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an assault on the unemployment, under-education, poor housing and lack of opportunity which breed violence and disrespect for law in our troubled cities.

#### URBAN AFFAIRS AND POVERTY

Mathias gives high priority to developing our human resources and restoring vitality, safety and hope to troubled communities. He has worked for effective, flexible programs of aid to urban and rural areas, and has fought the red tape, delays and arbitrary funding cuts which have disrupted so many efforts.

He has proposed initiatives to curb unemployment, improve manpower training and promote business development and expanded job opportunities.

He has sponsored legislation to support training for community service jobs which are not now being done.

He has introduced the Human Investment Act and other legislation to provide tax incentives for industry and business to expand training for meaningful jobs.

He has sponsored legislation to provide seed money for economic growth and community development projects.

He voted for Federal re-insurance to give urban businesses protection against riot losses and guarantee that property insurance will be available in central cities.

He has fought for emergency help for business and families who were innocent victims of disorders.

Mathias recognizes the urgent need for more sound housing for families with low incomes. He sponsored the National Home Ownership Foundation Act, now law, to help families become home owners and gain a real stake in their communities. He has supported rent supplements for low-income families as an alternative to public housing, and has advocated greater emphasis on rehabilitating homes and shaping renewal programs which do not uproot large numbers of people.

He supports efforts to improve health services for those who now receive inadequate health care, and has proposed expanding health services for children through Head Start and neighborhood clinics. He opposes Federal cuts in Medicaid which could jeopardize the entire Maryland program.

In 1967 Mathias secured Congressional approval of his amendment to provide more money for rat control through the Partnership for Health Act.

Mathias has supported and fought to improve anti-poverty programs. He has criticized Federal red tape and poor administration, and has battled for a fair share of funds for Maryland programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Head Start.

He has called for massive improvements in law enforcement and a strong Federal effort to curb the organized crime which preys on the urban poor. He has advocated training for law enforcement officers to enable them to respond effectively to threats of disorder, maintain public order and protect lives and property. (See "Law Enforcement and Justice" section.)

Mathias has criticized the present welfare system, which destroys individual initiative and incentive, and has called for reforms to help welfare recipients become self-supporting, to end differences in welfare aid among the states, and to insure that needy children, the aged and the disabled will receive the help they need. He also supports an expanded food stamp program.

#### SENIOR CITIZENS

Mathias has supported increases in social security and railroad retirement benefits. He has sponsored legislation to provide cost-of-living increases in benefits to combat inflation, and advocates lifting the ceiling on outside earnings to permit continued work by those over 65 who are able and willing to hold jobs.

He sponsored legislation to set up a White House Conference on the Aging to shape Federal, state and local efforts to meet the needs of senior citizens for adequate housing, medical care, income, transportation and other services.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS

Mathias has been a recognized leader in efforts to enact sound laws to secure for all Americans the full and equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution. On the House Judiciary Committee he helped to draft the Civil Rights Act of 1954, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

In 1966 he won House passage of the Mathias Amendment, which banned racial discrimination by those in the business of selling or renting housing but preserved the freedom of the individual home owner. This amendment was a foundation for the 1968 Act.

#### CONSUMERS

Mathias has backed legislation to protect consumers against unsafe products and exploitation. Such bills include auto safety, truth-in-lending, truth-in-packaging, meat and poultry inspection. On House Judiciary Committee he helped lay foundations for a study of auto insurance rates and coverage.

#### EDUCATION

Mathias believes that good education is a vital national investment. He has worked for many bills to help provide good schools for all students, and to open educational opportunities to all regardless of their family income.

He has supported Federal aid to higher education and vocational education to improve facilities, courses and research, and to underwrite student loans and scholarships.

He backed establishing and improving the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide additional aid to children from low-income families in the cities and rural areas.

Since 1961 he has sponsored legislation providing for a credit against Federal income tax to offset the rising costs of higher education.

He supports aid to Federally impacted school districts and has fought for full funding of this vital program.

He has called for a full review of Federal aid to colleges and universities, and for new, comprehensive assistance which can promote quality education while maintaining the independence of schools from the government.

