recreational development: McCoy Ferry, the town of Hancock, town of Williamsport, Taylors Landing, Dam No. Four, Fort Frederick, Mountain Lock, and Shinhams.

Altogether, 20 areas are tentatively listed for recreational development for the canal as a whole.

Possibilities for these areas would include boat launching ramps, docks, camping grounds, picnic facilities, comfort stations, parking space, and water supply, McLanahan pointed out.

The speaker emphasized the importance of cooperation between the National Park Service and local groups, particularly the county government and the two towns along the canal. He suggested a link between the NPS plans and the county's developing park system.

"We'll put every ounce of strength into this program, and we hope you'll give us assistance," he hold the group. "Any developments will be for the benefit of the four-state area.

"If any of you have ideas about the canal's future, I'd like to hear them."

No time schedule was given for completion of the projects. But the speaker revealed one event affecting the canal that is only two weeks in the future.

On June 1, he said, the "canal will be spliced back together as one unit." This will happen when the NPS puts the entire canal under the National Capital Region. Part of it is now under the Philadelphia Region of the agency.

The superintendent estimated that 18 million persons form the recreational potential of the canal, and he linked it with the more ambitious Potomac Valley Park that has been proposed for the river basin.

Melvin Kaplan, president of the Williamsport club, introduced the speaker and announced that revised maps of the canal will soon come off the presses for the convenience of hikers and other users of the towpath.

Wolff Endorses National Council of Churches Formula for Peace in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER L. WOLFF
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the problem of Vietnam does not lend itself to a black or white solution; we must constantly and aggressively search for new ways to bring a just peace to that troubled land. I have not seen a clearer articulation of a general road to follow toward peace in Vietnam than that outlined by Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church, which was adopted by the National Council of Churches. The five points adopted by the National Council are similar to positions adopted by national Catholic and Jewish groups. The five points include:

(1) a United Nations-convened peace conference with representation by all interested parties; (2) readiness on the part of the United States for unconditional discussion and negotiation; (3) strict adherence on the part of the U.S. to the policy of avoiding bombing of centers of population in North Viet Nam; (4) increased efforts to relieve the desperate plight of non-combatants in South Viet Nam; (5) a phased withdrawal of all U.S. troops and bases from Viet Namese territory, if and when they can be replaced by adequate international peacekeeping forces;

The search for peace must continue; every available means must be explored. I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to support the five points enumerated above as I do.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided,* That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

also invited foreign shipowners to bid on transporting military supplies to Europe and Asia.

The ship companies see a crisis in the fleet's ability to measure up to responsibilities. The American economy is taking 50 per cent of the world's raw materials. Furthermore, it depends increasingly on imports, and requires "reliable transportation by sea of these vital raw products."

At the same time it has taken over from Britain and France the task of keeping world trade lanes open and supplying military forces on far fronts. This, the steamship companies say, is all being done with "a pipeline of rust buckets struggling in an effort to continue operating."

Casl feels that the Government has been unrealistic in chartering some of the newest and fastest merchant ships on the Vietnam supply run, diverting them from commercial trade routes built up at much cost by the steamship companies.

The reasoning is this: Vietnamese port facilities are so limited that the fast ships wait "weeks on end" to berth. The industry felt that slower ships would be just as useful.

From July to December last year, the steamship lines say, they lost 425,000 tons of commercial cargo and $16,500,000 in revenue because their fast ships were diverted from trade routes and chartered by the Government for Vietnam service. The cargo was picked up by foreign-flag operators with a resulting adverse effect on United States balance of payments, Casl says.

The report is at pains to show that airlifts cannot substitute for shipping. War supplies transported overseas by ships varied only from 100 per cent in the Spanish-American war to 99 per cent in the Korean War and 98 per cent today, the industry points out.

The projected C–5A giant jet cargo plane will handle "only 50 to 55 tons of cargo." According to the ship owners "that's but a drop in the bucket on the defense dollar-return realized from the transportation of cargo in a modern, large, fast cargo ship." This is described as a vessel of 25 to 30 knots.

AIRLIFT CRITICIZED

Commeting on "Operation Big Lift," the air transport of 15,000 soldiers from Texas to Germany in 240 planes in three days in 1964, the report emphasized that they carried only light equipment with them. The heavy battle equipment used in their exercise abroad had been delivered by ship. Casl asks what would happen in a real combat situation if the heavy equipment could not be pre-positioned.

The report notes there is a fleet of 418 vessels of all types, including the relics out of mothballs, now on the Vietnam supply run.

It also indicates considerable pride in the 103 modern, fast cargo ships that have been added to the merchant fleet at a cost of $1 billion in recent years under the Government subsidy program. Thirty-nine more will soon join them. What the industry wants is many more.

The member companies of Casl are American Mail Line, American President Lines, Delta Steamship Lines, Farrell Lines, Grace Line, Gulf & South American Steamship Company, Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, Moore-McCormack Lines, Pacific Far East Line, Prudential Lines, States Steamship Company, The Oceanic Steamship Company and United States Lines.

Today there are about 900 privately owned, active American merchant ships in ocean-borne commerce. Of the 600 in foreign trade, about 60 tankers have speeds of around 15 knots, and about 116 dry cargo ships in operation or building have speeds over 20 knots.

In World War I, President Wilson launched a massive building program because the United States depended on foreign ships for its trade. These were either withdrawn or made available only for exorbitant prices. Although the United States built up a fleet of 14.7-million deadweight tons, the first war had ended before the bulk of the fleet was ready.

"We did not have the ships when we needed them most," the government conceded. To a lesser extent the same was true in World War II. Then 5,600 ships of 54-million deadweight tons were contracted for. The fleet peak was in 1945: 4,125 ships of 44,400,000 deadweight tons.

Progress Along the C. & O. Canal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have advocated the expansion of the valuable C. & O. Canal National Monument into a C. & O. Canal National Historical Park, as a spur to the restoration and recreational development of this unique historical and scenic resource. I am glad to be able to report that progress is now being made, along the canal itself if not yet in Washington.

At the 12th annual reunion hike and banquet of the C. & O. Canal Association on April 23, the dedicated members of that association unanimously reaffirmed their conviction that a C. & O. Canal National Historical Park should be established without further delay. More than 400 people joined Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Association President Ellery Fosdick, incoming President Paul Hauck and the alumni of the famous 1954 hike for the annual day on the canal, a day which underlined again the great attraction which the canal holds for people of all ages. I regret that recent surgery prevented me from joining the members of the association on April 23, and am very glad that our distinguished colleague from Maryland, Mr. MORTON, a member of the House Interior Committee, could attend the banquet to declare his own endorsement of the proposed C. & O. Canal National Historical Park.

I regret that, despite these signs of wide support for the park, the Department of the Interior has not yet seen fit to submit any report on my bill, H.R. 9366, which has been before the House Interior Committee since last June 25. As the Washington Post declared in an editorial on April 26, "the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio Park could be an immediate and direct step toward the larger objective" of a Potomac Valley Park system, and should be endorsed by the Interior Department for action this year.

It is very encouraging that the lack of energy in Washington has not deterred canal enthusiasts from acting on their own initiative to begin restoration and improvement of the canal. Under the direction of the able and imaginative canal superintendent, W. Dean McClanahan, more and more conservation and sportsmens' groups in western Maryland have begun to discuss specific development projects. Through local efforts, I believe that great progress can be made toward cleaning up the canal, rewatering appropriate portions of it, improving the towpath, and publicizing widely the tremendous recreational assets of this historic waterway.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the Post editorial and an article about Superintendent McClanahan's proposals, from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of May 19:

[From the Washington Post, April 26, 1966]

STALLED C. & O. CANAL BILL

The annual hike of Justice Douglas and other devotees of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal towpath came as a reminder that nothing has been done this year to assure the preservation of this great recreational asset. Representative CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS has been pressing for action on his bill to expand the C&O Canal National Monument into a national historical park, with help from many sources. But no hearings have been held.

The chief reason for the current stalemate appears to be the lack of positive support from the Department of the Interior. No report on the bill has thus far been forthcoming from the Department. It is true that an Interdepartmental Task Force on the Potomac recommended prompt establishment of a Potomac Valley Park a few months ago. Although this would include the C&O Canal property, it is essentially a long-range concept. To carry it out, large sums will be necessary for the acquisition of recreational lands, for the construction of the proposed George Washington Country Parkway and so forth.

The proposed Chesapeake & Ohio Park could be an immediate and direct step toward the larger objective. It is especially urgent to acquire the additional lands needed for campgrounds and further protection of the narrow strip of park running from Washing to Cumberland. We think Interior should give the C&O National Historical Park bill a hearty endorsement and press for its enactment inthe present session.

[From the Hagerstown Morning Herald, May 19, 1966]

RESTORATION PLANS DISCLOSED: C. & O. CANAL WILL LIVE AGAIN

(By Harry Warner)

The C. & O. Canal will live again at two points in Washington County.

Moreover, many other areas in Washington County have been ticketed for recreational development along the historic waterway.

Dean McClanahan, superintendent of the C. & O. Canal National Monument, unveiled tentative plans for the future during a talk to the Williamsport C. & O. Canal Club Wednesday night.

Five points have been chosen for extensive restoration of the canal along its 185-mile length. Those in this county will be at Four Locks and Harpers Ferry, if present plans work out.

McClanahan envisioned rewatering of the canal at these points, construction of full-size replicas of the canal boats that used to go up and down the waterway, restoration and refurnishing of the lock houses, carpenter shops, and mule barns, and putting back into operating condition locks and associated facilities.

Similar historical development is planned for the canal at the North Branch area near Cumberland, Paw Paw around the famous tunnel, and at Seneca Creek, he said.

The superintendent listed these Washington County sites as under consideration for

she adds, by purchasing the business and equipment of another Hancock weekly, The Star, including its 1889 flatbed press.

In those early days when The Star also regularly went to press, The News was owned and published by George C. Huber. After his death in 1947, Mrs. Bohler, who had held a job on the news sheet, bought it and continued publication of the weekly which dates back to 1914.

The Star was established in 1889 and owned by the late Miss Gertrude Summers. As far as local memories serve, Miss Summers gave the business to James William Mason, who, with his brother, John T. Mason, published the weekly until Mrs. Bohler bought it and combined The Star and The News in one operation.

Mrs. Bohler, who says her biggest news story was the flood of '36, came to this western Maryland community in 1916, a young widow with two sons, aged 4 years and 18 months. Her husband, the late Harry Bohler, was killed in an accident at Bartlett and Haywood Tool Makers in Baltimore.

"I got ink in my blood when I came to Hancock," she fondly recalls, "and it was all by chance. I applied for a job on The News, and learned the business from Mr. Huber."

Her favorite expression, in fact, during World War II, when blood donors were so badly needed, was: "Give my blood to a printer; it's full of printer's ink."

The weekly paper, a single piece with a front and back, actually goes to press on two days. Pages 1 and 4, the outside sheet, are printed on Tuesday. Pages 2 and 3, the inside sheet, with school and church news, movies and classifieds, goes to press on Thursdays.

BIGGEST SELLER

Biggest seller for the paper, according to Susan Bohler, has been "Brief Items," a column in which people of Hancock and the surrounding area get the news of people they know. "Two or three lines in that column," says Susan, "are worth 50 lines on the front page. "Besides," she adds, "it lets me, as an editor, let off steam."

Weddings and obituaries are almost as well read as "Brief Items," claims the publisher. The obituary column in The News is probably among the most timely in the state. For the office overlooks the back yard of Grove Funeral Home here, and when Susan sees the hearse pulling in, even at noon on press day, she rushes next door to get a quick notice for publication.

The interior of the News' press room was heated, until just three years ago, by an old coal and wood stove, and Mrs. Bohler carried the baskets of fuel upstairs to replenish the stove. In '63, however, she "modernized" the plant by having gas heaters installed. Faded posters, sales bills and calendars for every year since 1938 line the walls. A visitor to the office, hunting material for a historical novel, was moved to remark that "a newspaper must have been like this in Mark Twain's day."

Mrs. Bohler says the pace has never been that of a "city paper," but claims the hours are long and the work goes on seven days a week. She boasts of never carrying "crime" news. "I never published murders or scandals, and I kept away from car accidents. Everyone in town is related to everyone else," she explains, "and I never aimed to stir folks up. Besides, if anything big happens here, everybody knows it before I can get it in print."

Loyalty to the newspaper and to the publisher has been high in this community. Only once did Susan Bohler "shut down" and that was due to illness. "And," says one resident, "not one subscriber asked for a rebate."

Mrs. Bohler has been known to proclaim proudly, more than once, "I've been in business since Woodrow Wilson was president."

However, she's a staunch Democrat, "but not partisan," and a staunch Episcopalian.

A daughter of the late Mary Alice (Vannosdeln) and Marlin J. Triece, she is a native of the Warfordsburg, Pa., area. Her grandfather Warford founded that nearby town on land which, she says, was purchased by her great grandfather from William Penn.

Her youngest son, Lt. Warford M. Bohler of Annapolis, is named for the town. Her oldest son, Sgt. Marlin T. Bohler, lives in Salisbury. Both are with Maryland State Police.

Moment of Truth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Vietnam continues to deteriorate. Every day the news brings with it new tales of the disaffection of the people of South Vietnam from the government in Saigon.

As the situation deteriorates, we in Government should be asking: What next? What lessons should be learned from the civil war within the war? What lessons should be learned from Premier Ky's handling of the situation?

One man who continues to think clearly about events in southeast Asia, and who continues to ask the toughest questions, is Walter Lippmann. For those who did not have a chance to read his column in the Washington Post this morning, I would recommend it highly. The column follows:

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

MOMENT OF TRUTH

(By Walter Lippmann)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

German-American Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday, May 22, was proclaimed German-American Day by New Jersey's Governor, Richard Hughes. And I had the distinct pleasure of attending the 14th annual German-American Day festival honoring the memory of Gen. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, an American patriot and one of New Jersey's early settlers of German origin.

New Jersey has been indeed fortunate to have so many dedicated and upstanding German-American citizens. Mr. Carl Schaufelberger, the festival chairman, is to be commended for providing an inspiring and entertaining program; and, without objection, I wish to place in the RECORD Governor Hughes' proclamation:

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Whereas, the fourteenth annual German-American Day Festival will be held in North Bergen, New Jersey on May 22, 1966; and

experience, are being hurt the same way that the marginal builders are.

"They don't believe they can pay more money for money at the present time. The real crime is that the housing requirements are still there. The money market is at the opposite of what it should be. There is too much of a nationwide policy that doesn't apply to Southern California."

George Lupher, president of Morgan Lupher & Company, Southern California industrial builders, said he had $2 million in projects shelved until the financing becomes available.

"Schedules have been disrupted and projects delayed overall because of the financing problems," said Lupher. "It may take six months or longer for things to get back to normal."

The Keystone Mortgage Co. Inc., of Los Angeles, headed by mortgage banker John Sullivan, has long been active in the money-finding field for commercial and industrial construction.

Christopher E. Turner, secretary of the company, said: "Borrowers are being asked to pay as much as 1 percent above what they were paying in February, and in some cases the funds are not available at any price because of the shifting of mortgage money, earmarked for mortgages, into high-yielding bonds and direct corporate placements."

He said, "High quality projects have become too expensive, and projects under $100,000 in the industrial construction area are nearly impossible. The marginal industrial and commercial projects aren't as sensitive because the paying of high rates has been common for them.

"In addition, when there have been sales of industrial properties, the new purchaser has assumed the old-rate loans rather than refinancing at the upped rate of .75% of one percent in many cases."

Turner said the money market virtually has eliminated remodeling of old projects and caused the postponement of a large percentage of new ones.

If the answer to the imposition of the tight-money market is to slow down the economy, it has advanced the question of whether hundreds of architects and contractors will stay in business.

