CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

May 23, 1966

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Congratulations: Graduating Classes of 1966

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

of

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

of Ohio

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, we read, with astonishing frequency, of the demonstrations, sit-ins, protests, and so forth put on by many of the high school and college students of our Nation, for one reason or another. It was with great pride that I learned of the outstanding accomplishments of some of the high school seniors in the 11th District of Ohio. I am tremendously proud of the young people of our district, and I feel that the future of our great Nation is in their hands.

It is a privilege and an honor to bring to your attention the achievements of our students, as set forth in a letter which I recently sent:

To the Publisher and Editors of the Record-Courier, Ravenna, Ohio:

Attention: Mr. Robert C. Dix.

Dear Mr. Dix:

There are a lot of things wrong in this world. We hear about them every day. However, there are a lot of things right that we seldom hear about. A lot of things that are right in this world are reflected in the graduating classes of our area high schools. I am bringing to your personal attention the following sequence of events that pertains to just one of our high schools.

Three weeks ago, as a result of an inquiry from our office, I was informed by Mr. Fred Glimp, Dean of Harvard College, that a student from Ravenna High School had been accepted for admission to the Class of 1970. The Dean spoke very highly of this applicant and remarked about his excellent 3.96 grade average. One week later, on his own initiative, the Dean of Harvard College informed me of the acceptance of another student from Ravenna High School who had a perfect academic record of 4.0. The Dean commented that due to the pressure that is on his school from all over the world, it was most unusual to be accepting two students from one high school. The following week, I was informed by the Director of Admissions of the United States Military Academy at West Point that their Acceptance Committee had nominated a student from Ravenna High School. This was an Academy appointment limited to the 150 outstanding applicants out of a total of thousands in the United States. It was based on superior academic and athletic qualifications. After receiving this news, I talked directly with the Principal of Ravenna High School, Mr. James Col. He informed me, with considerable pride, that out of the 268 members of the 1966 graduating class at Ravenna High School, almost 75 percent planned to go on...
Almost $2 billion of Federal money is spent on the Economic Opportunity Agency, mainly to attack the school dropout problem. Meanwhile, during the same period, 680,000 boys and girls left high school before graduation—an increase of 75,000 over the previous year, which is hardly an impressive record. In short, the school dropout rate is not improving.

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman directed a 750-word communication to members of the House Committee on Agriculture. Instead of using one of his 8,000 District of Columbia employees to hand-deliver his message, he sent 30 individual telegrams. The cost to the taxpayer: $2,400.

He seems to have overlooked President Johnson’s public announcement that all Cabinet members had been asked to economize.

A high-level U.S. Commission has recommended that the United Nations take over ownership of the high seas and outer space and use them as independent sources of income.

This Commission-to Study the Organization of Peace also said the U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, should recruit and pay his own permanent force of 2,000 soldiers.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee, Mr. Speaker, the Nation’s small business community welcomes with enthusiasm the appointment of the Honorable Bernard L. Boutin as Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

Mr. Boutin is known throughout the Halls of Congress as a competent, hardworking Government official. He is especially well qualified to handle this particular position and his many friends and admirers are confident that he will bring vigorous leadership to the agency.

Mr. Boutin’s career has been varied—but consistently associated with success. He has owned and operated small businesses and was twice elected by his fellow townspeople of Lacomia, N.H., as their mayor.

He served as Administrator of the General Services Administration from 1961 to 1964 and during his regime, the percentage of GSA’s total purchases awarded to small business rose from 43 to 57 percent.

His deep interest in the welfare of small business can also be shown by the fact that within 4 months after he assumed the leadership of the General Services Administration, he established a small business task force to find methods whereby GSA could increase the amount of small business contracts awarded to small business.

It is clear that Mr. Boutin understands the problems of small business. In fact, as the father of 10 children, we believe he understands problems that ordinary men have not even heard about.

We wish him continued success in his new assignment.

Mystery of the Missing Tarapur Reactor Parts and Pieces—Continued

From: Representative Craig Hosmer, chairman, GOP conference committee on nuclear affairs

To: House GOP conference

Previously I advised you that when the India-Pakistan war broke out last fall Pakistan seized several hundred thousand dollars worth of parts and pieces for the Tarapur reactor. These were found in the hull of a ship then in a Pakistani port.

The parts consisted of a 20-ton air-lock and electric equipment of sheet steel. The Pakistanis succeeded in removing these bulky items to a place unknown. It is still unknown. AID and the State Department were proved inadequate to the task of tracking them down.

The parts and pieces eventually had to be replaced by the General Electric Company who is building the $100 million Indian nuclear power station—which is being financed to the tune of $60 million by U.S. taxpayers under the foreign aid program.

Despite President Johnson’s friendship with a Pakistani camel driver, despite his winning and dining Premier Ayub Kahn of Pakistan, who made a money hunting expedition to the U.S. subsequent to the hijacking, despite more millions of U.S. aid and loans since that time, the Johnson Administration—with all the resources of the United States at its command—has been unable to do a single thing to clear up the mystery of the missing reactor parts and pieces.

So far as anybody knows they are being used as hitching posts for camels.