He has introduced legislation to provide for a full review of all Federal policies toward education, to make Federal aid programs truly able to meet the educational needs of the 1970's.

#### HEALTH CARE

Mathias has proposed programs to improve health care for young children, through Head Start, community education and neighborhood clinics.

He has opposed legislation which could undermine the Maryland Medicaid program.

He has supported legislation to help train more manpower in health fields, to assist medical schools, to build hospitals and to advance medical research.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES

Mathias has been active in the battle to preserve and protect the natural resources of Maryland and the nation, to promote future economic growth and insure that future generations can enjoy clean water, pure air, open space and varied recreational opportunities.

He supported the Water Quality Act, requiring state standards for water purity.

He supports Federal aid for sewage treatment plants and water systems, has endorsed tax incentives for anti-pollution work by industries, and has fought to insure that Maryland will receive its full quota of Federal funds to augment state pollution control initiatives.

He supported the national Air Quality Act and sponsored the law to control air pollution in the Washington area.

He has criticized Federal institutions for failing to end practices causing water pollution.

Mathias has been deeply involved in planning for the future of the Potomac River Basin. The Mathias program includes immediate development of the C & O Canal as a national historical park, under legislation he has sponsored since 1961; guaranteed access to the river for recreation and for industry and communities needing water; and cooperative planning by citizens' groups, local governments, the State and the Federal government.

He has questioned the practicality of the Interior Department's Potomac National River proposal, which would involve massive Federal takings of land at tremendous expense, and could shut off access to the River and restrict economic growth.

He has fought for adequate funds for Bloomington Dam and for Congressional approval for the Sixes Bridge Dam.

He had called for more intensive Federal studies of Chesapeake Bay and the crab shortages there, and backs preventive policies to keep the Bay healthy and preserve its wealth of resources.

#### AGRICULTURE

Mathias has consistently opposed the present program of agricultural subsidies and controls, which has been too costly to American taxpayers, has failed to limit farm production or keep prices for farmers up, and has aided large operations more than family farms. He has voted against extending the program and in favor of ceilings on payments to any individual.

As a substitute he has proposed a gradual return to a free market system, with government-backed loans to farmers and expanded world markets.

He has worked to help Maryland farmers by reforming Federal drought relief programs, seeking full reports on cloud-seeding activities, and fighting the Agriculture Department decision to deny export aid to Maryland tobacco sellers.

He has consistently backed PL 480 (Food for Freedom), which provides overseas markets for American commodities.

#### FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mathias believes Federal employees' pay and benefits should be comparable to those of workers in private industry. He has backed all Federal pay raise legislation in this decade, including the 1967 law which pledges full comparability by 1969.

He has sponsored legislation to adjust salary scales for postal workers and provide for a review of employee bargaining rights.

He has introduced and fought for many bills to improve the Federal retirement system, remove inequities in annuities and make benefits for retired Federal employees more adequate.

#### MARITIME POLICY

Mathias has sponsored legislation to establish a new, constructive American maritime policy and promote the construction of more merchant ships in U.S. yards. He has also sponsored and voted for legislation to establish an independent Maritime Administration.

#### THE DRAFT

Mathias believes the draft today is unfair and unjust to too many young men. Since 1966 he has been working to remove inequities, set nationwide standards, and insure that every youth will receive the same fair treatment regardless of where he lives.

Last year Mathias voted for a House bill which extended the draft for four years with some reforms, including national standards for inductions and deferments. When the

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Senate struck down those improvements, he voted against the conference report.

He has since introduced legislation to make the most urgent reforms of the draft:

To require nationwide uniform standards for deferments.

To provide fair treatment for all students, including those in junior and community colleges, and in graduate courses.

To end the ban on using a lottery to choose draftees.

To make physical and mental standards for draftees and volunteers the same.

To reassert the goal of increasing voluntary enlistments and reducing draft calls except in national emergencies.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

As a Member of the House District of Columbia Committee for eight years, Mathias has worked to make Washington a model as the national capital and the center of a vital, fast-growing metropolitan area.