"The residential, commercial and industrial builders are already overwhelmed with administrative problems what with increasing material and labor costs," said one mortgage banker. "When they were slapped across the face with the money-market gauntlet who should expect that it was loaded with a horseshoe?"

Tribute to John L. McMillan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, as I was standing in the crowded committee room awaiting the unveiling of the oil painting portraying the image of the Honorable JOHN L. MCMILLAN, and listening to the eloquent words of praise that you, Mr. Speaker, were making about the man whom we had come to honor, I could but feel that your words were those that the vast majority of the House could heartily endorse.

JOHN L. MCMILLAN is one of the most dedicated, knowledgeable, and considerate Members of Congress that it has been my fortune to meet. When I first came to this House, 16 years ago, he was a veteran of 12 years of service. Even then he was considered one of our leading authorities on agriculture. I turned to him for advice on this subject and that advice has stood me in good stead throughout the years.

The Honorable JOHN L. MCMILLAN has served as chairman of the House District Committee for 18 years. Only a true dedication to service of his fellowmen would influence a man of his high ability to remain at that most difficult and controversial post.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we all owe a debt of gratitude to the public spirited citizens who donated the beautiful portrait of Chairman MCMILLAN. I felt it an honor to be invited to attend such a memorable occasion. I did note that practically the entire body of public officials of the District of Columbia turned out to pay homage to this great American.

I ask no greater honor than to be known as a friend of JOHN L. MCMILLAN.

Joseph A. Gray, Sr., Former Member of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 3, 1966

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker on May 8 the Honorable Joseph Anthony Gray, Sr., who represented Pennsylvania's 22nd Congressional District in the 74th and 75th Congresses, died in Spangler, Pa., the home of his birth in 1884.

Son of pioneer residents of the Spangler area, Mr. Gray served in the U.S. Army and in the U.S. Signal Corps, 1900–1903. He was graduated from Eastern College at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1910. He began the practice of law in Ebensburg, Pa., and as a result of his interest in public affairs was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature, where he served in 1913 and 1914.

Before his election to Congress in 1934, Mr. Gray held a number of local public offices, including school director, councilman, and president of the board of health. A Democrat, he served 4 years in the the House of Representatives beginning January 3, 1935. He was instrumental in obtaining aid for Johnstown following the violent flood of 1936.

Like his father, Mr. Gray was a newspaper publisher for many years, remaining in the business until ill health forced him to retire in 1963. During his business career he also had been a motion picture exhibitor in Spangler.

Mr. Speaker, you and the other of our colleagues who served with Mr. Gray will remember him for his determined effort, warm spirit, and wide knowledge of national and international affairs. Residents of the district he served will always honor him for a full lifetime of energy and dedication directed at improving the general welfare.

End of an Era in Maryland Journalism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, a proud era in Maryland journalism ended early this month when Mrs. Susan Bohler of Hancock announced the sale of the Hancock News, the last handset newspaper in the State. The News will be published henceforth by Mr. James S. Buzzerd and Mr. J. Warren Buzzerd, publisher and editor of the Morgan Messenger of Berkeley Springs, W. Va., but the distinctive touch of Mrs. Bohler will no longer be seen.

Mrs. Bohler, now nearing her 79th birthday, is a veteran of 43 years of publishing, and 50 years as a leading resident of Hancock. Through the weekly News, she has kept her neighbors and countless friends fully advised on local events, school, and church news, and community progress. Despite many difficulties, she has failed to publish the News only once, a truly remarkable record of public service.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD, in tribute to Mrs. Bohler an interesting article from the Hagerstown Morning Herald of May 5 about this outstanding newspaper owner, publisher, reporter, editor, typesetter, printer's devil, who, in her own words, has "been in business since Woodrow Wilson was President":

MRS. SUSAN BOHLER ENDS 43-YEAR CAREER IN NEWSPAPER FIELD; SELLS THE HANCOCK NEWS

HANCOCK.—Maryland's last hand-set newspaper will come off the presses for the last time today.

Mrs. Susan Bohler, publisher of The Hancock News for almost half a century, has announced the sale of the News, effective May 2, to The Morgan Messenger of Berkeley Springs, W. Va.

James S. Buzzerd, publisher of The Messenger, and J. Warren Buzzerd, editor, will continue to publish Hancock's weekly newspaper, but will make use of the slug-casting (linotype) machines and presses now used to publish the Berkeley Springs paper.

Both papers will be issued on Thursday.

Publisher Buzzerd said this week the office of The Hancock News at 4 Pennsylvania Ave. will remain open for the present to handle business activities.

After today's press run, Mrs. Bohler will put an end to 43 years of work in the weekly newspaper field. She plans to devote her retirement years to her home, family and her garden.

For local residents, Mrs. Bohler's retirement also will bring the passing of a familiar sight. Although nearing her 79th birthday she daily walked to and from her newspaper office, carrying a basket filled with the day's mail and daily newspapers.

In the aging, white frame building on the side street just off Main and Pennsylvania, she was the owner, typesetter, compositor, printer's devil and pressman of the last hand-set newspaper in the Old Line state.

BURNED OUT

Mrs. Bohler claims illnesses and distresses never taxed her as much as the 1934 fire which burned out The News when it was located on the second floor of a local hardware firm. However, she soon got "back into business,"

Whereas, this year's festival honors General Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, an early American patriot and one of New Jersey's early settlers of German origin; and

Whereas, New Jersey has been fortunate to have so many German-American citizens;

Now, Therefore, I, Richard J. Hughes, Governor of the State of New Jersey, do hereby proclaim Sunday, May 22, 1966 as German-American Day in New Jersey, requesting appropriate observance of this anniversary by our schools, churches, civic and patriotic organizations and by the public generally and urging all citizens to become better acquainted with the contributions, past and present, of American citizens of German descent.

Given, under my hand and the Great Seal of the State of New Jersey, this twenty-ninth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-six and in the Independence of the united States the one hundred and ninetieth.

RICHARD J. HUGHES,
Governor.

By the Governor:

ROBERT J. BURKHARDT,
Secretary of State.

Bac-si My (American Doctor) in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I would like to take this opportunity to include in the RECORD a feature article which appeared in the April 1966 issue of the Bulletin of the Kern County Medical Society, Bakersfield, Calif. The article was prepared by a physician, Stanley M. Garstka, M.D., who spent 2 months in Vietnam giving his time and services. Dr. Garstka's interesting article follows:

BAC-SI MY* IN VIET NAM

(By Stanley M. Garstka, M.D.)

Our flight to Saigon was uneventful. Eight of us from different parts of the States had enough time during the flight for mutual introduction. There was a professor of Internal Medicine from the District of Columbia and Kentucky, surgeons from Montana and from Georgia, physicians from Texas and Illinois. All came in response to the call for voluntary service for the needy population in Viet Nam. All but one had never been in Southeast Asia and the events from Viet Nam were known to us only from history and current reading. One of us who has spent many years in India could not tell much about Viet Nam, although we listened attentively to his tales from India. On our flight from San Francisco to Saigon, the captain announced that we would refuel in Guam, stop over in Manila and land in Saigon at 11 o'clock a.m., eastern time, 17 hours after taking off from San Francisco.

Saigon airfield throbbed with life and power. One could see in Saigon the remarkable turn about in this war, as the result of the swiftest and biggest military buildups. Everywhere one sees and feels the mighty presence of the United States. Bulldozers by the hundreds, howitzers and trucks, combat-booted Americans, screaming jets and prowling helicopters.

*Bac-si-My—American doctor.

At the airport we were met by USOM representatives who took us by USOM bus to the USOM hotel. It took us over one hour from the airport to the hotel. During the rush hour at noon, the overpopulated Saigon is packed with people, cars, bikes, motorcycles, Army trucks, jeeps, taxis and "cyclos." Traffic rules are not existing, but they are being sensed. Cars hurtle into intersections from all sides. An uninterrupted flow of pedestrians poised and undisturbed marches off the curbs into the jammed and smoky boulevards. Bicycles and scooters caught our eyes, often with beautiful women perched calmly side saddled on the rear. The traffic moves courteously without signs, without noisy horns, without voices of anger. There were no accidents, no ill-tempered screams. Our Siagonese driver, without the slighest change of expression, wheeled and swerved and sailed past near collisions. After lunch at the Intercontinental Hotel, we visited officials at USOM I and at USOM II headquarters. We met General Humphrey and his deputies and learned about our assignments. The following day, early in the morning, our group parted to go in many directions from Quang Tri, at the 17th parallel, to Rach Gia on the coast of Bay of Siam. We were saddened by our separation as we had so much in common. Dr. Geier and myself were assigned to Can Tho, 175 Km. southwest from Saigon.

Can Tho was the place where we stayed for two months and learned to know the Vietnamese people. Can Tho is the capital of the province of Phong Ding. The region consists essentially of the great delta of the Mekong River and its tributaries. Can Tho is a center of the rice growing and of export. The Mekong and its tribuaries create not only the delta plain, but also its livelihood since their waters irrigate the tracts of rice fields. The delta area may be likened to one vast paddy field criss-crossed by many branches of the Mekong River. The land in the delta is seldom 20 feet above sea level and in order to construct roads it is necessary to build up roadbeds and construct many bridges. The climate is tropical and monsooned throughout. The seasonal temperature and pressure variations over land and sea produce monsoons, a name derived from an Arabic word for "seasons." These winds create a characteristic pattern of weather recognized even in the ancient world. The monsoons, blowing across the South China Sea from the Pacific Ocean, bring the rainy season between May and October.

The Vietnamese people that I learned to know were the sick ones in the hospital, the doctors, professional colleagues of mine, the hospital staff, the cook and the chambermaid, the people on the street, the members of a tennis club, the students in the AIC (American Information Center) and the soldiers of the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Viet Nam). Sharp at 8 o'clock a.m. we started our ward rounds in the hospital. With our arrival, Dr. Geier joined the medical department and I joined the surgical team. Dr. D. Campbell, Jr., Colonel USAF, Chief of surgery at San Antonio Air Force Hospital, took over the female section of surgery and assigned to me the male section. From my previous communications in this Bulletin you already know about the surgical theater. Surgical equipment, instruments, supplies and material were sufficient and on the level of United States' standards.

During the visit of the United States Ambassador in Can Tho, we discussed with the Ambasador the outlay of the hospital and agreed, that the hospital generally possesses only two of the basic requirements of a hospital: Patients and buildings. There is serious deficiency in water supply, electricity, sewage disposal, personnel, floor equipment and administrative operating funds. In addition the various divisions, departments and sections of the hospital are in separate buildings. This results in a wide separation of essential services and a fairly large number of buildings spread over a wide area. The Ambasador paid attention to every little comment we could offer. At another time, we had the opportunity to meet the International Red Cross. Dr. Hahn, Chief of Thoracic and Vascular surgery at the University of Losanne, was interested in centralizing chest surgical problems for highly skilled medical care. While on my way back to the States, I stopped over in Geneva and visited with Dr. Hahn.

The patients' load in the surgical department occasionally doubled and trippled the surgical bed capacity. We were forced to keep two or three patients in one bed. Fortunately the small size of the Vietnamese people found decent accommodation in American standard hospital beds.

Two well equipped, air-conditioned operating rooms were active all day long. We averaged ten major surgical cases a day, predominately emergency war casualties and/or not war connected emergency cases. Vietnamese operating room nurses were of highest quality. The language barrier was not a problem. During the operation little difficulties were encountered with requesting unexpected instruments or surgical material. The majority of the Vietnamese nurses grasped the new situations fast, practically reading the mind of the operating surgeon, provided the surgeon was not losing his. In very complicated situations we used the services of a competent Vietnamese interpreter, who always was on duty in the recovery room. Patients' history and post-operative follow-ups were always done with the help of an interpreter.

In the daily contact with the Vietnamese doctors, their passable English was not a barrier for understanding and cooperation. They are gifted and eager to learn. Students may be accepted for medical training after completion of secondary school education. After a year of premedical training in the Faculty of Science, the student spends six years in the medical school. Before he can enter a private medical practice, he is obligated to serve a two-year term in a provincial hospital. Practicing physicians in Can Tho charge 60 piastras for an office call. To meet the financial obligations for him and his family the physician has to earn 30,000 piastras monthly.

There is a great need for doctors as the doctor-population ratio is one physician for 30,000 people. Because of the shortage of trained medical personnel, the majority of the rural population are cared for by practitioners of ancient Chinese medicine as well as by native Vietnamese herb doctors. I observed many patients with adenomatous goiter having burn scars over the nodules. I also saw many patients with skin ecchymoses over the chest and submandibular area. It was explained by the local physicians, that the old Chinese treatment for adenomatous goiter is cauterization of the goiter and that the ecchymoses are self-inflicted by pinching of the skin to overcome headache, mylagia or malaise. The belief, that health and illness are dependent on the benign of malignant influences of spirits, is still strong in Viet Nam although modern medicine is causing the disappearance of some of the more primitive customs connected with it.

I met a lovely lady physician, a 1962 graduate from Saigon Medical College. She explained to me how the healer approaches the patient. There are three souls and nine spirits, she said, which collectively sustain the living body. The primary soul maintains itself, the second is the seat of intelligence and the third is related to senses. The nine spirits are targets of evil demons and when the healer first approaches his patient, he usually intones the third soul related to senses. We both agreed that the healer uses

a very clever approach to phychosomatic complaints.

Mr. Ty (Tee), our cook, was very proud of having been the chef of the former governor of the province. He was always happy to have extra guests for dinner. When Australia's surgical team from Long-Xuyen visited us, Mr. Ty displayed all his gifts in preparing Vietnamese dishes. Meat, as a great luxury was reserved for festive occasions, so we were served duck, chicken and pork in addition to swallows' nests, sharks' fins, frog legs and a great variety of insects and shell fish. When the party ended at midnight (curfew hours) he was very proud of having entertained us with such a great variety of viands.

The war in Can Tho was felt only by the artillery's distant booms and B-52 bombs. The city market place was always well supplied and busy. The shops were frequented well by buyers. November 1st, the National Holiday, was well attended by the local people and the display of marching school children was very impressive. One night, on a very short notice, we were invited as observers for a military operation against a Viet Cong stronghold area. We traveled at night by helicopter to the military airfield. The single most expensive piece of equipment in use in Viet Nam is an Air Force C-130. The plane is in fact a flying command post equipped with eight television screens for projecting maps and incoming and dispatched target information. A Vietnamese general was in charge of the operation with high ranking U.S. military men as advisors. Four hundred sixty Vietnamese fighting men were moved into the target area by U.S. helicopters, then one hour later, a second wave of airlift, carrying 380 Vietnamese Rangers was dropped into the paddy field, crisscrossed by canals and branches of the Mekong River.

The Viet Cong have sufficient freedom of action to strike almost at any point at a time of their choosing. They cannot hold ground, however, against government forces. The free Vietnamese have survived a decade of Communist harassment. They are defending themselves with the aid of supplies, equipment, training and economic assistance sent by the United States.

The success of the Republic of Viet Nam is a vital interest of all free nations. Freedom is not secure anywhere, unless free men defend it everywhere. In Can Tho terroristic Communist activities were sporadic. On one occasion a young American was machine gunned only a few miles outside the city limits. Another time a bicycle loaded with Molotov plastic bombs exploded, leveling a house. Fortunately no human death resulted. Although there is no such a thing as total security anywhere in Viet Nam, the territory under the government's control includes all the cities, all 43 of the provincial capitals, all but half dozen of the 241 district capitals. The delta area is 57 per cent under the Viet Cong suppression, terror, sabotage, random bombing and torture, all intended to terrorize the local civilian population.

It seems probable that the Communists are seeking victory through destroying the will to carry on by the United States and by the Vietnamese government. We left the Republic of South Viet Nam with the feeling that the war in Viet Nam is not primarily a war about the future of Viet Nam, but that it is a war about the future of all free nations in Asia.

