddin)

The spirit of risk taking and the profit motive, which are the essence of private enterprise and the driving force in a free economy, are not alien concepts to the people in the Middle East. Private enterprise, in fact, is as old as the societies that have lived in this important area of the world.

Private enterprise has developed very rapidly in the Middle East in recent years. It exists, at present, in varying degrees of development and enjoys varying degrees of freedom of action. It resigns supreme in countries like Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait. In others, like Syria and the United Arab Republic, it enjoyed an initial period of flourish and development after which it began fading very rapidly. The others, like Iraq, it is still hanging in the balance.

Both where it has survived and where it has tended to fade, private enterprise has contributed much towards economic development and still has immense potentialities for future action. To be able to undertake such action and realize these potentialities, private

warm letter of congratulations from Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop, who was unable to attend the ceremonies due to a brief illness. I include the text of the cardinal's letter following my remarks.

It was a measure of the esteem in which he is held in the Greater Lawrence and Massachusetts communities that Gov. John A. Volpe, Mayor Daniel P. Kiley, Jr., of Lawrence, and representatives of the National Council of Churches and the Jewish faith joined in paying tribute to his outstanding service.

Credit for the outstanding occasion goes to Rev. Joseph P. Fratic, honorary chairman and treasurer, and to Peter Gumauskas and Wilbur A. Hyatt, Esq., who served as cochairmen of the St. Francis Parish Pronotary Apostolic Celebration Committee.

It would be impossible to list the accomplishments of Monsignor Juras for the people of his parish in Lawrence. The title of the program book for the events of June 5 expressed in a few words the essence of his distinguished career in the church: "Portrait of a Humble Man—A Servant of God."

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,  
Brighton, Mass., May 16, 1966.

Rt. Rev. FRANCIS M. JURAS, P.A.,  
St. Francis Church,  
Lawrence, Mass.

DEAR MONSIGNOR: Please include me among those who are congratulating you on the honor conferred upon you by the Holy See under the title of Protonotary Apostolic.

I note that the Ceremony of Investiture will take place on June the 5th at four o'clock. Despite the fact that I had given this date, many months ago, to Emmanuel College for the Commencement Exercises of 1966, I cancelled and told you that I would be there to invest you. That is the greatest tribute that I could pay you in honor of your Papal Honor.

For forty-three years you have been Pastor to the people of your Parish in Lawrence. To one and all you have been a good shepherd, after the example of Christ, Our Lord. May the Good Lord keep you and spare you to us all for many years to come.

Yours fraternally in Christ,  
RICHARD CARDINAL CUSHING,  
Archbishop of Boston.

### Forced Housing Law

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 31, 1966

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the Austin American, a great daily newspaper published in Austin, Tex., carried an editorial on June 7, 1966, reprinted from the Tyler, Tex., Courier-Times-Telegraph, which deals with title IV of the pending civil rights bill. This is but typical of hundreds of similar editorials on this subject throughout the country. And it bespeaks the views of tens of millions of Americans. The editorial follows:

#### FORCED HOUSING LAW

A vanishing American tradition is the right of the individual.

It is being constantly eroded by an ever-increasing flow of federal regulations and legislation.

Feeding heavily to the river of legislation which is sweeping away individual rights are various acts formulated in the name of other rights, particularly civil rights or rights for large, politically potent organizations such as labor unions.

One of the newer proposals is the pending Civil Rights Act of 1966; specifically Title IV of that proposal. This part of the proposed legislation is a forced housing law which would compel a home owner or other property owner to sell or rent his property to a person or persons not of his choice.

Title IV would deny every home owner freedom of choice and freedom of contract. Its passage would mean that the federal government could force the owner to sell or rent his property to a person not of his choice whether the property be a home, rental housing, a room for rent, boarding house or land to be used as the site for housing.

Should the property owner insist on exercising freedom of choice in contracting for the sale or rental of his property, under the proposed regulation a complaint could be filed against the owner in federal district court. The court, sitting without a jury, could order the owner to sell or rent to a person not of his choice, and also could assess unlimited damages against the owner.

If the complainant alleges that he cannot afford a lawyer, he could be furnished with counsel free. The owner, however, would have to pay his own lawyer to defend his freedom of choice.

In addition, the attorney general could intervene in the case. And we have seen demonstrated in other recent legislative areas that this branch of government is not bashful in exercising its power to intervene.