He believes that the citizens of Washington should have a voice on Capitol Hill like all other Americans, and sponsored a Constitutional amendment to provide full voting representation for D.C. in both Senate and House. He has also sponsored legislation to create the post of non-voting delegate to the House from Washington as an interim step.

Mathias has also worked to make local government in Washington more responsive to the people, and has supported reorganization of the city government and creation of an elected school board.

He has fought to strengthen law enforcement in Washington by:

securing higher salaries, better training and educational incentives for police.

getting enough police manpower onto the streets to prevent crime and respond promptly to threats of disorder.

reforming the D.C. bail system to protect the community and reduce the likelihood that offenders will be freed on bail to commit more crimes.

fighting juvenile delinquency.

obtaining more judgepower in the D.C. courts to cut the backlog and end delays.

securing improvements in criminal laws and procedures, such as those in the 1967 omnibus crime bill, which he supported as the most workable and effective measure which met basic constitutional tests.

sponsoring legislation providing for review of the obsolete D.C. criminal code.

Mathias knows that a balanced, efficient transportation system is vital to the health of the Washington area. He has battled for rapid rail transit and a sensible freeway system, with adequate relocation help for all families forced to move.

He has supported increases in the Federal payment to the D.C. budget and opposes any commuter tax.

## GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Mathias has waged a constant battle against red tape, confusion, extravagance and obscurity in public programs, and to secure the most efficient conduct of the public business.

He has been the primary House sponsor of bills to create a new Hoover-type Commission to review all Federal operations and recommend reforms to cut bureaucracy, end duplication and improve effectiveness.

He has sponsored legislation to set up a Commission on Public Management to find ways to employ the most modern business and analysis methods in attacking national problems.

He has criticized Federal disorganization, the growth of countless coordinating committees, and the lack of firm leadership in fields such as urban affairs and the war on organized crime.

He has fought against undue secrecy in government operations.

## TRANSPORTATION

Mathias believes that sound, efficient transportation systems are vital to national growth and community health.

He has worked to secure a truly balanced and adequate system of roads and rapid rail transit for the Washington metropolitan area.

He has fought for better use of Friendship Airport, for development of other Maryland airports, and against congestion and excessive noise at National Airport.

He has criticized Administration freezes on funds for highway construction and safety projects.

He supports Federal aid for improvement of mass transit.

## POLITICAL REFORMS

Mathias advocates election reforms so every voter will have not only an equal vote, but an effective voice at every step where political decisions are made.

He has introduced a Constitutional amendment to abolish the archaic electoral college in favor of direct popular election of the President.

He has called for restoring a Presidential preferential primary in Maryland and letting Maryland's voters choose delegates to national party conventions directly in party primaries.

He opposes a national Presidential primary at present because it could undermine state and local parties and could prove to be so expensive that many potential candidates would be shut out.

He has introduced a bill to provide Federal income tax credits to offset small contributions to campaigns to encourage more people to support the candidate of their choice.

Mathias believes that the doors of politics must be opened to bring more citizens in, to give the public the full facts on campaign spending and the backing of candidates and officeholders, and to restore public confidence in politics.

He has introduced a bill requiring full public disclosure of all campaigns contributions and spending.

He supports full public disclosure of every office-holder's personal assets, outside income and creditors, to give the people a basis for deciding whether any personal interests influence a man's decisions on national issues.

He and Mrs. Mathias have made full and public disclosure.

He sponsored and voted for legislation to set up a House Committee on Standards of Conduct.

## MIDDLE EAST POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, just a year ago last June the drama of the 6-day Arab-Israeli war unfolded before our eyes. The traumatic struggle of last year seems so long ago as we look back upon it. But I want to remind my colleagues and the country that Israel's swift victory did not resolve that region's intricate problems.

Our emphasis on Vietnam has overshadowed our attention to the Middle East. We have settled for a passive Middle East policy based on elusive peace proposals and optimistic reports of diplomatic missions. But our verbal support for Israel's political independence and territorial integrity is no longer enough. In recognition of the issues at stake in the Middle East, we must support Israel

militarily and diplomatically. Specifically, we must send Phantom F-4 jets to Israel.