I was left with the strong impression that this will some day be remembered as a historic turning point in human endeavor for Freedom, Dignity, and Justice.

World War II Vet Shigeru Goto of Hawaii Provides Hope and Inspiration to Other Amputees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, if the amputee patients of the Vietnam conflict in the U.S. Army's Tripler General Hospital in Honolulu seem less disheartened than their counterparts in the Korean war or World War II, it is largely due to the cheerful visits made by Mr. Shigeru Goto, Hawaii's nominee for the annual Federal Employee of the Year Award.

A disabled veteran who has an artificial right leg, Mr. Goto is vitally concerned with the welfare of these men for he is chief of the prosthetic and sensory aids unit of the Veterans' Administration's regional office in Honolulu, Hawaii. His personal victory in overcoming his handicap and his cheerful attitude have been a source of great encouragement to the men who are undergoing the trauma of facing a lifetime of disability.

Mr. Goto is already the recipient of a commendation by Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman of the President's Committee on the Hiring of the Handicapped. He was cited in 1961 for his help in gathering the discarded artificial limbs of Hawaii's veterans so that they may be made available to the handicapped of the underprivileged countries.

Mr. William C. Oshiro, Mr. Goto's superior, and Hawaii should be commended for having nominated the inspirational Mr. Shigeru Goto, of the Veterans' Administration. The recommendation for the Federal Employee of the Year Award included the following statement:

Mr. Goto has indeed carried out the purpose of the Veterans' Administration in its endeavor to "care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow, and his orphan."

As a means of commending Mr. Goto and in the hope that his story will inspire emulation, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article announcing Mr. Goto's nomination. The article which was written by Reporter Charles Turner appeared in the April 28 issue of the Honolulu Advertiser:

YOU'D HARDLY KNOW WAR VET'S LEG IS ARTIFICIAL

(By Charles Turner)

Newspaper clippings of nearly a quarter-century ago describe Corp. Shigeru Goto as having been "slightly wounded" in action in Italy.

Actually, Goto, who was 30 at the time, was seriously wounded. He lost his right leg and had ugly wounds of the left arm and left leg from a German shell which exploded in the midst of his battalion of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

He spent two years in hospitals before returning to civilian life.

But it's hard to tell today that Goto received such a searing baptism of fire as the one he got at Carrara, Italy, in 1945.

Goto walked up the stairs at Fisherman's Wharf yesterday without the least bit of difficulty.

He was wearing one of the latest prosthetic devices—a highly versatile artificial leg which operates with hydraulic fluid.

"It gives a gentler, smoother gait than the old ones," Goto said of his artificial limb.

Goto has had plenty of experience with such devices—not only from his own disability, but because of the nature of his job.

He is chief of the prosthetic and sensory aids unit of the Veterans Administration's regional office here. He has been with the VA since 1947. He was nominated by his boss, William C. Oshiro, as Federal Employe of the Year in the annual awards competition which ended last week.

Oshiro also is an amputee and the two men both agreed yesterday that advances in artificial limbs since World War II have come a long way.

"They're not a bit like the ones we first got," Goto said. "It's wonderful."

Even better things are in the offing for the seriously disabled veterans, such as those now coming from Viet Nam.

"They've graduated into the space age," Goto said.

He said it is now possible to fit a person with an artificial limb immediately after surgery. This greatly reduces the shock for men who face a lifetime of disability, Goto said. Research on the new technique is being carried on in Seattle.

Under the old, time-honored method of prosthesis, it took months, or even years, before someone who had lost a limb could be outfitted with a device to help him.

Goto said there are about 70 leg amputees in Hawaii at the present time who are receiving help from the VA. There are about 30 arm amputees. All of these received their disabilities from service-connected causes. There are an even greater number of veterans who have amputations from non-service-connected causes.

Goto said his office has given help to only one combat-wounded veteran from Viet Nam so far.

"Most of them still are in hospitals," he said. "They won't be released until everything possible has been done for them."

Goto makes frequent visits to Tripler Hospital to help the wounded there make the transition to civilian life. His cheerful attitude and willingness to demonstrate how he overcame his own disability—both at Tripler and other hospitals—has won him commendations.

He was given a special commendation in 1961 for his voluntary help in collecting discarded limbs from Hawaii's veterans for use by amputees in underprivileged countries. The commendation was signed by Gen. Melvin J. Maas, chairman of the President's Committee on the Hiring of the Handicapped.

His recommendation for the Federal Employe of the Year award carried this notation:

"Mr. Goto has indeed carried out the purpose of the Veterans Administration in its endeavor to 'Care for Him Who Shall Have Borne the Battle and for His Widow, and His Orphan.'"

as an expression of congressional interest and emphasis."

The subsequent paragraph of the report reiterates that "we strongly endorse a study for the purpose of examining the feasibility and desirability of establishing a Connecticut River National Recreation Area," and that statement is followed by several amendments.

In view of the recommendation of the President and the report of the Interior Department that a study is needed before the area can be established as a national park, I decided to revise my bill and to incorporate the amendments suggested by the Department. On April 20, 1966, I introduced H.R. 14546 which, as now worded, is a study measure. It is now pending before the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Senator RIBICOFF likewise introduced a similar bill.

The new bill authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to undertake a study of the feasibility of establishing the area as a national park, in order to preserve its natural beauty, its historic heritage, and its recreational use for the public. It provides for the coordination of plans with other Federal and State programs, as well as consultation with local bodies and officials. The Secretary is to submit, within two years, a report to the President of his findings and recommendations with emphasis on the following:

1. The natural values and recreational uses of the area.

2. Potential uses of the water and land resources.

3. The type of Federal program needed to preserve the values of the area in the public interest.

Under the circumstances, I believe that this is the best approach and the most logical way to obtain action leading to the eventual creation of a Connecticut River national recreation area. When adopted, the new measure will actually help lay the groundwork for the project. Such a study has never been made, and it would therefore be most helpful in many ways, including the establishment of the exact delineation of the proposed recreational area, its conservation and preservation, its economic potential, and other important aspects.

Mr. Chairman, I urge you and the members of your committee to approve the authorization of the proposed feasibility study so that Congress, too, can go on record in support of the idea. We would then have unanimity on all three major Federal levels: the White House, the Interior Department, and Congress. This will enable us to proceed without any loss of valuable time.

Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE R. KUPFERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 18, 1966

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 23, death claimed one of the illustrious citizens of my district, Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer, 174 East 72d Street, who was 83. Better known to millions of New York's music enthusiasts as "Minnie," Mrs. Gugghenheimer was, for over 40 years, a leading figure in the city's musical life. She founded and maintained almost singlehandedly the summer outdoor concerts at Lewisohn Stadium.

I should like to include in the RECORD at this time an editorial from the New York Times of May 24, 1966, which states so well the debt that New York City owes her.

"MINNIE" OF THE STADIUM

Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer—"Minnie" of Lewisohn Stadium—made an unforgettable impact on everybody, this stout little woman with the perky hats, the shrewd eyes, and the incredible pronunciations of the common and proper nouns of the English language.

She was as much part of Stadium Concerts as the orchestra and soloists, and people would anxiously await the moment she came on stage with her cheery "Hello, everybody!" To which the chant would come back: "Hello, Minnie!" Not until then did one feel that a Stadium concert had properly gotten under way.

In the great days of Stadium Concerts, from 1918 to about 1945, many New Yorkers were first exposed to music through the efforts of Mrs. Guggenheimer. Through those years Lewisohn Stadium played host to some of the world's finest musicians, and in Depression days they could be heard for as little as 25 cents. Mrs. Guggenheimer was a dedicated woman who wrought well, and New York owes her much.

On Judging Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, despite the diversity of views on our policy in Vietnam all Americans must admire the tenacity of the Vietnamese in their devotion to independence in the continuing struggle against Communist aggression.

The following editorial from the May 18, 1966, edition of the Washington Post gives just praise to a valiant people:

ON JUDGING VIETNAM

The political situation in South Vietnam is just about as discouraging, difficult and confusing as it could be for an ally genuinely interested in the welfare of a troubled and anguished people. Impatience with the intransigence of the dissident groups and with the clumsiness and folly of the ruling generals is bound to be very great.

This impatience should not be allowed to diminish our sympathy and understanding for a brave and gallant people who have lived through two decades of war and revolution that certainly would have unbalanced a more stable and homogenous society. It is a miracle that the passion for freedom, liberty, self-government and national identity persists at all. The anticolonial rebellion against the French consumed a generation of the intellectuals of their society. The struggle against North Vietnam has been more anguishing and dislocating for village life throughout the country.

Notwithstanding all the rigors of these struggles—the Communist slaughter of more than 100,000 hapless peasant property owners in the North, the assassination of village leaders and enemies of the Communists throughout the South, the continuing military operations—the vital spark of the people remains. Moreover, in all the long struggle against the Vietcong, the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam, there has not been a single defection to the Communists of a top-ranking South Vietnamese leader. This constancy in a cause must not be forgotten. Despite all the dissent from the policies of successive regimes at Saigon, the opposition has been directed at the government for domestic political reasons, not for the fact that it is fighting the Communists.

A people laboring under so many handicaps and difficulties may not be able to surmount the troubles that engulf them. They may not be able to achieve the degree of unity necessary to carry on their struggle successfully. But whatever reaction there is in this country, there must continue to be, in fairness and in justice, sympathy, understanding and admiration for a people who surely would be able to compose their political differences if they were let alone and allowed to work out their problems in peace.

The United States Ranks 15th Among the Major Maritime Powers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following is an editorial from the Hammond Times of Hammond, Ind., revealing the startling fact that the United States ranks 15th, and last, among the major maritime powers.

VANISHING SHIPS

Monday is National Maritime Day. Statistics suggest it would be better we skip it.

"American ships chart America's future" is the theme. If our shipbuilding performance is a clue, we have a dismal future.

James M. Gulick, deputy maritime administrator, told a Senate group on May 9 that in the commercial shipbuilding field the United States is 15th, last place among major maritime powers.

A recheck of the figures showed Gulick unduly pessimistic. He was using October data. As of Jan. 1, the U.S. had edged out Finland and is now the 14th commercial shipbuilding power. We're building 45 vessels of 513,000 gross tons, or 1.7 per cent of the world total.

The world's leader is Japan, building 343 ships of 10,555,610 gross tons, 34.8 per cent of the world total. Great Britain is second, with 187 ships of 2,982,620 gross tons on the ways; West Germany third, with 140 of 2,254,750 tons, and Soviet Russia fourth, with 145 ships of 2,210,740 tons.

Poland, France, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and the Netherlands each are building far more ship tonnage than the U.S.

The national figures do not give a true picture of the Soviet Union's tremendous forward plunge as a maritime power. Besides the ships being built in her own yards, the Soviets have 319 other vessels being built in Japan, Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Denmark and other countries.

Soviet ship tonnage is growing at the rate of 1 million tons a year. There are 7 million tons of Soviet shipping today; the Russian goal is to have 20 million tons afloat by 1980.

At the rate they are having ships built, at home and abroad, they are likely to meet that goal.

And some day, America may wake up to find the Soviets dominating world trade.

We see here a movement which, I am certain, will be recorded as one of the major events in American farm history in the second half of the 20th century.

Conservation Programs Protect Farm Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HARLAN HAGEN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, the agricultural resources of California are among the most valuable in the Nation. Farmers in the three counties in my congressional district produce some 200 agricultural products worth three-quarters of a billion dollars to them annually. After processing, these products bring in more than $3 billion.

One or more of these three counties—Kings, Tulare, or Kern—have ranked among the Nation's top 10 in agricultural income for the past 15 years.

Such an extremely valuable resource demands constant protection from floods, erosion, and abuse, and it demands proper planning and development to insure the best use in accordance with its capabilities.

Ably offering these extremely important services are the 15 soil conservation districts located in my congressional district. The directors who govern these districts serve faithfully year after year, without pay, to help landowners tackle soil and water problems and get conservation on the land.

District programs do much to sustain the agricultural industry of the area. Note these recent accomplishments.

In Kings County, the Excelsior Soil Conservation District has carried out water spreading projects to improve the underground water supply.

More than 27 farmers in the Pond Poso Soil Conservation District in Kern County constructed the Poso Creek channel with Federal cost-sharing assistance to protect the land from periodic flooding and enhance the Kern Wildlife Refuge.

Three soil conservation districts—Three Rivers, Kern Valley, and Kehachapi—with State assistance, have developed comprehensive land use and conservation plans to aid future planning and show resource problems and their possible solutions.

Last year in Tulare County, the Stone Corral and the El Mirador Soil Conservation Districts saved 1,000 acres of citrus land from severe damage by installing underground tile systems to lower toxic high water levels.

In addition, the districts, with technical assistance from the Soil Conservation Service, handle about 2,000 individual requests from cooperators each year on soil and water conservation problems. The districts also promote recreational and beautification projects by providing assistance for farm ponds, reforestation, and income-producing recreation enterprises on private land.

I commend these soil conservation districts for the valuable service they provide to their communities and for their efforts in preserving land and water resources for all the people.

Statement on Connecticut River National Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the RECORD the text of a statement I submitted on May 20 to the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation in support of legislation for a feasibility study for the establishment of a Connecticut River National Recreation Area.

The statement was as follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PARKS AND RECREATION, COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, U.S. SENATE, MAY 20, 1966

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee, I want to thank you for this opportunity to present my views on the bill now under consideration before your committee which seeks to preserve the natural beauty and the historic heritage of the Connecticut River. As sponsor of the companion measure in the House of Representatives, I wish to express my deep gratitude to all of you for scheduling these hearings.

In the latter weeks of the 1965 session, the Honorable ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF introduced his bill S. 2460 in the Senate and I introduced the companion measure, H.R. 11091, in the House. The purpose of this legislation was to authorize the establishment of the Connecticut River national parkway and recreation recreation area in the four States through which the river flows: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire.

The Connecticut River is the longest in New England, extending from the Canadian border down to Long Island sound for a distance of over 400 miles. It passes through many towns and cities, through hills and valleys, woods and farmlands—most of it beautiful country and of great historic value associated with glorious events in our Nation's past.

In recent decades, however, the onslaught of modern industry has been taking a heavy toll of the scenic beauty and the natural resources of this area. Deep inroads have been made in many parts of the Connecticut river valley. Industrial pollution, ugly junkyards and the uprooting of wooded areas are gradually transforming the scenery. Some years ago one observer referred to the Connecticut river as "the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool" because of the sewerage, the waste and the industrial residues pouring into it.

On September 13, 1965, Senator RIBICOFF arranged a boat trip along the Connecticut river to inspect the river and its shorelines with the idea of seeing the beauty of this area and the urgent need for preserving its scenic beauty. Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, Governor John Dempsey of Connecticut, Senator RIBICOFF and I, as well as many State and local officials, participated in the tour. Needless to say, all of us were very much impressed with what we saw and with the possibilities of preserving this beautiful waterway, the rich valley through which it flows, and the future of the many cities, towns, and villages along its way. It was generally felt by all that much can still be saved and preserved, provided we take action now or within the coming few years; if we wait too much longer, it may be too late to save anything.

What needs to be done is to have the river cleaned up, its numerous coves and nearby wooded hills should be preserved, and the immediate vicinity along the banks of the river should be developed as a national park and recreational area for the use and enjoyment of the people. Unfortunately, we do not have many national parks and recreational areas in the eastern part of our country. The Connecticut River Valley is one area that still can be preserved for such purposes, if we do not wait too long. Its value as a recreational asset for the people is inestimable. I am sure I need not emphasize too much for this committee the need for park and recreational areas, which is bound to become greater in the future as our population increases. It would be a wise step for us, I am certain, to take the necessary precautions now to preserve as much of these assets as possible.