The crux of this story is that on May 11th, John A. Hall, Assistant General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, notified the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of a U.S. research reactor at Islamabad, Pakistan, is now fully operative and Pakistan officials are expected soon to request payment of the $300,000 grant which
This graphic description could have been a hurricane Betsy as she struck Grand Isle and swept inland through south Louisiana. It was, if you will, a natural disaster. Betsy, of course, was a hurricane. Rather it is Lafcadio Hearn's description, beautiful and awesome and terrible, of the giant tidal wave which raged out of the Gulf of Mexico on the first, second, and third of November, 1913, a distance of 30 miles west of Grand Isle. Prior to that time, as you have read, Last Island was the fashionable retreat of the people of New Orleans and the neighboring parishes enjoyed themselves on weekends and fowling parties. On the night of that eventful hurricane, when dancing that night in August almost 110 years ago—dancing at the Last Island Hotel—was drowned by the hurricane tidal wave. In their report, the district engineers brought much more havoc and destruction than the progress of flood control programs. In that year was the first time in the history of our country that we have determined that Betsy could have brought death, injury and damage to Louisiana citizens and property. Those four storms came in 1947 (and many of you remember what that hurricane did), in 1956 (Flooby), in 1956 (Hilda), and last year, of course, Betsy. As we all well know, Betsy was one of the most destructive natural disasters ever to strike anywhere in our country, in terms of property losses. As an Army Corps of Engineers report notes, seventy-five per cent of the people killed in a hurricane die from the inlet wave whipped up by the violent winds. Furthermore, virtually all of the heavy property damage is caused by associated waters. Through their expert studies, the New Orleans district engineers, under the able direction of Colonel Tom Bowen who is here tonight, have developed a standard Project Hurricane, which encompasses the salient features and traits of a characteristic hurricane. A new and very serious, I believe, we have determined that Betsy could have brought much more havoc and destruction (if that's possible) had it taken the most "critical path." That most critical path, resulting in the most severe flooding, would have been straight out of the gulf towards New Orleans, then curving northeastward across Lake Borgne. Those four storms came in 1947 (and many of you remember what that hurricane did), in 1956 (Flooby), in 1956 (Hilda), and last year, of course, Betsy. As we all well know, Betsy was one of the most destructive natural disasters ever to strike anywhere in our country, in terms of property losses. As an Army Corps of Engineers report notes, seventy-five per cent of the people killed in a hurricane die from the tidal wave whipped up by the violent winds. Furthermore, virtually all of the heavy property damage is caused by associated waters. 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Suffice it to say the Louisiana coast was devastated; the Mississippi delta was more or less carpeted with the debris; and vicinity area from tidal overflow (excluding the wind damage) would have been at least four times greater than that which occurs from a hurricane of average size. A more too plentiful thought to say the least. It is extremely difficult for any of us to imagine a hurricane of such a magnitude at this point. All of you know too graphically how severe and destructive Betsy was. There is no need to recount in detail the devastating effects of the hurricane. The final tally brought by the loss of human life in our State, the number was 72. With Florida and Mississippi added, the death toll was 76. Louisiana citizens in­ jured numbered 17,000—the total injury toll was 21,000. Property losses and Federal government's disaster relief and rehabilitation, exceeded $1 billion. The breakdown: Insurance companies paid out $987 million on property losses, govern­ ment disaster relief and rehabilitation, exceeded $186 million; and Federal property lost or damaged was almost $92 million. After we had 125,000 people on 2,000 per­ sonnel of the National Government, the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, civilian defense and many other groups, joined in the relief and rehabilitation effort. It is true there were many more thousands of our own pri­ vate citizens, like yourselves, who worked from the very beginning to restore south Louisiana to full harness. You, as civic and business leaders of Jefferson Parish, are to be commended for your splendid role in helping to restore the parish to full operating order and to revitalize her forward march. You all know what tremendous growth and prosperity Jefferson is enjoying today. I have pledged myself—and I do again to­ night—to do everything I can to assure that we live up to our full potential, and enjoy all the benefits available in this great country of ours. Jeff­erson Parish, along with the rest of the United States—both on the East and West Banks—as I grew to manhood, the people of this parish have always been close to my heart. Hurricane Betsy is history. We all pray that our area will not face such a storm for decades to come, if ever again. But we cannot halt completely the forces of nature. We can only take constructive action to alleviate their effects. Natural disasters, as we know, will continue to strike. But we can work for and with the many positive measures to ease their impact and provide our people with greater protection. By so doing, I believe we can be better able to rebound more quickly and positively. These steps being taken by your National Government, through Congress and with the cooperation of State and local governments and private industry, do not constitute "a hand-out." You and I and all the tax­ payers of Louisiana are paying for these efforts, these programs. But they are well worth the price—and we will benefit by them. Betsy is history. We all pray that our area will not face such a storm for decades to come, if ever again. But we cannot halt completely the forces of nature. We can only take constructive action to alleviate their effects. Natural disasters, as we know, will continue to strike. But we can work for and with the many positive measures to ease their impact and provide our people with greater protection. By so doing, I believe we can be better able to rebound more quickly and positively. 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should be attacked with coordinated programs from the national level. Of course, the success of such programs depends upon the full cooperation and counsel of officials of State and local governments and of private industry.

Now, there are two principal avenues in progress, and there are the hurricane and flood water protection for our people.