These issues are not limited to the grievances of the inhabitants of that region. A military solution there would disrupt world order and destroy world peace. What is at stake in the Middle East is the precarious balance of Soviet-United States power in the cold war.

The Soviet military presence in the Mediterranean and the Middle East is steadily growing. In the last 16 months Soviet arms shipments to the Arab nations have multiplied. Before June 1967, the Arab advantage in jets alone was 4 to 1. Today it is 7 to 1. Soviet pilots are flying Arab planes as well as training Arab pilots. Soviet ships conspicuously occupy Egyptian ports and an estimated 3,000 Soviet advisers are serving Egyptian units.

Diplomatically, the Soviet Union remains bent on blocking direct Arab-Israel peace talks, fearing that such talks would undermine Soviet leverage gained by supplying arms to Arab nations. In a speech before the United Nations on October 2, Premier Kosygin declared, in effect, that the Soviet Union could do as she pleased in the Middle East, because she considers that area vital to her interests.

Our Government has thwarted Israel's request for arms assistance to balance Soviet shipments, believing that its reluctance to supply Israel with weapons would persuade Soviet leaders to display similar restraint toward the Arab nations. This is merely wishful thinking and bears no relation to the facts.

Our continued reluctance to sell Israel jets, based on our fear of Soviet intervention, actually encourages Soviet arms shipments by raising Soviet hopes of weakening American influence and prestige in the Middle East. Soviet leaders, interpreting our inaction as timidity, are unwilling to compel Arab leaders to turn from destructive terrorism to constructive negotiations. For the Soviet Union aims at nothing less than subverting Arab nations and bringing them into the Communist fold.

Hegemony in the Middle East offers the Soviet Union control over American oil companies' supply to Western Europe and the United States. This control could cut the income flowing from American Middle East oil interests to the West, decreasing our balance-of-payments deficit. Thus, the Soviet Union is not necessarily seeking war in the Middle East that might culminate in a military confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Rather, it is seeking signs of an eroding U.S. commitment to Israel. By denying Israel the arms she needs to defend herself, are we not saying to the Soviet Union that the Middle East is only of secondary importance to us?

If, on the other hand, we demonstrate a strong commitment to Israel, the Soviet Union would probably rethink its position.

By responding to Israel's need we will, in effect, be strengthening the whole region's capacity to resist the pressures of Soviet control. Egypt, Algeria, Yemen,

Syria, and Iraq receive arms from the Soviet Union. But there are a number of countries in the Middle East—Iran, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, in particular—which lean toward the West, partly because of common economic interests.

There are dissidents in these Western-oriented countries who want to side with the Soviet Union. If the United States weakens its aid to Israel—a country so conspicuously identified with democracy—Soviet influence gains in all Arab and neutral countries of the area.

By insuring Israel's right to exist, the United States is taking a major step toward ending the cold war. For Israel can demonstrate to developing nations throughout the world that her way—progress through democracy and development—is the best way for all nations to follow. Israel's rapid economic growth indicates that progress can proceed without the regimentation of a totalitarian state. Many African and Asian nations have already learned this lesson from Israel.

We must act decisively to protect and enhance the democratic life for all freedom-loving nations in the Middle East, and ultimately throughout the world.

#### THE STATURE OF A STATESMAN— THE HONORABLE LISTER HILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. STAGGERS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, admiration and awe demand that we pause a moment in contemplation of a towering figure of a statesman who has added prestige and honor to these legislative halls over a period of nearly half a century. The Honorable LISTER HILL, senior Senator from the great State of Alabama, has announced that he will retire at the end of this session of Congress. But he must not leave before we try to put into words our admiration for his unsullied character as a true American, and our awe of his skill as a wise legislator.

In an earlier stage of American development, it was written of the HILL family: It is characterized by moderation, contentment, and independence under all circumstances; by its strength of heroic endurance, its overflowing tenderness of admiration for all loveliness, and by its sympathy for all suffering. It is pervaded by a deep sense of religion, and dedicated to the fulfillment of duty, and to obedience to the word manifest in the heart.

