

May 18, 1965

against a hostile conspiracy, the father had to protect his family from drought and famine. The hidden and unknown forces of a capricious nature were the sworn enemies of man's life and work.

Our attitudes toward nature have, therefore, been determined by this primordial struggle. We still react with self-protective devices when we are threatened by these hidden forces: The hands perspire, the adrenalin flows, the hair bristles. One of the consequences of our knowledge that man's history on earth is far longer than had been thought is the recognition that these techniques of self-defense, appropriate to the jungle but pathetically unsuited to the realities of urban existence, belong to the agelong heritage of the race and cannot be abolished by a simple fiat either of rational morality or of religious obedience.

Religious obedience has, in fact, often emphasized the conflict of man with nature. Much of what Christians have said and written about the relation between man and the rest of the creation has been inspired by the command of the Creator, described in the Book of Genesis, to "have dominion over the earth" and over the fish, the fowl, and all the other beings that populate it. This command has supplied the divine sanction for scientific research into the ways of the natural world and has declared that man's investigations of these ways are appropriate to his place as the crown of the creation and the vice-gerent of God in the natural order.

But the same command has also supplied a sanction for the exploitation of nature which, in the 19th and 20th centuries, has assumed the proportions of an international scandal. For the first time in human history, modern technology has placed into man's hands the capacity to alter permanently the very character of his natural environment. Streams that have supported fish for millennia are now so choked by filth that nothing can live in them or on them. The forests and the plains have been denuded of their vegetation, leached out and eroded and stripped by the relentless winds. The very air surrounding all of us on earth has been poisoned.

Thus the creation in which its Maker takes His delight has become a stench in the nostrils of God. Our own period of human history has compounded the felony by spewing forth into the atmosphere the noxious dusts of its atomic weapons, whose final results will not be known until future generations. The effects of all this on man is becoming evident. His "natural resources," his recreation, his sources of food have all been damaged or impaired, and farsighted men everywhere recognize that such pollution simply cannot go on.

But they recognize this largely because of the way all these atrocities affect man. Yet man is not alone on this earth. The rest of the creation needs to be defended, too. It has no great lobby in the various capitals of the world, but it ought to have a defender and friend in the Christian believers of the world, whose reverence for the Creator ought to make them fiercely indignant over the atrocities of man's inhumanity to nature. The creation is mute, although it does speak in accents that are pleasing to the ears of God. Who will speak in its behalf? Those who believe in the Creator must.

LETTERS FROM CONNECTICUT SERVICEMEN IN VIETNAM

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, during my recent visit to Vietnam I was able to meet with General Westmoreland and the senior members of his staff; with at least a dozen American officers serving as advisers in the field, including 4 officers from my home State of Connecticut; and with some 50 or 60 enlisted members of

our Armed Forces, the majority of them from Connecticut.

I was tremendously impressed by the morale of our Armed Forces at every level.

There are no faint hearts among the Americans in Vietnam, no voices clamoring for withdrawal because the going is rough and the perils are great.

On the contrary, every single member of the Armed Forces I met, every single member of our Embassy staff, every single member of the AID team, was determined that the war must be won and convinced that it could be won.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the Record a letter which I received from an American serviceman in Vietnam, Alc Willard Stevane and four statements I received from officers serving as advisers in the field, all of whom come from my home State of Connecticut, and whom I had the pleasure of meeting while I was in Vietnam.

I would call the attention of my colleagues in particular to the concluding words of Lt. (jg.) Edward R. Spitzner of Orange, Conn., whose duties have enabled him to see the war in Vietnam in many areas:

What the war does not need are those people who constantly sit back and criticize, but fail to view the total picture. If the energy that was devoted to and generated by this criticism were used as a weapon against the Vietcong, there would probably be few of the enemy still remaining in the Republic of Vietnam.

I would also call the attention of my colleagues to the closing words of Airman Stevane's letter:

Fight for us so we may fight for you in keeping freedom here and always in the United States.

Finally, I wish to call attention to the statement I received from Capt. Nelson J. Sprague, of Manchester, Conn.:

The character of the American as typified in Vietnam is one which makes everyone proud to be part of the force. The devotion to duty exhibited by the American fighting man is phenomenal. Twelve to 16 hours a day, for week after week without the slightest decay in morale or dedication, depicts the normal scene. All efforts are being concerted into the primary objective; assisting the Vietnamese in defeating the onslaught of the Communist doctrine.

These statements are, I believe, completely characteristic of the attitude and the morale of our servicemen in Vietnam.

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

STATEMENT OF LT. (JG.) EDWARD R. SPITZNER,
U.S. NAVAL ADVISORY GROUP, SAIGON, VIETNAM

(Home, 362 Drummond Road, Orange, Conn.)

As my arrival in the Republic of Vietnam (February 1, 1964) was preceded by a coup and followed by Buddhist demonstrations and the Kinh Do Theater bombing, I was naturally quite pessimistic about the situation here. This pessimism was further bolstered by ensuing coups and several large battles in which the Republic of Vietnam's Armed Forces, with their American advisers, sustained heavy casualties. This same opinion is readily expressed by personnel whose tour of duty in Vietnam is limited to the Saigon area.

It was not until I had the chance to travel,

both north and south of Saigon, as translation group officer for headquarters support activity, Saigon, that this attitude changed. My job takes me to those areas which request an American interpreter/translator or testing facilities for the promotion of Vietnamese civilian interpreter/translators. In this capacity I have had the chance to see much of Vietnam over the past 15 months of duty and have grown to appreciate the people and their love of freedom. Above all, these travels have painted a true picture of the war in Vietnam; not just a picture of single battles with high losses on both sides. It seems to me that many people consider the war here a huge tally sheet, and only count the number of people killed. These people are making a terrible mistake, yet in some cases, it is the only thing from which they have to formulate an opinion.

In my opinion, the real war, which never appears in newspapers or on tally sheets, is being won in the remote, isolated villages and hamlets of Vietnam. Here, the American advisers and their counterparts are using all available means to improve the security conditions and the social and economic well-being of the people. The results of such projects can be seen by the many smiles one receives when touring such a village. Although this is the one aspect of the war which has impressed me the most, I feel that we cannot forget the many sacrifices made by those units which daily engage the Vietcong in battle. This is not a single, large war, but a war which is composed of many smaller wars which, in their entirety, form the Vietnam picture.

The effective work of the advisers, coupled with a sound psywar and "Chieu Hoi" policy—i.e., an open-arms policy which encourages the Vietcong to defect—should bring more positive and far-reaching results in the future. Now, when morale is high, due to the recent attacks on North Vietnam, is the time to push harder and harder and to drive the Vietcong from South Vietnam. What the war does not need are those people who constantly sit back and criticize, but fail to view the total picture. If the energy that was devoted to and generated by this criticism were used as a weapon against the Vietcong, there would probably be few of the enemy still remaining in the Republic of Vietnam.

There has been a tremendous improvement in the overall war effort in the last 6 months. If we can maintain this status throughout the upcoming rainy season, the Vietcong will be on the run, and running fast at that.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. NELSON J. SPRAGUE, U.S.
AIR FORCE

(Home, 19 Ann Street, Manchester, Conn.)

I am presently assigned in southeast Asia at Tan Son Nhut Airbase, Saigon, Vietnam, as a pilot for the Embassy aircraft located here.

The character of the American as typified in Vietnam is one which makes everyone proud to be part of the force. The devotion to duty exhibited by the American fighting man is phenomenal. Twelve to sixteen hours a day, for week after week without the slightest decay in morale or dedication depicts the normal scene. All efforts are being concerted into the primary objective; assisting the Vietnamese in defeating the onslaught of the Communist doctrine.

It is extremely gratifying to witness, personally, the vast buildup of American air, ground, and sea power. It is truly one of the greatest deterrent forces ever amassed in a limited war effort.

It is, I believe, still early to record any decided changes in Vietcong tactics resulting from our continuous destructive air strikes in the North. The impact on Vietcong supplies, manpower and morale obviously is devastating, but presently is being well concealed in their diversified activity.

The next few months will represent a turning point in southeast Asia, revealing not only our actual progress in the fight against the spread of communism, but also the true intent of Communist China and the Soviet Union in southeast Asia.

I firmly believe that our efforts in southeast Asia must be intensified and expanded in order to insure the victory that we and the free peoples of the world need to preserve a free and democratic society.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. RICHARD J. TERSECH, IV
CORPS ADVISER
(Home, 98 Cedar Ridge Road, Newington, Conn.)

I have been in Vietnam for about 8 months, first as a rifle battalion adviser in the 7th Division tactical area about 50 miles south of Saigon in the Mekong Delta. After 6 months with the rifle battalion I was made operations and training adviser in Dinh Tuong sector with headquarters at My Tho which is also the headquarters of the 7th Division. The following are my personal observations on the war as I have seen it:

The Vietnamese military personnel I have dealt with as an adviser to the 1st Battalion, 12th Regiment, 7th Infantry Division, are professional soldiers who love their country and who will continue to fight until they see it free. The professional ability of the officers is high and the courage of the individual soldier is unquestionable. Looking back on my 6 months with the rifle battalion I can see improvement in the locations our battalion occupied. These improvements include a marked increase in the number of people living in the area because of the security the battalion offered. With the increase in people there followed an improvement in the economic well-being of the community because of increased trade and improved roads.

The second part of my tour in Vietnam has been as the operations and training adviser of Dinh Tuong sector. This job has given me a look at the paramilitary and civil aspects of the war here. Again the Vietnamese working at the sector and district level are, for the most part, dedicated and capable men who are slowly convincing the population that the Government will help them and that the Vietcong are, in fact, Communists who wish to exploit them for their own use. This "winning the hearts and minds of the people" is slow work, but again, I can see improvement in conditions over what they were when I arrived in Dinh Tuong sector.

STATEMENT OF CAPT. HOWARD E. BELINSKY, IV
CORPS ADVISER
(Home, Seymour, Conn.)