Government policy seems to be to proceed on the assumption that violations of regulations are taking place. Burden of proof is being laid to the individual or organization accused, thereby reversing the American tradition that the accused is innocent until proved guilty.

We also have seen demonstrated of late a federal philosophy that no matter what the degree of compliance has been to new laws in this area, it is never quite enough.

Next year's government interpretation of the same laws seems always to call for new extremes.

The forced housing bill is now before House and Senate Judiciary Committees.

This bill has been cited by realtors as far more drastic than any of the existing state-enacted forced housing laws. It is significant that in every instance where state legislation comparable to that of the pending bill was submitted to a referendum of the people, it has been rejected by overwhelming majorities.

A section of the bill also would prohibit the denial to any person "access to or participation in any multiple listing service" or facilities related to the business of selling or renting dwellings.

This section, Department of Justice lawyers in the Civil Rights Division have told realtors, is aimed at multiple listing services. In typical government rationalization in civil rights enforcement, multiple listing services which had no nonwhite members, whether any had applied or not, would be presumed to be discriminating.

The issue is not open occupancy or equal opportunity of housing for all people. It is whether government should be permitted to introduce an element of compulsion in the dealings of a property owner with the person who seeks to buy or rent his property.

Injection of the element of compulsion, of legal coercion, in the relationship between a property owner and the person with whom

he may do business, is not in the public interest.

Where will this rising tide against the individual's rights be stopped?

There is no indication of any possible stopping place until the people themselves make their voices heard in behalf of their own rights in numbers sufficient enough to balance with the "rights" extremist groups who threaten elected officials with their bloc voting power.

The way this can be done, of course, is through letters of protests or direct communication with U.S. representatives and U.S. senators from the individual's own area and state.

Individuals, of course, cannot threaten elected officials with large blocks of votes for election day delivery.

But if enough individuals express their own views on preservation of their own rights and freedoms, and back them up election day, the results can be as effective as those obtained by the pressure of special interest groups. It will not be accomplished, however, by "letting the other guy do it."

It is time to cut off the flow feeding this rampaging legislative river. The forced housing proposal is a good place to begin.

### Representative Smith, of New York, Lauds Australian Economic and Military Assistance in Vietnam

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 13, 1966

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, many Americans, I believe, are under the impression that the United States is going it alone in Vietnam; that only American forces are struggling to preserve the cause of freedom in that embattled nation. It is true that our fighting men, representing every branch of our Armed Forces, are shouldering the greatest part of the burden in Vietnam. I, myself, have noted with growing concern the fact that, for the past 5 weeks, the number of American men killed in action in Vietnam have exceeded the number of South Vietnamese war dead.

America is a great and powerful nation. She has never shirked her responsibilities to preserve and protect the principles of freedom and democracy whenever and wherever she has been called upon to do so.

There are, however, other nations, though not possessed of the industrial and military might of the United States, who feel a deep sense of responsibility to those peoples who lack the blessings of liberty and human freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to call particular attention to the economic and military assistance being provided in Vietnam by the Commonwealth of Australia.

I know that our combat units in Vietnam are happy to have the cooperation and support of the courageous, gallant, and experienced Australian troops. It is good to know that some of our friends around the world understand the reasons for our involvement in Vietnam.

Day School, Sands Point, N.Y., the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama was conferred on Dr. Marie L. Fetsch, L.H.D. This is the highest honor of the foundation. Dr. Fetsch is an outstanding educator and the founder and director of the non-profit institution known as the Sands Point Country Day School, a State-chartered school for gifted children with IQ's of 130 and higher. The board of dignitaries of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama bestow the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma upon her "in recognition of her distinguished contribution to culture and humanity and her outstanding merit and accomplishment in improving education for the gifted children in the United States and throughout the world." Under unanimous consent, I place the highlights of the proceedings of this award ceremony at Port Washington, Sands Point, N.Y., on December 15, 1965, in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The invocation was delivered by the Right Reverend Dr. Benjamin C. Eckhardt, president, Philathea College, London, Ontario, Canada, and Canadian provost of the EAI Foundation. Benjamin Fine, Ph. D., headmaster, Sands Point Academy and Country Day School, deputy American provost of the foundation was chairman of the ceremonies. Greetings were then delivered by Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, chancellor, Long Island University, and president of C. W. Post College. Dr. Fine then introduced Dr. Herman A. Bayern, American provost, the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, and professor of economics, Philathea College, London, Ontario, Canada, who delivered the following presentation address:

Bishop Eckhardt, Dr. Fine, Dr. Hoxie, Dr. Starrett, Dr. Rothlein, Mr. Fred Cross, Distinguished Guests, Fellow Americans: Mrs. Fetsch, we are here this morning in testimony, first, of our faith in the ideals of American Democracy; secondly, in our devotion to the cause of universal education as the bulwark of these ideals; and, thirdly, because of our confidence in the cooperation of all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere in the preservation of human freedom and peace of all the peoples of the world.

You, Mrs. Fetsch, have been voted the highest honor of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, in recognition of your distinguished contribution to culture and humanity and your outstanding merit and accomplishment in improving education for the gifted children in the United States and throughout the world, and in further recognition of the fact that as President of the Fetsch Family Foundation, Inc., for scientific research. This Foundation sponsors scholarships for gifted students at the Sands Point Country Day School.

This Foundation, named after the soldier, patriot, statesman, martyr, the former President of Ecuador for two terms at the turn of the century is for the perpetuation of justice, truth, and fellowship among peoples and nations; and serves to promote the moral values with personal integrity, for which General Alfaro devoted and lay down his life.

President Alfaro, (1842-1912) established in Latin America, many schools, colleges, and universities as well as hospitals and other welfare institutions; and further cooperation and unity among the countries of the entire

Western Hemisphere. Under his leadership, the Congress of Ecuador passed laws, separating church and state.

Wherever there was a threat to the peace in the Western Hemisphere, he was the dynamic leader who brought about a peaceful settlement of such disputes.

General Alfaro sowed the seeds for the Pan-American understanding and cooperation. In 1907 he called a peace conference in Mexico City, in which the United States participated, for welding all the Americas together, and to preserve for the Western Hemisphere the Pan-American unity of freedom-loving people that would be the perpetual harbinger against the attempt of any form of despotism to plant the tyrant's heel on even the tiniest portion of the soil of our Pan-American nations, which Dr. Castro of Cuba and the Soviet Union have actually accomplished in Cuba, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Were General Alfaro alive today, he would be a zealous supporter of the work and program of the United Nations, the organization of the American States and all other agencies created by the United States Government. This great Ecuadorian statesman and dedicated leader would leave no stone unturned to assure, for all the peoples of the world that hope and peace and good will to all men that is our common heritage from our common creator.

The philosophy of General Alfaro was based principally on service to his fellow human beings and education and to the cause of international peace.

As I officially notified you, the Board of Dignitaries unanimously voted you its highest honor—the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma in further recognition of your selfless devotion in providing the invaluable learning opportunities afforded the gifted children of the Sands Point Country Day School, which you are the founder, and chairman of the Board of Trustees, and in view of your outstanding contribution to culture and humanity and education and because of your private and public activities come within a framework of the aims and purposes of this Foundation. Therefore, the ruling body of the Foundation grants you, Mrs. Fetsch, the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

Among the elite and select group of United States citizens who have been similarly honored in the past are the late Presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Herbert Hoover, the late General of the Armies, Douglas MacArthur, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, former Presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Harry S. Truman, former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, Governors Rockefeller and Harriman, Senators MANSFIELD and DIRKSEN, along with Dr. Benjamin Fine who typifies the calibre of men who have been selected for this high honor.

It now gives me great personal pleasure and it is a privilege for me to call on my colleagues, Dr. M. Edward Starrett, Dr. Irving Rothlein and Dr. Meyer Statland, Deputy American Provost to carry out the determination of the Board of Dignitaries, to invest Mrs. Fetsch with the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma. These gentlemen then carried out their assignment to honor our guest of honor, Mrs. Fetsch.

The award given to Mrs. Fetsch translated from Spanish to English, reads as follows:

"Eloy Alfaro International Foundation"—"Thus one goes to the stars." "Recognizing the special value of the services rendered by Marie L. Fetsch in support of the objectives of this institution she has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation, in witness thereof this diploma, with the seal of the Foundation is presented in the City of Panama, Republic of Panama on the first day of December, 1965." (signed by the officers of this Foundation, the three

sons of the late ambassador: Eloy Alfaro and the grandsons of General Alfaro, all graduates of the West Point Academy.)