These traits seem to have reached the perfection of flowering and fruition in the present generation. Through the annals of the tribe, the HILL name is preceded again and again by the time-honored title of doctor. No fewer than seven of the Senator's close kin are entitled to bear the symbol of the winged serpents today. His father was an eminent physician, taught by the famed Lister of England, and close associate of the Gorgas whose conquest of yellow fever made the Panama Canal possible. It was this Dr. Hill who performed the

first heart suture, a piece of surgery carried out under emergency conditions, on a kitchen table, and completely successful. Neither skill nor imagination nor courage has been lacking when human suffering awaited the ministrations of a Hill physician.

By all the urging of tradition, then, Senator HILL should have sought reputation in the field of medicine. Instead he chose the law. It is not a matter of record that his family viewed the choice with disappointment. Whether they did or no, the choice is a vindication of the theory that destiny rules the fate of those who choose to serve. For as master of the art of law he has served the science and art of medicine in innumerable ways which would not have been open to him as a physician.

It is a tribute to the State of Alabama that it accepts the principle that he who is nobly born must nobly meet his fate. As a capable and successful lawyer, it was inevitable that his fellow citizens should select a man of his family standing and reputation to represent them in Congress. So to Congress he came, and at an early age. And in Congress he has remained, first as a Representative, and then as a Senator, until this good day, accumulating influence and respect and honor, along with the veneration due unflinching allegiance to the public trust.

The record of Senator HILL's activities as a legislator is written in the books for all to read, and need not be rehearsed here. What we are interested in here is the image of his character and concern as cast on the screen of history. And that image is the picture of the foremost innovator and partisan of the public health of our times.

The central concept of Senator HILL's vision of a more healthy Nation and world is embodied in the so-called Hill-Burton Act. Originally, the act provided Federal assistance for the construction and equipment of standard hospitals in the more rural areas of America. As enlarged and expanded, the act has widened its view of possibilities in the area of health until it takes in practically every target of medical attack. Nearly 1,000 hospitals, medical centers, and other facilities scattered from coast to coast across the continent are monuments to his relentless determination and his organizing genius. Federal funds have been made available for research in the cause, cure, and above all, the prevention of some of the most dreaded enemies of the human race: cancer, heart disease, cerebral palsy, mental illness, deafness, impaired vision. In hospitals and universities throughout the land, dedicated scientists toil night and day with the hope that men everywhere may enjoy freedom from suffering and physical and mental disability. More than 60 major legislative enactments mark the Senator's progress toward the ideal of a sound mind in a sound body. Together they represent an incalculable blessing to humanity.

In the medical world it is said that the Senator has placed the tools of health in the hands of the workers in health. Tools multiply hands and brains indefinitely. Because of the tools, the Senator's

purposes and designs come alive in thousands of brains and eyes and muscles belonging to thousands of dedicated workers, and will continue to do so throughout foreseeable time. For fortunate humanity, this means that we are already entering on the golden age of medicine. It is claimed that our knowledge and skill in the treatment of disease has expanded more in the last few decades than in all previous history. And this is just the beginning.

Scientists are well aware of the Senator's influence on his time. An inspection of his office will show the walls to be encrusted with testimonials to his good will and wise planning. They come from States and institutions and societies and individuals, and they bear record in etched bronze and in durable parchment to the grateful appreciation of the donors. Such are the just rewards of a life well spent.

I speak in rather feeling terms, Mr. Speaker, because I have been privileged to touch on at least the periphery of the Senator's activities. Our respective committees deal often with the same legislation, and I have been inspired by his magnetic personality until I feel that I, too, may dream dreams. It is an honor to have been a part of these things.

So now, in a few days, the Senator proposes to relinquish the post he has filled so well for so long. We shall miss him. But the keenness of our sense of loss is blunted somewhat by the knowledge that his spirit will still be with us, to urge us on the way of achievement. The words of the quote regarding his name recur with pointed pungency: heroic endurance; tenderness; sympathy; fulfillment of duty. They bear the stamp of prophecy. May the years of his retirement be warmed and brightened by the glow of the love and thankfulness of his legions of friends and neighbors, by the serenity of a clear conscience, and by the happy reflections that he has met the full challenge of life with joy and enthusiasm.