I arrived in Vietnam on September 5, 1964. For my first 6 months I was assigned as the operations and training adviser, Kien Hoa Province. Kien Hoa is approximately 65 miles south of Saigon in the 7th Infantry Division tactical area. After 6 months at province level I was assigned as the battalion adviser, 1st Battalion, 12th Regiment, which operates throughout the division tactical area. Upon my assignment to the Mekong Delta region of Vietnam I found an area of fertile soil cultivated by thousands of hard-working Vietnamese farmers. It is an area which has an overabundance of rice, bananas, coconuts, pineapples, and dozens of other native Vietnamese fruits and vegetables. It is the Vietnamese farmers who till the land who are the victims of this Communist guerrilla war. In those areas of Vietcong domination it is these farmers who live in small villages and hamlets who are exploited to provide new recruits, food, revenue through taxation, and a base of operation. Left alone these people have no other choice but to unwillingly provide support for the Vietcong effort. Right now many inhabitants of these Vietcong dominated areas are becoming demoralized because of high Vietcong taxation,

a constant flow of Vietcong propaganda and promises which have fallen flat. In those areas where the government of Vietnam has control now and is working to reestablish control, the people willingly support the national government. Given the necessary economic aid and assistance these once Vietcong dominated villages again prosper and regain their high rates of productivity. At the village and hamlet level what is needed right now is the necessary aid and assistance to support the pacification program and to build roads, bridges, schools, dispensaries, and other community facilities.

Box 121, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
APO 96337.

Hon. THOMAS H. DODD: Not long ago I wrote you a letter while stationed in the States giving my opinion to stay in Vietnam. Last week I arrived here at DaNang Air Base, Vietnam. The morale of the troops that I associate with is high. We want to win this fight for freedom. Each of us has to work at least 12 hours a day and there is no complaint even when it is Sunday. The food is not the greatest and neither are the recreation facilities. They are a lot better than I had anticipated. Fight for us so we may fight for you in keeping freedom here and always in the United States.

I remain,

Respectfully,

WILLARD STEVANE,
AF11360060, 23d CAM.

RECORDS AND THE INVASION OF PRIVACY BY FEDERAL AGEN- CIES

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Committee on the Judiciary, over which I preside, has been conducting an investigation of invasions of privacy by Federal agencies. The investigation has uncovered quite a few violations of this basic human right. Indeed, the further we dig, the dirtier it gets.

Judging from the mail, there are many citizens aware and concerned about the threat to their privacy. I have recently received a letter from a doctor of political science at Oklahoma City University. In addition to expressing his concern over our loss of privacy, the doctor enclosed a reprint of an article he wrote for the *Social Science* magazine. In the article, he discusses another method of invading the individual's right to be left alone. The article is short and I request that it be reprinted at this point in the RECORD.

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

RECORDS AND THE INVASION OF PRIVACY
(By Stanley P. Wagner, chairman, Department of Political Science, Oklahoma City University)

(Dr. Stanley P. Wagner, chairman of the department of political science at Oklahoma City University since 1962, studied at the University of North Carolina and Shrivensham American University in England, and has his B.A., M.A., and Ph. D. degrees from the University of Pittsburgh. He has been coordinator of the interdisciplinary course in social science at Allegheny College and, while at Meadville, had also served as a commissioner of the public housing.)

There is a new social control mechanism in our industrial society. This is the re-

sult of the accumulation of personal information on individuals. These data, collected on each one of us, expose people to potential public approval, disapproval, and manipulation. In the past, this caused us little concern, since there were few records on the ordinary person. But today such information is quite extensive. This paper explores the threat generated by the existence of our past records.

There is a growing concern in our society over what is usually referred to as "the invasions of privacy." The nature of such invasions and the areas invaded are generally described as an increase of interruptions and demands on our time which impose themselves on the solitude of our thoughts and personal activities. There is no longer even a place for privacy. The home, once considered sacrosanct and the last refuge, is now invaded by the salesman, the social worker, the pollsters, and the PTA organizers either directly or through our telephones and television sets. Besides that, the story goes, Americans have cultivated an insatiable inquisitorial habit which makes them overly concerned with the affairs of other people. European observers on the American scene are amazed at the familiarity the American citizen is willing to assume toward our noted and famous people. There is an increasing surveillance by our government of previous areas of privacy. Extension of congressional investigating facilities, community redevelopment groups, "Get out the vote campaigns," the extended form of the national census, community industrial drives, and so forth, challenge us with increasing intrusion. There was recently in New York City a dispute over music piped into Grand Central Station, where the commuter was exposed en masse. Fortunately, some felt, it was challenged successfully as an infringement on a person's private solace. These types of intrusion are evoking a fear from a serious and sensitive public that our traditional respect for privacy is in danger of being corrupted or slowly eroded entirely.

A brief examination of our popular and scholarly journals reveals in some detail the specific nature of the above concern. The *American Scholar* has, in the past few years, published four essays on the subject. These have attempted to define the sphere of privacy, its protection by law, its invasion through technology and the mob, and the reforms necessary to win back and preserve man's private domain.¹

The major portion of the February 10, 1955, issue of *Reporter* magazine was devoted to a description of the increased activity of private investigators in this country, whom these investigators were watching, and why. Harper's magazine of July 1955 carried an article by one of America's great novelists, William Faulkner, on the erosion of our privacy. Mr. Faulkner expressed grave reservations over the ways in which the American press or representatives of an organized group investigate what the novelist called the personal life of a man. H. B. White, writing in *Social Research* in June 1951, spoke of a "right of man to be left alone, a right against the world," which is disappearing and which the author deemed valuable for the world.²

Harold Lasswell has an article in *Conflict of Loyalties* entitled "The Threat to Privacy." In addition to the dangers already

¹ Richard Rovere, "The Invasion of Privacy," *American Scholar*, Autumn 1953, pp. 413-421; August Heckscher, "The Reshaping of Privacy," *ibid.*, Winter 1953-1954, pp. 11-20; Granville Hicks, "The Limits of Privacy," *ibid.*, Spring 1954, pp. 185-193; Gerald Johnson, "The Invasion of Privacy," *ibid.*, Autumn 1954, pp. 447-457.

² Howard B. White, "The Right to Privacy," *Social Research*, June 1951, p. 181.

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ate with the documents that I had at that time. I could have done so.

A few days later we drafted Senate Resolution 212, which I submitted, supported by the majority leader and the minority leader and unanimously agreed to by the Senate. I pay my respects to Senators on both sides of the aisle for recognizing the problem and proceeding accordingly.

I shall not discuss what happened later. I would have discussed the situation in greater detail and had intended to, because without being conceited I am proud of the contribution that I have made in supplying information to the committee. Perhaps my success is what is embarrassing them. In any event they have accepted this information with about the same enthusiasm and appreciation as a little boy does castor oil.

I was surprised though when it came out in the press that they were critical of my not getting more information for them. But when asked to come here today and outline their criticism they ran out.

The newspaper account gave the impression that the informant was a spokesman for the majority members of the committee, and what were alleged to be excerpts from the report revealed that charges were specifically made that I had deliberately and willfully—perhaps those exact words were not used—withheld information from the committee, or that I had not told the committee the truth in some instances; or that I had in other ways not cooperated as they had a right to expect; or that I had misled the committee.

At that time I did not know what was contained in the report. Most of those statements were inferences. As the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] has stated, they were not specific charges.

Taken alone, they did not exactly make such a charge, but one would draw the impression that such was intended.

Certainly I resent such a cowardly attack. I was placed in the position when the press asked "Do you want to comment?" of being obliged to say, "How can one comment on something which I have not seen."

Not one word had I heard from the committee—and not only that but when challenged to be here today and either retract or back up these charges they ran away. I accept their silence as a complete surrender.

But before I conclude, I want to leave this warning. Do not ever let this happen again.

I had asked the committee members and the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration to be present today either repudiate the allegations or make them in person. I regret very much that the chairman of the committee did not see fit either to repudiate them or to make them in person.

I was prepared to discuss the entire history of the Baker case from the beginning to what they hope is the end. However, I shall not take the time of the Senate now. I have plenty of time—I shall still be here—and I am not about to be intimidated. In fact, my curiosity

grows as the resistance intensifies. Who knows—someone may yet find out where that \$100,000 in cash came from.

Before I conclude, I notice that the chairman of the committee is again present. Perhaps he has had a change of heart and is ready to speak out. I offer to yield to him again if he wishes to present any charge or make any remarks of any nature. Surely he can express his own views.

I assure the Senator from North Carolina that there will be no interruption. Unlimited time will be given, and I will guarantee him a detailed reply to whatever criticism he dares to make. I shall even go so far as to ask unanimous consent, if the chairman cares to present any charges, that the rules of the Senate be waived and that the Senator be permitted to say what he pleases.

I should like to know if there is any criticism that the committee chairman or any member of the committee desires to make or, as far as I am concerned, that any Senator desires to make.

The Senator from North Carolina is present in the Chamber. He retains his seat and rejects the challenge. Apparently he does not wish to speak. Silence speaks louder than words.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I should like, in my own time, to make a few remarks about the situation which has developed here today.

I have seen the reports in the press. I do not know where the reports came from. From making some inquiry this morning, it is my understanding that copies of the proposed report draft had been given to all nine members of the committee.

I say as I Senator—and I am sure I can speak for 98 other Senators in this body—that in my opinion the distinguished senior Senator from Delaware is a man of integrity and honesty. Certainly no Member of this body would disparage him in any way.

It is my further understanding that there will be a meeting of the full committee tomorrow, at which time the drafts, which I have not seen, will be brought before the committee for consideration.

Personally, I feel absolutely certain in my own mind that no member of the committee, Republican or Democrat, released the proposed draft which was given to him, as I understand, on a confidential basis. I thought I ought to rise at this time and say to the senior Senator from Delaware that it is my hard and fast opinion that no Senator looks on him with disrespect, and no Senator has accused him of doing anything unethical or unworthy.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I thank the Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON in the chair). The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, it is very important that the Record show that the Committee on Rules and Administration has not met or taken any other action whatever concerning a report of its activities under Senate Resolution 367, agreed to September 10, 1964.

On March 18, 1965, a staff draft of a suggested report was distributed to each member of the committee in a sealed envelope marked "Personal and confidential." This was done exactly 2 months ago today, and, as in the case with all working drafts, suggestions and comments were invited from all members of the committee. On May 13, 1965, a second version of the working draft—including a number of suggestions and corrections—was distributed to each member of the committee.

To my knowledge, no caucus has been held by either the Democrats or the Republicans on the committee to discuss or consider either draft.

Tomorrow, the committee is scheduled to meet and begin going over the working draft line by line and page by page. We plan to follow the same practice and procedure on this report as we follow on all the reports we consider.

It would be highly out of order for me to engage in a discussion of the contents of the working draft until the committee has met and acted. Throughout the investigation I have declined to discuss such matters until after the committee has acted.