First, I would like to discuss the work we are doing and the progress we are making with the National Disaster Assistance Program to cooperate with the local authorities. When I call on say flood waters, I mean those waters from inland bodies (rivers, lakes, bayous, etc.) which overflow their banks, sweep over land in the path of the storm or the gulf by hurricane winds. As you know, no such flood damage insurance is available today from any source, public or private. But the results of this study may provide our people and those of all America with the opportunity to buy, at reasonable rates, flood water protection.

Last fall when Senator Lono and I sponsored passage of the Betsy bill, we included in that bill the provision that the new Department of Housing and Urban Development conduct an extensive study on the possibility of extending the National Disaster Assistance Program against flood waters. Included in this current study is a review of the now-dormant Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1966, enacted almost 15 years ago by Congress, but never implemented.

In the Betsy bill, we directed that the study be conducted and recommendations submitted this summer, hopefully before the end of July. I am happy to tell you that officials of the Department of Housing and Urban Development have written to me and improved Dr. Marion Clawson, are making good progress with this study. Dr. Clawson, who is a veteran of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, has told me that he is receiving splendid cooperation from all public and private organizations. He has had many meetings with other Federal departments and private company executives, including our own Ellis Schill of New Orleans, chairman of the defense force committee of the National Association of Home Builders. Mr. Schill's association and the American Insurance Association are working closely with Dr. Clawson and both associations support the establishment of such a national disaster insurance program. Officials of the Corps of Engineers, the New Orleans Metropolitan Planning Committee, the National Flood Insurance Survey and other Federal agencies are also in this effort.

Just prior to my trip home today, Dr. Clawson informed me that he is planning a meeting early next month with a special advisory committee for this study. The committee will include representatives of insurance companies; insurance brokerage firms, banks and other lending institutions; general counsels to State governments and others.

This committee will provide needed advice and counsel on the report. Dr. Clawson and his assistants are thus bringing to this study the kind of broad interest and participation that can be collected. I am most hopeful that we can take action on this report by drafting and enacting a bill before Congress adjourns this year. You can rest assured that Senator Lono and I and other members of our delegation will make every effort to achieve this important objective as a first step toward sending all the people of our State and Nation.

The second principal avenue for providing protection against the flood threats is the extensive hurricane protection plans and projects under way in the Lake Pontchartrain area.

One of the proudest achievements of my career in Congress has been to realize the completion of the Lake Pontchartrain levee project for East Jefferson. This levee-build-
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I consider this one of the most important pronouncements emanating from the Johnson administration since the President took office.

I believe that all of those "nervous nellies" who have been sharpshooting at the President's policies and complaining that he is going to pull back on his military initiatives are wrong. I believe that McNamara's speech in its entirety is a major contribution to the conceptualization of our nation's security. I would like particularly to call their attention to the quote cited here.

I believe that Secretary McNamara's unequivocal assertion that we do not intend to influence the entire world should be a great source of comfort to those who, along with the President, Johnson, seek an end to world hostilities.

Mr. Speaker, I am placing Secretary McNamara's speech in the Recorder today in its entirety because I consider it one of the most significant pronouncements of our times. It spells out so concisely the magnitude of our problems ahead, and it makes clear the conditions under which this Nation will aid its allies.

Mr. Speaker, Secretary McNamara's speech follows:

ADDRESS BY ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, BEFORE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NATIONS, GRAND AMERICAN HOTEL, MONTREAL, CANADA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1966

President Royster, ladies and gentlemen, any American would be fortunate to visit this lovely island city, in this hospitable land.

But there is a special satisfaction for a Secretary of Defense to cross the longest border in the world—and realize that it is also the least armed border in the world. It promises the dream which is negative and narrow a notion of defense still clouts our century.

There is still holding us on an almost exorbitant tendency to think of our security problem as a field in which the United States frame of the future, in which our two nations would wage war on one another?

Is it because we are both ready in an instant to hurt our military hardware at one another’s vital targets?

But what is the real concept that military hardwar—e—such as the United States—threatens the entire world?

The rich are those who have a per capita income of under $800 a year—merely because of a potential nuclear holocaust—but also because of the large number of de facto conflicts and the kind of conflict that is growing rather than diminishing.

The rich nations are those with a per capita income of $750 or more. The current U.S. level is more than $700. There are 27 of these rich nations. They possess 75% of the world's wealth, though roughly only 25% of the world's population.

Since 1958, only one of these 27 nations has suffered a major internal upheaval on its own territory.

But observe what happens at the other end of the economic scale. Among the 38 poor nations, those with a per capita income of under $100 a year—fewer than 60 have suffered any conflict of great scale. There have been major outbreaks of violence per country in the eight year period. That is a great deal of conflict.

What is worse, it has been, predominantly, conflict of a prolonged nature. The trend holds that conflict of a prolonged nature—merely because of a potential nuclear holocaust—but also because of the large number of de facto conflicts and the kind of conflict that is growing rather than diminishing.

At the beginning of 1958, there were 23 prolonged insurrections going on around the world. As of February 1, 1966, there were 40.

Further, the total number of outbreaks of violence has increased each year: in 1958, there were 34; in 1965, there were 58.

What is striking is that only 15 of these 164 significant outbreaks of violence have been military conflicts between two states. And not a single one of the 164 conflicts has been a formally declared war.