#### CONGRESSMAN REUSS URGES REFORM OF UNFAIR U.S. TAX SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, our Federal tax system is based on the so-called progressive principle, according to ability to pay. But the gap between what the system is supposed to do and what it actually does is wide and it is getting wider every year.

The average taxpayer is already paying more than a month's salary in Federal income taxes every year, plus property taxes on his home, and sales taxes on virtually everything he buys. Now this year, the new 10-percent income tax surcharge will be piled on top of that.

But for some people, taxes are no problem at all. They are the ones who are shrewd enough to take full advantage of the gaping loopholes in our leaky tax laws; and there are a host of gimmicks to benefit the few at the expense of the many.

In 1966, for example, there were 18 millionaires who did not pay a dime of income tax. In 1965, there were 35 taxpayers with incomes of \$500,000 or more who avoided paying any tax at all. There are literally thousands of taxpayers with incomes of \$100,000 a year or more who pay less than 25 percent of their income in taxes even though the tax laws appear to say they should be paying 50, 60, or 70 percent.

There is certainly no shortage of ways open to the rich to avoid taxes. There is the stock option dodge, which is used by highly paid executives of big companies to avoid paying taxes at the regular rates on bonuses or salary raises. There is the unlimited charitable deduction, under which the donor gets the credit but the Treasury pays the bill—in lost revenues. And there is the "hobby farm," where nothing profitable is grown except tax loopholes.

The new 10-percent income tax surcharge will not even touch a great many of these people. The surcharge is a tax on taxes paid, and if they are not paying any taxes they would not be paying any surcharge. Ten percent of zero is zero, no matter how you figure it.

And it is not just individuals who manage to avoid paying their fair share. The major oil companies make these individual tax avoiders look like pikers. In 1966, the 20 giant oil companies in America cleared a total net profit of more than \$4¼ billion—yet they paid Federal income taxes at the midget rate of only 8½ percent. That is about the same percentage rate that a man and wife earning \$3,000 a year must pay.

Mr. Speaker, these are but a few of the gimmicks built into our Rube Goldberg tax system. Every year, the tax avoiders muster their highly paid lobbyists for yet another raid on the Treasury. Every year the loopholes get bigger and bigger. Every year the hard-working average American taxpayer is squeezed a bit more to make up for the lost revenue.

It was to correct this blatant favoritism that I introduced last year H.R. 13490, a 10-point program aimed at putting an end to the most glaring of these tax loopholes.

My bill, by correcting these inequities, would bring in some \$7 billion in vitally needed new revenues. Some of this could be used to reduce the income tax burden on the average Federal taxpayer.

It could also serve to ease the enormous property tax burden on the average homeowner. In Milwaukee, for example, the property tax on a \$15,000 home is over \$600 a year. With part of the extra \$7 billion a year that tax reform would bring in, the Federal Government could make block grants available to help cities deal with the problems of education and welfare, housing, and police protection that are now draining away revenues and forcing ever higher property taxes.

Tax reform is an idea whose time has come. It is up to the 50 million low- and moderate-income taxpayers who are now being overcharged every April 15 to form their own lobby—a lobby for the public interest. If the public demand for tax reform is loud and clear, it is just possible that the next President will get the message.

### THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

**THE SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, citizens of America and New York watched the Chicago convention with particular interest regardless of their political affiliation. It was the only convention where any stand was expressed opposing the Vietnam war. Thus I am including this brief report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The convention was one of the most difficult in our history. Many of us went there to fight for new leadership and new ideals. We did not win a total victory.

But despite its failures, the Chicago convention did show hope for the future. Delegates voted for no more unit rule. The Mississippi and Georgia credentials fights were won, and we are hopefully on our way to a new party.

As early as last January, I had urged the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy to seek the nomination and I was committed to his cause. After his tragic death, I supported Senator EUGENE McCARTHY and voted for him as a delegate at the Democratic National Convention.