Dr. Fine at this point, without further adieu, I present to you Dr. Marie L. Fetsch.

#### ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF DR. MARIE L. FETSCH

Bishop Eckhardt, Dr. Fine, Dr. Hoxie, Dr. Bayern, Dr. Starrett, Dr. Rothlein and Statland, Members of the Faculty, Students, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am deeply moved by the honor you have conferred upon me today. By the gracious remarks made by your American Provost and all Deputy American Provosts, and by the compliments you all paid me by your presence. I shall continue to dedicate my life to culture and humanity in improving the education of gifted children in the United States and throughout the world, and those worth while endeavors and humanitarian causes that require my attention. I accept this high honor in behalf of my colleagues in the Sands Point Country Day School and particularly to Dr. Benjamin Fine, the Headmaster and former Education Editor of the New York Times for recommending me for this high honor.

Again, I wish to express my deep appreciation for this high honor you have paid me today and I would appreciate if you would convey my compliments to the Board of Dignitaries of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama. I shall regard the declaration as a constant reminder of the debt that each of us owes to his fellow human beings and endeavor to honor that debt all the days of my life.

Thank you very much.

The Right Reverend Dr. Benjamin C. Eckhardt, delivered the benediction, thereafter a reception followed for all the assembled guests.

It gives me great personal pleasure to advise my colleagues that I too was honored by this foundation many years ago and I believe that the education of our children should be encouraged by all officials of the local city, State and the U.S. Government, and as a parent, a father of two children, I wish to congratulate both Dr. Fetsch and Dr. Fine for the outstanding contribution they are making to the education of our gifted children.

#### Testimonial for Monsignor Juras

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

#### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 13, 1966

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, on June 5, the Right Reverend Francis M. Juras, P.A., was tendered a testimonial banquet by his grateful parishioners and friends in Lawrence, Mass. The banquet followed Monsignor Juras' investiture as protonotary apostolic, an honor bestowed upon him by Pope Paul VI.

For 44 years, Monsignor Juras has served his church. Since 1929 he has been pastor of St. Francis Church in Lawrence, where he has maintained a keen interest in the education of his parishioners. Born in Bridal, Lithuania, the monsignor came to the United States and completed his theological studies at St. John's Seminary in Boston.

On the occasion of the investiture and testimonial Monsignor Juras received a

Australia is a nation which has faced aggression, invasion, and the loss of freedom and liberty before. She knows the cost of peace, and she is willing to pay the price to preserve that peace both for herself and her neighbors.

Mr. Speaker, the June 1 edition of the Australian News, published by the Australian News and Information Bureau, contains a very interesting commentary by the Australian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Paul Hasluck, on Australia's position with regard to Vietnam and the South East Asia Treaty Organization. I commend this article to the study of the Members of the House.

The following are pertinent excerpts from the Australian News:

**AUSTRALIAN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER SETS OUT VIEWS ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VIETNAM POLICY AND SEATO MEMBERSHIP**

The Australian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Paul Hasluck, has spoken of Australia's actions in Vietnam and their relationship to the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation. In a statement released yesterday, Mr. Hasluck said that because questions continued to be asked on this subject he was recapitulating the Government's attitude and policy.

The Minister said that when the SEATO Treaty was signed in 1954, its eight members designated for the purposes of Article IV "the States of Cambodia and Laos and the free territory under jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam." This meant that each party to the Treaty recognised that aggression against South Vietnam by armed attack would endanger its own peace and safety and each agreed that it would in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

"The designation also meant that, if it was considered that South Vietnam was threatened other than by armed attack, the parties would consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence," Mr. Hasluck said. "Article IV also states that it is understood that no action on the territory of a designated State should be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the Government concerned. The objectives of SEATO are those which the Australian Government has been steadily pursuing for many years.

"That was why, 12 years ago, we worked hard to have SEATO created, and to have South Vietnam designated by protocol. It would be wrong to say that the Australian Government is acting today in Vietnam solely because it is obliged to do so under SEATO. Even if SEATO did not exist, Australia would want to see communist aggression deterred and resisted in the region of South and South-East Asia.