What has been a formal declaration of war anywhere in the world since World War II.

The planet is becoming a more dangerous place—merely because of the trend of such conflicts is growing rather than diminishing.

In this respect, there are three broad groups of nations: first, those that are struggling to develop; secondly, those few nations that have suffered an explosion of strength and prosperity that enables them to contribute to the peace of the world; and finally, those nations who might be tempted to make themselves our adversaries.

For each of these groups, the United States—to preserve its own intrinsic security—has to have distinctive sets of relationships:

First, we have to help protect those developing countries which genuinely need and request our help to grow into a peaceful world. This is the essential precondition—are willing and able to help themselves.

Second, we have to encourage and achieve a more effective partnership with those nations who can and should share international responsibilities.

Third, we must do all we realistically can to reduce the risk of conflict with those who might be tempted to take up arms against us. Let us examine these three sets of relationships in detail.

First, the developing nations.

There is no uniform rate of progress among these countries; they range from communist societies—fractured by tribalism and held feebly together by the slenderest of political strings to the most prosperous, advanced, well on the road to agricultural sufficiency and industrial competence.

This sweeping surge of development, particularly across the whole southern half of the globe, has no parallel in history.

It has turned traditionally listless areas of the world into seething cauldrons of change.

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Now, it would perhaps be somewhat reassuring if the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations were closing; and economic backwardness were significantly receding.

But it is not. The economic gap is widening.

By the year 1970, over one half of the world's total population will live in the independent nations sweeping across the southern half of the planet. But this hungering half of the earth, by the year 1970, will contain only one-sixth of the world's total of goods and services.

By the year 1975, the dependent children of these nations alone—children under 15 years of age—will equal the total population of the developed nations to the north.

Prudent nations have reason enough to worry over the tensions that coil and tighten among underprivileged young people, and finally fall out in delinquency and crime. What are we to expect from a whole hemisphere of youth where mounting frustrations are likely to feed to eruptions of violence and extremism? Annual per capita income in roughly half of the 80 underdeveloped nations that are members of the United Nations Bank is less than a paltry one cent per year or less. By the end of the century, these nations—at their present rates of growth—will reach a per capita income of $170 a year. The United States, by the same criteria, will attain a per capita income of $4,600.

All of this is blunt and inescapable: given the certain connection between economic stagnation and the incidence of violence, the years that lie ahead for the dependent nations in the southern half of the globe are pregnant with violence.

This would be true even if no threat of Communist subversion existed—as it clearly does.

Both Moscow and Peking—however harsh their internal differences—regard the whole modernization process as an ideal environment for the growth of communism. Their experience with subversive internal war is extensive; and they have developed a considerate array of both doctrine and practical measures in the art of political violence.

What is often misunderstood is that communists are capable of subverting, manipulating, and exploiting their own ends the wholly legitimate grievances of a developing society.

We would be a gross oversimplification to regard communism as the central factor in every conflict throughout the underdeveloped world. Of the 140 serious internal insurgencies that have taken place in the past eight years, communists have been involved in only 58 of them—38% of the total—and this includes seven instances in which a Communist regime itself was the target of the uprising.

Whether communists are involved or not, violence anywhere in a taut world transmits sharp signals through the complex ganglia of international relations; and the security of the United States is related to the security and stability of nations half a globe away.

But neither conscience nor sanity itself suggests that the United States is, should, or can avoid them. Quite the contrary, experience confirms what human nature suggests: that in most instances of internal violence, the local people are not agents of the world community but are capable of fighting for their own ends the wholly legitimate grievances of a developing society.

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The United States has no mandate from the people of the United States to handle internal subversion. The United States has no mandate to do so. There have been classic cases in which our deliberate non-action was the wisest course.

Where our help is not sought, it is seldom prudent to volunteer.

Certainly we have no charter to rescue floundering regimes, who have brought violence on themselves by deliberately refusing to meet the legitimate expectations of their citizens.

Further, throughout the next decade advancing technology will reduce the require­ments of military force—and in particular the extraordinary loss of life that military force is capable of inflicting. It is not enough—the irreducible fact remains that our security is related directly to the security of the newly developing world.

And one of the wisest actions of all; should our help be so needed, is this: to help provide security to those developing nations which genuinely need and request our help whose citizens are willing and able to help themselves.

The rub comes in this: we do not always grasp the meaning of the word security in this context.

In a modernizing society, security means development.

Security is not a military hardware—though it may include it. Security is not military force—though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity—though it may be engaged in.

Security is development.

Without development, there can be no security.

A developing nation that does not in fact develop simply cannot remain "secure."

It cannot remain secure for the intrac­table reasons of its own, local citizens cannot shed its human nature.

If security implies anything, it implies a minimal measure of order and stability.

Without internal development of at least a minimal degree, order and stability are simply not possible. They are not possible because human beings operating at that level are frustrated beyond intrinsic limits. It reacts—because it must.

Now, that is what we must do always understand: and it is also what governments of modernizing nations do not always understand.

But by emphasizing that security arises from development, I do not say that an underdeveloped nation cannot be subverted from within; or be assailed upon from without; or be the victim of a combination of the two.

It can. And to prevent any or all of these contingencies from unfolding, we must develop the economic, social, health and education capacities needed for a secure society.