I do not intend to begin at this point discussing what the committee will do, or weighing the pros and cons of newspaper interpretations of what the committee may or may not do. The committee will report on its activities. The report will speak for itself, and anyone will be free—and I am sure this freedom will be fully exercised—to put any interpretation he chooses on the report.

The draft that has been referred to as a release has never been released by the committee. It is a galley proof. The second draft of a report is galley proof. It has never been considered by the committee, or any segment of the committee. It will be taken up tomorrow, and at that time a report will be made available, after it has been passed on by the committee.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I would not be fair to myself if I did not say that, in my opinion, the distinguished Senator from North Carolina is one of the most capable Members of the Senate. He is a man whose integrity and honesty are absolutely unquestioned. I know that he and his committee have had a very embarrassing situation to contend with for a year and a half.

I also know that the Senator and his committee are trying to do a decent and honest job. I am sure that will be the result when the final report is issued by the committee which the Senator from North Carolina honors by being chairman.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I thank the Senator.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Tydings in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment, No. 187, offered by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] for himself and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], to the amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended and modified (No. 124), offered by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there will be a considerable amount of discussion on this amendment and the bill this afternoon by various Senators.

I should like at this time to ask unanimous consent that, when the Senate concludes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a morning hour tomorrow extending from 12 noon to 12:30 p.m.

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

Mr. MANSFIELD. And I ask unanimous consent that the time between 12:30 and 3 o'clock p.m. be divided between the majority leader, or whomever he may designate, and the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], for the purpose of arriving at a vote on the pending amendment by 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. JAVITS. That leaves 2½ hours on the amendment, one and a quarter hours on a side, without any limitation on the debate today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I gather the vote is to be at 3 o'clock but I wish to state to the distinguished Senator from Montana that I am doing some research on problems raised by this amendment right now. I do not have an answer on some of it. It is entirely possible, if the research turns up what I fear it may, that the discussion might have to be very "plain." I gather, in the condition of the present amendment, that it cannot be amended. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct. The amendment is in the second degree.

Mr. DOMINICK. And that no substitute can be offered for it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. DOMINICK. So if something were wrong in the amendment, the only thing we could do would be to vote it down and offer another amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is correct. The Senator raised that point yesterday.

Mr. DOMINICK. Then I withdraw my objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement was subsequently reduced to writing, as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered. That the Senate proceed to vote not later than 3 o'clock p.m. on Wednesday, May 19, 1965, on amendment numbered 187 offered by the Senators from Montana and Illinois [Mr. MANSFIELD and Mr. DIRKSEN], relative to poll tax, to the substitute amendment by Senators MANSFIELD and DIRKSEN, No. 124, as amended, for the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States;

Provided, That all time for debate after the transaction of routine morning business on Wednesday, May 19, 1965, not to exceed 12:30 o'clock p.m., shall be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] or whomever he may designate, and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS].

COMBAT TROOPS TO VIETNAM

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, reports are current today in the New York Times from Saigon that American commanders in South Vietnam are preparing to send American combat troops into battle "anywhere in Vietnam."

I ask unanimous consent that that news story may be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

FULL COMBAT ROLE FOR GI'S IS LIKELY IN VIETNAM SOON—U.S. COMMANDERS PREPARE TO SEND TROOPS TO COUNTER EXPECTED RED OFFENSIVE

(By Jack Langguth)

SAIGON, May 17.—U.S. political and military officers here agree that any meaningful talks with North Vietnam on the war will not be possible until the Vietcong's expected summer offensive is halted.

They believe that North Vietnamese military leaders will be persuaded to enter negotiations only if they have been shown that the major offensive has failed.

For that reason little optimism has been heard here that the pause in air strikes against the north, now in its fifth day, would lead to any change in Hanoi's policy.

Some Western analysts here have noted recently a slight shift toward the positions of the Soviet Union in the published statements of North Vietnam. But they do not interpret the change as a sign that Hanoi is prepared to relinquish its efforts in South Vietnam.

U.S. TROOPS READY

To meet the expected Communist military offensive in the south, American com-

manders here are preparing to send American combat troops, now on guard duty at three air bases, into battle anywhere in Vietnam.

This full participation is expected to begin shortly.

The public reaction that this expanded use of American troops is likely to have both in Vietnam and the United States is being weighed.

Their use has been dictated by the serious shortage of Vietnamese Government reserve forces. A program has been under way for months to raise 100,000 or more additional regular and paramilitary soldiers. But the date for completion of the buildup has been advanced to the middle of next year.

PREPARE FOR MORE MEN

As much as possible the American military strategists want to keep the U.S. paratroopers and marines out of areas heavily populated with Vietnamese civilians.

There is also the likelihood that the first use of Americans in the expanded combat role would come during a crisis in which Vietnamese troops were pinned down by superior numbers of Vietcong. The Americans would then be dispatched as relief troops, a role that critics would be hard put to protest.

The American logistics team now operating in South Vietnam is laying the groundwork for quick and efficient reception of many more American troops if the need arises during the Communist offensive.

The precautions have been made more necessary by new intelligence reports that thousands of North Vietnamese soldiers have massed on the Laotian border near South Vietnam's central highlands.

The whole of the 325th Division of the North Vietnamese Army is known to be on the border with some units already having crossed into South Vietnam. More recent reports suggest that elements of the 304th Division have also taken up border positions.

American strategists here believe that the action last week at Songbe was designed to pull the South Vietnamese Government's ready reserve troops out of the central highlands, to pave the way for attacks by the regular North Vietnamese units.

They note that if this was the Communist goal, the tactic failed. American airpower helped drive the Communists out of Songbe without drawing on the reserve troops. But American commanders expect the maneuver to be attempted again.

At Bienhoa, where an accident Sunday took more American lives than any Vietcong attack or terrorist incident, the toll seemed likely to reach 27 Americans dead.

Five of the 10 undetonated bombs left near the airbase yesterday have now exploded, 1 from its own delayed-action fuse and 4 from the efforts of demolition teams.

As the bodies are identified, the United States is declaring the men dead. For that reason, the total today was changed to 5 killed and 22 missing with little expectation that the missing would be found alive.

In the series of explosions of bombs loaded onto B-57 Canberra jets for an attack on the Vietcong, 103 American servicemen were injured, 2 severely.

An investigation team from the Defense Department arrived here tonight to study the incident.

UNITED STATES DECLINES TO COMMENT

WASHINGTON, May 17.—Defense Department officials declined today to confirm or deny reports that American troops in South Vietnam might be sent into combat to support Vietnamese troops.

The possibility of such an expanded role for the American troops has been implicit in administration actions in recent weeks in building up the strength of American forces in South Vietnam.

May 18, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

10469

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, this full combat participation of U.S. troops is expected to begin shortly.

This story, appearing as it does during a lull or a suspension—we do not know which—of the bombing raids in North Vietnam, amid reports that the United States has just made further proposals to North Vietnam for negotiations of the settlement of the struggle there, may have been designed to demonstrate once again U.S. determination not to be pushed out of South Vietnam. With that I agree. On the other hand, it may be the precursor of the President's actually preparing to send large numbers of American troops to do combat in the ground struggle, not particularly connected with the security of the military bases which we have there.

I have said on a number of previous occasions—and I repeat, in the face of this intelligence—that I expected the administration to consult the Congress if the United States planned to effect a major change in the character of the struggle in Vietnam by the use of substantial numbers of U.S. combat forces on the ground. By that I mean not just by calling up congressional leaders to the White House, but by coming to Congress as a whole for a resolution like the resolution adopted in August of 1964, specifically supporting the President in the new course, the new plateau, of the action in Vietnam, which he proposes to pursue.

In my judgment, the President has the power as Commander in Chief to commit elements of U.S. ground forces to action in Vietnam, but I hope he will not do so until he has the support of the Congress and the support of the country. I said exactly this when we were authorizing for the President what seemed to some to be a blank check mandate in respect to the \$700 million resolution 2 weeks ago. I repeat again—the United States should not sneak up on ground force commitments in southeast Asia, if such a course is contemplated, until Congress and the American people are given an opportunity to approve or disapprove, before it is too late to draw back. Withholding of congressional approval might mean we would have to draw back at some point, and that is not necessarily good for the country.

I wish to say that if the President were to make this his advised recommendation, I would probably support it. I have done so before. But that is no excuse for not asking for congressional support.

If the greatest strength of our society lies, as I think it does, in the fact that people articulately are made aware of the great danger and the risk which the Government undertakes, I am confident that if the President has reasons good enough to be persuasive to him, the reasons will be just as persuasive to the country. But that is no substitute for coming back to the people and to the Congress for a resolution approving of such action, which is what was done in August 1964.

If we are to run this grave risk in Asia—and we may run that risk—it is even more important that we have the support of the Congress and the people

of the United States, advisedly given and advisedly taken.