"SEATO helps to deter and resist aggression. SEATO is an agreement and a working practical arrangement which Australia

"SEATO helps to deter and resist aggression. SEATO is an agreement and a working practical arrangement which Australia adheres to and observes in pursuit of our own interests and policies. Our actions in SEATO are in pursuance of our obligations through SEATO but are not because of SEATO alone. The Treaty does not itself lay down the details of action to be taken to meet a threat or an act of aggression. The members meet together as required to discuss situations and possible courses of action.

"Unanimity of all SEATO members is necessary for the designation of South Vietnam by protocol and this was agreed unanimously. But unanimity is not required for every action by each member State in playing its part in SEATO. Possible action by SEATO members is not limited, under the Treaty

or otherwise, to collective action. Obligations under the Treaty are separate as well as joint, and members have to make their separate judgments.

"In the absence of a collective decision—which in the question of Vietnam has not been sought—each State decides for itself what it will do. Australia decided initially, in 1954, to contribute to the stability and development of the Republic of Vietnam by economic assistance. Such assistance has continued ever since. Then, as Vietcong insurrection, sabotage, and terrorism sought to disrupt the administration and economy of South Vietnam and to destroy it, the Australian Government gave additional and new forms of assistance—for example, military advisers. When the situation worsened, with more blatant and large-scale armed intervention from North Vietnam, the Australian Government increased its assistance yet further and provided combat forces.

"The form of our response to the threat to South Vietnam was not determined by SEATO. It was for Australia to decide for itself the nature and size of the action we took. Other countries, more remote or perhaps feeling themselves less directly threatened or less able to assist others, might have taken a different view. But the Australian Government considered that the situation called for assistance to the Republic of Vietnam against aggression, and that it was in our national interest and within our national capacity to do no less than we are doing now.

"Our economic aid, and our military aid, has been given in response to requests from the Government of Vietnam. The Security Council of the United Nations was informed of our decision to give military assistance. Australia is not the only member of SEATO giving assistance to the Republic of Vietnam: the United States of America, New Zealand, and Thailand are doing so. The Republic of Korea, which is not a member of SEATO, is supplying forces.

"Many other countries throughout the world are providing civil assistance. The common objectives are to deter and repel aggression and to help the victim of aggression."

**The Politics of Service**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 13, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as the discussion of national service continues, it is incumbent upon the Congress to help to set the terms of the debate. Are we concerned about the best use to which American manpower can be put? Are we concerned about the best way to deal with the inequities in the draft?

Surely these are and ought to be a part of our concern. But the chief concern should be this: what is the best system for the young men and women who will be reaching draft age in the next few years? To put the question another way: what program would do the most to educate the youth of America?

Harris Wofford, Associate Director of the Peace Corps, raises this latter question in an article entitled "The Politics of Service" which appeared in the special May 1966 supplement to the Near East Report. He draws on Israel's experience to show the creative ways in

which national service can be used as a part of a citizen's education.

The article follows:

**THE POLITICS OF SERVICE**

(By Harris Wofford, Associate Director of the Peace Corps)

An American who missed his plane connection in the hinterland of Brazil recently was looking up at the night sky with tears coming down his face. His Brazilian friend apologized for the upset schedule. "It isn't that," said the American. "I am crying because this is the first time in 30 years I have seen the sky."

When the State of Israel was born 18 years ago, many people were weeping. It was the first time in 2,000 years that they had seen the sky.

The last time I was in Israel—it was a week after John Kennedy's death—there was a national mourning. Ben-Gurion remembers it as the first worldwide mourning in the history of mankind. The children on a kibbutz in the third grade were full of Kennedy—and I realized that with this generation around the world, a common worldwide younger generation, people sensed that for some years the sky had been seen in American politics.

In a larger sense, the story of the creation of Israel has permitted us to see the sky in terms of 20th Century politics and economics. It has demonstrated what we can call the politics of service, the politics of development.

"Next year in Jerusalem" is an ancient formula, but I find that on trips to visit Peace Corps projects I keep giving my version of it. I can't tell you how many times in recent months, traveling in Africa and Latin America, I found myself thinking about Israel. I found myself asking, "Have you talked to some of the Israelis working here, or have you been to Israel?"

When I was talking with volunteers in Villa Kennedy in Rio, where they are settling people in new communities, my thoughts ran to the land where they have tried more new settlements than anywhere else, and more successfully.

Our volunteers and Brazilians are working in programs dealing with the uprooted youth of the countryside who now live in city slums and are torn apart by this process. And I found myself thinking about Youth Aliyah and Gadna.