Military force can help provide law and order—but only to the degree that a basis for security already exists in the developing society; a basic willingness on the part of the people to cooperate.

The law and order is a shield, behind which the real goal of security—development—can be achieved.

Now we are not playing a semantic game or playing the word "security" with exclusively military connotations. What we mean is that the whole goal of security—development—can be achieved.

The problem is that we have been lost in a semantic jungle for too long. We have come to identify "security" with exclusively military connotations, and most particularly with military hardware.

But is just isn't so. And we need to accommodate to the facts of the matter, if we want to see security survive and grow in the southern half of the globe.

Development means economic, social, and political development, and it is capable of generating a reasonable standard of living—and the word "reasonable" in this context requires continual reinterpretation. What is minimally acceptable in an earlier stage of development will become "unreasonable" in a later stage.

As development progresses, security pro­hibits the use of violence anywhere in the world, and at the same time has organized their own human and natural resources to provide themselves with what they need and expect out of life—and have learned to compromise peacefully among competing demands in the larger national community. Their security is relative and violence will be enormously increased.

Conversely, the tragic need of desperate men to resort to force to achieve the inner imperatives of human decency Will diminish.

Now, I have said that the role of the United States is to help provide security to those developing nations which genuinely need and request our help; and are clearly willing and able to help themselves.

But what should our help be? It should be directed towards development. In the military sphere, that involves two broad categories of assistance.

The first is the provision of all such training and equipment as is necessary to maintain the protective shield behind which development can go forward.

The dimensions of that shield vary from country to country; but what is essential is that it should be a shield, and not a capacity for external aggression.

The second—and perhaps less understood category of military assistance is in a modernizing nation—is training in civic action. It is training in cooperation with those civic organizations, and the mutual interdependence that exists among them. Too few Americans—and too few officials in developing nations—really comprehend what "military civic action" means.

Essentially, it means using indigenous military forces for non-traditional military projects. While the problem of providing adequate law and order to the local population in fields such as education, public works, health, sanitation, agriculture—indeed, anything connected with economic and social progress—

It has had some impressive results. In the past four years, the U.S. assisted civic action has constructed or repaired more than 16,000 miles of roads; built over 1,000 schools; hundreds of hospitals and clinics; and has provided medical and dental care to approximately four million people.

What is important is that this was done by indigenous men in uniform. Quite apart from the developmental projects themselves, the program powerfully alters the negative image of the military man, as the oppressive preserver of the stagnant status quo.

But assistance in the purely military sphere is not enough. Economic assistance and military assistance are determined by the same criteria, whether our aid should be hard-headed and rigorously realistic: that it should deal directly with the roots of under-development, and that it should be so designed as to minimize the symptoms. His bedrock principle is that U.S. economic aid—no matter what its mag­nitude—is not an end in itself. We hope in this country that our mission is resolute in making the primary effort itself. That will be the criterion, and that will be the crucial condition for all our future assistance.

Only the developing nations themselves can take the fundamental measures that determine assistance measures. These are measures of profound and frequently called for political courage and decisiveness. But to fail to undertake painful, but necessary, action is to guarantee far more painful revolutionary violence. Our eco­nomic assistance is designed to offer a reasonable alternative to that violence. It is designed to help substitute peaceful progress for tragic internal conflict.

The United States intends to be compas­sionate, but it is also realistic. It is not an effort it can carry exclusively by itself. But it is not an effort it can carry exclusively by itself. And thus it looks to those nations who have reached the point of genuine readiness to increase their contributions to the development—and, thus, to the security—of the modernizing world.

The relationship between the second and the first set of relationships that I underscored at the outset; it is the policy of the United States to
encourage and achieve a more effective partnership with those nations who can, and should, share international peace-keeping responsibilities.

We have devoted a higher proportion of its gross national product to its military establishment than any other major free world nation. This was true even before our involvement in Vietnam.

We have had, over the last few years, as many men in uniform as all the nations of Western Europe combined — even though they have a population half again greater than our own.

Now, the American people are not going to share responsibilities in any part of the world, but they clearly cannot be expected to bear a disproportionate share of the common burden.

If, for example, other nations genuinely believe — as they say they do—that it is in the common interest to deter the expansion of Red China's economic and political control beyond its national boundaries, then they must take a more active role in guarding the defense perimeter.

Let me be perfectly clear: this is not to question the policy of neutralism or non-alignment of any particular nation. But it is to express the hope that nations can—in the end—be fully safeguarded only by collective agreements among themselves, and not by others.

The plain truth is the day is coming when no single nation, however powerful, can undertake by itself to keep the peace outside its own borders and still be safe. The regional and international organizations for peace-keeping purposes are as yet rudimentary; but they must grow in experience and be strengthened by deliberate and practical cooperative action.

In this matter, the example of Canada is a model for nations everywhere. As Prime Minister Pearson said in his eloquent address in New York just last week: Canada "is as deeply involved in the world's affairs as any country of its size. We accept this because we have learned over years that isolation from the policies that determine war does not give us immediately from the bloody, sacrificial consequences of their failure.

We learned that in 1914 and again in 1939... That is why we have been proud to send our men to take part in every peace-keeping operation of the United Nations—in Korea, and Kashmir, and the Suez, and the Congo, and Cyprus.