In the 19th century, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale University, wrote that the Connecticut River was "everywhere pure, potable, everywhere salubrious." In the last 50 years, however, swimming in the river has been considered unwise because of the industrial residues and waste. As we completed our boat trip last September, which extended over a distance of some 80 miles from Old Saybrook at the mouth of the river to Hartford, Senator RIBICOFF observed:

"The river is, for the most part, still a thing of beauty. But unless we act very soon, it will not be a 'joy forever.'"

And Secretary Udall added this comment: "We have a chance here to do a model job of conservation. You already have a running start. But population is crowding in and time is running out. What we do in the next decade will be decisive for the river's future."

On February 23 of this year, President Johnson submitted to Congress his message on conservation and the preservation of our natural heritage. Among the major outdoor recreation proposals which he recommended was the following: "For a region which now has no natural park, I recommend the study of a Connecticut River National Recreation area along New England's largest river, in the States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut."

Subsequently, the Department of Interior submitted its report on the bills which Senator RIBICOFF and I introduced. It contained several interesting observations and suggested amendments. Let me quote a few passages from the report which was addressed to Congressman WAYNE N. ASPINALL, chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"We are sympathetic with the preservation and recreational use objectives of the bills which are greatly in need of accomplishment near urban population centers of the United States. At the present time, however, we do not have sufficient information to recommend the establishment of the proposed Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area. We believe that a study should be conducted before bills of this kind are considered. . . The enactment of a bill to establish the area in advance of the study would be premature. . . We believe it would be appropriate, however, to enact a study bill

Europe. Likewise, he said, many commodities are going to the Vietcong.

CASE NO. 4

Representative HOWARD H. CALLAWAY, of Georgia, a West Pointer and former Army infantry commander protested that the network of canals in North Vietnam vital to transporting military supplies to the Communist forces are banned to U.S. bombs. He said these canals are operated by a series of locks which if destroyed by our bombs would knock out major enemy supply routes.

CASE NO. 5

Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, in charge of releasing war news, told a group of correspondents in Vietnam:

Look, if you think any American official is going to tell you the truth, then you're stupid. Did you hear that—stupid.

He told the correspondents he expected the American press to be the handmaidens of Government.

CASE NO. 6

It is apparent that this Democratic Congress is not about to stop spending in order to stop inflation. Urged by the White House, it continues to enact new spending programs even while the Council of State Chambers of Commerce reports that existing Great Society programs now costing $3 billion a year will cost $17.7 billion in 5 years—1970, not including an expected $3.8 billion increase in the cost of trust funds programs.

Watch Your Hide

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in the Dayton, Tenn., Herald of May 5, Frank Glass, Jr., makes some perceptive observations about Great Society expenditures and increased taxes, and the opportunity the citizen has through the ballot of correcting Federal abuse of authority.

Under unanimous consent I insert the article, "Watch Your Hide," in the Appendix of the RECORD:

WATCH YOUR HIDE
(By Frank Glass, Jr.)

Taxes have been described as the price we pay for civilization. By the looks of things, we may be getting too civilized for our own good.

More taxes seem to be coming. Something ought to give . . . and many of us hope that the Great Society will be curtailed, while we are still alive to enjoy the society we already have. Could it be that some government economists look upon us taxpayers as sheep, figuring we can be sheared and sheared again? True, but you can only skin a sheep once.

If any of the voters are worrying about this, they might look in the mirror to find the cause of their concern. When we ask for federal handouts we get them for votes, but we pay for them in taxes, and then some. When we send a dollar to Washington, the "Free Lunch" we get back may be worth 50¢, with political overhead, carrying charges and inflation taken out. If we want to give our wool but keep our hides, we should make our wishes known in the voting booth at every opportunity inculding the August and November elections coming up.

Vietnam in a Historical Perspective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDNA F. KELLY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD two papers prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, dealing with the history of Vietnam.

The two papers which follow were prepared at my request to facilitate better understanding of the situation in Vietnam. The first provides an insight into the background of the Vietnamese nation; the second relates certain key events in Vietnam's history to developments which were occurring simultaneously in other parts of the world. By viewing the present condition of Vietnam from this historical and worldwide perspective, I believe that we can better appreciate what is going on there right now.

I want to mention that the abbreviated chronology was intended to be illustrative rather than all encompassing. I think it is a helpful compilation even though, on my part, I would have preferred to see the years 1954–63 covered in more detail.

This was a very critical and important period not only for Vietnam but also for the rest of the world. It was during those years that the Diem government established effective central authority in South Vietnam, overcame the divisive power of the various warlords, and made a start—a significant start—toward social and economic reconstruction of the country.

These were impressive achievements when one pauses to consider the chaotic situation which prevailed in that country after the French suffered the stunning defeat at Dienbienphu.

They acquire additional significance when one recalls that during the same period the bread-and-freedom riots occurred in Poland, the Hungarian revolution was brutally crushed by the Soviets, the Chinese Communists gained several footholds in Africa, and the world found itself on the brink of utter destruction as a result of Soviet attempts to place missiles on Cuba.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these articles to the attention of the membership of the Congress:

VIETNAM: SOME NOTES ON ITS HISTORY IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL EVENTS AFFECTING THE POLICIES OF THE GREAT POWERS

(Prepared according to the instructions of the Honorable EDNA F. KELLY, by Russell J Leng, analyst in international relations, Foreign Affairs Division, Library Reference Service, April 7, 1966)

1. PRIOR TO FRENCH COLONIZATION

The early history of the Vietnamese is obscure although they figured in ancient Chinese annals as early as the third century B.C. In 208 B.C. the kingdom of Nam-Viet, composed of parts of present-day southern China with three provinces in northern Vietnam, was formed. It was annexed by China in 111 B.C. and governed as a Chinese Province (Giao Chi) until 939 A.D.

The Vietnamese were able to over-throw Chinese rule in 939 when they capitalized on the anarchy existing in China following the collapse of the T'ang dynasty. Small wars with China and internal power struggles continued until 1427 when the warrior Le Loi drove Chinese forces out of Hanoi and established a dynasty which was to last through the 1770's. Despite their internal independence, the Vietnamese were still not free from the influence of their overpowering neighbor; Vietnam remain a tributary state of China and sent triennial payments to the Chinese to preserve its legitimacy until the time of the French conquest.

With the end of the Crusades in the thirteenth century, Europe began to expand its horizons in the direction of Asia and the Far East. During the first half of the 13th century Europe suffered under a series of successful Mongol invasions and by 1259 the land "from the banks of the Yellow River to the Danube and from the Persian Gulf to Siberia owed allegiance to the Mongols." This did have one bright side, for European travelers acceptable to them were able to gain free passage for overland travel to Asia.

Among the earliest travelers to take advantage of the land route to Asia was Marco Polo, who is known as the greatest of all Medieval travelers. During his travels between 1271 and 1295 Marco Polo became a favorite of the Great Khan of China and traveled through Burma, India, China, and parts of what is now Vietnam. Missionaries and merchants soon followed the footsteps of Polo, whom historians have credited with having "created Asia for the European mind."

The Mongols were overthrown in 1368 and with the accession of the Ming dynasty in China, the great land route was closed to European travelers for the next two centuries. European merchants began to search for a sea route to acquire the then highly valued spices of the East. Six years after Columbus landed in the West Indies, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and in 1498 opened a new seaway to India and the Far East.

The Nuygen lords of the Le dynasty, meanwhile, had slowly been expanding southward to consolidate their control over Annan and Cochinchina. They easily spread down into the rich Mekong Delta and by the middle of the eighteenth century they reached the southern tip of Indochina on the Gulf of Siam. As the Nuygens extended their control of Vietnam, they began to experience regular contact with European merchants and missionaries.

2. EARLY FRENCH COLONIZATION

Competition for commercial and religious privileges in Vietnam continued from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century between England, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal. By the eighteenth century the trade had declined considerably but missionary activity, particularly by the French, continued under conditions which ranged from passive toleration to active persecution. The persecution of the French missionaries grew in the 19th century and in 1833 an imperial edict declared the profession of Christianity a crime punishable by death. Finally, with the death of a French and a Spanish missionary, a Franco-Spanish task force invaded Tourance, and then turned south to occupy Saigon in February of 1859. More invasions followed and on August 25, 1883 a treaty was signed declaring Annan and Tonkin French protectorates, in addition to colony status for Cochinchina. But in actual fact, all of Vietnam was now a French colony.

The nineteenth century saw a period of relative stability in Europe after the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the agreements reached at the Congress of Vienna. Despite internal political instability through much of the century, involvement in the Crimean War against Russia, and a defeat at the hands of the Germans in 1870 the French were able to exert a continual effort to extending their control over Indochina. Not even the change from the monarchy of Napoleon III to the Third Republic affected the steadily increasing French control of Indochina which extended to Laos and Cambodia (in protectorate status) as well as Tonkin, Annan, and Cochinchina by 1895.

The English Navy still ruled the seas under what has often been referred to as the "Pax Britannica;" nevertheless, her interests, in the East were primarily centered in China and India rather than the Indochinese peninsula.

The United States was just beginning to emerge on the international scene as a new naval power in the middle of the 19th century. Until then American interests had still been directed primarily toward expansion across the North American continent and toward the Western Hemisphere, but by the end of the century American merchants were competing with the British in China and Admiral Perry had forced the Japanese to open their gates to the West for the first time.

3 FRENCH COLONIALISM PRIOR TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Vietnam was now a French colony but resistance to French rule continued, first by the traditional elites in Vietnamese society and later by new leaders born during the period of French colonial control. French colonial policy was based on the concept of effectively using Vietnam as a profitable economic enterprise and several attempts by Vietnamese scholars and nationalists to achieve moderate reforms during the 1920's were rejected outright by their colonial masters.

A Vietnamese Nationalist Party (VNQDD) modeled after the Kuomingtang in China attempted an armed uprising on February 9, 1930 which was quickly put down by French authorities who proceeded to effectively destroy the fledging opposition.

Nevertheless, the disappearance of the VNQDD brought the underground Communist parties in Vietnam to a position of dominance in the resistance movement. Three competing Communist groups were merged into a United Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) that year by the Southeast Asian Comintern representative Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot), later known as Ho Chi Minh. Nguyen was born in Vietnam but had spent most of his youth in Paris where he was active first in the Socialist movement and later in French communism. He traveled to Moscow as a Party representative in the early twenties and then accompanied the Soviet agent Borodin to China to work with Kuomingtang before he returned to Viet nam in the mid-twenties.

The ICP began to lose a certain amount of support in the thirties due to its acceptance of the Comintern policy of the "Popular Front," then being tried in France and Spain. By the late thirties, however, the collapse of the Popular Front in France and continued strong French retaliation to the ICP's disruptive activities had driven the movement completely underground. The leadership was forced to re-group in Southern China as the Second World War began.

Prior to the Second World War, the West remained generally ignorant of the smoldering fires of nationalism which would be enflamed by the Japanese "liberation" of Southeast Asia during World War II. Woodrow Wilson's principles of self-determination were not applied to these regions, which were considered "backward" and not ready for self-government.

During this period the attention of the Western powers was at first diverted by a devastating World War, the endless complications and problems of the Versailles and other peace settlements, a world economic crisis and the spector of international communism which had at last found a champion in the Soviet Union.

Despite the Western fears, international communism was able to achieve few real successes and the movement became more and more an ancillary arm of Soviet foreign policy. The Borodin mission to China was an example of Stalin's attempt to align himself with the nationalist sentiments of the Kuomingtang rather than an attempt to spread international communism. And the election of a Popular Front Government in Paris had little effect on the French colonialist who had little patience with any nationalist movements in Vietnam.

The United States had by now replaced the British as the dominant sea power in the Pacific but even more than the Europeans, American interests tended to turn inward in the period between the two wars. Of all the Western powers, the Soviet Union appeared to express the most concern with the growing power of Japan. The French did not envisage the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1932 as a threat to their control of Indochina. The U.S. did not want to become involved in such a far-off problem and the British did not feel they could afford to act alone. The early thirties were already dominated by the economic crisis: then came the conflicts in Ethiopia and Spain; finally, there was the growing menace of Nazi Germany beginning with the occupation of the Rhineland in 1936 and ending in war three years later.

4. THE END OF FRENCH COLONIALISM: WORLD WAR II TO THE GENEVA ACCORDS OF 1954

With the fall of France in June 1940, the colonial regime in Indochina was left to stand alone against the Japanese advance. The Japanese moved in North Vietnam that year and into the South in the next. An agreement between the pro-Vichy colonial administration and the Japanese forces allowed French sovereignty over the area to continue until March 9, 1945 when the Japanese military command established complete control over Indochina. Finally, Vietnamese Emperor Bao Dai, with Japenese urging, proclaimed Vietnam's independence, although the imperial government was able to exert little control over the countryside which had passed largely into the hands of the Communist Viet Minh.

When the Japanese surrendered on August 13, 1945, control quickly passed into the hands of the Viet Minh and, on September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV).

France was not invited when the Allies met to discuss the future of the peace at the Potsdam Conference in late 1945. The Indochina problem was secondary to other considerations such as Germany, Eastern Europe, and the United Nations. It was decided that Britain would occupy the South of Vietnam and the Chinese would occupy the North. The British soon turned control of their zone over to the returning French colonialists and by March 6, 1946 an agreement was signed between the French colonialists and a northern Vietnamese coalition government declaring Vietnam a free and united state within the French Union. Neither the French nor the Viet Minh were entirely satisfied with the existing situation, however, and fighting broke out in Haiphong on November 22, 1946, signalling the start of a long and bloody struggle.

It soon became apparent that although the French could control most of the urban areas and lines of communication, the Viet Minh exercised control of the countryside. The Viet Minh's position improved somewhat more in 1949 with the appearance of a friendly Communist neighbor in the form of bordering China. The French government decided to align itself with the moderate nationalists in early 1949 and agreed to allow Bao Dai authority over internal affairs. Vietnam was incorporated into the French Union as an Associated State in return for nationalist military support against the Viet Minh.

In support of its important NATO ally, the United States afforded the French considerable military aid and on February 7, 1950 accorded diplomatic recognition to the Bao Dai regime.

Prior to 1950, American foreign policy necessarily evolved around the pressing problems in Europe and China. Europe had not yet begun to recover from the Second World War when the Soviet Union began to expand its hegemony over Eastern Europe and threaten the war weakened democracies of Western Europe. The reconstruction of Western Europe and containment of the Soviet Union became the keynote of American concerns in the West while the rapidly deteriorating situation in China demanded most of America's attention in the East. Shortly after the collapse of the Nationalist Government in China, on June 25, 1950, the North Korean Army crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea and the United States was forced to turn most of its attention to a limited, but demanding war.

The British, meanwhile, had their own problems to contend with in Southeast Asia. Although India and Burma had since become independent, a small, difficult and intensifying jungle war was being waged in Malaya and Singapore.

Finally, on May 7, 1954, the French were decisively defeated by North Vietnamese forces under the command of General Giap at Dien Bien Phu. The United States had grown increasingly concerned with the growth of communism in Southeast Asia during the last few years and seriously considered supporting the French stand at Dien Bien Phu with air strikes; however with British urging and the feeling that American forces were not equipped to turn the tide of the war at this stage of the conflict, the U.S. joined the British in urging that a peaceful solution be sought at the Geneva Conference which was already considering the Korean armistice settlement.

5. AFTER THE GENEVA ACCORDS TO THE FALL OF DIEM, 1954–1963

The Geneva agreement provided for the provisional division of Vietnam at the 17th parallel, banned the introduction of reinforcements for either side, and set up an International Control Commission to supervise the agreement.

The United States attended the Geneva conference but did not sign the final agreement; nevertheless, the American delegate declared that the U.S. would refrain from the threat or use of force to disturb the agreements and would view any renewal of aggression with grave concern.