The President listened to some of us before making his Baltimore speech, and after hearing us said, "I have said it 40 times, but I do not mind saying it again." When he made that speech, he received the approval of the free world for it. So although it can very well be that the President thinks it is not necessary in this instance, I hope he will listen again to some of us who feel that if we are to commit our combat forces to a ground effort, or war, if you will, in Asia, he should speak out on the subject. I hope if the President makes any such decision, it will be in consonance with and in concert with the wishes of Congress and the American people.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 225. An act to amend chapter 1 of title 38, United States Code, and incorporate therein specific statutory authority for the Presidential memorial certificate program;

H.R. 806. An act to amend the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act to permit the listing on labels of certain fibers constituting less than 5 percent of a textile fiber product;

H.R. 1665. An act to amend title 28, entitled "Judiciary and Judicial Procedure," of the United States Code to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in special jurisdictional cases, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2414. An act to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain lands situated in the State of Oregon to the city of Roseburg, Oreg.;

H.R. 3413. An act to amend section 106 of title 38 of the United States Code to provide that individuals who incur a disability in line of duty during certain service shall be entitled to certain veterans benefits;

H.R. 3415. An act to equalize certain penalties in the Interoceanic Shipping Act, 1933;

H.R. 3596. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds on deposit to the credit of the Skokomish Tribe of Indians;

H.R. 3976. An act to amend the act of July 26, 1956, to authorize the Muscatine Bridge Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near the city of Muscatine, Iowa, and the town of Drury, Ill.;

H.R. 3997. An act to amend section 753(b) of title 28, United States Code, to provide for the recording of proceedings in the U.S. district courts by means of electronic sound recording as well as by shorthand or mechanical means;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4525. An act to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to provide for the continuation of authority to develop American-flag carriers and promote the foreign commerce of the United States through the use of mobile trade fairs;

H.R. 4526. An act to extend the provisions of title XII of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, relating to war risk insurance, for an additional 5 years, ending September 7, 1970;

H.R. 5242. An act to amend paragraph (10) of section 5 of the Interstate Commerce Act so as to change the basis for determining

whether a proposed unification or acquisition of control comes within the exemption provided for by such paragraph;

H.R. 5246. An act to amend sections 20a and 214 of the Interstate Commerce Act;

H.R. 5988. An act to provide that Commissioners of the Federal Maritime Commission shall hereafter be appointed for a term of 5 years, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5989. An act to amend section 27, Merchant Marine Act of 1920, as amended (46 U.S.C. 883);

H.R. 6032. An act to amend the act authorizing the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho, in order to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated for such project (act of August 16, 1962; 76 Stat. 388);

H.R. 6164. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to permit vessels other than vessels of the United States entitled to engage in the coastwise trade to transport passengers between the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to attend the Seventh Assembly of the World Convention of Churches of Christ;

H.R. 7031. An act to provide for the establishment and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf;

H.R. 7181. An act to provide for the commemoration of certain historical events in the State of Kansas, and for other purposes;

H.R. 7484. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral of officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force while serving as Surgeons General;

H.R. 7596. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove inequities in the active duty promotion opportunity of certain Air Force officers; and

H.R. 7969. An act to correct certain errors in the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 702. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds on deposit to the credit of the Quinalt Tribe of Indians; and

H.R. 2998. An act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to continue the authorization for appropriations.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H.R. 225. An act to amend chapter 1 of title 38, United States Code, and incorporate therein specific statutory authority for the Presidential memorial certificate program;

H.R. 3413. An act to amend section 106 of title 38 of the United States Code to provide that individuals who incur a disability in line of duty during certain service shall be entitled to certain veterans' benefits; and

H.R. 7969. An act to correct certain errors in the Tariff Schedules of the United States; to the Committee on Finance.

H.R. 806. An act to amend the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act to permit the listing on labels of certain fibers constituting less than 5 percent of a textile fiber product;

H.R. 3415. An act to equalize certain penalties in the Interoceanic Shipping Act, 1933;

H.R. 4525. An act to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to provide for the continuation of authority to develop American-flag carriers and promote the foreign commerce of the United States through the use of mobile trade fairs;

H.R. 4526. An act to extend the provisions of title XII of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, relating to war risk insurance, for an additional 5 years, ending September 7, 1970;

H.R. 5242. An act to amend paragraph (10) of section 5 of the Interstate Commerce Act so as to change the basis for determining whether a proposed unification or acquisition of control comes within the exemption provided for by such paragraph;

H.R. 5246. An act to amend sections 20a and 214 of the Interstate Commerce Act;

H.R. 5988. An act to provide that Commissioners of the Federal Maritime Commission shall hereafter be appointed for a term of 5 years, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5989. An act to amend section 27, Merchant Marine Act of 1920, as amended (46 U.S.C. 883); and

H.R. 6164. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to permit vessels other than vessels of the United States entitled to engage in the coastwise trade to transport passengers between the United States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to attend the Seventh Assembly of the World Convention of Churches of Christ; to the Committee on Commerce.

H.R. 1665. An act to amend title 28, entitled "Judiciary and Judicial Procedure," of the United States Code to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in special jurisdictional cases, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 3997. An act to amend section 753 (b) of title 28, United States Code, to provide for the recording of proceedings in the U.S. district courts by means of electronic sound recording as well as by shorthand or mechanical means; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2414. An act to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain lands situated in the State of Oregon to the city of Roseburg, Oreg.;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.; and

H.R. 7081. An act to provide for the establishment and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

H.R. 3596. An act to provide for the disposition of judgment funds on deposit to the credit of the Skokomish Tribe of Indians;

H.R. 6082. An act to amend the act authorizing the Mann Creek Federal reclamation project, Idaho, in order to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated for such project (act of August 16, 1962; 76 Stat. 388); and

H.R. 7181. An act to provide for the commemoration of certain historical events in the State of Kansas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3976. An act to amend the act of July 26, 1956, to authorize the Muscatine Bridge Commission to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Mississippi River at or near the city of Muscatine, Iowa, and the town of Drury, Ill., to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 7484. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral of officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force while serving as Surgeons General;

H.R. 7596. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove inequities in the active duty promotion opportunity of certain Air Force officers; to the Committee on Armed Services.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, the pending substitute amendment reads as follows:

SEC. 9. (a) In view of the evidence presented to the Congress that the constitutional right of citizens of the United States to vote is denied or abridged in certain States by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a condition of voting, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens of the United States to vote is denied or abridged in such States by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a condition of voting.

Mr. President, I was present at all of the hearings on the pending bill. There has been no testimony of a substantial nature in either the House or Senate that the poll tax has been used to discriminate against citizens who desire to register and vote. Time and again the Attorney General of the United States, both in the House and Senate, repudiated that argument. There has not been a witness before the Senate committee or the House committee who has presented any such evidence.

The nearest to it is that the Attorney General of the United States stated in two instances, once in Tallahatchie County, Miss., in the Dogan case, and in another county in Mississippi, that the sheriff refused to accept the payment of a poll tax.

At the very same time that he made that statement he repudiated the argument that is made for the amendment. There has been no evidence presented that the amendment is based on the premise "In view of the evidence presented to the Congress."

Mr. President, all the evidence is against the amendment. All the hearings are against the amendment. The amendment is based on a false premise. The Attorney General testified before the Judiciary Committee. He first testified on his advice to the President of the United States in regard to the legality of a statutory prohibition against the poll tax. I am quoting the Attorney General's testimony.

I gave him the same advice that I have given the committee here. I think if Federal qualifications as such are to be set, then it requires a constitutional amendment to do so. But at the same time State qualifications that have been used in violation of the 15th amendment and have been used for discriminatory purposes can in my judgment, as I have repeatedly testified here, be suspended. I think that is consistent with the decisions cited in my statement.

Throughout his entire testimony he repudiated the argument of those who sponsor the amendment. Not one scintilla of evidence has shown that a pattern of discrimination exists because of the poll tax. It could not be shown in my State, because a person 60 years of age or older is exempted from the payment of the poll tax. So are the lame, the blind, and the disabled. It is levied on people of all races without regard to race, color, or creed. It is a tax that is used to raise money for the public school system.

I quote further from the Attorney General's testimony to show that this is a very bad amendment. Senator FONG asked the Attorney General a question, and I quote his reply. This testimony is

found in volume 1, page 194 of the committee hearings:

Now, I think, as I have explained, I think, in answer to questions by Senator HAAR and by others, you could eliminate the poll tax under the 15th amendment if you could show that its effect has been to disenfranchise Negroes in contravention of the terms of the 15th amendment.

However, the Attorney General went on to state that he could not support an amendment to a bill prohibiting the use of a State poll tax as a requirement to vote, for the reason that he had no evidence that such requirement had been used in a discriminatory manner.

I quote further from his answer to a question by Senator ERVIN. The Attorney General stated:

My difficulty on this, on the elimination of poll taxes is that I do not believe I have the facts to make a record that poll taxes have been abused in violation of the 15th amendment.

That testimony appears in volume I, at page 94 of the hearings.

Mr. President, I desire to emphasize that point. The Attorney General of the United States, with the vast powers of that office, with the Federal Bureau of Investigation at his beck and call, with his great avenues of information, gave this testimony:

My difficulty on this, on the elimination of the poll tax is that I do not believe I have the facts to make a record that poll taxes have been abused in violation of the 15th amendment.

The proponents of the amendment have not shown one scintilla of evidence to sustain this foundation: "In view of the evidence presented to the Congress."

No evidence has been presented to Congress showing that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is denied or abridged in certain States by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting.

I quote further from the Attorney General. This testimony appears in volume 1, page 142 of the hearings.

Senator HART asked this question:

But you expressed some doubt with respect to the availability of any evidence from history to put you in a position to argue that the poll tax had in fact been used as a device to discriminate and, therefore, was in violation of the 15th amendment.

Attorney General KATZENBACH. Yes.

What more evidence do we want? The amendment is based on "evidence presented to Congress." No evidence was presented to either the House or the Senate. The leading advocate of the bill before the committee, the Attorney General of the United States, has repudiated the very premise on which the amendment is based.

I asked the Attorney General this question:

Do you agree that a \$2 poll tax that any member of any race can pay is discrimination?

Attorney General KATZENBACH. I have no information, Mr. Chairman, which would lead me to believe that this point—I am not in possession of facts that a \$2 poll tax did operate in a way which would be a violation of the 15th amendment.

I have always thought that a legislative declaration is not a casual thing.

May 18, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

10519

"The day following the VA closing announcement, National Commander Donald E. Johnson keynoted the American Legion's stand: 'I doubt if it is the will of the American people that this society be built at the expense of those who have risked their lives that this Nation, under God, might endure, and who now find themselves in need of the services which their Government in Washington is best equipped to render.

"I now call for a total mobilization of the efforts and resources of the American Legion to prevent this disastrous proposal from becoming reality."

"He asked that Legionnaires write or wire Washington, D.C., and protest the closings to President Lyndon B. Johnson, VA Administrator William J. Driver, chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs OLIN E. TEAGUE, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs RALPH YARBOROUGH, and their own congressional representatives.

"On January 28, Commander Johnson testified before the Senate Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee and presented the views of the nearly 2.6 million members of the American Legion in opposition to the proposed VA cut-back.

NEW VA CHIEF

"President Lyndon B. Johnson has nominated William J. Driver, 46, to be the new head of the U.S. Veterans' Administration (title: Administrator of Veterans' Affairs). Driver, a career VA employee since 1946, has been second in command of the VA as Deputy Administrator since February 1961.

"Driver's nomination and the resignation of Past National Commander John S. Gleason, Jr. (1957-58), who had been appointed Administrator by the late President John F. Kennedy in January 1961, were announced on December 26, 1964, by President Johnson. Gleason has returned to his position as an officer of the First National Bank of Chicago.

"President Johnson said he was particularly pleased to announce Mr. Driver's nomination because he is the first career official to administer the affairs of America's veterans.