Our volunteers are working with labor unions and with cooperatives, and my thoughts ran to Histadruth.

They are concerned in Brazil about the need for national service by all young people. I found myself describing the national service plan of Israel, which calls for service from all young people but provides an alternative, such as the Nachal.

Now lest you think that I go on these United States Government trips solely as a travel agent for Israel, I should say that I do put in a few words for the Peace Corps down there. In fact, I see both of them as very parallel. Both are examples of this new politics of construction and of institutional invention, which is the politics the world community needs.

The promotion of this kind of politics is in the highest interests of the United States. For our chief interest should be in solving the problems of the world community, or helping to do so. The problems you have listed on the agenda here—hunger, poverty, integration and cooperation—will do as a start. When you roll them together, there is the 20th Century revolution.

The central fact of that 20th Century revolution is a simple one.

It takes 16 years to make a modern man. I was talking to an Ethiopian jet pilot flying into Addis Ababa a couple of months ago. He looked over the most beautiful land that I have ever seen and he pointed down to a

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barren valley with no roads within 100 miles. And he said, "I came from one of those villages. It had no roads, no lights, no school, no books, no medicine, and my family sent me over the hill to the school." And it has taken him 18 years to become a modern man.

The second fact is that the first one is no longer a secret. The word is out that this is possible. People know or believe that it is possible for the benefits of the 20th Century to be made available to all human beings. If the means exist, it follows that the duty exists. We must try to do this in such ways that habits of cooperation and ties between people develop—so that out of this process of modernization we get a community that is at peace.

#### EXAMPLE OF INTEGRATION

It seems to me that Israel shows that this 20th Century revolution can succeed. You all remember the pictures of the people from Yemen in the planes building fires. You can visit their children who, in 18 years, have become modern men in Israel. We think that we in America have an integration problem. But we have had only 10 to 15 percent of our people to integrate into our society. The two Israels that are being integrated are an example of the great integration that the world needs.

We think that the development of America was the fastest in the world. And yet we took 150 or 200 years to reach where we are. Israel's pace is closer to what the world is seeking, closer to the revolutionary pace of doing this in one or two generations. In fact, in terms of 20th Century development, we are now the oldest country in the world—not the youngest. If there was ever a young 20th Century country, today it is Israel.

We in the Peace Corps think that we have given a model for the mobilization of young people—for the use of voluntary labor for development and education and integration and cooperation and peace. We think we have been an example of how an idea can be brought down out of the air and made flesh. But Israel is a much larger model of all this.

Now our problem, I think, in dealing with cooperation and with progress, is that there have been many words about these. But all too often, they were not really there. With Israel, we have the opposite phenomenon. We have the example of the word being made flesh in a real sense. The people, for the first time, know that integration, cooperation and development are really there.

If we wish to proceed with this 20th Century revolution, if we wish to proceed with community action and the war on poverty at home and with real development abroad, the best place to look today for suggestion and invention is Israel. Israel indeed is already doing a lot.

But we can't rest and it can't rest because the 20th Century revolution, like most revolutions, is endangered. The war on poverty is not moving fast enough anywhere in the world. In America we are closing the gap somewhat between rich and poor. In the world, the gap is growing greater. This is a time for institutional invention on a bold and great new scale.

Now there's one hope here: that when you have an institutional invention that works, when you have a model, when there's an action that succeeds, it points up the other places to move. This is what Sargent Shriver and Edgar Cahn and their colleagues are seeing in the war on poverty.

We have discovered the same thing in the Peace Corps. We started and staked our claim and proved ourself. And with the relative success of the Peace Corps it was soon clear that there should be a domestic Peace Corps and we had Vista. And with the relative success of outsiders from this country going abroad and learning and teaching, we came upon the idea of the

Exchange Peace Corps to America to bring foreigners here—Latin Americans to teach Spanish in our schools, Israelis to work in our Job Corps camps, to work in our slum settlement houses, in our community action programs.

We came upon the idea of bringing volunteers to America to do in reverse here, for us, what we are doing abroad—to bring the world into our classroom, to bring the world into America—and to gain from it the kind of understanding that you get from actually working and serving in a place and not just studying and touring it. This idea got its first public response, I think, at the Hadassah Convention in Los Angeles in 1964. President Johnson has proposed it to Congress and it is before Congress today.