The South Vietnamese government under Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem—with the help of American support and economic aid—consolidated its position in the South while the Communist regime of Ho Chi Minh strengthened its control of the North. The Diem government failed, however, to firmly implant itself at the local level. Civil unrest fostered by pro-Communist rebels and, eventually, North Vietnamese guerrilla infiltration, intensified into a large scale guerrilla war. By February of 1962, the U.S. deemed it necessary to establish a Military Assistance Command in Saigon to aid Diem's beleaguered forces. But, despite American backing, the war in South Vietnam worsened in the early sixties.

With the war worsening and civil unrest, particularly Bhuddist opposition to the Catholic regime, growing, the Diem government was over-thrown by a military uprison November 1, 1963.

During this period, the United States and its allies faced a changing situation in other parts of the world. Britain and France faced a humiliating crisis in Suez in 1956, and the gradual thaw in Soviet-Western relations was set back considerably in the same year when the Russians brutally put down a revolt against Communist rule in Hungary. Both France and Britain proceeded to cut back their foreign and colonial defense commitments during this period, although France fought a long and bloody war before she withdrew from Algeria. Neither had any interest in participating militarily in the growing struggle in Vietnam.

On the other hand, United States concern over the Vietnam situation grew with its increasing commitments around the globe. After the Suez and Hungarian crises of 1956, American attention shifted to another Middle East crisis in 1958 when American troops landed in Lebanon, then the Far East when the Chinese Communists precipitated a crisis over the Taiwan Straits; then Africa in 1960 when another crisis erupted in the Congo, and finally to Latin America where the first Communist regime in the hemisphere had installed itself in Cuba. The Cuban situation flared up with the unsuccessful "Bay of Pigs" invasion of 1961, died down as Americans became more concerned with another Berlin Crisis in the spring and summer of 1962, and then flared up again when Soviet missiles were discovered in the fall of 1962. Yet, despite these crises, American relations with the Soviet Union had improved by the summer of 1963 to the point where the two nations were able to agree upon a partial test-ban treaty outlawing nuclear testing in the atmosphere. Perhaps even more important was the growing antagonism between the Soviet Union and China as well as the loosening of the Communist alliance in Eastern Europe.

One consistent thread that ran through American foreign policy during this period, was the growing concern over the possible spread of Asian communism in Southeast Asia. This concern became apparent almost immediately after the Geneva agreements of 1954, when the U.S. hastened to engineer a mutual defense treaty for the Southeast Asian area. (SEATO). Part of the concern with the situation in Southeast Asia and Vietnam stemmed from the worsening crisis in Laos. By 1962 the United States decided it would be best to seek a peaceful compromise to the troubles in that nation by agreeing (at another Geneva convention) to the establishment of a neutralist coalition government. Few were very sanguine about the future of the neutralist regime; nevertheless, the United States decided it would be best to take its stand against Asian communism in Vietnam where a more stable regime existed to carry on the fight. When the Diem government fell in the summer of 1963, the United States was already substantially committed to assisting the South Vietnamese in their struggle against the Viet Cong.

6. AFTER DIEM: 1963–PRESENT

A succession of military regimes followed the Diem government until June of 1965 when the civilian government of Dr. Phan Huy Quat dissolved itself and was replaced by a military directory headed by Vice Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky. The Ky regime has remained in power as the war has gradually escalated on both sides, although it faces a difficult crisis at the present.

During the last three years, American participation in the Vietnamese war has grown to 230,000 troops, many of whom are combat troops actively pursuing the war against the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regular units.

The United States Congress politically strengthened the hand of the President in pursuing the war in Vietnam on August 7, 1964 when (after a Viet Cong attack on two American destroyers in Tonkin Bay) it passed a resolution expressing its support of the President in taking "all necessary steps" to repel aggression in Vietnam.

Since then the United States has pursued several "peace offensives" aimed at achieving negotiations to bring a peaceful settlement to the conflict but with no concrete results.

In the spring of 1965 the United States also sent a contigent of combat troops to quell civil unrest in the Dominican Republic. This, however, appears to have been only an interlude in a foreign policy that has recently become more and more concerned with the situation in Vietnam. Two other international shocks occurred in the fall of 1964 when the Communist Chinese exploded their first nuclear device and when, during the same week, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was forced to step down as head of the Soviet Union, at a time when there was a gradually growing detente with the Soviet Union. In Europe the United States has expressed growing concern over the loosening of the Atlantic Alliance, a development that has been matched by a similar trend among the Communist nations of Europe.

A LISTING OF SOME KEY EVENTS IN VIETNAMESE HISTORY WITH CORRESPONDING INTERNATIONAL EVENTS OCCURRING ON THE SAME DATES

(By Russell J. Long, analyst in U.S. foreign policy, Foreign Affairs Division, Library Reference Service)

166 A.D.

A Roman emissary sent by Marcus Aurelius makes the first recorded contact between Vietnam and the West.

Roman Empire: The reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus begins the partition of Europe.

East Teutonic Tribes: The Goths continue their migration to the Black Sea.

939

The Vietnamese, capitalizing on the collapse of the T'ang dynasty in China, overthrow Chinese rule in Indo-China.

Europe: Pope Leo VII is replaced by Stephen IX during one of the weakest periods of the Papacy in Medieval Europe. The Moslem ruler, Abdurrahman III continues the pacification of Spain. Otto I the Great etsablishes his authority over the duchies of Bavaria, Franconia, Lorraine, and Saxony.

Asia: Anarchy continues in China as the Tsin dynasty attempts, unsuccessfully, to assert imperial control.

1535

The Portuguese trader Antonio da Faria establishes the first lasting European post in Indo-China.

Europe: A defensive and offensive alliance is formed between France and Turkey; Charles V occupies Milan, and the Hanseatic League begins to dissolve as a Great Power. English bishops reject papal authority.

Americas: The cities of Buenos Aires and Lima are founded in Latin America. The explorer Cartier discovers the St. Lawrence River.

1658

A Vietnamese expeditionary force intervenes in Cambodia, establishing Vietnamese sovereignty and resulting in a regular Cambodian tribute to the Vietnamese court.

Europe: The English and French defeat the Spanish at Dunes and Gravelius. Oliver Cromwell dies and is succeeded by his son Richard in Britain. The Northern War continues between Brandenburg, Poland, Austria, and Sweden.

Asia: The Dutch continue to extend their trading influence in China after establishing a foothold two years earlier.

1845

A condominium is established between Cambodia and Vietnam. Vietnamese Emperor Thieu-Tri extends his persecution of Christians and flatly refuses to receive any foreign missionaries.

Europe: The English and French are involved in a joint expedition against Madagascar.

Americas: The United States is at war with Mexico.

Asia: The Chinese extend religious toleration to Catholics and Protestants and, as a result of European pressure, foreign residents in China are placed under extra-territorial civil and criminal jurisdiction. The British extend their control in India to Kashmir and Punjab.

AUGUST 31, 1858

A French-Spanish punitive expedition arrives in Tourance, Indo-China and begins advances inland taking Saigon on February 18, 1859.

Europe: Napolean and Cavour meet at Plombiéres to prepare the unification of Italy. A war breaks out between Turkey and Montenegro. Alexander II orders the emancipation of the serf's in Russia.

Americas: Minnesota is admitted as a state. One year later John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry will signal the opening round of the hostilities leading to the Civil War.

Asia: The British are forced to put down a mutiny of local troops in India. China opens several new ports to Western merchants and admits European Ambassadors for the first time.

AUGUST 25, 1883

The Vietnamese sign a treaty with the French declaring Annan and Tonkin French protectorates. With Cochin-China already declared a French colony, all of Vietnam has, in fact, become a colony of France.

Europe: An alliance is signed between Austria and Rumania in addition to the Triple Alliance signed between Germany, Austria, and Italy two years earlier. Russia begins attempts to extend her interests in the Balkans.

Americas: The second transcontinental railroad line in the U.S., the Northern Pacific, is completed in September. U.S. President Cleveland reduces tariff rates in an effort to diminish the Treasury surplus.

Middle East and Africa: General Hicks and an Egyptian force are defeated in the Battle of El Obeid by the Mahdi, resulting in the Egyptian evacuation of the Sudan. The beginning of German colonial activities in Africa is marked by a German establishment at Angra Pequeña (Southwest Africa).

Asia: Relations between China and the Europeans are worsening. Prince Kung and the Grand Council are dismissed by the Dowager Empress Tzu Hai for failing to repel the French from China and Southeast Asia.

FEBRUARY 9, 1930

An armed uprising by a Vietnamese nationalist party, the VNQDD, is crushed by the French. During the same year three competing Communist groups are merged into a United Indo-Chinese Communist Party (ICP) under the leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh).

Europe: The London Naval Conference meets to establish agreements limiting the tonnage of warships operated by Britain, the United States, Italy, France, and Japan. The final preparatory meetings of the Commission on Disarmament come to a close. Hitler's Nationalist Socialists emerge as a major party in Germany as 107 of the Nazis are elected to the German Reichstag. Josef Stalin consolidates his control over the Soviet Communist Party with the expulsion of Bukarin and other opposition members in late 1929. The Soviet Union reaches an agreement with China finally settling the conflicting claims over the Chinese Eastern Railroad.

Americas: Six months after the great stock market crash of 1929, the United States

passes the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act raising U.S. tariff duties on imports to the highest in history.

Asia: Gandhi launches the second civil disobedience campaign in India. The disorders reach their peak in the spring when British authorities arrest the Indian nationalist leader.

AUGUST 30, 1940

The Vichy Government in Paris signs an accord recognizing Japan's "pre-eminent" position in the Far East; thus, leaving the French colonialists alone to face the invading Japanese. During the same year the Viet Minh movement is formed by Vietnamese nationalists.

Europe: World War II rages in Europe. France falls before the German onslaught on June 23. The Battle of Britain begins. Italy attacks Greece. Russia defeats Finland and begins to extend its influence into the Balkans.

Americas: President Roosevelt is reelected U.S. President. The neutral United States exchanges 50 U.S. destroyers for the lease of British bases in the West Indies.

Asia: Japan extends her advance into Southeast Asia as China continues to fight for its life.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1945

Ho Chi Minh declares the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) two weeks after the Japanese surrender. The Viet Minh control proves short-lived as the French return within a few months.

Europe: Germany surrenders in the spring of 1945. The Potsdam Conference convenes in the summer, providing for British and Chinese occupation of South and North Vietnam, respectively. Soviet troops enter Warsaw and Berlin, establishing a Russian foothold in Eastern Europe.

Americas: President Roosevelt dies. The United Nations Charter is signed in San Francisco.

Asia: Japan surrenders on August 23 after the U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

NOVEMBER 22, 1946

Fighting breaks out in Haiphong signaling the start of a long struggle between the French and the Viet Minh.

Europe: Winston Churchill delivers his famous "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo. as communist republics are established in Albania, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Nazi war criminals are sentenced at Nurnberg. French Premier de Gaulle resigns.

Americas: The first atomic test since the war is conducted at Bikini atoll by the United States.

Asia: The Philippine Republic is inaugurated. A treaty is signed beween the British and Siamese.

MAY 7, 1954

The French are decisively defeated by the Viet Minh at the battle of Dien Bien Phu.

Europe: The Paris Agreements are concluded establishing the Western European Union and terminating the occupation of Western Germany. France rejects the proposed European Defense Community treaty. Italy and Yugoslavia finally agree on a settlement of the Trieste dispute.

Americas: The Community Party is outlawed in the United States.

Asia: The United States and Japan sign a defense pact. The Korean armistice negotiations continue with little results. After Dien Bieu Phu the United States engineers the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO).

Africa: The Algerian revolt against French rule begins.

FEBRUARY 1962

The United States establishes a Military Assistance Command in Vietnam to aid the Diem Government against Communist guerrilla infiltration and terrorist activities.

Europe: The Soviet Union erects a wall separating the Eastern and Western zones of Berlin. The Sino-Soviet idealogical dispute worsens and become public.

Americas: The United States discovers the Soviet Union has implanted offensive missiles in Cuba and forces the Soviets to remove them.

Africa: Algeria achieves its independence from France. United Nations forces move against the secessionist regime of Moise Tshombe in the Katanga province of the Congo. Conflict begins in Yemen.

Asia: The Netherlands-Indonesian dispute over West Irian is finally settled. Communist China and India became involved in a series of border conflicts. A comprise is reached establishing a neutralist coalition government in strife-ridden Laos.

NOVEMBER 1, 1963

A military coup in Saigon overthrows the Diem regime.

Europe: President de Gaulle takes the final step in indefinitely postponing Britain's entrance into the European Economic Community. Violence erupts between the Greek and Turkist communities on Cyprus.

Americas: The United States signs a partial Test-Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. U.S. President John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

Asia: An independent federation is formed in Malaysia between Malaya, Sarawak, Singapore, and North Borneo despite Indonesian hostility.

AUGUST 7, 1964

After a Viet Cong attack on two U.S. destroyers in Tonkin Bay, the Congress passes a resolution supporting the President in "taking all necessary steps" to repel aggression in Vietnam.

Europe: The Labor Party defeats the Conservatives in British national elections. Nikita Khrushchev is forced to resign as Premier of the Soviet Union. Tension continues in Cyprus. A crisis continues over the state of the pound sterling in Britain.

Americas: Rioting breaks out in the U.S. controlled Panama Canal Zone.

Asia: China explodes her first nuclear device.

FEBRUARY 7, 1965

Viet Cong forces carry out intensive attacks on several South Vietnamese air bases, barracks, and villages. The U.S. retaliates with air attacks against barracks and staging areas in North Vietnam.

Europe: France boycotts the European Economic Community meetings during a summer Common Market crisis. De Gaulle and Erhard are reelected in France and Germany, respectively.

Americas: The United States dispatches troops to quell a crisis in the Dominican Republic.

Africa: The Nkrumah regime is overthrown in Ghana. A crisas develops over the *apartheid* policies of the white government in Southern Rhodesia resulting in that nation's unilaterally declaring its independence from Britain which causes United Nations economic embargo directed against the Smith regime.

Asia: Fighting erupts between Pakistan and India over the disputed Kashmir territory. A cease-fire is obtained by the U.N. Security Council, and an armistice is signed in Tashkent through the good offices of the Soviet Union. Indonesia withdraws from the United Nations over the seating of Malaysia on the Security Council. The Sukarno government is overthrown in the fall, and replaced by an anti-communist military leadership.

Poor Behavior

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 24, 1966

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker from time to time I have placed in the RECORD constructive comments relative to the war on poverty, and following this practice I insert in the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Thursday, May 19 edition of the Palos, Ill., Regional:

POOR BEHAVIOR

The hissing and booing that greeted Sargent Shriver, field marshal of the Great Society War on Poverty, when he spoke at a recent "Poor People's Convention" in Washington was evidence of what has happened to the administration's antipoverty program. It is completely out of hand, like the Washington meeting that was taken over by a shouting mob.

Ironically, the Washington convention was the brainchild of the liberal establishment, sponsored by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. Walter Reuther of the AFL CIO, who had given the CCAP $1 million, was its leading backer. Presiding at the convention was the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, the politically-minded cleric who is soon to become operating head of the World Council of Churches. Dr. Blake was shocked when he discovered that his meeting was out of control.

Hopefully, the Washington convention will restore a little common sense and responsibility to the Reuthers and Blakes of this country. For years, they have been pushing radical programs. Now one of their babies has turned against them. It should be a lesson to them; you can't promote a generation of anarchists and expect them to refrain from anarchistic behavior.

There are so many things wrong with the War on Poverty that one hardly knows where to begin. The public should understand, however, that this ill-conceived program is growing by leaps and bounds. It was started in fiscal year 1965 with an appropriation of $793 million. This year it has funds totalling $1,434 billion. Next year, the poverty warriors hope to receive $1.75 billion from the taxpayers. It has been estimated that the program may spend $3.4 billion or more by 1970.

This colossal spending will really hurt the productive citizens of America, the blue collar and white collar citizens who hold down jobs and support their families. It is nothing less than legalized robbery of the working of America.