The Organization of the American States in the Dominican Republic, the more than thirty nations contributing troops or supplies to the operation of North Vietnam, indeed even the parallel efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Pakistan-India conflict—these efforts, together with those of the U.N., are the first attempts to substitute multinational for unilateral policing of violence. They point to the peaceful future of the world.

We must not merely applaud the idea. We must dedicate talent, resources, and hard practical thinking to its implementation.

In an area where it is so desperately needed, economic vitality stands as a monument to the wisdom of the Marshall Plan—the prosperity and affluence is real, and wholly new. Fundamental changes are under way, though certain inescapable realities remain.

The conventional forces of NATO, for example, still require a nuclear backdrop far beyond the capability of any Western European nation, and the U.S. is fully committed to provide that major nuclear deterrent.

However, the European members of the Alliance need not and should not be more actively in nuclear planning. A central task of the Alliance today is, therefore, to work out new arrangements through which shared nuclear planning can be effective. We have made a practical and promising start in the Special Committee of NATO Defense Ministers.

Common planning and consultation are essential if we are to eliminate the workable and dangerous alternative of independent national nuclear forces within the Alliance.

And even beyond the Alliance, we must find the means to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. That is a clear imperative.

We have, of course, been in non-proliferation arrangements; but they cannot be compared with the infinitely greater risks that would arise from the increase in national nuclear stockpiles.

In the calculus of risk, to proliferate independent national nuclear forces is not a mere act of aggression. It is not only not a mere act of aggression, it is not only not a mere act of aggression, it is a way of multiplying the problem.

If we seriously intend to pass on a world to our children that is not threatened by nuclear holocaust, we must come to grips with the problem of proliferation.

A reasonable nonproliferation agreement is feasible. For there is no adversary with whom we do not share a common interest in avoiding mutual destruction triggered by an irresponsible nth power.

That brings me to the third and last set of relationships the United States must deal with, that of those nations who might be tempted to take up arms against us.

These relationships call for realism. But realism is not a hardened, inflexible, unimaginitive attitude. The realistic mind is a restless creative mind—free of native delusions, but full of practical alternatives. There are practical alternatives to our current relationships with both the Soviet Union and Communist China.

A vast ideological chasm separates us from them—and to a degree, separates them from one another.

There is nothing to be gained from our seeking an ideological approachment, but breaching the isolation of great nations like Red China, even when that isolation is largely of its own making, reduces the danger of potentially catastrophic misunderstandings, and increases the incentive on both sides to resolve disputes by reason rather than by force.

There are many ways in which we can build bridges toward nations who would cut themselves off from meaningful contact with us. We can do so with properly balanced trade relations, diplomatic contacts, and in some cases even by exchanges of military observers.

We have to know where it is we want to place this bridge; what sort of traffic we want it to carry, and what sort of foundations the whole structure can be designed.

There are no one-cliff bridges. If you are going to span a chasm, you have to rest the structure on both cliffs.

Now cliffs, generally speaking, are rather hazardous places. Some people are afraid even to look over the edge. But in a thermal nuclear world, we cannot afford any political acrophobia.

President Johnson has put the matter squarely in building bridges to those who make themselves our adversaries, "we can help gradually to create a community of interest, a community of trust, and a community of effort."

With respect to a "community of effort" let me suggest a concrete proposal for our own country. There are, of course, risks in the United States.

As matters stand, our present Selective Service System draws on only a minority of eligible young men.

That is an inequity. It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give service to his country—whether in one of the branches of the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad.

We could encourage our countries to do the same; and we could work out exchange programs—much as the Peace Corps is always planning to do.

While this is not an altogether new suggestion, it has been criticized as inappropriate while we are engaged in a shooting war.

But I believe precisely the opposite is the case. It is more appropriate now than ever. For it would underscore what our whole purpose is in Vietnam—and indeed anywhere in the world where coercion, or injustice, or lack of decent opportunity still holds sway.

It would make meaningful the central concept of security: a world of decency and development—where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

We can do so with multinational effort; those are the goals. Can we achieve those goals with the Soviet Union, and with Communist China? Can they achieve them with one another?

The answer to these questions lies in the answer to an even more fundamental question:

Who is man?

Is he a rational animal?

If he is, then the goals can ultimately be achieved.

If he is not, then there is little point in making the effort.

A vast body of history suggests that man is indeed a rational animal—but with a near infinite capacity for folly. His history seems largely a halting, but persistent, effort to raise his reason above his animality.

He draws blueprints for Utopia. But never quite gets it built. In the end, he plucks away obstinately with the only building material really ever at hand: his own part-comic, part-tragic, part-cursed, but part-glorious nature.

I, for one, would not count a global free society out.


Thank you very much.

Hon. Charles Weltner Addresses Young Democrats of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER, our colleague from Georgia, delivered a challenging and superb address to the area of the Peace Corps at the town auditorium in Spartanburg, April 22, 1966. Congressman WELTNER's address was particularly timely in that it reminded us of our duties and responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Congressman WELTNER's address to the attention
The address follows:

BUILDING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Two years ago, the people of the United States gave to their representatives in both parties an overwhelming victory, and elected a Congress with Democratic majorities of two-to-one in both houses.