"Driver, a World War II and Korean war vet, holds numerous military decorations, including the Distinguished Service Medal. He has earned the VA's two highest awards, the Exceptional Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal. In 1964, he also was awarded the Career Service Award of the National Civil Service League.

"The new VA chief began his career in the Contact and Administration Services, switched to Compensation and Pension Service, and then later directed the entire benefits program as Chief Benefits Director before becoming Deputy Administrator in 1961.

"Driver has had a leading role in many VA changes in recent years. These include—

"1. The veterans pension law, Public Law 86-211.

"2. New York measurement and performance standards and other reorganization and planning programs.

"3. The large-scale application of automatic data processing and the establishment of a new department of data management.

"A native of Rochester, N.Y., the new Administrator was born May 9, 1918, was educated in that city, and was graduated cum laude from the University of Niagara with a degree in business administration in 1941.

"World War II intervened and Driver joined the U.S. Army in July 1941, was discharged November 1945, and went to work for the VA in February 1946.

"While working at the VA by day, he attended George Washington University in Washington, D.C., by night, earned his LL.B. degree, and was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar of Law in 1952. He is a member of Wynnewood Legion Post 511 of Dallas, Tex."

NUMBER OF PATIENTS INVOLVED IN CLOSINGS

Mr. MINSHALL. How many patients are involved in total, in the closing of the 11 hospitals?

Mr. DRIVER. 2,080.

Mr. MINSHALL. And you say there is adequate nearby hospitalization in all of these cases?

Mr. DRIVER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MINSHALL. For these 2,000?

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PATIENTS TREATED

Mr. DRIVER. Yes, sir. In this regard, there has been much made about the fact we will, for some temporary period, not have as many beds in operation as we had immediately prior to the closing. I think that, really, this misses the main point, in that it is not the number of beds you have that is the payoff, but how many patients can you treat.

In 1960 we treated 637,000 patients with about the same number of beds we have now. In 1961 we went from 637,000 up to 664,000, an increase of 27,000. In 1962, from 664,000 to 689,000. In 1963, from 689,000 to 713,000, and in 1964 we went up to 739,000. In 1965 it was 746,000, and our estimate for 1966 is up another 15,000 to 761,000, even with the closings. This projection for 1966 is after closings.

On top of this, Congress has authorized us to establish 4,000 nursing home beds. They will be filled immediately by 4,000 long-term patients who are occupying medical beds today. This means that we could treat, on the average, 48,000 more patients in the year they are in full operation.

We are also supporting, starting in 1966, 2,700 patients in nursing beds that we would move from VA hospitals to private or public nursing home facilities, making another 2,700 beds available for acute care. So we are constantly increasing the total number treated, and to take care of these 2,000 patients poses no problem within the VA system.

INVESTMENTS IN HOSPITALS AND DOMICILIARIES

Mr. EVINS. What is the total investment in these 14 facilities you propose to close? You told us you proposed to save \$20.5 million. What is the Federal investment in these facilities?

Mr. DRIVER. In terms of the structures themselves?

Mr. EVINS. In terms of dollars.

Mr. DRIVER. I would say just under \$100 million.

Mr. EVINS. Just under \$100 million.

Mr. DRIVER. We estimate the replacement cost of all of the facilities at \$100.3 million.

EFFECT OF CLOSINGS ON EMPLOYEES

Mr. EVINS. What do you propose to do with all of the doctors, nurses, employees, and other workers of the Veterans' Administration in these facilities?

Mr. DRIVER. We hope they will transfer to other VA facilities. We need them all.

Mr. EVINS. You do not propose to eliminate any of those?

Mr. DRIVER. No, sir. We put a job freeze on in January, and we are now able to offer firm offers to anyone who wants them.

Mr. EVINS. But there will be increased cost because of the transfer of employees.

Mr. DRIVER. There really would not be. We know that most of the employees will not transfer, and we will not need the same number of employees after we move these to other hospitals. For example, we have 3,266 employees now caring for these 2,080 patients.

Mr. EVINS. Repeat those figures again, please.

Mr. DRIVER. We have 3,266 employees caring for the 2,080 patients. After we move, of these 3,266 we will need 1,288 at other hospitals to increase the staffing in order to care for this average daily patient load. So

there will be a net saving of 1,978 employees for a total of \$15.5 million in the 11 hospitals.

Mr. EVINS. A little less than 2,000 employees will be dropped from the rolls?

Mr. DRIVER. The net effect in our payroll; yes, sir.

Mr. MONK. But, by and large, those are administrative employees, not direct patient care employees, and that is how you can make a saving.

Mr. EVINS. When you build these hospitals and refurbish them and expand others, you will have to put more on the rolls in those areas.

Mr. DRIVER. This would be to take care of more patients, Mr. EVINS.

RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES

(Mr. STALBAUM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which specifically spells out the fact that the nonprofit rural electric cooperatives are not subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Executive order establishing the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935, and when Congress gave REA its statutory existence in 1936, neither action divided or watered down the sole responsibility of that agency for fostering and financing the electrification of rural America. I might add that REA has done an admirable job of carrying out that assignment under the guidance of a number of outstanding Administrators, including the present Administrator, Norman Clapp, who is a native son of my home State of Wisconsin.

The Rural Electrification Act makes no reference to the Federal Power Commission. The Federal Power Act is equally silent in regard to the consumer-owned, nonprofit, cooperative electric associations financed by loans from a sister agency, the REA.

Nothing in the legislative history of either act indicates any intent on the part of Congress that FPC have jurisdiction over the rural electric co-ops. Quite the contrary. Several attempts have been made in the past to have Congress enact legislation which would provide FPC with jurisdiction over the electric cooperatives in various respects. The Congress has consistently refused to enact such legislation.

Mr. Speaker, despite this consistent legislative history against FPC jurisdiction over the rural electric co-ops, 2 years ago the Federal Power Commission initiated an attempt to take such jurisdiction. In a test case, the FPC ordered three rural electric cooperatives to "show cause" why they should not comply with the FPC's regulations on rate schedule filing, accounting, and reporting. One of the "guinea pigs" chosen for this experiment was Dairyland Power Cooperative of La Crosse, Wis., a generation and transmission co-op with an excellent record of service to its 27 member distribution cooperatives.

The three co-ops singled out by FPC in its "show cause" order have had to

expand considerable amounts of money and time in preparing for and testifying at the lengthy hearings held by FPC on the jurisdictional question. It can be anticipated that the co-ops would appeal an adverse FPC decision to the courts. The only reason why they have not yet had to go the whole expensive route through the courts is because congressional reaction to the FPC's activities as a result of this being called to their attention by representatives of both political parties in the area involved, forced the FPC to defer issuing a decision until January 1, 1966, in order to permit further congressional consideration of the matter.

Mr. Speaker, early passage of clarifying legislation such as I am introducing today is needed to prevent resumption of this costly and senseless FPC proceeding.

In reading the record of the FPC's "show cause" hearings and the hearings held by the Senate Commerce Committee on this subject, it is abundantly clear to me that the FPC does not understand the basic difference between the consumer-owned rural electric cooperatives, which are nonprofit enterprises, and the investor-owned power companies, which are operated for a profit.

In a rural electric cooperative, the interests of the consumer are protected by his vote as a member. In other words, a rural electric co-op is self-regulating. "Owned by Those We Serve" is an accurate slogan which is proudly displayed by the rural electric cooperatives. It underscores the fact that there is no need for outside regulation other than that provided by REA to insure the sound and constructive use of REA loan funds.

On the other hand, the commercial power companies serve two interests. They sell electricity to consumers but must also return a profit on those sales to their investors, most of whom are not consumers of the company. The need for Federal and State regulation to protect the customers of an investor-owned power company is obvious.

Mr. Speaker, my home State of Wisconsin recognizes the fundamental difference between the rural electric cooperatives and the investor-owned power companies by exempting the co-ops from the regulatory jurisdiction of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission. In Wisconsin, we know that the electric cooperative's consumers exercise control over the rates and other policies of their co-op through their "one-member, one-vote" rights.

I share with the rural people of my State the justifiable pride which they take in the accomplishments of their 30 rural electric cooperatives. One of them, Rock County Electric Co-op of Janesville, serves over 2,000 rural consumer-members in my home district. Of the 127,000 farms in Wisconsin, 98.9 percent are receiving central station electricity today, as compared with only 19.6 percent when REA was created in 1935.

Low consumer density and low revenue per mile make the service job harder for the rural electric cooperatives than for the power companies. REA-financed

co-ops in Wisconsin serve only 3.2 consumers per mile and average only \$538 in revenues per mile of line, as compared with 23.1 consumers and \$4,828 in revenues per mile of line for the Class A and B commercial utilities.

The continuing objective of the rural electric cooperatives in Wisconsin and across the Nation is to provide the electric service required by their consumer-members under rates and conditions comparable to those available in urban communities. Why should we make this difficult task even more difficult by permitting the cooperatives to be saddled with the added expense and delays which will inevitably come if they are subjected to regulation by the Federal Power Commission—regulation for which no need exists?

Mr. Speaker, I urge that Congress spell out its long-established position that the nonprofit rural electric cooperatives are not under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission.

MORTGAGE MARKET FACILITIES ACT OF 1965

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

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to improve the secondary market for conventional mortgages and to make certain that the funds required for adequate housing will be available in the future. This legislation is similar to S. 644 introduced by Senator SPARKMAN on January 22 of this year. The purpose of this measure is to organize the mortgage market in a more orderly manner and thus assure a more even flow of mortgage funds throughout the United States.

While it is true that mortgage funds are generally available at the present time, there are many pocket areas where a glaring lack of mortgage credit exists. As a result of this lack of uniform nationwide marketability in the mortgage area, an undue spread in interest rates develops between capital-surplus and capital-scarce areas. It is also true that in many instances the localities where capital is not readily available are the same economically depressed localities that the President is attempting to assist through his antipoverty program.

My proposal establishes an effective market mechanism that will be available in the seventies when mortgage credit will be in great demand if our population expands as is generally predicted. The proposal involves no Federal expenditure that will not be recouped by the Government. Capital requirements and management skills will come from the private sector of the economy.