Not only are the Office of Economic Opportunity officials squandering cast sums on wasteful programs to "fight" poverty, but they are launching massive recreational programs in U.S. communities. It is a case of discrimination in reverse or special privilege for a few. While most parents have to dig into their pockets for tutoring their youngsters, or for summer recreation, the War on Poverty planners are selecting groups of "culturally disadvantaged" youths who are to receive everything the children of the very rich parents receive. This is ridiculous. If there is public money available for education or recreation, the only just way to use it is to provide added service for all the children in a school district or community. Handing out money to the selected few is a golden opportunity for political patronage and political machine-building.

vision. The new division has only 1,600 ground vehicles, mostly jeeps, compared with 3,200 in the infantry division.

The special advantages of the airmobile division are summed up in this statement by Major General Harry W. O. Kinnard, commander of the 1st Cavalry Division:

"In brief these include the use of air vehicles to move over difficult terrain * * * to operate over wider areas with an enhanced surveillance capability; and use of the helicopter to permit combat units to be introduced near their objective, not fatigued by marching, and in tactical formations. * * * The division already has proven it has a very rapid speed of reaction inherent in our massed assault supported by either tube or rocket artillery as well as tactical air strikes. Finally, because of its inherent mobility, the division, even more than the insurgent, has the ability to choose its own time and place either to fight or not as is most logical."

The division brings back to the Army some of the dash and color that has been associated with other services. We are proud of this significant development.

Now, to a subject that has not changed since last Armed Forces Day. A subject that has changed little since the formation of the U.S. Army—the men who make up our Army—the American soldier.

The basic qualities that make for excellence as a soldier never change. Our soldiers of today are showing these qualities to the fullest degree in the Vietnam conflict. In addition, the new Army needs more and more the technical skills and alert intelligence demanded by our new equipment and technology. We have made substantial progress in this area. Today, 75 percent of all enlisted men in the Army are high school graduates. This compares with only 48 percent a decade ago, Incidentally, among the national population only about 47 percent of men over 25 are high school graduates.

Now, what about their leaders? In the officer corps, 76 per cent are college graduates, compared with 49 per cent 10 years ago. More than 90 per cent of all lieutenants now hold college degrees. Among the national population, only 10 per cent of men over 25 are college graduates. Some 19 per cent of all active Army officers today hold advanced graduate degrees.

Most of the credit for the high percentage of lieutenants with college degrees is attributed to the Army Reserve Officers Training Corps program. At the present time, about 80 per cent of the Army second lieutenants are from the ROTC. Surprising to some is the fact that this program produces 22 times more officers annually for the active Army than does West Point. Every year, some ten thousand ROTC second lieutenants report for active duty.

With the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 now in full swing, the Army is expanding the leadership opportunity available to the nation's high school and college students. The Army now provides ROTC scholarships in 2- or 4-year programs on a competitive basis for selected men who possess the potential to become leaders and the motivation to become career officers.

The first 1,000 scholarships under the new program were awarded last July and are in effect during this school year. In this group there are 600 two-year recipients and 400 four-year winners. Competition was keen, especially for the 4-year scholarships. The average Scholastic Aptitude Tests results for recipients were slightly higher than those of cadets entering West Point, and substantially higher than the average of all men entering college. Three hundred sixty-six, or 92 per cent, were in the top 20 per cent of their class. Thirty-six, or 9 per cent, ranked first and 21 second; 80 were either president of their senior class or of the student body. Needless to say, even at this early date, we think this program is destined to have a tremendous impact on the officer corps.

As a minimum, an individual commissioned through the advanced ROTC program has a military obligation of six years: (a) if commissioned a Reserve Officer, two years active duty, four years in a Reserve Component; (b) if commissioned a Regular Army officer, three years active duty, three years in a Reserve Component; and (c) if commissioned through the ROTC scholarship program, four years active duty, two years in a Reserve Component.

I have mentioned this program in some detail because the Army is making a determined effort to gain wider acceptance of the ROTC program and because I solicit your help in attracting talented young men in pursuing the ROTC route to a military career. Also, you can urge qualified men who may not have completed college or participated in the ROTC program, but who are graduates of high school, to seek a commission through one of the combat arms Officer Candidate Schools. These schools emphasize the development of practical leadership, physical stamina, and the mastery of tactics and weapons. Like the ROTC program, OCS teaches the professional knowledge needed for successful leadership.

In summary, I believe that the Army can take pride in its achievements. It is meeting successfully the force requirements for Vietnam without calling on its reserve components. It has maintained its posture around the world. It has and is continuing to expand its manpower base. It has greatly increased its logistics and production base. It has generated the necessary momentum for sustaining operations for sudden expansion and most importantly the support has gone to men and units who have fought with courage and skill.

Thank you.

VR

A CREATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE VIETNAMESE COLLOQUY

(Mr. CAMERON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CAMERON. Mr. Speaker, I recently inserted into the RECORD a statement of mine which had gone out to my constituents as part of a newsletter. It contained my views on how our Nation's policy regarding South Vietnam is related to the issue of arms control and disarmament. I emphasized the fact that our southeast Asian policy cannot be disconnected from raw realities in other parts of the globe. One of the realities was America's commitment to Germany.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, I am most concerned about the credibility of our commitment to the German people, as viewed through their eyes, if we were to make any abrupt policy changes in Vietnam, the worst of which would be a general pullout and disengagement. With certain elements in the German leadership discretely but definitely insisting on some nuclear say, and the Russian leadership cordially but coldly refusing to sign a nuclear nonproliferation treaty if the Germans are to have their way, it becomes imperative that we not assume an attitude on Asia that could cast grave doubt on our capacity for commitment. To renege at gunpoint on any stated and long-standing American promise is to give ammunition to those Germans who would advocate a semi or wholly nationalistic nuclearism. This could prove disastrous.

Because I firmly believe that this country's primary foreign policy objective should be disarmament, I think that we should always search for the most purposeful paths along which to pursue this goal. Giving Germany, as well as many other free world nations, reasons for believing that they have to protect themselves with nuclear weapons obviously does nothing to advance us toward arms control and eventual disarmament.

Recently I had my legislative assistant, Mark Sconce, research, interpret and prepare a paper on this dilemma of pursuing a war in Vietnam and peace in Geneva. I consider his observations both provocative and important. By demonstrating how interrelated world events are today, I feel he has helped put the U.S. Vietnam policy into a needed perspective.

I generally agree with what he has said, and because he has said it well, I commend it to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

A TALE OF THREE CITIES

(By Mark Sconce)

There are moments in history when events of a very different nature co-incide and in coming together throw light into a previously dark and unknown corner of men's affairs. Sober men are then compelled to ask, "Why did such a corner remain unilluminated when it was vitally necessary for us to determine the dimensions and shape of the room we occupy?" Almost invariably the answer comes back, "Your frenzied activities and your preposterous poses cast shadows so dark and so far reaching that you blinded yourselves to the boundaries about you."

Wasn't this the situation in 1939 when the French, smugly secure behind their Maginot Line, and the English, unflappable in their island seclusion, awoke the following year to find crisis succeding crisis as the Nazi juggernaut slashed through the Low Countries and finally cornered some of Britain's finest troops and several French army corps? The crisis had clearly come to rest on the British doorstep. It was a shock to the British and yet a signal to the bulldogs among them that long-held illusions of island security should best be abandoned if long-held ideals were to be maintained. Thus a series of lightening events had brought the English to their senses, and the cry of "Dunkirk" stirred the blood of a freedom-loving people.

Early in March, I think, another series of events occurred which, though certainly not as dramatic as the Retreat at Dunkirk, nevertheless should serve to cast some light into a very dimly lit corner of our collective minds and bring us to our senses regarding the situation in which we now find ourselves in Vietnam. The events to which I allude took place in three very different cities of the world. But when drawn together and placed side by side they provide a torch which pierces the shadows and helps to illuminate our national aim in Vietnam.

The key to our purpose in that Southeast-Asian country lies in other parts of the globe. We can begin in Geneva where it was recently reported that the Soviet Union had again rejected an American proposal for halting the spread of nuclear weapons. The Soviet representative told the 18-nation disarmament conference that the U.S. draft treaty on the nonproliferation of atomic arms was not acceptable to his government. The reasons for Soviet rejection were that the American plan did not prevent non-

son and other Government officials have answered the "Why Vietnam" question a number of times. The President's basic statement is still applicable:

"Our power . . . is a very vital shield. If we are driven from the field in Vietnam, then no nation can ever again have the same confidence in American promise, or in American protection . . . In each land the forces of independence would be considerably weakened and an Asia so threatened by Communist domination would certainly imperil the security of the United States itself . . . We do not choose to be the guardians at the gate, but there is no one else."

The Vietnamese have asked our help in their struggle for freedom. We have promised assistance and are fulfilling the pledge given by three American Presidents since 1954.

We seek to control no territory nor any people. We are in Vietnam to lend our support to strengthen world order based upon recognition of the dignity of man and respect for his right to live in freedom instead of tyranny.

To those who might challenge this stand in Vietnam, we reiterate the broad objectives assigned our Armed Forces:

First, to prevent, if possible, total nuclear war; if one does occur, to make certain that we bring it to the most favorable conclusion possible.

Second, to dispel any illusion of aggressors that they can successfully engage in local military adventures at the expense of the Free World nations.

Third, to prevent the Communists from gaining control of independent nations through subversion, coercion, assassination, terror, or guerrilla warfare. These are realities under the cloak the Communists cynically call a "war of national liberation" or, "a people's war."

In his 18,000-word manifesto, "Long Live the Victory of People's War!" published last September, Communist China's defense minister Lin Piao emphasized that Vietnam is only the current example of a "people's war." Lin writes: "U.S. imperialism can be split up and defeated . . . by people's wars . . . launched in different parts of the world . . . particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

The Communists see such a war in three phases: first, guerrilla terrorism and harassment; second, battles of annihilation by enlarged and better-equipped guerrilla units against isolated units; and finally, massive attacks by powerful guerrilla armies. Lin goes on to say, "Political power grows out of a barrel of a gun (and) the seizure of power by armed force . . . is the central task."

This is the kind of enemy we face today in Vietnam. He is tough, determined, and ruthless. As earlier moral support and economic aid proved insufficient, in the early '60's we committed large numbers of military advisors and huge amounts of equipment to strengthen Vietnam militarily. Increased infiltration from North Vietnam coupled with the Viet Cong attack on two U.S. camps at Pleiku on 7 February 1965—killing eight Americans and wounding 125—proved that additional measures were needed.

From May through January, the Army deployed two combat divisions and four brigades to the Republic. The 173d Airborne Brigade on Okinawa deployed to Vietnam in May last year. It was followed by the 2d Brigade of the 1st Infantry Division in July. The same month, the 1st Brigade of the 101st Airborne Division reached Vietnam. And in September, the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) arrived, followed by the rest of the 1st Infantry Division in October. In the closing days of last year and the start of this year, two brigades of the 25th Infantry Division were dispatched from Hawaii to Vietnam. These deployments—taking place over about an eight-month period—brought the total U.S. strength in Vietnam at the end of 1965 to approximately 181,000.

While the build-up in Vietnam was taking place, the Army was called upon to send combat elements of the 82d Airborne Division to the Dominican Republic to protect and evacuate citizens of the United States and 40 other nations, and to restore order in that country. They also performed other duties, such as distributing food and medical supplies to the people. Today, some 5,000 troops remain in the Republic as part of an Inter-American Peace Force, comprising troops from six American nations.

Although Vietnam and the Dominican Republic represented areas of major crises last year, they were by no means the only danger spots on the globe. The Cold War front still stretched from Southeast Asia to Western Europe, requiring the presence of U.S. troops.

In Europe, the Seventh Army—the principal combat organization serving NATO—comprises five divisions (two armored and three mechanized), three regiments of armored cavalry, and a support command. An infantry brigade is stationed in West Berlin as a clear indication to the Communists that aggression will not be tolerated.

In the vast Pacific area, besides the forces in Vietnam, the 2nd and 7th Infantry Divisions in Korea make up the major combat forces of the Eighth U.S. Army.

Additionally, in the Continental United States, the Army elements of the unified United States Strike Command have the mission of moving on short notice to reinforce troops in a particular overseas area or to go wherever needed in an emergency. There are now six divisions in this strategic force, less one brigade from the 82d Airborne Division in the Dominican Republic and a brigade from the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam.

As we view the Army responding to today's challenges we need to remind ourselves of its basic purpose. It was established for a constructive purpose—to preserve peace and to defend the nation. In the words of the Army Chief of Staff, General Harold K. Johnson, "To preserve peace means simply to restore, to maintain, or to create with the minimum of destruction a climate of order so that lawful government can function effectively. The Army's purpose therefore involves the object beyond the war, because war can be only a means, not an end."

Thus the Army's philosophy allows for such operations as military civic action. In 30 countries around the world U.S. soldiers are assisting local military troops in developing and carrying out numerous improvements in community life. These civic action projects cover a wide field—education, public works, agriculture, and medicine.

Perhaps one of the most ambitious of these civic action projects is the Bangkok by-pass road in Thailand. Here military and civilians are working side by side on this 58-mile road. It is expected to be completed this summer. Naturally the road will have military significance in improved communications and support. At the same time, it will open up 250,000 acres of rich, but hitherto relatively unproductive land for agricultural development in eastern Thailand. Buses and trucks are already using part of the road, transporting people and carrying produce to markets. This is but one example of projects that make for a viable, democratic society—a society which will freely support the local government and military forces in their tasks of providing security and freedom for their countrymen.

Related to both military deployment and civic action is the Military Assistance Program. Through MAP, as it is called, we furnish our allies training and equipment assistance. There are Military Assistance Advisory Groups and Missions in 45 countries around the world. Besides assisting in the transfer of equipment to the receiving government, MAAG and Mission personnel follow through by checking on equipment use and maintenance. They conduct on-the-job training and act as advisors at schools and in local military units.

The importance of maintaining close ties and insuring the strength of our allies, was quite effectively illustrated by Secretary of Defense McNamara when he stated:

"Imagine a globe, if you will, and on the globe the Sino-Soviet bloc. The bloc is contained at the north by the Atlantic. To the West are the revitalized nations of Western Europe. But across the south and to the east you find the 11 'Forward Defense' nations—Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Laos, Thailand, South Vietnam, the Philippines, and the Republics of China and Korea. These nations, together with stretches of the Pacific Ocean bearing the U.S. Fleet, describe an arc along which the Free World draws its front lines of defense."

The military posture of the nations which border the front lines of freedom is of interest not only to each of them but to the United States as well. Although these nations may be far from our shores—their strength is our strength!

With this background of the present roles and missions of the U.S. Army, I'd like to discuss the Army build-up and some of the other significant happenings since last Armed Forces Day.

The expansion of the Army to 1.5 million men, the most since Korea, has provided for the addition of a 17th active division. This is the 9th Infantry Division, reactivated at Fort Riley on the first of February.

Other major units are the 196th Brigade, activated in September at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and two brigades scheduled for activation by the end of June.

Other build-up actions include:

A sizeable increase in the Special Forces, and

The addition of more than 700 units of company and detachment size, among them a large number of helicopter companies.

In order to handle the expansion program, it has been necessary to:

Open two new basic combat training centers at Fort Benning, Georgia, and Fort Bliss, Texas—making a total of 12 such centers in the U.S. operated by the Army.

Reopen three Officer Candidate Schools at Forts Belvoir, Gordon and Knox. Officer Candidate Training is scheduled to increase from the last fiscal year figure of 3,400 to 11,700 this fiscal year.

And increase the annual input at Army schools from 178,000 to 256,000.