Now, two years later, some observers speak of substantial losses of Democratic membership in Congress this November—notwithstanding a remarkable record of legislative accomplishment in the preceding periods in both sectors of the economy. It is, of course, true that our Party has made great gains for all Americans (and many who are now Republicans rose to their positions of influence through sound and humane Democratic programs). Nonetheless, at this point in our history, it is well to consider how we can strengthen our Party, making it ever a more efficient vehicle for the public good, and a more competent servant of the public interest.

First, our Party must reach out to include more and more Americans, and extend its influence and weight to millions of thousands of citizens who have made no firm commitment to either party. We have strong allies, and consistent support, for we should welcome and attract many groups who have no political allegiance, and who, at this point, have not been attracted to or inspired by any political organization.

Rid of racism, rid of faction, rid of regionalism, and rid of the dead hand of the past, we are making it a principle of our creed that we are giving our allegiance and loyalty to our country, to our party, to a political cause, to our President, or to one of the many political parties, or to any individual within either party. We should, here and now, make candid and honest appraisal of our basic beliefs. What is our motive force? What is our basic principle? We believe in the rights of man. But even so vital a concept as the rights of man is not enough. We believe in free enterprise and personal independence. We believe in the rights of man. But even so, we believe in something more.

The Revolution was fought for American Rights. The Westward Expansion was an assertion of rights. The Civil War was a bloody quarrel over rights. The days of American Empire were a new thrust of rights. The New Deal was a new concept of economic rights. Today we seek a new emphasis of human rights. All our national life we have been wrapped up in our rights. Now, American rights are secure, and the American masses have the staggering wealth among all but a few. Yet, the popular concept of the “American dream” has often proven more disappointment than fulfillment. There are millions who have won that affluence for which they have labored all their lives—only to find that happiness eludes them. They have little concern over the future, and their outlook is for little zest for life, and little thrill of achievement. This personal experience, held by so many, is reflected in the lack of spirit of buoyancy and exuberance, of adventure and achievement. We can fashion for this nation a new emphasis of human rights, an emphasis of personal achievement and firm commitment to the duties of man.

America is one nation—young and old, rich and poor, black and white. It must be our duty to make America One Nation under God—mindful of the needs of the least of our brethren. America is one nation—indivisible—joined in common cause for the common good. One Nation—with liberty and justice for all. Such is the great challenge of our time. It will be that which Lee bestowed upon his tattered troops at Appomattox, when he said, “You cannot fight the confederate in such a war, and go back to politics that proceeds from consciousness of duty faithfully performed.”

Government Participation in Medicare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, May 23, 1966

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN MEDICARE

(By Hon. John E. Fogarty, prepared for presentation at the Pastoral Institute, Providence, R.I., Jan. 17, 1966)

It is with pleasure and a sense of personal interest and concern that I talk with you this evening about Government’s participation in the Medicare program.

In preparing for tonight’s meeting, I was reminded of the Bill, H.R. 5041, which I introduced to authorize coverage of the program on an optional basis. This provision remains essentially the same today, although in my understanding it includes the recommendation of the Church Pension Conference a recommendation was made to make social security coverage compulsory. The action was not taken, but there is an realization pending to accomplish this purpose.

In areas such as the extension of coverage under social security, the implementation of the Medicare program or the war against poverty, I would recommend the formation of a Rhode Island Inter-Religious Committee to improve our institutional programs serving the blind, deaf, disabled, retarded, disadvantaged and needy aged within the state.

As I discuss with you the place of Government in Medicare, I am very much aware of the place of an Inter-Religious Committee at the national and state level. Such a group would also be able to interpret and appraise the implications of the much-discussed “public insurance” or “Medicare” type programs for the underprivileged families and elderly.

The Medicare legislation passed by Congress last July, represents a giant step forward in our attempt to cope with the costs of health care programs for the underprivileged families and elderly. It is with great pleasure that I report tonight that 27,000 Rhode Islanders 65 or over will be eligible for Medicare when the program begins in July. In the last 6 months of 1966,
It is estimated that total health insurance benefits will amount to $13 billion for Rhode Island residents. I welcome the opportunity to discuss this extremely significant program with you tonight.

In the case of the Medicare program, the Federal Government is not actually providing the aged with medical care, but is rather creating a voluntary plan whereby all persons 65 or over with two types of health insurance. The first part of the program is basic hospital insurance which gives protection against the costs of hospitalization. All social security and railroad retirement beneficiaries are automatically enrolled for this protection at a low monthly premium of $3 which is matched by $3 from the Government.

Thus, when Medicare goes into effect in July, recipients of this country's social security or railroad retirement benefits will have their hospital insurance automatically paid for. However, only those who elect the voluntary plan covering physicians' fees will have full protection against the costs of medical care. Such protection is needed to stimulate these people to action. Anyone who wants further information on Medicare should call or visit his local social security office.

Finally, a second letter will go out to the earlier letter or who responded negatively.

To try and reach the rest of the persons eligible for the program, the Social Security Administration is going to mail to the existing mailing list of the elderly living in nursing homes of the country information about the program for their residents. In cooperation with the Office of Economic Opportunity has just announced “Operation Medicare Alert” program which will employ voluntary community and religious leaders and others equally poor, urban and rural areas about the new benefits available to them. The teams will assist in obtaining the necessary materials, organizing and publicizing meetings, escorting individuals to social security offices, and will aid social security representatives in the interpretation of health insurance and related social security benefits.