The facilities provided in this legislation will be made equally available to all lenders, large and small. The legislation, however, would be particularly helpful to the small lenders who are presently unable to tie up funds in conventional mortgages because there is no effective secondary market for mortgage paper. In short, the Mortgage Market Facilities Act would provide the small and the

economically isolated lender with an effective tool for more active participation in a program which has much social and economic importance. The bill provides for:

First. Federal chartering of private corporations to insure conventional mortgages on one- to four-family homes. The loan to value ratio would be 90 percent with a ceiling of \$30,000 per individual mortgage.

Second. Federal chartering to private mortgage market corporations to provide a secondary market for conventional and FHA mortgages. These corporations would be granted authority to buy and sell mortgages and to issue debentures upon the security of insured or guaranteed mortgages in their portfolio.

Third. A joint Federal supervisory board is established to charter and examine corporations organized under this legislation.

If this Nation is to achieve the high levels of prosperity and economic development envisioned by the administration, if we are to live up to the ideal of a Great Society, then we must be able to implement the flow of capital from areas of abundance to areas of chronic capital shortages. The Mortgage Market Facilities Act of 1965 is an attempt to insure this necessary flexibility and, at the same time, take measures in contemplation of the forecasted increase in our population.

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

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

(Mr. SISK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include a newspaper article and other extraneous matter.)

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

INVESTIGATION OF DISASTER AT BIENHOA AIR BASE

(Mr. MINSHALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include a letter.)

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, yesterday afternoon I addressed a letter to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MAHON].

I insert the letter in the RECORD at this point.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 17, 1965.

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON,
Chairman, House Committee on Appropriations,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I respectfully request that immediately upon the return of the Department of Defense investigatory team from Vietnam you call Gen. William K. Martin, and his aides before the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee for a firsthand report on their findings at Bienhoa Airbase.

May 18, 1965

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

10521

In cost of lives and property this is the heaviest loss we have suffered in the entire Vietnam campaign. It is ironic and terrible that this is an apparently self-inflicted disaster not accountable to either enemy attack or sabotage.

There is a history of bungling throughout the entire Vietnam operation, but I could not conceive of such grievous mismanagement as is emerging from the facts coming from Bienhoa. I do not pose as a military expert, but as a former member of the Army with 63 months of intensive training and oversea service during World War II, and as a 7-year member of the Defense Subcommittee, I am amazed by the lack of elementary military judgment revealed at Bienhoa.

The cardinal rules of dispersal and re-venting obviously were completely ignored. Our planes were stacked like dominoes at the airbase, lined up like sitting ducks for enemy attack. It is incredible to me that we have troops in the field who have not even this much grasp of the military manual. The gross stupidity which has destroyed American men and materiel is shocking and signals something basically wrong at the Pentagon. I suggest it is time to abandon the automatic data processing computers and use a little military commonsense.

I strongly urge that while we are about to appropriate some \$50 billion for defense, this entire tragedy be promptly reviewed by our subcommittee through direct interrogation of General Martin and his investigators.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. MINSHALL.

PROPOSED REPEAL OF SECTION 14(b) OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

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

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the text of the long-awaited labor message of President Johnson is now available.

At a time when the Nation is deeply concerned about civil rights, Mr. Johnson has proposed second-class citizenship for millions of workers.

His proposal for outright repeal of 14 (b)—with no effective protection for the legal and civil rights of individual workers—should be soundly defeated by Congress. I am convinced that a large majority of the American people take that view.

If workers are forced to join a union to hold their jobs, at the very least the law should effectively prevent the union, first, from discriminating on the basis of color or creed; second, from using dues for politics and nonunion business; and third, from fining or disciplining members who disagree with union policy.

H.R. 4350, which I introduced on February 4, 1965, would provide the important protection for individual workers which the President has disregarded.

Section 14(b) now allows the people of each State to decide whether compulsory unionism should be legal. This power should not be taken away from the States and the people unless and until Congress provides effective safeguards for the legal and civil rights of individual workers who would be affected.

PRESIDENT'S LABOR MESSAGE

(Mr. ROOSEVELT asked and was given permission to address the House

for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I know that the gentleman who just addressed the House [Mr. GRIFFIN] has made his views well known on this subject. On the other hand, I think it is only proper to draw the attention of Members of the House to the fact that there has been controversy for some time with respect to section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Many people feel that this section has resulted in the inability of labor and management to reach an agreement on their own without the dictate of legislation to so prevent them. It is therefore a subject which will be carefully considered by the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill undoubtedly will be presented to this House and this House may then make up its mind whether it is more for the benefit of sound collective bargaining and sound management and labor policy to repeal section 14(b). I would like to ask the good Members of this House to suspend judgment until the full record is presented; and to say that I believe that when the other matters in the President's message are considered we will find that the interests of the Nation have certainly been well advanced.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to state that I have the honor this morning of introducing the administration's proposals to extend the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 4½ million workers. In addition to extension of coverage of the Federal wage and hours law, the President's proposal would raise overtime premium pay to twice the regular rate of pay for hours over 45 in a workweek.

The general Subcommittee on Labor will get underway with hearings on these proposals on Tuesday, May 25. The Secretary of Labor, the Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, will be the first witness. I can promise that we shall give full and fair consideration to all viewpoints. I can also state that this is a subject that the subcommittee has delved into intensively in recent sessions. We are very much interested in receiving facts that have not been presented to us several times in the recent past, but candor forces me to state that we shall not be receptive to reconsideration of familiar views.

Enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938 was response to a call upon the Nation's conscience. Now in its third decade the act has meant much to many: Greater dignity and security and economic freedom for millions of American workers. An upswing in economic growth for the country as a whole.

In 1938, when Congress established the Fair Labor Standards Act, it set out to "correct" and "eliminate labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standards of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers." This is the avowed purpose and intent of the act.

The President has requested immediate action on the administration's double

time and extended coverage proposals. He has further requested more intensive study of proposals to raise the minimum wage and establish a shorter workweek. The subcommittee will resume consideration of the latter two subjects subsequent to hearings on the administration bill.

Each industry that would be newly covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act will be granted full opportunity to present its views.

The subcommittee will meet in executive session on Thursday, May 20, to more specifically establish procedure for consideration of the wage-hour proposals.

For the information and interest of Members of Congress and the general public, I include at this point an explanation of the administration's proposals:

EXPLANATION OF PROPOSAL TO EXTEND COVERAGE, AND IMPROVE THE MAXIMUM HOURS STANDARDS OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

INTRODUCTION

The bill will amend the coverage and exemption provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, to—

1. Extend minimum wage and overtime protection to about 4.6 million workers in retail, laundry, hotel, motel, motion picture theater, restaurant, taxicab, hospital, construction and other enterprises and in logging operations;
2. Consolidate and clarify the act's present exemptions for the handling and processing of farm commodities;
3. Apply the overtime pay standards of the act to employees of transit companies and gasoline service stations;
4. Remove inequities in the computation of overtime pay for salaried workers;
5. Extend the act to employees in the Eniwetok and Kwajalein atolls and Johnston Island; and
6. Lengthen to 3 years the act's present 2-year statute of limitations for instituting actions to recover wages due.

Employees who are brought under the act by this proposal will be given the same minimum wage and overtime protection provided for other workers subject to the act; i.e., a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour and overtime pay after 40 hours a week.

The bill will also require the payment of double time for hours worked in excess of 48 a week, decreasing to hours in excess of 45 a week over a 3-year period for employees who received overtime protection prior to enactment of the 1965 Fair Labor Standards Act amendments.

A. EXTENSION OF COVERAGE

How it is accomplished

The bill will extend the minimum wage and overtime protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act to 4.6 million additional workers by (1) amending the definition of an "enterprise engaged in commerce or the production of goods for commerce" to include all such enterprises which have employees engaged in those activities and which have an annual gross volume of sales of not less than \$250,000, and (2) by removing a number of exemptions. Under the act's present provisions there is a lack of uniformity regarding the sales tests applied to determine whether an enterprise is covered. A retail enterprise, for example, is covered only if the entire enterprise has annual sales of \$1 million or more and it has an inflow of goods which move or have moved across State lines in total annual volume of \$250,000. On the other hand, a gasoline service station (which, in fact, is also a retail establishment) now qualifies for coverage if it simply has annual sales of \$250,000 or more. The

draft bill will remove these inconsistencies in applying the enterprise basis for coverage and substitute a uniform standard which is fairer to all concerned.

In revising the act's provisions regarding these interstate enterprises, the amendments in no way affect the existing exclusion of so-called "mom and pop" stores which are operated by their owners or immediate families, and individual establishments will continue to be exempt if their annual sales are less than \$250,000.

Specific coverage provided by the amendments

The additional coverage provided by this bill will be accomplished by amending the definition of interstate enterprises in section 3(s) and by removing certain exemptions in sections 7 and 13, some of which now exclude employees in these enterprises.

Specific categories of employment affected by this proposal are as follows:

1. Retail trade: The broadening of the definition of an enterprise "engaged in commerce or the production of goods for commerce" contained in section 3(s) of the act and repeal of certain exemptions will result in the extension of minimum wage and overtime protection to an additional 1.5 million employees in the retail trade.

The bill provides for the repeal of the section 13(a) (19) exemption for employees of establishments primarily engaged in the business of selling automobiles, trucks, or farm implements and the section 13(a) (20) exemption for food service employees in large retail establishments.

2. Laundries and dry cleaning establishments: The bill amends section 13(a) (3) of the act so as to extend coverage to 175,000 employees in laundering and cleaning establishments which have gross annual sales of \$250,000 or more and which are part of an enterprise with annual sales of such amount.

The exemption will also be amended to provide coverage for workers in laundry and dry cleaning establishments which make more than 25 percent of their sales to other than home customers.

3. Hotels and motels: The proposal will delete the minimum wage and overtime exemption in section 13(a) (2) for employees of hotels and motels. This will extend minimum wage and overtime protection to 275,000 additional employees employed in establishments doing an annual business of at least \$250,000.

With regard to tipped employees, the bill provides that the term "wage" shall include the value of tips or gratuities accounted for or turned over by the employee to the employer, and authorizes the Secretary of Labor to determine their fair value. Of course, only those tips or gratuities actually apportioned among employees or otherwise returned to them by the employer would be counted in determining whether the employer has met the requirements of the act.

4. Restaurants and other food service establishments: The bill will amend section 13(a) (2) of the act to extend minimum wage and overtime protection to 425,000 employees of restaurants or food service establishments which have an annual gross volume of sales of not less than \$250,000.