At Chicago I had the honor of helping to organize and lead the fight for a change in Vietnam policy and spoke for the minority plank on Vietnam. I headed the spontaneous demonstration that briefly captured the amphitheater for peace, civil rights, and the needs of the people. I joined in leading the torchlight parade of delegates who marched in silent protest.

In supporting the minority report on Vietnam, I said:

The fabric of our society has been torn by urban decay, poverty and racism—inevitable by-products of the war in Vietnam. . . . The Democratic Party must seriously offer itself to the American people as the Party of peace and progress. We must free the nominee of this Convention from the shackles of the past. . . .

Our Party must recognize the depth of our peril and redirect our foreign policy to end a brutal war and re-order our national priorities. We must give cause for hope to the alienated and oppressed, and we must put the streets of our cities ahead of the streets of Saigon.

The full text of my remarks at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on August 28, 1968, follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN IN SUPPORT OF THE MINORITY REPORT ON VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, AUGUST 28, 1968

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, under our unique political system, still the best devised by man for his own self-government, the Democratic Party proposes to ask the American people for a renewed mandate. It does so at a time when our Nation faces a crisis in leadership unmatched in this generation or century.

The fabric of our society has been torn by urban decay, poverty, and racism. The neglect of our domestic problems is an inevitable by-product of the war in Vietnam which has expended our national treasure—taking the lives of our brave young men, the future leaders of our democracy, and debilitating our spirit.

The consequences for our diplomacy, our domestic tranquility, our disadvantaged and oppressed, upon our youth—indeed, upon our sense of national purpose—are clear.

This tragic war has brought us to the brink of chaos at home—where free men and free women are selecting a Presidential candidate behind barbed wire—and over the brink of moral bankruptcy in the eyes of other nations.

As a Congressman, I have consistently opposed the Administration policy in Vietnam with my voice and my votes.

As a Democrat, I believe in what our party stood for in the election of 1964. But the ideals of that campaign have been violated by the war and its consequences. If the Democratic Party is to seriously offer itself to the American people as the Party of peace and progress, we must confess error and free the nominee of this convention from the shackles of the past.

The majority report is a re-affirmation of the misconceptions and illusions which produced the stale-mated war—an undeclared war, mind you—10,000 miles from our shore, with its immeasurable costs and consequences. The majority report is a re-affirmation of an attitude which has prevented meaningful negotiations. It rejects an unconditional halt in the bombing of North Vietnam—an essential step to productive negotiations.

And the majority report, by not accepting the direct participation of the NLF in negotiations and their right to participate in the future political life of South Vietnam, fails to recognize the political realities in South Vietnam.

It is a document designed to defend a record, not chart a new and more realistic course.

When millions of citizens voting in primaries have repudiated that record, it would be an act of blind folly to ratify it here.

As a Democrat, and as an American, I stand before you today to ask our Party to recognize the depth of our peril, and to pledge a redirection of our foreign policy to end a brutal war and re-order our national priorities.

We must give cause for hope to the alienated and oppressed—we must put the streets of our cities ahead of the streets of Saigon. If the Democratic Party is to continue as a political vehicle for change—if the Democratic party is to offer a better vision for the future—if the Democratic Party is to inspire new confidence! Then the possibility of change, vision, and confidence must be found in the platform we adopt.

The challenge to America is to achieve social reconstruction and racial reconciliation at home, and constructive leadership abroad.

We have the capacity to meet that challenge.

Let us demonstrate the will to do so.

### REV. DR. MERRILL MILES MOORE

**THE SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ROONEY] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to share with you and my colleagues the final sermon of the Reverend Dr. Merrill Miles Moore, rector of Trinity Church, Bethlehem, Pa., which he delivered on the last Sunday before his retirement as rector of Trinity Church after 40½ years of faithful service to his congregation and to his community.

During his ministry, the membership of Trinity Episcopal Church has more than tripled, the church has been remodeled, and a new parish house, Sunday school room, and choir room have been built. Dr. Moore has been an outstanding leader in diocesan affairs, serving as a member of many church com-