No channel is being ignored in this crucial effort to reach these persons before the deadline. The responsibility of making sure that no aged person is denied the full benefits of the Health Insurance Program is a great one. Mail sometimes fails to get the message across. A reminder, perhaps from someone like you, can be an extra push that is needed to stimulate these persons to action.

I shall only highlight the coverage under these two types of insurance. The hospital insurance program covers four types of services: inpatient hospital services, extended care services, home health services, and outpatient hospital diagnostic services.

The program pays part of the cost of up to 90 days of hospitalization; outpatient hospital diagnostic services in a 30 day period; 100 days of care in a skilled nursing home for a hospital stay of a year after a 3 day hospital stay.

No physicians' services are covered under the hospital insurance or voluntary medical insurance, the on other hand, covers services of physicians regardless of where they are performed. Also covered under the supplementary program are various other medical and health services such as X-rays, radium treatments, surgical dressing, special medical equipment, emergency services.

Finally, the voluntary medical insurance covers 100 home health visits in addition to home health visits under the hospital insurance program. No hospitalization. I would like to reemphasize that these last services mentioned, including home health visits, are paid for by the Government only.

The next step for the provider of service is to file an application for a determination of the type of service to be performed. The application is to be on the basis of reasonable cost. The responsibility of making sure that these applications are timely and accurate falls on the shoulders of the intermediary. The mail sometimes fails to get the message across again. A reminder, perhaps from someone like you, can be an extra push that is needed to stimulate these people to action.

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The second part of the program is supplementary medical insurance providing protection against the costs of physicians' services and certain other medical and health services. Medical insurance, available to nearly all persons 65 or over, is completely voluntary. The individual choosing to enroll pays a low monthly premium of $3 which is matched by $3 from the Government.

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who are helpless burdens to their families who are unable to afford the long-term costs of nursing care.

This is the logical next step in our national program to fulfill our spiritual, moral and social obligations to those who are unable to speak and act for themselves. This is not charity but the responsibility of a nation directing its efforts toward achieving a society in which each person is encouraged to achieve his full potential and be assured of a reasonable measure of security and health protection throughout his later years.

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It is obvious that Medicare is the long overdue basic program upon which public and private enterprise can build a positive health program for today's elderly with an expectation of an even healthier, longer life for tomorrow's older Americans.

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.

Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.

Thou carriest them away as with a flood: they are as a sleep: in the morning they are like grass which groweth up.

In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up: in the evening it is cut down, and withereth.

Let Thy work appear unto Thy servants, and Thy glory unto their children.

So the work of our hands establish Thou it.

For Thine is the power and the kingdom for whose coming we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. Long of Louisiana, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, May 23, 1966, was dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, submitting sundry nominations, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

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

H.R. 10744. An act to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act; and


ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

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

H.R. 8976. An act to amend title I of the Tariff Act of 1930 to make permanent the existing duty-free treatment for certain cardboard insulation.

H.R. 10566. An act to establish the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area in the Jefferson National Forest in Virginia, and for other purposes.

H.R. 10998. An act to continue for a temporary period the existing suspension of duty on heptanoic acid.

H.R. 11653. An act to make permanent the existing suspension of duty on certain natural graphites.

H.R. 12262. An act to continue until the close of June 30, 1969, the existing suspension of duty on certain copying shoe lathes.

H.R. 12463. An act to extend until June 30, 1969, the suspension of duty on crude oleoresin and the reduction in duty on ground oleoresin.

H.R. 12957. An act to continue the suspension of duty on certain aluminas and bauxites.

H.R. 12964. An act to make permanent the existing duty-free treatment of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders.

H.R. 12997. An act to extend until July 15, 1968, the suspension of duty on electrodes imported for use in producing aluminum; and

H.R. 14215. An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and for other purposes.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

H.R. 10744. An act to amend the District of Columbia Alcoholic Beverage Control Act; and


COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. Long of Louisiana, and by unanimous consent, the following subcommittees were authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today: The Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the Committee on Public Works.

The Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations.

The Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. Long of Louisiana, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

THE MINORITY LEADER

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I am most delighted, from this side of the aisle, to welcome back to the Chamber our beloved minority leader. I am happy to see that even a serious injury could not keep him away from the Chamber for more than a few days. He is much loved on this side as well as on the other side of the aisle, and we are all delighted to have him back with us.

Mr. DIRksen. Mr. President, I am grateful to the acting majority leader. My only advice is, "Don't fall off a bed." Mr. KUCHEL. The able acting majority leader has accurately reflected what is in all our hearts. The leader of the Republican minority is not only great, Mr. President, but he is also indestructible, and we are all delighted to have him present with us again.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The President pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication and letters, which were referred as indicated:

AMENDMENT TO TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY ACT OF 1933

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, as amended, to increase the limitation on the authority to issue bonds to finance its power program (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Public Works.

REPORT ON EXPORT-IMPORT BANK INSURANCE AND GUARANTEES ON U.S. EXPORTS TO YUGOSLAVIA

A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, that the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees on United States exports to Yugo-