5. Hospitals and institutions for the sick and aged: Employees of hospitals, nursing homes, and homes for the aged are presently exempted from the act under section 13(a) (2) (iii). The bill will remove this exemption and extend coverage to employees of such establishments which have an annual gross sales volume of \$250,000. It will provide minimum wage and overtime protection for approximately 890,000 employees of non-Government hospitals, nursing homes, and homes for the aged.

6. Employees of logging contractors: The proposal will repeal section 13(a) (15) of the act, which exempts from the minimum wage

and overtime provisions logging operations involving not more than 12 employees. Approximately 87,000 additional employees will thus be provided the act's protection.

7. Motion picture theaters: The exemption in section 13(a) (2) for motion picture theaters will be repealed. This will result in the extension of minimum wage and overtime protection to 75,000 additional employees.

8. Taxicab companies: Employees of taxicab companies will be brought under the act by repeal of the existing exemption in section 13(a) (12). The proposal will thus provide minimum wage and overtime protection to an additional 100,000 employees.

9. Construction and other industries: The broadening of the section 3(s) definition of an enterprise "engaged in commerce or the production of goods for commerce" will provide minimum wage and overtime protection for an additional 250,000 employees in the construction industry and 650,000 in other industries which individually employ relatively few employees.

10. Clarification and consolidation of exemptions relating to handling and processing of farm products: The bill will remove the minimum wage and overtime exemption in section 13(a) (10) and the overtime exemption in section 7(c). Two other minimum wage and overtime exemption provisions closely related to section 13(a) (10) (sections 13(a) (17)—grain elevators—and 13(a) (18)—cotton ginning) will also be repealed.

Section 7(b) (3) will provide a 14-week overtime exemption, limited to 10 hours a day and 48 hours a week, for employment in industries found by the Secretary of Labor to be of a seasonal nature. As amended, it will also provide a similar exemption for handling and processing operations covered by the deleted provisions, except livestock slaughtering, if the Secretary finds the industry to be "characterized by marked annually recurring seasonal peaks of operation."

11. Extension of overtime protection to certain gasoline station employees and transit employees: The bill repeals the overtime exemption inspection 13(b) (2) for "any employee of a gasoline service station." Approximately 86,000 employees would thus receive maximum hours protection.

It will extend overtime protection to 103,000 local transit employees by repealing the overtime exemption in section 13(b) (7) for employees of street, suburban or interurban electric railways, or local trolley or motorbus carriers.

12. Extension of geographical application of act and computation of overtime: Section 13(f) will be amended to extend the act to the Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls and Johnston Island.

The bill will also amend section 7(e) so that, except in cases where an employee works necessarily irregular hours and is employed pursuant to an individual contract or a collective bargaining agreement providing for premium pay, the "regular rate" will be computed by dividing the fixed salary by not more than the maximum workweek of 40 hours.

13. Statute of limitations and effective date: The bill will lengthen to 3 years the present 2-year statute of limitations for instituting action to recover wages due.

The amendments made by the bill will take effect 120 days after enactment, except that the authority to promulgate necessary rules, regulations, or orders with regard to such amendments could be exercised by the Secretary of Labor on and after the date of enactment.

NEED FOR THE LEGISLATION

At the present time almost half of the Nation's wage and salary workers are outside the Fair Labor Standards Act. The proposal

would provide minimum wage and overtime protection to approximately 4½ million of the neediest of these workers. They constitute a group which as a whole has been denied a living wage in the midst of an unparalleled national prosperity.

The wages of exempt workers generally do not rise with increases in the cost of living, and as a result they suffer a continuing decline in real earnings. These workers who are denied the modest benefits of the Fair Labor Standards Act comprise a chronically depressed class.

Thirty-one percent of the workers who would be extended minimum wage protection by the bill now receive less than \$1.25 an hour. Their plight is evident when one considers that even at this wage, if a worker were employed steadily—40 hours a week for an entire year—his annual income would amount to only \$2,500. Although poverty has been defined in many ways, a family income of less than \$3,000 is generally regarded as falling below the line marking the poverty level. While the assurance of a wage of \$1.25 an hour to workers now receiving less than that amount would still fall short of this dividing line, it would provide some measure of improvement in the unhealthful and dispiriting conditions to which they are now subjected by their intolerably low wages.

The broader application of the act's overtime standards provided by the bill will help to discourage excessively long hours of work for those workers to whom this protection is extended. It will also tend to spread employment opportunities in several categories of jobs in which the relatively unskilled can qualify for employment. Since chronic and persistent unemployment among unskilled workers is disproportionately high, this aspect of the proposed legislation is particularly important.

In extending the act's protection to the categories of workers dealt with in this bill, a selective approach is followed so that those needing it the most will be benefited.

For example, laundryworkers have long been the lowest paid in the country. Earnings data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that the spread between wages in laundries and wages in low-wage manufacturing industries steadily widened between 1947 and 1960. A comparison of wages in laundries and in the fertilizer industry (which is a low-wage industry but is covered by the act) illustrates this fact. Average hourly earnings in the fertilizer industry were about 15 cents higher than those in the laundry industry in 1947. By 1960, the spread between the two industries had increased to 63 cents. Today, 41 percent of the laundryworkers who would be covered by this bill receive less than \$1.25 an hour.

Similarly, average hourly earnings in the fertilizer industry were 28 cents higher in 1947 than the average hourly wage in year-round hotels. By 1960, this differential had increased to 63 cents. It is estimated that 36 percent of the hotel and motel workers who would be extended the act's protection under this bill now receive less than \$1.25 an hour in cash wages plus tips.

The estimated number of other categories of workers who will be extended the act's protection, now receiving less than \$1.25 an hour, is as follows:

	<i>Percent</i>
Retail trade (secs. 3(s) and 13(a) (2))	30
Agricultural processing within the area of production (sec. 13(a) (10))	64
Local transit (sec. 3(s))	10
Cotton ginning (sec. 13(a) (18))	67
Taxicabs (sec. 13(a) (12))	25
Small logging (sec. 13(a) (15))	6
Motion picture theaters (secs. 3(s) and 13(a) (2))	60
Construction (sec. 3(s))	6
Restaurants (secs. 3(s) and 13(a) (2))	29
All other industries (sec. 3(s))	28

Excess reserves move up—Stock of gold declines

WEEKLY AVERAGE OF DAILY FIGURES
[In millions of dollars]

	May 12 week	May 5 week	Year ago
U.S. Government securities:			
Bought outright, system account	37,565	+64	+3,661
Held under repurchase agreement	625	+232	+542
Acceptances bought outright	53	-1	+2
Discounts and advances:			
Member bank borrowings	498	+20	+184
Other	16		+16
Float	1,557	-84	-83
Total, Reserve bank credit	40,332	+195	+4,312
Gold stock	14,395	-16	-1,068
Treasury currency outstanding	5,399	-12	-172
Currency in circulation	39,071	+252	+1,921
Treasury cash holdings	744	-10	-327
Treasury deposits with Federal Reserve banks	1,010	+173	+20
Foreign deposits with Federal Reserve banks	134	-30	-26
Other deposits with Federal Reserve banks	191	+14	+12
Other Federal Reserve accounts (net)	821	-6	-118
Member bank reserves:			
With Federal Reserve banks	18,154	-190	+936
Currency and coin (estimated)	3,318	-76	+231
Total reserves held (estimated)	21,472	-275	+1,167
Required reserves (estimated)	21,094	-319	+1,202
Excess reserves (estimated)	378	+44	-35

NOTE.—On May 12, U.S. Government securities held in custody by the Federal Reserve banks for foreign account totaled \$7,614,000,000, a decrease of \$59,000,000 for the week and a decrease of \$303,000,000 from the comparable date a year ago.

The Three Faces of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 17, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's speech last Thursday to the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists is a moving account of what the United States is attempting through our foreign aid program.

The war in Vietnam, the President said, has three faces—armed conflict, the quest for a political solution, and human need. With the compassion which has marked his career, the President described this third face, "the untended sick, the hungry family, and the illiterate child. It is men and women, many without shelter, with rags for clothing, struggling for survival in a very rich and a very fertile land."

This he said is the most important battle in which we are engaged.

Our help to these people is the most crucial because, in his words:

A nation cannot be built by armed power or by political agreement. It will rest upon the expectation by individual men and women that their future will be better than the past.

I commend the President's sensitive remarks to my colleagues:

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN EDITORIAL CARTOONISTS IN THE EAST ROOM

Good morning ladies and gentlemen, and my friends of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists: I am very happy that you requested through the press office this opportunity for us to meet together, because after looking at some of the cartoons you have drawn, I thought I'd invite you over to see me in person. After all, I had nothing to lose.

I know that I am talking to the most influential journalists in America. Reporters may write and politicians may talk but what you draw remains in the public memory long after these other words are forgotten. That is why, after I learned that you would be here and we would meet together that I put together some notes to discuss with you while you were in Washington, a very little-known side of our activity in one of the most vital places in the world—South Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam has many faces. There is the face of armed conflict—of terror and gunfire—of bomb-heavy planes and campaign-weary soldiers. In this conflict our only object is to prove that force will meet force—that armed conquest is futile, and that aggression is not only wrong, but it just will not work.

And the Communists in Vietnam are slowly beginning to realize what they once scorned to believe: that we combine unlimited patience with unlimited resources in pursuit of an unwavering purpose.

We will not abandon our commitment to South Vietnam.

The second face of war in Vietnam is the quest for a political solution—the face of diplomacy and politics—of the ambitions and the interests of other nations. We know, as our adversaries should also know, that there is no purely military solution in sight for either side. We are ready for unconditional discussions. Most of the non-Communist nations of the world favor such unconditional discussions. And it would clearly be in the interest of North Vietnam to now come to the conference table. For them the continuation of war, without talks, means only damage without conquest. Communist China apparently desires the war to continue whatever the cost to their allies. Their target is not merely South Vietnam, it is Asia. Their objective is not the fulfillment of Vietnamese nationalism. It is to erode and to discredit America's ability to help prevent Chinese domination over all of Asia.

In this domination they shall never succeed.

And I am continuing and I am increasing the search for every possible path to peace.

The third face of war in Vietnam is, at once, the most tragic and most hopeful. It is the face of human need. It is the untended sick, the hungry family and the illiterate child. It is men and women, many without shelter, with rags for clothing, struggling for survival in a very rich and a very fertile land.

It is the most important battle of all in which we are engaged.