The Reserve Components, too, have figured in the Army's stepped-up readiness program. A selected force, consisting of three divisions, six brigades, and over 970 units from the Army National Guard and Army Reserve, is now receiving accelerated training. The units selected for this force are authorized 100 percent combat strength and a 50 percent increase in the number of paid drill periods. High priorities for training of personnel, issuance of military hardware, and maintenance of equipment have also been established for units in the selected force.

Another significant Army action since last Armed Forces Day was the activation and deployment to Vietnam of the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile).

After three years of study, tests, and evaluation by the Army, the division was deployed to Vietnam in just over a month from the date of its activation on 1 July. The major innovation of this division is the replacement, where practicable, of aircraft—mostly helicopters—for trucks, tanks, and personnel carriers, to speed up movement of troops and supplies.

The airmobile division is authorized 434 aircraft, all but six of which are helicopters, compared with only 101 in the standard di-

nuclear nations from sharing in an international atomic force, and it did not ban outright the transfer of atomic arms to army units of non-nuclear nations. Though the U.S. representative labeled the U.S.S.R. protest as just another variation of the bickering which has marked the 4-year old conference, there nevertheless remained a certain glue-like substance in the nature of the Soviet complaint. Truth has a way of sticking.

East Berlin was the second city that had news for the world when Herr Ulbricht made a plaintive appeal for admission of the "German Democratic Republic' into the United Nations. In what must surely be recorded as the height of cynicism, he indicated that such a move would promote the chances of German reunification. "The national desire of the German people," he pontificated "can only be achieved through a policy of peaceful co-existence of the *two* German states." Concluding on a farcical note he assured the world that his membership bid was "a new and extraordinarily important peace initiative."

The third news item conspicious for the way in which it was buried near the obituary columns of those newspapers even bothering to report it came from the village of Rongelap in the Marshall Islands. What place on earth could be more inconspicious and innocent than Rongelap? And yet it was in this lonely corner of the world that the height of human folly surfaced momentarily for all sober men to see and reflect upon.

The news story was crisply headed, "U.S. Pays Million to Island Victims". Indeed, nearly $1 million in compensation payments had just been made to a group of Marshall Islanders who 11 years earlier were victims of radioactive fallout resulting from the test explosion of a thermonuclear device some 100 miles away. The report noted that the extent of injuries suffered by these people had never been accurately determined. The guilt payments, as some will surely interpret them, were authorized by Congress in 1964 and ranged from about $55 a person to a high of about $21,000. The imagination must surely boggle at the thought of a hideous hand clutching a wad of greenbacks. The report also stated that medical examinations would continue, a running reminder of the nuclear necklace hanging about our necks.

The American people were sharply reminded of this necklace two years following the Marshall Island explosion when Democratic Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson presented a program paper entitled *H-bomb*, which was known thereafter as the "Strontium 90" speech. In it he educated the public by telling something of the effects of radioactive fallout. He concluded with a warning to a whimsical and wandering world:

"Once the bomb is possessed by countries in addition to the present three, the problem of its control will have become infinitely more difficult. Few nations will willingly remain 'have not' atomic nations when their neighbors possess the means to destroy them. And once the bomb is in the possession of a number of nations, all wantonly shooting poison into the atmosphere, the danger of impairing or destroying human life through bomb explosions is enormously increased."

It would certainly not be an overstatement to say that responsible voices such as Mr. Stevenson's were instrumental in bringing about the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to which 120 countries are a party in one way or another. As Arthur Goldberg eulogized at Stevenson's memorial service, 7 years after his unsuccessful bid for the Presidency, "* * * the United States and the world caught up with him and the air we all breathe is now cleaner and purer. If he achieved nothing else in life, this would have been enough."

It is the Test Ban Treaty which is the essential link that connects and gives meaning to the news events emanating from Geneva, East Berlin and Rongelap.

Examine for a moment the implications of the limited Test Ban Treaty—what it means to this country and why so many other nations were motivated to sign such an international covenant. One motivation which we can confidently ascribe to every signatory was fear, pure and simple. The effects of radioactive fallout had been thoroughly studied, documented, and widely published for all to bear witness to. It was no longer a secret that gross deformities and an excruciatingly slow and painful death were among the side-effects accompanying nuclear testing on the ground and in the earth's atmosphere. Radioactive particles appeared in milk supplies and other foods and the consciences of most nations were sickened and revulsed by it all. The clamor of many protesting voices was heard in the chambers of world leadership. The hard facts were ready to be faced. As President Kennedy expressed it on that historic day in 1963 when America signed the Treaty: "These tests befoul the air of all men and all nations, the committed and the uncommitted alike, without their knowledge and without their consent. That is why the continuation of atmospheric testing causes so many countries to regard all nuclear powers as equally evil; and we can hope that its prevention will enable those countries to see the world more clearly, while enabling all the world to breathe more easily."

But there was another kind of fear which served as a motivating force to bring nations to the signing table—the fear of nationalistic aggression. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were among the first to recognize the necessity of defrosting the cold war. Tensions and strain caused by periodic rumblings of nuclear testing only served to blunt any meaningful initiatives for closer contacts, both cultural and diplomatic. Realistic reasoning was gradually being replaced by glandular thinking—the kind that feeds on nationalistic slogans and deceitful demagoguery.

The smaller nations who were without nuclear capabilities, saw the signing of the Test Ban as an opportunity to insure against proliferation of nuclear arms to unfriendly and threatening neighbors. They could also well appreciate the prohibitive cost factor attendant to any arms race. Although many of these nations are not at all happy with the power status quo in their regions of the world, they would much rather upset the balance through conventional warfare or "brush wars" than by firmly grasping the nuclear nettle. The expense of keeping, maintaining, and testing an A-bomb arsenal diverts resources which many of the lesser powers need for long-overdue economic reforms and development demanded by burgeoning populations. In countries such as these the attaining of nuclear status can be a definite step backwards and the leaders know it. Even the relatively mature economy of France is out on a financial limb in developing and maintaining her independent nuclear "force de frappe". Of all European nations, France has the worst housing shortage, and the government is doing little to rectify the situation. De Gaulle, however, is determined to regain his 18th century image of "le grandeur" of France by stumbling out on his own into the nether world of nuclear narcissism.

The father figure of France must be taken into account whenever one tries his hand at balancing the nuclear equation. The motivations which brought eight-ninths of the world's nations to the Test Ban signing table apparently were not valid for de Gaulle. If his prestige as a world figure lends some credibility to his reasons for not signing the Test Ban Treaty, what is to prevent other potential nuclear powers from adopting the same line and proceeding on their own to seek the ultimate in striking forces?

It should be recalled that one of the main reasons given by France in refusing to sign the Treaty was that the United States could not be counted on to come to the aid of a European country if Russia decided to attack with nuclear forces. The U.S., argued De Gaulle, should not be made to endanger her nationhood by coming to the aid of a European nation. This, in my judgment, was and is a very provincial view of power politics in the atomic age and of what a future nuclear confrontation might be like. It disregards the totality and interdependency of the Western world. It is comparable to saying that a man should not be expected to go to his brother's aid when he is being challenged by the neighborhood bully simply because the bully is not from his brother's own block. In today's world there is only one neighborhood.

Whatever France's reasons for abstaining from nuclear sanity, we must keep our eyes fully open to the implications of her present policy of proceeding along the path of nuclear pugnacity. At present, however, I am dubious as to just how wide-eyed and awake we are to the implications. To a large extent we have allowed our peripheral vision to be blocked by investing in a pair of blinders we can ill afford—the blinders of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty itself. Ironically, we have permitted the Treaty to take our minds off the realities surging around us. There is a sense of complacency in the air. It is as if the Navy, so satisfied with the structure of its latest ship, thought it unnecessary to provide a helmsman to steer it. Now it floats aimlessly among the mine fields of world politics.

Two-and-a-half years ago when the Soviet Union was persuaded to walk the path of nuclear peace, President Kennedy was quick to point out: "There is no cause for complacency. We have learned in times past that the spirit of one moment or place can be gone in the next. We have been disappointed more than once, and we have no illusions now that there are shortcuts on the road to peace." He might have added that those nations who attempt shortcuts without first gauging the consequences of their actions can seriously undermine the peace they say they seek.

If the countries and regimes of the world fail to show restraint and good sense in dealing with international realities, we could quickly find ourselves in the Rongelap era. Our present "peace" is a precarious proposition at best. Disservices to that peace are perpetrated every time a world leader fails, either intentionally or unintentionally, to perceive the treacherous waters upon which his ship of state presumes to sail. A good and recent example of such a disservice can be found in Herr Ulbricht's U.N. bid.

The implications of his diplomatic maneuver should be weighed very carefully. The situation he is fostering speaks so loudly that it is difficult to hear what he says. The facts drown out his pontifical prose. Consider: In early March, when Ulbricht sought U.N. recognition, he caught the diplomatic world off guard. An effort of this sort was unexpected simply because the chances of its success were so remote as to seem impossible. Of the U.N.'s 117 member nations only a mere 12 recognize the Ulbricht regime and they are all within the communist orbit. It is widely recognized in the diplomatic world that U.N. status for East Germany would explode any hope for one legitimately constituted German government speaking for all the German people. At least at this time. One can understand the difficulty simply by passing through the arch of West Germany's foreign policy and studying its keystone. Reunification is the sine qua non of the Federal Republic's foreign policy efforts. It manifests itself in such declarations as the

Hallstein doctrine which says that any nation recognizing the Ulbricht regime will, in turn, not be recognized by the Federal Republic. Anything which retards the drive for reunification is roundly denounced by Bonn's leaders. Thus it is readily understandable why U.N. recognition at this time would throw salt into the wound. And this means recognition of any sort.

Even if East Germany were to be given special observer status at the U.N. (something that West Germany now has*), it would pour political concrete between the bricks of The Wall. It is clear that Ulbricht, although asking for a whole loaf, knows that he can expect to get only a slice. In any case, it's the kind of bread and not the quantity which would stick in official West Germany's throat. Anything and everything which lends credibility and legitimacy to the East German regime helps to fan the fires of German militancy.

It is no secret that there is a Gaullist faction in West Germany today. Its members declare that the concept of collective security, as embodied in the NATO pact, is unrealistic and unworkable. To expect a member country to meet an obligation to assist another, they assert, is so untenable as to be absurd—and worse, they add, dangerous.

One of the well-known spokesmen for this faction is former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. At age 90 he is still one of the country's powerful voices in public affairs. Lately he has been stepping up his criticisms of Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, who embraces NATO's present integrated structure. Adenauer's attacks on Erhard have undoubtedly weakened the Chancellor's leadership position within his party and the nation. Only recently, Adenauer stole the limelight from his successor by engaging in private discussions with President de Gaulle which were reported to have covered every aspect of NATO reform.

The other important voice of opposition belongs to former Defense Minister Franz-Joseph Strauss, who is now building a political base for himself as the leader of the Bavarian Christian Social Union. His military theory should be noted carefully, for it goes to the heart of the matter. The U.S., he declares, should withdraw some of its German "occupation" forces for duty in South Vietnam. This pullout would create a vacuum which could then be filled by more West German soldiers, thus giving Germany a larger role in contributing to its own defense. This, of course, would entail an increased defense budget.

To get too far out on the other limb of his theory is to invite the inevitable. Strauss prescribes a reorganization of NATO which would institute independent American and European commands. A frightening prospect, the European command would be in possession of its own nuclear arm which it could shake with impunity.

The chances are very real that West Germans, faced with continuing threats and pressures from the Soviet bloc, will increasingly adopt the line which Adenauer and Strauss are now openly advocating. This kind of "hardware" approach assumes grave proportions in light of Herr Ulbricht's new bid for world recognition. He has often stated that strict prohibition of proliferation of nuclear weapons would be the best guarantee for European security and prosperity. He is quick to advocate a step-by-step detente in Europe by agreements on armament limitations, and particularly by the renunciation of nuclear weapons by all European states not in possession of such weapons. Even more specifically, he has declared through his Deputy Foreign Minister that ". . . West Germany's claim for nuclear weapons (is) the chief obstacle in Europe preventing the conclusion of a treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." The impelling irony is the yawning gap that exists between Ulbricht's alleged desires and his unwelcome and unwise foreign policy venture. He ignored France's place in the scheme of things. He also ignored existing political realities and balances of power when he made his U.N. bid—a tactic tailor-made to aggravate the relatively stable peace that now exists in Europe, and to stymie sincere efforts toward reunification.

Ulbricht apparently believed that he would get considerable political and propaganda mileage with his U.N. ploy. In this he is probably right. His action has tightened tensions at the official level and thwarted any progress that was being made toward an easing of the day-to-day strains caused by a divided Germany. Another factor motivating Ulbricht to seek recognition outside the communist bloc is the knowledge that his comrades in the other central European capitals regard East Germany as somewhat of a preposterous proposition and worth a secret snigger. It cannot claim a nationality or an ancient culture of its own and exists as an entity only because the Soviets are there. Governments, like people, are often social climbers. Ulbricht needs international respectability and recognition before he can hold his head up in the circles he wishes to travel.

Hopefully, the Bonn government will see Ulbricht's latest stratagem for what it really is, but in a democracy it is not always easy to convince all of the people all of the time, yet most of the people must be convinced most of the time. Ulbricht, of course, knew that some Gaullist voices would be raised in alarm with a subsequent call to arms and red buttons. By definition, the elected leaders of a democratic government cannot ignore with impunity the demands of the electorate if they are to maintain their leadership positions. Ulbricht, in considering this factor, displayed gross ignorance of the possible consequences. To actively pursue policies which may precipitate nuclear proliferation of any kind is to dally with a death wish so appalling in its implications as to be unthinkable. For West Germany to go into the beastly business of nuclear weaponry is not a consummation devoutly to be wished. People of every clime, color, and political characteristic must, for their ultimate survival, demand that their governments make President Kennedy's admonition a cornerstone of their foreign policy: "These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it."

If Ulbricht wants to see the proof of his political pudding, he has only to look to the Geneva disarmament conferences where all non-proliferation proposals are systematically relegated to the trash heap. In effect, these rejections represent an admission by the nations of the world that they are unable to take another step along the path of nuclear peace. Today the vital foreign policy issue facing us is how we can build on that limited Test Ban Treaty. How do we keep faith that nuclear force as a resolution of international disputes must be rejected?

In the absence of any further foreseeable progress in the field of nuclear control, above and beyond that already formalized in the 1963 Treaty, what alternatives will hold the nuclear line and prevent us from slipping back to the frightening days before the ban? The answer—or rather the best alternative in lieu of another formal treaty—is crystal clear. All governments of the world must evolve restrained, temperate, and disciplined foreign policies which seek, at all costs, to avoid precipitous and abrupt actions in international waters. Herr Ulbricht, by standing up and crying for recognition, has rocked the boat. De Gaulle, by insisting that his troops be withdrawn from German soil, has rocked the boat. He has failed to listen to those German officials who declare that French troops must remain in Germany.

Otherwise, they ask, who would replace them? Herr Strauss has the ready answer to that question—German troops, with a nuclear *Knopf* in their old kit bag. Any action that helps to swell the ranks of that fervid faction in West Germany which clamors for an independent national nuclear arm should be denounced as intemperate and flammatory. All actions that tend to support Erhard's rejection of an independent nuclear force should be endorsed as the actions of reasonable men. His present stand on atomic weapons is unequivocal. He recently said: "I would once again, and unmistakably repeat that the German Government is not asking to have nuclear weapons put at its national disposal, and the German Government stands by its repeatedly expressed formal obligation to refrain from the manufacture of ABC weapons. The German Government continues to be prepared to take part in obligations such as are represented by a worldwide agreement on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, as long as it is guaranteed that inside NATO, security and deterrence are assured."