The Peace Corps of America has made it clear to every country in the world that there is room for it to form its own Peace Corps. Fifteen developed countries have formed their overseas Peace Corps along more or less the lines of the United States Peace Corps. And some 20 countries are now in the process of organizing their domestic Peace Corps.

Israel has staked its claim on a piece of land and has proved itself. We are told that Israel is unique, and therefore its lessons are not applicable in many cases. I would argue instead that it is unique and therefore it is applicable in many cases.

Not all of the differences between Israel and other situations are in Israel's favor. I don't think I am being insulting when I say I have seen better land. And I have seen more water, and I have felt cooler air. Ethiopia can feed all of Africa with only moderate development, with its deep top soil and its water resources. Israel had a lot of capital to be sure, but it has had to spend a lot of it for defense. But Israel has a lot of educated people.

#### THE STRATEGY IS YOUTH

Now one of the lessons that I draw is that Israel's strategy for development was youth—the education and mobilization of youth. Since half the population of the earth is under 30, this is a good strategy for the 20th Century revolution.

Secondly, Israel saw education in the broad and vital sense and not just in terms of lectures and classrooms and conventional school education. It saw its whole society as an educating society. It saw life in a kibbutz or on a settlement as education. It sees service in the army as central to the education of the nation. And it has made national service its central form of national integration.

Third, it has accepted the need to mobilize the whole younger generation—for national defense and national development. There are no 4-Fs in Israel. Everyone is 1-A in terms of national service in Israel. There is a place for every younger person to serve his nation in Israel.

Those three points alone, I think, make up a winning strategy for development in many nations in the world. Focus on the education and the mobilization of youth, invent educational institutions that take the whole of youth the way the national service program of Israel does.

Ethiopia has now adopted as a requirement for a college degree one year of national service—teaching or working in agriculture in the provinces of Ethiopia.

The Secretary General of the United Nations says that the day must soon come when everyone, everywhere, will see that one or two years of service in development—either in difficult places in his own land, or overseas—is an accepted part of the education of the 20th Century citizen.

I said that that was a good strategy for developing nations. I hope that the United States is still a developing nation because, when we are not, then we are like Faulkner's

South. The strategy is pertinent to the war on poverty in America.

I don't understand why anyone need be 4-F in terms of national service in America. Therefore, one lesson I suggest for discussion now is that there should be a national service program in America that would reach all of the American young people living in poverty, without excluding those who are sickest, or of lowest morale, or of lowest intelligence, who are now being excluded from national service under the draft.

The proposal I am making is that a national service program provide alternatives to army service, from the Peace Corps abroad, or Vista at home, to the Job Corps enlarged 10, 20, or 100 times.

I don't know whether this needs to be done entirely by law or whether we can do it by the volunteer idea, spread and become a recognized part of the citizenship training of every American. I don't think it is the law alone or primarily that has accomplished this in Israel. It is primarily that the idea of national service and development is in the air.

[Ed. Note: Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara spoke along similar lines in Montreal on May 18.]

So, I suggest that Israel help us to raise our sights to this new kind of politics of institutional invention. Weizmann recalled in *Trial and Error* how, when he was trying to found the Hebrew University, in the midst of World War I, General Allenby said, "No, you can't do that. That would be a political act." And Weizmann told how he convinced Allenby that founding an educational institution was not a political act, and so they laid the cornerstone during the war. Years later, he looked back and he said: "Of course, I was wrong. As I see it now, that was the most profound political act that I ever helped bring about."

And it is that kind of profound politics of institutional invention that is needed. That is what I mean by the politics of Yes. Let us go along and get ahead of the politics of No. Both are necessary if self-government is to be realized, and for the politics of Yes, Israel can be our greatest teacher.

Pericles said that Athens was the school of Greece. My proposition is that Israel today is the school of the 20th Century world.

Harry P. Snyder

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 13, 1966

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment upon the passing of a good friend of mine as well as a good friend to many others here in the Congress. The death of Harry P. Snyder on June 10 is a great loss to me personally and to the textile industry of the United States which he served most ably over the past 10 years as associate director of public relations for the American Textile Manufacturers Institute here in Washington, D.C.

Prior to the time he joined the American Textile Manufacturers Institute he served for about 20 years with the Associated Press, much of which time was devoted to covering matters occurring here on Capitol Hill. Those of us who were privileged to work with this able