For a nation cannot be built by armed power or by political agreement. It will rest on the expectation by individual men and women that their future will be better than their past.

It is not enough to just fight against something. People must fight for something, and the people of South Vietnam must know that after the long, brutal journey through the dark tunnel of conflict there breaks the light of a happier day. And only if this is so, can they be expected to sustain the enduring will for continued strife. Only in this way can longrun stability and peace come to their land.

And there is another, more profound reason. In Vietnam communism seeks to really

impose its will by force of arms. But we would be deeply mistaken to think that this was the only weapon. Here, as other places in the world, they speak to restless people—people rising to shatter the old ways which have imprisoned hope—people fiercely and justly reaching for the material fruits from the tree of modern knowledge.

It is this desire, and not simply lust for conquest, which moves many of the individual fighting men that we must now, sadly, call the enemy.

It is, therefore, our task to show that freedom from the control of other nations offers the surest road to progress, that history and experience testify to this truth. But it is not enough to call upon reason or point to examples. We must show it through action and we must show it through accomplishment, and even were there no war—either hot or cold—we would always be active in humanity's search for progress. This task is commanded to us by the moral values of our civilization, and it rests on the inescapable nature of the world that we have now entered. For in that world, as long as we can foresee, every threat to man's welfare will be a threat to the welfare of our own people. Those who live in the emerging community of nations will ignore the perils of their neighbors at the risk of their own prospects.

This is true not only for Vietnam but for every part of the developing world. This is why, on your behalf, I recently proposed a massive, cooperative development effort for all of southeast Asia. I named the respected leader, Eugene Black, as my personal representative to inaugurate our participation in these programs.

Since that time rapid progress has been made, I am glad to report. Mr. Black has met with the top officials of the United Nations on several occasions. He has talked to other interested parties. He has found increasing enthusiasm. The United Nations is already setting up new mechanisms to help carry forward the work of development.

In addition, the United States is now prepared to participate in, and to support, an Asian Development Bank, to carry out and help finance the economic progress in that area of the world, and the development that we desire to see in that area of the world.

So this morning I call on every other industrialized nation, including the Soviet Union, to help create a better life for all of the people of southeast Asia.

Surely, surely, the works of peace can bring men together in a common effort to abandon forever the works of war.

But, as South Vietnam is the central place of conflict, it is also a principal focus of our work to increase the well-being of people.

It is in that effort in South Vietnam which I think we are too little informed and which I want to relate to you this morning.

We began in 1954 when Vietnam became independent, before the war between the North and the South. Since that time we have spent more than \$2 billion in economic help for the 16 million people of South Vietnam. And despite the ravages of war we have made steady continuing gains. We have concentrated on food, and health, and education, and housing, and industry.

Like most developing countries, South Vietnam's economy rests on agriculture. Unlike many, it has large uncrowded areas of very rich, and very fertile land. Because of this, it is one of the great rice bowls of the entire world. With our help, since 1954, South Vietnam has already doubled its rice production, providing food for the people, as well as providing a vital export for that nation.

We have put our American farm know-how to work on other crops. This year, for instance, several hundred million cuttings of a new variety of sweet potato, that promises a sixfold increase in yield, will be distributed to these Vietnamese farmers. Corn

A2460

output should rise from 25,000 tons in 1962 to 100,000 tons by 1966. Pig production has more than doubled since 1955. Many animal diseases have been eliminated entirely.

Disease and epidemic brood over every Vietnamese village. In a country of more than 16 million people with a life expectancy of only 35 years, there are only 200 civilian doctors. If the Vietnamese had doctors in the same ratio as the United States has doctors, they would have not the 200 that they do have but they would have more than 5,000 doctors.

We have helped vaccinate, already, over 7 million people against cholera, and millions more against other diseases. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese can now receive treatment in the more than 12,000 hamlet health stations that America has built and has stocked. New clinics and surgical suites are scattered throughout that entire country; and the medical school that we are now helping to build will graduate as many doctors in a single year as now serve the entire population of South Vietnam.

Education is the keystone of future development in Vietnam. It takes a trained people to man the factories, to conduct the administration, and to form the human foundation for an advancing nation. More than a quarter million young Vietnamese can now learn in more than 4,000 classrooms that America has helped to build in the last 2 years; and 2,000 more schools are going to be built by us in the next 12 months. The number of students in vocational schools has gone up four times. Enrollment was 300,000 in 1955, when we first entered there and started helping with our program. Today it is more than 1,500,000. The 8 million textbooks that we have supplied to Vietnamese children will rise to more than 15 million by 1967.

Agriculture is the foundation. Health, education and housing are the urgent human needs. But industrial development is the great pathway to their future.

When Vietnam was divided, most of the industry was in the north. The south was barren of manufacturing and the foundations for industry. Today, more than 700 new or rehabilitated factories—textile mills and cement plants, electronics and plastics—are changing the entire face of that nation. New roads and communications, railroad equipment and electric generators, are a spreading base on which this new industry can, and is, growing.

All this progress goes on, and it is going to continue to go on, under circumstances of staggering adversity.

Communist terrorists have made aid programs that we administer a very special target of their attack. They fear them. They know they must fear them because agricultural stations are being destroyed and medical centers are being burned. More than 100 Vietnamese malaria fighters are dead. Our own AID officials have been wounded and kidnapped. These are not just the accidents of war. They are a part of a deliberate campaign, in the words of the Communists, "to cut the fingers off the hands of the Government."

We intend to continue, and we intend to increase our help to Vietnam.

Nor can anyone doubt the determination of the South Vietnamese themselves. They have lost more than 12,000 of their men since I became your President a little over a year ago.

But progress does not come from investment alone, or plans on a desk, or even the directives and the orders that we approve here in Washington. It takes men. Men must take the seed to the farmer. Men must teach the use of fertilizer. Men must help in harvest. Men must build the schools, and men must instruct the students. Men must carry medicine into the jungle and treat the sick, and shelter the homeless. And men—

brave, tireless, filled with love for their fellows—are doing this today. They are doing it through the long, hot, danger-filled Vietnamese days and the sultry nights.

The fullest glory must go, also, to those South Vietnamese that are laboring and dying for their own people and their own nation. In hospitals and schools, along the rice fields and the roads, they continue to labor, never knowing when death or terror may strike.

How incredible it is that there are a few who still say that the South Vietnamese do not want to continue the struggle. They are sacrificing and they are dying by the thousands. Their patient valor in the heavy presence of personal, physical danger should be a helpful lesson to those of us who, here in America, only have to read about it, or hear about it on the television or radio.

We have our own heroes who labor at the works of peace in the midst of war. They toil unarmed and out of uniform. They know the humanity of their concern does not exempt them from the horrors of conflict, yet they go on from day to day. They bring food to the hungry over there. They supply the sick with necessary medicine. They help the farmer with his crops, families to find clean water, villages to receive the healing miracles of electricity. These are Americans who have joined our AID program, and we welcome others to their ranks.

For most Americans this is an easy war. Men fight and men suffer and men die, as they always do in war. But the lives of most of us, at least those of us in this room and those listening to me this morning, are untroubled. Prosperity rises, abundance increases, the nation flourishes.

I will report to the Cabinet when I leave this room that we are in the 51st month of continued prosperity, the longest peacetime prosperity for America since our country was founded. Yet our entire future is at stake.

What a difference it would make if we could only call upon a small fraction of our unmatched private resources—businesses and unions, agricultural groups and builders—if we could call them to the task of peaceful progress in Vietnam. With such a spirit of patriotic sacrifice we might well strike an irresistible blow for freedom there and for freedom throughout the world.

I, therefore, hope that every person within the sound of my voice in this country this morning will look for ways—and those citizens of other nations who believe in humanity as we do, I hope that they will find ways to help progress in South Vietnam.

This, then, is the third face of our struggle in Vietnam. It was there—the illiterate, the hungry, the sick—before this war began. It will be there when peace comes to us—and so will we. Not with soldiers and planes, not with bombs and bullets, but with all the wondrous weapons of peace in the 20th century.

And then, perhaps, together, all of the people of the world can share that gracious task with all the people of Vietnam, north and south alike.

Thank you for coming this morning. Good morning.

A Chance To Help Through VISTA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY H. McVICKER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 6, 1965

Mr. McVICKER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert a fine editorial on

VISTA, the domestic peace corps, which appeared in the Denver Post on Tuesday, May 4, 1965. This editorial gives due acknowledgment to the fact that an increasing number of Americans are realizing that the Great Society will be attained only through man's humanity to his fellow man. I encourage all my colleagues to read this article:

[From the Denver Post, May 4, 1965]

A CHANCE TO HELP THROUGH VISTA

The same idealism that led thousands of Americans to enlist in the Peace Corps to help people overseas is now leading thousands of others to enlist in VISTA to help people who need help in our own country.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) has been called the domestic peace corps because its members have to have some of the same attributes as the Peace Corpsmen: the ability to bring simple knowledge, skill, and encouragement to people handicapped by ignorance; the willingness to live among the people being helped and share their poverty and hardship; the desire to work for the satisfaction of doing good and not for monetary reward.

Throughout the Nation, VISTA are beginning to move into poverty neighborhoods in city slums, in troubled mine and mill towns, in run-down farm areas, in migrant workers camps, and on Indian reservations.

They will not only teach the poor such fundamental things as homemaking, how to look for a job or how to make use of available public services, but they will work with them to organize and repair their neighborhoods and their lives and to help them escape from the grip of poverty.

The Government pays the volunteers basic living expenses and \$50 a month.

VISTA is now conducting recruiting drives at the University of Colorado and the University of Denver to interest young people 18 or over in investing a year of their lives in this useful and unselfish undertaking.

If 18 is the minimum age, there is no maximum. Some persons in their 70's are already among the VISTA volunteers. Information and application blanks are obtainable not only at the campuses but at the offices of Denver's war on poverty at 810 14th Street, and, by mail from the offices of VISTA, Washington, D.C.

This is a challenging and useful program, with a large potential for good. There ought to be at least as much satisfaction in helping people who need help in our own country as there is in helping people who need help abroad.

VISTA deserves a large response from Americans of every age, and we have no doubt it will receive it.

National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 17, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, the passage of H.R. 7031, known as the National Technological Institute for the Deaf Act, is being hailed by those of us who are deaf as being almost as significant as the invention of the hearing aid. I want to take this opportunity to offer my gratitude to Representative CAREY,