This is not to say, however, that West Germany, given an opening, would not be prepared to cooperate on a joint atomic force within NATO. Official Bonn thinks that such a solution would increase the deterrent power of the Alliance, and thus serve the cause of peace. This belief, unfortunately, is shared by the U.S. when it presents proposals for nuclear sharing. The State Department contends that it would be better to satisfy some of Germany's nuclear ambitions than to sign a treaty which is meaningless. A meaningless treaty, State points out, would be one which was signed only by those countries to whom the idea of nuclear proliferation is abhorrent. Those countries who were beat on obtaining nuclear capability would not sign such a non-proliferation treaty. (Fortunately, we did not hold this view on universal concurrence when the 1963 ban was being negotiated.)

In pursuing this line, the U.S. is overlooking one likely consequence that could flow from any kind of nuclear sharing plan with West Germany, a consequence that may not have been overlooked by Herr Ulbricht. A nuclear-sharing agreement with West Germany, regardless of the form it takes, would understandably resurrect traditional Russian fears.

Assuming, however, that through some diplomatic miracle these fears could be reduced to a point where the Soviets could tolerate a NATO nuclear scheme anchored to a non-proliferation treaty, they could then never allow East Germany to reunite with a Western brother who shared in a nuclear arsenal. More than 75 million Germans standing under one nuclear umbrella and all clutching the same flag smacks of sheer madness when viewed by Russians through historically-tinted glasses.

Soviet refusal to negotiate a reunification would almost automatically catapult Ulbricht and East Germany into permanency. The prestige of sovereignty would crown the head of state. It might be argued that with this thesis I am giving Ulbricht undeserved credit for superlative savvy. Perhaps so, but that is beside the point. We should concern ourselves with recognizing consequences, rather than speculating on intent or accident.

We are caught in a dilemma somewhat of our own making. On the one hand, our plan for a mixed-manned force or Atlantic nuclear force might well add to the deterrent power of the Western Alliance, and at the same time partially silence those voices in West Germany which are calling for an in-

(*Germany accepts an observer's status but refuses to apply for full membership until she is a whole nation.)

dependent atomic force. On the other hand, by giving West Germany some share in the nuclear complex of the West, we are placing an obstacle on the paths of re-unification and further nuclear curbs.

This last consideration takes on sobering weight when balanced with such statements as the one recently made by Britain's disarmament minister to the effect that, if our efforts toward full nuclear disarmament fail, we can by 1980 expect some 15 nations to have their own nuclear arms. Such statistics, coupled with the fact that Russia will sign nothing if Germany is given any kind of nuclear say within the Atlantic Alliance, should prompt us to entertain second thoughts about a NATO nuclear force. To abandon nuclear-sharing projects, I think, would be a responsible and restrained move that perhaps could break the stalemate which has developed in Geneva.

The Tale of Three Cities holds for us some indication of what our role in South Vietnam should be. The message is clear to those who will remove their blinders to read it. There is a definite inter-relationship between events in today's world that cannot be ignored if we are to overcome the dangers of a narrow isolationism. Reality should force its attention on the finely spun and delicate intellectual webs that we sometimes tend to weave for ourselves. It is a dangerous habit that allows a man to be so taken with his own mental image of what should be that he forgets what really is. Cerebral creations that cite for their validity the ideal without also considering the actual are a disservice when it comes to life and death propositions. And yet it is continually done, not only inside the academic community, but in the halls of Congress and elsewhere.

The U.S. cannot afford to withdraw from Vietnam, as the dogmatic doves advise, because it would weaken the credibility of our commitments. If we are unwilling to face up to a challenge and follow through on a commitment in one area, what is there to guarantee our doing so in another area? This question is undoubtedly poised on the lips of the German nuclear faction headed by Josef Strauss and marginally by Adenauer. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, with or without a formal Geneva agreement, must be our next step if we are to build on the limited Test Ban Treaty. This will not be possible if we leave or fail to show resolve in South Vietnam. But likewise, if we adopt a militant hawk role, our foreign policy will reveal the same quality of unrestraint mirrored by East Germany's U.N. bid and by de Gaulle's planned removal of French troops. In short, a policy of restrained determination must be the one we continue to follow in South Vietnam. Keeping our involvement within rational limits is to follow a policy of "enlightened self-interest" in that we prevent in one part of the world something that could easily happen in another and more politically important part.

We want no more repulsive headlines like the one we read from the Marshall Islands. The day must come when the nations of the world accept some realities and stop pretending to be what they are not. National leaders who whip up illusions of grandeur among their people to hide what, in many cases, is a deep inferiority complex are only exacerbating a situation that is already fraught with fear and uncertainty. By striving to attain nuclear capability, they are convincing themselves that it alone is the be-all and end-all of their national existence. The temptation to use the bomb primarily as a political instrument is great. But the reality of poverty, ignorance, and underemployment should be greater. To embark on a national plan for abating and improving these dire problems is no doubt often difficult. As Tunisian President Bourguiba recently observed:

"It forces men to master their instincts and their egocentrism, to transcend themselves, raising their vision and their action to the level of national interest. The battle is first of all a conquest of self; it is impossible to build on the hatred of others * * * it will be necessary for the poor countries to rid themselves of demagogues, of verbalism and the sterile conflicts engendered by power complexes or the will to dominate."

With France now engaged in military disinvolvement from NATO, the remaining partners must continue to show resolve rather than petulance. We must make clear to Moscow and Peking that our resolve has in no way diminished, that our commitments to collective security are just as clear as they ever were. But in this effort we must not go too far in the other direction by attempting to push ahead with a program of nuclear sharing, in any way, with Germany. This could only lead to the type of tensions that the Test Ban Treaty was meant to reduce.

If we are to get on with any kind of constructive work at Geneva to avoid future Rongelaps, and worse, our resolve both in Vietnam and Berlin should be made indelibly clear to those who would raise the ante in the poker parlors of world power. If there ever comes to exist the faintest indication that we have lost our ability as a world leader to accept the responsibility inevitably attendant to power, then we can expect a situation in which a series of bluffs and other aggressive tactics, characterised by Mr. Khrushchev's 1962 Cuban gesture, will become the rule rather than the exception. Especially in the nuclear age, bluffs must be called when they are designed to upset the precarious balance of power. This is no time to cash in our chips and lean back complacently. We must stay wide-eyed at the table, be it diplomatic or military. As C. L. Sulzberger so bluntly pointed out in a recent New York Times editorial, "When we appear strong and determined in our overseas commitments, other countries often mirror such strength in diplomatic attitudes and internal political convolutions. When we look as if we intend to expire languidly like some fat whale upon a distant beach, the world's jackals start to natter."

Though the argument has been heard before, it should once again be emphasized: our failure to hold firm in South Vietnam will have its definite repercussions in faraway Germany * * * particularly Berlin. Murmurings of doubt about our resolve will increase, and there will be a tendency toward erratic and abrupt international conduct guided more by glands than brains.

If our consciences wince at the regretful reasons that brought the Congress to vote $1 million for a group of innocent Rongelap islanders, then perhaps, at last, we will expand our consciousness to include reasons why we should stay in Vietnam, forgo our nuclear-sharing arrangements in NATO, particularly with Germany, and proceed resolutely with the task of banishing the means of human destruction. Our position as the leading world power commands no less.

Marshall McLuhen of the University of Toronto once queried: "Can we possibly have a global consciousness without also developing a global conscience?" Obviously not, but I would add that it can also work the other way. By disciplining ourselves to be conscious of the inter-relatedness of global initiatives in foreign policies, we will be prepared to take those actions best suited to our consciences.

AMENDMENT OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

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

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I serve on a subcommittee under the chairmanship of the Honorable ROBERT N. C. NIX, Congressman from the Second District of Pennsylvania. I have served under many chairmen and I consider Congressman NIX one of the finest.

During this past spring, Congressman NIX has chaired an investigation into the "paperwork jungle" of the Federal Government. Part of these hearings concerned the plight of the broadcasting industry and its redtape problems with the Federal Communications Commission. On May 19, Chairman NIX introduced H.R. 15170, which would relieve the heavy burden of the broadcasting industry. I support that bill by introducing an identical bill today.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will do two things: First, it will abolish the requirement that the users of safety and special radio services reapply for a broadcasting license every 5 years. It is inconceivable that the Federal Communications Commission would deny the renewal of a broadcasting license to the police department of the city of New York, the sheriff's office in Missoula, Mont., or the fire department in Chicago, Ill. For that reason, the requirement that public safety statipns reapply for a broadcasting license every 5 years is not a realistic one.

The second important feature of this bill is the provision which would allow broadcasters a little more breathing space between license application periods. At the present time, broadcasters have to reapply for a broadcasting license every 3 years. There is an engineering check of stations 6 months before the application for relicense. This requirement was written into the law well over 30 years ago. The radio and television industry is no longer an infant industry and the businessmen who are in this industry should no longer be treated like children. This bill will extend the reapplication period from 3 to 6 years. It will cut paperwork in the industry in half and the resulting money savings can be reinvested in the broadcasting industry. The aim of regulation in any industry is not the convenience of the regulators or the piling up of voluminous files. The least regulation consistent with the public interest is the objective. I believe that this bill will further that objective in the broadcasting industry.

Mr. Speaker, there are a little over 6,300 broadcasting stations in the United States, and 2,100 a year apply for a license renewal. No matter how long a station is in business, it receives the same license which is only good for a 3-year period. This requirement of the United States Code under title 47 United States Code 307(d) is a burden which affects those who habitually violate Federal Communications Commission regulations and these, by the way, are very few in number and the vast majority of station owners who do their very best and are not involved in violations.

The vast majority of the broadcasters are small businessmen who once every 3 years find that most of the month of December, their busiest time, is taken up with paperwork. There are 22 Federal Communications forms which are applicable to all broadcasters to some degree. Yet in my State, in 20 years of

law practice, I have never heard of a single licensee losing his license or having his renewal denied.

From 1962 until 1965 the Federal Communications Commission revoked 14 licenses and denied renewal of 31 station licenses, for a total of 45 severe actions in 3 years out of a total of 6,300 actions taken. When I heard in the hearings that Mr. Nrx, the Member from the Second District of Pennsylvania, presided over only 20 people within the FCC directly involved in the perusal of these renewal applications, it raised a question in my mind. Is this requirement merely a convenient device for the FCC, a sort of tickler file reminding the Commission that they should conduct something akin to a school exam every 3 years?

The FCC does not depend on complaints and does not make much use of complaints, but instead proceeds against an industry on a broad front with very little advantage to either. It seems to me that enforcement of the Federal Communications Act should proceed with complaints as a basis or at least in certain areas where violations may have occurred. A spot check or survey system of the broadcasting industry may be necessary but not an entire census of the industry every 3 years.

What is the magic of the 3-year period anyway. When the Federal Communications Act was first passed, a compromise between the House and Senate resulted in the writing of a 3-year period into law. One House wanted a 2-year period and one wanted a 4-year period. In the 1930's licenses were granted for 90 days at first and toward the end of that period licenses were granted for 3 years. We have had well over 30 years' experience with the broadcasting industry and we must have learned something about it. I think we can safely say that the broadcasting industry is no longer an infant industry and that the reins should be loosened.

How did the broadcasting industry come to be regulated in the first place? Without regulations, broadcasters became so numerous that they interfered with each other's frequencies. Regulation was at first necessary then to limit the number of broadcasting stations to prevent frequency interference. That objective has been long accomplished. Very little work needs to be done today to keep up the integrity of frequencies.

What needs to be done then? When we examine the fact that as of April 1 of this year, 272 licenses had not as yet been renewed after expiration of license, it would seem that there is quite a bit of work to be done. But the work that remained to be done was paperwork, not the work of regulation.

These license renewals have been held up for the most part because of failure to include certain kinds of information, which as the result of correspondence will be brought up to exacting standards. This is a certainty because only 21 licenses have failed to be renewed in the past 3 years as the result of the renewal process.

Ten licenses were denied renewal for other reasons and 14 were revoked for other reasons for a grand total of 45. Yet 272 license renewals are delayed as of April 1 of this year, leading to the conclusion that for the vast majority the delay is nothing more than an exercise.

Mr. Speaker, this bill asks in short for a vote of confidence in the broadcasting industry. Private enterprise has succeeded in building the greatest broadcasting system in the world. Government redtape did not build that system, but private risk taking, the investment of savings did build that system. The FCC may not feel that it has imposed great burdens on the broadcasting industry when small stations have to devote from 2 to 3 weeks of work in preparing forms for an application for a new license to stay in business, but it is a burden to the small station and an expense to larger stations to do so.

The preparation of records for the day of reckoning is an expense to the industry. The renewal process requires reference to seven logs which must be kept up to date. Individual contrasts for one performance must be filed with the Commission and kept ready for public inspection at any time. Stations at the present time have a field engineering check 6 months before the 3-year license term is up in any case.

This adds up, Mr. Speaker, to ritualistic paperwork, paperwork for its own sake which gives the impression of great activity on the part of the Commission but which in itself has very little effect. At least one Commissioner has recommended that the relicense application be done away with altogether and two Commissioners have recommended that the license application period be extended to 5 years.

It seems to me that Government regulation is not a one-way street. We should not have a process where once a set of regulations are imposed they are only added to and never withdrawn where there is no longer any need for regulation. I think we should keep faith with the free enterprise system and make it freer wherever it is possible. When a regulation has served its original purpose, we should not make up new reasons for keeping it. I think Government agencies as well as industry must accept change. It is time for a change in the broadcasting field, and I hope the Congress will support this change. Provisions of this bill follow:

H.R. 15215

A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to abolish the renewal requirement for licenses in the safety and special radio services, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That section 307(d) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended (47 U.S.C. 307(d)), is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(1) No license granted for the operation of a station in the broadcast service or in the common carrier service shall be for a longer term than six years. Upon the expiration of any such license, upon application therefor, a renewal of such license may be granted from time to time for a term of not to exceed six years, if the Commission finds that the public interest, convenience, and necessity would be served thereby. In order to expedite action on applications for renewal of licenses for stations in the broadcast service and in order to avoid needless expense to applicants for such renewals, the Commission shall not require any such applicant to file any information which previously has been furnished to the Commission or which is not directly material to the considerations that affect the granting or denial of such application, but the Commission may require any new or additional facts it deems necessary to make its findings. Pending any hearing and final decision on such an application and the disposition of any petition for rehearing pursuant to section 405, the Commission shall continue such license in effect. Consistently with the foregoing provisions of this paragraph, the Commission may by rule prescribe the period or periods for which such licenses shall be granted and renewed but the Commission may not adopt or follow any rule which would preclude it from granting or renewing a license for a shorter period than that prescribed for such stations if, in its judgment, the public interest, convenience, or necessity would be served by such action.

"(2) No license in the safety and special radio services shall be required to be renewed; except that this paragraph shall not apply to (A) special temporary authorizations in such services, (B) licenses for stations in such services engaged in developmental operation, and (C) licenses in such services which the Commission finds after notice and opportunity for a hearing require authorization for a term of years in order to best serve the public interest, convenience, or necessity.

"(3) Any license referred to in this subsection may be revoked as hereafter provided in this Act."

PROPOSED EAST-WEST TRADE RELATIONS ACT

(Mr. KEOGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw the attention of the Congress to the recent letter sent to the Speaker by the Secretary of State, which transmits a proposed East-West Trade Relations Act.

I am introducing this bill at the request of the administration. The Secretary's letter sets forth an impressive list of reasons why this legislation would be in our national interest. I would like to mention some of its features which I believe are particularly important.

First, the central provision of this legislation is that it would give the President authority to negotiate a commercial agreement at such time as he may choose with individual Communist countries in Eastern Europe, and, as part of such an agreement, he would be authorized to extend to such countries the same tariff duties we give now to other countries.

The President could make such an agreement only when he found it to be in the interest of our country and only in return for equivalent benefits. The President does not have authority now to make such agreements with all such countries. Enactment of this legislation would open up to American industry, agriculture, and labor the opportunities for peaceful trade with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe that are now open to other countries but not to our own people. It would also be an important step in demonstrating to the countries of Eastern Europe our will-